

~~Co. TELEPHONE GAS ELECTRIC Co.~~
READING NO. 1111

Stephens, Nov. 18

Summary of Hobbes

Everything the individual does affects someone else; even if it did not, society should worry about it.

Restraint is necessary in liberty - only thru restraint will you have liberty.

True distinction not between self-regarding & other regarding acts, but co-ercive & non co-ercive. Coercition of state to be used only to prevent coercion by individuals.

State does a great deal for all of us, but we forget it.

The right to work, & to a living wage, is just as valid as rights of property. State should interfere to regulate things, if they go wrong.

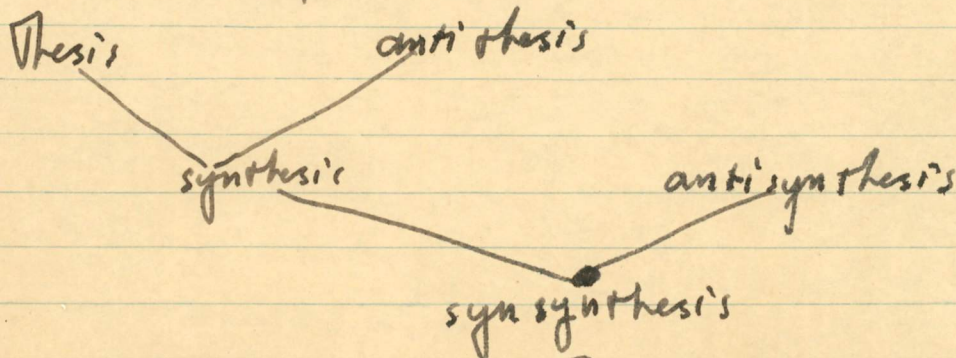
Wages not to be determined by the higgling of the market.

Ground rent, franchises, & monopolies values are socially created, so society should interfere.

1848 - Communist Manifesto

Hegel's dialectic. Thesis, antithesis, & synthesis.

Laski, p. 56



& so forth.

He assumes you get to nationalism & stop. Marx to Communism & stop. But ideas keep coming together, & best ones winning out.

Economic determinism - social, religious, all ideological things are just tools of owning class to keep disarmed happy. But Marx forgets that things can work the other way - ideologies can produce ec. system. Marx said the state ^{will} ~~is~~ withering away.

Hobhouse, Leonard Trelawney: Liberalism (2)

Ch. 7 - The State & the Individual

Social liberty rests on restraint. When individual will & community will conflict, what? Character is destroyed by coercion, so it must only be used when individual's freedom rhymes general will, as when all employers but 1 will pay higher wages (bull - or all ~~employers~~ producers but 1 will charge higher prices). If they coerce him, no liberty is violated (monopoly ok, then) Much bull. One buyers ^{one} outbidding another is a coercive action, as it forces the other to bid higher, (bull), & force should be used vs. it. (BULL) State's duty is to prevent coercion. Cannot force Jews to work on Sat. (but, evidently, forced work is ok on any other day), but ok to inspect convent laundries. We forget, in demanding state, that it gives us our liberties. Justice, not charity. Right to work, & to living wage, society must guarantee 'em. How? 2

p. 167 Ch. 8 - Economic Liberalism (Excellent (Happan))

Mechanical (ec. det., labour theory of value, class war, control social) & Official (contempt for liberty & human nature, paternalism, bureaucracy of elite running things, sterilization of "unfit", Social Eugenics,) are not Hobhouse. Liberal Socialism must be Democratic, come from below, & 2) Consider individual. Means: 1) Assure access of all to "means of production", 2) Assure all a share in the "common stock".

(Inclosure began in 15th cent, was partially arrested from c. 1550 - 1750, finished between c. 1727 - c. 1900) Inclosure must be reversed back to the land - but not to form peasant proprietors, who would back conservatives - but rather L. V. T. (!!!) Pension system (= amount to all) better than Poor Law. (It will be said - "A man can take his share of ec. rent & do nothing, live an idle life." But where will he live? Far below the median land - on the margin, most likely, in destitution. On the margin ~~market~~ prices will be higher, his money won't go so far -

Good
Chapter

it is ok, tho. Society has given him \$ for living in the desert, leaving them the good land) Birth rate decreases with prosperity. Socially created values should be public property. Property ownership is only maintained by force of society, not nature. Taxation should be gradually shifted from labor to L.V. Very explicit statement of Georgist ideas. (Speculating not wrong in itself - just speculation in wrong things) \$5,000 anno ~~year~~ as much as anyone produces. - more should be taxed away. Common funds should be handled so as to aid all equally - & aiding poor, by stopping communicable diseases etc, aids all.

(~~at~~ Common Labor's wages have risen this cent. - prof. men's) have even more.

Society should pay ~~the~~ poor enough so they have living wage. Wealth to labor, rent to society. ~~should~~ is heart of "liberal economics".

Excellent chapter.

Oakeshott, Michael: The Social & Political Doctrines of Contemporary Europe

1939

pp. 82-101

Part III: Communism (from the Manifesto, '48)

1) The Nature of Society

i) Bourgeois & Proletarians - K. Marx & F. Engels.

All history sees 2 classes, oppressed & oppressors. Bour. & pro. the modern forms. Bour. rule state. Unjust accusations of bour., & Free Trade. Bull, misconceptions. - but fascinating reading - that must be its power. Every sentence almost is easily disproved. Bull on depressions. Labor theory of value. "Price of labor is his cost of production" i.e. subsistence wage. Protectionism, vaguely. Unions arise, to fight wicked bour. (It was a mistake to talk to Dick Farnell on his ideas at 1st) Only prol. is rev. - pretty bour. Fight big bour., but just for selves. (Who do prol. fight for?) Prol. is 1st rev. majority in hist. National movement at 1st. Victory of proletariat inevitable.

ii) Proletarians & Communists

Comm.ists are line with prol.ians - interests identical. Abolition of private property its aim. 90% of society has had its private property abolished already anyway. Family exists only among bourgeoisies, based on capital. - proletarians have no families, only public prostitution. Family to be destroyed. Bourgeoisie seduce all each others wives anyway. Intellectual is the result of economic. A bill of particulars, with no mention of the distribution of wealth.

pp. 122-125

2) Class Society & the State - Lenin

1) The State as the product of the ^{the} irreconcilability of Class Antagonisms. "Marxism", the name, has been appropriated by bour., & Com. labor unions now go to war, in his name. State exists to stop class struggle. - Marx & Engels. a) Comptons say it's to conciliate it, but actually its existence proves irreconcilability. It is organ for oppression. Mensheviks made this error. b) Kautsky's error.

2) Special Bodies of Armed men, prisons, etc.

State's power is in above. 1914-17 was imperialist war.

3) The State as an instrument for the exploitation of the oppressed class. Alliance between state & bourgeoisie, the corruption. In ~~the~~ society to come, state will be unnecessary.

4) The "withering away" of the state, & violent revolution. When prol. seizes control, state will be pointless, & will wither away. - Engels. Distorters say it will wither away 1st, forgetting antecedent revolution. (Appeal on materialistic grounds not nearly so potent as pure, impractical, ideological appeal - Georgists, think on these things) Must use force.

a) Forceful revolution then b) Withering away.

Stephens, Nov. 20

Shottwell Book, better than Monroe on Russia - read it.

(How can the state wither away when it's necessary to production? Absurd.)

St. says standard of living has gone up, so Marx wrong. Hmm.
(I accept TNEC report as true. But when I consider that in arguing with someone he may not accept it, I think for the 1st time that it may not be true. Value of argument)

Labor theory of value is borrowed from Ricardo, Smith, classical economics. He borrowed most of his ideas. He brought it together, made it a philosophy, gave it fanaticism, religious fervor. Value = cost of production. Manual labor (& labor time?) & only considered. Surplus value. Your ideology is the result of your economic position. Struggle between capitalists leads to war. State - organ of exploitation. Law, too. Political democracy a sham. In Eng. civil service limited, practically, to college grads - election of proletarian gov. it will do no good. Majority is duped. Necessary to seize state ~~the~~ force, as rich will resist by force. This split party - Bolsheviks want force, Mensheviks want peaceful overturn. Kautsky in Germany, revisionists, do it slowly, peacefully. Communists like fundamentalist preachers, you cannot argue with them. Marx said rev. would come in industrial society, but it came in Russia - they explain: Marx meant, not ind. state would revolt, but someone would when whole world was industrial.

B +
87

EXAMINATION BOOK

Name Mason Gaffney

Date Nov. 10

Subject Gen. I

Section Stephens B1

**Do not tear out leaves
from this book.**

Locke, Hobbes, Rousseau

State of nature

Separation of powers

Gov. & State

Sovereignty, pop.

Natural law & right

Object of State, & cheat

Contract

Human nature

Property

1

45

a. Rousseau probably owed more to Locke than to Hobbes, as I shall show.

These 3 philosophers were the first to develop the idea of social contract, & justification of sovereign power thru it, rather than by divine right. All 3 develop civil society from the state of nature thru contract. But Rousseau's contract is more like ~~the~~ Locke's than Hobbes'. Locke said it should be revocable, ~~as~~ as did Rousseau but not Hobbes. He differentiated between legislative & executive, as did Rousseau but not Hobbes. Hobbes & Rousseau have the organic idea of the state in common, but even here, R. is vague, where Hobbes is clear. As to the extent of sovereignty, R.'s sovereign power is even more supreme than Hobbes' - it has no limitation whatsoever, while Hobbes' sovereign cannot make you kill yourself. Locke is dissimilar to both here, his sovereign being definitely circumscribed by law, and

being forbidden to harm life, liberty, or, especially, property. R. pictured the state of nature as blissful, altho not so nice as civil society, while Hobbes thought it was nasty, brutish, & altogether unpleasant, while Locke, tho not so extreme, was more like R. Locke's ^(legislative) state was formed by the contract, and then it formed the government (executive) - Rousseau was similar, altho he specified only one contract, while Locke implied 2, but Hobbes definitely gave all powers of all kinds to the sovereign, the head of his organism. Hobbes natural law was very definite - a) To do nothing leading to one's destruction, & b) Influenced by reason, to form a compact, for its material advantages. Locke's natural law was of a different kind - a hazy concept of what is "right," & "reasonable", existing in the minds of men. R. ~~thought~~ is even less definite,

but if he thinks of natural law at all, it is ~~the~~ the Lockian idea of what is "reasonable," rather than Hobbes' idea.

Both Lock & Rousseau attempt to justify private property by labor, and deny the ownership of more land than one can use. Hobbes never mentions the subject.

Natural rights, says Locke, are to life, liberty, & property. Hobbes says they are only to life. Rousseau, indefinite as ever, leans much more to Locke.

Civil rights, says R., are what one gets back out of the pot after throwing in one's natural rights. Locke's joint-stock co. idea of the state is similar to this. But Hobbes guarantees the citizen nothing. Whatever the sovereign sees fit, goes.

