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Books for Comprehensive

Soule - Future of Liberty.

Liberty cannot operate without some restraints. Unconfrined liberty is impossible - is anarchic and chaotic. But what sort of restraints should be employed to make liberty practicable.

Conflicts between classes lead to the use of violence rather than reason in the settling of disputes. Therefore we do not want the restraints on liberty to be in terms of any one class, i.e. no liberty league liberty.

Restraints should be in terms of some purpose for the good of all classes. Restraints should take form of a regulated capitalism, for the social purpose of maintaining democracy, liberty, and equality. There would be a planned abundance, with industry operating not for private profit but in accordance with schedules, so there would be no incompatibilities between liberties of different classes. This may be socialism.

How about liberties under socialism? Be no freedom to make private money, but unemployed would have liberty to work. Income increased. Industrial engineers, professional people would all have greater freedom when working for good of whole than for private concerns. Liberty of consumers to select what they want within limits of what's best.

This is true democracy, with control of economic life in hands of expert agencies rather than ineffect political.

Collectivist system can be created without abolition of civil liberties. Productive property would be removed from individual ownership, but private personal property would remain. There would be, therewith, increasing satisfaction from the well-working of the system - hence no need to confiscate. Press would be run by unions, co-operatives, associations, etc. Church + religious freedom would exist, since modern Protestant church is not superstitious + reactionary.

Even though denial of civil liberties would not be necessary + essential, still would it not be exercised by bureaucracy desiring to show authority. Always the danger from extended governmental authority. Yet socialism calls for extension of administrative not police functions. ICC is not threat to civil liberties.

There must be peaceable change, for America can undertake socialism with none of industrial difficulty Russia had. Only difficulty would be reaction of present system. Must work in American tradition of free speech, ballot, persuasion, etc. for change - must not attempt to force it. By education, etc., must build up forces making for intelligent change.

"The first and essential task of any movement looking to a new order is to win control by democratic means. That is the one chance of preserving liberty in transition."

De Madariaga - Anarchy or Hierarchy

I. Criticism of Liberal Democracy.

A. Axioms and Postulates.

1. Liberty must be reconceived. Political liberty has been too far and widely distributed - has led extra-political groups (i.e. churches) into politics.
2. Equality has led to disregard of specialization or hierarchy, which is the necessary result of organic "...". Plato carefully analyses the qualities which each functionary of the state must have. Equality today implies all men as interchangeable. This is a natural difference between men which must not be forgotten.
3. Democracy presupposes an intelligent mass operating with clarity and vision for the best goal, but actually average citizen is ill-informed, greedy, selfish, susceptible to influence by interest-groups, partisan. Interests of community lost in favor of interests of party. There has developed a confusion between democracy as a goal and democracy as a method.
4. Capitalism left free to make what it can from whom it can. That masses of people will give their labor cheerfully to the interest of private persons, whose interest was not in helping raise the general level, but which led them to be parasitic holders of debts, cannot be forever expected. The first

assumption of capitalism (let it alone and it will speak for the general interest) was positive^{and theoretical} - but there is a contrast between that and the practical, negative effects, which will lead to its downfall.

5. Labor is convinced that in it resides the productive power of the nation and is resentful of other classes as depositories of its own property. The preaching of class struggle disintegrates democracy, since workers are also resentful of ~~bourgeoisie~~ bourgeoisie simply because they have what workers would like, even though they have nothing actually to do with industry, etc. Here is paradox:- workers not class conscious because they believe in idealistic abolition of private property, but because they believe their private property has been filched by capitalists.

Result: All above forces are disruptive, divergent, become disease within state, since they foster interests of individuals or classes, but not of the state as organic whole. liberal democracies today^{thus} have strong predisposition towards anarchy.

B. Ways and Practices of Liberal Democracies

1. Failure of leaders to lead. Intellectuals become servants either of capital or labor. Leaders do not have to give renewed proof of

capacity to lead - can quit in crisis.

2. Degradation of politics by: a.) obscure experts who must run things because democratic collective action has become so complex and obscure. Thus government is no longer being run by people, ~~but~~ who lose both ways. They have less control over State because they are so complicated to be mastered, and State has more control over them because it is so complicated it must control everybody. b.) uncontrolled powers of industry and finance. Tyranny of producers, etc., who used industrial power as political weapon - has led workers to use strike as political measure also. Thus strife between capital & labor on political plane, which is a degeneration of democracy.

3. Finance, through its unlimited power to create money by the manipulation of credit, has gradually absorbed all the power, over the workers, the State, even the employers. Thus, they have eroded State from position as only dispenser of money. Central banks govern world, and banker, be he good or bad, has control of everything - democracy is forgotten and liberty loses its meaning.

4. The Press, important in political life as Parliament, is in hands of private owners, and run for profit - so that public information is subjected to private interest of firm, and also a few men in key positions are influential in molding public opinion. Press is now on international scale with telegraphic agencies, and can color world news as it will.

5. Degradation of political institutions means the transforming of

parliamentary representatives into agents for the most influential of the local interests in the particular electoral district. Thus, pressure groups, lobbies, etc. Also party budgets - conservative parties supported by big capital; socialist parties well-supplied with money from trade unions; but middle parties carrying the liberal-democratic ideas have most precarious finances, thus are open to adventures, free voters, etc., whose eventual corruption of the party causes best citizens to leave it - and there is a great shrinking away from political life on part of scrupulous citizens who could work well for liberal-democracy.

Conclusion: Situation pretty desperate looking for preservation of liberal democracy, and world drawn to experiments in totalitarian and dictatorship states, but there is also possibility for experiments in democracy and liberty. One warning, however - must keep minds open and not cry sacrifice whenever changes occur which may be contrary to tradition, but logical according to the reason or necessity of the situation. Must allow change.

II. Unanimous Organic Democracy

A. Principles of Unanimous Organic Democracy

1. That the state has no finality - i.e. is not an end in itself. Man is an end and all the values (Beauty, etc.) are but forms of ^{the} thought of man. The State is not indispensable to man - he can find other social relationships, but man is necessary for the State. Empires are but historical facts, which have flux and change. Also in regard to "missions" of nations, there are no such things - no nation can claim a finality above the men who compose it and speak for it. Nationalism is a dangerous mental disease because it reduces the spiritual status of man. It is heresy, and opposed to all religion and humanism to put a nation above a man.
2. That the citizen is for the state and the state is for the man.
In living experience, we find the individual and society existing with a polar connection. The individual cannot be understood except in a community, and this we may take as first approximation to be the State. Two conclusions: the State can justify itself only by being the servant of ^{the citizens} ~~man~~; also the State is entitled to curtail all non-essential liberties in order to preserve itself, its constitution, its workings. Thus, the State serves man in the realm of aims & values, but

must be served by the citizen in the realm of means and functions. The dictatorships have failed to see the first part of this - and this even makes them unacceptable to free minds. In the first part, of aims & values, liberty is the rule and man reigns as the master.

3. Liberty and authority. Order is the stable equilibrium between the two, and is enjoyed when a sufficient number of citizens reach the balance in their minds. Lack of order results in anarchy. Liberty is parallel to physical force of dispersion - authority = cohesion. Community, where authority is stronger than liberty is a solid; where dispersion is greater than cohesion, a gas; where there is a balance, a liquid. There is a passing from one state of matter into another and then back again according to necessity. Thus liberty is not an abstract idea, but a living tendency, fluid & unharmed, waiting to take a definite form when the stimulus occurs; and authority is the antagonistic tendency, an urge by man or men in key positions to repress liberty for the sake of certain circumstances. Thus they are two opposite tensions on same string.

4. Two claims of liberty. Problem is to determine how much of our liberty the State is entitled to curtail by its laws. Liberty of man must be as wide as possible so that his responsibility is wide and his experience rich. Thus, liberty need not justify itself; what must be justified at every

step is restriction of liberty. Liberty of thought means the right to communicate one's opinions and the right to act according to them. Man must have the liberty to obey or to break the unwritten laws governing behavior in regard to intimate passion, and political laws should abstain from interfering with that liberty. Second, by the operation of individual liberty, every man can find his level and his medium; and until a socialistic state decides by vote where every man's energies should best be directed, the best state is the one which allows him to move up & down to find his own level, so that he can find happiness.

5. Inequality. It cannot and must not be rubbed out of the surface of life. Without inequality, collective life would lose all its value as a field of experience. Necessity upholds man - without it he would fall as low as he could. If a man must hold himself up by his own energy, he is a good man. Also the individual has certain functions in a community, which imply certain powers or liberties; these functional liberties translate themselves into functional inequalities.

6. Liberty and the State. Individual liberty is also essential for the state as well as for the individual; state is most flourishing when it can secure an equilibrium between liberty and authority, as near as possible to the former. Also, culture is most important aim for

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on a faith in the nation which refuses to see the nation changed.

7. Statistic Democracy and organic democracy. First step in creation of latter would be to restrict citizenship, conceding it as a dignity only to those who were both desirous & worthy of it. To begin this way at the bottom would mean that eventually the government would be run by an aristocracy, in the sense of the people best fitted for the job. Democracies must become aristocratic if they are to survive. A minimum standard of citizenship would raise the level of public ethics and efficiency.
10. Liberty and economy. Liberty does not necessarily increase with wealth - a rich man has a greater economic weight on his mind. Liberty may come when a man reduces his material requirements - if he needs less, he has more freedom (Diogenes in his barrel). Yet again that is purely personal. Liberty is so complex that only the person concerned can tell whether he has it. Marxism rejected in the west, because opinion is that the economy of our modern state must rest on private initiative, but if this is unlimited it becomes dangerous to the state - so that the best thing is to have it co-ordinated in a general scheme of national economy, which would be under the control of informed & expert people, and not of political hands.
11. Sovereignty. The state must have the last word in matters of

collective life, must be empowered to adjust the financial and economic life of the country to that of the world in general. Only ~~not~~ curtailment of sovereignty comes in relation to international law and ethics. Also state cannot demand military service for any war outside principles of international law & ethics, and citizen can refuse to fight ^{for} any such unfair war. Conscientious objection cannot be allowed, from all practical points of view for a state, yet people whose conscience is against an unjust war could register beforehand that they would not fight in any war which the League of Nations called unjust. (This impractical too.) The citizen should have a protection against the State in the case of violation of his conscience.

12. Totalitarian State and unanimous organic democracy. Because of the growing seriousness of the class struggles, the Darwinian political system must be sacrificed and a conception related to the totalitarian state must be introduced. The masses must not be allowed to erupt, for then there will be chaos, but they must be absorbed into a state which is a ^{true} Republic, or a unanimous organic democracy, where each man can feel that he has a place and a function, where the relation between individual and State is not one of force & obedience, but rather of perfection adaptation. This is possible if the leading classes are

an aristocracy, and by inherent virtues can transform the State into a true Republic. The ideal to be found that will win the unanimity of all the citizens is not the "Nation", because that has no finality, but that of an "Organized Humanity", great and sane, sincerely dedicated to the service of all mankind. If the Republic can be created, the unanimous organic democracy will come about gradually and will bring peace & contentment instead of mental anarchy.

B. The Natural Structure of the Nation.

1. The social scheme. Nature seems to have one definite form of community more in harmony than any other with her deeper laws. There are three rough layers - the people, the middle class, the aristocracy. Da Vinci suggested three layers also - those who do not see, those who see when shown, those who see by themselves. Social function of the people is chorus-like, is spontaneous, vital, enthusiastic, capable of being led by a leader who is an aristocrat. They have no "indifferentiated significance" - their energy makes the mass. The middle class incarnates intelligence - competence and objectivity create specific virtues - it can carry out what others have decided. It is the executive and conscious element. The aristocracy is the sum total of the men who are actually entrusted with the responsibilities of leadership by virtue of their inherent superiority - the men with the gift of creative intuition, the statesmen. The statesman is a

sculptor of people, an artist, hence subjective and imbued with intellectual love for his job. He is free from the small passions of selfishness, egoism, jealousy, etc. The leaders of a nation, in a greater or lesser degree, are statesmen, and have an intuition for the aims to be achieved.

2. The man of the people. He is the peasant, lives in touch with Nature. His knowledge is life - is transmitted by stories. He knows the natural laws, and is spontaneous. Normally he is conservative - therefore he provides the mass and inertia which give a healthy nation its continuity as a historical entity. To the people also is due the peculiar flavor of each national culture.
3. The bourgeois. Clear intelligence to understand what has been discovered. He is the living consciousness of the present, as the man of the people is the depository of the past. He has culture; a technical, professional usefulness on the one hand, and a general realization of the whole social scheme on the other. He must be objective and discipline his imagination; must have a measure of intellect; must keep up a good form of living to indicate stability and ethical habits (hospitality, etc.); must be a consumer of culture, have good taste, since the bourgeois is the keeper of standards. He is intelligent, has general ideas, is open to change, but is conscious of the value of his inherited estate, although he may be liberal. Essentially conservative, however.

4. The aristocrat. Shapes his world to fit the image of his vision - animated by intellectual love. No one selects or appoints him. He feels himself called to duty, becomes his own slave. Must master himself - discipline. Subordinates person to his work - may get nothing for it. No certain relation between good service and popularity. Serenity is cardinal virtue. Self-denial is demanded.
5. The workman. Stands between peasant & bourgeois, of recent origin. Skilled workers are assimilated with bourgeois, achieve a stability, etc. "Proletarian" has no class, drifts everywhere, is not a true social type. Paradox that he should talk of "the working class" when there is none, and class struggle, when he is not part of it. There is gravitation of workman toward either bourgeois or ^{people} ~~proletarian~~, or possible remainder as a nondescript proletariat to popular countryside. The proletariat becomes the extremist, torn between classes & cultures, uprooted and hence revolutionary.
6. Other social types. Reducible to two - if predominant element is creative virtue, ^{with} ~~and~~ life and vigor, they will drift to some one of these classes; if predominant element is an inert mass without enough spirit to keep at original social level, they will fall into amorphous proletariat (not synonymous with "working class," remember).

Retailer is ^{kind of} bourgeois, performing necessary social function, yet not intelligent & cultured enough to be all-around bourgeois. His children may be. Artists gravitate toward aristocracy. Etc.

7. But must it be? Need this social scheme remain? Does not progress call for constant raising of standards? Let us justify our natural social scheme on its own merits. Correspondence between three classes and three main forms of human knowledge; imagination - memory (people), intelligence (bourgeois), and intuition (aristocrat).

8. The healthy nation. Nation exists only in people who compose it. Healthy nation has a sense of the organic nature of the community, sense of unity. Social groups are divided because things in themselves demand it, not because some particular person requires or demands it so. Political parties have more in common than in opposition. There is healthy tendency to make sense of unity of group prevail over sense of variety of its components - and sense of unity of nation over variety of groups. Secondly, healthy nation working to remain so, creates organs to preserve life; creates rigorous bourgeoisie and strong aristocracy. Thirdly, if organic sense of unity prevails there will be discipline of citizen before the social whole, awareness that nation exists only if citizen is subordinated to his task, and his task to the nation.

9. Spontaneous organization. Self-government, is not merely a political virtue, but enriches all collective life. Professional association, etc. Spirit of spont. organ. is manifestation of fact that nation's energies flows from the individuals through the several groups towards the whole national being, always in a positive and creative direction. This is healthy. World peace works in same way - with all forces within a nation creating a national whole, and then the several nations flowing toward a world understanding, with world as an integrated whole. Thus world peace, as is not understood, does not destroy patriotism, but is dependent on it.
10. The crisis. No country is healthy. There are various things wrong. France has no aristocracy, only an excellent bourgeois, so that in foreign affairs, her diplomacy is good and her policy bad. U.S., too has no aristocracy, because her bourgeois is trained for expert knowledge & craftsmanship, not for general culture & outlook - and the aristocracy develops from the latter. Her businessmen, however, are almost aristocrats. England & Switzerland most nearly healthy, but the growth of a large proletarian mind in England. Also because of growing complexity of government leadership shifts from English to Swiss type - from traditional aristocratic liberal and empirical type to scientific bourgeois democratic and expert type.

Conclusion: The health of the world community requires the growth of world patriotism; it demands that nations should purify their corrupt nationalism, and sincerely pour their energies into the wider organism which is awaiting their intelligent sacrifices to grow and become strong. Not till world patriotism triumphs over national patriotism can we expect health and peace for the world community.

c. Methods of the Unanimous ~~Or~~ Organic Democracy.

1. Recapitulation of principles (see 12. above.)
2. The Economic state would be based on efficiency, headed by competent Economic Council, which would be brain, initiator of economic legislation, centre of financial information, executor of the State; whose framework would be a number of public institutions entrusted with various services (fuel, power, banking, communications, etc.) Various details of organization, etc.
3. The Political state. Basis composed of active citizens (not everybody) as municipal electors. Municipal councillors would form electors for county legislature, who would form electors to elect Political Assembly, who would elect the Government. Objection that municipalities would be

hot beds of professional politicians, obviated by fact that electorate will be selectively purified, that municipality will attract different people once it becomes part of electoral body of wider territory, that economic questions will be referred to the Economic State. Political Assembly would discuss

Budget, would act in cooperation with Economic State.

Stability and constitutional precautions would be in order:

Gov't to be elected for 4 years; fall of Gov't would automatically mean dissolution; Budget would be voted for 2 years. Whole thing difficult, but so is present system.

4. International aspects. With economic efficiency in a State, national economies could be adjusted into an international harmonious whole, which is essential, because all the nations are affected by the same disease. Thus if all nations had Economic Councils, some common remedies could be arrived at.

5. The press. As an industry, it could be organized under the Economic State as an institution of public law. As an agency for supply of information, it has lost some importance due to other quick techniques (radio, movies). Nothing to be gained by putting it under State control. As a modern Forum, it allows various political tendencies to find expression. Future organization of press would consist of:

(a) Industrial Guild of the Press, an institution of

public law for manufacture and sale of newspapers.

(a) Agency of Information.

(c) Individual newspapers at the disposal of political parties or of special associations.



YALE COLLEGE
1937 Departmental Examination
GOVERNMENT

Part I (1st day)

Write an essay on one of the listed topics.

Time: two hours.

1. The President's Proposal to Reorganize the Supreme Court.

Discuss this from as many angles as you can: among others, constitutional history, recent constitutional law, the amending process and its uses, politics, and the theory of judicial review and the separation of powers.

Distinguish between reason and rhetoric in your analysis of arguments that have been offered, pro and con.

2. Modern Democratic Doctrine.

Varying conceptions as to the essentials of democracy, and as to the proper governmental machinery for maintaining democracy.

Recent criticisms of democracy.

3. A Constitution for the Irish Free State.

When the Constitution was drawn up, fifteen years ago, a Canadian constitutional specialist was called in to assist. Suppose that this year you, as an expert in comparative government, had been asked to sit upon an Advisory Committee engaged in making the preliminary draft of the Constitution.

Explain with care the chief items of advice you would tender, and the arguments (both practical and theoretical) you would employ to convince your colleagues.

Let it be understood that among the items of dispute among members of the committee would be the following:

The problem of social, as well as civil and political, rights, and methods of guaranteeing these;

The nature of the franchise, with special reference to the problem of multiple parties and the minority vote;

The relationship of Executive to both Legislature and Judiciary;

The relationship of government to economic life;

The Second-Chamber problem.

4. Soviet Russia.

What elements of continuity prevail as between the political institutions of Tsarist and Soviet Russia?

Correlate the internal economic and political development of Soviet Russia with the sweeping reorientation (in 1933) of Soviet foreign policy.

Discuss the significance of "socialist inequality" in reference to the ideal of a classless society.

5. Assume that a bill has been presented to Congress which will prohibit the participation of the United States in any conference called by the League of Nations.

The State Department, wishing to oppose the bill, asks you, as a member

of the staff, to write a memorandum. This memorandum should cover the following points:

- (a) An account of the purpose of the most important League conferences since 1919, showing to what extent they have been useful;
- (b) The contributions of the United States to the work of these conferences;
- (c) The question as to whether the traditional foreign policy of the United States stands in the way of future participation in League conferences.

6. The Present Status of the British Dominions.

Discuss in detail their relationships with:

- (a) The British Empire;
- (b) Great Britain;
- (c) Each other;
- (d) Other nations of the world;
- (e) The League of Nations.

Part II (2nd day)

Write on three topics (about three-quarters of an hour to each)

1. The federal principle in the United States.

"While the forms of government remain in broad outline as they were cast in the eighteenth century, there have been shifts in the balance of power between the three great levels on which public affairs are conducted in this country, municipal, state, and federal."

What have been these shifts and why have they occurred?

Project the present trends into the emerging future.

Discuss the utility of the federal principle in contemporary American government.

2. Summarize judicial doctrine (in the U.S.) in regard to the "spending power": showing what uses have been made of it and how it affects the principles of judicial supremacy and of "dual government".

3. Proposals for minority or proportional representation, and the arguments for or against the proposals.

4. Sweden's "Middle Way".

What factors in the Swedish political scene appear to have contributed most to the success of the policy of gradualist transition?

What contribution does Swedish experience with state monopoly make to the solution of the world-wide problem of adjusting individual initiative to collective self-interest?

5. Socialism (or communism), fascism, and the "New Deal" as "class" movements or programs.

6. The meaning of "liberty" in the American Constitution.

7. A recent article in a political journal contains the following assertion:

"The dominant motif or political endeavour today is no longer the search for constitutional guarantees, but rather the quest for social and economic security. Where formerly we talked of individual independence we now talk of 'co-operation' and 'integration'".

Comment on this observation in the light of recent experiences in any one of the European countries in which you are interested.

8. Contrast the British Commonwealth of Nations and the League of Nations as international organizations.
9. Has the establishment of dictatorships in Italy and Germany changed the foreign policy of these states? In what way? Why?



Writing in 1827 "On the Rise, Progress, and Present State of Public Opinion in Great Britain and Other Parts of the World," a certain Mr. W.A. Mackinnon, F.R.S., made the following observation in regard to the nature of public opinion, which, when compared to the remarks made by a certain Mr. C.H. Driver, B.A., M.A., lecturing in 1937, serve admirably to show the nice distinction between the attitude then and that prevalent now toward this fascinating subject. Said Mr. Mackinnon: "Public Opinion may be said to be, that sentiment on any given subject which is entertained by the best informed, most intelligent, and most moral persons in the community. . . . No more of these requisites are to be found in the middle class of society, as well as in the upper, it follows that the power of public opinion depends in a great measure on the proportion that the upper and middle class of society bear to the lower, or on the quantity of intelligence and wealth that exists in a community." Implied Mr. Mackinnon: What the "ignorant" masses are capable of is simply "public clamor", and in a civilized government, where intelligent public opinion influences the course of the government (the thesis of his book is that it does), this clamor is not to be regarded. Yet Mr. Mackinnon ^{was} a liberal, liked to see the growth of liberty, so he conceded the fact that as facility of communication, general education, etc. increased the number of well-informed people in the land, so would the strength of public opinion be augmented. It was as simple as that, the

requisites for a public opinion being ^{simply} wealth and information, and just as simply these two things ~~not~~ dictated to and controlled the government.

Said Mr. Driver: Society is complex. "Europe used to live so that the technique of one generation was adopted from that of the previous one and passed on to the following one." That is not true any longer - it cannot be true in a shifting world. "The assumption that we must live by our fathers should be denied."

There are five levels of society, five cosmic acts - and public opinion must be analyzed with these always in the background.

Also there are many more requisites for the formation of a public opinion - there ~~are~~ ^{is} a whole series of factors which must be accounted for - and these factors apply to the base of the pyramid as well as the ^{the masses too must be considered.} top.

Implied Mr. Driver:

This new attitude toward public opinion echoes the new value being placed on the investigation of the psychology of society, seems to ~~show~~ ^{indicate} that a new accredited social science may arise, certainly indicates that the subject is complex enough to warrant severe analysis and careful speculation on the part of many workers. It is not regarded as being so simple ~~any~~ or obvious any longer.

What are we to say to this? ~~Many~~ Many a layman would see a contradiction in terms here. Even though we may have a more complicated world ^{to cope with} ~~on our hands now~~

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than ~~we~~^{they} had then, still we are told there are more means at our disposal today for investigating our world than they had in proportion for investigating theirs. Our task ~~today~~ should be much simpler. The best answer to this is to go back 100 or 150 years to see what ideas existed, together with what the opinion was in regard to those ideas and institutions - and then to summarize in like manner the situation today. Perhaps an evaluation can be reached, perhaps not - at any rate, that is the best technique with which to start.

Man, in the 18th C. was not a political animal, we are told by Mr. Leonard Woolf in his "After the Deluge". This was particularly true in England, where, to be a good Tory, a man needed "nothing in his head but passionate interest in the royal family and respect for the squire." The privileged classes accepted this passivity and lack of political thought or action gladly, since it kept secure for them the ancient heritages. In France, the philosophers and agitating thinkers stirred up a bit more trouble, which may be the reason why revolution occurred there in 1789. In the subsequent struggle for the advancement of democracy, the people came to have a reasoned, conscious political belief and there was a positive desire for the propagation of the new faith, but up ~~to~~ to the revolution there was only a very gradual development of a political consciousness.

Woolf holds the same thesis as MacIntyre, merely

reaching it in modern phraseology by stating that, of the
 two co-existent facts, a communal psychology and a social
 matrix, the former shapes and changes the latter in their
 inter-play. The social matrix at ~~the~~ prior to the time of the
 revolution in France was one of an aristocratic society, with
 all the power concentrated in the hands of the monarchy and the
 nobles. This situation ~~was~~ existed on the basis of inherited
 privilege, with estates, taxing power, ~~except~~ civil and criminal
 judicial control all being handed down along hereditary
 lines within the same group. The abuses of these privileges
 we know well - the corruption and avarice, the extravagance
 and inefficiency, with the consequent misery which prevailed among the
 unprivileged, have been brought out in many works. The words of
 the Louis' are familiar. In England similar conditions, ~~also~~ to
 a lesser degree, perhaps, were to be found in the buying of seats
 in the House, ^{rather bribes, and practically feudal duties from the farmers working on} land taxes ~~on~~ the great estates owned by the aristocracy
 and gentry, ^{and other conditions in the rapidly-growing industry of the country.} There were no ~~idea~~ more ideas of equality and
 democracy in England before 1789 than there were in
 France.

For many years the communal psychology of France
 had been slowly changing in regard to this system of
 inherited privilege. All the absolutism and incompetence of
 the monarchy which lead to the Revolution, would ~~not~~ not have

been enough to ^{instigate} ~~suffice~~ a far-reaching change, but might merely have resulted in a passionate outburst which could have been suppressed by force and would have worn itself out by its own frenzy in a short while, ^{had there not been} the ^{decisive} fact that along with the ^{negative} resentment against the absolutism, ^{existed} ~~was~~ the ^{positive} ~~possessive~~ possession of positive political ideas for the setting up of a new system; ~~was the~~ ^{decisive} inculcated by such men as Voltaire and Rousseau, preached by Montesquieu and the Encyclopedists, debated by the philosophers for many years. "The influence of the philosophers upon the course of the whole of the 18th cent. was real and decisive: they brought about the French Revolution."

In England the same thing was happening - except that the almost revolutionary mob of 1780 was not directed by any positive political creed. The riots of 1768 over the case of Wilkes, who was held to have been illegally imprisoned; those in 1771 over the freedom of the press; and the most famous Gordon Riots of 1780 simply show that the only way the unpriileged of the time could express themselves against some distasteful political measure was by physical violence. All three of these outbreaks were undirected, and they achieved their purpose, yet caused no revolutionary change. Yet the beginning of the change in communal psychology came after 1780, for political disturbances henceforth were directed to affect the social matrix, and as in the case of Chartism, they were

consciously planned.

And so with the slogan "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," the ^{structure of society} ~~social matrix~~ was changed, violently and abruptly, and democracy came into being in France. It suffered through a Reign of Terror and was not always crystal-clear to the man whose taxes still went on; but the theory of ~~democracy~~ was present in that early document, the Declaration of the Rights of Man, which guaranteed along with political democracy, that other freedom which was so important to a people ~~accustomed~~ living under the menace of the lettres de cachet, namely, civil liberty. Connected with the new idea of democracy were the three ultimas: happiness, equality, and liberty, which were in themselves revolutionary. The idea that every person had a right to be happy was an unaccustomed one; while the concept of political individuality, with each man treated as a unit and not a member of a certain class, was unifying; and finally the ability to shape one's life without interference or dictation except from one's own personality, made each man feel supreme. (This conception of democratic liberty has changed now, of course. Government regulation seems to be the thing.)

At the risk of over-simplifying the whole process for the sake of proving my point, I must say that it is perfectly clear and looks profoundly simple to me. My impression of the matter is that there was discontent

with the social structure as it had existed for many years, there
 were ideas proposed for the establishment of a new structure, these
 were taken and carried out. ^{At} Public opinion was not beset by
 a number of alternative techniques for arriving at the Utopia, it was
 not complicated; it was simply allowed to operate against the old
 structure of a privileged society with one set of ideas which was
 given it by men who themselves saw only one clear road
 through the problem. When the shock of collision occurred in 1789
 public opinion was stronger than the existing system and it
 conquered. I do not feel that this is the case today,
 for I, personally, as a young man who must formulate some
 ideas to carry me through life in this world, am faced with
 a bewildering complexity of public opinions, with super-salesmen
 for each trying to sell me their respective codes. Perhaps this
 is not so, since we are told that a situation is much clearer
 when viewed from perspective than when trying to be understood
 from within. The young man of 1780 may have felt just as mixed
 up as I do, and the young man of ¹⁹³⁸~~1930~~ may look back
 at 1938 and remark what a simple set-up existed then
 compared to what he has to face. But that begins to get
 us into the realm of relatives, where no categorical statements
 can be made. Let us return to the two points 1789 and
 1938, ¹⁵⁰~~149~~ years apart, and, having examined one, let us

not see whether the other is not infinitely more complex in its possibilities, ramifications, intricacies, and temptations. It is my personal belief that this is the case.

To begin with, man today is as politically conscious as he has ever been, not excluding that magnificent period in the history of Greece when, by the military ~~dictatorship~~ authoritarianism ranged alongside of the tyranny and the democracy. It is significant to me that Mr. Kennedy, our newly appointed Ambassador to the Court of St. James would have said that the average American has no interest in foreign affairs - it is significant and incomprehensible. Mr. Kennedy said he had a lot to learn about his new job and I think he is right. His remark notwithstanding, however, there is no one who can deprecate the vast amount of political discussion and action, speculation and endeavor, theory and practice which is extant in the present world, from the highest universities to the man on the street corner. The man on the street cannot understand what comes from the universities - he would not grasp the five levels which constitute the complex nature of society, but he feels somehow that things were a lot simpler and easier in the old days; and that there has been a gradual development up to the present terrifying state of civilization, which he feels is almost getting too big to control and is doomed to crash up soon after the next war.

He sees around him many governments experimenting with many social machines or "set-ups", as he calls them. He labels them "Bolshevik" or "Fascist" or "Democratic" in an attempt to be ~~able~~ ^{able} to understand them when they are neatly tagged and simplified, for he need no longer envisage the whole when he can have a picture of the dominant characteristic through a convenient name. He sees the beginning of a new era - one which Oswald Spengler called calls as magnificent and precedent-shattering, as broad and historically significant as any which Caesar or Napoleon inaugurated - he sees the last great era ~~he~~ presaging the "Decline of the West". He does not know himself what he wants or what he should choose.

In a very penetrating book, "Guide to Modern Thought," Mr. C.E.M. Joach begins to talk to us in the new terms, and presents his theories of life and matter. Let us first recall the fact that man's thinking is done in terms of a dominant conception of the universe - if he is a Cartesian, his interpretations will be of one sort, etc. When the mechanical view of an ordered society, which was the idea prevalent ⁱⁿ 1789, ~~and~~ gave way to the more fluctuating ~~and~~ organic theory of biological creatures constantly engaged in a struggle, we ^{assumed} ~~thought~~ that the former had been

rejected for good along the path of progressive ~~thought~~ thinking, and we felt (in the 19th and early 20th century) that we had again achieved a fundamentally simple basis since there was only one system. The progress of the 19th century capitalism and materialism, freezing the ideals of 1789, shows that there were few complexities to bother anyone.

Yet the conflict between the two "universes" was not over, and we find back with us the old mechanism in a new form, known as Behaviorism. The 19th cent. view is shelved, and conditioned reflexes are substituted. This present-day school of psychology ^{assumes} holds that there is no such thing as a mind, and ^{has} interpreted behavior, even ~~than~~ the process of thinking, without any reference to a mind. ^{It} ~~They~~ advocates that human beings are "all body and only body". Thinking, which is always regarded as a mental activity, and hence should prove most embarrassing to the Behaviorists, is described by them as silent talking, developed from the child's mutterings to the point of highly complicated ^{and} processes, involving verbal accompaniment under the breath. Joad rejects this theory, since if the Behaviorist assumption is correct, then the theory itself is nothing but a particular body condition of the Behaviorists, and a rival psychologist's idea is a reflection of his body condition - thus, who can say which is true? It becomes a matter of the "various

blood pressures of the theorists." Yet ^{the theory} it does exist, and has followers and great leaders (Pavlov, who started it with his dogs), and must be recognized.

There is introduced on the scene a new element, a new attitude toward the universe, and again there is conflict with the mechanist-Behaviorist attitude. In the science of physics there has been a trend away from the materialism of the last century; where the atom was the "bed-rock of reality", its movements determined by mechanics and inevitable laws, its phenomena producing various combinations accounting for our entire existence. This is too hard, too real, and the physicist rejects this, - thinking rather in a more ideal, spiritual fashion.

(Insert pg. 11a on physics)

This spiritualism can be seen in the conclusions reached by modern physics, which are not ~~Insert 11a~~ about real things but about abstracted aspects of them. Thus scientific descriptions of qualities which are common in our everyday world, such as heat, light, etc., consist of analyses ~~the~~ devoid of the qualities themselves. Heat is described as a certain kinetic energy, not in terms of degrees; and color is composed of wave lengths, not of redness or greenness. The point is that ^{the physicist} ~~he~~ cannot measure or classify or otherwise scientifically treat with "red" as he can with a wave length, so he substitutes the latter for the former. In other words, physics "deals with a closed world

The boundaries of which are those quantitative and measurable aspects of things which the physicist has selected as being alone amenable to treatment by his methods.

The important point then follows - namely, that these abstracted aspects are themselves not objectively real things, but simply symbols which have significance only in relation to each other, not in relation to reality. The complicated scientific definitions, on the theory of relativity, for example, which are all in numbers and signs, formulae and Greek letters, are like the house that Jack built, suggests Mr. Joad, with ^{their} ~~its~~ various parts defined purely in terms of each other and not in terms of reality.

What answer can the physicist have to the natural question which the layman asks. What does it all mean? The scientist will tell you that he is indifferent to that. If he can create a set of equations to satisfy a certain situation of atoms, he does not care what these atoms really form in a concrete sense. Yet we would like to know what lies behind the symbolism and if the science of physics does not tell us, then the science of metaphysics begins to speculate, and we arrive at the idealist implications of the whole thing.

It has been interpreted that the reality behind the symbolism is mental or spiritual, and the logic of this position runs as follows: if you define matter as something which a man

knows, then it exists only in so far as the mind knows it, and here is the spiritual view of the universe, which says that "mind is primary and matter merely an aspect or projection of mind's activity." ¶ Without going further into detail, it can be said that there is a similar school of thought in the biological world, slightly modified, of course, to meet the different terms of that science. But Bergson, the great author of "Creative Evolution," held that there was "a single all-pervasive vital stream" in the strength of which the whole universe ran. This élan vital was conceived of as an instinctive and intuitive consciousness, with constant flux and change (this was to account for evolution), with matter as an illusion. Bergson says that matter is created by the intellect, and the intellect is something evolved out of that fundamental force, the consciousness, for purely practical purposes, to enable man to get along in the world. This account of matter is open to question, yet the idealist, spiritual strain of the whole argument is apparent, and runs along the same ~~line~~ ^{trend} in which the investigation of physics ~~was~~ was conducted.

Thus, where there was once the struggle between the mechanist and organic views, there has now come to be a struggle between the revived mechanism (to be found in Behaviorist and psycho-analytic psychology) and

The new idealism (which contains some of the old organic in the biological idealism and a fresh injection of physical idealism). It is ~~not~~ would be presumptuous for me to state which will come to be the dominant view, yet I feel somehow (perhaps it is my youthful naivete and optimism) that it is not right to explain man and his position in the world purely in terms of conditioned reflexes and subconscious desires. To me there is more to him than that - I am a romantic idealist. I am in love - and there must be a deeper reason for existence.

At any rate, there is this whole problem, whichever side a man chooses to take, to occupy people's minds; there is a series of external factors, such as historical past, social position, economic condition and political status, to influence a man in a certain direction; there is the tremendous pace and complexity of 20th century civilization to wear on his nerves and bewilder him. The attitudes and public opinions of today ~~show that~~ seem to me to show, as was already stated above, that man does not know exactly what he does want, is not sure exactly what is best to strive for. This ~~is~~ condition is due to the ~~so~~ large and changing number of things influencing him, as we tried to show in the latter part of this paper, as compared to the simplicity and singleness of purpose with which the attitude of public opinion was directed in perhaps 150 years

ago, with which the first part of this paper was concerned.

That, to me, is the fundamental and glaring difference between the state of public opinion now and in 1789, and if, as we are told, civilization is a result of ~~the~~ a certain communal psychology (or public opinion) operating in a certain social matrix, then it becomes obvious ^{and why} how ~~our~~ civilization today is disordered and must be ~~straightened~~ out.

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זכר אברהם יעקב וישראל

2

"Order in England", by the popular Sir Philip Gibbs, contains many illuminating remarks on the influence, in the formation of public opinion, of many of the factors which are offered by Mr. Driver as determinants and which become increasingly valid to me as my reading extends. As a matter of fact, Sir Philip offers illuminating remarks on so many aspects of English life, that practically any paper in England could be appropriately initiated by a quotation from him. What he says in regard to ^{the} political affiliations of the English people is pertinent to us in the investigation which this paper is conducting; namely, the determining forces in contemporary British political loyalties. His ^{generalisation} ~~words~~: "The English people, by traditional temper and character, are essentially and instinctively neither Right nor Left but in the liberal center." He suggests that beyond the pale of London, one can find practically no ~~extremism~~ extremism in the land.

