CHAPTER 5

THE LATER PHASE
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As a Fabian Socialist, Shaw was ever on the lookout for a strong and superior government which might preserve the major interests of social welfare. In doing so, he had to examine and evaluate various forms of government.

Shaw was well aware of the fact that the whole world was being swept by the perennial wave of cold war, dividing it into two folds i.e. Capitalism and Communism. Elucidating the contradictory policies of both folds, sir Arthur Chavender asserts in on the Rocks:

"There is the eternal war between those who are in the world for what they can get out of it and those who are in the world to make it better place for everybody to live in."

However, Capitalism fascinated him in view of its ceaseless effort for that is had overproduction and trade, and forced him to realise that it had contributed the maximum to the means of production, exchange and finance. Speaking highly of it, he remarks:

"The theory worked wonderfully in the sphere of production and trade. It built up our factory system, our power machinery, our means of transport and communication, which have made the world a new world, in which the iron Duke of Wellington would be as lost as Julius Caesar .... It keeps us amused and hopeful and credulous by miracle after miracle…"

He revealed that we have two burning economic problems i.e. the problems of production and distribution of our subsistence and found the
solution of the first problem in "Capitalist system, which achieves miracles in production."³ Shaw wanted to support Capitalism in view of the ‘efficacy of individual righteousness’.⁴ But he could not go with it too far. He soon found its innumerable hateful blemishes, like the craze for private property, maximum profit motive, the establishment of large economic associations or corporations, Laissez-faire enterprise, large scale production, credit system, competition, division of labour and specialization, mechanism and the birth of class conflict etc. which have crippled the roots of social structure. Moreover, Capitalism gives rise to the evils of inequality, insufficient leisure, improper and inequal distribution of wealth, unemployment, social interests, exploitation and idleness among the rich. It leads to non-cooperation between the employee and the employer, poverty, extension of the prostitution, the misuse of social rights, the abuse of the talented persons and the idolatry of worship besides being a check on the eugenic marriages and a proper watch and guidance of children in family. According to Shaw, it is Capitalism that has created our widowers houses (slums), where people flounder in dirt and filth. It underlay’s women and exploits them to the point of going the way of Mrs. Warren (prostitution). Our charitable institutions fatten on it. It has influenced the Church. It makes the poor miserable and the rich useless idlers. In Widower’s Houses, Mrs. Warren’s Profession, Major Barbara and The Apple Cart, Shaw Strips Capitalism of all its respectability and exposes it in all the nakedness.

Shaw’s objections against Capitalism stem from the observation that all ‘property is theft.’⁵ as it is unearned, based on ‘spare money’⁶ and ‘organised
robery. Under Capitalism, product of ability goes to the capitalist and the business is allowed to be conducted on the principle of letting everyone make, what he can make out of it without respecting anyone but himself. Shaw says:

"A shop keeper or a coal merchant may not pick your pocket but he may overcharge you as much as he likes. Everyone is free in business to get as much and give as little for his money as he can induce his customers to put-up with."8

Contrary to property, Shaw observes that the worst outcome of it is poverty which in his eyes is a crime and it becomes difficult to preach religion to poverty-stricken people.

Capitalism defeats every form of government except that of corrupt Oligarchy. The Apple Cart is a devastating exposure of the way, in which both democracy and royalty are rendered ineffective in a capitalist economy. It has made farce of our Democracy. Under it, it is the money that rules and not the prime Minister or the king as Shaw asserts in The Apple Cart. The municipalities are prevented from discharging their duties by capitalists, whose representatives form the most powerful clique in all civic bodies. Mr. Sartorius in Widower’s Houses is a Vestryman and that in why the Sanitary Inspector says that he (Mr. Sartorius) can break the law so scandalous.’ The poor Sanitary Inspector is as helpless in the grip of men like Sartorius as Lysistrate in The Apple Cart is in the grip of Breakage Ltd. The institution of war which is the deadliest of all the institutions is the offspring of capitalism. Shaw loathes war because he believes it to be a disaster to mankind. Moreover the management of the state affairs, when left to the care of the capitalists, spells the doom of
society. We have then one and the same Law in the hand but it varies in its application according to the class of the man, as he asserts:

"The law is equal before all of us; but we are not all equal before the law. Virtually there is one law for the rich and another for the poor, one law for the cunning and another for the simple, one law for the forceful and another for the feeble........."^9

Shaw condemns and criticises capitalism as the worst form of social organization and government set-up. He reveals that the only way of getting rid of it lies in its being scrapped totally and warns that "a society which depends on the incentive of private profit is doomed."^10 and the State remains the private property of irresponsible owners, maintaining a parliament to make any change impossible, with churches, schools and universities to inculcate the sacredness of private property and party government, disguised as religion, education and democracy, civilization must perish. Observing the fatal and fetish functions of Capitalism, Shaw unfolds.