The object of Locke's state is material advantage. Preservation of life

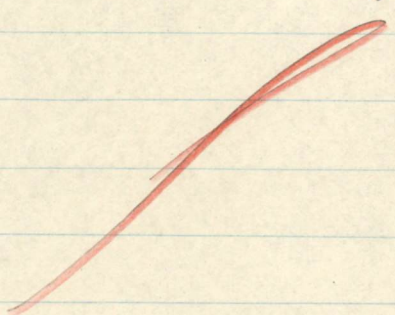
Liberty & property is difficult when there is no known & accepted standard of conduct. ~~The~~ People left state of nature to get something better, he says. Rousseau has a different slant - material progress came, & made man so grasping that they had to form a contract to keep the peace. Hobbes & Locke are similar here, R. is alone.

Human nature according to Locke is pretty noble. Rousseau thinks it's until grasping for wealth ruins it. But Hobbes takes the Sophist view that man is vile, & must be amended into goodness.

Hobbes' state must never die, & can only change hands thru superior force. Locke's state can be repudiated anytime the contractors wish - more specifically, the government can be revoked, but the 1st contract, that which simply binds people together & submits them to majority rule, is harder to break. Rousseau's state,

like Locke's, can be at any time
revoked - but he has an idea appearing in
neither Locke nor Hobbes, that it will
die of old age after a while.

So R.'s ^{philosophy} ~~theory~~ was more like Locke
than Hobbes' as regards the state of nature,
separation of powers, objective, revocability,
nature, and natural law & right, human
nature, and property. It was more like
Hobbes regarding the organic structure, the
extent of the sovereign power.



Property

Life

Liberty

~~Rev.~~ Ex. stops leg. & vice versa

Revocable contract

Natural law made written law.

Prerogative, its limits

Locke was very careful of individual rights as opposed to exec. or ~~judicial~~ ^{legislative} power. The legislative's duty was to write down the "natural law" and make it known to all, so that there would be a definite way of treating one's fellow men. No legislative act, no matter how just, could be done without first publicizing the intention thoroughly, ~~to all~~

Life, liberty, and property were to be sacred to the individual. Altho the majority could tax the minority's property.

The executive was made by the legislative, to carry out its laws - it was to be a permanent body, while the legislative met only occasionally, as it takes machine to execute laws than to make them. If the executive usurped power, the country was at war with him. and as he controlled the military, this was rather difficult, but right should prevail. Should the

legislative get too strong, the executive was expected to exercise prerogative, contrary to law, to save the people: *salus populi suprema lex*. Thus by dividing the powers Lock made ~~the~~ individual rights safer.

The people could do away with government whenever it displeased them. - its object was only to make life better.

Any individual could leave the country and be free of his contract, if he gave up his property.

Lock limited his government thoroughly.

Chs 1, 2, 4

Laski, Harold). : Communism

1926

To Hobbhouse, & M. Ginsberg.

Ch. 1 - Introductory.

He recommends
the Master of
Balliol's little
book on Marx's
Capital

I) Ideal - classes abolished by common ownership; means - force.
In history. Winstonsley & the Diggers. Medieval & later out-
bursts against poverty, etc. 18th cent. belief in equality.

But no practical suggestions, & no ind. rev., up to 18th.

II) Combination of ind. rev. made mass action possible. (He keeps
sticking in little Communist confusions) First philosophy of
revolt in Eng. (???) because there was ind. rev. 1st. (Confusion on
production of wealth, p. 19, good for class) (Tell class about
thinking by reaction) No definite plan of action, tho all other
Communist thoughts were around, till Karl Marx.

III) Marx found Comm. a chaos, & left it a movement.

Showed how to get there, not what was there. '48, League of the
Just, turned it into League of Communists. Manifesto. '49-'53,
London. '47, Poverty of Philosophy, attack on Proudhon.

4 parts of philosophy: 1st) History 2) Social development

3) adjustment of means to ends, agitation 4) ec. theorist. Possible
to reject ec. & still take other points.

1) All life determined by method of production. Owners of
means powerful, they make rules. Confusion of "means of
production" & "capital", when latter's meant. Unions are
prol.'s organization. Seize state by force.

4) "Ricardian definition of value as the product of labor".

"Contradictions of capitalism" - growing concentration will
stifle production, causing revolution.

IV) 2 periods - pre & ~~and~~ post 1914. Dreams turned into
realities. Paternal use of State-power demanded.

'64, 1st International formed, inauspiciously. Many of
divergent views, e.g. Mazzini, with radical republican
aims. Fr. & Belgians still Proudhonists, opposed to state
action. '68, Proudhon licked, Bakunin comes. '72-'76,
1st Int. dies. Achievements - 1) converting working

classes to socialism. 2) Paris Commune, '71.

Int. had been about form war. Commune taught need for getting army & officials, etc., & a more thorough use of force, in general. After '71, collaborationist socialism grew.

V Socialist parties became more nationalist than soc. '89, Int. revived, not much. 2 congresses during '14-'17: Zimmerwald, not fundamental, & Kienthal (Lenin), says grab power. Get Russia from Kerensky thru opposition to war. Iron dictatorship. Attacked by outsiders, this strengthened them. Imperialism of other nations showed up in dealings, & publication of secret treaties. 3rd international at Moscow, world revolution philosophy.

VI Uncompromisers won in Russia, 1917. p. 47 on favor of dictatorship. Made peasants owners of soil. - & . conservatives. Had to ruin small bourgeois industry & private trading & give up idea of = wages, & ~~go~~ go back to use of money. Have introduced capitalism limited by strong state control. (Yippee! Tyranny of complete Communism cannot come then, here. F.D.P. cannot go past a certain point, & socialism can be beaten) Independent peasants slow movement to Communism - they do not "educate" well. New energy among the Red Russian people. (Impress on class the importance of words, & word mistakes)

Immense
significance
of this
chap. - pp.
47-54

Chapter 2. The materialist interpretation of history.

Hegel, growth in history, reason. - hist. the development of idea of freedom. Continuous growth thru thesis - antithesis - synthesis. H. found final liberty in, shall place, Prussian State. Marx used his tool, not ideas. a) Material conditions of life determine human thoughts (a platitude, Laszki says) b) "system of production" determines laws, moral, religious, political systems. (but what determines "system of production"?) (Marx has taken a general fact, the importance of the economic factor, production & distrib. of wealth, &, forgetting that it is determined by human will, has made a generalization which does not follow - that the

Consider all this in
article on materialism. Lastki.

(2)

ec. factor determines all others. Another word error, among other errors.) (All errors ^{to thought} must have elements of word error in them, as all thoughts are expressed in words.) (Classes struggle for power in order to get material things (yet Marx lived in poverty 20 years to do research & write - ~~if~~ he has a truth, but he makes it a $\pm$ truth by adulteration, i.e., addition of lies.)

II) Not a Communist nor Marxism discovery. More that Communism was the final synthesis of dialectic developments. Classes differentiated by method of earning living: exploitation & expl. ed, "capitalist & wage earner" (Oh Darwin Bull!!!!!!) Ignores combinations. One class must be destroyed" (bull).

Unions. prol. must not compromise, accept ameliorations, but go all the way. Obstructionism. Communists vague on the details of their new order. Tenthic absurdity, p. 75.

→
p. 77

III) (Trouble with materialistic interpretation, as Marx states it, is that he forgets that "methods of production" & the distribution of wealth are determined by human ideas of what they ought to be - "materialism" is not an impersonal force, but only exists as humans make it)*

Mat. int. not same as metaphysical materialism. (The most communists adopt latter, too) Laws determined by ec. desirability. (This is the true part of the theory - but the theory does not follow from this & it is a misstatement of the truth - a word error: & yet erroneous conclusions are drawn from it)

Theory must not be carried too far - non-materialistic motives play a part (if he'd define materialism he'd save himself much confusion) even Governments run by & for "capitalists". Marx sometimes said that man determined systems of production, & sometimes that materialism explains everything - (what shall we believe?) (In this, of course, that line mixes will

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* i.e., he does not answer the question, "What causes economic conditions?"

→ make everything, social, ideological, economic, to their advantage,
& not the ec. conditions determine the others, but the line
wires determine them all.) (But what caused the line wires, Marx
might ask. - it was attempt of feudal lords to raise land values by not
oppressing so hard, for one thing - & many other factors, the
causation of liberty, opportunity, being necessary - so historical
determinism is a complicated thing, the interplay of human
beings & their influences - conditioned by the fact that all
are trying to satisfy their desires from nature with the least
exertion.) Admission that communists will get rich for power.

exegesis

Someday
read
The rest
of the
book.

p. 123 Chap. 4 - The Communist theory of the State

I) State has been getting better, making individuals better.

Marx says state is agent of exploitation, armed. Force must overthrow
it. "Communist represents what proletarian world will be if it had
the facts." p. 137

Read
A. Heber

Smith, Justice II) Force ok, & necessary.

& the Poor

and

A. Parry

The Law &

the Poor

III) What happens between fall of capitalism & coming of Communism?
Bartokys. force. State is instrument of class oppression, & when
classes go, it will wither away. Socializing means of production
by proletarian does away with classes. Destruction of capitalist
state, withering away of Comm. State. Parl. institutions to be
replaced by Comm. Party, which rep.s real will of people.

~~Debate~~ Debate permissible before, but not after, decision of party.

IV) Free enterprise system under Russian "communism", interest
permissible. (On the one thing I could not convince the
class of, concerning capital definition, I was wrong. So
were they, partly, but so was I. Significant - power of truth.)
Individuals - one must work to eat. (But who decides?)

State allocates laborers, unions their only advocates, & they

Write Stitz &
Xiam, tell them
they were
right.

Write up
"neighbor"
approach to con-
vents.

are party controlled. Communist monopoly of education to replace capitalist. Does opponent say worker has not enough freedom? Well, it's better than capitalism, they say. (& this is the only strength that their absurd ideas have)

Religion to be abolished, as fast as ingrained prejudices will allow. Natural "laziness" of masses must be overcome - i.e., they must be made willing to work for nothing.

V) Imagine state has withered. "From each according to his abilities; to each according to his needs," - this principle to be followed. Equal work & equal pay for all. Marx & Lenin say other things. When all have learned to do these things "correctly" by themselves (& have but by free market) state will have withered. State's function before withering will be to force men to do these things correctly.

VI) Revolution about impossible without so much popular sympathy that revolution would be unnecessary. Use of force ~~see~~ by minority really a stupid idea - anyone can do it, Fascists included. Comm. leaders will have too much power, too. Substitution of one tyranny for another - people will never be free of Comm. dictator. pp. 174-5-6, superb, Communism refuted.

Memo - The Governments of Europe

Chap. XL. Soviet Russia: its government.

Not a unified nation. Oriental, despotic. '61. '05, const., Landamm rep. ing Duma. '17, strikes, ordered to stop, rev. came like lightning. Petrograd begins wins. Provisional gov. of Duma members, & soviet gov. Bolsheviks got control of soviets, deposed ec. as well as pol. reforms (so Landamm Duma was never not giving ec. reforms) Peasants & ind. workers seized land. Lenin & Trotsky had Bolsheviks (a very small minority) to power - their definite & radical program brought them support. Trotsky led army, Lenin state. Peace with Eng. allied intervention.