Of course, there are different parties in the country, and there is a conflict of thought which causes some men to be loyal to one group, and other men to remain attached to ~~some~~ an alternative group. Parties developed from a split in opinion over exactly what the power of the King should be, and this constitutional struggle came to ~~be~~ have associated with it the religious problem, so there were at

least two bases on which the schism grew. This gradual separation of attitudes both for and against the king, started by the growth of resentment against the ^{clerk} Stuarts for having attempted to supersede Parliament, culminated in the Civil War of 1642, which was the first open break, and which opened up a period of Parliamentarianism after the execution of Charles I. The religious sympathies of the followers of the king came to be viewed with his religious sympathies, and James I, who had been brought up as a Scotch Presbyterian and hated it, was a Church of England man. Also, it ~~got~~ fits in neatly, that the ~~most~~ anti-court groups, moving from the provinces, and suspicious of the gold and knivel of Charles I's reign, came to be Evangelical in spirit - so that the cleavage began to be clearly discernible. The conservative Tories, who stood by the king and the Church of England, were opposed by the Whigs, who were anti-court, non-conformist Evangelicals.

The Whigs were not exactly identified as liberal, and as such socially antithetical to the conservatives, until economic facts suffered a cleavage which conformed with the religious and monarchic differences. From 1714, when the Whigs got into power after the defeat of Bolingbroke, they had the support of the banking, mercantile and industrial interests, while the landed aristocracy and the farmers were conservative. The small landowners, ^{as well as the large ones,} wanted no change, while in the period from 1830 onward, there was much

social reform, starting with the first Bill of 1832 under
 Whig liberal domination. In the mid-Victorian era of
 complacency and prosperity the Whigs flourished and were
 solidly in power until 1880 or so.

There must now be understood the vital
 key point, without a knowledge of which it is almost
 impossible to understand subsequent events - that is, how
 the liberals declined and the opposition to the conservatives
 came to be occupied by the Labor party. The Tories began
 to be insulated with the idea of social reform, with such men
 as Disraeli writing social novels, and even though he was a Whig,
 still his influence as a great figure was strong. Again, the young
 England sentiment of a group of university aristocrats was indicative.
 But the main thing, the key point is that the fact that
 the conservatives were the anti-laissez-faire party. The Tories
~~had never~~ could not reconcile their rigid pyramid structure with
 the individualism of the Whig-liberals. Thus they could not accept
 the principles of capitalism which operated under the first Benthamite
 theory of laissez-faire, since that would mean the eventual
 extinction of the landed gentry in favor of the industrial class.
 There was ~~with this point~~ arising at this same time a
 proletarian feeling, which manifested itself in cooperative movements,
 trade union movements, an underground press, all the loose ends of

which were tied together in 1900 in the formation of the Labor Party.

This ^{gradual} ~~turned~~, then, in the attitude of the Conservatives, which brought them around to the idea of governmental regulation or interference, (illogical as it might seem to us in America), together with their growing social consciousness - and the rise of the labor group to oppose them with demands for complete collectivization, slowly obviated the necessity for a declining liberal group. There were, of course, other reasons for the decadence of the Whig-Liberals, but let us ~~only~~ ^{only} concern ourselves with this one aspect of the problem. If we understand, ~~then~~ now, how the Conservatives came to supplant the liberals as the alternative to socialism, we can proceed to sketch the factors which keep British people today loyal to one party or the other.

R. L. Buell, writing on England in "Democratic Nations of Europe", offers a quotation from Edward Marjoribanks' "Life of Sir Edward Carson" which can stand ~~forth~~ as a brief and lucid exposition of the Conservative position; namely: "There are, perhaps, two main tenets, the protection of property and the maintenance of the British Empire under the Crown, for which modern English conservatism stands." The first tenet can be ~~not~~ found to be supported in innumerable books which suggest love of the land as a major English trait. In his "The National Character", Arthur Bryant

says: "The love of the land and its security, is the secret of the English character." His thesis is that the fundamental confidence which every Englishman feels in himself and which enables him to get through severe crises with little emotional upset comes in part out of his intense "at-oneness" with his environment. Mr. Chamberlain in his "England the Unknown Isle"

substantiates this by stating that "the life of a country gentleman is what every Englishman dreams of and consciously or unconsciously takes as his model." With the aristocracy residing on the land, "the country is in fact a vast park, disfigured here and there by blotches in the shape of urban and industrial areas, and with separate smaller and still better-kept parts inside it."

^{big landowners and the small ones, the noblemen and the farmer}
The ~~Conservatives~~ want to protect this land and property which they love so much, therefore they are Conservatives.

The second tenet which finds supporters and ^{attracts} ~~draws~~ loyalties is the maintenance of the Empire under the Crown, and as such, draws those men who are tinged with nationalism and imperialism. "The Faith of an Englishman" by Sir Edward Grey contains many remarks along this line, of which the following is typical: "The safeguarding and developing of a Commonwealth dedicated to the principle of self-government, which comprises a quarter of the human race, seems to me incomparably more important than the prevention of war in all

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"The English are an extremely sound, tough and vital people, and their Empire is not tied to any formula; even if the end of colonial dominion is bound to come some day, there are other possibilities: a union of the mother country with the 'white' Dominions of Canada, Australia, and South Africa, a close combination with the U.S., even a political union of all the countries of Anglo-Saxon culture, are all possibilities for the political future of Great Britain.

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parts of the earth." In other words, Empire ^{comes} before collective security. ~~Now~~ Cohen-Paterson feels that even if one type of empire crumbles, the British will form another kind, perhaps on a different basis, but form another one they will. (Imagist CP 140).

With this as a basis, it should be fair to say which people would be influenced by these things to place their loyalty in the Conservative party. These are the landowners, and the big bankers and industrialists, whose loyalty had been switched when the Conservatives came to take over the position of the Whig-liberals, and who are interested in the Empire and the maintenance of order & stability for their continued existence & success. (Of course, there are variations within this party as within any other.) It is a capitalistic party, which wishes to retain private ownership of industry and agriculture, while willing to make certain concessions, and an aristocratic party, whose members believe that there is a natural difference between ~~some~~ men, so that, while political equality in the form of democracy is conceded, yet economic equality can never be achieved, nor is it desirable, even though attempts should be made to ameliorate the position of the very poor.

→ The extreme right Conservatives still believe in laissez-faire (except for the use of tariffs by the government) and have never been won over from that point. It is they too

This group
would
include all the
old dis-franchised
 Tories who still
lived in the
period of Crime
and Boer wars.

who would like to give the House of Lords a permanent
veto over any future labor ~~legislation~~ party legislation. On the

~~the~~ ^{opposite} side are the left Conservatives, between whom and the
labor party, it is very difficult to find any great difference.

They joke that the ~~the~~ left Conservatives would welcome socialism
if only they could bring it about under their name. Actually, these
Conservatives accept reorganization of the whole set-up under state
control, but they do not wish the extinction of the capitalist,
preferring to ~~name~~ ^{designate} their system as state capitalism, and this is
their only virtual distinction from the ^{would} socialists. To this

group would belong those people desirous of advanced social reform,
yet unconvinced of the good of a radical change in the form of
government. This group is bringing the whole Conservative party over
to its position, than the right group is able to accomplish in regard
to its position, as witness the large amount of social legislation
passed by the Conservative ~~government~~ ministers.

The Labor Party is the second great party in England
today. Roughly, we can go back to 1815 to find the beginnings
of a proletarian sentiment arising out of such popular movements
as ^{the huddists} Chartistism, the Ten Hour Bill Movement, etc. Many historians of
the British labor movement have outlined the post-Waterloo
developments along the following broad terms: There was a rapid
spread of socialist doctrine among the workers, which gradually caused

them to think in terms of and to accept general collectivist principles. In the face of this a new conservatism developed, as explained above, else the conservative party would eventually have perished. With the decline of the liberal party, there only needed to be defined the exact position of the labor party, which became obvious after the failure of the General Strike of 1926 caused the extremists to be viewed with disfavor. This sort of review gives ^{the} no picture of what actually happened, ^{as a matter of fact,} because it is not dynamic, merely a table of events. The famous names and groups, all of which contributed to the swelling stream, are what makes the story vital and alive. Hyndman and Morris, Keir Hardie and Blatchford, the Fabian Society and the T.U.C. - all these things constitute the true development of what we know as the Labor Party. At any rate, all the ~~results~~ products of these men, in the form of little groups and unions as well as in the ideological form, were gathered under the Labor Representative Council, which federated them, and later became the Labor Party, with the T.U.C. as the annual executive cabinet. As soon as unionism was allowed to exist unpersecuted, the T.U.C. increased by leaps and the Party went with it.

The T.U.C. is the dominant factor in the labor party, and hence the loyal supporters of the Party are all the union men: England is about as strongly and solidly unionized as

any country in the world today. This group represents the belief that parliamentary action is the best method by which to achieve its desired ends, repudiating the technique of violence or direct action. Here again can be seen the innate characteristic of no extremism - even though the political and economic program is to the left, still there is moderation. The miners' union is the most radical one in the whole T.U.C. and it was in sympathy for their strike in 1926 that the General Strike was called, but after 10 days, the T.U.C. capitulated unconditionally and swung back to moderation. The miners went back to work bitter and disillusioned, and it is from them that there is the most danger of a leftist coup in the T.U.C. Collective security based on the League of Nations ideal, public ownership of the key industries, and increased social legislation is the program of the ~~Labour~~ ~~and the~~ Labour Party - and in these we can see that the differences from the Conservative Party are not great. One begins to think that a dock-hand would be a member of the left conservatives, and a social-minded peer a member of the Labour Party - if only position and tradition did not keep them where they are. When we examine below the constituency of the Liberal Party, the strong factors which tradition and habit play in determining a man's political loyalty will again become evident.

Before leaving the Labour Party, we must mention

the Socialist League, which was a doctrinaire, extreme left group in the Labor Party, and ~~was~~ abolished shortly after its birth.

After 1931, when the Party was demoralized and split, without any great leaders, a group of intellectuals in the party attempted to form some sort of popular front to carry out their program by decree. Lloyd George's Council of Action in 1935 was almost the same thing as the ~~the~~ Socialist League, was representative of the same attempt and device.

~~This~~ The League has been abolished by the Party, and the T.U.C. rules dominant, with the loyalty of its followers as well as some intellectuals who are not communists and some men of action who hope someday to invite the Labor Party to strike again.

The liberals have practically disappeared as a party.

Sir Philip Gibbs relates a personal anecdote, indicating young contemporary opinion about the liberals. In a conversation with a young ^{man} fellow about communism, Gibbs disagreed profoundly with him. "It's quite all right," the young fellow said in a kind way. "You can't help it. You're one of the old liberals, of course. You belong to that ~~era~~ era. I belonged, in his mind, to the damned dead past."

The great age of liberal domination was from the election of 1906, which brought Asquith in, until the Great War. This liberalism carried out the implications of the second Benthamite theory, with several Acts, including one for old age Pension and one for National

Insurance. Lloyd George threw fear into Tory England with his "rob the rich" threat. But gradually the opposition which they created had some effect, and when ~~they~~ Asquith was forced out of the second coalition in 1916 by Lloyd George, the latter had to form his third coalition in 1918 as a Conservative one. The next great chance for the Liberals was in the support which they offered the Labor government of 1924. Yet the Liberals loathed the Labor government and wouldn't legislate on many things, such as slum clearance, because the Liberals also wanted those things.

The point is that the need for a Liberal Party, as such, had passed. Once they started the second Benthamite principle of collectivism and state control and regulation, their function was finished, since it was taken over by both the Labor and Conservative Parties. This was a middle-class party, with no workers, nor with ^{very} many aristocrats, except in its early days. It held to it the bourgeois, whose advantage and salvation always reside in a Liberal Party, and it held those men who were advanced in their day, but who are now left behind. In this party does the traditional factor operate best as a determining force in keeping a man's loyalty to it. Most men ^{in the party} today are Liberals because their fathers were.

On the fringe of the British political stage

stand those extremists and hence small parties, the communists and the fascists. The former exist as a Party, put up candidates, have a program, and possess loyal supporters who believe firmly and strongly in their creed, else they would compromise it, and join some more popular group. The things which keep a man in the Communist Party are rigid beliefs, based on an intellectual as well as emotional evaluation - the Communist is convinced his way is the best and he thinks of the Utopia in concrete terms, modelled perhaps after Russia and perhaps after some other conception.

The Fascists present a more fluid situation for men have joined and receded from the B.U.F., Mosley's organization, in large numbers. Here again, however, the creed is too extreme to ~~un~~ succeed. Sir Oswald Mosley was a millionaire, who had left the Conservative party to join labor, and ^{he got} an office in MacDonald's 1929 ministry, and thus came to be ~~hated~~ ^{disliked} by the labor people, just because he was connected with MacDonald who was hated as a traitor. Disgusted with the inaction of the ministry, tired of the do-nothing policy, he founded his own British Union of Fascists with a ^{program} of direct action. His models were Hitler & Mussolini, and he adopted their military technique as well as anti-Semitism and other features.

His peak was from 1931-33, at the height of the

depression, and ~~his~~ loyalty to the B.U.F. came from the large number of unemployed who were ground down under the distressing economic conditions. Youths were attracted, since they got food and shelter and clothing, mostly paid for by Mosley himself out of his personal fortune, and an opportunity to express their resentment. Industrialists, too, who were dissatisfied with a reduction of profits because of the social reform ~~policy~~ policies of labor & Conservative elites, joined ~~to~~ ^{with} him, among them being Lord Ruffield, automobile manufacturer. Support came from Lord Rothermere and his chain of papers which did much to give publicity to the movement.

After 1933, when the peak of perhaps 10000 membership was reached, the party fell rapidly for ^{the same} several reasons which had ~~caused~~ ^{contributed to} its growth, showing that the whole thing was only a temporary affair, based on economic fluctuation, and not really ^{capable of gathering} ~~any~~ ^{lasting} permanent loyalty. With the improvement in the economic condition of England from 1934 onward, the youths went back to their jobs, the industrialists to their profits. Lords Rothermere & Ruffield withdrew because of the anti-semitic plank in the platform, and the aspect of violence which Mosley sanctioned led to a general note of disapproval. Dean Inge lists as one of the characteristics of the British people, their "hatred of cruelty, while Gibbs says again that "the English people are civilized, tolerant, hate brutality."

This investigation of the determining forces in contemporary British political loyalties seems to me to have brought out one thing clear above all else. I began this paper with a quotation to the effect that the English are essentially neither to the Right nor left, and I wish to conclude by stating that "moderation in all things" still seems to be the rule. Both the Conservative party, which is progressing toward the left, and the Labor Party, which is not very much farther over, both seem to realize this and have capitalized on it to great advantage. No extremism seems to be the guiding light for both sides - the right-wing Conservatives, ~~and the~~ on the one hand, and the Socialist League on the other do not flourish. What shall the people who say that the true Marxist revolution will take place in Britain first, answer in the face of the above conclusion? It does not appear that they are right, and the predominant opinion is that English political parties will be able to supply, for a long time, any concessions which shall be necessary to preserve their existence in the face of renewed demands, since their moderation will allow them to compromise.

1

The struggle in the ~~world~~ ~~under~~ world today between capital & labor, (as the two sides are so conveniently categorized) with all its resulting implications, is talked about by the various union & industrial leaders without really being understood except in its more superficial manifestations, ~~is~~ ^{can} seen as clearly, perhaps, by Phyllis Bentley as by anyone else - and can be observed ~~with~~ ^{under} a sympathetic treatment in her novel "Inheritance". The struggle can be crystallized for us upon an ~~investigation~~ ^{investigation} of the two conceptions of the universe which are operating in men's thoughts & influencing their activities of the ~~past~~ present time. We are told that men do their thinking in terms of a dominant picture of the universe, and we are also told that today there are at variance two conceptions, an old and a new. One ~~must~~ ^{might} conquer, ~~might~~ ^{might} subsume, ~~might~~ ^{might} supersede the other, but there must only be one - the Cartesian & the Darwinian principles cannot be reconciled. ~~Let us~~ ^{We will} ~~examine~~ ^{examine eventually} some incidents, some major plot movements in "Inheritance" to see this conflict in operation - ^{we could} ~~the~~ ^{examine major} ~~conflict~~ ^{plot} ~~movements~~ ^{movements} between General Motors and the CIO ~~could be~~ ^{examined} to the same advantage. ~~But first an insight into the two universe-pictures will~~ ^{conflict} ~~clarify the main lines of the~~ ^{clarify} ~~plot~~ ^{plot}

There exists on the one hand a notion that the world runs in a well-oiled groove, regulated by smooth machinery, controlled by determinate rules of being

of arbitration. ~~This brief outline of the basis of the conflict might~~ ⁴ Included under the same basis of conflict, outlined so briefly, might be said to be the whole question of the status quo and the revisionist power of the world - the former intent on keeping ~~things~~ things running on the smooth mechanical plan which is to their advantage, while the latter have for change, threatening, bargaining, ^{arming} ~~arming~~, screaming for an opportunity to survive along with the others. It would not be begging the question, the writer feels, to include ^{also} the conflict between fascism and democracy (or eventually ^{but} communism), placing the former (at the risk of being dogmatic) as ^{a solidified} ~~a~~ mechanistic type of government and the latter as a fluid, organic system. Thus France becomes at once mechanistic and organic - Germany is at the same time Darwinian and Cartesian. It is a vicious circle, and becomes increasingly apparent as a cause of constant friction. If the ^{entire} world could only be gotten to think in the same terms, how much easier the problem of peace & harmony would become.

There are ^{three} ~~two~~ incidents, ^{in particular} in "Inheritance"

Oosterites

where this ~~to~~ struggle of two universes is thrown sharply into relief - namely, ^{the mystery of the Oosterites} ~~the~~ Plug Riots, and the large Strike. The Riot was not of a vast, history-making nature -

was propagated simply by a group of men with a deep sense of economic grievance, men who were asking for concessions from their employers which would be despised today as still leaving the workers in barbaric conditions.

The great protest started by Richard Dastler and culminating in a large meeting which agitated for the Ten Hour Bill was just another case of the same

thing - a petition for rules in regard to child labor. ~~the~~ While, lastly, the strike showed the presence, besides the other things suggested above, of that strong

sense of capitalist economic preoccupation - namely, ^{absolute nature of the} ~~that~~ the property right. ~~is absolute~~ ^{other than the ones legally authorized} No person shall

have the authority ~~to~~ ^{to} dictate what shall be done on and with ^{any} ~~that~~ property, ^{and} in any person whose wish was taken into consideration was ^{merely} being "condemned to" - which was the term used in the manifesto issued by the Manufacturers Association when ^{they} ~~they~~ offered to meet the workers.

The Dastlerite were ~~not~~ ^{truly} a ~~group~~ ^{group} of people who formed into a group, some conscious, some ~~not~~ knowing only that they were zealous ~~interested~~ concerned with the accomplishment of a certain purpose and not realizing that in this they were losing their identity as individuals and

becoming part of the general group ideal. Thus, it was a temporary group, dismayed at the appalling conditions of child labor which left youngsters crippled (as was Jeth) and blackened their prospects for any life but ^{that} of drudgery, whose specific purpose was the alleviation of these conditions, and whose program included the consummation of an Act of Parliament - the Ten Hour Bill - for that purpose. Of course, there was economic grievance involved and the protest which these people aroused eventually did provoke a change in the system - the Bill was passed.

It was one of the first of the many industrial reforms.

The group was united by several things - there was first of all the degree of contiguity. When three thousand people march as one, as those ~~folk~~ people did to York for the meeting, ^{they} ~~and~~ become welded together physically, and the further ^{together} ~~and~~ there in the rain ^{again} served to ^{keep} ~~make~~ them united. They had a slogan "Be God to Our Children" which expressed their united purpose, they had an ideal, they had a leader who was the embodiment of that ideal, just as Jonathan became the embodiment when he jumped up to speak at that critical moment & knew not what to say except that it was for the good of the group.

Their meeting having attracted ~~public~~ notice to their cause, and their feelings having been purged through the group, the three thousand turned around and left Jabs - so that to all intent the group was disbanded. Secondary significances began to be attached to the Dastleints, however, so that altho' they continued to be thought of as advocates of a child reform bill, still they began to be regarded as part of that enlightened section which was beginning to crusade in general for better working conditions. The Chartist sprang up and people everywhere began to think in terms of change.

Mention of the Chartists brings up the ~~incident~~ in Plug Riot and shows us again the universal struggle. Campaigning for an Act of Parliament or a Peoples Charter, ^{which would ensure for} ~~guaranteeing~~ them fair wages for a fair days work, this group decided that the only way to show that they were serious was to cause all work to be stopped in the Valley, and they were doing this by knocking the plugs from all the boilers in the mills so that there would be no steam with which to work the machines. In Will Oldroyd they ~~came~~ met with as determined a ~~and~~ spirit as their own, so that when they approached, he shouted

at them to halt, with the words, "This is my land and I warn you not to trespass on it!" How fundamental is the conflict here - Will may have sympathized with the men unconscious, but ^{yet} still they had no right to step on his land (that great 18th & 19th cent. economic presupposition of the absolute property rights ^{again}). Still the men were motivated by a ^{strong} purpose and were not to be talked - Will's ~~was~~ death seemed as a result of the rift. The two sides were thinking on different levels and there could be no compromise.

Joeth, the illegitimate son of Will, was the only man who had the perspective, the innate vision, to see both sides, to realize how ^{delicate it would be to effect} ~~difficult~~ a reconciliation. The quarrel which Joeth had with his brother Briggs after their father's death, ~~in which~~ resulted from the former's attempt to explain to Briggs how he was in a ^{measure} ~~way~~ responsible for the whole affair. Briggs ^{could not} ~~seem~~ in any way ^{with his father} understand this, and he ^{was} ~~is~~ so sincere as to get quite provoked. ~~It~~ It is of value to reproduce part of their conversation here:

"But," continued Jonathan emphatically, "but, Briggs, I ask you to consider very seriously your own responsibility in the affair."

"Mine?" cried Briggs.

"Yes, yes," said Jonathan, "who made those men ragged and hungry? who drove them to desperation from witnessing the sufferings of their little ones? who kept their wages so low that they were always on the verge of starvation? who deprived them of the hours of leisure in which they might have gained some education, learned some principles which would have restrained them from their deplorable violence?"

"Nay, don't ask me," said Briggs, giggling as he always did when Joth speechified. (He really did not expect Joth's next words.)

"The manufacturers!" cried Jonathan, his eyes aflame. "You and father, Briggs, are as much morally responsible for last week's excesses as those starving men."

x x x x x

"It's a devilish lie," panted Briggs, leaning forward.

~~In her fine style Bentley offered another~~

In the thrilling Bentley manner, there is woven into the novel still a third conflict - perhaps the greatest of them all - exemplified by a strike. ~~The mechanistic corruption~~ ~~of a smooth running mill~~ Foreign markets were becoming increasingly important to the manufacturers as profit-making fields, and in order for an industry to compete for this business it had to be operating on a ~~new~~ smooth, mechanical basis so that there

could be a certain amount of predictability in regard to price, amount of goods^{available}, etc. The Master's Association, in which Jonathan's brother & nephew were leading figures, approved of a new wage scale which was drafted for the purpose of settling the great confusion and variance within the industry so that a stable price for the foreign market could be ascertained on a uniform, stable set of costs. The manufacturers thought not of the effect which this scale would have on their workers, concentrating rather on the good it would do the industry from their point of view. Thus young William Buzz was surprised and angered when Charlie Miller came to his office one morning to announce that the men were going on strike in protest against the new scale.

The scale, to the workers, meant an average lowering of several shillings per week, which was an unbearable decrease for their already unbalanced budgets. ~~a decrease their budgets could not allow~~, again, they could not believe that the motive of the Association was for uniformity and regulation in the industry - but thought, naturally, that it was solely for the purpose of disguising a blunt wage cut. The struggle in the case was pursued through the two groups which existed to represent the respective sides - there was a Weavers Union and there was the ^{Master's} Association.

~~But~~ the rise of these two organizations can be seen the ~~operation~~ ^{clearance in the} of that class structure which came as a result of the pyramid-creating social factor. There was an increasingly unbridgeable gap between the men whose ancestors and not-so-distant relations were of common stock. Thus fire was struck when the word "undescending" was used to designate the attitude which the masters adopted toward a proposed arbitration conference, and Henry Bamforth ^{was moved to} write an article which ~~but~~ increased the ill-feeling. Again it was only old Jonathan who was able to pierce the crust - for when Henry remarked that the manifesto of the Association was just "a tissue of lies and bad grammar, his good father answered him:

"No, my son, not lies," said Jonathan in his grave tones. "Not lies - ignorance. They're perfectly sincere. You don't know the mill owners as well as I do."

How well does Bentley put into Jonathan's mouth the key to the great riddle!

Her ~~skill and in fact~~ great knowledge of English character has caused Bentley to treat with the social factor as an attitude-determining force in a most sympathetic manner. She understands these things and they gradually become more clear to us through her skillful exposition.

Illegitimate children in Germany, Italy, ~~Spain~~ and many other countries today are no longer regarded disdainfully as having no place in the social pyramid, but are rather fostered as carefully by the state as their more legal brethren - and, in fact, their production is rewarded by prizes. Imagine if you can, however, ^{the manner in which} ~~how~~ a Victorian would react to this situation. Jonathan - the understanding, penetrating youth, knew how rigid the classes were constituted, and flung this knowledge bitterly at his brother in a short conversation which occurred when Joth wrote a letter supporting Daatlen.

Brigg: "You're a traitor to your family and class."

Joth: "Let me remind you that I don't belong either to your family or your class. I'm a bastard who was brought up as a pieceman."

The implication here is to admit the existence of a recognized order in social life, of a social pyramid, and the fact, hard as it was to swallow, that, by virtue of his birth, his upbringing, his position (social & financial), he was inferior to his brother Brigg - altho' mentally and spiritually and aesthetically he really was much the finer man.

There is much made, too, of the matter of

marrying out of one's class - it is almost as bad as the strict Hindu prohibition on marrying out of one's caste.

Deeply as she loved and respected the young man whom her father brought home to her care, Helena Singleton realized that she was taking a step downward in marrying John - she, a clergyman's daughter, a member of an upper group (~~but not~~ ~~of it~~ ~~lower~~ ~~status~~) was not on the level of a mere money-grubbing man. Her character was one of nobler resolve than to be balked by that, however, so that when the young man pressed his suit, she willingly assented.

In the marriage of ^{William} Burg to Charlotte Standlife, after his disappointment with Sophia Jane, his father was very happy, for the Standliffes were landed gentry, were higher socially than the oldroyds, and it would be a feather in the cap of a manufacturer to have his son marry into the aristocracy (even though ~~low~~ low aristocracy). Charlotte did not hesitate to tell her husband many times that he should be grateful to her for having raised him to the position of being one of the elite in the pyramid.

The proud Charlotte had the disgrace in her lifetime of ~~seeing~~ ~~for~~ having to see a son of hers, Francis Burg, marry a common, ordinary workman's daughter, a girl

who had allowed herself to be compromised so that she was forced to marry to save her name. To think that Francis could have gotten involved with such a low creature was too much for the Standcliffe blood to bear, and Charlotte was weak for many a day. William Bugg, too, felt that his son should have done better, and it was only the realization that Germaine was James' daughter which eased the blow for him.

Without going into further detail, it can be safely generalized that throughout the Ore Valley there was a recognized ^{social} pyramid with the workers realigning their inferiority to the manufacturers and this mercantile class paying social allegiance to the landed gentry who, in turn, recognized some superior strata. The class structure resulting from this situation added to the ^{intensity} of industrial strife was a bitter factor in alienating the one group from the other.

There stands finally in the novel a character who is possessed of such depth of feeling, such richness of emotional conscience, such a sympathetic vision of his past as it was inextricably bound up with the past of the whole valley, that he poses, much as does that heroic, sentimental figure of the Vanishing Indian,

surveying his heritage for one last moment as everyone else around him is deserting it. The sensitive David Buzz, steeped in ~~his~~ ^{the} thrilling ~~history~~ discoveries of his past history - loving ^{the} innocent Joe Bamforth, getting to know ^{his} that strange great-grand uncle Jonathan, ~~being~~ investigating the relationship of the Mellors to his own family - ~~as~~ ^{was created} as the living exemplification of how the social machine can operate. When his parents decided to leave Yorkshire, having liquidated the remainder of their depleted possessions, he found it impossible to leave the spot ~~which~~ where he felt it was his historical ^{duty} ~~legacy~~ to remain. The development of his family in that valley, and his interest in their legacy, his pride in their achievements, his feeling for the traditions which they had started all helped him make his decision - so that when he jumped from the moving train, his attitude was an historically-determined one, ~~and~~ whether he recognized it as such or not. This is what he thought ^{which} ~~and what~~ made up his mind definitely:

"Annotfield and the Ire Valley are what they are today, because of what Joe Bamforth and Will Oldroyd did in 1812. Yes, thought David suddenly, and of course the future is the heir of the present, as the present is of the past; Annotfield and the Ire Valley will be what they are a

hundred years hence, because of what David Bugis
 already does today."

In many ways, then, this novel by
 Phyllis Bentley, this tale of "Inheritance" ^{is not only a good story, but} supplies a
 major need in the program of one not a specialist in English
 history. It supplies a well-rounded picture of ~~the~~ Victorian
 "thought and civilization" - it supplies a choice insight
 into a situation which defies perfunctory comment & explanation -
 it supplies a real feeling for the period. It is noteworthy
 in these respects.

Required Reading for Government 42

I. General:

1. J. Hampden Jackson: The Post-War World.
2. G.D.H. Cole: Guide to Modern Politics.
3. Lewis Dickinson: A Modern Symposium.
4. S. de Madariaga: Englishmen, Frenchmen and Spaniards.

II. England:

5. R. L. Buel: England.
6. Cohen-Portheim: England the Unknown Isle.
7. D.C. Somerrell: English Thought in the Nineteenth Century.

III. France:

8. A. Siegfried: France, A Study in Nationality.
9. F. Sieburg: Who are these French.
10. R. Valeur: France.

IV. Germany:

11. Marstein Marx: Germany in the Third Reich.
12. F.L. Schumann: The Nazi Dictatorship.

V. Spain:

13. E.A. Peers: The Spanish Tragedy.

VI. Fascism:

14. E.B. Ashton: The Fascist, his State and his Mind.

VII. U.S.A.

15. R.C. Brooks: Political Parties and Electoral Problems.
16. T.V. Smith: The Promise of American Politics.

Novels:

1. Phyllis Bentley: Inheritance (England).
2. H.G. Wells: The World of William Clissold (General).
3. Philip Gibbs: Cities of Refuge (General).
4. Louis Adamic: Cradle of Life (Austria-Hungary & Croatia).
5. I. Silone: Bread & Wine (Italy).
6. R. Bates: The Olive Field (Spain).
7. E. Glaeser: The Last Civilian (Germany).

Siegfried - England, Crisis

The Englishman is entirely self-satisfied, is mentally lazy, lacks realism, spends too much time on sports; is wanting in vitality.

The ruling class has become poorer, lost sense of fiscal integrity, become impressed with sense of decline; suffers defeatism, has no vigor.

People become socialistic, and aristocracy gives way (Sir Wm. Harcourt + inheritance taxes of 1894). New social class - bureaucracy is growing up.

Sir Edward Gifford - Faith of an Englishman

Britain must have a moral as well as self-interest ~~as~~ reason for doing something. There will be no unlimited liability for war. Sense of right must be satisfied.

England has unaggressive rationalism and non-doctrinaire socialism.

Main faith is patriotism - "an all-pervading sense of what is owed by the individual as a free being to the national structure in which his freedom depends..."

Patriotism comes before Internationalism - duty is to fellow countrymen rather than to foreigners. Internationalism is pardon - for if we are willing to sacrifice our lives for foreigners why not sacrifice our standard of living as theirs can rise but no standard - calls for this.

"The safeguarding & development of a commonwealth dedicated to the principle of self-government, which comprises a quarter of the human race, seems to me incomparably more important than the prevention of war in all parts of the earth."

Arthur Bryant - The National Character

The love of home & its security is the secret of the English character. All Englishmen return to the land, etc. The Englishman possesses a fundamental confidence in himself and this arises in part out of his intense "at-oneness" with his environment. Every Englishman has an ideal picture of green fields, etc.

Philip Gibbs - Ordeal in England

Character of English people is in liberal Centre. They must not fantasize, believe in compromise - would not go to war for theoretical ideal.

They have lost faith in League - for collective

Securit is not collective.

English people are civilized, tolerant, hate brutality, love beauty, are calm, patient, intelligent - thus are in ^{interest} ⁱⁿ ^{quandry} because rest of world is opposite - which gives England feeling of being an intellectual & moral island.

England not to be judged by London - where there is not psychology - but by traditional farm & village.

Dean Inge - England

1. Stoicism
2. Logism, lack of dynamism
3. Pride, arrogance
4. Aversion to abstract ideas
5. Hatred of cruelty
6. Absence of inductiveness
7. "Fair play"
8. Love of sport
9. Self-reliance
10. Privacy

Gibbs

1.

This consciousness of the past, this sense of historical drama, this awareness of ghosts, is, I believe, very real in the minds of London crowds when they go out to see their kings and princes, dead or alive. They are sensitive to old vibrations. The most ignorant get some thrill of romance out of their heritage of history.

Prince of Wales had position of hero-worship. He was a leader who understood the point of view of the younger generation. The people got a lot of pleasure out of what he did. "They have no envy for his wealth or position. It gives them a kind of self-satisfaction when he goes racing, or flying, or hunting. He is their Prince." Thus, in regard to Mrs. Simpson, "the social conscience was not prepared to be harsh on the King at that time - the easy conscience of sophisticated people not rigid in their moral code, not by any means Puritanical." Still this is in regard to the upper classes, ^{and} ~~but~~ we forget that the English are still, in the mass, Puritans. "A scandal could drag him down."

The conviction was not in protest against a divorce, etc., but that "Mrs. Simpson was not the right woman to be Queen of England. They could not see her taking Queen Mary's place. Class consciousness? Yes, and strongest, I found, among the working classes and the small bourgeoisie." These people said that she had no class, was not quite up to the old dame Queen Mary.

"It didn't seem to occur to these laborers and craftsmen that they were talking 'class stuff' and acknowledging the caste system. They couldn't escape from the old feudal ideas of their forefathers, nor from the mystical idea of kingship in the old tradition. Planted in the middle of their minds was the conviction that a Queen of England should belong to the old 'lineality'. They expected a high standard of selection."

"England did not sleep easily that night. Its people were conscious that something was shaking beneath their beds - the foundation of the old system of kingship upon which their loyalties are based, which keeps the Empire together and is deeply rooted, in spite of all modern ideas and changes of thought, in their sense of order and tradition. Would there be civil war again in England? Would there be a King's party...?"

"The people's allegiance to George III, proclaimed by his heralds so soon after the proclamation of the former king, expresses a loyalty to the Crown above loyalty to any individual who might wear it." The verdict of the people got to be that Edward had "let them down," they got angry that he should have chucked his job. "Kings of England, they seemed to think, do not fling off their crowns for any woman whatever. England & the English stand first, they thought."

In a conversation with a young fellow about Communism, Gibbs told him that he disagreed profoundly with him. "It's quite all right," the young fellow said in a kindly way, "you can't keep it. You're one of the old liberals, of course. You belong to that ~~camp~~ era." I belonged, in his mind, to the damned dead past.

"I think that among the younger intellectuals, (a tendency toward communism) is due to generous instincts - hatred of injustice, pity for the underdog, impatience with the slowness of social reform under parliamentary government, and disgust with the ininceritess of the political game."

"Nevertheless, Germany wants (colonies) back, and there is incessant propaganda stimulating the national grievance on this account. It is, above all, a question of national pride, and that is the most dangerous + difficult mood with which to deal."

"The New Commonwealth preaches that all disputes must be settled by recourse to reason, and secondly the only moral right to use force comes as a police function. It's worth working for, I think. ~~the~~ Young men looking to the future ought to join it. It's ideal will happen one day."

"The English people, by traditional temper and character, are essentially and instinctively neither Right nor Left but in the liberal centre." So beyond the pale of London, and there is no extremism. Also "they don't want to go to war for a theoretical ideal of which they are sceptical." Self-interest for national preservation is only common.

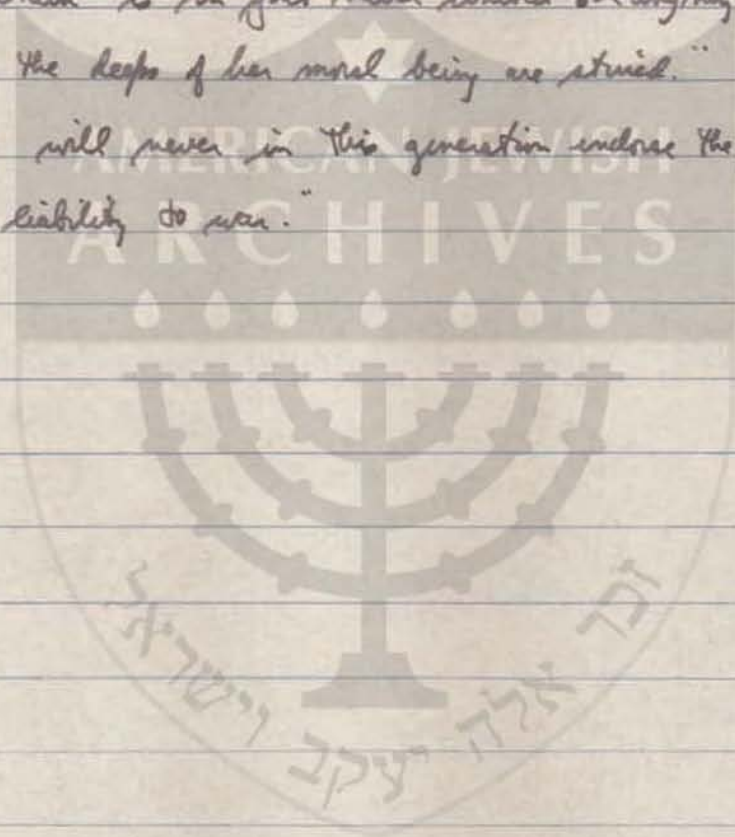


Guss -

"We are a practical people, and there is no virtue in us unless we are convinced that the course we are pursuing is not only wise but right. It is absolutely inconceivable that we should ever again make war for national ambition or aggrandizement."

"Britain is in fact never united on anything, as she was then, unless the depths of her moral being are stirred."

"We will never in this generation endorse the principle of unlimited liability to war."



Sigs

Attitude toward Germany - "pro-Germans".

1. Should help pick a man up when you knock him down.
2. Admiration for German efficiency.
3. Respect of ex-service men for German soldier.
4. Satisfactory business relationship.

Toward France

"France has altogether lost the goodwill of our man in the street. He believes her exacting, unreasonable, extreme - a dangerous ally because she cannot compromise and lacks our cherished instinct for friendly give-and-take."

"But all this invitation is superficial. France may not commend herself to our clubs and public houses, but she has an unshakable hold on all that side of English genius which loves integrity of mind and fearless freedom of thought."

"Free play for individual opinion, however unpopular or extreme, is woven into the fabric of our life; (see Tower Hill) and France has long been one with us in her devotion to liberty of thought and speech."