"Taking it, then, that Property and Marriage, by destroying Equality and thus hampering sexual selection with irrelevant conditions, are hostile to the evolution of the Superman....."^11

Shaw thinks that Communism is the best way to redeem society from the grip and grievances of Capitalism. He calls it ‘The Fairy Godmother.’^12 He visualises communists, under the guidance of a Superman, devoted exclusively to the establishment of the Kingdom of God and caring no more for property. He is so highly influenced by Communism that he embraces it implicitly so as
to declare that every civilised man is a communist and a socialist to some extent except when he is not a frank criminal. Appreciating the communistic form of social administration and organization, Shaw asserts:

"There is no longer any practical question open as the Communism sin production: the struggle today is over the distribution of the product; that is over the daily dividing up which is the first necessity of organised society. The need for a drastic redistribution of income in all civilised countries is now as obvious and as generally admitted as the need for sanitation."\(^{13}\)

According to him, the two main problems of organised society are how to produce subsistence enough for all the members, and how to prevent the theft of that subsistence by idlers. There have no scope to exist in a communistic organization and the fear of bodily want has been forgotten completely. Shaw is all praise for the communistic or Russian system of government.

..... Our British parliamentary system is far too slow for twentieth century social organization. The Soviet system in Russia outstrips it because, being faster, it is more immediately responsive to the continual need for reforms and responsive to changing circumstances. It includes all the conventional democratic checks and safeguards against despotism now so illusory, and gives them as much effectiveness as their airy nature is capable of. Incidentally, it gives Stalin the best right of any living statesman to the vacant Noble peace prize, and our diplomatists, the worst. This will shock our ignoramuses as a stupendous heresy and a mad paradox.\(^{14}\)
But Shaw's faith in Communism also starts faltering. He feels that "a totally Catholic Church or communist State is an impossible simplification of social organization." He also repudiated the communist dictum that end justifies means. Constant state of terror, iron discipline, violent means, checks on the freedom of expression, dictatorship of the majority over minority and dominance of centralism go to make it a police State of the most ruthless methods and "such a novelty is extremely terrifying to us." It makes us feel we are not living in a free and democratic country. Thus, Shaw fails in finding perfection even in Communism.

In search of an ideal state of his dream, Shaw moves from Communism to Fascism. According to him, Fascism breeds by chances and situation and not by the personal supremacy of the dictators. Stating the circumstances for birth of Fascism, Shaw asserts:

"When an established political routine breaks down and produces political chaos, a combination of personal ambition with military genius and political capacity in a single individual gives that individual his opportunity."

As a matter of fact, under such circumstances people need no liberty, but discipline; they crave for a leader (duce) and a master. Shaw sees that under this form of government, all dictators in history – Alexander, Julius Ceaser, Louis the Fourteenth, Napoleon Bonaparte, Mussolini, Hitler, Lenin and Stalin etc. sought to make a uniform world. The heart-felt slogans of discipline and work, embraced by Fascism touch the very core of Shaw's heart. He thinks:
"When a nation's affairs drift into hopelessness some strong minded person seizes it by the scruff of the neck and bullies it into order when it has suffered so much from disorder....."\(^{18}\)

It is thus a dictator comes at the helm of social disorder and destruction. He calls ‘Liberty as a putrefying corpse,\(^{19}\) and the discipline and responsibility as the wheels of the nation. The sterner the better is his slogan. Shaw's praise for Hitler and Mussolini is based on their extra-ordinary capabilities as the duces of their nations. The fact that Mussolini, the duce had compelled the Italians to bring their trains to their destinations in time, and that Hitler had abolished unemployment by setting jobless men to making roads, seems to have satisfied the Fabian in Shaw' that they were great men, the great statesmen of the highest order.

The Fascist's organic concept of society provided to Shaw a counter to the philosophies of Laissez-Faire individualism and of Marxism: against both, it emphasised social unity. For the time being, he praises the Fascists for describing democracy as ‘putrescent corpse’, and for burning it as soon as possible and for having settled everything in Europe but soon, he comes to realise that Fascism, far from being National Socialism, is merely State Capitalism. He realized that unless Mussolini and Hitler were kept within the bounds of sanity by some constitutional check, the good work, they both were doing in their countries, would be disastrously undone. Remembering Lord Action's maxim that absolute power corrupts absolutely, Shaw soon starts thinking that the ‘ordinary’ with extra-ordinary powers is the main danger for
mankind: such in the name of nationalism they are always waging wars to gain territory, natural resources, or for the sake of their own personal prestige and glory. Moreover, "Like democracy, national self-government is not the good of the people; it is for the satisfaction of the people." 20 In it men are means for the State.

The era of political democracy dawned in Great Britain and elsewhere after a great deal of tiring efforts and long movements for reforms by the unprivileged section of the Society in the nineteenth century, but people were soon disappointed with its false appearance. And Shaw gave expression to this only when in On the rocks, Hipney says.