'18-'23, const. 7 federated S.S.R.S. Union Congress, rep. Council of Commissars, appt. by Communist Party leaders defects. 7 soviets not very independent. Rep. so indirect it meant little. More power by weighted votes to city workers than country: 5-1. Vocational rather than geographical basis of rep. (no longer required, by '36 const. but still mostly used) (Class interests will disappear only when gov. as an agency for redistributing wealth arbitrarily is no longer used)

'36 const.: (Stalin const.) Not given to people for ratification. More central power. One man, one vote. Bicameral leg. Real power in Presidium, 37 members, & Council of People's Commissars. Comm. party really runs all the show.

Judiciary - regarded formally as instrument of exec., not independent body. Protect citizens from one another, but not from the state. Often an organ for persecution. Civil rights guaranteed in const., but not in practice. Now one can own personal prop., but not means of exploitation? & evidently great inequalities of wealth are growing up - Why?

Chap. XLI: Soviet Russia: Political & Ec. Problems.

Stalin defines Comm. party as liberate citizens, Party makes all nominations, dominates everything. Stalin, as sec. gen. of central committee of Party determines its policies.

Membership to c. 180 m., probationary period. Party discipline - no argument after party line is set. Purges. Organization - cells, conventions, bureaus. Comsomol & Pioneers & Octobrists for youth "education."

E.c. policy. Original. 1) Agr. - land declared common, peasants had already taken it, it was left to them. 2) Ind.s grabbed, control inst. - BUT did not balance right, production dropped. '21, NEP,

→ p.762 allowed free ent. limited, & production revived - but wealth concentrated, kulaks & nepman, so, '28, 1st 5 year plan. - collective farms for kulaks, & "stimulation of ind." (how?) 1) Artels, collective farms. Surplus may be sold in open market, by & for individuals (I think, he ain't quite clear). 85-90 farmers in them. Production going up, exports of grain to pay for imports. Foreign trade a state monop. Ind. rev. 40% now & 20% once.

→ Ind.s all on large scale. Once rumors o'm were watched & sniped at by ~~the~~ Communists, but now, since '31, freedom is given them. Labor drafted, forced to work where wanted. Pay according to work, not according to needs. No unemployment - but some boondoggling. Bureaucratic trouble. Soviet Central Committee org. to watch the watchers.

Credit all thru Statebank. Despite gov. ownership, taxation & loans used. Civil liberties crushed. Presently, certain free speech & press to pro-socialists, but all opposition taboo. Cheka & OGPU.

Foreign policy. Isolation, till '31 treaty with France. At 1st disliked League of N.s, then joined it, '34, (to become its most active member, remember?) Trouble with Japan.

3rd international. 2nd int. is milder, influences places like Denmark, Scand., Switz. Gov, official, not responsible for agitation in other countries technically. The great Russian enigma. No one really knows. Conflicting reports, etc. French rev. kicked back - will Russian?

Hobhouse, L.T.

Liberalism

1st published 1911

Ch. VI - The Heart of Liberalism.

Confusion of liberal gov. acts & individual acts. - it is illiberal to refuse to do business with Catholics, e.g. Liberalism is, (as Mill said), ~~the~~ betterment of individuals by selves, rather than by state. Liberty is not being left alone, but being treated as a rational being. He speaks of "crime & error" in the same breath - deb. Mill was organicist (BULL!!) (Cut off a finger, & none will replace it. Kill all shoemakers, & new ones will replace them - phoney on organicism) (or cut society in $\frac{1}{2}$, & it would not be much different) (Simply from the fact that we reap great benefits from society one cannot ~~deduce~~ induce that society is an organism) (It is disadvantageous for buyer to be separated from seller; it is " " " husband " " " wife; i.e., relation of ~~husband~~ buyer to seller is the same as that of husband to wife. $\leftarrow$ on such logic is organicism based by Ho.) Rights based on = rights of others, & $\therefore$ common good transcends all others (more illogicalness) Laissez faire does not result in good for everyone. Unequal opportunity ok if for the common good. State exists to improve human life. "Progress is not a matter of mechanical contrivance, but of the liberation of living spiritual energy." $\leftarrow$ Gov.s should realize, & act accordingly.

Ch. VII - The State & the Individual

Public schools, etc., not an encroachment on liberty, tho supported by compulsory taxes. Whole community is concerned if a man injures self.

Write Freeman on money

Prof. Samuel H. Cross

Communism & The Soviet Union

Def. - Socialism - Pol., Ec., & Soc. Theory designed to promote, by chem. authority, ideally just distribution of wealth. Entails gov. supervision of private prop.

Communism - private prop. abolished. Concepts of class struggle, & dictatorship of proletariat.

17th cent. comm. ideas. ^{In Eng} Period of pol. vitality, civil wars were 1st appearance of public opinion in politics. Printing & reformation. Radicals among Cromwells army ~~also~~ had ec. ideas (the Levellers), as well as political. Lilburne, leader, popularized self as champion of "peepul" - all men born for - opportunity, they said. 1649, the Diggers, who took commons - viewed land as common property - (very Georgist, look 'em up.) - connected with medieval Xian belief in common property. Private property had been viewed as concession to man's imperfect nature, they invented this cause & effect. - destroy private property, & make men noble. Attacked landlords, lawyers, & clergy. Pacifists in theory & method. Hegel, 1778-1831, Father of both Comm. & Fascism. His method of logic called his dialectic. His conclusions more important - nationalist, highly. Karl Marx revised dialectic as intellectual tool of Socialism - nationalism changed from radical to reactionary to Fascism.

Marx. 1818, Trier, born. Bonn, U. of Berlin, absorbed Hegel, Jena, . Liberal journalist at Cologne, moved to Paris. Engels there, who supported them. London, correspondent for N.Y. Tribune. 1867 Das Kapital.

Rise to pol. consciousness of proletariat. Makes error of attributing unemployment to industrial revolution.

Religion - the opium of the people, a reactionary force, despite weak present Soviet's present liberalism, Marx said to

crush it. Viewed Fr. rev. as merely turning middle class
from exploited to exploiting class.

Lenin added ideas of party solidarity & imperialist capitalism,
& theory of dictatorship of proletariat. More closed gap between
politics & economics. Calvinism & communism - ec. determinism.

Russia - Pugachov's peasant revolt, almost took
Moscow. 1825, Decembrist conspiracy. - upper bourgeois. '30s &
'40s, Utopian intellectualism became well known. Crimean defeat
caused much pop. unrest, so, 1861, they emancipated serfs, because they
had to. (Going into business is even better than getting a hold
of original sources of history)

Ind. proletariat

hardly existed in Russia (in class, start off with discourse on
confusion of "capital"). St. Petersburg ind. pro. grew up.

Russo-Jap. war again caused upheaval, 1905, unions taking
active part - but no organization, just doctrinairism.
'12-'13, great reaction.

(If ^{interest} capital is combination of rent & wages, why
should it vary with wages? or does it?)

Take
Gene to
Welllesley
some time.

He originally talks of 3 aspects, but when done, sums it up as 4, & in a different order - very odd.

Some say, freedom is within "temperate bounds" - but who shall decide, & on what grounds? Sophism, invective, insult, would be condemned only when they were used vs. prevailing opinion, & considered truth when used for it. (& did you ever know 2 people who would interpret many things alike - as to what was a fair, & what an unfair argument, e.g.?) Actually, neither side should be stifled in any way.

Ch. III Of individuality, as one of the elements of well being

Men should be free to act on their opinions, at their own risk. Acts to be not quite as free as opinions however. Acts which cause harm to others not to be condoned. An appreciation by the majority that queer individuals make most of world's progress should make it easy to draw line between private & public spheres of influence. Majority will make things what they are. Customs based on experience of people, but 1) May be too narrow 2) The individual may be uncustomary, in customary circumstances. 3) Conforming to custom, as custom, does not develop a man - he must know why. (single tax agitators, take note) Highest development of members the aim of society. Character - having one's own impulses & desires. Society formed to ~~abrogate~~ restrain excess of individuality - but now there is too little. Calvinism wrong - stultifies humans.

Developed beings are useful to the undeveloped. Free beings make all progress. Mediocrity is the majority which rules. Everyone vastly different. Tyranny of Custom - seen in decadent nations. The diversity of Europ. accounts for their greatness.

Ch. IV - Of the limits of the authority of society over the individual

Things which concern only one's self are not society's business - & will be punished by opinion. If a drunk lets his family

starve, it is that, & not the drunkenness, that is wrong.
Damage to others, never to self, always the only criterion.
Social interference will mean some people's idea of what is right.

Ch. 5 - Applications. (a few examples of them)

Principles developed 1) Individual not accountable to society
for self-concerning acts 2) " " " " " "
" " " " " " " " " " " "

which harm others, such as winning a competition, but only those based on fraud & force. Trade a social act, i.e. regulable, where interests of others are in danger. (But whom one helps, & who decides - tech tech) (Trade involves no harm to anyone, & i.e. not regulable on Mill's principles. That poisons may be sold does not prove that trade as such must be regulated, but poisons as poisons)

If fornicators must be allowed, so must pimps. Partial prohibition thru excise taxes ok. Mom may not sell him. self for a slave (why not?) States should interfere to make parents educate children, but not provide the education itself. Examinations to be given all children. - but confine them to facts, not opinions. Voluntary exams on higher subjects, degrees, but no obstruction to teaching by those same degrees.

May gov. interfere to help without intruding liberty? 1) Individuals will do it better 2) Better for people to help selves 3) Adds unnecessarily to gov. power. (4) others pay for it)

Good to read anti-socialism

Representative Gov. - Ch. 3 - it is the ideally best form of gov., & not benevolent despotism, as often said. Requires 5 Spencian powers to be a b.d., even if he means well. & it stultifies the people.

Comparative complacency of French &c. with energetic, free Eng. men.

Stephens Nov. 13

Bentham & the utilitarian school - "The greatest good for the greatest number."

Mill faced the same problem I did when arguing with Barton - on education, public & private, & forcing father to properly lead up kids.

"Interference with other fellow" easy to say, hard to apply. Prop. gov. 1) Results in better gov. 2) Results in better individuals. Purpose is not legislation, but oversight.

Weaknesses - 1) Tyranny of majority - stopped by prop. ^{representational} rep. - or property rep. - or college graduate rep. (which exists in Eng. today - 12 MPs elected by college men) It is all right to tax liquor - if you do not tax it prohibitively (a weak point) Hobhouse handles this much better.

Hobhouse

They discuss sit-down strikes - & run into all the old 8th grade confusions, on no higher plane than Tom Hayne & Mel. Guthrie vs. me & Archie Bayden used to hit.

Mill on opinion 1) He may have truth 2) He may have falsehood, in which case truth will profit by comparison with it. 3) Most likely, both sides are $\frac{1}{2}$ right & $\frac{1}{2}$ wrong & clash of ideas will bring out truth.

John Stuart Mill (List of quotables)

Essay on Liberty

Introductory

How much authority may state have over individual? Rulers by conquest in position antagonistic to subjects. - the strongest robber, & protection. ideas. Subjects checked by 1) Limits to power, 2) Representation (1) obtained, (2) not, up to a pt. Then people tried to get rulers where interests were theirs. - late 18th. But experience shows that even people's own choice must have limited power. Minority rights must be guarded, more in democracy than in exploring gov. Many ideas based not on reason. Ascendant class will have own code of ethics, as between planters & negroes. They will want to force all to conform with these unreasonable ideas. Hence have pleaded for their ideas, not liberty in general. Only the lack of popular gov. in Eng. saves indiv. rights now (but) No good general criterion exists for bringing prob or contra gov. into service in a particular case - one should, but new personal preferences decide. Only self-protection should justify gov. interference. - to keep a man from harming others. Not to keep him from harming self. This applies not to minors, nor backward races. I forego arguing of abstract right - all based on utility (in the longer sense) (actually you cannot get away with this - ~~right~~ enters in - still it is nice to know that what is right is also best) Domain of liberty - 1) Inner domain of consciousness (includes free press) 2) Tastes & pursuits 3) Combining.