"Also, England's frontier is on the Rhine, & France and Britain cannot achieve security apart." Again, Nazi regime has caused decrease of pro-German feeling because of brutality. "England detests brutality and loathes the persecution of the weak."

Towards the League

"Devotion of a great majority of the nation to the league and its ideals."
There is much disillusionment in regard to the failure of the league to achieve anything, etc., but still "the league in some form or other is an ideal which few will agree to forsake." "Multitudes of English men & women will not face the thought of war at all unless it be a war for the principles of the league."

There is a "voted dislike of dictatorships."

"Our urgent need is leadership, firm & lucid, wedded to reality, yet working towards a better order in international affairs."

Gibbs says: "Where are our leaders with such vision and such courage? It is pitiful and alarming that we lack any inspiration of leadership or any coming forward of young men with character and a touch of genius." "The two Front Benches are respectable & dull" and the youngsters on the back benches don't get a chance.

In regard to the battle of extremes, Nationalism must win over Communism. "Patriotism is not of necessity a hatred of other cultures, but it is an inescapable love of one's own,

and it is at present the strongest of all binding political forces in the world. "Revolution may level many things, but national love & pride remain. The strength of Nazism and Fascism lies in their grasp of these fundamental truths."

"The mass of our own people in Britain are equally nationalised in sentiment. We stand for Parliamentary democracy, with solid national foundations but broad socialist aims. Our nationalism, however, is unaggressive, and our socialism is anything but doctrinaire."

Yale University

Final Examination:

June 1937

Government 42

Parties and Public Opinion

Note: Answer ONE question from EACH section.

A. The Study of Public Opinion

1. "Effective public opinion - as distinguished from evanescent moods and political manoeuvres - may be defined as that growing volume of ideas and attitudes which are taken-for-granted in a community. These assumptions are always conditioned by relatively permanent factors."
Discuss and illustrate this assertion.
2. What importance has Leonard Woolf's theory of "the dead hand of history" for the student of public opinion?
3. In what respects do you think that the development of modern psychology has substantially aided the study of public opinion?
4. Discuss the suggestion that in "A Modern Symposium" there are presented attitudes which operate as constant factors in the formation of public opinion, and which are not, therefore, limited in their significance to a certain time and place.
5. "It is important we should not forget that ultimately the solution of political problems depends on the human element. It is in men that we shall find the true resistance; it is in men that we shall find the power to overcome it. Men, and not things, are the soul of politics."
Examine and discuss this observation.

B. The Problems of Party

6. A recent book on government contains the following assertion:
"The framers of our constitution had no idea that political parties would become one of the essential features of our political system. Their ideal was that of the modern large corporation where the stockholders confine their activities to the election of a few chief officers and a board of directors and leave to these the whole responsibility for the formation and execution of policies."
Explain how it was that the democratic experiment, beginning with such assumptions in the 18th century, developed political parties universally in the course of the 19th century.
7. Explain the main theories of "representation" which have been put forward since the time of Burke; show their importance for the development of national parties; and indicate some of the criticisms to which they have been subjected in recent years.

8. Discuss the ways in which party organisation and function is influenced or conditioned by the following factors: (a) federal or unitary constitutional structure; (b) fixed-term, or the right of dissolution; (c) democratic or aristocratic social assumptions; (d) spoils system or "merit system".
9. How do you account for the fact that some democracies have for long maintained a two-party system whereas others have been characterised by a multiple-party system?

C. Great Britain

10. "Party development in England, in the century between 1815 and 1914, was determined by five main tides of public opinion, viz.: Old Toryism, Benthamism, Tory Democracy, Imperialism, and Fabianism." Explain and discuss.
11. Take any one political government in England between the time of Chartism and that of Lord Beaverbrook's "Free Trade within the Empire" campaign, and analyse (a) the forces contributing to its growth and (b) the causes of its success or failure.
12. Trace the origin and development of the British Labour Party, explain its present organisation, and discuss its prospects.
13. What modifications in outlook, organisation, and membership has the Conservative party undergone in the course of the past fifty years?

D. France

14. Account for the fact that effective political parties do not appear in France until the early part of this century.
15. Write notes on three of the following:- Boulanger: Dreyfus: Action Française: Croix de Feu: the Radical-Socialist party: the Popular Front.
16. Summarise Siegfried's interpretation of the permanent factors operative in French politics. In what respects would you criticise or supplement his theories? Compare his main ideas with those in any other exposition of French politics with which you may be familiar.
17. Account for the political ferment in France, December 1933 to August 1936.
18. Explain and discuss French political alignments at the present moment.

E. Spain and the Dictatorships

19. "The Republican regime in Spain was called upon to liquidate problems which were not of its own creation, but which were the legacy of a past which repeatedly refused to cope with them."
Discuss fully.
20. Examine the causes of the Civil War in terms of the technique we have employed during the course and indicate party alignments on the eve of the war.
21. Explain and discuss Madariaga's interpretation of Spanish national character and consider how far (in the light of his exposition) it is a constant factor in Spanish institutions and party politics.
22. Discuss the nature of the forces making for a one-party state.
23. To what extent do you consider that the emergence of one-party states in recent years represents a critical commentary upon the early theories of representative democracy.

F. The United States of America

24. Compare the two party system as it operates in the United States and in Great Britain.
25. Indicate, with examples, the difficulties which tend to prevent the emergence of effective third party.
26. Describe and account for the unique features of American party organisation.
27. To what extent would it be true to say that the nature and composition of American political parties is determined by historical, social and economic factors rather than by ideological forces?
28. If you, as a specialist in the study of public opinion, were asked to write an introduction to a new edition of either Bonn's "American Adventure" or Siegfried's "America Comes of Age", to what features would you specially draw the reader's attention and what supplementary or critical lines of thought would you suggest?

Excellent

(95)



Government 42.
Herbert A. Friedman.

"Ordeal in England", by the popular Sir Philip Gibbs, contains many illuminating remarks on the influence, in the formation of public opinion, of many of the factors which are offered by Mr. Driver as determinants and which become increasingly valid to me as my reading extends. As a matter of fact, Sir Philip offers illuminating remarks on so many aspects of English life, that practically any paper on England could be appropriately initiated by a quotation from him. What he says in regard to the political affiliations of the English people is pertinent to us in the investigation which this paper is conducting; namely, the determining forces in contemporary British political loyalties. His generalisation: "The English people, by traditional temper and character, are essentially and instinctively neither Right nor Left but in the Liberal center." He suggests that beyond the pale of London, one can find practically no extremism in the land.

Of course, there are different parties in the country, and there is a conflict of thought which causes some men to be loyal to one group, and other men to remain attached to an alternative group. Parties developed from a split in opinion over exactly what the power of the king should be, and this constitutional struggle came to have associated with it the religious problem, so there were at least two bases on which

the schism grew. This gradual separation of attitudes both for and against the king, started by the growth of resentment against the clever Stuarts for having attempted to supersede Parliament, culminated in the Civil War of 1642, which was the first open break, and which opened up a period of Parliamentarianism after the execution of Charles I. The religious sympathies of the followers of the king came to be coeval with his religious sympathies, and James I, who had been brought up as a Scotch Presbyterian and hated it, was a church of England man. Also, it fits in neatly that the anti-court groups, mainly from the provinces, and suspicious of the gold and tinsel of Charles II's reign, came to be Evangelical in spirit - so that the cleavage began to be clearly discernible. The conservative Tories, who stood by the King and the Church of England, were opposed by the Whigs, who were anti-court, non-conformist Evangelicals.

The Whigs were not exactly identified as Liberal, and as such socially antithetical to the conservatives, until economic facts suffered a cleavage which conformed with the religious and monarchic differences. From 1714, when the Whigs got into power after the defeat of Bolingbroke, they had the support of the banking, mercantile and industrial interests, while the landed aristocracy and the farmers were conservative. The small landowners, as well as the large ones, wanted no change, while in the period from 1830 onward, there was much social reform,

starting with the first Bill of 1832 under Whig liberal domination. In the mid-Victorian era of complacency and prosperity the Whigs flourished and were solidly in power until 1880 or so.

There must now be understood the vital key point, without a knowledge of which it is almost impossible to understand subsequent events - that is, how the Liberals declined and the opposition to the conservatives came to be occupied by the Labor party. The Tories began to be inoculated with the idea of social reform, with such men as Disraeli writing social novels, and event though he was a Whig, still his influence as a great figure was strong. Again, the Young England sentiment of a group of university aristocrats was indicative. But the main thing, the key point, is the fact that the conservatives were the anti-laissez-faire party. The Tories could not reconcile their rigid pyramid structure with the individualism of the Whig-Liberals. Thus they could not accept the principles of capitalism which operated under the first Benthamite theory of laissez-faire, since that would mean the eventual extinction of the landed gentry in favor of the industrial class. There was arising at this same time a proletarian feeling, which manifested itself in cooperative movements, trade union movements, an underground press, all the loose ends of which were tied together in 1900 in the formation of the Labor Party.

This gradual twist, then, in the attitude of the Conser-

vatives, which brought them around to the idea of governmental regulation or interference, (illogical as it might seem to us in America), together with the growing social consciousness - and the rise of the Labor group to oppose them with demands for complete collectivization, slowly obviated the necessity for the declining Liberal group. There were, of course, other reasons for the decadence of the Whig-Liberals, but let us concern ourselves only with this one aspect of the problem. If we understand, now, how the Conservatives came to supplant the Liberals as the alternative for socialism, we can proceed to sketch the factors which keep British people today loyal to one party or the other.

R.L.Buell, writing on England in "Democratic Nations of Europe", offers a quotation from Edward Marjoribank's "Life of Sir Edward Carson" which can stand as a brief and lucid exposition of the Conservative position; namely: "There are, perhaps, two main tenets, the protection of property and the maintenance of the British Empire under the Crown, for which modern English conservatism stands." The first tenet can be found to be supported in innumerable books which suggest love of the land as a major English trait. In his "The National Character", Arthur Bryant says: "The love of the land and its security is the secret of the English character." His thesis is that the fundamental confidence which every Englishman feels in himself and which enables him to get through severe crises with little emotional

upset comes in part out of his intense "at-oneness" with his environment. Mr. Cohen-Portheim in his "England, the Unknown Isle" substantiates this by stating that "the life of a country gentleman is what every Englishman dreams of and consciously or unconsciously takes as his model." With the aristocracy residing on the land, "the country is in fact a vast park, disfigured here and there by blots in the shape of urban and industrial areas, and with separate smaller and still better-kept parks inside it." The big landowner and the small one, the nobleman and the farmer want to protect this land and property which they love so much, therefore they are Conservatives.

The second tenet which finds supporters and attracts loyalties is the maintenance of the Empire under the Crown, and as such, draws those men who are tinged with nationalism and imperialism. "The Faith of an Englishman" by Sir Edward Grigg contains many remarks along this line, of which the following is typical: "The safeguarding and developing of a Commonwealth dedicated to the principle of self-government, which comprises a quarter of the human race, seems to me incomparably more important than the prevention of war in all parts of the earth." In other words, Empire comes before collective security. Cohen-Portheim feels that even if one type of empire crumbles, the British will form another kind, perhaps on a different basis, but form another one they will.

"The English are an extremely sound, tough and vital people, and their Empire is not tied to any formula; even if the end of

colonial dominion is bound to come some day, there are other possibilities: a union of the mother country with the 'white' Dominions of Canada, Australia, and South Africa, a close combination with the U.S., even a political union of all the countries of Anglo-Saxon culture, are all possibilities for the political future of Great Britain."

With this as a basis, it should be fairly obvious which people would be influenced by these things to place their loyalty in the Conservative party. There are the landowners, and the big bankers and industrialists, whose loyalty had been switched when the Conservatives came to take over the position of the Whig-Liberals, and who are interested in the Empire and the maintenance of order and stability for their continued existence and success. It is a capitalistic party, which wishes to retain private ownership of industry and agriculture, while willing to make certain concessions; and an aristocratic party, whose members believe that there is a natural difference between men, so that, while political equality in the form of democracy is conceded, yet economic equality can never be achieved, nor is it desirable, even though attempts should be made to ameliorate the position of the very poorest. Of course, there are variations within this party as within any other.

The extreme right Conservatives still believe in laissez-faire (except for the use of tariffs by the government) and have never been won over from that point. It is they too who

would like to give the House of Lords a permanent veto over any future Labor party legislation. This group would include all the old die-hard Tories who still lived in the period of Anne and Bolingbroke. On the opposite side are the Left Conservatives, between whom and the Labor party, it is very difficult to find any great difference. They joke that the left Conservatives would welcome socialism if only they could bring it about under their name. Actually, these Conservatives accept reorganization of the whole set-up under state control, but they do not wish the extinction of the capitalist, preferring to designate their system as state capitalism, and this is their only virtual distinction from the avowed socialists. To this group would belong those people desirous of advanced social reform, yet unconvinced of the good of a radical change in the form of government. This group is bringing the whole Conservative party more over to its position, than the right group is able to accomplish in regard to its position, as witness the large amount of social legislation passed by the Conservative ministries.

The Labor party is the second great party in England today. Roughly, we can go back to 1815 to find the beginnings of a proletarian sentiment arising out of such popular movements as the Luddites, Chartism, the Ten Hour Bill Movement, etc. Many histories of the British labor movement have outlined the post-Waterloo developments along the following broad terms: There was a rapid spread of socialist doctrine among the workers,

which gradually caused them to think in terms of and to accept general collectivist principles. In the face of this a new conservatism developed, as explained above, else the Conservative party would eventually have perished. With the decline of the liberal party, there only needed to be defined the exact position of the labor party, which became obvious after the failure of the General Strike of 1926 caused the extremists to be viewed with disfavor. This sort of review gives no true picture of what actually happened, as a matter of fact, because it is not dynamic, merely a table of events. The famous names and groups, all of which contributed to the swelling stream, are what makes the story vital and alive. Hyndman and Morris, Keir Hardie and Blatchford, the Fabian Society and the T.U.C. - all these things constitute the true development of what we know as the Labor Party. At any rate, all the products of these men, in the form of little groups and unions as well as in ideological form, were gathered under the Labor Representative Council, which federated them, and later became the Labor Party, with the T.U.C. as the annual executive cabinet. As soon as unionism was allowed to exist unpersecuted, the T.U.C. increased by leaps and the party went with it.

The T.U.C. is the dominant factor in the labor party, and hence the loyal supporters of the party are all the union men: England is about as strongly and solidly unionized as any country

in the world today. This group represents the belief that parliamentary action is the best method by which to achieve its desired ends, repudiating the technique of violence or direct action. Here again can be seen the innate characteristic of no extremism - even though the political and economic program is to the left, still there is moderation. The miner's union is the most radical one in the whole T.U.C. and it was in sympathy for their strike in 1926 that the General Strike was called, but after ten days, the T.U.C. capitulated unconditionally and swung back to moderation. The miners went back to work bitter and disillusioned, and it is from them that there is the most danger of a leftist coup in the T.U.C. Collective security based on the League of Nations ideal, public ownership of the key industries, and increased social legislation is the program of the Labor party - and in these we can see that the differences from the Conservative party are not great. One begins to think that a dock-hand would be a member of the left conservatives, and a social-minded peer a member of the Labor party - if only position and tradition did not keep them where they are. When we examine below the constituency of the Liberal party, the strong parts which tradition and habit play in determining a man's political loyalty will again become evident.

Before leaving the Labor party, we must mention the Socialist League, which was a doctrinaire, extreme left group in the

Labor party, and ^{was} abolished shortly after its birth. After 1931, when the Party was demoralized and split, without any great leaders, a group of intellectuals ~~in the party~~ attempted to form some sort of popular front to carry out their program by decree. Lloyd George's Council of Action in 1935 was almost the same thing as the Socialist League, was representative of the same attempt and desire. The League has been abolished by the party, and the T.U.C. rules dominant, with the loyalty of its followers as well as some intellectuals who are not communists and some men of action who hope someday to incite the Labor party to strike again.

The Liberals have practically disappeared as a party. Sir Philip Gibbs relates a personal anecdote, indicating young contemporary opinion about the liberals. In a conversation with a young man about communism, Gibbs disagreed profoundly with him. "It's quite all right," the young fellow said in a kindly way. "You can't help it. You're one of the old Liberals, of course. You belong to that era." I belonged, in his mind, to the damned dead past." The great age of liberal domination was from the election of 1906, which brought Asquith in, until the Great War. This liberalism carried out the implications of the second Benthamite theory, with several acts, including one for Old Age Pension and one for National Insurance. Lloyd George threw fear into Tory England with his "soak the rich" threat. But gradually

the opposition which they created had some effect, and when Asquith was forced out of the second coalition in 1916 by Lloyd George, the latter had to form his third coalition in 1918 as a Conservative one. The next great chance for the Liberals was in the support which they offered the Labor government of 1924. Yet the Laborites loathed the liberals and wouldn't legislate on many things, such as slum clearance, because the liberals also wanted these things.

The point is that the need for a Liberal Party, as such, had passed. Once they started the second Benthamite principle of collectivization and state control and regulation, their function was finished, since it was taken over by both the Labor and Conservative Parties. This was a middle-class party, with no workers, nor with very many aristocrats, except in its early days. It held in it the bourgeois, whose advantage and salvation always resides in a Liberal party, - and it held those men who were advanced in their day, but who are now left behind. In this party does the traditional factor operate best as a determining force in keeping a man's loyalty to it. Most men in the party today are Liberals because their fathers were.

On the fringe of the British political stage stand those extremist and hence small parties, the communists and the fascists. The former exist as a Party, put up candidates, have a program, and possess loyal supporters, who believe firmly and

strongly in their creed, else they would compromise it, and join some more popular group. The things which keep a man in the Communist Party are rigid beliefs, based on an intellectual as well as emotional evaluation - the Communist is convinced his way is the best and he thinks of the Utopia in concrete terms, modelled perhaps after Russia and perhaps after some other conception.

The Fascists present a more fluid situation for men have joined and seceded from the B.U.F., Mosley's organization, in large numbers. Here again, however, the creed is too extreme to succeed. Sir Oswald Mosley was a millionaire, who had left the Conservative party to join Labor. He got an office in MacDonald's 1929 ministry, and thus came to be disliked by the Labor people, just because he was connected with MacDonald who was hated as a traitor. Disgusted with the inaction of the ministry, tired of the doing nothing policy, he founded his own British Union of Fascists with a program of direct action. His models were Hitler and Mussolini, and he adopted their military technique as well as anti-Semitism and other features.

His peak was from 1931-33, at the height of the depression, and loyalty to the B.U.F. came from the large number of unemployed who were ground down under the distressing economic conditions. Youths were attracted, since they got food and shelter and clothing, mostly paid for by Mosley himself out of his personal fortune, and an opportunity to express their resentment. Industrialists

also, who were dissatisfied with a reduction of profits because of social reform policies of Labor and Conservatives alike, joined with him, among them being Lord Nuffield, automobile manufacturer. Support came from Lord Rothemere and his chain of papers which did much to give publicity to the movement.

After 1933, when the peak of perhaps 200,000 membership was reached, the party fell rapidly for the same several reasons which had contributed to its growth, showing that the whole thing was only a temporary affair based on economic fluctuation, and not really capable of creating any permanent loyalty. With the improvement in the economic condition of England from 1934 onward, the youths went back to their jobs, the industrialists to their profits. Lords Rothemere and Nuffield withdrew because of the anti-Semitic plank in the platform, and the aspect of violence which Mosley sanctioned led to a general note of disapproval. Dean Inge lists as one of the characteristics of the British people, their "hatred of cruelty", while Gibbs says again that "the English people are civilized, tolerant, hate brutality."

This investigation of the determining forces in contemporary British political loyalties seems to me to have brought out one thing clearly above all else. I began this paper with a quotation to the effect that the English are essentially neither to the Right nor Left, and I wish to conclude by stating that "moderation in all things" still seems to be the rule. Both the Conservative party, which is progressing toward the left, and the

Labor party, which is not very much farther over, ~~both~~ seem to realize this and have capitalized on it to great advantage. No extremism seems to be the guiding light for both sides - the right-wing Conservatives, on the one hand, and the Socialist League on the other do not flourish. What shall the people who say that the true Marxist revolution will take place in Britain first, answer in the face of the above conclusion? It does not appear that they are right, and the preponderant opinion is that English political parties will be able to supply, for a long time, any concessions which shall be necessary to preserve their existence in the face of renewed demands, since their moderation will allow them to compromise.



May 29, 1938

Mr. Driver,

Am handing in the paper on my social and political beliefs, patterned after the speeches in "A Modern Symposium." Secondly, I have read "The House that Hitler Built," but have not written a paper on it - hence will be prepared to answer a question on the final exam. Lastly, in regard to the paper I have not handed in, on France and Spain, I should like to remark that I have no excuse for that except that



Key to characters in "Modern Symposium"

Carilupe - Lord Salisbury
Remenham - Mr. Gladstone
Mendoga - Disraeli
Allison - Sidney Webb
Martin - Henry Sidgwick (prof. at Cambridge - leader of his day)
Walson - Arthur Keith (anthropologist)
~~Business man~~
Business man - author's brother
~~Business man~~
Vivian - Meredith
Conise - Browning

A MODERN SYMPOSIUM

G. Lowe Dickinson

1.

Lord Cantelupe - Tory because of prejudices, not principles. Prejudices are

I. Inequality - approves ideal as well as recognizing fact of social classes are good. Result is that he hates democratic movement - people should not be politically equal when they are otherwise unequal. Power now in hands of

II. Trade (men) - whose pursuit of wealth make them unfit for service of the state. Gov't by gentlemen. (independent means, career men, etc.)

III. Free Trade - has dislocated structure of society, has built up proletariat and transferred wealth from country-gentlemen to traders. Sole object of a nation's policy should not be the increase of wealth.

IV. Extension of Franchise - society composed of classes, not individuals and ought to be represented by classes with landed gentry retaining preponderance.

Under these different conditions England will become a different place "from the one I have known & understood." There will be a population of smart city people, and not men whom I like, men who "live by their instincts, not their brains," men who live in an accepted, traditional relationship. It is because of this character, not because of principles that I am a Tory - and now that there is no meaning to Toryism and no room for me, I retire.

Remenham - Liberal Prime Minister

Though he admires men of Cautley's ilk, he cannot reconcile himself to their permanent preponderance in the state. Plato's harmony was beautifully conceived, but if put into practice would have solidified activity, would have "sterilized the germs of progress." The higher emerges from the lower by conflict. "Open to all men equally, within the limits of prudence, the avenue to political influence" even if this results in universal suffrage. This need does not level a nation, the hereditary aristocracy, but places alongside of it elements which increasingly demand attention. "I trust the People" for the nation is but an assemblage of their talents.

In regard to foreign trade, the world was created for the exchange with the various products being distributed all over the globe. It is the plan of the Almighty to have a constant flow so that each man can enjoy all things. England can boast that she is the first nation to throw open the gates (Free Trade) and permit the flow. In consequence, England is the richest. The policy of freedom has been justified by its results. (Ideally, he continues) The nations of the world must soon put aside their political animosities and join in the peaceful rivalry of trade. Also the "cosmopolitan empires of trade will replace the militia of death," and "the labour and the invention of one will become the heritage of all."

Mendoza - Conservative

"We are the party of reaction. We don't make changes until we are convinced they are worth the sacrifice. Fundamental changes we regard as exceptional and pathological." But when they are necessary, we make them (frenchie). We do not share Remenham's optimism about the effects of the new forces of industry. We hear the cry of the poor behind the looms. We cannot endure the poverty of the masses. "We feel that we owe it to the nation to preserve intact its human heritage."

In regard to the world outside, I disagree with Remenham. "There has been no cause so fruitful of war as the rivalries of trade." This nation, by virtue of its wealth & power, becomes the object of the hatred of other peoples. When they wish to expand they see the hand of England all over the globe. The imperial spirit begins to stir and the federation of forces is not the federation of Mankind but that of the British race throughout the world.

At any rate we are only the figures guided by a greater destiny. Future generations forget us and carry along with their new ideas. "What are my opinions, what are Remenham's? Froth on the surface! The current bears all alike along to the destined end."

Allison - Socialist

The Liberals think the law of property is the major factor in a natural society. But Nature is anarchy, and the goal of liberalism is anarchy (complete laissez-faire). Socialism is revolutionary, but does not imply violence. "Revolution is the goal, but the process is substitution." There will be no shock, for we know "the whole structure of society rests upon habit." Redistribution and nationalization will be new habits. Also capitalism is progressing toward our goal by itself. Every great constitution or new operation is built on just these lines of organization which a socialist system needs (Max-necessity of great industrialization) - and second, monopoly allows complete exploitation of labor, so that the citizen becomes aware of the necessity for public control. "We socialists ought to be regarded not as assassins of the old order, but as midwives to deliver it of the child with which it is in travail."

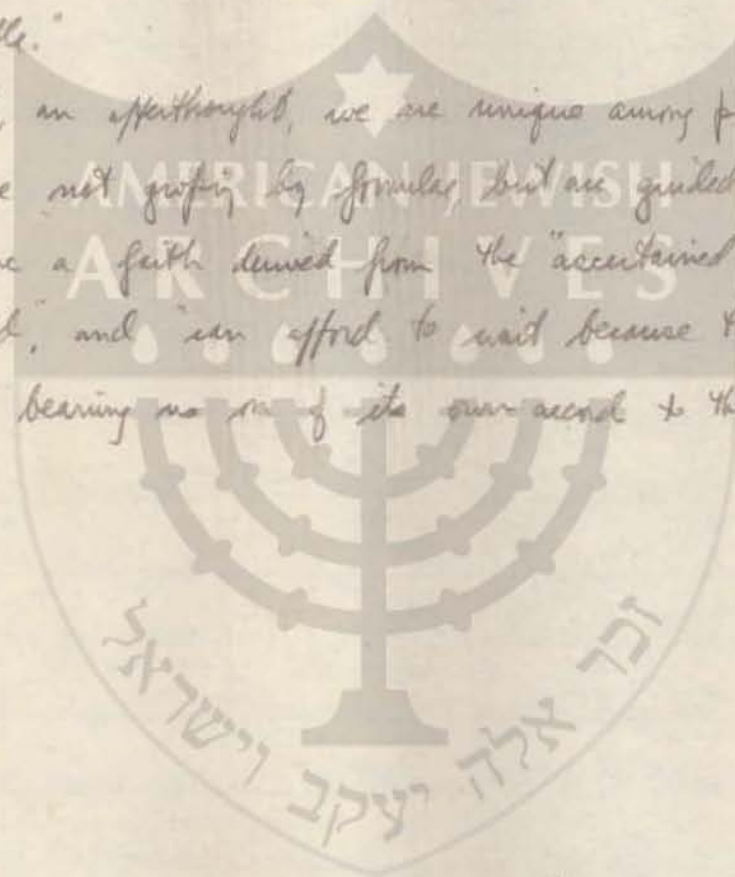
Distrust of state interference is an anachronism dating back to the time when the state was incompetent and carried on frankly in the interests of particular classes or persons. Growing democratization and ^{efficient} bureaucracy have done away with this, however. When government is in the hands of expert administrators, controlled by expert representatives, no anxiety need be felt about extension of the sphere of the state.

This extension will be economic, but will not be materialistic or unethical. We appreciate the higher ideal (over)

activities, and feel they will follow after the economic revolution. The state will encourage art, religion, etc., will subsidize genius.

Thus - "an economic revolution accomplished by a gradual and peaceful transition and rising in a system of collectivism so complete as to include all the human activities that are really valuable."

But, an afterthought, we are unique among politicians, since we are not guided by formulas, but are guided by history, have a faith derived from the "ascertained course of the world," and can afford to wait because the force of events is bearing us on of its own accord to the end we desire."



MacCarthy - Anarchist

"Government means compulsion, exclusion, distinction, separation; while anarchy is freedom, union and love." "What is called representative government is no better than any other, for the governors are equally removed in sympathy and knowledge from the governed." The only way out is through voluntary organizations, having rules but no laws, cooperating freely with similar organizations in each particular sphere (trade, the arts, etc.). "Anarchy is not the absence of order, it is the absence of force, it is the free outflowing of the spirit into the forms in which it delights." (Voluntary communes & guilds gave brilliance to Renaissance.) In socialism everything will be perfect but dead.

"But whether we triumph or no, our life itself is a victory, for it is a life lived in the spirit."

"Anarchy is identified with violence... force is the midwife of society; and never has radical change been accomplished without it. I am an active revolutionary."

Henry Martin - Professor, sceptic and critic, advocate of reason

I am a critic, for a man cannot be a complete enthusiast without becoming false. His mind becomes dugged. Such a state may be happy, but not healthy. "It may, indeed, be true that intellect without passion is barren; but it is certain that passion without intellect is mischievous. If I must choose, I would rather be barren than mischievous."

I say to the anarchist - "It is not government that is the root of our troubles, it is the ruggedness of Nature and the greed of man. And both these are primitive facts which would be strengthened, not destroyed, by anarchy." After a bloody revolution, how can that spirit of cooperation be expected to function immediately, how can people be expected to rearrange themselves, and economic forces adjust themselves, etc.?

I say to the socialist (collectivist) - Economically the idea is good, but the question is whether you can get men to run the regime in the interest of the state & not themselves. In democracy, the govt sometimes falls below even the average level of honesty & intelligence. "And I do not, I confess, see what guarantees socialists can offer that the administration will be good." There will always be greed. Again, collectivism will stifle genius - if everyone's career is regulated, etc, there will be diminished or destroyed "the enterprise, the minute spirit of adventure, in the spiritual and in the physical world" and there will be no progress - there will be no Shakespeare. (over)

I don't say dogmatically this is so, but the possibility of it makes me stop and think.

I have nothing constructive to offer - I just employ reason.
"I find in my own case, my intelligence daily more and more undermining my instinctive beliefs" and I am happy. There is no necessity for choosing between passion and reason "for reason, to me, herself is a passion."



Wilson - Biologist, man of new generation

All your talk seems to me silly because each me contradicts the previous speaker. This is because all your structures are built upon sand. The forces that move the world have passed out of the control of the politicians. There is a new set of first principles.

There is, first, "continuity" - a sense that man is a son and a father, part of a chain, rather than an isolated generation or individual. "In other words, what we have in mind is always the race."

Thus, secondly, "the series of births is also the vehicle of progress." We look to a future, and care for our young generations accordingly.

Thirdly, "we believe in progress; but we do not believe that progress is fated." Fate, Providence, God are meaningless. "We know that we have will; that will may be directed by reason; and that the end to which reason points is the progress of the race."

Government and property are not the only two factors upon which society turns - the family is a third. When we get to know more about breeding, there might even be state regulation of marriages, but now there should be at least a certain high standard of food, housing, education, etc., for the children who are born. Property exists only to ensure some cover

sufficiency of physical goods for the children and government should be "directed" by wise men (as the socialist says) so that it will be efficient for the children.

There is a new generation arising, based on new ideas which are continually being discovered, a foundation not of sand but of rock! The architects for the future will come from us.



Ellis - Journalist, does not want progress

In what does the progress which Wilson spoke about consist?
The best example to investigate is the U.S., for here will be the civilization of the future - what does progress mean there?

First - an analysis of the country. "America is the land of quantity, while Europe is that of quality." Europe has by comparison to American efficiency, etc., "more flavor & form, more beauty, delicacy and grace." There is no cast, no class in America - there is only an aristocracy of wealth. They are not concerned with "the questions that have occupied Europe from the dawn of her history." They have no problem of religion, for "their healthy and robust intelligence confine itself to the things of this world." Along with religion America has sloughed off the "whole European system of spiritual life." There is no Art and literature - and occasional geniuses can only live by fleeing to Europe. They do not think for the sheer pleasure of it - they calculate, invent and talk, but never think, discover or converse. Also they do not play - their sports are battles. Physically, also, they are a cold, emotionless people - no love, warmth, passion, etc.

What do they recognize as an end? Is it power, wealth, etc.? It is Acceleration. They want to be moving fast and don't care whether. Leisure is an unforgivable sin. They have no time for fun. They have a new set of values - they do not reckon Intellect, Beauty, Emotion, Spirit. The man of the (cover)

future rejects these for Acceleration.

I am glad that I am not one of the people
of the new generation. My friends are Plato and Dante
and Goethe. I do not want progress.



Audubon - Man of Business, cynic

I think all your speculation is foolish. "The basis on which you are all agreed, however much you may differ in detail, is that things can be made better, and that it's worth while to make them so." Supposing this assumption is not true, however, and I don't think it is. If there is any progress at all it is to be found in men "and I have never seen any evidence that men are generally better than they used to be." There's no use fiddling with details, trying to change systems, etc, if the whole structure of the universe is bad.

I don't believe in the so-called laws of nature, because "too many evidences abound of frivolous and incalculable caprice" (tempests, epidemics, etc.). But still, even granting there is order in the universe, how does that make it any better. Does it not make it worse if that order produces evil, which evil you have all presupposed since you all want to change the world in its unsatisfactory aspects.

There is a "final demonstration of the malignity of the scheme of things. Time itself works against us." The evil things are eternal, the good moments fly by. "Only the heavy hours are heavy-froked."

These things are facts; how, then, are men deluded into inventing systems which they call optimism. They create doctrines, they speculate on how good the future will be, when it is all over.

palpably absurd. I cannot understand how you hope to solve anything by your religion, philosophy, or science. It may be that I am mad and not you - for you, at least, think you have a compass and a rudder with which to steer yourselves. At any rate, the best for which I can hope is speedily to be lost in the silent gulf of oblivion."



Coryat - Poet, sensual lover of life, optimist

The people who talk only of progress ^{and the future} have no idea really of the things that count. "There must, I am sure, be something wrong about a view that makes the past and the present mere a means to the future." How can people of the new generation say they "have no use for" anything but themselves. "The literature and art of the past can never be dead." There are many episodes of the past more interesting than those of the present. And again, if you reject everything but today, you have no sense of life. The religion or philosophy of the past should not be dissected under the microscope, but should be examined to see what produced it, how it affected life, etc. People today have no imagination and mere sniff at the young Greeks riding bareback on St. Francis offering the real essence of life in the flowers, the mountains, the simple things.

Progress produces this attitude, since it comes of taking all the value out of the past and present, in order to put it into the future. "There is value in the present for life itself is the interest." Perhaps you are right in worrying about people and making things easier for them, but the farmer seems sort of content amid his surroundings, has a "sort of comfortable feeling of being a part of it all, of being somehow all right." Living is the main thing - "ideals are so empty; just because, I mean, they don't exist." (over)

That's why poetry is so important, because great poetry can "make you feel the worth of things." Even reading the greatest tragedy, "Lear", you get an "overwhelming sense of the value of life; life as it is, life at its most pitiless and cruel, with all its inequities, suffering, perplexity;" and nobody can read it "without feeling that he would far rather have lived and had all that, than not have lived at all." A poet "looks straight at it all, but he sees it in the true perspective, under a white light, and seeing all the Evil say nevertheless with God, 'Behold, it is very good.'"



Marington - Man of leisure, gentleman, Fascist

I disagree with everyone but Cantilupe. "all of you, except Cantilupe, have assumed that the good life, whatever it may be, can be attained by everybody; and that society should be arranged so as to secure that result." "It is that (democratic) postulate that I dispute." "The good life, in my view, is the life of a gentleman." "I use (the word) in its true and noble sense."

All the fine things centre around a gentleman, and he appreciates his responsibilities so that he can govern well. He can be virtuous, and has the character of a leader, drawing genius and great things to himself.

The aristocrats have been defaced and the middle class has risen. Your level of civilization may be rising, but your standards are falling. Dignity, manners, nobility are all disappearing, and there is no sense of "greatness" left. "Such is the result of entrusting power to men who make their own living, instead of to a class set apart by hereditary privilege to govern and to realize the good life."

Socialism will not allow of a free class of gentlemen, for nobility is the product of a class-consciousness. *

Democracy - note it well - destroys greatness in every kind, of intellect, of perception, as well as of character. Art cannot flourish, since the patrons of art are the aristocrats who appreciate it, not the masses, who "hate it as they hate all (new)

superiorities." With this opinion of democracy, I naturally look for a counteraction, for the "germs of a new aristocracy." I hope to find it in America, which has suffered most acutely from the disease of democracy. Over there I see, "pearl-grey against the dawn, the new and steadily enlarged of Power. For Power is the centre of capitalization for all good; given that, you have morals, art, religion; without it, you have nothing but appetites and passions."

* "Read history and you will see that there has never been a great civilization that was not based on iniquity." The essential feature of Greece was slavery. There must be a class supporting the aristocrats. Plato and Aristotle tell us that the masses should be treated kindly, but still as subordinates. There cannot be equality in a great state.

Woodman - member of Society of Friends, religious idealist.

All your proposals for changing society and making it better have been external ones - socialism, selective breeding, etc. The old phrases still apply. "Love Thy Fellow Men." If that love (for God and fellow-man) were really spread among us, the questions that have been discussed tonight would resolve themselves. For there would be a rule of life generally observed and followed; and under it the conditions that make the problems would disappear." We have God to rely on in the application of this maxim. All men, rich and poor, can come to God for strength and solace.

This "teaches that all change must proceed from within outward." all the problems which you condemn and which you desire to solve by changing a system will reappear under whatever system you select, and nothing will succeed until a change of heart has been accomplished in man. Let man come to see the value of God, let him base a system on a love for God and man, and the new world will be achieved.

Vivian - Man of letters, philosopher

"Reason must seize the reins." Prosperity and other lesser institutions must be purged and cleared of the evil which they do. The men to do this must be strong. "The Man that is to be come at the call of the Man that is."
(This suggests breeding a good race.)

Pagan men with Love, Beauty, Wisdom - and Christian Men with Faith, Hope, Charity must join, must combine together to march forward, to create a Will and a Faith so that Olympus may be reached. "For will is more than knowledge, since will creates what knowledge records. Science hangs in a void of rescience, a planet turning in the dark. But across that void Faith builds the road that leads to Olympus and the eternal Gods."

There has been much talk throughout this night, gentlemen, on varying subjects, yet a large part of it seems to have revolved about the conception of progress; its desirability and the possibility of its consummation, once desired. Ellis, our journalist, does not want progress because it represents to him a hateful acceleration, epitomized in America, which has, as a result of it, no quality, no flavor or form. He would prefer to remain with Goethe and Dante. There stands, on the other hand, our man of the new generation, our man of science Wilson, to tell us that he believes in progress, since "we know that we have will; that will may be directed by reason; and that the end to which reason points is the progress of the race. The race must be made better through breeding, and the family must be protected to ensure a sense of continuity in the race. Our cynical man of business feels that all talk of change and progress is mere foolish speculation, since progress is to be found in men, and Anderson has "never seen any evidence that men are generally better than they used to be." To mention a fourth point of view that was expressed, Coryat, our optimist and poet, our sensual lover of life, holds that there must be something wrong with an idea when it deals only with the future. Progress "comes of taking all the value out of the past and present, in order to put it into the future." Coryat feels that there is value in the present, for "life itself is the interest."