Democracy was a great thing when I was young and we had no votes. We talked about public opinion and what the British people would stand and what they would not stand. And it had weight ……. it held Governments in check; it frightened the stoutest of the tyrants and the bosses and the police; it brought a real reverence into the voices of great orators like Bright and Gladstone. But that was when it was a dream and a vision, an hope and a faith and a promise. It lasted until they dragged it down to earth, as you might say, and made it a reality by giving everybody votes. 21

Observing no change in the dominance of the selected class of the wealthy, even in the democratic regime, Shaw states in his Epistle Dedicatory written to A.B. Walkley.
"When we two were born, this country was still dominated by a selected class bread by political marriages ....... Aristocracy and plutocracy still furnish the figureheads of politics."\(^{22}\)

Shaw is so fed up with the unreality of Democracy that he starts patting Mussolini for describing it as a putrefying corpse.\(^{23}\)

According to him "this system is not a democratic reality: it is a democratic illusion."\(^{24}\) He further says.

"Democracy as you know it, is seldom more than long word beginning with a capital letter ...... as a big balloon, filled with gas or hot air, and sent up so that you shall be kept looking up at the sky whilst other people are picking your pockets."\(^{25}\)

It is not what it looks. It "reads well: but it does not act well, like some people's plays."\(^{26}\) Moreover, It is not dynamic in its character. It fails to adapt to the changing circumstances as a result of which it is far too slow for twentieth century social organization and excludes all its conventional checks and safeguards against despotism. They have now become completely illusory and ineffective. The best climate for democratic prosperity lies in poverty and hardships as Babuls rightly says to Proteus in *The Apple Cart*, "To make democracy work in Crassus's way, we need poverty and hardships."\(^{27}\) Elucidating the defects of democracy, Shaw asserts in the preface to *Androcles and the Lion*:

"Democracy in the most democratic modern republics France and the United States for example, is an imposture and a delusion. It reduces justice
and law to a farce: law becomes merely an instrument for keeping the poor in subjection; and accused workman are tried not by a jury of their peers but by conspiracies of their exploiters.”

Really speaking, ignorance mental immaturity, partiality, sentimentalism of the people in general and talking capacity of the leaders in particular are the basic elements, on which democracy outwardly survives and the untalented leaders dominate it. These leaders are worthless but first rate talkers. Stating the inability of the cabinet ministers to manage the affair, Shaw asserts: "I could cite dozens of examples of how what our cabinet ministers call Democracy, and what I call Monocracy, places in authority would be rulers who assure us that they can govern England, plus the commonwealth, plus Western Europe and Finally the world, when as a matter of fact, they could not manage a village shop successfully."29

Being badly aggrieved of the roles of ministers, Shaw calls a minister a "Jobber" and "Bungler". He denounces the ministers as a Parcel of sentimental fools, which rarely does anything and makes the council of ministers look "like an over crowded third class carriage."32 They have become popular and prominent only by virtue of their money and talkativeness. Explaining the role of talks in democracy, Shaw puts forth through Magnus in The Apple Cart.

"...... Talkers are very formidable rivals for popular favour. The multitude understands talk; it does not understand work. I mean brain work, like yours and mine."33
Liberty, fraternity, equality, common good and common responsibility which are supposed the basic pillars of democracy, and which are deemed to be under the greatest sources of the fullest development of human quality and power in a democracy, appear facial and fanatic to Shaw. To say democracy ensures the freedom of speech and expression, of assembling peaceably without arms, of forming associations or unions, of moving freely throughout the territory, of residing and settling in any part of the territory, of acquiring, holding and disposing of property and of practicing any profession or carrying on any occupation trade on business is merely an illusion. Personal liberty, which is known as the life blood of democracy, and which should ensure the protection in respect of conviction for offences and protection of life, protection against arrest and detention, right against exploitation, prohibition of child labour, freedom of conscience and freedom to mange religious affairs is according to Shaw, practicable. As he asserts:

"we do not apply it to children, at home or at school, nor to employees, nor to persons of any class or age who are in the power of other persons....... each person doing only what he is expressly permitted to do, or what the example of the rest of his class encourages him to consider as tacitly permitted."34

Moreover he does not expect men to have capacity to enjoy the fruits of liberty as they are trained to be slaves. Enunciating the fact he says:

If people are brought up to be slaves, it is useless and dangerous to let them loose at the age of twenty one and say "Now you are free'. No one with the
tamed soul and broken spirit of a slave can be free. It is like saying to a laborer brought upon a family income of thirteen shillings a week, "Here is one hundred thousand pounds: now you are wealthy." Nothing can make such a man really wealthy ..... A nation that is free at twenty one is not free at all ........You cannot govern men brought up as slaves otherwise than as slaves are governed.  

Shaw opines that to specify liberty as a natural right is an illogical statement. Explaining the natural rights of Liberty Shaw says:

The term is too vague to be of much practical use; for the supreme right to life, extended as it now must be to the race, and to the quality of life as well as to the mere fact of breathing. Is making short work of many ancient liberties.  