Ch. 2

Of the liberty of thought & discussion

Minority control is past. But majority control still tried. Collision with error brings out truth more sharply. Wrongs of oppression 1) oppressed opinion may be true. - oppressors assume their infallibility. They are product of their times. - his ideas often based on emotion, etc., not reason. Quality of human mind - viz., ability to realize errors when they are shown, is what makes this century see the errors of the last century. - this experience & discussion. We can only

1) Oppressed opinion may be true

"Who decides?" is Mill's main theme.
one of

be sure of truth where it is continually challenged.

(The birth of Geogism - one man had an idea, & told it to others. Its continuance must be on the same basis. What difference, then, should it make who heads the school? People only strive for positions when there is some illegitimate power attached to them. Teach, don't play politics with ourselves, should be Geogist motto) It is said that some opinions must be upheld because they are so good for us. But this only shifts infallibility line from one pt. to another - who decides what is useful to be forced on people? - it must be discussed. Socrates & Christ were killed for their opinions (Soc. & Christ have something in common - they are full of quotables, but lack a main organization & are incomplete in their thoughts) Marat's friends persecuted Xians yet who of you claims to be wiser than M. Arr.? It is said truth should be able to pass thru the ordeal of persecution - but is this any way to treat Anders of truth? (Also - it is no way to find truth fastest & best) But actually persecution has crushed truth, for a long time. Men will persecute for ~~truth~~ ^{error} as heartily as for truth. Truth's advantage is that it will be always rediscovered, & appear again. Persecutors are still extant, & will persecute if we let them. The force of "social intolerance" great. "Men might as well be imprisoned as excluded from the means of earning their bread" (p. 92) The effect on the thinker, as well as the thought, is important (cf. L. & F. dan article on Iceland)

2) When received opinions are true.

Unless discussed, they will be dead dogmas, not living truth. Belief must be based on conviction, to hold. Converts are notably more zealous than those forced into a belief. A one is the Christian who follows the new testament.

3) When neither opinion is completely true.

Rousseau, e.g. - full of errors, but he contributed just what was needed to thought of the time. And party of progress must always oppose party of order in dem.

p. 80

nisi
prius

Stephens, Nov. 27

Remember to buy pamphlet next week

Piece work, speed up. ^{Stakhanov} Stakhanoff the coal miner. Rent & taxes removed as rewards to industry. You can ^{only} change jobs, within very restricted limits.

Hitler:

Keep previous writers in mind as we read H. - compare & contrast - was Plato a Fascist? e.g.

Chamberlain & Gobineau, he probably read them.

Test question will be: Plato & Hitler, compare.

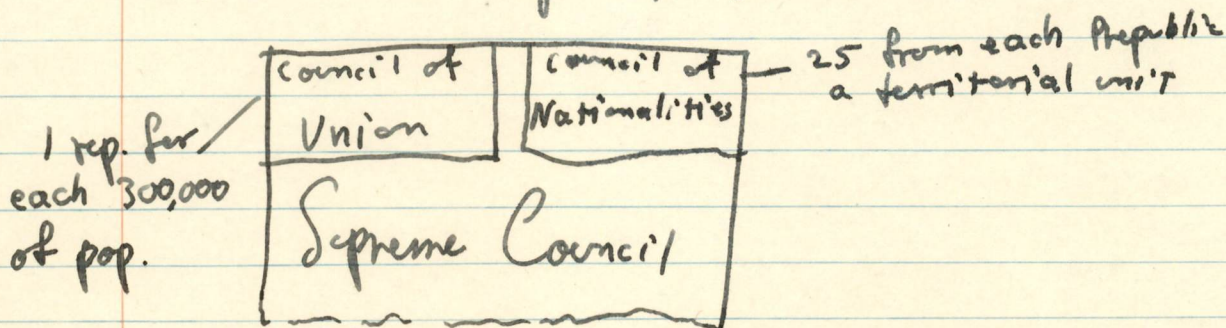
Boil down this ranting & raving - i.e., read notes.

Stephens Nov. 25

A+ Holyoke 9, by, for 30¢, Mon. thru Fri. next week, 2-4. Must have change.

Michael Florensky in Shattwell - READ IT.

- 1) Revolution, '17
- 2) '17-'21, War Communism, fighting allies
- 3) '21-'28 relaxation of ideals, NEP
- 4) '28 1st 5 year plan, 2 others since. Socialist period.



Disputes to Conference Committee, then to praesidium, & if they cannot agree, general referendum.

Praesidium chosen by supreme council, stays around all year & does work.

Council of Commissars. Chief executive body - homologous to Br. cab, not Am. cab. 2 kinds of Commissars - those who deal with separate Soviets, & those who deal with nationwide affairs.

The Party - the Politbureau. Stalin runs bureau, as Sec. The Cell - small unit of 3 people, ^{or more} of known loyalty, sanctioned from above. Hierarchy of party - districts, regions, & Central Committee, a yes-yer body. You can own as much personal property as you can get without exploiting anyone. Still there are a few men, high up in the party, who have privileges & live very well. Collective Farms & State Farms - latter do not work so well, too big.

Civil liberties: They are not used to it. Communism has an ideal far higher than Nazi.

Freda Utley: The Dream We Lost - a Communist tells of loss of civil liberties. People get promotions by reporting on someone else - morale terrible.

Quiz on each ass. Rem now on.

Prof. Payson S. Wild

Hitler & the Rise of National Socialism

Hitler a product of bad social conditions. Weak enemies at home & abroad.

- 1) Humiliated by Versailles.
- 2) Inflation. Sense of insecurity. Heightened by depression. Petty bourgeoisie - shopkeeper, grower, tradesman, felt squeezed out.
- 3) Weimar gov., having signed Versailles, associated with it, & democracy linked to National humiliation.
- 4) Religion weak. Little man, what now?, a potent book. People lost. Political liberties became meaningless.

Conditions were ready for Hitler.

Hitler himself - peasant from Austria. Not a rational creature. Lacks real training intellectual. But has psychological sense. When Jews, middlemen, stood for oppression. Lost soul after war, went to Munich. National Socialist Party, 2 appealing words to German. Hitler the great psychologist. Mein Kampf, in Jail, 1923.

Small following till '29. Weimar needed prestige at home, this we failed to give. Hitler said he would give them jobs, told them they were good, really won last war, Jews & Communists stabbed them in the back.

Also went to some big business men, like Thyssen, told them he would stop labor unions & communists. Told crowd he would break big business.

Hindenburg finally chose Hitler Chancellor, tho at first he disliked him. Scheming thru the Herren Klub, Von Papen, von Schleicher. Hind. in dotage, Klub schemed on him. Got him to make Hitler Chancellor, because of his popular following, that they could handle him. This was after his vote had passed his zenith, had to get majority in lower house by outlawing Communists. They abdicated authority to him, '33.

Doctrines: 1) Totalitarianism. Everything in state identified with one another. Every source of opposition must be liquidated. State does everything. Strength thru joy, e.g.

2) Gov. by an elite, the Nazi party. Fuehrer.

3) Fuehrer guided by people's will. They set the goals, but they don't know what they are, Fuehrer tells them. Plebiscites.

4) Private property all controlled by state. Labor fixed. Not a bulwark against Communism, but a form of it.

5) Volk. Racism. Don't think, he says, be emotionally carried away.

Junker & socialist wings of party. 1934 purge. H. Walther tightrope between the 2. Veil of uniformity but actually much politics.

By arming, abolished unemployment. Also increased international power thru. He cannot stop. He has nothing to offer without turning out arms, without being dynamic. Must be always attacking something.

The educated classes are swayed to illogical, passionate ideologies as much as anyone.

Chapter VIII Summary & Conclusion

1) The historical evolution of dict. & tot.

Review of dict. hist. Modern dict.s different from old in that they combine nat.ism & get tot.ism. Review of tot. hist. Sovereignty had to be identified with people 1st. 19th, organic theory grew, with science of biology. Socialism contributes to tot.

2) The origin & end of dictatorship

argument is
organic theory →

→ No normal development. Stage of ec. development not decisive. ~~Ec.~~ Internal conflict is common to all dict.s.

→ on contract Sending out colonies prevents dict.s, the cessation has often brought one. Desire for law & order. Monarchs not dictators - no pop. sov. Theocrats not dict. - subject to higher law. Popular "enlightenment" can sire dem. or dict. Dict. grows from dem. Governed by both consent & force. Disillusionment of people comes eventually, he falls soon, due to defeat in war (what if he wins?) When he falls, next gov. depends on strength of forces for stability & for rev.

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3) Political & ec. consequences of tot. dict. ship.

Any failure endangers his position. Hard to run things. Personal loyalty the only great stable force. Organic theory necessary. Scapegoat must keep dying 1000 deaths. 19th cent. liberalism failed to end unemployment, etc., so failed. Dictatorships promise to solve ec. problem. Turkey. Unemployment abolished. Political power, not ec. improvements, must always be the dictator's objects. Goes to war, to keep people emotionally perturbed, & dependent on him. Nationalism his tool.

4) The crisis of western civilization.

Raison d'état becomes a new religion. Liberal ideas conquered by 1914, & then became identified with anti-nationalism, etc., & oppression, or at least running from without.

Complexity of forces in modern ideology; democracy & socialism, having helped create totalitarianism, now go to destroy it. Nationalism must be destroyed, or else ~~dem~~ pop. sovereignty principle to abolish tot. ism. S. Am. & Turkish dictatorships are not tot., lack ideology. Dictator cannot last.

Appendix D Dictatorship in Earlier periods.

ner need dictator be totalitarian. Nat. (modern) + dict. (old) has made tot. (odd) Calvinistic virtues of middle class & growth of "capitalism" connected. 3rd generation magnates, c. 1900, lost virtues, deputized responsibility. Socialism the ideal of 19th cent., as dem. that of 18th. Utopians, then militant trade unions. Attempt to gain control over state. (p. 210) Violent & non-violent socialists. Forceful socialism, where strong, produces a dictator, either pro or con, to crush it or its opponents. A connection exists, as Mill pointed out, twixt free ec. conditions & free pol. conditions - those used to regulating themselves ec. ly will want to politically, too. Modern bus. cycle makes modern dictator's job of regulation much harder than Nap.'s, (mostly bull) Socialist leveling demands vs. property ruined L. Nap. (One can see the heat rising from a radiator if the background is white) Even rightist dict. ships of delay must appease masses, with public spending & loans, to stop unemployment. Total control of ec. life - only nationalist-myth-blinded people will submit to this.