Allow me to explain, if you will, why I have concerned myself and perhaps bored you with this lengthy and repetitious introduction. For use, an adequate solution of the question of progress, represents the crux of the entire problem. If a man be convinced of the value and necessity, or even the inevitability of progress, then his political ideas will not remain long in doubt either. ~~What~~ ^{What} I mean by this is fairly obvious. Audelon would not even bother to attempt any certain never be expected to join any social revolution, if only because he believes it ~~would~~ ^{doesn't} make any difference what form of government we have. Lord Cantilupe rejects change because it is against his prejudices. Mendoga recognizes the necessity of making certain changes, as in regard to the extension of the franchise, for example, but suggests that we cannot attempt to control progress, because our opinions are but "foam on the surface." We are only figures guided by a greater destiny and "the current bears all alike along to the destined end." Thus he is a conservative, resenting fundamental change as being pathological. In other words, it is my belief that in proportion to whether a man's social tendencies are either for or against progress, so will his political tendencies be ~~either~~ ^{either} toward the left or the right. This, of course, is a broad statement, subject to all the attacks upon which generalizations of any nature are wont to meet and yet I feel that

There is some essential element of truth in what I believe.
If each of you will examine in your own hearts the
above statement in terms of your stated position, perhaps you
will see more clearly what I mean.

But now it is only ^{just} fair that I should submit
for your analysis my own few remarks to indicate how we
may better reach a finer world as I assume that is our
purpose here - and the ^{magnificent} grandeur of this exquisite
drama which now glows before our eyes affords an excellent
jumping-off place for me. What man, except perhaps our cynic,
can help but feel, ^{in the presence of this spectacle} that somewhere the universe must
be meant to be good and fine, if one of its cosmic
expressions is so beautiful and so noble? None but the
deepest skeptic can harbor the thought that this is merely
a front which nature assumes to hide her more ugly
side. I know that you may well ^{confront} ^{with} me the doctrines
of Darwin in which he exposes the brutalities of struggle
and conflict in nature - yet I ^{then} ~~turn~~ back to you
the transcendental Emerson ^{in his way in "nature"} and his source of ideas, that -
and I prefer the latter theory to the former, because -

Gentlemen, I am even more of an optimist
than ~~the~~ Cynic the fact - I am a romantic, an
incurable, emotional romantic, and moreover a man deeply

in love with a beautiful, noble woman, who is to me as fine a cosmic expression as the sunrise. You notice that I have used the same descriptive adjectives in both instances. With this attitude, I cannot but feel that there is some goodness in man which rises above all tragedy and misery in the world - man is so great that there must be some good end for which he is fated; all the ugly manifestations of his character are but petty ~~imperfections~~ imperfections ~~not~~ to be endured until he finally finds himself and ^{arrives at} achieves his fulfillment. Man is good, Harrington - and is not to be despised, for all men, not only the "gentlemen and aristocrats" have ~~lost~~ the dignity which you cherish. Our religious idealist, our Quaker Friend Woodman realizes this, ^{in a certain sense,} I think, for he preaches to love the yellow man. ~~and~~ with the general application of that rule "the conditions that make the problems would disappear and the new world will be achieved."

This, then, is my first principle, that the basic nature of man is good. Many men have believed in this, have made it part of their faith - Confucius and Mencius went so far as to deliberate whether evil ever existed at all.

My definition of progress should stem from

this by simplification - and I think it is consistent. Progress for me means a continual raising of the standard of living, in its most concrete aspects. That is, if man is good he deserves and is entitled to the best which the world has to offer in material way. Every person should have the right ~~and~~ to live comfortably, and while the early democrats said the same thing (the French Declaration of the Rights of Man gave all the rights which could be desired), still in practice it has not worked out that way. People have the right to happiness, yet they cannot be happy if they are starving or ill-housed. I would that every person should be cared for to the extent of having at least some minimum necessities - and this entails raising the general standard of living by a great deal. There would still exist the inequalities which Carlyle and Harrington cherish - such "natural differences" are not incompatible with my beliefs. With a general ~~raise~~ rise, the ~~poorest~~ ^{poorest} would have still more than they have, but at least those beneath would have a living standard too. The second principle, then, or the ^a continuation of the first, is that progress means ~~the~~ a higher standard of living, in which every man should be given the opportunity to enjoy the benefits which do exist in this machine age. The history of the world shows that each civilization

advanced above the preceding one in terms of material comforts, even on an objective basis of judgment, and Wilson the biologist says that the new generation must be built through increased standards of food, housing, etc. He feels that justice exists only to ensure some sufficiency of physical goods for the children. There is now at this point for the change that I am neglecting things cultural for things material - and I will answer ^{this in due time.} For the present, what form of government would best be suited to ~~conduct~~ ^{affect} my type of progress? You have probably all guessed by this time what it is - since I said before that political tendency is in proportion to social tendency. I am for that government which will be most efficient and all-inclusive - and I am made more certain in my choice by the knowledge that men of science are behind me. Wilson said that government should be "directed" by wise men in the interest of efficiency for the children. Yes, I am an ideal socialist, with the ultimate objective of an international society, in which peace and prosperity would reign.

Before proceeding, I should like to dispose of any possible attack of inconsistency on the ground that with my belief in individualism and the value of man and in Emerson's teachings on that subject, I certainly cannot be a socialist. Indeed, my attackers might say, Emerson's chief

disciple Thoreau was a philosophical anarchist - he even refused to pay taxes, and rejected all form of government, while you are suggesting in the same breath a very rigid type of control by a central government. May I answer this by stating that my conception of the worth of the individual only went so far as to suggest that he was also worthy of being allowed to live decently. I did not mean to imply - and I am sorry if I did - that he was capable of governing himself - in fact I feel just the opposite in the light of the results of ~~capital~~ laissez-faireism. Under this philosophy the individual was to do as he thought best and the natural economic laws would see that everything turned out well. This has been a miserable failure, except, of course, for a few ^{people}, and I feel that the individual will arrive at greater comfort under a planned society. MacCarthy himself has admitted that in socialism everything would be perfect - it would simply be "dead." I disagree with him - and our outlooks are different, so that when he advocates violence and active revolution, there is ~~simply~~ ^{just} no basis for discussion. If socialism were "alive", it might appeal to him, but then it would not be socialism. He says that radical change has never been accomplished without force - and I say that a radical change in ~~man's~~ thinking, so that the burden can be made to think on the same level as

The laborer, with the same picture of the universe, can be accomplished without force - only, without force, as a matter of fact.

My position at this point is, that under socialism alone, or a collectivist form of government, can the "greatest good for the greatest number" be achieved. Bentham would probably turn over ^{could} ~~should~~ be heard, were using his thesis in this connection, yet I cannot but feel that I am correct, from a long-term point of view. I agree essentially with everything Allison has said. He argues that capitalism is progressing toward our goal by itself, states that our cause is guided by history, that we do ~~not~~ ^{are not} ~~have~~ to ~~force it~~ bring pressure to bear to achieve it, that we "can afford to wait because the force of events is bearing us on of its own accord to the end we desire." Very acutely he notices that "we socialists ought to be regarded not as assassins of the old order, but as midwives to deliver it of the child with which it is in travail."

There is, of course, a distrust of state interference into anything beyond the purely administrative and executive function - this, however, is an anachronism, finding its roots in the time when the state was incompetent and acted fraudly in the interests of particular classes or persons. Growing democratization and efficient bureaucracy have negated this

condition today. Government in the hands of expert administrators would extend its sphere into the economic life of the nation, but need not interfere with any aspect of the personal, private life of its citizens. As a matter of fact, with its feeling for the worth of the individual, the government would encourage art, religion, pursuit of science and ~~literature~~ literature, would even subsidize genius in the various fields, ~~to be sure to produce~~ and not allow it to languish unperceived because it has not the means to make itself heard. And this is my answer to the charge, mentioned above, of the death of culture under a socialist revolution. One theatre and ~~some~~ galleries, museum and university, would produce with the state as the patron and sponsor. That this would be ~~"managed"~~ ~~culture~~ a culture directed by official order is valid, perhaps, but that the same possibility exists in a system where higher education, for example, is denied to those who cannot pay for it, is also valid, in the sense that culture is directed by money.

I carry my convictions one step beyond allowing, however. He may have ~~this same~~ ^{on the subject,} ideas, yet has said nothing about the international implications of our belief. Would it not be wonderful to organize the whole world, and not only one country, on this basis? This project is that of a visionary, and, frankly, I am that, with the psychological foundation to be perceived in my romantic, optimistic outlook. I am not concerned with the

mechanics of the idea - that is, whether there is to be an international government, whether the various nations would remain sovereign and all of them simply have socialist regimes, whether there would be a super-government existing over the different states, or any other possibility. I am more concerned with the philosophy of the situation, and the logical conclusion of my idealism is to carry it from one state to the ^{entire planet} ~~whole world~~.

I love mankind, gentlemen, and it hurts me - physically, almost, for I shrink ^{at} before some ^{of} ~~poverty~~ ^{poverty} I ^{recall} ~~have seen~~ - to see any part of it, ~~of~~ particularly a large part of it, undernourished and old, beaten and subdued, repressed and ~~defeated~~ ^{defeated}. You notice that I have not been vehement toward the capitalists, nor have I contemned them as exploiters and cruel masters - I find my fault rather with the system which condones them, may cultivate them - and it is this which I would change. A man of means has no easier mental burden than a man of poverty - each has his worries, and I would eliminate these, would sublimate them into a plan which would ^{the} ~~abolish~~ ^{get them} ~~their~~ ^{by} necessity, by producing some order in the economic field. I feel confident that the future will justify my Optimism and Hope.

Dec, 1937
Friedman

There has been much talk throughout this night, gentlemen, on varying subjects, yet a large part of it seems to have revolved about the conception of progress; its desirability, and the possibility of its consummation, once desired. Ellis, our pessimist, does not want progress because it represents to him a hateful Acceleration, epitomized in America, which country has, as a result of it, no quality, flavor, or form. He would prefer to remain with Goethe and Dante. There stands, on the other side, our man of the new generation, our man of science, Wilson, to tell us that he believes in progress, since "we know that we have will; that will may be directed by reason; and that the end to which reason points is the progress of the race." The race must be made better through breeding, and the family must be protected to ensure a sense of continuity in the race.

Our cynical man of business feels that all talk of change and progress is mere foolish speculation, since progress is to be found in man, and Auden has "never seen any evidence that men are generally better than they used to be." To mention a fourth point of view that was expressed, Coryat, our optimist and poet, our sensual lover of life, holds that there must be something wrong with an idea when it deals only with the future. Progress "comes of taking all the value out of

the past and present, in order to put it into the future. "Coryat feels that there is value in the present, for "life itself is the interest."

Allow me to explain, if you will, why I have concerned myself and perhaps bored you with this lengthy and repetitious introduction. For me, an adequate solution of the question of progress represents the crux of the entire problem. If a man be convinced of the value and necessity, or even the inevitability of progress, then his political beliefs will not remain long in darkness either. What I mean by this is fairly obvious.

Audubon would certainly never be expected to join any social revolution, if only because he believes that it doesn't make any difference what form of government we have. Lord Cantilupe rejects change because it is against his prejudices. Mendoza recognizes the necessity of making certain changes, as in regard to the extension of the franchise, for example, but suggests that we cannot attempt to control progress, because our opinions are but "froth on the surface." We are only figures guided by a greater destiny and "the current bears all alike along to the destined end." Thus, he is a conservative, resenting fundamental change as being pathological.

In other words, it is my belief that in proportion to whether a man's social tendencies are either for or against progress, so will his political tendencies be either toward

the left or the right. This, of course, is a broad generalization, subject to all the attacks with which such statements are wont to meet - and yet I feel that there is some element of truth in what I believe. If each of you will examine in your own hearts the above statement in terms of your stated position, perhaps you will see more clearly what I mean.

But now it is only just that I should submit for your analysis my own few remarks to indicate how we may better reach a finer world, as I assume that is our purpose here - and the magnificent grandeur of this exquisite dawn which now glows before our eyes affords an excellent jumping-off place for me. What man, except perhaps our cynic, can help but feel, in the presence of this spectacle, that somehow the universe must be meant to be good and fine, if one of its cosmic expressions is so beautiful and so noble? None but the deepest skeptic can harbor the thought that this is merely a front which nature assumes to hide her more ugly side. I know that some one of you will confront me with the doctrines of Darwin in which he exposes the brutalities of struggle and conflict in nature - yet I offer back to you the transcendental Emerson, his essay on "Nature", and his source of ideas, Kant. I prefer the latter theory to the former, gentlemen, because -

I am even more of an optimist than the poet Gray.
 I am a romantic, an incurable, emotional romantic, and, moreover,
 a man deeply in love with a beautiful, noble woman,
 who is to me as fine a cosmic expression as the sunrise.
 You notice that I have used the same descriptive adjectives
 in both instances. With this attitude, I cannot but feel
 that there is some godness in man which rises above all
 tragedy and misery in the world. Man is so great that
 there must be some great end for which he is fated; all
 the ugly manifestations of his character are but petty
 impermanences to be endured until he finally finds himself
 and arrives at his fulfillment. Man is good, Harrington, and
 is not to be despised, for all men, not only the "gentlemen and
 aristocrats" have the dignity which you cherish. Our religious
 idealist, our Quaker Friend Woodman realizes this, in a certain
 sense, I think, for he preaches to love thy fellow man. With
 the general application of this rule, he feels that "the conditions
 which make the problems would disappear.... and the new
 world will be achieved." This, then, is my first
 principle - that the basic nature of man is good. Many
 men have believed in this, have made it part of their
 faith. Confucius and Mencius went so far as to deliberate
 whether evil even existed or not.

My definition of progress should stem from this by implication, and I think it is consistent. Progress for me means a continual raising of the standard of living, in its most concrete aspects. That is, if man is good he deserves and is entitled to the best which the world has to offer in a material way. Every person should have the right to live comfortably, and while the early democrats said the same thing (the French Declaration of the Rights of Man gave all the rights which could be desired), still in practice it has not worked out that way. People have the right to happiness, yet they cannot be happy if they are starving or ill-housed. I would that every person should be cared for to the extent of having at least some minimum necessities - and this entails raising the general standard of living by a great deal. There could still exist the inequalities which Gentile and Harrington cherish - such "natural differences" are not incompatible with my beliefs. In a general sense, the aristocrats would have still more than they have, but at least those beneath would have a living standard too. The second principle, then, or a continuation of the first, is that progress means a higher standard of living, in which every man should be given the opportunity to enjoy the benefits which do exist in this modern age. The history of the world shows that each civilization advanced above the preceding one in

terms of material comforts, even on a proportional basis of judgment, and Wilson the biologist says that the new generation must be built through increased standards of food, housing, etc. He feels that property exists only to ensure some sufficiency of physical goods for the children. There is room at this point for the charge that I am neglecting things cultural for things material, and I will answer this in due time.

For the present, what form of government would best be suited to effect my type of progress? You have probably all guessed by this time what it is - since I said before that political tendency is in proportion to social tendency. I am for that government which will be most efficient and all-inclusive, and I am made the more certain in my choice by the knowledge that men of science are behind me. Wilson said that government should be directed by wise men in the interest of efficiency. Yes, I am an ideal socialist, or a social idealist, with the ultimate objective of an international society, one of peace and prosperity.

Before proceeding, I should like to dispose of any possible attack of inconsistency on the ground that I cannot be a socialist with my belief in individualism, in the value of man, and in Emerson's teachings on that subject. Indeed, my attackers might say, Emerson's chief disciple Thoreau was a philosophical anarchist - he even refused to pay taxes and rejected all form of government.

Thus how can I mention him and in the same breath suggest a very rigid type of control by a central government, which is a feature of socialism? May I answer this by stating that my conception of the worth of the individual only went so far as to suggest that he was also worthy of being allowed to live decently. I did not mean to imply - and I am sorry if I did - that he was capable of governing himself. In fact I feel just the opposite in the light of the results of laissez-faireism. Under this philosophy the individual was to do as he pleased or thought best in business, and the natural economic laws would see that everything turned out well. This has been a miserable failure, except, of course, for a few people, and I feel that the individual will arrive at greater comfort under a planned society.

The anarchist MacCarthy, himself has admitted that in socialism everything would be perfect - it would simply be "dead". I disagree with him, and our outlooks are different, so that when he advocates violence and active revolution, there is just no basis for discussion. If socialism were "alive", it might appeal to him, but then it would not be socialism. He says that radical change has never been accomplished without force; and I say that a radical change in man's thinking, so that the banker can be made to think on the same level as the laborer, with

The same picture of the universe, can be accomplished without force - only without force, as a matter of fact.

My position at this point is, that under socialism alone, or a collectivist form of government, can "the greatest good for the greatest number" be achieved. Bentham would probably turn over could he hear me using his thesis in this connection, yet I feel strongly that I am correct, from a long-term point of view. I agree essentially with everything Allien, the socialist, has said. He argues that capitalism is progressing toward our goal by itself; states that our cause is guided by history, that we are not compelled to bring pressure to bear to achieve it, that we can afford to wait because the force of events is bearing us on of its own accord to the end we desire. Very acutely he notices that "we socialists ought to be regarded not as assassins of the old order, but as midwives to deliver it of the child with which it is in travail."

There is, of course, a distrust of state interference into anything beyond the purely administrative and executive function. This, however, is an anachronism, finding its roots in the time when the state was incompetent and acted frankly in the interests of particular classes or persons. Growing democratization and efficient bureaucracy have

negated this condition today. Government in the hands of expert administrators would extend its sphere into the economic life of the nation, but need not necessarily interfere with any aspect of the personal, private life of its citizens. As a matter of fact, with its feeling for the worth of the individual, the government would encourage art, religion, pursuit of science and literature, would even subsidize genius in the various fields, and not allow it to languish unperceived because it has not the means to make itself heard. And this is my answer to the charge, mentioned above, of the death of culture under a socialist revolution. The theatre and galleries, museums and universities could produce with the state as the patron and sponsor, instead of being dependent on some rich man's caprice. That this would be culture directed by official order is valid, perhaps, but that the same possibility exists in a system where higher education, for example, is denied to those who cannot pay for it, is also valid, in the sense that it is culture directed by money.

I carry my convictions one step beyond Allison's, however. He may have ideas on the subject, yet has said nothing about the international implications of our belief. Would it not be wonderful to organize the whole world, and not only one country on this basis? Such a project is that of a visionary, and, frankly, I am that, with the psychological foundation

to be perceived in my romantic, optimistic outlook. I am not concerned with the mechanics of the idea - that is, whether there is to be one international government, whether the various nations would remain sovereign and all of them simply have socialistic regimes, whether there would be a super-government existing over the different states, or any other possibility. I am merely concerned with the philosophy of the situation, and the logical conclusion of my idealism is to carry it from one state to the entire planet.

I love mankind, gentlemen, and it hurts me, physically almost, for I shrink before some cases of poverty I recall, to see any part of it, particularly a large part of it, undernourished and cold, beaten and subdued, repressed and defeated. You notice that I have not been vehement toward the capitalists, nor have I castigated them as exploiters and cruel masters. I find my fault rather with the system which condones them, may cultivate them, and it is this which I would change. A man of means has no easier mental burden than a man of poverty - each has his worries, and I would eliminate these, would sublimate them into a plan which would obviate their necessity by producing some order in the economic field. I feel confident that the future will justify my hope and optimism.

- NOTE -

May I make it perfectly clear that by socialism I do not mean the experiment present state of affairs in Soviet Russia. They may reach the goal of socialism one day, but the necessary industrialization and period of expansion which must be undergone are not to be mistaken as the real thing.

Obvious, it was impossible to explain this in the essay proper, since it is supposed to have been delivered at the turn of the century - and Soviet Russia was not known. For this same reason, many references which could have been quoted to support several points were not used, since the books in question were written by men who were probably children at the time of the "Modern Symposium." Starchey and Madariaga, in particular, could have been mentioned at several turns in the argument, and the final conclusion that socialism is inevitable anyhow, which ^{they} have been advanced by these two as well as George Douglas and others (the Webbs), could not be substantiated by references to them.

To make it apparent what I really mean, therefore, this note is necessary.

Sept. 29

Introductory lecture - on technique of course, and expounding idea of a growing body of knowledge. This is not a dogmatic body of knowledge. Experiment in accumulation

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In order for western civilization to last, we must have a synoptic view of the complexities, so that there can be injected into politics a factor to ameliorate these complexities.

The tempo of civilization has changed and shifted - in latter 18th and early 19th cent. a prodigiously rapid change has occurred. Advances made in the last 50 years are greater and more penetrating than advances made in any other period. There is a cumulatively progressive rate of change. Europe used to live so that technique of one generation was adopted from that of previous one and passed on to following one. Only today is that false.

Drinker fears that the younger generation of today may be dragged into the same error as its father (i.e. - war). He doesn't see why laissez-faire should not be subjected to adaptation in an age which demands collective action. The assumption that we must live by our fathers should be denied.

Scope of course

1. Analysis of factors formulating public opinion. This should develop a technique.
2. Analysis of emergence and presuppositions of party system.
3. Sketch titles of public opinion in last hundred years.
4. Analysis of present-day parties and opinion in major states of world.

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES



Oct. 1

The Complex Nature of Society

Wm. Godwin explained society on two bases - there was reason existing in a general evolutionary development which was good, and there was fraud employed by the high officers - and to leave reason triumphant you simply had to do away with kings and priests, etc. This was adhered to. It's not so simple as all this, however.

1. Fundamental viewpoint. Society is last term of a cosmic series begun eons ago and whose graph is not plotted. Man is product of cosmic evolution and bears burden of this evolution - man is not the limit of this evolution, but the summation of all up to now. Five levels of reality have appeared - the doctrine of emergent evolution - at some point something new appeared and a new emergent arose - five levels are: 1. matter; 2. life or vitality; 3. mind (not necessarily conscious); 4. purpose or end (comes with man); 5. Deity (not as only one level, or a theologic term - but deity is one step above what has already emerged: thus, to matter, life was a deity.) Each new level does not destroy the previous one but subsumes it. Man can be considered the incarnation of all the previous cosmic levels.

2. Resulting Attitude this Interpretation Gives toward Society. Society must always be considered as a five-fold complex, always involving the five levels of society

a.) Physical - Some say that society can be interpreted and reduced to physical formulae. Physical units operating in a

physical environment are subject to physical laws. Still other factors modify the situation. (Human being is mental and purposive and there will be protest.) The influence of the physical environment must be of the primary consideration. The distribution of energy is important - it can be applied only in one direction, and because the energy of the F. islanders must be applied in the direction of self-preservation, none of it could be applied toward literary creativeness. Physical factors set certain limits of achievement (Germany wishes to be autarchy, but has not enough resources, for example). Men are living on the earth on different evolutionary levels.

oct. 4

b.) Vital - at some time there came into being something which animated the first stage - this something is life. Everyone is subject to the laws of this second level. How are changes transmitted - acquired characteristics? This is a recent type of investigation and has defied efforts to solve it.

Sociological facts of breeding and struggle for survival are influenced by this vital question, - thus the question has an effect on public opinion, on the attitude toward the fundamental viewpoint, etc. Race is a strong concept in the world and the vital factor is connected with it through the fact of breeding - thus public opinion is influenced through the fact of breeding. There is great controversy on race - some explain everything in terms of race, others explain nothing. Is there an absolute basis for race - do some races have a unique characteristics passed on for generations? That does not matter - but what is important is that there are fundamental differences between races, and these differences have their effect on public opinion.

The eugenic differences within a community indicate that biological gradings, not only between race but within a race, have their internal effects. According to your theories on a subject will be your resulting policy on the subject - and if you get a race mania (Hitler) your policy will attempt to influence public opinion on the subject. Plato said that a eugenic control was necessary.

This gets us to a controlled biological condition rather than a laissez-faire one. The breeding out of idiots is suggested, etc.

c.) Psychological - This subsumes the vital factor. You can't define mind, but that doesn't deny it. Complexities of mind are tremendous, yet up to Darwin no one thought of the effect of the psychological on politics - They had theory of native goodness and badness struggling within a man to sway him. In last 50 years, this problem first investigated - very difficult because cannot be separated from previous or following levels. One suggests that the psychological exists all through the five levels (Whitehead's idea).

Oct. 6

c.) Psychological (cont.) - emerges from vital level. Man is organic to the psychological world as well as the vital world. The enormous power of unconscious motivation, discovered since MacDougall in 1908, has effect on politics. Hitler appeals to lowest emotions, etc. Freud learned about the urge for satisfaction in the human being - desire of child for food and excretion. Child wants mother all the time, but is frustrated by father - this develops into Oedipus situation and then comes the guilt sense. Erwin feels this explains fundamental drive in politics. Suppression of something causes a search for another outlet, and it can be found in politics, or a substitute in general. The relation of this to politics is that the group has transferred to it, the guilt sense and strain of all the members - so that the group or the leader becomes the embodiment of the ideal of each person. Hitler took upon himself the burdens of the people - it is a Messianic concept. The agony of defeat was taken up by Hitler, who promised to lead them into victory.

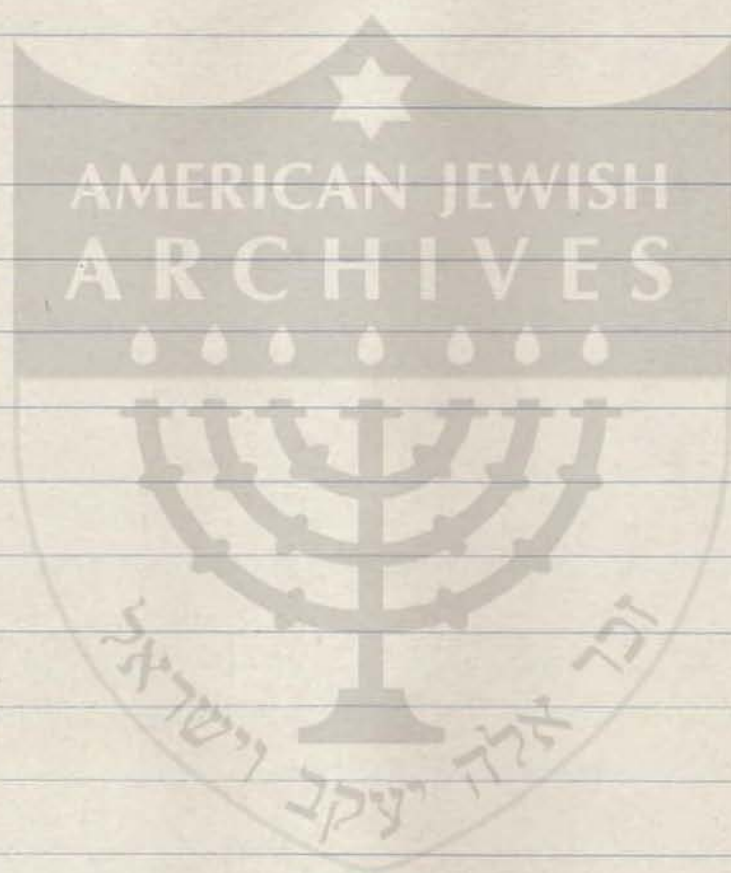
Sentiment is the crystallization of fundamental unconscious drives around a concrete object or a specific attitude. The feeling toward a flag is very complex.

Habit and memory are two other unconscious motivations.

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Oct 8

Lecture Missing



Oct. 11

The spiritual & emergent level must be taken into consideration since it explains the force of a martyr Christ or Buddha. A Christ has its force in being applicable to every man, since it contains elements which are potentialities, if not actualities in all men.

THIS FINISHES THE SECTION ON THE COMPLEX NATURE OF SOCIETY.

Factors in the Formation of Public Opinion

All the levels of society are all projected onto the one plane of mind and belief. The fundamental factors will be analysed in terms of the various levels.

I. Historical factors - the social memory of the major historical experiences of the nation's past, together with the legacy of historical development; hence, the survival of historically determined attitudes.

A.) Social memory - There is a common thought in every tradition. The strength of this memory varies greatly, however, and one must make great effort to appreciate strength of memory in other countries. Memory of bureaucracy of Prussia helps account for the support of the Nazis who again offer a centralized bureaucracy. Americans can't realize this. English can't realize the memory of federalism in this country - they think of the President as a Premier.

1.) "Lessons of history" and the sense of past crises, even though these may be wrongly interpreted by the popular

mind. The Magna Carta is supposed to be humane, but it is reactionary, giving back to the barons the privileges which a centralized monarchy had taken from them. The Parliamentarians of the 17th cent. brought up the Document to show that a group of men could dictate to the king - and then the myth of Magna Carta and liberty arose. Thus this lesson of history need not be academic, but can be popular and misinterpreted. In England there is a lesson that the destruction of the monarchy will produce chaos - and many times England held back from civil war because both sides knew the consequences of the destruction of the monarchy. There is another lesson - that you cannot tamper with the Church of England and get away with it. There can be no Catholicism tolerated in England. There is lesson of failure of general strike in 1926 which influences the action of the labor party today.

Oct. 13

Lesson of 1926 (general strike failed) still has strong memory in England. The memory of 1796 in this country and 1789 in France. 1877 French president dissolved Chambers (constitutionally) and can't do it again ^{altho' that's what needed today to stabilize政事.} for people fear autocracy.

2) Sense of Past Achievement and Pride in Past

Triumphs is powerful factor. This sense sets of limits to change in public opinion. Athens, Rome, French Napoleonic memory all engendered pride which can call forth public opinion and mass the nation together for supreme effort. German military tradition fosters a Hitler who appeals back to it, after it been badly broken. (Propaganda works only when these other factors are broken down or are not functioning normally.) Even in dispersion this sense of achievement, etc., cannot be lost - Poland. Masaryk aroused the Czechs by the social memory. Jews also preserved pride in dispersion.

3) Sense of Past Disgrace which must be Revenged. Attempt

of France between 1871 and 1914 to revenge disgrace of the loss of Alsace and of annihilation of almost whole country. Clemenceau led public opinion to clean up this disgrace. Adowa was great Italian defeat which was revenged by Ethiopian war.

4) Sense of Imminent Danger also sets limits to public opinion. Labor + Communist parties in England and France now voting for rearmament.

Oct. 15

B.) Legacy of historical development

1.) surviving operative institutions - integral parts of the national existence - the idea of the 48 states, which is not a good system, but which takes to itself a loyalty and a group of vested interests which prohibit its being changed. The Scottish Presbyterian church.

2.) living traditions in conjunction with these institutions - democratic tradition here - bureaucratic in Germany - catholicism in Spain.

One country can't imitate institutions of another country just because it's good - because it won't work in different atmosphere.

C.) Historically determined attitudes - These are the dead hands of history. Pressure of thought, principle, attitude generated in by-gone age, surviving long after utility is passed. Veneration in 20th cent of Kaiser + Tsar as divine embodiment. Still think of liberty in negative terms - absence of control? This is wrong interpretation of liberty. Marx's hand from past controls much thought today. The dead hand of the past controls thoughts of today - and controls not only reactionaries, but also radicals.

Oct. 18

Most imperative necessity in democracies today is a re-definition of liberty - so that democracies can live when opposed by totalitarian states. Discipline and liberty can and must go hand in hand. Liberty was thought of in the 18th cent as a situation with no restraints - but there must be limitations.

General Comments

1. All factors may operate consciously as well as unconsciously - and usually do operate thusly. The "symbols of government". The various values appeal to the emotion, to the unconscious, are completely irrational - but are not necessarily bad, as Truman would suppose.

There is some sort of a technique for finding these unconscious factors, such as historically determined attitudes, etc. When you find what it is which a group responds to, you can find their unconscious motivation.

2. They then may evoke automatic responses. This is true where there are old associations and traditions.

3. Question of justifiability has nothing to do with matter of motivation, either conscious or unconscious. If men from Mars started to pick apart our responses

to football game, we would get angry - for the justification is not in the reasoning behind the response, but in the tradition and the feeling for the game which is evolved out of the tradition.

4. These spontaneous responses tend to get focused on symbols, which are insignia, phrases, external objects which evoke unconscious responses and loyalties. The Roman eagle exacted oaths and then loyalty, developed and the eagle assumed sacred position. Flags - monuments.

Oct. 20

Great significance of ceremony and badge, which make direct appeal right to core of consciousness. People can't do without these things. Some ceremonies are absurd, but there is still appeal. One of stabilizing factors in England is the honor system, which has a cathartic effect on the emotions. America has come to these things - the only nation which set out with a rationalist assumption has created its titles and rituals too. If a nation does not have these things, the man or movement which does give these things can have a terrific number of followers - rise of Hitler.

II. Institutional Factors

(An association within a community which has a long past, is a stable thing, and has an emotional appeal is an institution.)

A) All states involve a grouping of groups. We are all members of participating groups - either family or college or bar association. Institutions make you a part of themselves and evoke deep responses. Problem to determine what are the attitude-determining institutions in each country, for there are some associations which make superficial demands on opinion and then pass away. In some countries there are ~~some~~ many ancient institutions and fewer temporary

ad hoc groups - and vice versa. This country has least of the old institutions - and thus accuses the venerable institutions of other countries to be pressure groups, lobbies, etc. Even this country has to assume a vast bulk of attitude in regard to conduct, obedience, expected action, etc. Also the argument that this country's opinion is formed by temporary groups since we have few institutions, is wrong because these temporary groups often develop into institutions - British Trade Unions.

1. A vast complex of groups which have a double range a.) from specific to general (golf club is former and nation is latter); b.) from temporary to permanent.

2. Nature of group - an important phase in evolution itself.

Oct. 22

At certain stage in evolution "the herd instinct" emerges to give rise to the group. We simply accept the group as a datum in the investigation of public opinion.

There is a variety of origins in groups, due maybe to temporary necessities, to religious beliefs, etc. More permanent groups show two characteristics: an explicit purpose and a secondary significance of added meaning. In every group there is an end to be achieved, but soon other things accrue to this so that the explicit purpose gets to be dominated by the second significance. Yale in 1737 had specific purpose, but has added to that purpose, both conscious (through addition) and unconscious (through transmission of tradition), many secondary meanings so that now it is simply not the theological school it was then. There develops, after a time, a sense of pride in the group, a sense of "ours" - and this tends to crystallize the group even more. When accretions reach the point where the group becomes too large, for a man to have a sense of "ownership" in it, then there is a snap-back and a group forms within the large one. Man is an animal who needs to participate in something, and when the state gets too large for him to have a sense of possession in it, he devotes himself to

other groups. When a man like Hitler creates a state where every man is given a feeling of self-enhancement, when he creates "our" state, you can understand his success.

There is little secondary significance to a golf club - but when we come to a school, there is a glow which results from the thought that you are a member of this group. There are certain standardized attitudes which a man acquires from his school - an idiom, an accent, a point of view, the school tie, etc. These second significances can be seen to be vastly powerful in the formation of opinion.

If the sense of "oneness" is not developed, then the institution and the person grow apart. Thus one of the functions of the political party is to give a sense of "oneness," which is really sense of increased self-enhancement. A real leader is man who gives you sense of participation.

Results: 1. Enlargement of the personal ego by identification with the greater unit. One need not be aware of it - one may grouse - yet there is still love for the group. Some institutions, the eternal ones, give you a sense of infinite enlargement. Race and church are two such institutions. There comes a point where this gets pathological - where there is destruction of ego to advantage of the whole group.

2. Loyalty - payment the individual makes for the (war)

enlargement of his ego. Loyalty is the other side of
self-determination,



Oct. 25

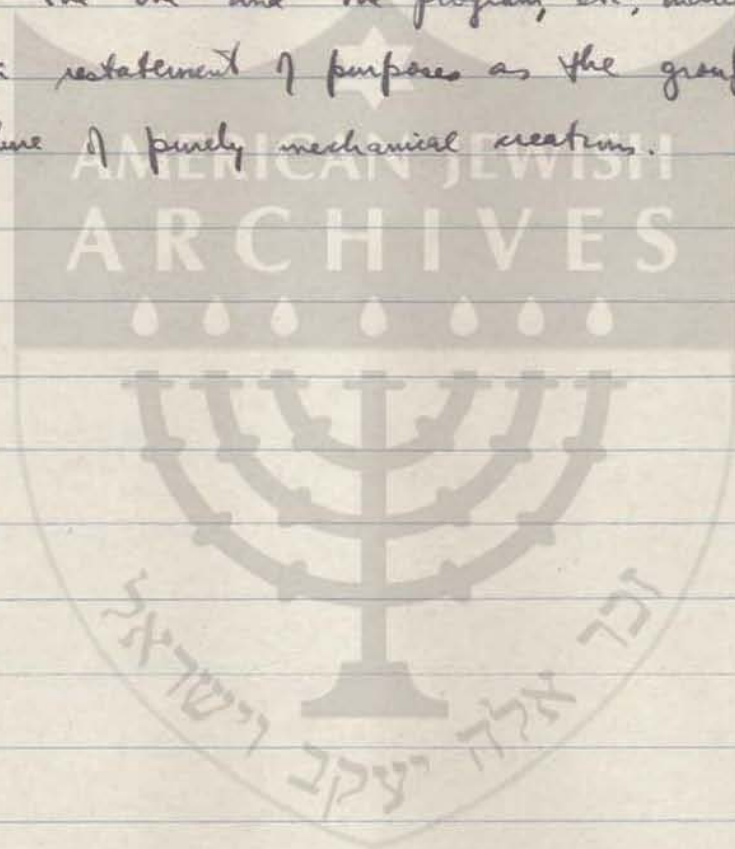
The depositing in the individual of something he believes his own is the sense of loyalty. This, together with the enlargement of the ego, produces certain responses, which, when taken many-fold, are really the group action. The individual consciousness is lost in this group mind - and yet the individual consciousness is strengthened and empowered from the feeling of power which is present in the group.

3. Evolution of groups - they can be graded in terms of the bond holding them together. (1) Contiguity is one form of unity. There can be other substitutes (radio, papers). This is primitive. (2) a slogan as the uniting bond (football game, French revolution). (3) Organization (with uniform, insignia, etc) produces unity. (4) Group ideal unites. In a group you lose the sense of identity.

4. Nature of the group ideal - it is possible for permanent groups to have as their bond not physical contiguity, but something which is an ideal or a psychological principle, which need not be fully conscious - probably is not so in the external groups. (1) Group ideal is felt to exist in other members, yet too deep and complex for conscious formation. (2) Largely represented by tradition. (3) Can only be represented by symbols, which are indications of the nature of the ideal. (4) Idealized group not bounded by time or space.

Service to the ideal gives group support, especially when there is an immortal group. (Arabs when Mohammed spurred them on.)

Summary - all permanent groups have unconscious one with conscious & expanding circumference. The symbol indicates the one and the program, etc., indicates the other. Hence, a restatement of purposes as the group develops. Hence, the failure of purely mechanical creations.