Besides this, liberty exhorts us to risks either moral or physical.  as a result of which we face the sword of danger without pause, Stating the fact that "nothing can be unconditional: consequently nothing can be free." Shaw reveals that "Liberty is conditional and attached with goodness." In this connection, he further asserts.

"To guarantee his freedom on condition that you approve of his moral character is formally to abolish all freedom, whatsoever, as every man's liberty is at the mercy of a moral indictment........"

Shaw always interprets liberty as a positive and useful virtue and never attaches it with passivity. That is why he warns blatantly:
"People, who think they can be honestly free all the time are idiots: people who seek whole time freedom by putting their share of productive work on others are thieves."

Discarding Rousseau's dictum that Man is born free, Shaw declares that no government of civilised State can possibly regard its citizens as born free because freedom is conditional and positive. Shaw further say:

"On the contrary, it must regard them as born in debt, and as necessarily incurring fresh debt every day they live; and its most pressing duty is to hold them to that debt and see that they pay it. Not until it is paid can any freedom begin for the individual ........... When he has paid scot and lot his leisure begins, and with it his liberty."

Fraternity is very sweet and sublime term if it is realistically operated and applied in life. But it is not possible to envisage if objectively it the society of today because of the devouring villainous elements of class, sect, religion, nepotism, sex, regions, nationalism, professionalism and monitoryl craze for inequality. To him, we human beings, are as yet mentally immature and incapable of being governed by the spirit of 'Fraternity'.

Equality is the basic pillar among democratic ideals. Under it, a democratic State assures every person equality before law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of the concerned state; it does not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of class, caste, religion, race, sex, place of birth of any of them and declares equality of opportunities for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under
the State or to profession or business for their livelihood. Shaw lashes out at this ideal by asserting that equality before law or equal protection of the law are empty slogans. He says:

"The law is equal before all of us, but we are not all equal before the law. Virtually, there is one law for the rich and another for the poor, one law for the cunning and another for simple, one law for the forceful and another for the feeble, one law for the ignorant and another for the learned, one law for the brave and another for the timid, and within family limits one law for the parent and no law at all for the child."\textsuperscript{43}

According to Shaw, equality "in practice means inter marriage ability."\textsuperscript{44} and without it "no State can achieve the maximum of beneficence and stability,"\textsuperscript{45} but in the false democracy "equality is supposed to mean similarity of political talent, which varies as much as musical or mathematical or military capacity from individual to individual."\textsuperscript{46} He further opines that there neither is nor can be equality in any matter except in matters of income. "Equality of income is practicable enough any sporting peer with his mind bounded by the racecourse can dine on equal term with an astronomer, whose mental domain is the universe."\textsuperscript{47} Thus Shaw exposes the hollowness of the swelled ideal of equality, propounded by the advocates of democracy.

The ideal of common good in democracy is also nothing more than a mirage. Shaw does not expect prosperity of the commoners through the capitalist uncommoners who always seek their uncommon good under the banner of the common good. According to him, this ideal is impossible until
society is socialistically organised. To him, common responsibility is also a farce. Shaw states that the common responsibility means the responsibility of all and every body's business is nobody's business. Lysistrata in *The Apple Cart* asserts, "Well they say everybody's business is nobody's business, which is just what joe is fit for."48 Shaw ridicules Lincoln's postulate that Democracy is the government of the people, for the people and by the people and calls it "a physical impossibility,"49 because the government of the people is of course both necessary50 and unavoidable: government for the people is no less necessary, if frequently avoided but the government by the people is a resounding humbug. It is little better than "a cry by which demagogues humbug us into voting for them."51 Being obsessed with the view that the common man is foolish, credulous and irrational, Shaw repudiates government by the people as an absurdity as the people in common have neither the ability nor the desire to govern themselves. He opines that:

"*Every citizen can not be a ruler any more than every boy can be an engine driver or a pirate king.*"52

Disagreeing with Lincoln's definition of Democracy, Shaw expresses his views in a lecture, entitled "Democracy as a Delusion" on 23rd November, 1927 at the Kingsway Hall, London:

"A country, governed by its people is as impossible as a theatre managed by its audience …… Democracy is not a delusion when it means that provision of some means by which dissatisfied people can change its rulers. It is a delusion and a very mischievous one when it means that the people must govern
themselves ....... government is a fine art requiring for its exercise not only certain specific talents and a taste for the business but a mental comprehensiveness and an energy which only a small percentage of people possess in the degree necessary for leadership.53

It purports that "Democracy can not be government by the people it can only be government by the consent of the governed."54 Shaw openly declares that "Democratic government of the people by the people professed ideologically now a day by all governments and oppositions, has never for a moment existed."55 Shaw also does not agree with the dictum: Vox populi Vox Dei (The voice of the people is the voice of God): the concept of "General Will" is as difficult to know as to know the mysticism and as difficult to operate as to operate the mind. Thus, "the fundamental notion that the voice of the people is the voice of God is sample"56 of nonsenseness.