3) - religion

"All government rests on public opinion". "Faith" (myth) necessary. Nat.-ism has replaced divine right. Religion had to be destroyed - ec. & spiritual links with the old. Control of education a key point to the Church. Loss of it in Rev. France, not so bad because it was not replaced with positive doctrine (bull - must have been some other reason), but Tot. is aggressive, positive. Russia recently turning to nationalism, as rev. order was dying. As Right & Left dictatorships grow identical, fight between religion & nationalism is revealed. Catholicism, & Calvinism, too. No Calv. nation has gone total.

4) Education

18th cent. proved idea of progress, 19th cent. x. Education, liberty, full individual development thought to go together. But others saw as education as means to statist ends. Nap., then Gm. Romantics did this. Medieval, & till recent Eng. education, aimed to make ruling class better. Growth of specialist education, failure to produce well rounded men. This leads to dictatorship.

hexus

of kings, begot modern totalitarianism. (which can exist alongside representative institutions, some say). At least it is a different thing. Tot. is organic, liberal parl. states are individualistic. Organicism developed along with nat. sovereignty, but is different from it. Popular sovereignty theory the germ of organic theory. Locke - state from individuals' free choice. Russian - state, once freely created, becomes part of individual. (Natural man, then ~~the~~ contract, state, & political man) Burke - state a fact in nature, not contract, but subject to divine law. Then Fichte - confused moving closer to organicism. Hegel - virtue is the state. German Romantics, confused organicism. But philosophy cannot ever come to full ~~state~~ totalitarian theory as it must preserve ethics. So recently "natural science" has replaced ethics. Darwinism applied to state perfects organic theory. Racism perfects it still more. Nihilism, law of force, Nietzsche, (he applied it to individual, not state) Totalitarianism Divine right to pop. sov., to nat. ism to totalitarianism.

Read Land Act
sometime.

1) The Political basis Chap. VII The Nature of the totalitarian State
Separation of powers mind to sov. Sieges led astray with power separation - the evil genius of the revolution. Control of leg. by exec. known in Am. & Eng, so not the criterion of totalitarianism (?) (p. 142) Control of judicial by exec. better - courts represent the law over the absolutist. But Gm. romantics swept away, in a reaction vs. rationalism, natural law which was also law of reason. Other explanations for law sought. Fr. rev. Terror, law was tool of leg. (hell - it's always been so) Prussia & Italy proclaim such law. Dictator's function - not often actual administration. Does arise when disunity is feared. A psychological symbol of leadership. Spengler criticizes dictators because they lead because they follow. Const. monarch useful because he provides symbol of leader without being dangerous. well summed up, p. 206

2) The Economic Basis

Nationalism not necessarily leads to ~~the~~ totalitarianism.

Principle of popular sovereignty

4) Other modern dictatorships in Eur. & America
Sp. Am., dictatorship common, - & from the masses, & nationalistic.
Pre-revolt Sp. Am. unsound by Sp., but ideas got in anyway.
Centralist encroachments & abolition of Jesuits disaffected L. Am.
Local independence a S. Am. tradition, & self-gov. Legislatures reduced
power to executive, he had to be dictator in order to act at all.
Little parl. experience. Liberators all of ~~absolutist~~ cautious
ideas: Military dictatorship anywhere. E.g., Francia & Lopez in
Paraguay, who were benevolent tyrants, & handed a strong country down
to F.S. Lopez, of imp. ambitions, who killed $\frac{3}{4}$ pop. in his wars, vs.
Argentines & Rosas. Diaz in Mex, driven out in 1911 after 35 years.
Myriads of dictators, everywhere. Results of mass action.

p. 161

Chap. VI - Development of totalitarian state

1) Rise of theory of nationalism.

Nation & state different. Nation-state our concern here. Nat. ism
is purely emotional, a belief. ~~&~~ Those who feel nationalistically should be
a state. (obviously bull - always minorities) Nationalism little known
before 19th cent. (?) Classical idea of nationalism (pre-19th) was
to prince & state, not nation. Fr. rev. made change. c. 1800, 2 rival
state-theories - Burke's, state is the dignity of all the parasites, with powers
separated, & philosophe-physiocrat, Sieyès, ^{not} Rousseau (who thought only in city-
state, never in nation, did majority will = General Will), absolutist nationalism
springing from people. Fr. rev. 1st abolition of it (by non-French)
Fichte, German nat.ist, nation more important than individual to him. Autarchy. - All
but race doctrine. Mazzini, nation a spiritual unity, linked with freedom, & also
with internationalism. Treitschke dissociates nat. & pol. liberty, nation &
state. Nat. became imperialism, later 19th, & merged with State. "Darwinism"
"natural law" of dog eat dog prevailed. Nat. ism once linked with freedom
now with tyranny. In first thing, nation fathered state. Modern
nat. ism is combine of state, people, nation, & sovereignty.

p. 165

tyro

2) Totalitarian concept of state.

Nationalism a relation to outsiders. Once connected with pop. sovereignty.
Nat. ism of Sieyès prevailed over Burke's, & showed absolutism not a monop.

Cobden, Dictatorship

(3)

have-not nations business concocted. Idea of natural aristocracy to replace hereditary one. Muss., 1st a striker & internationalist, became a nationalist in war, a firm one. Fascism was, 1919, a socialist wing differing only in nationalism. Compt Parl. gov. a good scapegoat. 2 rev. movements, the international confiscatory, & the nationalist. Peasants & aristos turned to Muss. as lesser evil - & he had clever methods, too, of propaganda. '22-'26, Parliamentarism wiped out. Had mandate from the people, '24 & '29. 1st industrialist De Stefani had control, but then socialists got in, bureaucracy terrific. Fascists pulled one on "capitalists". Landowners large & small considered, & others, too. Pol. gangs Mafia & Camorra wiped out. But glory demanded extensive public works, bread & circus, bureaucracy & war. War brought end of De Stefani laissez-faire & complete ec. dictatorship. Muss. the 3rd modern dict. (Nap & Joe) to ride rev. wave.

3) National Socialism

Like other 2 great dictatorships of today, has socialist origins. Bismarck had been socialistic. Depression brought Comm. - Nazi race. Weimar system was "Parliamentary Caesarism" - middle class fear of "reds" the cause. Pres., by Art. 48, could call army to bind Parl. Much exercised. Early Nazi doctrine 1st nationalistic & racist, 2nd socialist, paternalist, & totalitarian.

Dictatorship was inevitable, & socialism, but why nat. soc. & H.? It's personality, & methods the answer. Appeal to emotion, pure & simple.

At 1st he got socialists who were not intimate, (2) petty bourgeoisie, who had, by inflation, become new proletariat, & were nat. Supported by 3) landowners & industrialists, but, again, as lesser evil. Have been tough on Thyssen, etc. 3 great modern dictators rose from masses.

4) Army - never backed anyone enthusiastically. Von Fritzsche's remark (&c.) shows lack of pol. power. Anti-Semitism. Scape goat & racial theory '34, H. killed off Socialists. '33, Federalism abolished, centralism extended. It is apogee of personal power, abs. & tot.

hagiography

p. 95

chief. His dominion founded on fear, which he had to maintain. By Waterloo, French enthusiasm dead.

2) Rise & Fall of Louis Napoleon

1848, many elements (even church) revolted. Peasantry elected conservative Nat. Ass. Socialists in Paris. Soc., despite large influence, polled only tiny vote. Cavaignac the official candidate, L.N. won by ferr. Considered State very important. "Peasants' emperor". All but the bourgeois republican politicians wanted him. He played to get & keep all o'm. His coup d'état accepted. Temporary exile for many. Socialists allied with him, save Ledru-Rollin. Public works program. But finally had to appeal to nationalism to stay in power. Failed so miserably that France never tried it again.

Ch. 5 Dictatorship in the 20th century.

1) Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Marx & Engels said pol. power was organized force to subject one class to another. Bentham saw this, & thought universal suffrage would cure it. Marx saw ec. power & pol. power go together in Br. Parliament. "Rule of force must be overthrown by force," he says, "must have dictatorship of the proletariat." But masses were obviously unable to do this, so class-conscious minority must do it for them. Blanqui, the scientific revolutionary of '48 & '71, thought minority should do revolting. Lenin found peasants breaking from his revolt & dictatorship was minority, so dictatorship of "vanguard", or Com. Party, was made official doctrine. This dictatorship to last while war with Capitalism is on, standing army to be bulwark of state, finally anarchy to come. Gov. by soviets, or committees. - gave way to dictatorship, achieved thru murder &c. The state has not withered away, as Marx predicted, but grown, & state now appeals to nationalism. ? Trotsky! says Russia has seen just triumph of bureaucracy. "3rd great rev. of modern world has at last produced its dictator, Stalin".

p. 119.

2) Fascism

Descended from Sorel's Syndicalism, a branch of socialism. He wanted to use force, General Strike, & like Plato, popular myth, to achieve ends. Imperialism & absolutism came with it to Italy. Hone &

efficiency. Nat. Ass. seized power, denying pol. lib. Insisted on such complete separation of powers that efficiency was impossible, & dictatorship inevitable.

4) Revolutionary dictatorship: ~~Monat~~ ^{Monat} & Robespierre.
 Monat despised mob, wanted king, they wanted to be dictator.
 Robespierre was M. on a larger scale. Talked for Democracy & constitution, but dictated, forced to by circumstances. - war. Levée en masse had to be resorted to. Price & wage ceiling, which required tough gov. - most liberties had to be crushed, for public safety. Nationalism began to replace other sentiments. Terror grew dire, after Carnot had drawn the job, so Rob. got it.

5) Significance of revolution in political development of Europe.

The last blow to divine right. "Equality a revolutionary ideal, needed authoritarianism. Liberty & equality unreconcilable. Nationalism supercedes desire for liberty."

Chap. IV Bonapartism

1) The 1st Modern dictator - Napoleon.

Inevitable outcome of revolution. Revolutionary order & Periticism passed, to be replaced by corruption. Gov. supported by lot of wars. Among the only stable points levée en masse retained. Naturally, general popular, corrupt politicians hated. '99, army took over, & defense changed to imperialism. Nap kept up legend of defense, & was always striving for peace. Nap came cause a gov. was needed - ^{civil strife} ~~anarchy~~ reared. Election by plebiscite something new & significant. Nouveaux riches supported Nap, & he was a nu. from right. - for Directory was about to tax new privileged classes, & he stopped this. Gov. contractors & financiers. Jacobins were what Communists are today. He was nice to church, but bossed it. His bureaucracy - career open to talents. Appreciated power of opinion, & lied voluminously to people. Many constructive activities, too. Personally dashing & romantic, small time

law & dictates of reason identical, they said. Use of reason, & discarding of divine right theory, ruined monarchy.

Chap. III - The transference of ~~the~~ sovereignty to the people
1) Hobbes & Spinoza.

~~the~~ Sovereignty hamstrung by natural law, squirmed. Hobbes brought in "will" & "contract" for justifying tyranny. He asks for ^{historical} origin, not end, of state. Founded because of man's nature. Man is anti-social, only lives & contracts with others because he fears violent death from them. (But most states are founded on pure force, he says) State must be monarchy to fulfill purpose of keeping the peace. Sees no way twixt despotism & monarchy. The 1st to reject both divine & natural law, accept only will. Says Natural Right is only that to self-preservation. Also, probably, that might is right. These ideas not accepted. Spinoza - "natural right" ~~him~~ is right to do anything you can do. State is above all law, might is right, natural law is natural will. State can break word any time, rightly. Will & passion, not reason, rule in politics. The complete dictatorial philosophy.

p. 50

2) Rousseau & Sieyès.