Oct-29

1. All states are a grouping of groups.
2. The great institutional associations, which are groups specifically organized for pursuit of basic purpose and organized by established forms and conditions of procedure.

A.) How do they determine public opinion?

a.) By inducing specific attitude in their members. Make no difference whether group is large or small. Qualitative and not quantitative.

b.) By promulgating and disseminating these attitudes, so that membership in the group comes to be identified with the certain attitude.

c.) By evoking esprit d'corps, both in giving something to the individual and in demanding loyalty from the individual - and the more he gives, the more the individual is bound. There is also loyalty to the leader - Hitler is the incarnation of the external German spirit.

B.) The major types of institutional associations, which must all be taken into consideration, are:

a.) Ecclesiastical - may be utterly dominant as in Ireland, Scotland, England. This type may be quiescent and then flare up, so that it is unpredictable. Important to find out what activates this type.

b.) Legal - the method by which jurisdiction is constructed

and named. In some state legal groups have tremendous dignity (Cuba, France)

B) Educational - What is the process of selection by which cultural heritage and technical information is transmitted? Not everybody can have it. Countries vary as to the structure and the way people regard this structure. English regard Oxford + Cambridge with approval

A) Political - 1.) parties 2.) chambers (both are important. Parties in some countries not institutions and cannot command loyalties.

C) Variations in the importance of these types

a.) Geographical and temporal variation in importance. The ecclesiastical is predominant in Spain, while politics is negligible.

b.) National + internal institutions.

(Developed in next lecture.)

Oct. 29

There has been the habit of enlarging the institutions, especially the legal one. At time of French Revolution, there were 300 law codes in existence. Eventually a single common law arose. This process of absorbing the multiplicity and diversity in the various institutions - so that an emergent institution arises as a unity - goes on in all institutions. Today, there is the tendency for an international institution to arise - to absorb into itself the separate loyalties accorded to the separate state. The emergent institution is weaker, however, in the demands of loyalty, than the national institution.

c.) Watch the rising movement - for that is possibly the new institution which may transcend the old one.

d.) All institutional associations involve a pyramid structure based on a selective process.

There must be discipline and separation of function in an institution, and the selective process determines at what point in the pyramid a particular member will perform his function. Catholic Church is pyramidal system, extremely complicated.

In terms of what criterion are you selecting the various ranks of your hierarchy, and your political system? The judicial system in England is pyramidal - the lawyers of England are self-governing and powerful.

At top are judges, next K.C., ordinary barrister, aspirants. This guild has 4 subordinates, each self-governing in same way. This guild demands supreme loyalty, even above the state. Rise in the pyramid is on a strict selective basis, deriving the criteria from above.

The criterion of selection will largely depend upon the vitality of the unconscious ideal.

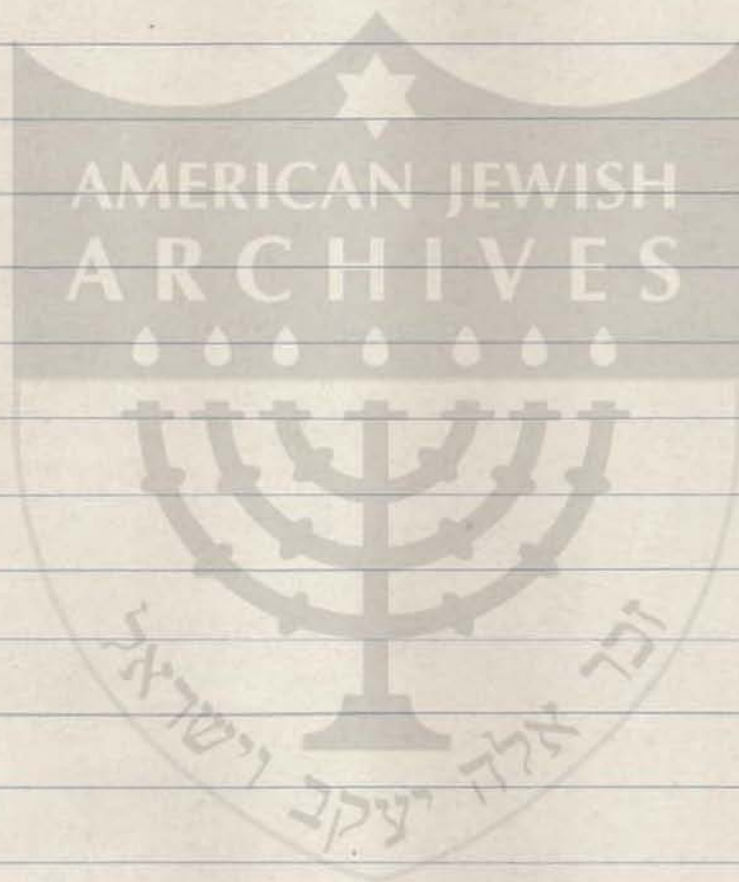
Distinguish between knowing the group from without and from within. There can never be a science of this because there are always ins and outs which never agree and hence no exactness can be achieved. A Physicist looks from without and describes ^{you} in a certain manner - your best friend, who knows you from within, describes you differently. Attempt an internal appreciation so that you can see loyalties, etc.

III. The Social Factors

A) Definitions and Implications

1. The prevailing sense of the recognized order of superiority and inferiority in a community
2. This is a subjective factor - essentially a sense of prestige and importance. Objective differences in occupation, wealth, culture, birth ~~etc~~ do not produce so much effect.

3. This involves the sense of the social pyramid and hierarchy and gradation.



Nov. 1

Govt 42

a) Social pyramid involves ^{sense of} social equality or sameness of standard ^{within each} of particular level in hierarchy. (accept of expnd).

The subjective sense of the prestige in the old school fee, for instance, is being changed and imitation of the higher by the lower classes is taking place.

b) There is sense of inferiority to those above and superiority to those ^{below} ~~above~~. It is an acceptance of the social values of the community and a tacit admission that in this particular respect you are inferior or superior.

This is basis of Toryism and conservative parties.

c) Sense of elite - those of the elect. Criteria for this vary widely. India has criterion of birth. Talent (as in English Civil Service) is also criterion. Profession (at first, warrior, lately, the professional careers)

d) Hence, resulting "class structure". Class idea is fluid one, and should be thought of as potential structure instead of actual one.

~~Marx~~ Marx wrong in linking class structure with economics:

a) Class difference which do not correspond to economic levels. Brahmin is socially highest in India but is poor and must work for lower person. White-collar worker in America, tries to associate himself with bourgeois and not proletarian.

Nov. 8

Social factors - pyramid.

What is the nature of the pyramid generally, and what are the lesser pyramids within? This is the application of the social factor to an analysis of public opinion.

With the growing technicality of any one of major affairs, there is increasing need for specialization, which leads to increasing professional sense, which manifests itself in preventing use of men outside. Medicine and law are obvious - and this is happening over whole sphere of activity. The development of trade unions within a profession also increases the professional sense. Thus, there is a professional sense among the proletariat. There can be movement up and down in one pyramid, but no transference across pyramids.

With the hardening of the professional structure, there develop a set of criteria, so that many men are frustrated, get "balked dispositions", develop Fascist feelings. Gradually a national wage scale with pension system, etc., grows up in the pyramid - and when this occurs, you know the structure is frozen and grows conservative. Conservatism in Europe is based on security - and sweeps in terms of personal financial condition. The ^{professionalized} pyramid offers security - its advantages.

People get a feeling of being hemmed in, frustrated, etc.

This accounts in part for large wave of imperialism around 1880. The vast industrialization of England presented a diab. stratified life, with a growing body of obscure, lower-middle-class people. From Africa and India came tales of adventure and romance, which opened up new vistas to people. Growing jussocialization in the world today will lead to demand for romance. Appeals of fascism and communism are not because of their economic needs, but because there was dynamic movement, with romantic element involving individual participation. There is a release of emotion leading to excesses of cruelty.

The social factors determine public opinion:

1. Because of nature of hierarchy, determines standardized responses (of Oxford man, etc.)
2. Determines content of social aspiration. (Nature of social pyramid determines this?) Bulk of small French shopkeepers are content to remain where they are.
3. Gives background against which social protest is made. Social protest in England has been that there has ^{not} been ~~too~~ ^{a free enough} free an opening in the social structure - so there has been democratization.

4. In few countries, social structure of monarchy, create favorable public opinion - pride in achievement of King, etc.

IV. Economic Factors

- A.) Varying sense of economic presupposition regarding the wealth-making process and the nature of property.

Between different countries there are different assumptions.

Idea of absolute property right being violated by taxation is 18th century in this country.



Nov. 10

altho' we are living in age when property relationships seem fixed, we are still living in shifting tide. In case of feudalism, which was opposite to present set-up, every particular possession is focal point for a number of interests, with allegiance to overlords. For one plot of ground there was hierarchy of possession up to king. This whole complicated set-up conditioned the reaction in the 17th, 18th centuries. In these centuries, possession tended to become ownership, and allegiance to king or overlord was broken. Charles I tried to get these men to keep allegiance to him. They arose against him to defend their rights, which were new rights, not feudal rights. The new concept of property was characterized by Adam Smith and Bentham (and FFB). In France, the peasants seized the property instead of letting the nobles do it, when the system got shaky. The nobles were murdered. The small bourgeois got his few acres and keeps his secret - he doesn't want wealth. In Spain, the feudal structure is being attacked by leftists and defended by Franco.

Capitalism is second great economic preoccupation. This did not appear at any one particular moment. Many

people tried to frustrate development of trade and industry.

Only in America did capitalism have a run free from restriction. Here the idea of property is most absolute.

In England the income tax has gone for 150 years - this is idea that state still has interest in property. In U.S. any action of state is violation of absolute property right.

England is more collectivist than U.S.

The elements of a larger purpose are found in every property relationship.

Introduction to the Study of Public Opinion. (Government 42.)

A. The Complex Nature of Social Forces:

- (a) The theory of emergent evolution.
- (b) The five levels of reality:
 - (1) physical
 - (2) vital
 - (3) psychological
 - (4) purposive
 - (5) spiritual
- (c) Significance of this viewpoint for the study of society; the nature of science and scientific abstraction.

Reading:

C.E.M. Joad: Guide to Modern Thought.
E.J. Urwick: Philosophy of Social Progress.
A. Whitehead: Adventures in Ideas.
A. Huxley: Ends and Means.
L.T. Hobhouse: Social Development.
G. Heard: These Hurrying Years.

B. Factors in the Formation of Public Opinion:

Public opinion as the complex of social attitudes.
Major factors and processes determining these attitudes:

(1) Historical Factors:

- (a) social memory: the "lessons of history"; the sense of past achievements; the memory of past fears and disgrace.
- (b) legacy of historical development: surviving, operative institutions and the living traditions which these engender.
- (c) historically-determined attitudes and principles: the "dead hand of history".

Reading:

L. Woolf: After the Deluge.

(2) Institutional Factors:

- (a) The State as a grouping of groups: nature of the group; evolution of groups; the "group ideal"; symbols.
- (b) The great institutional Associations in ecclesiastical, legal, educational, political. Geographical and temporal variations in importance. "Watch the rising movement".

Reading:

J.T. Macourdy: Mind and Money.
Ernest Barker: National Character.
Graham Wallas: Our Social Heritage.

(3) Social Factors:

- (a) "prevailing sense of recognised order".
- (b) consequent sense of social pyramid and hierarchy: resulting class-structure.
- (c) variations in types of classes.

Reading:

R.M. Maciver: Society.
M. Ginsberg: Psychology of Society.

(4) Economic Factors:

- (a) varying sense of economic presupposition re nature of property and the wealth-making process.
- (b) varying sense of economic grievance - within and without the community.
- (c) ownership of the means of public expression - press, radio, etc.

Reading:

Barker & Hobhouse:

J.A. Hobson: Free Thought and the Social Sciences.

(5) Instruments of Dissemination:

- (a) evolution of the instruments - pulpit, pamphlet, platform, press, etc.
- (b) varying nature of the controls.
- (c) nature of propaganda: conditioned by the other factors.

Reading:

L. Doob: Propaganda.

(6) Political Ideas:

- (a) Changes in intellectual and moral climate: examples.
- (b) nature of predominant metaphor or world-view. e.g: medieval outlook; "the body politic"; the Cartesian viewpoint; society as an organism.
- (c) nature of theory as explaining a sense of lack and giving a program etc.
- (d) methods of dissemination. /of fulfilment.

Reading:

Delisle Burns: Political Ideals.

Stawell & Marvin: Making of the Western Mind.

J.H. Randall: Making of the Modern Mind.

W. Lippman: Preface to Morals.

(7) The Problem of Leadership:

- (a) leadership as a group phenomenon.
- (b) Michels' theory of an emerging oligarchy.
- (c) Freud's theory of the leader as embodying the "group ideal".
- (d) Conway's theory of crowd-compellers, crowd-exponents and crowd-representatives.

Reading:

R. Michels: Political Parties.

M. Conway: The Crowd.

C. The Emergence and Nature of Parties:

- (1) Gradual appearance within the democratic state of the two unpredicted phenomena of parties and trade unions. Similarities and comparisons between them. Consequences for the original assumptions of the early democrats and the paradoxes involved.
- (2) Eighteenth century attitude to party.
Bolingbroke, Madison, Washington, etc.
Burke's vindication of party.
- (3) Functions of party the cause of its development - revealed as oligarchy concedes to democracy: Provision of (a) coherence (b) continuity (c) expression and (d) compromise.
Montesquieu's "necessary movement in things".
Selection of candidates and civic education.

D. The Problem of Representation:

- (1) Origin of the idea:
medieval background; church corporations; consultative bodies of Estates.
"Community representation" becomes "virtual representation".
- (2) Transposition of the idea from "community" to "democracy".
Development of new principle of a right to representation: origins of this principle: problems arising: resort to "territorial" representation: but this precipitates grave new problems.
- (3) Contemporary criticism of the orthodox theory: calling into question the fundamentals.

E. Types of Party System:

- (1) Two-party system:
variations in unitary and federal states.
- (2) Multiple-party system, e.g. France and Czechoslovakia.
- (3) One party system of dictatorships.
- (4) Basic factors determining their operation:
 - (a) the right of dissolution.
 - (b) strength of the executive.
 - (c) extra-parliamentary pressures.

Nov. 12

Concept of property has passed through various stages: feudalism to absolute ownership. Two further stages are manifestly appearing. There are elements of a larger purpose, other than personal, in every property relationship. Collectivism (general attitude which realises ramifications in property ramifications and says state should regulate them. Child labor. Man has right to his labor, but when they are children and he does harm to them, this ramification can be regulated by state.) and communism (akin to feudalism, since idea is that state is only one owner) are movements away from 18th century conception of property. Sense of economic presupposition in regard to property in England allows it to be collectivist and allows mines of country to be nationalised.

B.) Varying sense of economic grievance - both external and internal. Hungary lost land in war - result is exaltation of national spirit and demand for return of land. People felt it worth while to die to get land back. This is external. The movement of protest indicates in what sense the property relationship is going to be changed. If the grievance is deep, there can be expected a fundamental change in the state, a incorporation of the drive for change right into the state. Parliament was result of a movement - Lobby in the Cuna Affair.

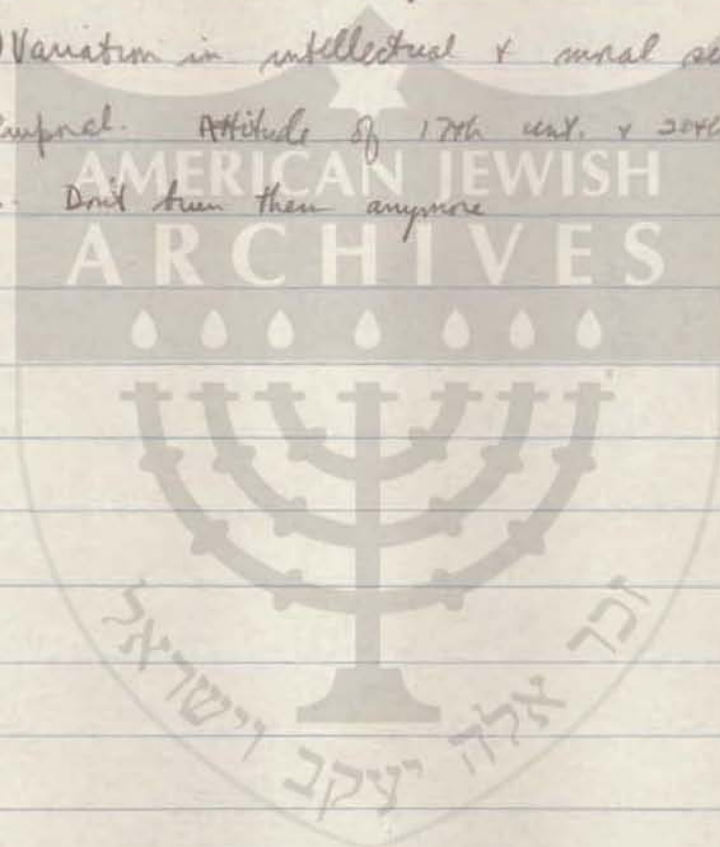
CIO in this country is important rising movement

E.) Ownership ^{of instruments} of dissemination of ideas.

These are economically conditioned. Yet it is too easy to exaggerate the power of these instruments.

V. POLITICAL THEORY - a factor not to be ignored.

A) Variation in intellectual & moral sense, geographical and temporal. Attitude of 17th cent. & 20th cent. toward witches. Don't burn them anymore



Nov. 15

Dante, world's great genius, uses arguments in political speculation which look ridiculous today. Five hundred years from now our argument will be ridiculed. There must be a stable factor. It is symbolic thinking:

It is possible to express moral condition, fundamental judgments of value in symbols, etc, which have warmth for and significance for us today, but which are meaningless before & after today. We are finite and cannot deal with the totality of things, yet we try to. Man does this by using symbols which are recognizable to his contemporaries. Common law is built up by judicial construction, which takes a document and looks at the implication, looks at what the words mean; thus, when a document does not cover the case on hand, it can be made to cover it through implication. Idiom changes from one generation to the other - implications of idiom change too.

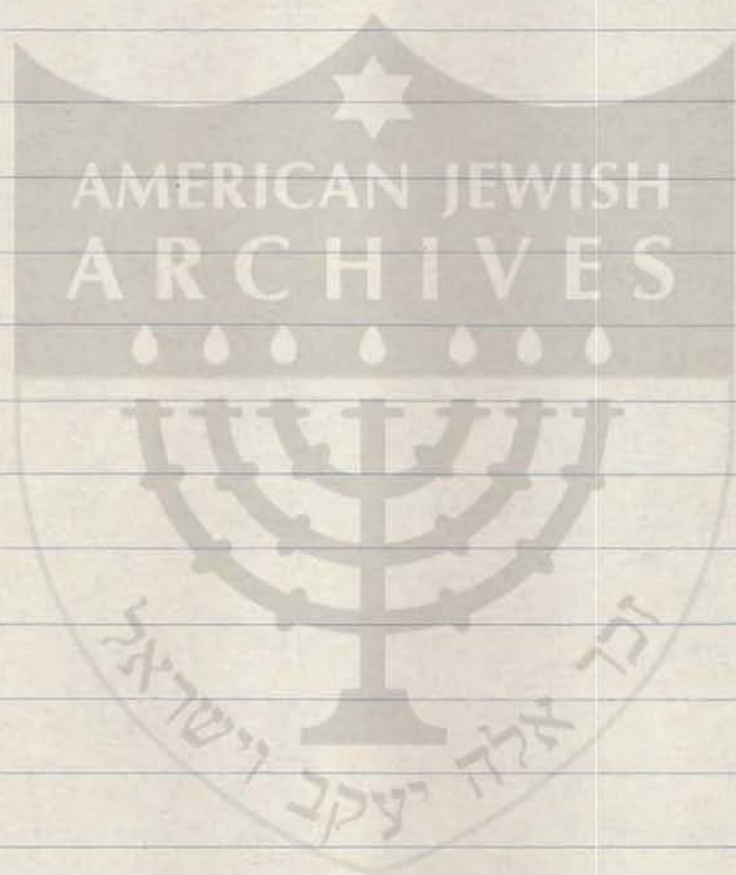
There is changing moral as well as intellectual sense. Sense of values shift - grandfather's attitude toward horses and our attitude. Inquisition in St. Joan say he wishes she would change her attitude, but if she doesn't then she must be burned, since she would not the whole

structure. He believed the church had a cosmic purpose, and painful as it might be, all threats to it must be stamped out. This is the same philosophy which motivates the leaders of the totalitarian states, when they stamp out opposition to their movements. Thus, you must be careful before condemning the leaders. In the long run, force is inevitable - since the leaders cannot brook long resistance. Democracy concedes freedom which may cause its own undoing - so the definition of liberty is now being shifted. It is no longer the ^{negative} absence of restraint, but a positive allowance of certain things and no more.

The French Revolution, a result of a changing moral sense, was made when the means of propaganda were all in the hands of the propertied class. This shows that for propaganda is not quite so important when major shifts of are involved.

2.) In every generation there is a predominant picture in men's minds in terms of which they think out their political problems. This is a long range tendency. There have been several pictures of the universe, and men's thought has changed as this picture has shifted. Descartes & Newton showed rational laws operating in universe and kings, who corrupted these laws, must be gotten rid of.

Out of the machine universe, came the evolutionary universe of Darwin, with conception of struggling biological creatures. We today have two universes which are not yet reconciled and our social studies show the conflict.



Nov. 22

In any given country there is a picture of the world, the universe in terms of which the thinking is done. One picture of the universe can last for several generations. Each generation is born into a set of ideas and accepts them as basic assumptions. In middle ages, universe was conceived of pyramidal. In 16th cent, old universe collapsed - and Galileo, Kepler, Descartes, Newton gave world a picture of the universe as machine running on universal law. This mechanical picture has lasted just about up to today. Darwin wrote blue prints for another universe - "Man is organic to nature." These two pictures are incompatible. A picture of struggle cannot be reconciled to a picture of a smooth-running machine. There is a struggle in academic world to settle conflict between two ideas. You cannot think of one in terms of the other - must decide on one, not mix them. In 18th cent. the mechanical universe began to be popularized in France. Out of this rose the Encyclopedists, who sought to catalogue all knowledge as an explanation of the universal laws. Ideas arose that man is after happiness - everything he does is directed toward that end; second ^{man} he is guided by reason. These two ideas are fundamental to democracy. There is conflict over type of reason to develop in people. Some say there should be a humanistic training in universities - while others say there should be a technical specialization. Dictators are glad to have specialization in

the higher education, because then the intelligentsia are less concerned to interfere in politics. There will be this type of situation in America - because with the loss of humanistic education in the face of technical education, the intelligentsia are lost to politics, and dictators can get control more easily.

Fascism has made use of organic process in universe. Individual does not matter - is subordinate to the working of the great group. Nothing mechanical to this - is organic.

There is still mechanistic theory in this country. Idea of checks & balances in government.

Nov. 24

Totality of Aryan race is organic conception of universe, and cannot be reconciled with democratic choice of representatives, checks and balances, etc. Secondly, there is difficulty in correlating an emergent universe with its parent whom it is going to supplant.

The great mind is the only one which can understand both universes.

There may be two rights - both the old and the new - and tragedy occurs when one must die before the other. The lesson to be

learned here is - never to interpret the other fellow in terms of

your own universe. No unconscious optimism about the success of your universe should dictate your appreciation of the other universe. No unconscious preference should determine your attitude.

Socrates and Christ were both forerunners of new universes, and their judges were sincere. Tragedy here is terrible.

C.) Nature of theory - Theory and practice cannot be divorced.

Political theory is both negative & positive, as it is tied up with events.

A theory explains a sense of lack, and thus acts as supplement to energy.

Every theory gives a program of fulfillment - 18th cent. philosophers gave workers idea of Utopia. This may accentuate the sense of lack, but on other

hand it offers a concrete program. Marxism stresses sense of lack,

for after the great Revolution, Marx is sketchy about what will happen.

D.) Methods of dissemination - Society is an intellectual pyramid,

running from sensitive to mundane men. New ideas start at top, and

by the time it hits the base, it is only a series of catchwords. John

2.
Locke's theory of democracy opposed the Stuart autocracy. As the century wore on, the idea penetrated. The Whigs venerated Locke, and unemployed men seeking for social reconstruction were also talking Locke, even though they did not know it. Locke's arguments originally used for upper middle class against King, were now being used for benefit of proletariat against upper middle class oligarchy.

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES



Nov. 26

There is definite time-lag between formulation of theory up top and seizure of idea down below. Example of Locke. When his idea was being discussed above, the people below were still talking about theories of the preceding generations. Marx is similar example - wrote around '48, appealing only to few intellectuals, such as Fabian Society in England. English proletariats did not become aware of Marx till after the war. It took several decades for the idea to come down the pyramid. When proletariats get idea, it is in fragments and not in form of whole as at top. This is intellectual pyramid. The process of dissemination from top to bottom has been speeded up today - and one of troubles is that adjustments of mind, institutions, etc., cannot take place properly.

Political theory from above downward - while economic grievance works upwards. There is an acute sense of lack and unrealized possibilities. More sensitive men at top watch rising movements and demands, and try to articulate these demands. Marx saw misery and formulated theory of labor value. Acute sense of lack in 19th England over breakdown of world market (amsterdam). Then in Prussia Council renewed this - formulated idea of "body politic".

INSTRUMENTS OF DISSEMINATION OF IDEAS

1. Evolution of instrument

- A. Pulpit - main forum for expression of ideas, ^{more} especially in previous days. Kings (Henry 8) wanted control of Church. Hitler realizes it today.
- B. Pamphlet - early presses were slow, and large books difficult. Furtive pamphlets in 16th century caused licensing of presses, which gave rise to illicit presses. Hitler licensed presses like Elizabeth.
- C. Platform - very recent. Wesleyanism made that a forum of public opinion. Platform accentuated number of pamphlets and increased efficacy of pulpit.
- D. Popular press - underwent ^{pyramidal} periodic variations of ideas. First appealed only to highest aristocratic level. Later developed a lower middle class yellow press. Lower still is an illegal press, which refused to submit to stamp & licenses.
- E. Radio - cannot have laissez-faire in radio. It is subject to much control.

older instrument are pretty free while newer ones are strictly controlled and licensed.

2. Nature of ownership and control^{of movement} - also evolutionary
 - A. Ecclesiastical - obvious
 - B. Constitutional - comes when there is state regulation for fear of destruction of regime itself. In England after Waterloo, govt clamped down to prevent revolution.
 - C. Military
 - D. Financial - where motivation is one of profits
3. Nature of propaganda - emphasized in America most.
 - A. Negative - deliberate suppression by force of all the counter-forces in order to spread a single doctrine.
Destruction of all rivals.
 - B. Positive - Dissemination of a doctrine, not by destruction of rival, by success to get your ideas accepted.

Propaganda is only effective when other factors are breaking down. If there is strong historic memory, institutions, etc., it will be these forces which will generate public opinion. Only when these collapse will the propaganda be able to penetrate.

Nov. 29

A group attempting to extend the radius of its influence is not really exercising propaganda. Groups are all the time spreading their own attitudes. Every living thing constantly expresses attitudes - thus there is no right to say that this expression is propaganda.

There may be a purpose held by a group to inject into society a new set of attitudes. The process of doing this is properly called propaganda, although the word does not imply good or bad. Unless there are fundamental reasons why these new attitudes should flower, they will not. They succeed only when there is a potential demand for them.

The ease with which an idea is propagated is in inverse ratio to the strength of the existing groups and institutions. (Example of influence of yellow press in England.)

Germany had strong historic memory which had been smashed. She was neurasthenic, from death & starvation. Trust, she had not had experience with democracy and could not operate Weimar Constitution. There was no one figure for leadership.

There existed Germanic conception of The Folk. All these forces are latent, and are given direct expression to by uneducated, primitive leader. Of course, capitalists supported him, but did could not create favorable response which Hitler's appeals did.

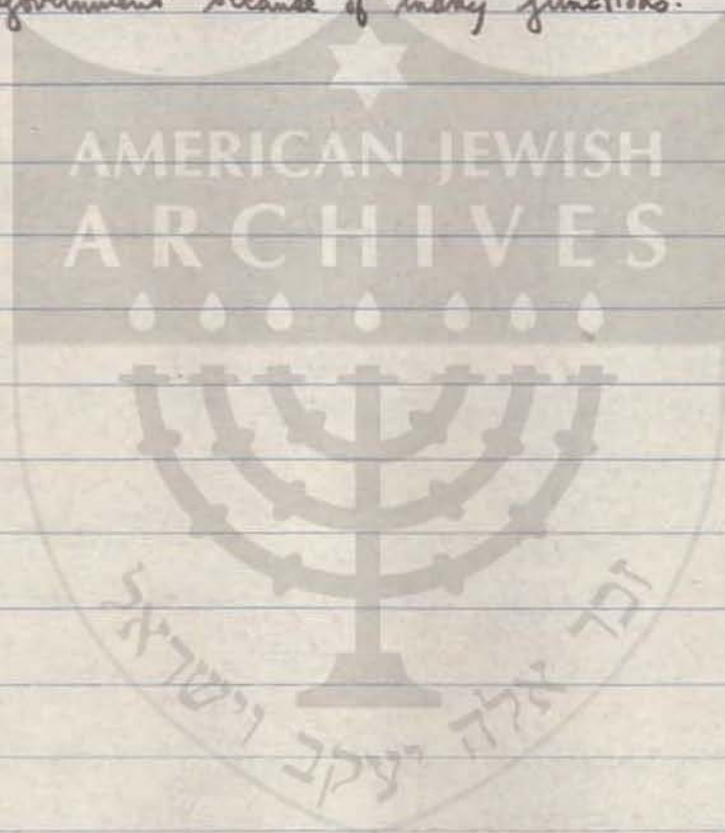
LEADERSHIP

1. Is a phenomenon in all groups of any permanence. No group exists without leadership.
2. There is emergent oligarchy in all groups.
There is tendency for pyramid structure to appear.
 - a.) Technical nature of work that's done sends a little privileged, skilled bunch to the top.
 - b.) Psychological forces leading to leadership:
 - 1.) Apathy of mass & longing for leadership.
General bunch are willing to let few vital men lead.
 - 2.) Lust for power - given fruition by apathy.
 - 3.) Metamorphosis in even best leaders, so they become estranged from mass.
3. Leader is embodiment of the group ideal
4. Pathological forms of this embodiment. There may be dichotomy in society so that only strong leader produces unification.
5. Three types of leaders:
 - Crowd-compellers - Gladstone
 - Crowd-representatives - Coolidge
 - Crowd-exponents - Roosevelt, Lloyd George, Mussolini

Nov. 31

I. Problem of Parties

- A. Absolutism turned into Democracy during 18th century.
- B. Organized party alone can mediate between people and government because of many functions.



Jan. 3

Cohence, Continuity, Expression, Compromise

- c. Organized party alone can provide Montagu's "necessary ~~movement~~ ^{movement} in things" to redistribute authority divided by Govt. into three parts. He saw conflicts between branches. The only thing which can prevent these is organized party.
- d. As party developed it became apparent that party was filling subordinate functions: ① Party process which selects candidates; ② Party done more to provide civic education.

Without party you could not get the above four functions. In times of absolutism these functions (selection, education, coherence, etc.) did not exist as a problem, but today they are necessary, and party operates them. Yet party is very young.

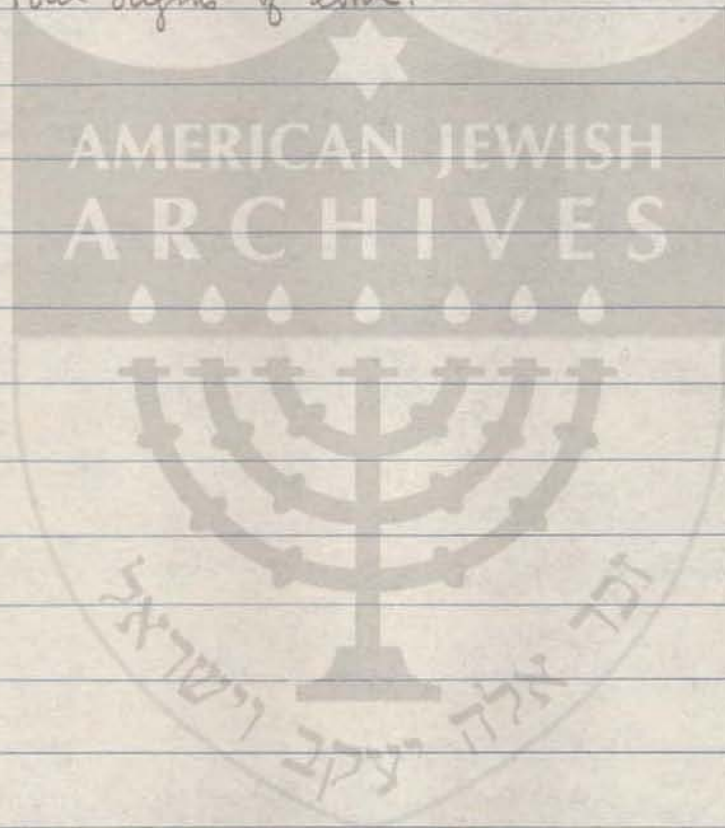
II. Problem of Representation

- A. Origin of Idea
 - B. Transposition of Idea from community to democracy
 - C. Criticisms Today
1. ① It is medieval conception.
 - ② First worked out of church in connection with fictitious personality of church corporation.

- ③ Development of consultative bodies on basis of Estates. Some say the secular bodies copied the idea from the church - others say this idea of representation arose simultaneously in church and state. Wherever this did take place the ecclesiastics often were the representatives (at Magna Carta). When concessions did begin to be made (Model Parliament 1295) there came representatives of different Estates, different strata in society.
- ④ Peculiar utilization of these principles in England because of strength of king. The king was willing to concede representation only because he could get more out of the people if their ^{own} representatives went back and asked for more money instead of having him ask for money. Representation at this time was only an instrument, a device for an oligarchic monarch. People were at first apathetic to representation, didn't want to go, because they weren't getting anything from the king. Eventually, they revolted and decided they did want some good representation.
- ⑤ Still essentially communities being represented. No idea of people being represented. There was "virtual representation". There is no essential connection whatever between representation and democracy.

B. Transposition of Idea creates modern democratic state.

- ① New principle develops alongside idea of representation. There is idea of "right" to be represented. Mythic dogma of inalienable and sacred rights. There is not much justification - it is psychological.
- ② Four origins of above:



Jan. 5

Govt 42

- a.) Eng. 17th cent. struggle - Parl. v. King, Puritans - crystallized by John Locke. Protestant influences.
- b.) American colonial radicalism emanating from above
- c.) Rousseau's Social Contract - belief in capacity of man to participate in govt - belief that society should embody the general will.
- d.) French Revolutionary experiments.

③ But all this involves problem of how to get unity out of atoms. How to bridge the gap between individual and nation. You cannot get sense of communal obligation out of "inalienable rights" idea. This embodies conflict between socialism & individualism. German thinkers deny existence of gap - say individual and community are organic to each other. Never has been real democratic tradition in Germany. Anglo-French thinkers have developed contract theory.

④ Territorial representation solved in pragmatic way the problem of obligation. Millieban had "scale map" idea

a.) Does territory have sovereign rights in regard to others?

This problem of intransigence leads to civil war.

b.) Whom does representative represent - locality or nation?

Here and in France it is former - in England ~~the~~ latter.

General or delegate power of representative.

c.) Problem of qualification for vote - class, property

education, etc. How shall the vote be taken?

Selective representatives or not?

c. Criticisms Today of Representative Idea

I. Mystic Dogma is called into question:

- ① Rationality and self-interest of voter being questioned.

Does he know what is best in any issue? In 18th cent. there was optimism - but today there is pessimism.

- ② Wide distribution of political consciousness being questioned.

Polit. conc. has not extended down the pyramid and will not extend any more than an artistic or literary conc.

Democracy cannot be propagated by this extension.

- ③ Simplicity of issues being questioned. Previously they were simple, but today there is complexity of economic, social, etc., ^{total issues} problems, which the average man cannot judge, since each man can judge only those issues within his scope.

- ④ Geographic - you cannot represent people or territory, but only purposes.

II. Problem of Selective Democracy

- II. Where all the fundamentals are not assumed by all, neither party or representation are possible. In Spain before Civil War there was not unanimity on fundamentals - and there could not be decent representative system when there are 15 disagreements on principle (monarchist, communist, etc.)

Systems:

England, America, Scandinavia, Canada, etc.

A. Two-party system

1. In unitary state they are homogeneous
2. In federal state they are confederation of interest

B. Multiple party - France, Czechoslovakia assume that many shades of opinion are necessary

C. One-party - dictatorships. Vitality comes from rigorous obligation of principle of selectivity so that there is no frustration

Basic Factors Determining Above:

- a. Right of dissolution
- b. Strength of executive
- c. Extra-parliamentary pressure

Jan. 10

I. Major Factors in Evolution of British Politics down to 1830.

A. Emergence of Party 1621-1714

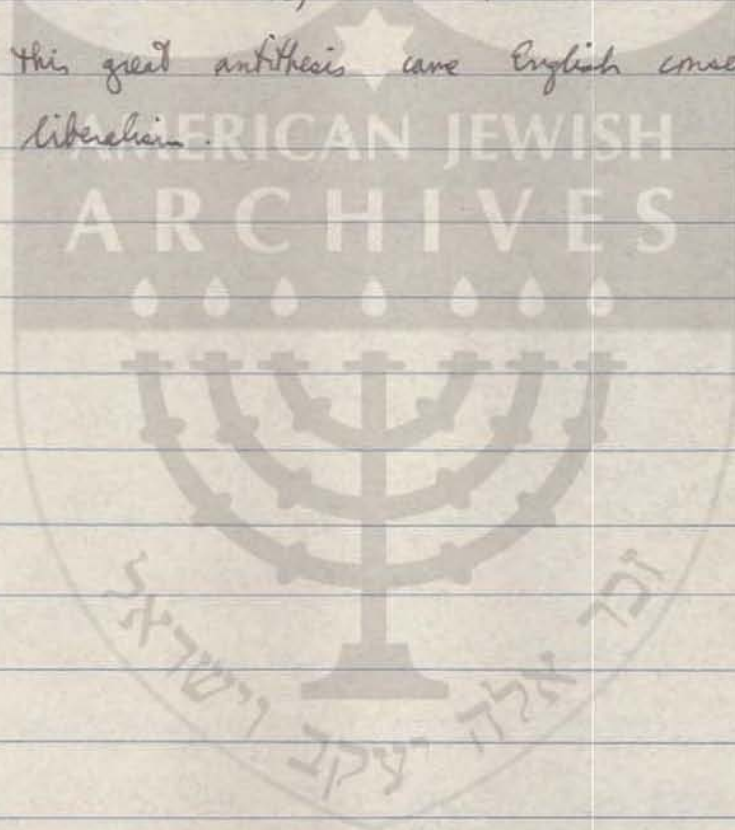
1. Gradual separation of attitudes for and against King ¹⁶²¹⁻⁴². Stuarts inherited a fine country & system all set up, but because they were clever and tried to teach and alienated Parliament, they became unpopular. From this an attitude developed that in every future political problem there would be some people for and some against King. There also developed a constitutional problem out of this - of grace v. right, in which Parliament maintained its right. Thirdly, there was a religious connection - James I was brought up as a Scotch Presbyterian, and hated it so that he came naturally to like the Church of England. There has been a continuous connection between conservatism & the Church of England. Evangelicism was against the King.
2. All this led to Civil War of 1642 and Charles I was executed. From 1649-60 the Parliamentarians experimented for a substitution for the King, and tried many things. The Apocalyptic Conviction (believe in a new turning-point, creation of something at last, a new heaven, etc.) that democracy was here, held by Cromwell and his army, was smashed into anarchy; and he was forced to resort to military dictatorship. The constitutional experiment collapsed.
3. Monarchy recalled in 1660 and there came Charles II, very political -

mind. He took the throne under no terms whatsoever. The conflict here became that of Court v. Country Parties. The Evangelical spirit (Bunyan "Pilgrim's Progress") got associated with the anti-court parties, for they came mostly from the provinces and were suspicious of the gold and tinsel. First beginnings of party organization and electoral campaign at this time.