According to Shaw, the greatest danger to existing democracy is not from monarchy but from Plutocracy. Stating the undesirable function of Plutocracy, he says, that Plutocracy has swallowed both Royalty and Democracy. Now "The conflict is not really between royalty and democracy. It is between both and plutocracy."57

Breakages Limited has a strangle hold over democracy in Great Britain. Laws are made in its favors and nothing is done to harm its interests. As Shaw asserts:

"Money talks money prints money broadcasts: money resigns; and kings and labour leaders alike have to register its decrees, and even, by a staggering
paradox to finance its enterprises and guarantee its profits. Democracy is no longer bought: it is hiked. Ministers, who are socialists to the backbone are as helpless in the grip of breakages Limited as its acknowledged bench man.\textsuperscript{58}

"Blaming the Liberals as the first rate agents of Plutocracy, Shaw for tyranny: qualification for rule by heredity and class narrows it and puts it in harness and blinkers. Especially does such democracy favor money rule. It is in fact not democracy at all, but unashamed plutocracy."\textsuperscript{59}

Moreover with the weapon of money plutocrats have hold not only over the ministers but also over their officials. It is a great social evil "because it creates a sort of Gresham's Law by which the baser human currency drives out the nobler coinage."\textsuperscript{60} Similarly unfolding the view of his son about the over dominance of plutocracy on the democracy Magnus tells Nicobar in \textit{The Apple Cart}.

"Bureaucracy asks is also a big canker to democracy. It is also an offshoot of plutocracy. The official posts are filled through competitive tests after well arranged and costly preparations possible only to the youths of rich people. These officials have to face tests and have to possess certain qualifications for the professional post, and have to hold post permanently. On the other hand:

"For the ministers, who are supposed to direct and control them, (we) have no guarantee that they can read or write, or could mange a baked potato stall successfully."\textsuperscript{61}
Consequently being inferior to their officials, the ministers have to be
puppets of these officials, who constitute a bureaucracy, not a democracy. The
incompetence of their heads brightens the life of bureaucrats. They get done by
the minister what they want to get done. As in The Apple Cart, Magnus says to
Beaneries.

"Permanent officials of your department will try to pick you up, and use
and like that. Nineteen times out of twenty. You will have to let them do it,
because you cannot know everything and be everywhere."\textsuperscript{62}

Thus bureaucracy makes democracy unreal and illusory. Clarifying the
dominance of officials, Shaw puts forth:

"To person, elected to do the work, is not really doing it he is a popular
humbug, who is merely doing what a permanent official tells him to do. That is
how it comes about that we are not governed by a civil service….."\textsuperscript{63}

Parliamentary democracy also appears to Shaw nothing more than a
spider's web, wherein its innocent members are caught and strangled. He is of
the opinion that if nineteenth century was a century of the sovereignty of
Parliament, the twentieth century is the century of the dictatorship of the
cabinet. In the domain of legislation, administration, foreign policy, finance
delegated legislation, and administrative adjudication, the authority of cabinet is
unchallengeable. As a result of this the real sovereignty lies in ministers and not
in parliament. It is not the parliament that controls the cabinet; it is the cabinet
that controls the parliament. It is a mere talking shop, wherein ministers are
engrossed in wasting their time and frittering their energies in meeting
arguments and combating opposition wherein they ought to be engaged in
governing. Moreover, the functional procedure by which laws are made in
parliament is a hindrance than a help. Owing to the foolish factions, it takes
thirty years by constitutional methods to do thirty minutes work, and shall
presently be forced to clear up thirty years arrears in thirty minutes by
unconstitutional ones.\(^64\) Hence, repudiating its authority and existence, Shaw
asserts of British democracy: "Our British Parliamentary system is too slow for
twentieth century social organization."\(^65\) for it is not at all responsible to the
continual need for reforms and adaptations to changing circumstances and
includes no conventional democratic checks and safeguards against despotism.

The people's right to vote and electioneering may educate and enlighten
the citizens. It may make them politically aware and may even appear to the
like a sword hanging over the ruling classes but in fact all this if far from truth.
That is why intelligentsia does not want to take interest in elections as brought
out in the conversation of Nicobar and Balbus in *The Apple Cart*:

"Nicobar: How many voted, at the last election? Not seven percent of the
register.