^{dichotomy} Hobbes & Spinoza did not challenge dualism of ruler & people. Hobbes subbed 1 contract for 2, omitting that with God, sovereign only embodiment of State's unity. Rousseau puts communal personality into this - birth of modern state. Will of sovereign identified with will of people, thru General Will. Ruler the result of General Will. But General Will ~~can~~ must follow set of ethics, so he cannot get rid of Natural Law, tho he has tried. General Will is leg., gov. is exec. p. 52 Dictatorship on emergency measure only. Sovereignty & gov. will limited, as in Fr. rev., in sovereignty of people. Ruler & ruled - R.'s influence on rev. not so great as often supposed.

Sieyès the papa of rev. "Nation" has supreme will. Natural law discarded, sovereignty of people est.

3) The Aims of the French Revolution.

Political liberty, abolition of privilege, introduction of

Cobham, Dictatorship

Not so bad note taking

Preface

(Lord Acton said all great men are bad men)

Chap. I - Introductory: A Definition of Dictatorship.

State differs from other societies in being 1) ~~different~~ ^{unique} 2)

Bad

Sovereign. ~~Div~~ Division twist government & governed. Aristotle's six divisions of gov. ours. 3 ways of getting power - inheritance, force, election. Different degrees of gov. power. Some rule by long-standing laws, others by decree. All gov.s will be mix-ups of all. Dictator is absolute, with decree, by force or consent, unlimited in time (no fixed term)

Chap. II - Divine Right Monarchy, & the Idea of Sovereignty

1) The New Monarchy (16th Cent.)

Dictatorship an old form of gov, most common in hist. Pure
sovereignty unknown in Middle Ages - always limited by Pope &
barons. 16th cent., modern state born. Jean Bodin, 1576,
made theory of sovereignty. "Divine Right" & "natural law" ideas
connected with sovereignty then, it is now sep. from them.
Dutch used theory of "contract" & "natural law" vs. absolutism.

Next Parol. is Chas. I, but produced a dictator. - but this one has no historical follow-up, is not the 1st modern dictatorship. p. 34.

2) Enlightened despotism

Law 14 etc. ruled on divine right theory, had to be allied with the church. King's power limited by tradition - he could not abolish aristocracy, tho bureaucracy had replaced it functionally. Enlightened despots broke tradition, which was essential to monarchy & so destroyed selves. Hobbes & Spinoza found basis of power in individual will, Montesquieu ⁱⁿ "laws of nature". (Locke, too) "Contract" & "natural law" combined. "Newton provided scientific basis for natural law". Legal & scientific concept of "law" combined to make idea that social laws were backed by nature, contract, & force of state. Some legislators had to make humans behave as well as stars do. - idea of sovereignty & natural law thus combined, by Physiocrats, who wanted hereditary, totalitarian, enlightened despot, who would not exercise individual will but obey laws of nature. Natural

Stephens, Dec. 4

Money rates
are certainly
not interest.

Judiciary. Civil ok, if Germans vs. Am. But new judges Nazis.
Criminal - People's Court, no "due process". Everyone in an
organization.

SS does dirty, brutal work. Gestapo does smooth
work - opening mail, spying.

Watch for Plato - Hitler contrast question on exam.
More religious freedom in Germany than Russia.

Section 3 - The instrumentalities of power

Function, not form, governs a country.

Chap. 1 The National Socialist Party

Feb. '33 ordinance suspending civil rights, & Enabling Act the foundations of gov. Unity of Party & State, in theory.

Party set-up a) Structural - "groups" & "affiliated associations"
"Groups" are SA, SS, Motor Corps, Hitler Youth, Students' Ass., & Women's Organization. These the core of the party.

Affiliated are professional groups & Labor Front - not so potent. Dualism of party & state actually. "Central Directorate of the Party" the top of party. 20-30 men who ruled Gy. (up till now, when army did) Maps general policies which cab. carries out.

Tremendous party bureaucracy, criss-cross authority.

b) Territorial org. of party. 32 Gau, with Gauleiter (generally also Reichs Anführer) then Kreis, with Kreisführer; & ~~Ortsgruppen~~ Ortsgruppen, in small towns; then cells, about a block, or bldg, with Blockwächter, pretty spy. Party Congress - annual at Nuremberg, great show.

Party says it's majority will, etc. - really a minority of dictators. Privileged position of party - over the state, over courts, iron discipline. A great tax exempt landowner.

Party members supported by spoils system. Great wealth of high ups. Municipal gov.s applied & coordinated by Party leaders.

"Winter Relief" - taxation by party, money to poor.

Hitler Youth - fanatics & Spartans - but mentally backward.

Chap. 2 - National Symbolism

Swastika, salute, music, parades, buildings

Chap. 3 Administration of justice

"Law" is will of Fuehrer, what's useful to state. Judges all party men. No judicial union. Many classes of cases withdrawn from courts. Judicial sovereignty from Laender to Reich. Civil justice pretty fair. Criminal law - People's Court is Star Chamber. Professional Honor Courts - to enforce standards in professions - (medical!) Tradition of justice revolutionized. (1/2 false)

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Remember, Germany that if you fail as a Georgist, the Nazi terror will someday hit America. - & YOU or your children.

Chap 4 The Police

Object - terror & force over recalcitrants - the Gestapo. Himmler leads. Different from SS, Prætorian Guard of 250,000. Police hunt at subversive activities. SS does bigger things. Gestapo does dirty work - con. camps. Also espionage, & watching. Watches everyone, highs & lows. The core of power. No one safe from it. Torture of con. camp preferred to killing - more fearful.

Section 4 - The Nation & the Individual.

Chap. 1 - Folkish Dogma & Racial Myth.

2 great myths - Volk & Führer. Romantic racial myth - licked Gms loved it. Talking Czechs meant adding Lebensraum to racial doctrine. Health movement

Chap. 2 - Position of Jews.

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To. rev. brought legal equality, not social. Intermarriage with poor Prussians. Weimar gave full equality. H. removed them from all "public service" professions, butchers to doctors, & segregated them. 1/4 Jews, & connections, too. Race, not religion, counts. Jew-Aryan marriage verboten. Driven from business. '38, murder in Paris excuse for complete confiscation & 70,000 concentrated. (Georgist point - what could they do, once segregated, with that land? What with? L. Mill) Emigration means conf. of what property remains. Polish reservation, death for most - 50 sq. miles of bad soil.

Chap. 3 Individual & Nation.

→
Aries, no rights. Individuals categorized. Press controlled. Property privately owned, but use "planned". Citizenship racial, not territorial. "Nationals" are non German citizens.

Section 5 - The Service - State

Chapter 1 - The Service Frames

Individuals all in organizations to work. Totalitarianism.

→
1) labor service - unemployed put to work when needed. (Georgist point - they are given access to land) 2) then go into mil. service. 3) Civil service made friendly postscript, of course. Weimann had not.

Stephens, Dec. 2

Shottwell recommended again.

Orator, organizer, & unconvincing timer. Promised everything to everybody.

Strasser, von Schleicher, Röhm purged, 1934.
(Von Papen & Zimmermann note here, etc.)

V. Papen kicked out by von Schl., then industrialists (maybe) put Hitler in, hoping to replace him with V. Pap. later, but got fooled.

Reichstag fire, then election, then Communist disqualification, then Enabling Act, giving Hitler power to govern by decrees.

Gleichschaltung - coordination. Church, education, all life & institutions shunted onto one track.

Civil justice still fairly administered, same where Jews involved.

But Criminal Justice administered on basis of protecting the state - star chamber, etc.

Reichsleitung - Reich's leadership, combination of exec, leg, & judicial.

Elliott

Dec.

/

'42

Italy's nationalism was not racial like Hitler's. Italy could live in harmony with other nations, Germ. had to enslave them. Nietzsche, a small dark man, idealized the big blond brute. Myth of stab in the back - really crack up. Armies not crushed, just beaten. Inflation - forcing petty burg. down, they did not want to be, as they were actually superior. Lower officials joined. Over-specialized people easy marks for Fascism. Processes of dem. depend on accepting Locke-Spino view of man as a reasoning animal. Nazi's reject this view. - irrational, rationalistic approach.

Goebbels can be let go - his job was over when H. got in. (?)
But Himmler & army must be kept.

Loewenstein, Karl

1940, Macmillan

Hitler's Germany

Amhurst College.

Preface: Nazism as phase in advance by trial & error. Sources: - propaganda pamphlets, pro & con (dubious), & foreign observers.

Section I - National Socialism & the Weimar Republic

Putsch taught Hitler he must sway men, not force them.

Depression stronger In depression, appealed to all but Cath.s & Socialists. Previous to
from lower middle that, a bunch of cronies. Emotional techniques - $\frac{1}{2}$ truths.
classes. '19-'23; '23-'30; '30-'33. 3 pds. of development.

Chap. 2 - Hist. of the 3rd Reich.

('40, H. appeared invincible, with Russia behind him. But they split. Same thing will happen if H. wins again)

Cory Fawkes:

H. had reactionary nat. cab., only Goering & Frick with him. Held election, burned Reichstag, thus got Hind. to sign away all Ger. civil liberties by Art. 48; but got no majority in election. Next day, Nazi mobs turn out degenerate, unresisting socialists, in states (Laender), set up Gauleiter, local dictator. Communists removed by force from Reichstag. (So a large minority forces the majority) March 24, '33 enabling act. - legal recognition of act of force, Cath.s acquiescing. Renewed by Reichstag '37 & '39. Const. basis of Nazi power. People weary of checks & balances, & getting nothing done.

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Chap. 3 - Consolidation of the Regime (Nov '33 - Aug '34)

Legal conquest of power to Hind.'s death, & dismissal of 2 officers. Non-aggressive foreign policy - unstable home. Opposition rapidly liquidated, politically. Officers made Army. State, press, etc. gov. controlled. Violence reigned, Hit. stopped it in June '33, so production would be unhindered. June '34, purge of restless left wing, Hit.'s power being with army, vs. rev. SA, now broken

Section 2 - Governmental Structure of 3rd Reich

Chap. 1 - Position & Function of Fuehrer.

Responsible to self alone (b11) 3 directing bureaus, Pres.'s

Reich's, & Party's. Prefers Hitler Fuehrer alone. Participation in gov. limited to foreign affairs. - no good at a desk.

Chap. 2 - The Reich Cabinet.

Fuehrer needs some assistance. Personal confidants. These most important. 15 positions, + 6 military. Slowest turnover in Eur.
→ Loyalty, not efficiency, the criterion.

Chap. 3 - Functions of Reich gov.

a) Legislation b) Foreign policy c) Army command. (von Brauchitsch)
personal loyalty of officers to Hitler. Hitler his amanuensis. '34 purge was army over party. Army controls civilians like today. Army is completely subservient to H., as are (a) & (b)

Chap. 4 - Political Manifestations of the people.

Paternal democracy idea. Jews & army cannot vote, in Reichstag. No debate in it. Plebiscites. to demonstrate unity of ^{part} ^{fanatics} ^{profiteers} Fuehrer's with people's will - after the act. 20% favor H., 10% oppose, & 70% are swept around by every current.