Charles II wanted absolutism, Catholicism, tranquillity - but they were difficult to attain. Toryism stood with the king and came to stand for conservatism. His reign, 1660-85, was one of increasing bitterness and struggle between opinions, so that when his brother James II came to throne, country was on verge of civil war again. James was fanatic and wanted Catholicism. In 1685 he was immensely popular, and in 1688 he was banished. The reason is to be found in Tory Party, which stood for king and church - but if king stood against church, he must go.

William III of Orange called in, but legitimists still agitated and some members of Tory party stood with him. The Whigs, who had brought in William, were dominant till 1710, when there was a palace revolution and the Tories, under Bolingbroke captured the devotion of Queen Anne, ^(successor to Wm.) and persuaded her to stop the war with France which Marlborough, the Whig, was fighting. Bolingbroke wanted to Toryify the British government - wanted a totalitarian machine so that nobody could crack the Tory party. Bolingbroke nearly

succeeded, but Anne fell ill before he had completed plans. The Whigs meanwhile had a Hanoverian prince ready, and they just beat Bolingbroke by hours. In 1714 Whiggery was triumphant and there was an oligarchy until 1760. Next ten years were chaos, then 1760-1830 was a new Pygmalion. Out of this great antithesis came English conservatism and English liberalism.



Jan. 12

Religious differences led to cleavage of parties, and these became associated with economic facts. The Whigs, in power from 1714-60, had support of banks & big business because they wanted to maintain status quo. The Tories were all the small landowners, all the rest of the land. The Whigs had an oligarchy, and defeated the only threat, Bonnie Prince Charlie. George III came in 1760 and wanted to do away with party, substituting instead a group of the best young men of land. This policy of personal rule lost American colonies, tripled national debt. George had to find somebody to rule, since he was discredited himself - and he offered prime ministerhip to Pitt who was a right-wing Whig. Pitt turned legitimism of Tories to a support of the Hanovers instead, and made them into a constitutional party.

1789 in France showed power of masses, and upper classes were horrified. People turned to Toryism and Burke wrote on Revolution which crystallized conservative feeling. Whigs divisible except for Fox who was lost. Toryism remains in saddle.

1830 - revolution in France, bloodless, put middle class in power, very respectable. This put new vitality into Whigs. Wellington, leader of Tories, spoke of perfect constitution, and this only strengthened the opponents of Toryism who saw the corruption.

There was reform bill introduced and Truist gave away when
the middle class got the vote.

1830-1870 Liberal under Whigs

1870-1906 Conservative

1906-1914 Liberal New Deal



Jan. 19

English politics are continuous.

1830 - 1885 Whig liberal domination

1830-68 was Whig, who increased the franchise. Melbourne trained Victoria in constitutional govt. Lord John Russell introduced Reform Bill of 1832. But after these concessions the Whigs settled back and wanted no more changes. Lord Palmerston was a liberal, yet his attitude toward domestic affairs was almost Tory. He was very popular, yet complacent and as he grew older he blocked reform and got autocratic, so that the Queen got Russell to overthrow him in 1868.

Next Prime Minister was Gladstone, who was at first a stern Tory and later came over to Parry's position, so that he succeeded him. Gladstone was founder of British Liberal party. 1868-74 was great Liberal ministry which increased reform. Disraeli 1874-80 Gladstone 1880-85. All this extended the start of the 32 reforms.

Parties began to get organized well around 1868, so that now they are rigid, vast machines.

Conservative got in in 1886 and Lord Salisbury is in power, with Tories dominating till 1905. Sal. was remote from politics, ruled as autocrat, left House of Commons to his nephew Balfour. He was philosopher, without emotion, liked to fight, was cynical, in Commons until 1905, when he became P.M.

See Chamberlain in Radical, non-conformist, millenarian,

built up Birmingham, but on question of Home Rule for Ireland^{which Glad. introduced in 1885} he left liberals and eventually became Tory so that Salisbury gave him cabinet position - Secretary for Colonies, which was insignificant post - until he started Boer War and made job the biggest in the cabinet. After war he started campaign for Free Trade within Empire, which meant a wall around the whole Empire, which meant protective tariffs. Asquith + Hallam of Liberal party fought Chamberlain - Balfour was cynical, cabinet meetings were risibous. In 1905 the whole fight, bringing about a resignation of cabinet members, and causing the disgust of Balfour so that he too resigned, resulted in a sweeping Liberal victory. House of Commons came into more power.

Then came the near civil war in Ireland over the question of Home Rule, newly introduced by Asquith. Secondly, there was a syndicalist wave, and lastly, the feminists were agitating. These three ^{appeals to direct action} movements caused the death of liberalism, which was virtually ended by War. In 1918 the liberals were fragments, and the labor party had risen.

Jan. 24

General sentiment of 19th cent. divided into 3 parts - old Toryism, ¹⁸³⁰ mid-Victorian individualism, ¹⁸⁷⁴ growing collectivism. In first part there was minimum legislation, for it was considered major operation on society to make new law - it was period of "legislative quiescence". This gives way under development of industry and commerce and Cartesian philosophy. They started to believe that actions of man could change the course of events. After 1830 there was Whig-liberalism with complacency & prosperity. After 1874 there was collectivism. Underneath all this there was the growth of proletarian consciousness - lower people began to rumble. There came co-operative movement (1842) and trade union movement (1825). In 1900 there came fusion of all these into Labor Party. Another thing was Young England sentiment, which started with group of Cambridge aristocrats. Existed in power 1838-48 - important because of literary effect on public opinion, social novels by Disraeli & others, and because it inoculated conservative party with ideas of social reform. Tories had never reconciled to individualism of Whig-liberalism - they had rigid pyramid and would not accept principle of capitalism and mercantilism and death of landed gentry. Disraeli turned the Tories into the Conservative party - and thus the Conservatives never were laissez-faire, but anti-

The Conservatives today, through Stanley Baldwin whose hero was Disraeli, have effected as much collectivization as the Labor Party could possibly agitate for. The Laborites cannot be distinguished from intelligent Conservatives. This cannot be understood except in terms of above development.

In the collectivist period there was increasing socialist propaganda and groups. The Fabian Society, group of intellectuals, famous people, Webbs, Shaw, Wells, Wells, etc. Read B. Webb "My Apprenticeship", for mood of this period.

Each of the three periods is present in some

Jan. 26

I. Economic + Social Factors in Period 1800-32

1. Pyramid Structure

A. Aristocratic government - oligarchy in power based on land, which prefers land to business, which dislikes nouveau riche.

This aristocracy controlled local as well as central gov't, was closely associated with Church of England, so that aspiring classes were non-conformist, but once in power they became Anglicans.

B. Rising Upper Middle Class - wealth from commerce, expansion of which began after 1714 in Europe and gradually spread to India in the East India Co. Their money was made in manufacture of cotton cloth. These people began to seep into the highest brackets by marriage, bribery, etc. These people also non-conformists - capitalism and Evangelicism go hand in hand. They were the ones opposing social legislation. The Tories and landed gentry were past and thus were more flexible about the future, while the capitalists sought to protect their position.

C. Proletariat - discontented, unruly till about 1810, when a journalism for them began to grow, but they were suppressed by gov't. Bill Cobbett tried to get this inchoate mass to speak its mind. He started a paper written for the masses, though he could have been editor of "The Times". Nearly all ideas

came from John Locke. This shows ideas slipping down the pyramid. By 1817 he was dominating proletarianism and his "Political Register" read in every public house. Then the gov't clapped down and he had to bolt, returning only in 1822. In 1831 English agriculture touched bottom - people were actually starving. Cobbett told them to go get what they want. The Whigs who had ^{gotten into power through} preached Locke, turned around and persecuted the man who talked Locke to get rid of the whig oligarchy. After Cobbett's trial and vindication, the proletarianism was free to express itself.

Richard Carlile, atheist, underground journalist, was much in jail.

Without these people, proletarian press would never have been free.

2. Agrarian Revolution + Industrial Revolution

A. Old Agrarian Society is receiving new impact in form of machinery, etc. Land is becoming covered with factories, etc. These are dynamic forces of new invention which break up old countryside. Three results:

1. Remarkable movement of population into north, thus
2. Agglomeration into towns which had no unity, etc., then always.
3. Substitution of urban + slum mentality in place of village ^{mentality}

The agitator was the man who came to be feared.

Jan. 28

4. Substitution of profit motive for custom. Complete bewilderment.

3. Post-War Distress

Sense of being in grip of mighty forces about which man can do nothing. There was unemployment, bank crashes, etc. There came sense of grievance and impotence.

4. Church v. Chapel Movement

Two remarkable movements affected English church life - Wesleyanism, penetrating further into social pyramid, preaching Reformation and grace, possessing complete democracy. This is tremendous system and had great influence on poor workers.

Wesleyan spirit a mighty force which worked from the bottom up, was influential. But fewer left when the movement became respectable, and grew no different from any other church.

Secondly there was the Clapham Sect, who were middle class influential people - who stopped the slave trade in England.

The spread of Evangelicism caused a rise in humanitarian sentiment of pity and assistance. There came large amount of humanitarian legislation from 1800.

This sentiment becomes democratic because workers got two ideas - the dignity of man and the ability for self organization. Ten-Hour Movement, Chartist, etc, based on Wesleyan method.

II. Three Trends of Public Opinion 1800-32

1. Toryism -

- A. Seeks to maintain old regime + aristocratic monopol of 1815 -
landlord & farmer protected by Corn Laws.
- B. Largely inarticulate - doesn't think, only feels - stands for
custom and tradition, emphasize order and noblesse oblige.
Burke gives these classic principles.
- C. Their Journal is Quarterly Review and provided gospel.

Source of first ideology is pyramid, traditional set up, looking back.
next come ideologies, capitalism-socialism, looking toward future.

Jan. 31

2. Benthamism - one of world's great who influenced man's thoughts. Working on theory of greatest happiness for greatest number, he destroyed whole pyramidal structure. He based his writing on utility, value of existing institutions and found they wanted change. He gathered group of believers, among them James Mill, whose son John Stuart was also brought up as Benthamite. All emotion was crushed from John by his father and he was brought up as a genius, who wrote the definitive text-book on economics for mid-Victorian age.

a) Two theorems - Man is motivated by quest for happiness, and impulse to avoid pain; Therefore, the function of society is to produce greatest happiness, etc. He was first realist - got down to material terms - and wanted re-examination of all society to see if it was performing its function. The first theorem is a ^{statement of} psychological fact and the second is a judgment of values and there is no connection - you can't get a judgment of value out of a judgment of fact. First theorem is instrument for reconstruction of entrenched privilege because they did not cater to man's happiness - and they were gradually thrown out. ^{This is negative}

But eventually there will be a lack of restrictions and that is bad, so there must be a positive building up again - and complete liberty must again be interfered with. This

is basic cleavage within Benthamite ranks. From 1832 - 1890 was application of first negative theorem - elimination of restrictions and development of complete freedom. Around 1895 Chamberlain was first to propose application of second positive theorem - but his proposals were not acted on until the Labor Ministry of 1906. Thus the principle of control & regulation - the heart of Nazism - is re-introduced by the liberals. Thus the growth of collectivism has two sources. The passing over from the first to second theorem is happening in this country today with the rise of state control.

Feb. 2

There came a split in the Liberal Party as result of new principles of Benthamism. Another creed arose around this time, 1880, - collectivism, which was similar to Benthamism and different from the old Brigade of the Liberal Party. Thus, the two political parties ran athwart of each other - altho' both had same fundamentals. The Liberal party has been forced to submit to the Laborites.

b.) Principles + program - laissez-faire and individualism. This is essentially a middle-class Utopia and involves a pre-conceived harmony. They assumed that there could be a compatibility of all egotisms. No consideration in this party for laborers and low people for they were exploited. There was a college established to promote Benthamism - University College, London. There was opposition in form of King's College London - set up as Tory, Anglican institution by George III. University of London sprang up as result of fight between above two.

c.) Increasing influence Whigs from 1830 onwards, especially through Edinburgh Review and Westminster Review - so that gradually Whiggery passed to Benthamism.

3. New Proletarian Sentiment

Doctrine and program worked out in post Waterloo period. Labor theory of value, co-operative movements, socialist talk, idea of general strike - all started in this period and eventually

influenced Labor Party. ~~There was~~

a.) Theory of right to the whole produce of labor. Somewhere about 1810, so there started talk in regard to this, and it began to spread. At first this is just a sentiment at bottom of peasant and at same time there came down from top certain phrases of Locke & Adam Smith in regard to property. Locke's argument about the nature of property, which he was using against the king, came eventually to be turned against him as a property-owner.

Karl Marx is said by Lenin to have gotten his economic ideas from England - and from those people in the slums & public houses, who were working out the problem for themselves.

b.) Articulation of the class war - and the idea of the general strike. This idea has lasted for over a hundred years, and is not yet discarded, altho' it has been tried & failed.

c.) Manifestations of proletarian sentiment:

1.) Hampden Clubs - for expression of smaller people & their troubles.

Idealized American situation: upper-middle ^{writing}

2.) Spencian Clubs - leader had been schoolteacher. He was

Single-Taxer, believed rent was cause of trouble. Some of them tried terrorist methods.

Feb. 4

- 3.) Political Association - multiplied rapidly, all kinds
- 4.) Trade Unions - by Act of 1799 declared illegal, yet multiplied underground. Legalized in 1825
- 5.) Machine breaking - luddite riots, etc.
- 6.) Proletarian Journalism - first, illegal, struggled against govt, developed proletarian political consciousness.

d.) Repression from 1817-19 by people not understanding new feelings of liberalism. Passed 6 statutes preventing gatherings, press, meetings, thought, etc. New Trials in 1822 let these acts lapse and by 1830 there was resurgence of proletarian sentiment.

4. Conflict of all three in 1832, resulted in reform bill which enfranchised middle classes, left out proletariat. This discontent led to Ten Hour Bill, etc. Acute pessimism in this period due to Mathews, who preached lack of food and inability to do anything about it. In 1834 Whigs repealed old Poor laws and substituted new ones which allowed men to starve. This, together with depression of time, made workers very pessimistic and revolutionary - lead to Chartists

III. Mid-Victorian Period 1832-1874

1. Characteristics: a.) dominance of laissez faire
- b.) depression of hungry 40's - lived as vivid historic memory.

- c) first mass organization of public opinion
- d) remarkable lifting of depression & prosperity from 1850-79. It was unparalleled prosperity with great complacency.
- e) dominance of Unitarianism & Philanthropism.
- f) emergence of prophets of discontent, warning England that it could not last forever. Arnold, Ruskin, Carlyle, etc.
- g.) growth of trade unionism from 1850. Toryism could offer nothing, since it is based on land & church, in this period of industrial prosperity. Disraeli said the Tory party would have to change to meet the times. Young England group supported this.

2. Foundations of Liberal Reform

- a.) In period right after 1832 reform; there was Municipal Corporations Act 1835, which established city govt on democratic basis; new Poor Law; Bank Act of 1833 establishing scientific banking; Factory Acts of '33 and '47, provided for inspectors of factories and ten hour day; free Trade culminated in repeal ^{in 1846} of Corn Laws, which removed protection provided since hundreds of years and considered part of English tradition. Disraeli said protection was dead and damned; abolition of slavery & slave trade in 1833 by paying 250 million dollars compensation to slave owners.

3. Great mass movements:

- a) Ten-Hour Movement begun by Richard Dastler, who saw factory conditions and desired to change them. He horrified conscience of Yorkshire & England by famous letter to "Leeds Mercury". And still he was understating because he didn't know the whole situation. He began campaign for Government control of factories. He was a Tory and a good churchman - but still he defied economists and stood on Bible rights of justice and mercy. Factory owners tried to prevent him, felt they would be ruined, but Dastler continued. He was good orator and organizer - started mass protests, developed political consciousness for workers.

Feb. 9

Mid-Victorian Period - Age of Complacency - 1852-67

- A. Causes of complacency : ① growth of business + employment ② British control of world trade ③ rise in real wage and fall in prices ④ death of revolutionary movements ⑤ growth of new unionism and friendly societies, and association of unionism with Evangelicism, but not with any particular party.

This unionism is conservative and is precedent for unionism today.

⑥ smooth working of institutions - House of Commons was center of debate and English life with balance of old & new men.

- B. Leaders in Period : ① Palmerston, aristocrat, secure, reactionary, adored by workers ② Gladstone, good financier, created existing treasury system ③ Disraeli, Opposition, who worked on Tories.

- C. General Features : ① remarkable moral earnestness and optimism. (Samuel Smiles). Lord Tennyson writes of this period.

Just age of novelists ② defensible condition of arts except imaginative ③ domination of middle-class. Respectable Evangelical classes are at lead, and there is lack of corruption, with beginning here of honest, efficient civil service.

Sam Butler's "Way of all Flesh".

1868- Gladstone - the embodiment of all Victorian characteristics - 1874

- A. Established nat'l elementary education scheme
B. Civil Service Act 1871 created present structure, and wrote in pyramid structure definitely.

C. Army Act 1871 abolished corruption & sale of commissions.

D. Established courts to solve Irish problem.

E. Tried to settle dispute with U.S. over Alabama.

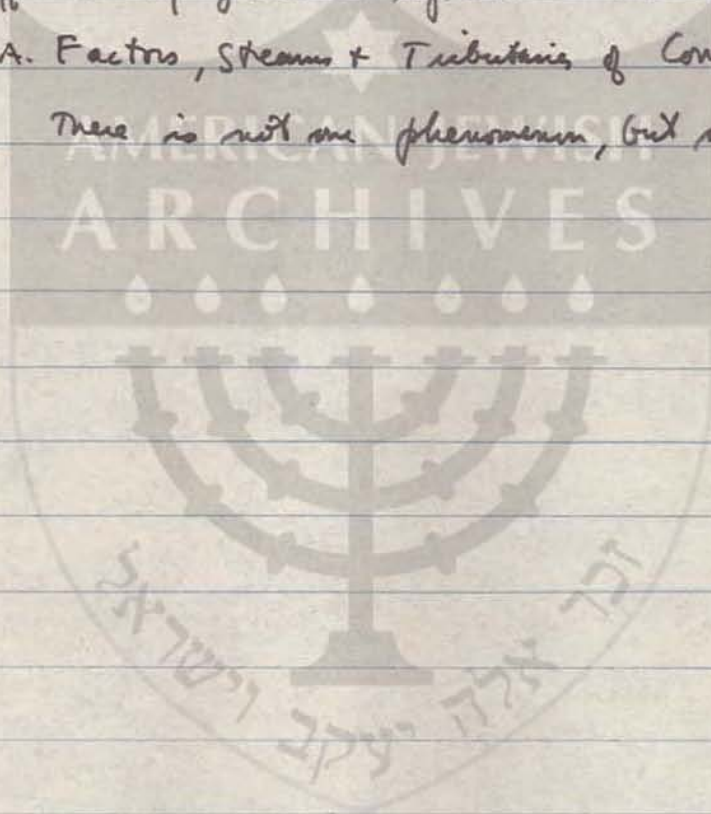
F. ~~Bill~~ Act 1872.

1874- Disraeli swept country because vested interests were all

affected by Gladstone's reforms. His structures exist today.

A. Factors, Steam & Tributaries of Conservatism in 19th cent.

There is not one phenomenon, but many tributaries.



6

National Characters, the most important factors in international psychology, are usually summed up in popular opinion as a pair of features, one a quality, the other a defect. Typical:

Englishman:- hypocrisy - practical sense

Frenchman: . cleanness - licentiousness

German: thoroughness - chumminess

Spaniard: dignity - cruelty

American: vulgarity - vitality.

These adjectives indicate tendencies, not exclusive characteristics.

There is, in a people, a distinctive attitude which determines their natural and spontaneous reactions towards life. These reactions spring in each case from a characteristic impulse, manifesting itself in a complex psychological entity, an idea-sentiment-force peculiar to each of the three peoples, and constituting for each of them the standard of its behavior, the key to its emotions and the spring of its pure thoughts.

Englishman: fair play, hence action

Frenchman: le droid, hence intellect

Spaniard: el honor, hence passion

These are the various generating impulses, resulting in broadly definable actions.

I. 1. Action in the man of action produces utilitarianism, cooperation. He does without thinking. (Englishman)

2. Action in man of thought is to produce order. He thinks, plans, is chess player. While he thinks, opportunity for action slips by. Collective

life is a planned political structure, with State as chief mechanic. There is no cooperation, but individualism. There is political intolerance because of intellectual necessity of having all points of view represented. Social hierarchy based on intellect. (Frenchman)

3. Action in man of passion is spontaneous. Thus there are some periods of indifference, apathy, passivity because the total passion is not aroused, but when it is, whole action takes place and exceptional achievements are accomplished. Does not enter into things by halves. Great individualism - no collective action. True state is last loyalty. (Spaniard.)

II. 1. Thought in the man of action is by means of materials. objects. ^{This is because he does not admit universality of ideas.} He is illogical and is blurred. Man of action at home in thought only when it coincides with life, thus most vigorous type of thought is empirical. ~~His~~ ^{His} thought remains close as possible to life. He takes things for granted because collective life supplies him with uniform things he need not think about. His intellect is potentially good, but because he refuses to use it in pure speculation, he gets bad intellectual reputation. His thought demands wider standard than mere reason; emphasis rather on wisdom. (Englishman)

2. Thought in the man of thought is excellent. He wants to know exactly, has precision. Can analyze, by separating elements of an object; can define, by separating object from surroundings; can classify, by separating object and subject. Has method + continuity, is naturally rationalistic. Also collective intellectual institutions - sort of intellectual attack. (Frenchman.)

3. Thought in man of passion is by intuition. His

thought is born at moment when it manifests itself. His intuition involves whole subject at once, thus is spontaneous and has conviction. He thinks without plan, and cannot correct thinking once finished. Also cannot have any arranged method of thinking, if he depends on revelations of intuition. His thought has no efficiency. Thus, his thought closely connected with essence of genius, but far from essence of talent. There is no conscious intellectual tradition, since his thinking is individual. His sense of intellectual hierarchy is weak. His thought will acquire a unity when the whole people is moved by one passion. (Hofmann.)

III. 1. Passion in the man of action is restrained by self control. He enslaves his passions in order to accomplish certain aims. There may be sudden outbursts, as of action on part of Spaniard. His calm has beneath it a passion even higher because it is restrained. He distrusts passion. He harnesses passion in order that he can work and be utilitarian. "The life-stream is canalized in order to be utilized." Only useful passions are allowed expression; those of service to the community (i.e. loyalty & a love of Art) are separated from the animal or rebellious passions, which are held in check. Sentiment is the sublimation for these latter. (Engelshorn.)

2. Passion in the man of thought is met by a tendency to evade it so that he can better stand off and observe the life-stream. He feels the dignity of the intellect and reason, thus he supervises his passion - does not repress it. He supervises the life-stream in order that it does not threaten his well-organized existence. He brings moderation to passion. Because his intellect tells him that passion must be, he legitimizes it, adopts a matter-of-course attitude.

Thus he is frank about it, free from self-consciousness. By putting passion under control of intellect, he learns how to explain various states of mind.

Beauty, as an intellectual abstract and a passionate sensation, is the ultimate of the life of passion of the man of thought. (Frenchman.)

3. Passion in the man of passion is great harmony. His thought is personalized, controlled by the life stream - his ego is at the centre of all ideas. Thus psychology of man of action is developed on plane of conscious will and that of man of thought is observed in luminous atmosphere of mind, that of man of passion is subconscious, since it receives impulses direct from the life stream of nature. He opposes any network of forces (social or intellectual) which restricts freedom of passion. His collective life therefore dominated by this individual psychology. He means to maintain his spontaneity and individual passion in face of pressure of social activity and collective institutions. (This may be key to anarchic movement in Spain.) Thus egotism - all persons acquire a vital value. He seeks the passions that are richest in experience, most all-embracing, not most useful ones as Englishman does. (Spaniard.)

The supreme law in each type, that is to say the satisfaction of its main tendency, is the basis of its subconscious ethics. Therefore, the English standard in life is ethical; the French standard is logical; the Spanish standard is personal.

There are beautiful symmetries and similitudes between the nine cases, such as man of thought in action and man of action in thought. No parallels should be drawn across these lines, but only with them. Thus, do not compare English action ~~and~~ ^{with} Spanish action, but with French action. The three characters in question are not radically different, but are rather transpositions of the same melody in three different keys; the key of action, thought & passion.

The Nation: English — aristocratic — organic

French — bourgeois — mechanical

Spanish — popular — anarchical

The Family: English — father is governor, public school is important

French — marriage de raison, strong, ordered

Spanish — rich in emotion and love

Leadership: English — leaders prepared to be gentlemen

French — les élites, state-manufactured group, stable

Spanish — las minorías, whoever happened to get there

Feb. 11

A. Natural Conservatism

1. Toryism (different from above) - principle of society emerged in Elizabethan period, accepted pyramidal structure, believed in loyalty to Church & King.
2. Paternalism - no such thing as personal equality, as each man has responsibility for those below. It is aristocratic conception, basic attitude as fundamental is democracy.
3. Protectionism - mercantilism was economic statement of paternal ideas, and worked with criteria to balance off the whole economy. They protected agriculture because they wanted a steady peasant army. 1846 end of Corn Laws put end to this kind of protection.
4. Imperialism - late development. Whigs were military party, not Tories, who ended War of Spain. Since, wanted peace in 1815, etc. Only in late 70's did Imperialism get connected with Conservatism through Disraeli.

B. Summary of Conservatism

1. Emergence in 1642 - on issue of civil war - either for or against King. Triumphant in 1660 - Tory conservatives returned King. Disrupted in 1688 - when James II tries to force Catholicism on state & army. Legitimate conservative disappeared in 1715, with ascent of Hanovers. Gradually they accepted Hanoverianism.
2. Conservatism has got re-stated & re-created in course of crises. It is not only for the high-born. Four men have made philosophy of conservatism today: ① Bolingbroke "Patriot King"; ② Burke - greatest "French Revolution" critic; ③ Disraeli made for

industrial society; (4) Baldwin agrees with Dis.

Four recreations in political sense: (1) Canning 1820-28 at time when all do nothing Toryism was degenerating, raised spirit;

(2) Peel lead Party to repeal Corn Laws & broke it; (3) Disraeli

(4) Salisbury took over from above and gave modern version of conservatism.

c. Dominance of Conservatism 1874-1905

1. Growth of cons in preceding thirty years. Peel split party. Disraeli educated party up to 1874, then took control. Constant bickering with Gladstone as outstanding liberal.

Feb. 14

D. Features of 1874-1905

1. Extension of social reform under continued Tory democracy.
2. Steady growth of trade unions, acquiring legal personality.
3. Extension of local govt
4. Steady growth of imperialism, half-policy, half-dream from money. Kipling popularized this dream. Split in liberal party over imperialism & anti-
 Dis. pacifist bloc looked right
 down to ruin - Boer War - Kipling & Jingo Chamberlain.
 Cecil Rhodes.

Liberalism 1906-1914

Balfour gave up leadership in '05 - tried to fight with Chamberlain
 Campbell-Bannerman was rounded off, not extreme. Election swept
 liberals into power.

Cause of liberal victory: ① reaction after peace

② depression after war and rise of unemployment ③ rise of
 Labour political force ④ Taff ⑤ alienation of
 non-conformists ⑥ split in conservative party on Free Trade issue
 (reminiscent of split in 1846 under Disraeli.)

Feb. 18

Liberals returned in 1906 with great elation. - Asquith, Haldane, Churchill, Lord Morley. This Cabinet of peculiar composition.

New liberalism is working out of the implications of the second Benthamite theory.

Liberal Acts 1906-14:

Trade Disputes Act '06 - trade unions could not be sued for ^{lost.}

Old Age Pension Act '08

National Insurance Scheme '11

Asquith, prime minister, 1908 - dynamic figure of Lloyd George dominated Parliament from Treasury benches. bathed aristocracy and land-owners.

(To hell with economics). Is terrific speaker - can make audience delirious.

Shudder went through Tory England when Asquith named him Chancellor of Exchequer. In 1909 he introduced Lloyd George budget.

at last he was going to "soak the rich". - planned taxes on income, brewers, undeveloped land. House of Lords rejected his budget which they had not done since 1821, thus big constitutional crisis. He started campaign of "break or end the House of Lords"

Asquith had nothing in common with Lloyd George - antithesis.

Yet he couldn't halt LG - so he decided to hold election in Jan 1910 on straight issue of Budget. It was nominally a Liberal victory, because the Irish nationalists were for the Liberals because of Gladstone's policy of Home Rule. But they demanded repeal of the 1800 Union Bill in return for support, which they got.

After budget finally got through the Lords, LG immediately
put through the Veto Bill to castrate the Lords.



Feb. 21

Positive concept of liberty - to tell a man he can do a certain thing is no good if he does not have the instruments to do it.

Negative - greatest good may involve restriction on smaller number for benefit of larger. Large taxes on factory owners.

In the Liberal Party's application of the second principle they ran across the vested interests and made enemies. Snowden told Labor party in 1931 they could not keep on with this "Soak-the-rich" policy of taxation - that the Principles of 1906, which were really 18th cent. Benthamite principles, could not operate in 1931.

But back to 1910-11, when the Veto Bill was passed. Greatest excitement, and the election in Dec. 10 returned the same House of Commons as the Feb. 10 election. George V would not countenance plots of Conservatives to revive Lords and Royal Prerogative of considering the Ministers as personal servants.

Feminism - grew in 1904-05. They supported Liberals and were disappointed for no results. They organized militantly - an expression of mob emotion. Newer was moral of Commons as disturbed. Whole penal system was being questioned. Also fact that poor people were so badly off gave rise to concrete expression in

Syndicalism - for social legislation was good, but did not increase wages. The first fight was in a mine strike where a pamphlet urged workers to capture mine and work it on cooperative basis for workers' benefit. This lasted until war.

Unionism - situation in Ireland was terrible. South wanted Home Rule, North wanted independence. In 1913-14 both sides were preparing armies, willing to fight civil war.

These above three waves were the outstanding events and trends down to 1914.

English Working-Class Movement 1815-1914 - ^{four} three phases 1815-44, 44-75, 75-1914 First Period:

1. Formation of local labor unions - further, secret, no legal status, underground
2. Post-war distress leading to cleavage between ^{reform} radicalism and ^{stale} direct action.
3. Fierce govt repression and massacre of Peterloo, ¹⁸¹⁹ which became symbol of martyrdom of British workers.
4. Growth of Owenism; trade unionism, large scale agitation, cooperative movement.
5. Growth of Friendly Societies - began around French Revolution, literally hundreds of them of all sizes - purpose to provide benefits and pensions for sickness & death and to provide comfort. This was spontaneous organization.
6. Growth of idea of General Strike - this has been in back of minds of British workers since 1819. In 1834-38 Document broke the back of this idea
7. Chartistism - revived workers agitation - for Ten Hour Bill. This petered out ¹⁸³⁸⁻⁴⁰ but left experience for workers in the future.

Feb 23

British working-class movement - strongest in democratic world.

The last phase of this is from 1900-14, that of parliamentary organization. Four phases in all.

1. (1815-1848) (See lecture above)

Second Phase 1848-75

1. Development of cooperative movement - started from Owenism.

Rochdale was the start. CWS started in 1864 and five years later a national cooperative Congress was held. There were great aspirations.

2. Development of new model unionism - essentially aristocratic in the attitude of workers. Start from friendly societies, etc. The engineers, craftsmen, tailors, etc. are old, conservative groups with large budgets.

3. Extension of legal protection

Feb. 25

Govt 42

Third Phase (1875-1900)

1. Growth of socialism - associated with intellectuals
2. Growth of unskilled unions - " " proletariats

1. Socialism

a) H.N. Hyndman - all stigmas of a gentleman. Read Marx at middle age and was fired by. Established SDF in 1881 (Social Dem. Fed.) and a journal "Justice" to proclaim message. Broke down in 1886. Wrote respectable revolutionary literature.

* William Morris, poet & artist - captivated by above, wrote revolutionary lyrics

* Edward Carpenter - also one of SDF.

b) Robert Blatchford and his "Clarion" - splendid organizer and writer, his paper became watchword in small families of hope. Simple gospel of socialism derived from Morris. He established clubs and associations - socialism became religion. Men lost themselves in the elevation of the bigger thing - the big movement. Missions spread all over land.

c) Keir Hardie - last of great 19th cent. prophets. Came from low Scottish mining village. Got educated somehow and converted to socialism with deep conviction. Like John Knox, good speaker. Elected to Parl. in 1892. His great work combined Trade Unionism & Socialism, which were two separate groups. Unions could have become very conservative and Tory. He founded

ILP - Independent Labor Party. Organization to fuse two movements along political lines. In 1893 at Bradford Trade Union Congress he got some Socialist resolutions passed. Thus two were joined.

- d.) Fabian Society - most important group of 19th cent. except Benthamites. Founded 1883, never more than 2000, yet terrific influence. Originally a group of young men who read Marx and captivated by it - wanted a new political program involving the new economic ideas. But saw impossibility of changes through revolution - so they tried to work at ^{various} points here & there. Webbs are founders - both genuine. G.B. Shaw - one of original trilogy

2. New Unionism (unskilled)

- a.) March 1886, old Bill Thorne used union as fighting instrument. London match girls struck in 1888 successfully. In 1889, dock-workers, scum of English proletariats, organized and struck. 100,000 wild, half-starved animals were captured by Ben Tillett and struck for 10d per hr. and won.
- b.) In 1895, 1 1/2 million unskilled union members.
- c.) T.U.C. met from 1871 onwards - annual executive cabinet.
- d.) L.R.C. - Labor Representative Council federated all these independent things and later became Labor Party. Labor Party got 29 members in 1905 election. Party got formalized and grew strong.

Feb. 28

Fourth Phase 1900-14

Concerned mainly with legal controversies over trades unions.
Liberal act of 1906 said unions not liable to tort.

Trades unions financed by direct contributions or subscriptions from workers. Osborne case - man sued his trade union to prevent them from handing his subscription to political organization - (i.e. Labor Party). He was upheld - since trade union could levy dues to further the purpose for which it was incorporated, but could not levy dues for political reasons. This was ^{stated} in legislating acts of 1871 and 1875.

Post Waterloo Developments

Rapid Spread of Socialist Doctrine

General Acceptance of Collectivist Principles - hence,

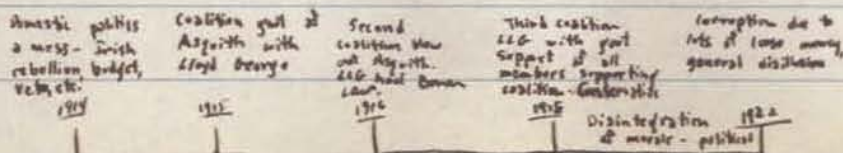
Emergence of a New Conservatism

Bitter Conflict in working class movement between direct action and ^{parliamentary}

culminating in General Strike of '26

Decline of Liberal Party

Above is a continuous curve, one feature coming from another.



Baldwin avoided coalition because of corruption and broke it up

Third coalition - L.G., Churchill, F.E. Smith.

March 2

Bonan Law ^{8 Bonan Law} October, 1922 - Conservative govt. formed at Carlton House. lasted till May 1923. Law was dying of cancer, took over job only until his end. Election Nov.

Baldwin May 1923 - First Baldwin govt, took over from Law. Depression was deepening - unemployment increased. Baldwin became convinced of necessity of protection. Liberals fought for Free Trade. This was historic repetition. In Oct. 23 he told party he was going to take same to the country, and he was defeated. Election Dec.

MacDonald Jan. 1924 - Labor Party backed by Liberals. MacDonald called in, which started some sort of public panic. Yet his ministers were accepted with relief - it was a reassuring middle-class ministry. They wore court clothes. These Labor people loathed the Liberals - hated Asquith & Lloyd. But they did nothing creative, wouldn't touch any of the questions of plum clearance, etc, because they were also backed by Liberals. Also left wing of the Labor party refused improvements because they felt these improvements sustained capitalism and they wanted to smash capitalism. They felt if

they ~~left~~ left a mess of the country, there could be no solution but a left-wing revolution. Finally, it got out of office on a ridiculous issue. Election Oct.

Oct. 1924 - Conservatives returned.

<u>Nov. 22 - returns</u>	<u>Dec. 23</u>	<u>Oct. 24</u>
Unionists ^(Baker) - 344	Unionists - 258	Conservatives - 412
Natl Liberals ⁽²²⁰⁾ - 61	Labor - 191	Labor - 151
Independent Liberals ⁽²²⁰⁾ - 53	Liberals - 159	Liberals - 40
Labor - 142		
Misc. - 15	Obvious that Conservative is govt party, Labor is govt opposition, and liberals are right-wing of labor.	

March 4

Campbell case

Labour party would not cooperate with liberals in 1923 because they felt that reforms would keep capitalism going. The left half of labour party wanted revolution. Yet the labour party found itself prosecuting the Communist speaker Campbell, arrested for sedition. ~~But~~ Old George Lansbury said they couldn't prosecute, persuaded MacDonald to withdraw case. Country then wanted to know what was going on. In Commons, P.M. asked if he had been interrogated in regard to case, and he said no. This was terrible lie - led to crisis, finally collapse of govt. Liberals moved over to the conservatives and out-voted labour.