Balbus : Yes and the seven percent were only a parcel of sillies, playing
at ins and outs.\(^66\)

Besides in all the constituencies, there are working or poor people who in
general are ignorant, prejudiced, easily misled, misdirected and misacted. What
they "are in the pit and gallery, they are also in the polling booth."\(^67\) The result
is that the mountebank catches the votes by his art of fascinating, amusing
coaxing and humbugging the voters. So, eloquence and skill in argument come
to be more highly valued in politicians than firmness, judgment, knowledge and
vision. And the right to vote to everybody has been miscarried. Shaw says:
"The poor man is given a vote by the Liberals in the hope that he will cast it for
his emancipators. The hope is not fulfilled."\(^{68}\) because this right becomes the
right of the plutocrats, who purchase it from the poor and ignorant people. Thus
the provision of adult suffrage supports the people, who follow Laissez-faire
policy and anarchy, which, being unbearable, "produces by reaction
overwhelming majorities in favor of Restorations, or
Napoleonic Emperors and south American dictator-presidents."\(^{69}\) Thus, adult
suffrage is supposed to be substitute for civil war and the election, considered at
present as means of selecting the best qualified rules, becomes a farcical drama.
In fact "Democracy substitutes election by the incompetent many for
appointment by the corrupt few."\(^{70}\)

Political parties are delineated as the life blood of democracy and to some
thinkers, they are the fourth organ of the government, because democratic
government and party system are so closely interlinked that in their actual
working, they cannot exist without each other. To Shaw, however, political
party system is a big hoax. As he puts it:

"Political party machinery of legislatures and senates, which was so
wonderfully devised that when you sent in one body of men to govern the
country, you sent in another body of men along with them to prevent their doing it."\textsuperscript{71}

He condemns "the party system, under which it is the business of the opposition to oppose."\textsuperscript{72} and political parties are so effective in obstruction that "the bills to which no body objects, and which could be disposed of in half an hour, take up as many months as really contentious measures."\textsuperscript{73} Opposition for the sake of opposition is discarded by him, when he says.

"Mr. Chesterton says truly that a government, if it is to govern, cannot select one ruler to do something and another to undo it, one intellectual to restore the nation and another to ruin the nation. But that is precisely what our parliamentary party system does."\textsuperscript{74}

Under party system, each successive government seeks to undo the work of its predecessor. It creates factionalism and corruption, and ignores the services of the talented persons. It divides the nation into two reconcilable camps, lowers the prestige of the legislature, and envisages dictatorship of the majority party. Party system suppresses individual opinion and action. Even then it is said to be the vital principle of democratic government. It "is the most abominable engine for the perversion and final destruction of all political conscience ever devised by man."\textsuperscript{75} As a matter of fact, this system makes the House of Commons more and more an arms house for retired trade union secretaries, who are the wolves in sheep skin, and who have no interest in
reforms other than in establishing adult suffrage, which suffrage, which fulfill their personal interest indirectly.

Shaw comes to realise that Socialism and Communism and corporate action both in national and international matters are now inevitable functions of any government. And "corporate action is impossible without a governing body."76 which demands ability to govern.

"It is neither Mrs. Everybody's business, nor Mrs. Anybody's but Mrs. Somebody's. Mrs. somebody will never be elected until she is protected from the competition of Mrs. Noodle and Mrs. Bandier and Mrs. Noisy, Nobody and Mrs. Kin- and country and Mrs. Class war and Mrs. Hearth and Home and Mrs. Bountiful and Mrs. Hands off-off-The Church and Mrs. Please I – want – everybody- to – love- me."77

This is possible only when we establish democracy of Supermen, where we will be capable of Controlling our governors. Shaw feels that unless 'Breakages Limited is itself broken',78 the time lag lasts,79 and we do not bread political capacity,80 democracy will not be a success and boon to humanity. He comes to think:

"A democracy without enlightenment, without religion, without those things ...... is a thing so terrible to contemplate that really one has to run away from the temptation to be mechanically optimistic and try and persuade oneself that it will be all right: but it will not be all right unless we work very hard to prevent it."81
The problem is how to secure the service of competent rulers without
delivering ourselves into the hands of tyrants and talented black guards, who
seek and secure their personal interests at the cost of the common interest. For
the improvement of the existing system, he suggests severe reforms. The first is
that the parliament should be scrapped as it can no more do the work of a
modern State. And he says: "We need in these islands two or three additional
federal legislatures, working in our municipal committee system, instead of our
parliamentary party system."\textsuperscript{82}

In regard to law and justice, he suggests that every judge, magistrate and
home Secretary should serve a six months sentence incognito; so that when he
is dealing out and enforcing sentences, he should at least know what he is
doing. So far as the wrong doers are concerned, Shaw holds that there are two
sorts of criminals: those who can be reformed and those who cannot be
reformed. Reformable criminals are to be treated as patient and are to be
reformed. On the other hand, all unreformable criminal should be sent into
"lethal chamber", and killed painlessly.

After the First world War, Shaw and the Webbs "published a plan, which
went far beyond the mere demand for Socialism: A Constitution for the
Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain."\textsuperscript{83} This book presents his suggestions
for a new state which has been at the track of Shaw's social and political writing
as well as plays since the twenties. In 1930, to fulfill his cherished aim of
Socialism, Shaw suggested to the Fabian Society a new form of government:
"It must device new instruments of Government, designed not to check governmental activity and neutralise the royal prerogative like our present instruments, but to organize and make effective the sovereignty of the Community, and limit the usurped prerogative of private plutocratic interests. Until this is done, all talk of reaching Socialism along constitutional paths is idle."