Chap. 5 - Reich & Landers: G's transformation into a unitary state.

Landers Nazified by force, '33. Reconstruction Act of '34, important, Landers made purely subsidiary. Reich Regents, (state gov.s) made mere ministers, rep.ing Reich over Land, not Land's interests. Most functions made central. Many local bosses so popular H. had to make them Regents. Even Prussia subordinate to Reich - opposite of 1914. Attempted redrawing of boundaries, on ec. lines, failed. Austria de ~~was~~ individualized as, when possible. Taking Czechs ended racialism. ~~Repression~~ suppression of intellect, expropriation of land & all wealth, even Poland - 80% officials still Poles. But exploitation & killing intellectuals worse than in Czech. Alsace-Lorraine completely re-Germanized, more than rest of France.

Danes & Norwegians relatively easy to handle.

Dutch tough. No news from Belgium. France, most centralized state in Eur., split up as much as possible.

Lochmum's

used spoils. Decline of efficiency. Germany long famed for good civil service. 4) Liberal professions - practitioners make Nazis.

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Chap. 2 - The "estates"

Associations representing an interest, like NATM or Labor unions, subordinated to state. 1) Labor Front 2) Trade & ind 3) artisans 4) Agric. 5) Cultural. 1936 4 year plan, for autarchy.

Labor Front an org. to control laborers. Strength thru jing. Talks & from laborers & educates them with it. S-t.) aims to never let worker be alone, unemployment. Labor honored. But 10-12 hr. day necessary, & wages dropping due to autarchy. / Big & little businessmen regimented, too. State controlled currency & credits. Money values of wages & goods controlled. Rationing. State controlled courts. Anti-bolsheviks most disillusioned of all. / Little business man hardest hit of all - no place for him - proletarianized. / Small farmer-owners ennobled. Land made inalienable, primogeniture. Junker estates untouched. Farmers told what to produce. The spoiled darlings of regime. / Goebbels job. 1st press seized. Broadcasting. Creative spirit at all time low.

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Chap. 3 - Education & religion

Pre-war educ. farmers - no illiteracy. Now primary schools losing teachers. Secondary schools losing pupils. All teach bull. Intellectualism discouraged. Universities / ~~imminent~~ standards, only in medicine & natural science do good men remain.

Churches still free - & they support war. Protestants long allied to state anyway, & non live wire. An abortive resistance to regimentation, led by Nazi Niemöller, but on the whole cooperation. 1933 Concordat with powerful Cath. church, but then persecuted it somewhat. But Gms still like it. Attempts to substitute neo-paganism for Christianity.

Conclusion: The 3rd Reich & the War

German doctors criticized. (so Hit. himself is no anti-Semite) Propaganda now stresses old fashioned patriotism, not Nazism.

Succession - Goering, then Hess.
Supreme Defense Council, '39, for war. Party not
rep. ed, army mostly. Supreme authority on internal things,
while Hit. is running war.

Munro, The Gov. of Eur.

Chap. II - The Nature of the British Constitution

Nothing written. No sudden changes. Reasons for democratic development: (how about Am. frontier???) a) Insularity. b) Race (bull?) c) Constitutional flexibility. Constitution need only be accepted, not written. For. customs keep changing, are still changing. Elements of For. const. 1) Great Charters 2) Statutes, mere laws passed by Pmt., many such laws as important as Great Charter laws. 3) Judicial decisions. 4) Common law - that growing with no Pmt. help, & now recognized. Judicial decisions shape it. 5) Custom.

Pmt. has supreme power - no law, only will of people, holds it. (How & why men become free, or corrupt, it's often hard to say. But ~~that~~ the happy results of freedom are always obvious.)

Chap. III - How the Const. developed

9th cent, Wessex conquered other Anglo-Saxon tribes. The Witan (agmoot), the king's great council, composed of the powerful. Local gov. - a) Township "mote", summing. Elective officers - reeve. Hundreds. b) Shires (modern counties) shire-mote attended 1st by all freemen, then by landowners. - decided land-ownership disputes. This system a) local, (b) universally similar. Trained people in self gov., helped unify nation. (Conquerors are a particular type of partially free men - & will conquer corrupt, but not free, peoples.) Domesday, then Norman conquest. Saxons were then weak. Local gov. not changed. (cf. British in India. Took our old means of exploitation) Wm. strengthened central power by breaking power of earls (so Eng. was like 18th cent. Poland) - dividing estates. Officers with real local power, the sheriffs, were centrally apptd. Itinerant justices developed common law. Weakness of earls forced them to ally with towns to curb

King. Also King had to encourage towns to get money.
(principle of the lesser robber coming out) This bred democ-
racy. Witan becomes "Great Council", forced to meet by
king. King's private income defrayed most expenses.
A select group from Council becomes "Curia Regis", cabinet-
like. Real power in King, Normans & Angles.

Plantagenets - Henry II, 1154-89, polished off rough
edges. (possible explanation of pre-enclosure widespread
landlessness - Saxons may have been strong enough to hang
on to much, Norman conquest was not complete.)

Strengthened Council, circuit judges, Curia started bifur-
cation into judicial & administrative. Great Council started to
separate ec. & leg. 1213, 1st enlargement - smaller landowners
admitted, to increase revenue. - he found it easier to
tax when they were rep. ed. No one wanted to go.

Magna Carta limited King's power to tax, and set him
beneath the law regarding civil liberties. 1265, Montfort called
town rep.s. But he had arisen in forceful refusal to pay King's
taxes - & all this paper work is based on force. This did not
last, but, 1295, Edw. I called them again, for money. (The
whole story then is that King was never strong enough to get
along without summoning others - he could not exploit by self,
& this doubtless due to insular position which avoided
standing army, that potent device of tyrants. A continental
country, like Poland, with a weak king, would be swallowed.)

Parl. became bicameral - great landowners & small. (Corruption in
U.S.A. due to divorce of property & political power, due to
frontier (?)) 1st bicameral leg., complete by c. 1400.
Landowners elected. Powers small. Lords at 1st outbreak
Commons, but latter gain - 1407, power to originate
financial bills. 2) Petitions, & this grew gradually into
lawmaking. Lords killed each other in wars of Roses,
never as potent since.

Tudor & Stuart - Kings still on top, called Prnt.

when they wanted money. Irregular elections. Sturges got too tyrannical, force used against them, finally 1688. Meanwhile privy council had grown strong. Chas. II's cabal the 1st cabinet. (bull-in-a-china-shop, but not in fact)

Homage: 1689, Bill of Rights, part. on top. Fundamentals now complete; details remain. a) further limiting monarch b) cabinet, & resp. to Pmt. c) democratic voting d) Lands reduced e) penny system.

End of Chap.

Chap. 16 - Political Parties

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They do not mean much as ideological forces.

Conservatives: often "reformers," as under Peel & Disraeli. Nobility, country squires, Established Churchmen, lawyers, bankers, imperialists, militarists, prosperous merchants, university grads, the "interests". Rural vote. Many ordinary laborers.

Liberals: traditionally free trade, reform, & laissez-faire. Now paternalistic. Decline since 1918. Lower middle class, non-conformists, & much labor.

Labor: Trade unions back it. Socialists. Esp. lower classes, & emotional people - women. Leadership intellectual from higher up. 1931 split, now repudiates Mac Donald's "gradualism"; wants direct assault.

Scotland & Wales liberal, & Midlands. Ulster & South Eng. conservative. But all these "rules" very fuzzy.

Party loyalty less potent than in U.S. - concrete proposals more the issue. Issue brings election, not vice versa as here.

Today conservatives are no more aggressive than anyone else. ^{imperialistic}

→ Irish issue cloud, but south's demand for Ulster may reopen it. (Shows the bull of "self-determination")
Party differences today: 1) Religion - Conservatives want to subsidize church schools, others to make schools technical & ~~down~~ public. 2) Tariff - conservatives for it, in

1931 Eng. abandoned free trade. 3) Reform - conservatives want to do it carefully, preserving going institutions. Recent coalition gov. & New Deal. But Labor pledged to Socialism, no compromise. - except compensating private owners by bond issue - **WOW!** Communists not trusted, Russian connections.

→ Fascists draw strength from unemployed (& Cliveden)

→ Organization & activities: Leadership means more & organization less than in U.S. Local org. dates from 1832, when it became necessary. In '60s, Birmingham liberals, under Joe Chamberlain, 1st got ward committees which sent reps to central ass. for whole city. A success, & rapidly was adopted everywhere, but has not resulted in American machine politics. Then national associations came, which soon influenced local politics strongly. Money a big factor in getting elected. Ward committees are actually self-perpetuating. (live wire principle) Voters assent to their choice. Labor party has same organization as others, only better. There are fewer professional politicians in Eng. than in U.S. But Labor Party is more virile, as a party, than others, introducing party discipline, bosses, etc.

Jennings, The British Constitution

Chap. I

1) We, the people.

(It is wrong for a private individual to truckle to the will of the multitude - but it is wrong for a representative not to - otherwise he is not representative)

→ The vocal opinion of even disfranchised people has always been a strong factor in pre-reform Eng. politics. When classes became politically conscious, they got the vote. One man who knew something shaped the opinions of many others in saloons. (The labor union ed tape which ties up production & drives away entrepreneurs is not to be contrasted with high wages driving them away) Many have 2 votes - place of residence,

Lemmings

2

university grad, etc. 26,000,000 voters, 31,000,000 votes.
Conservatives get the double votes. Lords always conservative.

2) The People's choice.

Tenor of legislation keyed to public opinion. No law, but public opinion, prevents Conservatives (because they have Lords) from keeping power forever. 1918, voting boundaries impartially redrawn, 1 rep. to c. 70,000 people (with exceptions), no gerrymandering. - well, some, favoring conservatives. Few are elected from their own homes & on their own merits. - rather on the party leader's ideas. (Why should a national rep. know anything of local problems? Only to grab privilege. May this is why Eng. are better than us. (?) (Prenad Wedgwood on this))

But unrepresented minorities are great - need for proportional representation & "alternative vote". These proposed, but never passed. Alternative vote not so good. Prop. rep. will discourage 2 party system. - no one will have majority, probly, resulting confusion (worth thinking about) Every gov. a coalition, instability.

Chap. II - Government by Party

1) The Polity of Parties.

Parties must be based on opinions that can change - not on race or religion, & persecution of minorities. Opposition criticisms, not obstructs.

2) Character of parties

Modern parties date from revolution: Pitt, Burke, & conservative Whigs vs. Fox & Grey & liberal Jacobin Whigs. Tories in till c. 1832, I guess. Wellington the last. Conservatism & imperialism 1st linked at this time. Growing middle class finally forced reform on cons. Peel, '32. '46 - '74 (New) Liberals held sway - Cobden, Bright, A. Smith, Fox, Peel, Bentham, Gladstone. Anti-imperialism. Disraeli & (New) Tories. 2nd reform Bill, &c. - but imperialism. Growing manufacturers gave liberals strength. Home Rule drove some ^{milder} radicals into Conservative camp - e.g., J.