Another crisis - letter found on MacDonald's desk from Zimmer suggesting Communists of Britain join Labour Party and organize cells, spread sedition, organize for day of revolution. Mac. didn't know how letter got on his desk, but he decided to publish it. This was on Fri. and he was going to wait until Sat. Reactionary yellow press got hold of letter and called Fri. mite saying they were going to publish it if the Foreign Office didn't issue it.

These two things made for a bitter election - and the Conservatives played up the angle of the Red menace of the Labour Party. They won hands down.

From 1924-29 They did much for the country. There was general up-swing of prosperity, social legislation. The conservatives accepted the idea of collectivism, has put forward more drastic legislation than the New Deal. They virtually nationalized electricity in a Central Board, nationalized radio in BBC.

Two things in that period 24-29:

1. General Strike - reaction against parliamentary dilatoriness of Labor Party, which had done nothing. The voice for direct action was raised, in contrast to political action of the Party. It started in mines where problem was serious. The Labor Party called for a general strike of all members of the T.U.C. in sympathy with the miners, to paralyze capitalist England by direct action. Strike went from May 1-10. Unconditional capitulation at end of that time. Swing back now toward parliamentary action.

March 7

Miners strike of May 1 led by secretary of Miners Union - A. J. Cook. Cut in wages was being considered, so workers planned strike. Govt feared this conflict, so Royal Commission investigated. Govt subsidized whole industry with £50m to keep it going until Committee reported. In April '26, Samuel Comm. reported what was virtually a socialized program for the industry. Govt accepted it if both parties would, but owners would not. A. J. Cook wanted a fight because he was bitter. He had terrific fire and vigor, passionate. Wanted to smash capitalism - believed he was one to carry it through.

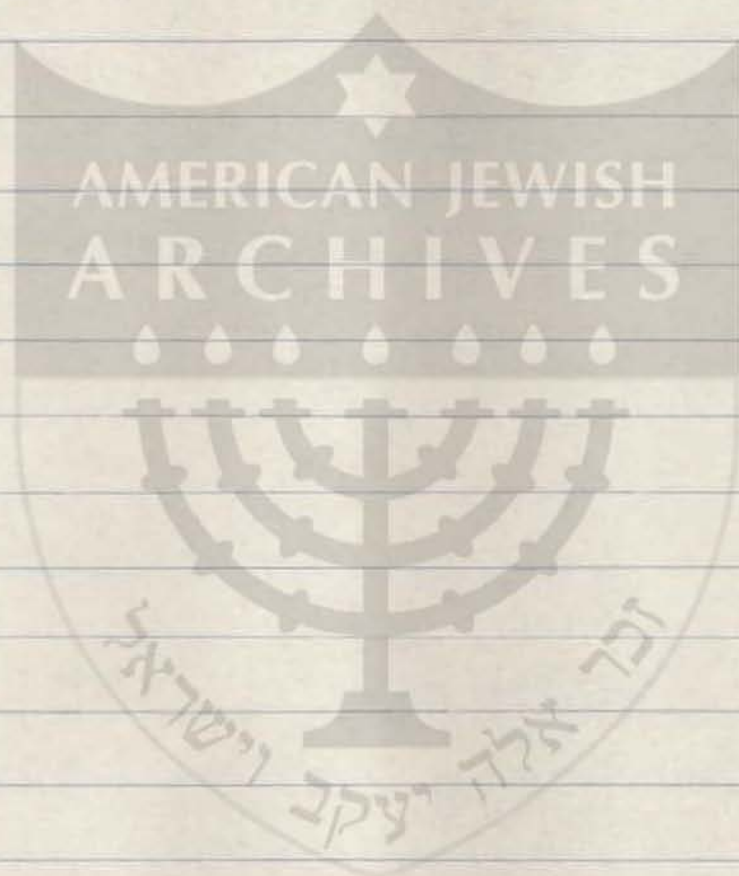
Strike collapsed because T.U.C. called it off, knowing they were going to be beaten. Universities offered to help keep country going - and ^{one} newspaper was run by gov't men. The miners were offered terms 6 times and refused. They dragged back to work gradually, bitter + disillusioned. They will yet cause trouble as the most left-wing group of the T.U.C.

2. Prayer-Brook Controversy. Great excitement over proposal to change Book. In House of Lords there were splits within parties. ~~Comm~~ Passed in Lords. In Commons it was vetoed.

Argument was that church would

By fall (Oct. of 1929) another election would have been necessary, but Baldwin called for one in May '29. L.G. was leader of liberals, staged big comeback, with full portfolios. He ran 5000+ candidates. Labor Party was in office from '29-'31.

Cabinet was torn apart - no agreement. Also politicians know nothing about running big economic system. There was increase in unemployment and decrease in foreign trade. There was collapse of fiscal system.



March 9

Three parties went to polls in 1929. Labor party came in. Things went bad. Unemployment, collapse of markets. They preached two things: a new heaven or earth when they came into power, also that they were completely new party in history of England because they were scientific (London School of Economics). Yet when it did come into power, it learned nothing, it foundered, could not consummate their "scientific era for unemployment".

Mosley and Lansbury resigned from labor ministry in order to get things done. He was sick of the inaction. Yet his career was ruined, because he was a millionaire renegade from the conservative party and disliked by the labor people because he was MacDonald's job. He swung over to Fascism. Direct result of mess in labor party. He was sick of doing nothing policy.

Meanwhile budget was getting bad, raids on sterling were increasing. Then Snowden came out stating there could be no more taxation because incomes could not bear it. This was turning point. Every country had it except this country. Policy has been "soak the rich, with social legislation, yet without complete socialization." These are three principles of 1906, brought to head in 1931. In this country the New Deal is the same program, just a few years later. Our crisis is yet to come.

There came suggestion from back bench to audit the English budget. The May Committee investigated from spring to June ⁽¹⁹³¹⁾, then the report came out and shook the world. The budget was unbalanced to £150 m and by the next year would be unbalanced £250 m. At once there came shrinking of short-term credits, and flight of gold. It was necessary to balance budget at once. Split in labor party became obvious. One way to save would have been to cut dole. Yet labor party refused to make such cuts. Aug. 21 Trade union men announced they would refuse to tolerate cuts, would smash party first. Great suspense in country. Labor cabinet decided to resign because they could not agree on policy.

King then sent for leaders of other two parties - Baldwin and Sir Herbert Samuel. He called all three down very severely - asked for non-party government to stop crisis. Eventually they formed non-party cabinet with Macdonald as P.M. and Baldwin & Samuel promised to support him to stop flight of gold and collapse of England. Snowden was also in this National Government. Labor Party attacked Nat'l Gov't militantly, refused to cooperate. They took certain emergency measures, then asked for election. Snowden attacked labor party as "men who ran away" and then vilified those who were really trying to help solve crisis. He accused them for not putting loyalty to the

whole country above loyalty to their party. Result of the election was Oregon after that. It was a terrific victory, swept many solid labor constituencies and beat them. Complete landslide - majority for Nat'l Govt was 515; labor party 42. Nat'l Govt has been in power from 1931 with one election in 1936. It has put through fine social legislation in a quiet way - has been a steady New Deal, with schemes of control and regulation in every branch of industry, business & agriculture. There have been subsidies and reconstruction all over land. G.D.H. Cole says labor party either should become revolutionary or else disappear because Nat'l Govt is putting through all their much-touted collectivist promises.

Features of Period 1931 -

1. Demoralisation of labor party
2. Rise of Socialist League - attempt of intellectuals in labor party to form popular front to ^{carry} out program by decree. This league has been abolished but there still exists a demand for the popular front.
3. Sundry attempts by CIO to come back. In 1935 he founded Council of Action. Almost same as Socialist League.

(over)

4. Impotence of liberals - disappeared as a party almost. They could make something of themselves, because there is an ineffectual liberal vote which does not even bother to vote. This potential bloc is being courted by all groups.

5. Astonishing revelation of jubilee celebration, with its proof of the popularity of the monarchy. Labor Party saw that people would not give up monarchy, but might crush them if they were anti-monarchists. Thus they have said nothing against the monarchy.

April 13

7. Disparity between groups and parties at elections. There are five groups, from right to left - and no party has an electoral organization better than any one of the groups.
8. Thus, all governments are coalition and this explains why they are short-lived. Continuity of political tradition is least existent in France of all democracies. There is most cultural continuity in France - a complete national education system. France is in advance of other countries in regard to clear, logical, lucid exposition and thinking.
9. Tendency of French groups to organize short-range unions for special purposes, usually in some election or ministry. These unions are called Bloc, front, etc. The Front Populaire had an electoral understanding in which there would be no conflict between candidates on the second ballot. Thus, they swept the country in 1936. Yet the difficulties which did not occur in the election, did occur when the Deputies met in the Chamber, and the many Communists conflicted with the Right.
10. Tendency for leagues to form in the post-war period. Some were very select, most were limited to ex-servicemen. Leagues became politically minded after depression of 1931 hit France. They began to demonstrate, and as depression deepened and corruption began to be revealed - these leagues began to arm themselves. Croix de Feu - Col. de la Roquette

began campaign to purify politics and clean up local corruption. He got young members from universities, etc., and the league grew to million men. He had arms and in 1936, there was fear that he planned to seize the life centers of France - post office, telegraph, police, etc. This was called "de la Roquette Plan". Finally in Dec. 1936 Front Populaire tried to disarm leagues. They agreed on this and bill was passed. Yet none knows today whether the Croix de Feu exists. Le Roquette reorganized a Party for Social Action, which may be the successor. All these leagues are anti-Communist and there may be trouble in the future.

II. The Unfinished Revolution.

There are revolutions in French politics which have not reached their full consequences.

1. Seemingly eternal triangle of monarchy, republic and empire in French politics. Eleven constitutions since 1789 with swing from dictatorship to democracy. How can a man's mind be settled? There is bewilderment - a lack of the sense of fundamentals. Out of the situation from 1871-75, for instance, there grew attitudes which have become accentuated today.
2. Disastrous coincidence of political and industrial revolutions. Latter reached France later than England,

earlier than Germany. Manifested itself in revolution of 1848, founding of Second Republic - for there had been a previous two years of severe depression. There was thus a problem of economic reconstruction as well as political in the same year. This combination destroyed republic because it frightened middle classes, divided Republicans, gave Napoleon chance to capitalize on the fact that he would save country from Red ~~mean~~ menace. Second Empire lasted from 1852 till 1871, then Republicans had to take over and solve social problems - which had not been solved either in Second Empire or Republic; also to reconstruct the regime. There was the outbreak and creation of the Communes in Paris at this time, with the Germans sitting over 4/5 of the land, with social problems involved, with the country in a mess - they should have concentrated on nothing for the country or something. The way in which they acted at that time has made Frenchmen ever since very apprehensive of the Communists.

Louis Blanc - Socialist
Thiers -

(April 15) 3. The Republic is thus a hybrid of these two simultaneous revolutions. 'Paradox of Inverted Positions' after 1870: Republicans become guardians of authority, when once they had agitated for change; Royalists are now the opposition, using all kinds of devices to change the regime. They bribed the army, swayed the church, tried to prevent spread of national education. Republics did not want

diversified schools, while Royalists favored continuance of Catholic schools.

The economic consequences cut across party and regime. There was struggle between social reform and conservatism, which is not exactly equal to conflict between Republicanism + Royalism. This is important, because it is popular misconception. Popular Democrat party is Royalist and Church-supporting, but stand for old-age pension and other social legislations.

4. Post-War period has further complicated this situation because of growth of fascist movements.

a.) Action Française - is a royalist, Catholic newspaper, came into existence loathing democracy, is the extreme statement of autocracy. Has tried to smash Republic. Started 40 years ago, still going strong, but its strength cannot be assessed. Maurras, Bainville, Dodet - three men who started it - great scholars and speakers. Journalists with power of invective, have incited to direct action, murder, etc. They stand for absolutism, decentralization, revival of guilds. They will not recognize the Republic.

Then the paper developed an organization with various sections and grades, tried to appeal to university students. It was the first of the leagues. It was suppressed, but after war its strength increased. In

1936 The Action was ex-communicated because Dodet became atheist.

b.) Croix de Feu, dissolved in 1935, became French Social Party. Not Monarchist, just desires "re-constitution of Republic."

c.) Doriot's "French Popular Party". He paraded with Communist party some years ago. Doriot is crude, hard, street-corner rater, ruthless. His followers also have broken from the Communists. June 1936 new creation of this party.

With all these three, there is the possibility of a strong right army. This alone has kept the Front Populaire together.

III. Causes of Multi-Party System.

1. Lack of continuity in political development.

a) Revolution 1789 destroyed ancient political institutions, but created only an attitude in their place.

b) Since 1789 there were eleven constitutions. Always there were several groups attempting to destroy the existing constitution - and there were several groups protecting it.

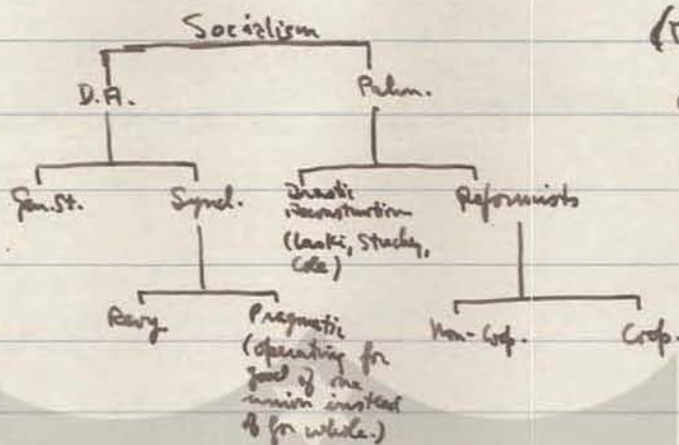
2. Lack of agreement on fundamentals. There has been growing totalitarian tendencies on right & left since 1932.

3. Clericalism and Socialism are both disintegrating factors. Both have cut across party lines and second, clericalism has disrupted the right and become complicated with education system; while socialism has disrupted left. Clericalism is that intimate relationship between church + state which makes participation of ecclesiastics in politics inevitable. The Church was thoroughly Royalist. Radical socialism came into being only as an opposition to the Church, an anti-Clerical party. Clericalism broke up the right wing because it is violent crime.

Socialism broke left because of different techniques and beliefs of different shades of party. General sentiment for socialism after 1890 or so. But what about tactics? Direct or parliamentary action? This caused immediate split. Then each of those split on terms of definition. Shall direct action be one big strike or what? Marxists v. Syndicalists arose out of this. In parliamentary action there was also split. Cooperate with bourgeois or not? Amsterdam Conference of Second International of 1904 decided on no cooperation. Breached left party because of this. Socialists are now willing to cooperate in Popular Front for instance - but now Communists refuse to cooperate. This increases multi-party act-ns.

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(This applies to France and all European democracies who have taken their examples from France.)

This is the continuity of a logical development of ideas and not a continuity of political traditions. This is the typical difference between French and English set-up.

Some of the above items often come from outside the country involved. The idea of the general state, for instance, is a general European movement, was part of the Second International. Syndicalism started as a general movement, caught on at certain places - Barcelona, Wales, Celtic parts of France, etc.

The policy of the Third Int'l - non-cooperation - forced the above splits along the line, because the communists could not work in any place. When Moscow got fanicky, however, and wanted the workers to cooperate with their "bourgeois brothers", the demand for a popular front at the end of 1935 began to gather weight, and

one was formed.

4. Revenge Motive - desire for revenge on Germany for 1871 defeat.

The German question tended to split almost every group in France, on concrete consideration of how to act on some definite note or other. Since 1918 the revenge motive was replaced with the fear motive - same effect of splitting parties.

5. National Temperament - produced either by environment or in-breeding, but at any rate it exists. Frenchman is an individualist, more so than any other national. Siegfried says the English-speaking people have no individualism, but are "joiners", always joining groups of which there are innumerable kinds. Up to 1789 country was feudal - and people kept to themselves, not letting govt know what they were doing. During revolution they grabbed off all land they could get, and thus small farmers receded into individualism again, with a hatred for the State and its prying into his private life. Over 50% of people are small proprietors and thus this intense individualism is prevalent. This prevents wide loyalties to parties, because peasant is unconcerned with big politics. Radical Socialist party is thin, a peasant party with leaders from the peasant ranks. The townsmen are aware of parties but refuses to be led by party, and will often leave

a party to form his own. He votes not for a party or a program, but for a leader. There are no programs in France. The consequence of this is that there is a potentiality of Caesarism, because of the merging of the individual into a leader instead of a party.

6. Peculiar Features of Constitutional Procedure -

- a. Interpolation - any member can question at any time any minister on matter of confidence
- b. reporter - to discuss particular bill, even though he is rival of minister or party putting bill through.
- c. fixed term - members can repudiate party
- d. absolute absence of dissolution procedure - This is dangerous.

April 20

IV. Main Factors in Formation of French Political Attitudes

1. Election of 1849 - nominally free contest, universal suffrage, after fall of monarchy. Four tendencies to be noticed in regard to groupings: a) monarchist; b) conservative republicans; c) reformist republicans; d) socialists. These are not strict groups, but often merge, form blocs, etc. In 1913, 1919, 1936 there were blocs of a) b) and c) d). Coup d'état of Louis ^{Napoleon} in 1852 put a temporary end to the development of party along the above 4 lines. All parties had to accept Bonapartism or go into exile.
2. Collapse of Napoleonic regime, ¹⁸⁷¹ 1871-75 contained National Assembly which discussed constitutions and had following features:
 - a) Monarchists ^{had} ~~have~~ majority, 500 out of 700. This accounts for strange things in constitution. They tried to create kingship without king, by putting up such a president that they could get him out when they wanted to. Monarchists did not provide directly for restoration because they were split - Bourbon, Orleansist, Bonapartist camps. For a generation afterward, there was sense that this regime was temporary, hence there was much intrigue and politics were rotten and corrupt.

- b.) Establishment of republic, *faute de mieux* - and in hope of restoration.
 - c.) Struggle in National Assembly was republicans against the rest. Finally settled when it was decided president was for seven years.
 - d.) During this period 1871-5, without constitution, there was drift toward republic.
3. Elections of 1876-77 - a.) issue was on regime, and country stood behind republic, so republicans got majority, to supersede monarchists.
- b.) Episode of 16 May 1877 - operation of hand of fate. Pres. McMahon was rugged, honest, efficient - did not like republican minister who was elected, so he dismissed him, and installed reactionary government. He dissolved Lower House and appealed to people, who returned republican answer - then he tried to get along with non-parliamentary govt, but Chamber refused to make any grants, so Pres. finally had to give way. Three results:
 - 1.) McMahon resigned and republican Grevy chosen;
 - 2.) final defeat of monarchists and hope for restoration, because now there could be no coup (at this time bishops advocated war on Italy to restore Papal States to papacy - much agitation and monarchists got

entangled with clericals in this war. Republicans resisted this as hegemony of clericals.) 3.) Effect on right of dissolution - no president has ever dared to use it, except perhaps on verge of civil war. This means that the members of the Chamber cannot be disciplined since they are safe. They are recalcitrant, do what they want. In crisis of 1934 Doumergue asked for removal of right of dissolution, and that broke his government. Radical Socialists would not give in. There is fear of coup d'état, associated with clericals, and they resist that.

4. Party Changes that Followed. - Consequences of 16 May.

- a.) Monarchists took name of conservatives, and only extremeists retained former name.
- b.) Differences begin to appear in republicans. Now that regime is assumed, and they have no monarchist opposition, there is split into three groups: 1) conservative republicans, stand for laissez-faire, worship Thiers, old men who were the liberals under the old monarchy;
- 2) moderate group - reformers in a mild sort of way, chief is Giscard, also Gambetta, who was chief exponent of radicalism under Napoleon. He abandoned his radical stand and became a moderate. This group gradually became coherent bloc,

took name of Opportunists, changed to Progressives,
and in Dreyfus case took name of Republican Federation
3) radical republicans - definitely collectivist, first had
Faubert, but he left, and they took Clemenceau who
stood by Faubert's former Belleville program, which was
freedom for trade unions, separation of church & state,
election instead of appointment of officials, suppression of the
army because it was royalist, progressive income tax
instead of indirect taxation, state ownership of various
utilities especially railways.

Moderates remained in office until end of
century. Radicals steadily gaining, however, and swept
in from 1900-14.

April 22

- (.) Results a six-fold grouping in character: (1) uncompromising royalist; (2) sellion, those Catholics & royalists who came to accept the Republic, as result of papal declaration which urged them to accept. This split right wing; (3) three republican groups; (4) small group of socialists.

What was necessary was to get some order out of all this chaos - to project all the groups into to one plane of political discussion so they could talk in common. This happened only in 1886 after a series of catagories and scandals. The only bond that the ^{3 groups} republicans had was anti-clericalism (of course, anti-monarchic, too). This is important to remember.

Period from 14 May till elections of 1898 there were 26 ministries, many coalitions - and 5 episodes which created new party line-ups.

1. Wilson Scandal, 1886. Daniel Wilson, expatriated Englishman, dishonest, married Grieg's daughter, lived in presidential palace. Rumors began that there was practice in selling legions of honor by Wilson. This broke Grieg. Investigation cornered government and Grieg, but still he had to go. Episode used by right to discredit moderate republicans. More startling fact was that people began to clamor for a leader

who would end this corruption. There was talk of "a man" who could clean it up.

2. Boulanger Crisis, 1886-9 - came near to ending Republic altogether. General B. was unscrupulous and demagogue and a militaristic jingoist. Began to get popularity early in 1886 - had been a Minister of War in one of moderate cabinets. He advocated revenge against Germany, who demanded his dismissal as a destroyer of peace. ^① Thus B. posed as a martyr of republican cowardice. Then he gathered extremes of right & left. Radicals were attracted by his violent demagoguery. Patriots rallied because he promised return of lost Alsace & Lorraine. Bonapartists gathered because he advocated revision and Catholics liked his favoring of the Church. ^② Thus his appeals were varied. ^③ He stood as anti-ministerial candidate and was dismissed from army. Then stood for revision, organized tremendous party, spent money of Comte de Paris, pretender to throne. He got into Chamber, got larger & larger majority, by 1888 was spear-head of anti-Republic movement. Crisis was in Jan. 1889, when he was elected for the department of the Seine, with Paris as center, despite government effort to prevent him. He could have taken over government that night with no trouble when he marched in at head of

the Paris mob. Because he didn't take any government decided to act - and got the courage to try him for high treason. Instead of standing up, he bolted to Brussels, and that was the end.

Consequences of this crisis: ① royalists never recovered from this frustration; ② consolidation of Republic as a regime; ③ weakened both the extremes, with right becoming acquiescent and defending church & social order within the government. This brought right into the plane of discourse in the chamber. Left began to come into arena of politics and introduced a constitutional socialism which furthered complicated chamber. ④ Distancing of the extremes allowed differences among republicans to develop - and there seemed disintegration, with many combinations which led to steady decline of political morale.

3. Panama Scandal, 1892 - Delesamps had planned canal, boom in stock resulted, money wasted before work begun, rumor started to spread. Effectiveness of spread of rumor is a function of the stability of the country's emotional life. France got shocked by rumor very violently. Gov't tried to hush up these rumors, by ~~sub~~ by bribing papers and members of Chamber. Suddenly Panama Company went bankrupt with consequences for hundreds of thousands. Full story never told, but hint of much corruption. Consequences were ①

sense of futility was one of reasons for outbreak of anarchy in 1893. Bombs fell, president was stabbed.

② Deep-seated distrust of politicians and growing political cynicism which lasted down to the war.

In these circumstances of distrust and corruption, distrust scandal of all burst over France - Dreyfus case.

AMERICAN JEWISH
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התנועה הציונית
אגודת ישראל

April 25

Dreyfus Case

Sep. 1894 - G.H.Q. of French Land Service. Colonel Henry, Picquard - Major Dreyfus, Esterhazy. Henry got torn letter from German military attaché's basket. This letter accompanied unrecovered documents, which included French military secrets. Borelreux was name of this list which was undertaken to be delivered. Who wrote it? Some artillery officer. Similarity to Dreyfus' writing. Experts, including Bertillon, said yes. Two said no. All evidence pointed to Dreyfus - yet his moral character was highest. His family was patriotic, etc. He was arrested Oct. 15 secretly. Grumont, anti-Semite, published story. Court-martial opposed by Foreign Office, but Minister of War Mercier demanded it. For. Off. said evidence too flimsy, would cause repercussions. Dec. 4 Mercier sent secretly to judges a document called Secret Dossier, containing damaging documents (letter from Italian embassy, etc.) He did not want to make this public because of international complications. Dreyfus condemned to deportation for life.

Years later, Henry went on holiday - and Picquard became acting head. He found that Germany was still getting military information. Became convinced that D. was innocent. Then a "little blue letter" came from Germany for Colonel Esterhazy, and Picquard found that Ester. was morally low with doubtful past. Picquard was told to keep this quiet - was sent to Africa. Before going Picq. told story to certain lawyers.

Senate called to have investigation - and Dreyfus' brother accused Ester., who was found not guilty by war council. Cola on Jan.

13, 1898 wrote "J'accuse" - accused minister of war of perverting justice for his own ends. Tried for libel and sentenced for year. Dreyfus case was now public issue and gathered confused loyalties. Zola, Jodel, Clemenceau for D.

Secret Dossier was read to both houses. Piquard denounced it as forgery, and cabinet agreed it was forgery. Henry was pressed for explanation, said it was forgery, necessary to clinch Bordereaux against D. He was arrested, then committed suicide. This blew up France. D. brought back Aug. 7, 1899 and found guilty again, with extenuating circumstances. Sentenced to ten more years. This not verdict - merely a compromise, and agitations for D. all over world. D. pardoned by president. Then retried and found innocent, restored to army. Piquard became Minister of War 1906. Ester. Later admitted Bordereaux was his forgery.

~~From~~

French parties date from this period.

1. Whole order of political life in France was suspended.

Republic was in danger of falling into anarchy. Magnitude of implications of l'affaire caused France to tremble on verge of civil war. Conservatives, Catholics v. Republicans, Socialists and underprivileged. Thus govt did not want to touch case for fear of blowing off lid.

2. Re-awoke old antagonisms. Attitudes of mind up to that

time had been gradually integrating. Conservatives were coming to accept republic, etc. Now that was all destroyed, and two sides sprang up.

3. Close alliance between army and church. Church supported army passionately, and this produced a socialist bloc in opposition which has been anti-clerical. Most of these socialist and real republican ^{groups} parties were founded in years 1898-1906. Violence of party politics reached unbelievable pitch.

4. Re-united republicans, who became pacifist and vehemently anti-clerical. This led to Government of ~~that~~ ^{Radical Republican Defense,} Waldeck-Rousseau, was Prime Minister of this first ~~so~~ leftist bloc from 1899 onwards. Had 3-fold policy - to purge army, to destroy power of church in politics, & inaugurate social reform.

April 29

(last lecture - nature of clerical struggle. Govt after 1877 realized it could suppress church by enforcing existing law against associations. In March 1880, republican gov't put in existing law. Results:

1. Split in republicans again - moderates think enough has been done, radicals want complete anti-clericalism
2. This would have left two-parties - with royalists and socialists already discredited. But personal issues and minor conflicts disrupted things. This could not take place in well-established party.
3. Cabinets became either cabinets of concentration or coalition. Former made bid for radical support, hence were anti-clerical, but this brought down and latter type was attempt to bargain with clericals and rightists. Neither combination would go far. Thus politics became increasingly antagonistic.

II. Beginning of Reconciliation with Church

1. In 1871, Pius IX died. He was ruthless reactionary. Leo 13, lasting until 1903, was realist - knew that influence of Church was being impaired by predecessor's anti-democratic program. Leo figured that he must get Catholics inside regime, then anti-clerical laws

could be stopped. He issued encyclical¹⁸⁹², declaring that all civil power came from God, and said all good Catholics should join regime, to reduce anti-church laws. This released good Catholics from former dogma of opposition to the republic. This encyclical produced more fissures, because bishops & monarchists continued being antagonistic and wished they had the backing of the church. Also republicans were skeptical of churchmen, and would not accept them. Thirdly, one section of Catholics did accept encyclical, led by Albert de Mun and Jacques Proix, who had been trying to get workers over to Christian Socialism. The encyclical gave them opportunity to use argument of official church sanction on republic. They fought in elections, have gained strength, became more important than right-wing republicans, became the Action Libérale Populaire with several groups in chamber. Organized as definite party in 1903.

(1899 Waldeck-Rousseau ministry - settled Dreyfus crisis. Started present party system.)

French Socialism - nothing very vigorous until present, because anti-association laws lasted, until 1884 when trade unions were legalized. In the 40's there was a growing proletarian sentiment, with writers such as Fourier, St-Simon, Louis Blanc. Fear of this sentiment brought in Nap. III who crushed it. With advent of the republic, the extremists in Paris declared that city a commune. This business of separate collectivist communes springing up is French idea - does not consider general action. There ~~are~~ ^{is also} forces in favor of syndicalism, which is even more important than commune. Very ugly episode in Paris in 1870-1, when commune ruined the city with deliberate massacre. This led to disintegration of socialist movement which was reconstituted only at end of decade. Barbault, former journalist, began to recreate trade unions, on belief they would eliminate strikes. Third Conference of Trade Unions in ~~1877~~ 1879 took title of Socialist Labor and repudiated Barbault.

Then they split on subject of tactics. Guesde v. Brousse. Guesde emphasized revolutionary & Marxist nature of party. He said: ^{however,} party cannot create crisis, while syndicalists say they can by shaking capitalism to pieces. Thus left Socialists split from Syndicalists. Brousse was evolutionist - his section known as Opportunists or Possibilists.

In 1882 they split. Guesde was called French Workers Party - Bureau, more moderate, called his the Revolutionary Workers Party. These split in 1890, half with Allouane, half with Bureau. Former said workers were paying too much attention to party, were not making progress. He wanted General Strike.

Group of intellectuals - Independent Socialists.
Little Fabian Society. They produced Jaurès, Millerand,
Leon Blum. Ran journal called Socialist Review.

As result of all the interference, the
trade unions got disgusted with politics, and then
syndicalism, which was least political, began to
gather strength.

May 2

As result of fissures & splits from 1882 onwards, French socialist party grew more chaotic and weak. Thus under impact of Dreyfus case, they organized a union as section of Second International, SFIO in 1905. Amsterdam Conference in 1904 contributed to formation of socialist party, since it ordered that all socialists must unite. SFIO never, up to 1936, cooperated with any bourgeois govt. Some of them, however, joined Popular Front in 1936.

Syndicalism got a strong hold on socialist and trade union movements. Borrel elaborated whole direct action theory of politics - was anti-parliament, against compromise, wanted to smash state and let each syndical take over, launched with Marxists and socialists. From 1903 onwards France was shaken by syndicalist strikes. Berand settled one of these strikes in 1909 by conscripting all the strikers - then hated by workers.

Trade union movement had undergone same tribulations as socialist movement. All splits in thought in socialism were reflected in trade unions, for they moved further & further away from politics. Finally there came a confederation in the CGT in 1902, but there was no necessary relation with the SFIO.

It had precarious unity, however, because of existence of Anarcho-syndicalists v. Moderates and their lack of harmony. Because of question over joining Third International, one third split off into

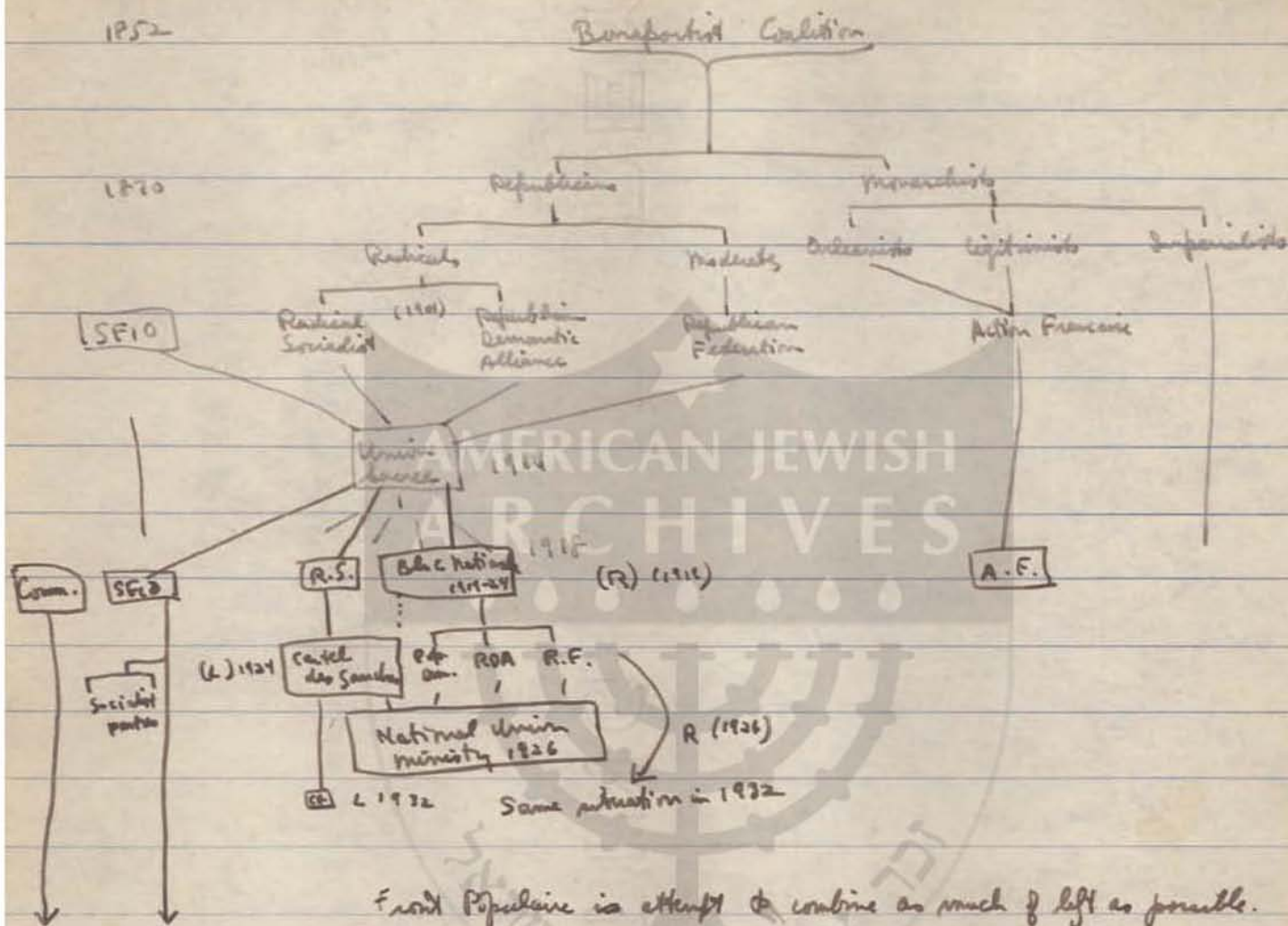
The CGTU, is definitely communist.

Settlement of Church question by Waldeck-Rousseau 1899-1902.

He formed bloc of many leftist groups to attack right. He attacked Affaire, Grand Dreyfus, etc. His committee reported in 1900 on Church and showed many fraudulent practices, such as avoiding taxes, mortmain, etc. Showed that Church agitated for overthrow of Republic. Association Law of 1901 required formal authorization of all convents.

Combes, W-R's successor, was anti-Catholic, kept refusing authorizations, practically cleared country of religious groups. Separation Law 1905 Briand was rapporteur of this law. It put into practice the principle of neutrality of state - no more state subsidies for clericals, thus church got freedom of movements. But municipalities were not, because church buildings were property of commune and were being used free. In 1906 This policy was supported in election. From this time onward, the republican sects split here and there and the general disintegration continued.

From 1906-14 two drifts - foreign policy in direction of war, and spread of syndicalism.



May 4

Basic elements in French politics are the Socialists, the Leftist Republicans (Rad. Soc.), rightist Republicans (R.D.A. & R.F.), and Rightists (Act. Fr.). Regardless of all splits and combinations, these things always appear.

France is splitting toward the extremes, with the center suffering. Even those center groups are not really parties but simply electoral groups. Thus, R.D.A. have 26 members in Chamber, but they are divided into 5 parts or sections, who unite only at election time.

But France can't go on being shaken by combinations and then splits. Some day when the leftists give way and another national union ministry gets in (as may happen when Daladier falls) (also within several months), there is going to be a coup by the Action Française, because they are just waiting for an opportunity and have armed leagues to aid them.

Groupings Today

I. Right

1. Rightists

- a. Action Française
- b. Goussardists
- c. Moderate Monarchists

2. Right-wing Republicans, i.e. R.F. (Marin)

II. Center

1. Seven center groups mainly under RDA (Hof)

III. Left

1. Radical Socialists (Henrich v. Dalheim)
2. SPD
3. Various independent socialist groups
4. Independent communists (10 in Chamber)
5. Communists (72 in Chamber.)

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Obvious that there is necessity of interdependence.

1648 - begin of Western State System. Nationalism flourished after this point. Grotius gave conception of individual state sovereignty, which still holds today in L9N. What was legislative, executive method of conducting int'l relations before 1920? There was int'l anarchy. States refused to surrender privileges of sovereignty. There was no hegemonic attempt to settle each controversy. There was no continent, and no universality, but simply bi- or multilateral treaties.

Again, matters of "vital interest" or national honor were always excepted from any arbitral process. Besides this limit in range, there was uncertainty in regard to the meaning of int'l law - the right of interpretation was held by each country.

No permanent agency to administer & execute laws - no power, but moral obligation.

Also diplomacy itself was in bad repute, and was carried on secretly, so there could be no popular control. Then Wilson called for open covenants openly arrived at. There could be unimpeachable dealings.

Conference method was used.

Int'l law was made by treaty - not only war treaties, but commercial etc. Jay Treaty. These treaties on all possible subjects actually define the law in that particular situation for those particular states. Multilateral treaties are better than bi- because they include more people. Treaty of Paris 1856, after Crimean War, tried to codify naval regulations in case of war. There was to be no privateering, and they defined contraband articles, the blockade, neutral rights, etc. Madrid Convention 1880 tried to regulate trade & traffic in Morocco. Thirteen nations signed, and the rule thus became law between them. Congo Conference 1885 (at Berlin) drew up laws for the African territory - in regard to liquor and arms for the natives, etc. Hague Conference, 1894, 1907 - made law provision for pacific settlement of disputes (not compulsory, however) - Made provision for World Court (no permanent body, etc.) This was really arbitral tribunal and not judicial one. First Hague Con. drew up a series of laws for laws - a formula for conducting war, with reference to weapons, neutrality, combatants, etc. and Red Cross.

How to execute and enforce these laws and treaties? What were the instruments of policy? ① Force, which is most direct method of getting countries to live up to the agreement. This accounts for some failure of L9N, for states use force instead of trying peaceful settlement, and will not give up armaments or right of war (cf. France's constant refusal of disarmament).