He warned that if this was not done, the danger of revolution or dictatorship might occur. Emphasising the political reconstitution, he suggested:

"....... our old Plan of Campaign for Labor, which has now been carried out only to land us in a no thoroughfare, must be replaced by a new plan for the political reconstitution of British society, eligible also as a model for the reconstruction of all modern societies."

Though this proposed plan is nowhere lengthily quoted or paraphrased by Shaw yet he either endorses its main proposals or adds to it his own suggestions referentially in his dramatics, the systematic collection of which in sequence presents a comprehensive picture of his dream of an ideal State.

Shaw is against national governments. According to him, the spirit of nationality encourages idolatry conservatism, partiality and loyalty, which hamper the pace of philanthropy and Socialism. "Like democracy, national government is not for the good of the people: it is for the satisfaction of the people." He prefers Commonwealth.
Shaw regards democracy an ideal state but it should be a "Democracy of Superman." It is successful only when the intellectual level of its people is higher than that of the present population. Emphasising the need of a race of the advanced intelligence, Shaw opines:

"Until there is an England in which everyman is a Cromwell, a France in which everyman is a Napoleon, a Rome in which everyman is a Caesar, a German in which everyman is a Luther Plus Goethe the world will be no more improved by its heroes than a Brixton willa is improved by the pyramid of Cheops. The production of such nations is the only real change possible to us." 

Moreover charity of mind and the wide purpose in the rulers and the ruled are also essential upper hands for the political perspective of the State, as Shaw reveals, "Nothing can save society than except the clear head and the wide purpose." In his ideal state, emotionalism, sentimentalism and snobbery will be sapped by the sword to rationalism, wielded by the demos of Superman.

Up his democratic state, the rulers and the ruled must understand high politics. The absence of the knowledge of high politics in the citizens (voters) would make democracy a hooliganism. Shaw puts it:

"Democracy requires whole population of capable voters: that is of political critics, who, if they cannot govern in person for lack of spare energy or specific talent for administration, can at least recognize and appreciate capacity and benevolence in others."
Only people of high political capacity and understanding should have the right to vote. Franchise will depend on passing the tests in political science and public affairs. Presumably, elections would take place at regular intervals, as at present, to give the electors a chance to change the rulers by other from within the panel. To bring objectivity the voting and counting would be done by machinery.92 Supporting the view of Plato regarding the competence of the rulers, Shaw asserts: "Plato long ago pointed out the importance of being governed by the man with sufficient sense of responsibility and comprehension of public duties to be very reluctant to undertake the work of governing: yet we have taken his instruction so little to heart that we are at present suffering from government by gentleman........."93

The problem to elect the suitable rulers and officials will be solved by preparing "a graded series of panels of capable persons for all employments, public or private, and not allow any person, however popular, to undertake the employment of governing unless he or she were on the appropriate panel."94 No doubt, it is very difficult to prepare panels of this sort but Shaw hopes that it will be made easy in future by the Medical Science. If a doctor in San Francisco can discover what is physically wrong with a person from a drop of his blood. As Shaw says:

"What I am waiting for is the discovery of a process, by which on delivery of a drop of his blood or a lock of his hair, we can ascertain what is right with him mentally."95
He is on the look-out for an "Anthropometric Sliderule" or "machine or endocrine phrenological tests" to classify and select the capable persons for the panels. He reveals in detail how the panels of experts, who are capable of becoming rulers or taking active part in political management, are to be prepared until the medial science comes to rescue. In his Everybody's Political What's What? Shaw mainly concentrates on the more long-term questions of "how to produce more superman", and estimates that five percent people of the total population are "capable to some degree of government." He suggests that this five percent should be selected by examinations of various sorts (written examinations, personal interviews, medical tests, and perhaps improved intelligence tests). and empanelled in various degree, as capable of such and such ruling work. To assess the clear sightedness, energy and goodness, the provisions to test different shades of knowledge are made i.e. in elementary Mathematics, Statistics, some Economics (especially the theory of Rent), some History, enough Science at least to be critical of its pretensions, some appreciation of the social importance of art. But that was not all, a person may know all these things and yet be a scoundrel. So Shaw also "made the profession of the ‘creed and catechism’ of his type of religion compulsory of rulers."