Chamberlain. 1905 Liberals very left. But 1906, Labour party born of Unions & Fabians &c. Labour & Liberals failed, '29-'31, non ext. Floating vote only 2,500,000 out of 30,000,000. - these swing elections. Moral & rich always vote conservative. Slum & Celt always Labour. White collars float.

46 → Labour unions are really moderate, having more to lose than their chairs, & they are the basis of the party. Organizers run party not Chipp & Laski, & they are Etonians. Great similarity in programs. - because both are trying to catch the same vote, the floating whitecollar.

49 →
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3) The Party machines

Till 1832, no real parties - just individual patrons. But '32, local organization of voters necessary to power (the people refuse to consent in one way, but in another are led like sheep)

Disraeli made Cons. Nat. committee. More central power in Cons. than Lib. party. Labour party Unions. Election costs party over million £. Organization which canvasses for votes means so much that independents have little chance.

4) The 2 party system.

Historical compromises. Issues have changed, but minor parties & major issues have always merged into 2. (Isn't this natural? - those who agree with, & those who oppose, what is being done? & would Eng.'s 2 party system have saved them from France's fate in 1940 weren't not for insularity? NO!) Mental attitude of nation determines what parties think. But parties rep. interests rather than mental attitudes. Industrialists were once opposed to landowners (because their interests as producers overweighed those as parasites) but now are allied with them. (because vice versa) Constitution was built by 2 party system, & so favors it. 2 party system gives most rapid gov. in emergencies, a necessity. (Is so ???)

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takes advantage of them to steamroller. Question time - minister must defend bills. - an important institution, keeps minister on toes. Committee system - standing, select, sessional, private bills, committees. (Also Committee of the whole House, a device to make debates easier. Committees selected by Committee on Selection - which is chosen by prime min. & opp. leader. Roughly in prop to party strength in house, committees are manned. Cabinet is chief committee. Too much business - devolution needed.

Chap. XII - The Process of Lawmaking in Pmt.

public (those that affect all) & private bills. (special privileges) Many bills must be introduced by cab., others by private members (tho they may be public bills). Private member's public bills rarely get thru. Private bills: - referred to committees on private bills. (It seems to be the general frame of mind of Englishmen, more than any machinery, which keeps them relatively honest) But pressure a congressman can bring to bear, rather than merits of bill, decides. (All these seemingly complicated things, which involve the use to which land shall be put, could be very nicely settled in the free market, letting land to the highest bidder) (& what is Pmt. doing supervising these local affairs anyway?) Now the system of "orders" - various gen. depts. take care of details. (Write Freeman on causes of war) (Am. & Brit. systems are alike in that both turn the people's will into law - this is the important thing - what people think) Differences: 1) Exec. 2) Introd. of public measures 3) Committees - we perfect details before Congress accepts principles. 4) Chm. of Committees one partisanship here, as is house speaker. 5) Questioning 6) We yield the floor, they do not. 7) We print undelivered speeches, Frank them home - they do not. Eng. politicians keep promises - no checks & balances to prevent it. (checks & balances assume a stupid electorate - when there is a wise one, how about no checks?)

Write
Kent

Go ahead & enlist. for meteorology - you can always flunk the
final if you want to. - but tell no one.

Limits on debate - reps have more vote, so can M.B. - the
closure (compromise & kangaroo) Or the timetable.

signet So oratory can be no more - & it's for the best. Statements
are more pithy.

229 Odd ways out Westminster

Jennings

Chap. III - The House of Commons

1) Political ambition & its rewards.

→ No takeoff from gov. contracts. One must have a large independent income (i.e., one which you get, work or no) to be able to run for Cons. party. Labor cond. needs less money → unions pay & put up cost-offs (??)

2) House & Gov.

Commons not satisfactory, i.e., as nursery for prime ministers. People elected as party men, not individuals, - & they vote as such. 2 pressure groups - farmers & miners. Pmt. just passes Gov.'s measures. Gov. has to keep touch with the "sense of the house" tho, & it responds to public opinion.

3) Opposition

Post barrel not open - only gov. can introduce money bills.

Chap. IV House of Lords.

The tool of Conservative party leaders - as long as they do their will.

Chap. IV - King

1701 Act regulates succession. 137 regency act. Crown & King. Kings originally self-supporting, then pmt. gave money. Till 1689, no distinction between King's personal use & public use. "Civil List" is King's personal - \$2,000,000 a year. A myth, stabilizing influence. Powers: 1) Orders-in-council, can make them 2) Statutes, must sign them. 3) Calls pmt. 4) Assents to laws. 1919, Church allowed separate meeting, ~~but not~~ (to app't high officials?) Useful as a nonpolitical reconciler. Appeal to stupid minds. A link of empire - as Pmt. is elected by only a few. (is this good?)

Ch. VIII - Lords

Grew out of Great Council. Never aggressive. Dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, & barons. - 750. Hereditary. Not a caste - younger sons become commoners & new peers often created. Not all peers are Lords of Pmt. Peers of Eng, Scotl, Ireland, & Gr. Br. - only last now made. 26 lords spiritual. Lower lords - a supreme court, actually sit separately. Knights & baronets not peers. Knight not hereditary. Lords no longer irresponsible to regular laws. Few attend meetings - 2 powers: Trial & impeachment. 1909, Lords reject Land Tax budget of Lloyd George, 1910 general election forces them to give in. But still they clipped Lords' powers. - no money powers, 2 year suspensory veto on other bills. Also shortened Commons to 5 years. 1918-22 under Lloyd George coalition ministry, proposals for semi-reform: rejected. Need for 2nd house - to slow down legis, give people time to think. Commons wants to keep it weak. A few Lords are good men, & they do all the work - others rarely come.

Ch. IX - The House of Commons: The Suffrage.

→ Good quote - Burke.

1000 years of voting for someone. 1429, Henry VI put 40 shilling freehold restriction on suffrage, ~~which stuck till 1832~~ for knights - of shire elections (Great Council), which stuck till 1832. This followed an actual disenfranchisement, rather than causing it.

1) See draft board before enlisting

Boroughs had similar restrictions, some H.'s help. 15th to 19th, suffrage grew more restricted. People did not object - they did not want the vote. Ascendancy of commons changed this. Neither Eng. nor U.S. democratic till c. 1825. Change of pop gave balance of power to owners of rotten boroughs. After 1815, need for social reform seen, but Pmt. refused, so movement to reform Pmt. came, succeeding in 1832: incomplete redistribution of seats a real advance, tho; added $\frac{1}{2}$ 000 000 voters by lowering requirements. (Chartists unsat'd. '67 further redistributed seats, & added 1,000,000 voters. 1872-'85, more reforms. 2,000,000 still disfranchised & women, too. 1918, Rep. of the People Act 1) Made borough & county suffrage same - 17 years. 2) Universal suffrage, limit of 2 on plural votes. 3) University reps. 4) Women suffrage - with age (30) requirements, now removed, & property, now removed (both in '28). Local suffrage still restricted by property, in various ways.

X Commons: Nominations & elections.

U.S. redistributes seats after each census - Britain rarely, 1885, 1918. No gerrymandering. University members have existed since James I. Anyone may get on ballot with 10 names & £150. - usually only 3. One day elections. Registration 1st. "Returning officer" runs things. An ex officio job. Challenging voters rare. Proxies ok. No one knows how precincts go, unlike U.S. - ballots for constituency shuffled. Lords, foreseeing Conservative minority favored P.R. Campaign uncorrupt, unlike old days & U.S. But candidate must submit to all panhandlers. Quick wit flies in heckling, & one must be good. Personal canvass more emphasized than we do. Less money than we use. But Party leader personality more important than any of this. Money regulated by enforced law.

Chap. XI - Commons - its organization.

Deliberation, not representation, the rep.'s duty. - Burke thought. But voters think otherwise. Rules - majority never

Stephens Dec. 11

1066 - 1189 Normans
1189 - 1399 Plantagenet
1399 - 1485 Roses
1485 - 1603 Tudors

(Maybe, if Gy. wins the war, & German people want to revolt, army will be able to keep them down, but Gy. will be impotent as an international power)

Mosley, like Laval & Mussolini, was once a left winger.

English labor party, very radical when out of power, but not so when in power. Symbolically, when they got in instead of abolishing Lords they created Labor Lords.

In Ohio, rep. districts vary from 150,000 to 750,000 - wow!

If you get an extra rep., you have to elect him at large or redraw lines.

Dec. 16

2 things which you knew & thought of on the exam you should have written. - speaker of Commons power to define financial bill, & 3 commons votes on non-fin. bills.

Sidney Webb Lord Passfield - Communist, ~~typical~~ symbolic.

sort ?

No judicial review in Eng.

Debates in Lords better than Commons because Lords are not speaking to electors.

1832, in Dorset, "occupiers", not lodgers, were included. In counties, tenants added. 500,000 addition.

Dec. 18

There are so many private members' bills that they pull a few out of a hat. You can sue gov. in contract but not in tort with it, in U.S.A. - to get money from gov.

you must put a bill thru. England does not suffer from this.

In France, question time can lead to debate, & vote of no confidence. But in ~~the~~ Eng. there is no debate - questioners just want to get statements of policy which they can quote.

Before 1911, Am. speaker was chm. of all powerful rules committee, & apptd. all committees.

→ We have c. 40 small committees - they are hard to get rid of, not all are functional.

Test every day
now on.

Stephens, Dec. 9

Laski book report eventually.

Evolution, not revolution, made Eng. const. Stick to many meaningless old customs.

1) Early ^{saxon} king could not boss completely - he had to respect custom a great deal. Witom not too potent.

2) ~~the~~ Conqueror's Great Council - weaker than Witom. Curia regis within it - inner advisers, cabinet like.

3) From Council came Parl.

From Curia " Privy Council & High Court & exchequer.

Buy Montrose?

Loumy Sat
nite!

1154 →
Henry II

When Normans came - landownership overturned.

1) King stronger 2) landownership overturned 3) Church under gov. 4) Itinerant justices (Henry II perfected this) 5) More control over local gov.

4.) Plantagenets 1154 -

Henry II (1154-89) Common Law, developed strong local courts, judicial decisions, etc.

Magna Carta. Not too important. Assembly simply a method of taxation.

1265. Simon de Montfort, squire gov., added 2 rep.s from each of the 21 friendly boroughs - as a method of taxation.

1295 - Edw. I - The Model Parliament.

Tudors, then Stuarts

McIlwain. The British Constitution.

Dec. 8, '42

Unwritten, in single document. Many conventions, many laws. The center - the crown. Law says king does everything, actually ministers do everything. No legal prime minister. he is 1st Lord of Treasury. Becomes prime minister as leader of H. of Commons, then king has to make him Treas. The king can do no wrong, but his ministers can. Ministers are responsible for their own acts. Present Pmt. elected 7 years ago, but were elected for 5 years at most. 1716¹⁹, did some things, 3 to 7. Financial power of Pmt. was by which it conquered king.

Bagehot's classic book on Eng. Const. Blackstone not so good - only concerned with written law.

"Curious combination" of written law & custom.

→ Man may stand from any district - this leads to continuity of leadership. Norris defeated because he neglected local interests, this could not happen in Eng. (so maybe English know enough to regard gen. as privilege giver less Thomas)

Judiciary

Channel Islands are ~~taxed but not rep. ed.~~ neither taxed nor rep. ed, but are parts of Br. emp.