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This method of peace is national self-help, but is not desirable. ② Balance of Power - which served to keep down any state which got too much power. England was fulcrum, maintaining balance - and therefore made no alliances. Louis 14 tried to break balance set up by Westphalia. Then England tried to stop him and did. When Prussia went to take Silesia from Austria, England went with Austria, and when France went with Austria, England switched and went to Prussia, thus restoring balance. But this maintenance of balance usually led to war, and couldn't be depended upon because it was constantly shifting. Also it leads to systems of alliances - Triple Alliance & Entente, which leads to war, which is universal. ③ Concert of Europe - Big Powers would dictate in any conflict and try to keep peace. They sought to keep the status quo achieved in 1815, and big powers met in 1818, 1820, 1822 to settle contingencies. Concert was pro-democratic - was austere, & stern, and this wasn't in harmony with rising idea of democracy. Mussolini proposed a 4-Power pact in 1934 was return to this idea of Concert - by France, Gen, Ital. Small states objected. Council of League was originally intended to be composed of big powers, only with collective responsibility. In 1878, Bismarck and Concert of Europe changed Treaty of San Stefano which Russia had made with Turkey, because they felt it was capable of producing another war out of itself. At Algiers the Concert provided for influence in French Morocco. Concert met in London after First Balkan War in 1913, arranged the peace, assuming that they had the responsibility for maintaining peace. In July 1914 after Second Balkan War, Edward Grey tried to get Concert again, but they couldn't operate and war came. (after 1920 there is collective responsibility, and also public opinion to keep peace, which wasn't very good at all before 1920)

Administrative intl affairs before the war - closely allied to executive (balance of power, etc.) There were about 50 intl unions, beginning on private understanding, but developing into public organization - Central Police Commission 1804 was first. They covered wide range of subject matter and consisted of bureau which collected information, urged making of legislative treaties, etc. All this foreshadowed the work of the Secretariat of the League. There is large group of unions pertaining to communication - postal union 1875, telegraphic, intl river, to economics - agricultural institute 1905, sugar institute; to general things - slavery, opium traffi, prison rules. These unions hampered by fact that there was no compulsory coordinating force. Again sovereignty presented problem.

Judicial function before war - no world Court like today. Use of force, which was prevalent, employed no legal methods. There was war, threat of war, boycott, armed intervention (occupation of Ruhr 1923). Peaceful methods were negotiation through diplomatic means (ill-fated with England during Civil War settled by ministers); conferences (Peking 1900 after Boxers), usually limited to agenda already prepared; commission of inquiry and conciliation (employed to settle facts in the case, when dispute hinges on various contentions of fact, and can be settled when true facts are discovered); good offices or mediation (where third power not immediately concerned offers to act as mediator. Nothing binding here - and if they can't agree nobody can force them. Roosevelt mediated in 1905 between Japan - Russia. Hague Tribunal 1899 encouraged use of mediation); arbitration (generally drawn between disputants themselves, and any third party chosen by two states concerned. Also arbitration not based on law or precedent, but upon convenience, and compromise is used. Also nothing compulsory here either - but once they have agreed to arbitrate, they agree to accept decision. Many treaties between countries contain provisions for submission of disputes to arbitration - Jay Treaty 1794. Hague Court was no good because it wasn't permanent, the judges were appointed nationally. There was no compulsion, the compromise (agenda) excluded matters of "vital interest and national honor," which was really the only category of matters likely to lead to war. Bryan (under Wilson) wanted no exclusion of subject matter, permanent judge, and pledge that state would wait full year after dispute came to head to "cool off."); adjudication (this is actually law-based on written texts, involving legal and precedential interpretation - and has permanent court with full-time judges. Central American Court of Justice was only attempt at adjudication before war. All disputes of legal nature between states were to be submitted - this ensured compulsory adjudication. Bryan-Chamorro Treaty between U.S. & Nicaragua was accused of violating previous treaty Mex. had made with somebody else. Court decided B-C treaty was void because it conflicted with previous treaty. When U.S. refused to accept this decision - the Court disbanded.

Treaties after war

(4)

St. Germain	with Austria	{ all dealt with <u>reparations</u> ; <u>frontier settlements</u> , with all Central Powers losing territory; <u>creation of new states</u> (Poland, Estonia, Poland, Yugoslavia, etc.); <u>armaments</u> were reduced to limited number; <u>minorities provisions</u> , where rights of minorities were guaranteed, and there were many minorities in these new states; <u>mandate system</u> , where German and Turkish colonies were turned over to the League and assigned to various powers for administration; <u>League of Nations</u> provided for in first article of each treaty, and also ILO.
Trianon	" Hungary	
Neuilly	" Bulgaria	
Sèvres	" Turkey	

The League of Nations broke up old system and set up a collective organization, with a permanent court, a body to take over administration of unions, and the main body to substitute collection for the old balance of power. Besides trying to outlaw war and see to intl administration, there had to be some body to liquidate the war, to see to it that Versailles & other treaties were carried out in their various aspects. Article 10 provided for the status quo - political independence and territorial integrity. League carried out plebiscites, administered Saar, etc. Three leagues - 1) against war, 2) for intl cooperation; 3) to carry out peace treaties.

Membership granted by 2/3 vote of Assembly - no state compelled to join or remain, altho two years' notice must be given. Any state opposed to some amendment can leave. This is not federation, but confederation. League is not state - has no territory, no armed force, no citizens, no money (except by voluntary donation). It is merely a loose association of states with no member sacrificing any sovereignty in any important matter. Each member has one vote in Assembly regardless of size. Council has jumped from original 9 to present 14. Russia, France, England, Italy are permanent members of Council. Assembly initiates amendments and meets only annually, with unanimous vote necessary in large issues. It is too unwieldy, and does not get intl disputes, which go to Council first, since latter is smaller and quicker. In Sino-Japanese affair, China was afraid Council would be partial to large power, so she brought it in the Assembly and got unanimous declaration of guilt of Japan. Council meets 4 times per year - and is mediating group. Tries to conciliate and harmonize difficulties, and is always ready to take initiative if matters are not brought before it. Council is also administrative body - has charge of mandates and set up Permanent Mandates Commission; has charge of minorities provisions; had charge of Saar basin before the plebiscite; Danzig. Council has been compared to cabinet, but this is false because Council is not any more executive than Assembly.

Secretariat is the "backbone of the league" - an intl. bureau, which is permanent and has charge of most of intl. union. Secretariat calls on experts from whole world, and even U.S. has contributed. There is Secretary-General (first Drummond, then Avenel) who draws up agenda for Council & Assembly. There are various sections - political, mandate, health, disarmament, etc. - also co-ordinating committee, a tremendous organization constantly active and collecting information, etc.

Mandate administration - called the antithesis of imperialism. It is a trustee system divided in three classes. A. mandates were pretty close to independence - Iraq, Palestine (to Britain), Syria (to France) - and only needed few years guidance. Iraq and Syria now independent, latter having appealed to be set free. B. Mandates were Togoland, Cameroon, German East Africa. C. mandates were islands, usually in Pacific. Most north of equator went to Japan, and those south went to New Zealand or Australia. B & C never likely to evolve to self-governing status, but still there were regulations forbidding exploitation, traffic in arms & liquor, etc. These mandates were not supposed to be carved from and were open door. New mandate system was improvement over imperial system but it should be applied to other colonies not only German. English colony of Kenya is very bad and needs correction too. Permanent Mandates Commission makes annual report and recommendations.

Minorities administration - is another pressing problem. Every small state wanted to be ethnic and territorial units. Still about 20 million people not living in their own national boundaries, - 3 million Germans in Czechoslovakia, etc. Hitler talks about bloody borders. Guarantee of civil rights of these minorities not held up. World Court has been invoked in matter of interpretation of minorities - nationality of Germans in Corridors, etc. States have protested these minority provisions, as a reflection on their sovereignty over all the citizens in their territory, also as a weakening and separatist tendency when special concessions have to be made. Also why shouldn't France & Italy have these minority regulations? Quarter million Germans in Tyrol and many thousands in Alsace-Lorraine.

Settlement of Saar and of Danzig Former went to France and latter remain free city. Mental is necessary for Lithuania outlet to Baltic and League set up with board for administration of harbor. Lithuania seized it finally, however.

League promotes with cooperation - health, intellectual, etc. Also floats loan for countries in distress. Austria gets 150 million after war for rehabilitation.

Int'l Labor Office is part of League system confined to economic problem. It has bodies resembling Council, Assembly, Secretariat, and Court. ILO has suspended idea of sovereignty, by virtue of 4/3 vote being decisive, while League require unanimity. Still program of ILO has no binding effect until it is ratified by individual members. Members who do not ratify are not obligated. ILO is much more important for its research activities in the field of labor.

Real purpose of League - settlement of war. Article 18 promotes arbitration and asks that treaties between countries be registered with the Secretariat. Article 21 encourages formation of treaties with provision for peaceful settlement. There are about 100 bilateral treaties for this purpose. Also multilateral treaties under auspices of League - Locarno, 1925 and Kellogg-Briand. - World Court was set up by articles 13, 14 to replace Hague Tribunal. Ten League members would join and judges of court elected by League. Then complicated procedure. This Court not national like Hague Tribunal. Function of this Court was to interpret treaties, interpret with law which might be unwritten, interpret minorities arrangement, etc. It gives advisory opinion to Council when asked for - famous opinion in regard to Anschluss, which was held to violate St. Germain also opinion in Mosul dispute. Of course, there are direct decisions handed down when case are brought not recommended by League, and judgments are entered like in any court. Submission to court is optional - again because of unanimity. There is optional clause where member can pledge themselves to submit all justiciable disputes. Members can sign this clause or not, in the treaty.

Machinery of League to prevent disputes - articles 10-16. Article 10 is heart of League. stabilizing society as it stood in 1919. Art. 11 says that all members of the League are concerned in any threat against the existing situation. Can no longer be war of defense & nation because whole world should step in. Any state can bring dispute to notice of League. Council may then be summoned. Art. 12 pledges members of League to submit their disputes to either one of three ways of settlement - 1) arbitration 2) World Court with judgment decision 3) Council for inquiry and conciliation. After submission disputants agree to wait six months for report. They don't have to accept report but agree to wait three more months after report before any action (war) is taken. Art. 13 enumerates disputes of

justiciable character, and also member agree not to go to war with state which implies with decision of arbitral board, Court, or Council. Council then takes steps to decide how the report is to be put into effect. Art. 14 put up with Court Art. 15 agrees that if it is unable to arbitrate, adjust legally the dispute, the member will submit to Council also a unanimous report bind all League member not to resist aggression. If neither disputant accepts report, then other members have no obligation either way. Council can refer dispute to himself - since Japanese case where every state condemned Japan. Art. 16 provided for sanctions, military, economic, and moral. Member not obliged to contribute to a military sanction, and Council can only recommend such action. Also no machinery for organizing military sanction. In regard to economic sanctions, member agree that they will boycott a violating state. This is fine about it, but it is also very small. In order to be effective boycott requires universality - and if large states (like US) stay out, then they cannot succeed. Again, some countries suffer from boycott - Yugoslavia suffered in Ethiopia was more than that did, and League has found to reimburse countries which lose by boycott. There is no machinery for setting of sanction on any effective basis. There have been resolutions made which weakened the sanction - such as amendment that each state will decide whether or not to contribute, whether boycott is desirable, and how much each individual state will contribute. Thus sanctions inadequate. After war countries tried to get better results in their quest for security.

Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance ¹⁹²² - attempted to strengthen sanctions, tried to pledge countries to military operations, and carry out recommendations of Council, which was to define the aggressor, and distribute amount of force which each state should contribute. They agreed to go to war for the persecuted state, against the aggressor. This treaty was too powerful to be accepted, because it gave Council too much authority over sovereign countries. Some pacifists said it was too militaristic - and didn't stress moral force. Also SB felt it was too wide - sweeping and would put too great a burden on her, because she had so much land to watch out for besides attempting to keep the peace of the world. Lastly, neither U.S. nor Russia were members, which left out this great power.

Geneva Protocol - 1924 - tried to strengthen aspect of arbitration and adjudication. This was unanimous agreement not to go to war - but to settle all disputes peacefully, and also to reduce their military power. This also defined the aggressor, but not by the Council like in Draft Treat. Here there was automatic definition - any state which refused to submit to arbitration or to accept decision was an aggressor. This was more in line with moral pressure, found lacking in the Draft Treat. There was outlawing of war, and promise of disarmament. England also upset this one, but suggested a method of not operating on such a large, universal scale, but instead on smaller regional bases. Thus, let's make a Geneva Protocol for the Rhineland, or for the Mediterranean, etc., but it can't be done for a whole world. On this basis there grew up the

Locarno Treaties - 1925 - to outlaw war and pledge arbitration with regard to the Rhineland. Several treaties, but largest was one of England, France, Ital, Germany, and Belgium, in which it was pledged to accept status of Rhine as set by Versailles. France need never fear German aggression in that direction. England and Ital were the guarantors of the Pact, and England was willing to commit herself in this regional agreement. There were also Ger.-Fr. and Ger.-Bel. bilateral, and Ger.-Po. and Ger.-Czech. bilateral treaties of same type as large one. Eastern Locarno couldn't be made, except for the bilateral arbitration treaties with Po. and Czech. There were also treaties of mutual guarantee between Fr.-Po. and Fr.-Czech, where Fr. acted as guarantor of these bilateral treaties, like Eng. and Ital acted as guarantors in Five Power. When Hitler remilitarized in 1936, England didn't guarantee and Fr. was too scared to force England to guarantee.

These treaties gave new spirit to Europe and the next year Germany came into League.

Kellogg-Briand or Paris Pact - 1928 - Fr. and U.S. outlawed war between themselves and this spread so that most of the world signed the agreement to renounce war as an instrument of national policy - which means nothing. There came reservations - when wars of self-defense were exempted, and this leave the gates open because Ital needed food and land (she said) and thus her war was in self-defense, for otherwise she would have busted economically. No means to enforce this Pact, and thus it was actually no more than a pious wish. The most serious loophole was that it did not outlaw the use of force short of war - i.e. when there was no declaration of war.

Litvinov Protocols ¹⁹²⁵ - he went around making all treaties of peace with as many countries as he could for long away with aggressive war. These were to go into effect regardless of whether the League Pact was ratified or not.

Stimson Doctrine - 1932 - This grew out of Japanese conquest of Manchuria. She had broken the Covenant, and had violated the Kellogg Pact in spirit if not in letter. There was no enforcement behind Kellogg Pact, but still the U.S. was a member and should take a hand. Also the Nine-Power Pact guaranteeing the integrity of China was broken. The U.S. felt itself obligated to do something about it. Stimson declared for the U.S. that we would not recognize the results of any action accomplished by the violation of any of the Pact. League of Nations officially adopted this non-recognition policy, and on that basis we not recognized Italian occupation, but still had Ethiopia as an official member of the League.

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES



אחד אלה יעקב ישראל

(12)

League attempted to keep peace by controlling manufacture and sale of munitions. Before war few attempts made - Congo Con 1885 in regard to traffic in arms among natives. Section 5 of Treaty of Versailles declared Germany must be disarmed and then other countries would follow. Section 8 of League agreed to reduce arms to limit of national safety. Periodically there should be revision of estimates, and there should be full info about armaments - no secrecy. Govts not manufacturers should regulate import and exports, and govts should prohibit publicity of mfgs. This didn't succeed. League set up Disarm. Comm. and called for Disarm. Conference to meet in 1932. A preparatory committee was appointed and Conference should not agree on the details set by the preparatory com. The prep. com. met for six years - and at actual Conference 57 nations met and failed. Tardieu suggested with army - and Litvinov called for complete disarmament - Hoover called for 1/3 reduction - Germany demanded equality and France refused this. Then Germany walked out of the Conference claiming that other countries had broken promise to disarm too. Net result of Conference was to outlaw chemical & bacteriological warfare, and not to bomb civilians - both of which were broken.

There were other attempts not connected with League. Washington Conference of 1921-22 - Five Power Treaty set naval ratios. No progress made in regard to submarines, however. Geneva Conference 1927 - U.S., G.B., Fr. accomplished nothing. Lobbying of Amer. mfgs obstructed this conference. U.S. demanded parity with G.B. in lighter craft. London Naval Conference 1930 - U.S., G.B., Japan, Fr. wouldn't grant parity to Italy, and these two wouldn't cooperate. The U.S. got parity with G.B. in all types of ships. Also regulation of submarines, but not complete outlawing. Agreed in interests of economy not to build up to level set in Washington Conference. Escalator clause - in event of outbreak (Fr., Ital.) building up while the signatories to the London Conference (U.S., G.B., Japan) did not build - then any of the signatories could break the London treaty and start to build again. Japan broke all the above treaties at end of 1936 (when building holiday was over) and now there is open race.

GERMANY

(1)

Geographic - surrounded by 12-13 countries, and hence she must be diplomatic and win friends. Her frontiers are not natural and afford no protection.

Economic - self-sufficient in agriculture if she doesn't export food to get raw materials. Before war she had coal, iron in Ruhr, Alsace-Lorraine, Silesia etc., but after war she lost these. All industries near frontier.

Population - high productive technique in mfg., etc. Racial problem - so many Germans outside territory - and Hitler wants national boundary to include them.

Objectives - War guilt clause is degrading and Ger. seeks to throw it off.

Reparation payments left Ger. flat - until 1933. She was in bankruptcy and had her territory invaded (Ruhr). Tried to call them off.

Intense drive for return of colonies, and military spending.

Anarchism is great political objective - also economic. Hitler brought about murder of Chancellor Brüning in 1934 because he opposed anarchism.

Ger. glorifies militarism and desires to be imperial power. This is reason behind intervention in Spain - she hopes to get concessions from fascist govt if it wins.

Fascist philosophy makes Ger. anti-communist, anti-Russian. Hitler has pact with Japan, and is also drawn close to Italy this way. Also says Ger. have similar ideology. became denounced, and Ger. has revived ill-feeling between Fr. and herself.

Rise of Hitler brought Russia close to France. And has brought fear to England which promoted rearmament campaign.

Japan also has left league, violated treaties, and has anti-communist, semi-fascist military party. Much trade between Japan and Ger. Ger. also recognized Manchukuo.

FRANCE

Geographic - exposed to attack in northeast and thru Belgium, which has been maintained as buffer state. Also want buffer state in Rhineland, but compromised on demilitarization. Also built up Maginot line. Long coastline necessitates large navy.

Economic - ample coal & iron and access to oil in Syria, but industries like Germany, are located in battle frontier.

Population - not increased, but it low after war.

Objectives - France always sought political hegemony over Europe, both for reasons of security and of prestige.

Fr. opposed to revision - wants status quo set by Treaty and League. Always supports League and even wanted right army. Her military strength depends on keeping Ger. weak. Opposed to Anarchism because it will add

to her population and wealth.

Sometimes worked with Ger. - Locarno and also some of the reparations plan
Fr. must maintain her line to her empire - must have clear power in
Mediterranean. She got alarmed over Italian control of Ethiopia because it
would threaten her sea control and part of ~~Italy~~ ^{Jibuti}.

Fr. friendly to GB, but hostile to Ital, which has different ideology
and which still hangs after Nice and Savoy. Left govt in Fr. opposed
to fascism

Fr. is associated with Poland and also Russia, because of menace of
Hitler.

ITALY

Geographic - wants to control opposite coast and make Adriatic Sea into Italian Lake.
Now has Friuli and Dalmatian and Albania. She has good natural
frontiers - Alps (control of Brenner Pass), but riverine in Mediterranean.
SB has outlet to Med. and has Cyprus and Iraq and Aden at
Red Sea. Fr. has Toulon and Corsica - and all important Italian
cities are exposed to bombing.

Economic - no adequate fuel. Ger. has substitute. Can't take care of food
supply for over-population. Gets dairy product from Albania, but has no
grain or timber. Ital always at second-rate power unless she
gets important resources. She can't settle people in Eritrea or Ethiopia
or Libya

Population - too much - every bit of land utilized

Objectives - Interests in Spain due to economic desires and also for control of Med.
and Morocco.

Ital doesn't want to abide by Article 10 - wants to revise League and
revise content of Treaty with France - Paris Pact of 1919.
No racial problem - has all Italians within national boundary.

Low cultural standard of population.

Fascist ideology is threat to world peace - rejection of democracy.

Ital opposed to Anschluss because she wants to get Austria.

(13)

Fascism based on glorification of militarism - many virtues come out of war.
" is super-nationalism, and seeks to convert other nations to this ideology.
" leads to economic nationalism which is self-sufficiency - and means addition of
This means conflict with other nations. Econ. nation leads to large tariff, so that
only nation state have protection, which is death of world trade and security of
some countries. State acts for capitalists - and establish prostrate spheres of
influence, etc. open door in China seeks to guarantee rights of all Powers. Power,
protection, and profits. All this leads to war preparedness - and such is obvious.
Germany uses substitute (League) to arrive at econ. nation. League of Nations always
calls for sensible approach to distribution of raw materials - abolish tariff, etc.
Hope rests in Article 19, which is revision clause - pledging League to revise treaties
existing treaties with a view toward their continuing applicability. This article has
not been adhered to however. This League does not commit world to states
quo, but really provided for revision which has never taken place. There is
no international morality so far as existing treaties is concerned. Even
Locarno treaty, which was voluntarily proposed by Germany, was abrogated.
League appeals only to abstract principles and this is futile. League
should appeal to nation self-interest, which means revision because self-
interests always change. There is no common ideological basis of all members
of League, which is bad for progress. Again too many loopholes for war.
Article 12 says if dispute which might lead to rupture are submitted -
and Japan said her request wouldn't lead to rupture - it was only a
little cleaning up of the backyard. Also free shot of war not pro-
hibited. League does not prohibit alliances, nor limit armaments. Action
of U.S. in sanctions helped bring about failure. This goes back to original
refusal to enter League. There was talk that this was unfair, imposed
treachery, and also feeling that we did not want to bind ourselves to
European entanglements (violation of Monroe Doctrine). Also we would be
in inferior status, because British Empire could outvote us. What U.S. can do
is to reaffirm Kellogg Pact and agree to consult with other nations in event
of war, which really amounts to same thing as if U.S. were member.
Also U.S. agreed not to make any effort to impede decision of League -
let them do what they will. U.S. can never remain neutral, because

we are bound up by Kellogg Pact with economic, etc.

(14)

Our neutrality law really hinder weaker nation, because aggressor always has his own munitions, and our law only handicaps smaller nation. Also, loophole in law is that raw materials can be purchased - iron, etc. - and this also operates for large power which has navy to transport stuff from here. Law makes no distinction between moral & immoral state. Thus our neutrality law does not make for world peace.

Despite fallacies in League, we must hold on to it as best organization yet. Positive method of assuring peace is to revise treaties - and seek to modify aggressive philosophies of state.

AMERICAN JEWISH CURRENT EVENTS ARCHIVES

U.S. -

neutrality law

I. Inter-American Conference for maintenance of peace.

1. economic agreement to reduce tariffs, and no preference to certain nations.
2. collective security doctrine - but no enforcement mechanism.
3. neutrality - reinforce all peace pacts to which they had been signatory, and seek to achieve uniform policy toward warring state.
4. intervention in domestic affairs is not allowed - no more of diplomacy.
5. multilateral assumption of responsibilities of Monroe Doctrine.

Europe -

1. Italy walked out of League, because Ethiopia was still recognized as member.
2. Renunciation of joint control of rivers of Germany - Rhine, Elbe, Oder, Danube had joint commission set up by Versailles.
3. Austro-German agreement. In 1934 Ger. tried to get Austria (Dollfus assassinated) and Austria turned to Italy for protection. Now Ger. has assumed Austria of her independence. Italy agreed to this because there was cooperation between them at that time about Spain.
4. German-Japan agreement against Third International.
5. Gold agreement between Fr., GB, and US upon recommendation of financial committee of League. This was hoped to lead to reduction of tariffs.
6. Mediterranean pact - England & Italy. Italy kept pouring troops into Spain to have upper hand when peace negotiations came - but she kept losing and became more afraid that Germany would have upper hand and get the

desired Balearic Islands. Also she was afraid that England was becoming annoyed with her. For these two reasons she wanted to make up to England. On her side, JB would rather see Italian rather than German domination of France. This pact, then, agreed to recognize the vital interests of each in the Med. (Ital would respect Gibraltar, etc.) - and agreed to respect the ^{by implication} status quo of the Med. countries, which is not very clear. By this, England was supposed to recognize Ethiopia and arrange for loan to Ital.

7. Belgium returned to neutrality - denounced military alliances with France. She can't get protection from League - and doesn't want to get involved into any possible war than the Franco-Russian alliance.
8. Venice agreement - Germany & Italy. Ger. recognizes Italian conquest of Ethiopia, also cooperation in Danubian region (Czechoslovakia), and Italy agree not to oppose Anschluss as she did in 1934. Also agreed to try to break Franco-Russian alliance, and embark on crusade against communism. Also to revise 4-Power Pact, and 1 which ^{was} to exclude Russia and smaller powers from control in Europe.
9. Spanish affair.

May 2

(Sout 42
afternoon lecture

1924 Bloc National was heavily defeated after 5 years
premiership under Poincaré. Fr. Pres. Millerand, did
campaigning for this party. Herriot and Radical Socialists
in power 1924-26. Reparations stopped coming in, franc
fell. Herriot organized Cartel des Gauches. By 1926
France was bankrupt because income was low, franc
fell further. National Union Ministry under Poincaré again
lasted until 1929. He balanced budget with franc at
4 cents in 1928. Thus leftist Chamber could do nothing
and had to ~~seize~~ exist under a rightist Cabinet.

This paradox could not last. From 1929-34 there
were 11 different govts around the Centre - much confusion,
unbalanced budget, fall of franc again. Crashes of 1929 and 1931
affected here also. In 1932 discontent with parliamentary
institutions - and direct action started from the Right.
De la Rocque wanted to scrap the Republic.

There was national panic when Hitler came in -
rightists increased and leftists organized. In Dec. 1933
rumors started about corruption of govt. Nobody took much
notice of Stavisky's arrest at first - but when Chaumpey's
brother-in-law was found to be implicated, a national scandal
broke. Chaumpey's position was precarious and groups
started marching. Investigation of Stavisky resulted in

murder of investigators and robbery of papers. In Feb. 1934 a million mob in Paris started riot which almost lead to civil war. P.M. was Daladier, who refused to fire on mob, who were killing all leftists they could see. Pres called on Doumergue to form National Union Ministry - and again leftist Chamber was dominated by rightist Cabinet, which caused leftists to get panicky as 1935 wore on. Rumors that govt was working with fascists were proved to be true. De la Roque plan again caused panic.

Left decided to make one more effort in election of 1936. Committee of Vigilance in June 1935 staged demonstration of all possible leftist groups - and invited radicals. Permanent Council of Recueil - worked for & got agreement between Socialists & Communists. Also tried to get Radical Socialists in, but ~~that~~ and by Jan. 1936 the Front Populaire was formed, despite hatred of Rad. Soc. for Comm. Another achievement of Committee of Recueil was union of CGT and CGTU. They all agreed to have complete freedom on first ballot - but on second ballot all members of Front Populaire were to withdraw in favor of the one who polled most.

They got 12-point program consisting of

slogans of Peace, Liberty, Bread. Election held in 1936, gave astonishing success to leftists. Only 180 seats were filled on first ballot, but on second ballot practically whole country was swept. 72 Communists, SFIO best Radical Socialist for first time in Republic. 387 Front Pop. candidates got in. There was almost total elimination of center groups. There were 4815 candidates among 21 parties, among whom were large numbers of young men.

Blum began to implement 12-point program. Received set-back when Communists refused to cooperate. Budget unbalanced - he tried to get a New Deal. Result was fall of franc, rise of costs of living. Also CGT tried to dictate to him; he couldn't concede to them because SFIO would have conceded, couldn't refuse them because they could strike. So he had make-shift policy of opportunism, which led to difficulties. When Senate refused him financial powers May 1937, he resigned.

Then Chautemps came in as Rad. Soc. but no good. Blum returned in Jan. 1938 - but has not succeeded any better. Flight from franc in March 1938 was worst yet - and Daladier took over. He is unknown figure - known as Young Turk. He is left-wing Radical Socialist,

realist and pragmatic. He is trying to stabilize internal situation. France is bankrupt with many debts. He is trying to cut costs of govt, retrench reforms, increase revenue. He is shifting toward center, wants support of some rightists. Meanwhile CBT is preparing for more direct action. But Deladier is hardening, although he is leftist. There is tremendous struggle coming.

One thing Ernst Guevara did was disarm rightist groups. This should prevent any violent action on part of right - but you can't tell.

May 9

SPAIN - FACTORS

1. **Despotism** - maintenance of particular form and also exclusion of all others.
 longest record of tiny ruling group who ruled in personal terms.
 no possibility for parties because no one knew about politics,
 or had political experience. Democracy cannot flourish where people
 are not in politics.
2. **Clericalism** - undue participation of church in social + political affairs
 (particularly education). This can exist only in Catholic country.
 Thus pyramid is rigid.
3. **Feudalism & agrarianism** - Spain now confronted with same problems
 as faced Tudors hundreds of years ago. Real feudal village
 economy. (Institution of manors.) Resentment against this has
 taken on increasingly more - i.e. undirected desire for change.
 Present war is last of 14th cent. peasant rebellions and last of
 16th cent. religious wars.
4. **Proletarianism** - origins of socialism are 1845 - no organization till half a
 generation later. Spain's wrestling with issues is very recent,
 thus not the same progress as France + England, because Spain
 is just beginning to be industrialized.
 - a. Growth of industrialism from 1900 on - gives social
 problems of slums, wage levels, etc. This led to migration
 of farmers to towns, and formed group of potential "black-legs."
 - b. Two areas + two types of proletarianism - Madrid + Barcelona;
 integrated, organized v. unorganized. In Madrid, socialism

developed with organized party and political aspirations.
 This party is like Communist Party of 1905 - with leadership, discipline, Lenin's tenets. In Barcelona there is strong anarchist movement. Two movements have been at loggerheads since beginning of war - anarchists refusing to cooperate.

c. Right of association not granted till 1876. In England right came in 1824. France got hers in 1864, but Spain's right could be changed or abrogated by royal decree, so France not really ~~behind~~ behind Spain. Many splits in parties - Madrid type has Trotskyites + Stalinists.

5. Militarism - praetorian guard, as in Rome, controlled King.

a) Thus militarism does not mean Spain has been aggressive, but at times army has controlled state.

b. Essentially 19th C. phenomenon. General de Rivera was last expression of praetorianism - Franco will be next. In beginning of 19th C., praetor was liberal simply because it stood against King - but after Restoration in 1874, army switched to support of King.

c. Army offers only career of advancement - because Spain has no institutions except Crown, Church and Army (and village life), and in first two there is no advancement. Thus army became instrument in domestic politics. There was no

civil service, rather military.

1. Military politician -
- (1) patriot - usually gets to politics late, with ideas already formed - don't like talking and discussing
 - (2) thinks in simple categories - has irritation with complexities wants to cut through and destroy them - change system to simple one.
 - (3) reactionary by temperament - does not want to pool ideas - this tendency enhanced by military training, which leaves him arrogant and conceited.
 - (4) concerned with externals and concentrates on order - then puts down press & free speech.
 - (5) ends in clerical reaction - existence of army allows himself to be free of church pressure, but eventually clericalism grows again.

Spanish National Character

May 11

There is a national character determined by environment, heredity, circumstance, etc. Cannot bring institutions from one type of life to another. Cannot deny the existence of national character, even though it may not be reduced to a formula.

Spanish National Character -

1. Oscillation between passion and inertia. 15% of people went to polls to elect Pres. in 1936, after whole country went to polls six weeks before to elect Popular Front. History of country is violence then stagnation.
2. Peculiar kind of individualism - man's total self is involved in program in which there is no withdrawal or restraint.
3. Apolitical - history shows that people are not fertile in political experience. Opposite of English-speaking world. The consequence is there is absence of institutions outside of Crown, Church and Army.
4. All-or-nothing temperament - precludes possibility of compromise, or large institutions because there is no cooperation to form cells and grow through play of compromise.
5. Inherent pessimism - indicates need for discipline, and shows hostility against education, for that creates social hope and speculation.
6. Consequences of fatalism - a.) creation of the self mind.

b.) immurrectionism c.) apoliticity.

Other qualities less amenable to classification - one is "assertive egocentricity". Spaniards' real life seems to be within - his poles are himself & his ^{God} garden. There is introversion to himself and extroversion to God with no gradation in between.

An "immediate and tangible objective" is the only thing which can attract a Spaniard's attention. Nothing coordinated - or long range.

No pragmatism in Spain, but fanatical devotion to the Cause, whatever that may be. There is absence of compromise.

Opposed to democratic experiment - is convinced that only more discipline will help, because people are so bad that you cannot give them power.

Very little continuity of policy, but violent swings from one extreme to other.

Consequences - 1. Great administrative chaos - no demand for a sense of specialist. Distrust objectivity. A colossal spoils system

2. Localism - intense separatism.

Parties During Republic had fundamental cleavages, which denies first requisite of healthy parties. Second, party must be subsuming purposes all the time into integrated whole - and this also did not exist in Spanish parties. There were 6 right wing (CEDA chief), 6 center, and 6 left parties. Bases of division are 6 - dynastic, (Carlists v. Alfonsists); regime, (monarchists v. republic); tactics, (cooperation v. non-); structure, (unitary, federalistic, separatist); social structure, (aristocracy, liberalism, socialism, and syndicalism); religious.

These things still remain for Franco to solve even if he wins.

May 13

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

I. Distinctive Features of Czech Politics:

1. Economic span from rich industrialists (Bohemia) to poor peasants (Ruthenia) - accompanied by highest development in one and feudalism in other. Former Protestant enlightened and latter Catholic.
2. Political span from fascism to communism
3. Religious span as legacy from past
4. Racial and national problem - Czechs, Slovaks, Ruthenians who are Rumano-Carpathians - almost evenly split up. Germans occupy 23% of 33% Bohemia. Also Hungarian minority of 5%.
5. Democratic island in sea of dictatorship.
6. Complications of foreign policy - total land-block of that area has influenced every strategy in central Europe. Bismarck and controller of Bohemia was master of Europe. Hitler has returned to that.
7. Beset by 2 basic problems - 1) military alliance - where shall she look for support, Berlin or Russia; 2) social problem - at start of republic there was no administration to take care of whole mass, esp. Ruthenians who are poorest.

II. Determining Factors in Czech Politics:

1. Historical elements - was once in 14th C. greatest kingdom of central Europe. Memory of past greatness determined Czech aspirations. Also there is memory of past distress under

Habsburgs of Austria 1558. In 1620 Bohemian independence ended, not revived until May 1918 - but always model for regeneration of historic greatness. There was third memory - struggle for independence against Austrian rulers.

- 1. Institutional factors - creation of first Protestant movement under influence of Wycliffe - Moravian church exists today. Second, development of independent parties from 1840, with party loyalties holding them together under Habsburg domination of war. Third, constitution is almost model, provides for proportional representation of parties. Was written by men soaked in Plato as well as modern democratic constitutions. Fourth, advisory parties organized on French pattern. All above constitutions have gathered loyalties.

- 3. Ideas - Cz. has one of largest reading publics of world. All leaders are scholars. Ideas are: existence of national, cultural and linguistic sentiment; religious factor, which is over land and tends to become associated with various political factions; romantic youth movement in Bohemia which led to Sudeten Deutschen Partei, connected rather with Vienna than with Berlin; ideas of liberalism and democracy are assumptions ^{now} after the suppressions of the past hundreds of years; existence of

independent movements, i.e. loyalties outside of the state.

4. Social factors - bourgeois Gachs, easy-going Slovaks, poverty of Ruthenians, culture of Germans. Depression among Germans because of industrial recessions since 1931 has been bad.

5. Leadership - Masaryk, Benes made Gach. state by force and brilliance of their personalities. Work done by them during war was inspiring.

Yale University
Final Examination
May 1938

Government 42

Political Parties & Public Opinion

Note: Answer ONE question from EACH section.

A. The Study of Public Opinion.

- X 1. Does your reading and reflection suggest to you that the concept of 'national character' has any importance for the student of public opinion?
2. Take any one movement of historical importance that you are familiar with (e.g. chartism, feminism, anti-clericalism, irredentism, etc.) and examine it in the light of your study of the processes of public opinion.
3. A recent writer has said: "What political science urgently needs is a psychology of political belief". If you had to provide the outlines of such a psychology what elements would you want to include and to investigate?
4. Examine critically the use that has been made in recent years of either the concept of 'propaganda' or the concept of 'symbols'.
5. "Basic political attitudes remain constant. It is only the numerical ratios among their supporters that fluctuate". Discuss.

B. The Problems of Party.

6. Explain the development of the idea of 'representation' and show to what criticisms it has been subjected in recent years.
7. Discuss Burke's theory that the function of party is to make possible "the distillation of the turbid volume of public opinion".
- X 8. What permanent factors would you suggest as responsible for the persistence of multi-party systems in the democracies on the European continent?

C. Great Britain.

9. Compare the membership, organisation and political outlook of the Conservative party today with that in 1868.
- X 10. Indicate the main features in the development of British working class movements during the last hundred years.
11. Either: Trace the development of the Liberal party 1815-1906
Or: Account for the decline in the importance of the Liberal party 1910-38.
12. Explain the meaning of the assertion that "the first half of the century between 1815 and 1914 was characterised by individualism and the second half by collectivism."

D. France.

13. Trace the main stages in the evolution of a coherent party system in France from 1848 on.
- X 14. Why has the Radical-Socialist party been called "the most distinctive and the most characteristic of all French parties"?
15. In what respects does the development of the French working-class movement present contrasts to its counterpart in Great Britain?
16. Explain the main features of French party politics during the past five years.
17. Compare critically Sieburg's analysis of France with any other analysis that you may be familiar with.

15-34
34-68
68-100
100-14

E. Germany.

(N.B. Only for those who have not submitted an essay.)

- + 18. Use the technique suggested in class to come to an understanding and appraisal of National-Socialist Germany.

F. General.

- X 19. Examine the causes of the Civil War in Spain and indicate party alignments on the eve of the war.
20. Give an account of the major party tendencies in Czechoslovakia today.
21. Describe and account for the unique features of American party organisation.
22. Compare the difficulties confronting the emergence of a new party in this country with the difficulties that a new party would experience in England or France.
23. Compare the Roosevelt régime 1933-38 with the Liberal régime in England 1906-11.
24. It has been said that "the emergence of one-party states in recent years represents a critical commentary upon the early theories of representative democracy". Discuss.
25. Do you think there are a sufficient number of features common to the dictatorship countries to enable you to define with anything like precision the content of that political concept known as 'fascism'?

1. Suffragism - Peter Low
2. Recognition
3. Socialism
4. Trade Union
5. Labour Party