At the lower end of the scale, there should be a panel of persons qualified to take part in a parish meeting, at the higher end a panel of persons qualified to act as Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs or Finance Ministers. In addition to this, there will be a central authority to coordinate and cooperate
among and between the people, civil servants and the governors. He further states that these different panels of experts are eligible:

"**For the different grades in the government hierarchy. Panel A would be for diplomacy and international finance, Panel B For national affairs, C for municipal and county affairs, Panel D for village councils and so forth.**"^{110}

On the other hand, in electoral procedure, there will be a basic representative congress formed on the principle ‘one person one vote’ irrespective of class, sex and faith comprising equal number of men and women therein to keep in touch with its subjects. He further says:

"**This congress will have sufficient local knowledge to elect the local chiefs of industry throughout the country. These local chiefs can elect provincial chiefs, who can elect national chiefs. These national chiefs you may call them if you like a cabinet- in their turn have to elect the National Thinkers, for a nation needs two cabinets; An administrative cabinet and a thinking cabinet.**"^{111}

Similarly elsewhere he says, "Democratic government needs a cabinet of Thinkers (Politbureau) as well as a cabinet of Administration (Commissar)."^{112}

As a staunch Fabian, Shaw declares like Plato that the affairs of an ideal state should be managed on a socialistic pattern. The Complete transformation of the existing society into the society of equals, irrespective of class, money, sex and religion, is the main objective of his state.

The first and foremost objective is a creditable religion, as he asserts:
"I can only suggest certain definite and practicable experiments in social organization, on provisional hypothesis or frame of reference (a necessary tool of thought) that will serve also as a credible religion," because "government is impossible without a religion."¹¹⁴

According to him, Creative Evolution is the only credible religion and it must be properly harnessed as to produce the selective bread of the humans, under which the possibility of the birth of Supermen is assured.

Poverty is a negative state. The crying need of a nation is enough money for all the citizens, and until the fear of bodily want is forgotten as completely as the fear of wolves already is in civilised capitals, we shall never have a decent social life. His ideal state will be duty bound to preserve certain standards below which no citizen should be allowed to fall. "To give everyman enough to live well on, so as to guarantee the community against the possibility of a case of the malignant disease of poverty."¹¹⁵

Shaw finds nationalisation as the best means for the eradication of capitalistic craze of the people; he introduced Nationalisation of property and industries of national importance and character in the State of his dream.

He suggests neither rigid centralization nor complete decentralisation through local government but a balance between them. In addition, he desires a system, which will give the higher authorities, supervision over the lower, only through a measure of financial control, leaving them otherwise autonomous. The municipalised services will be controlled by the council committee.
Economic planning is the core objective of the Shavian State of future. According to him "love of economy is the root of all virtue." it is the process of devising a sound basic of a State for a course of future action, toward an improvement in the economic conditions of the teeming millions, who have been living in miserable conditions of poverty, starvation, class inferiority and economic and social inequality.

In the state, work is a prime necessity to be rendered by all its capable citizens. He envisages the provision of an ordered and equal share in the work, needed to support the community. Shaw declares that it will be the first target of the state machinery to root out capitalism by owing it and creating equal opportunity of income to all, irrespective of male, female, class and religion as equality of income is the safest ladder to socialism and the best cure of social ills.

In Shavian State, all will be equal before law. The deliberate infliction of malicious injuries in the name of punishment will have no scope there. The offenders will be forced logically to cure their bad habits, and if necessary, be sent to prison but it will not be regarded as a place of punishment but as a place of treatment. The incurable prisoners will finally be sent to lethal chambers.

Shaw's ideals state will adopt, under foreign policy, the principle, "Treat your friend as one who may some day be your enemy, and your enemy as one, who may some day be your friend." 117

For the sake of improvement of race, Shaw envisages the state control over the families. The state must be prepared to see that the children are being
brought up properly. The state will observe whether the parents are rearing up their children according to certain standards of a decent life and are giving them free, natural, independent, and rational atmosphere to develop.

In the state of his dream the controlled liberty is the only permissible liberty. Liberty like money, will be distributed equally. Moreover, in the state of his dream, freedom from work is loaded with responsibility. If one enjoys freedom, one has the political obligation to return others what one has enjoyed. High intelligence, universal goodness through honest work, and rational religion are the basic pillars of his ideal state. Shaw's dream of an ideal state is expressed through Father Keegan when he says:

"In my dreams it is a country where the state is the church and the church the people: three in one and one in three. It is a commonwealth in which work is play and play is life: three in one and one in three. It is a temple in which the priest is the worshipper and the worshipper the worshipped: three in one and one in three. It is a God-head in which all life is human and all humanity divine: There in one and one in three."\(^{118}\)
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70. "Preface to Man and Superman Maxims for Revolutionists", *The Complete Bernard Shaw Prefaces*, p. 188.

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84."Preface to Fabian Essays, Forty Years Later (What They Overlooked)",
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85."Preface to Fabian Essays, Forty Years Later (What They Overlooked)",

86."Preface to John Bull's Other Island", The Complete Bernard Shaw
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87.Shaw calls his Ideal State by the name of Commonwealth. At one place
he says, "We must eliminate the Yahoo, or his vote will wreck the
Commonwealth." (Preface to Man and Superman), The Complete
Bernard Shaw Prefaces. p. 185.


90.Ibid. p. 179.


95.Ibid.


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100. Ibid. p. 54
101. Ibid. p. 53
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107. Ibid. p. 183.
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