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THE PRAGMATIC REVOLT IN POLITICS

SYNDICALISM, FASCISM, AND THE
CONSTITUTIONAL STATE

BY

W. Y. ELLIOTT, D. PHIL. (OXON.)

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF GOVERNMENT IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY

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To
A. D. LINDSAY
MASTER OF BALLIOL

PREFACE

In shaping this book as a presentation of the modern tendency away from the dominance of rationalism in politics, I have had certain objectives in mind which have necessarily imposed definite limitations upon its scope and its form. It seems best to indicate these objectives and their consequences at the outset.

As a study of contemporary political thought and its immediate context of fact, this volume does not attempt an exhaustive survey. It is not itself an outline and it does not attempt to outline still other outlines. Consequently I have selected references in the notes and I have appended no other bibliography than the Index. It is my aim simply to run a thread of unity through the chief modern theories and experiments which are in revolt against political rationalism. Although many of the chapters have been printed as separate studies, they were originally written and they now stand as parts of an inquiry into a central problem. Since that problem, like all fundamental problems, has its roots in the development of ideas as well as facts, I have tried to set it in this historical context in the Introduction.

The particular form of revolt upon which this study is focussed is the attack now taking formidable shape in practice as well as theory, over a great part of Europe, against the constitutional and democratic state. After the Great War this form of state seemed to be the assured type to which all the larger Occidental powers must come. The triumph of the Allies, for a few short months at least, seemed to mean the triumph of the rational Wilsonian principles of national self-determination, of representative and democratically responsible government, and of the adjustment of political control by the liberal technique of counting heads rather than by breaking or by bowing them. Divine right, organic efficiency, the claim to a cul-

tural superiority all seemed in a fair way toward being discredited as bases for political authority. To the more hopeful it had even seemed that the method of adjusting disputes by persuasion and common confrontation under a rule of law might be extended to the sphere of international relations. The hope remains, but contemporary facts seem to doom it to the status of hope, not actuality.

Although this is a selection rather than an outline, I may be allowed to venture the suggestion even at this point that the political products of the current revolt against rationalism are the most characteristic contributions of the period, and that pragmatism is the philosophy that gives them their ideology and their values. Whether the War simply assisted the development of political aspects of problems which were imbedded in the whole development of modern capitalistic industrialism or whether Reconstruction stress and strain snapped social bonds that might otherwise have held, it is certain in either case that democratic constitutionalism and the sovereignty based on it are being widely challenged by the Marxian labor forces, particularly by the Syndicalist and Communist left wing. At the other extreme, Fascist reaction, model of an alarming crop of dictators, although it attacks not sovereignty but the constitutional organization of responsibility for that sovereignty, is equally pragmatic in its savage onslaught on parliamentary futility.

The only serious omission that prevents this work from claiming to be a fairly complete critique of at least one side of the "isms" currently offered as social gospels is communistic Bolshevism. Insofar as that is not a sort of regenerative religion, and so far as it is a philosophy of political society, it is too dogmatically faithful to Marx and Lenin to be closely related to anything so skeptical of absolutes as is pragmatism. Its practice under the New Economic Policy may be increasingly pragmatic, but the core of the doctrine upon which it depends for its quasi-religious domination of the Communist *élite* is and must remain intellectualistic—springing from a faith in those Marxian prophecies which are correctly described as an inspired Hegelianism of the Left. I have attempted only to relate Bolshevism to Fascism and to Syndicalism by way of

comparison. As a revolutionary Social Myth, a product of the Will to Believe, it is akin to M. Sorel's Romanticist pragmatism; but it goes further than that apostle of revolt would go by having a rationalistic technique to operate its New State.

With some temerity I have ventured to offer at the conclusion of this critical study an effort of modest pretensions at reconstructing the essential problem which is common to all these attacks on constitutionalism—the nature of the constitutional state as an association, and its relations to other associations, including other states. Pragmatism as a philosophy has forced a restatement of the problems of modern philosophy in terms that will meet its valid objections to the traditional concepts and methods. Political pragmatism ought to have at least as fruitful results in its application to theories of the state. With this aim I have summed up what seem to me to be the valuable results of the pragmatic revolt in politics under the theory of the nature of group life for which I have proposed the term *co-organic*.

This volume is necessarily, however, critical in its emphasis and limited in its constructive scope. I have had, for lack of space, to leave out a chapter on Professor H. Krabbe's interesting idea of the *Rechtsgefühl* (or non-rational "feeling for right") as the basis of law. Given the already too ample proportions of this work, I shall also be forced simply to indicate (by way of orientation) general agreements as briefly in the preface as I have indicated my disagreements at length in the body of the work.

First of all, I ought to put the theoretical works of Alfred Weber, whom I had neglected in favor of his distinguished brother Max Weber, until the courteous suggestion of my colleague, Dr. Carl Joachim Friedrich of Heidelberg University (now Assistant Professor of Government at Harvard), acquainted me with the theses of his recently published *Die Krise des Modernen Staatsgedankens in Europa* (1925) and *Ideen zur Staats und Kultur-Soziologie* (1927). I find many points of theoretical community in his general position, with which I was unhappily not acquainted before the completion of this work. The conceptions of (1) *culture* and (2) *civilization* in Professor Weber's later works seem to serve for his construction of social

theory much the same use to which I have tried to put the idea of the co-organic nature of associations: that is (1) both socially purposive and (2) historically conditioned by their total institutional and environmental context. Professor Weber has obviously pushed his inquiries into the technique of social organization, particularly as to industrial society, much further than I have been able to do here, but without putting the operation of the two forces quite so definitely in individual groups. The reader is earnestly referred to the above works and to his *Über den Standort der Industrien* (1909), of which Dr. Friedrich is making an English edition.

It is a matter of regret to me that the following works, just published, came out too late for me to profit in any way from their contents: John Dewey, *The Public and Its Problems*; K. C. Hsiao, *Political Pluralism*; P. W. Ward, *Sovereignty, A Study of a Contemporary Political Notion*. Mr. Dewey's work, particularly, offers a nice comparison with Mr. Lippman's.

In order that this work, with its ambitious attempt to set political thinking in so wide a context of social philosophy and experiment, may be understood to be really less controversially biased than it is bound to seem, I should like here to indicate my realization of two facts of prime importance: (1) The theories of Mr. H. J. Laski with which I have largely disagreed have been my greatest stimulant. (2) In selecting certain tendencies that seem to me most important in the works of philosophers like Dewey and James and jurists like M. Duguit, it is inevitable that I should not do justice to the whole of their rich and various thought. Every great theorist has at least as many faces as Janus, often more. If I have emphasized the anti-intellectualistic aspect of pragmatism, and its Romanticist as well as its "scientific" values, it is because the political uses to which these value theories have been put have had too little notice. The practical working test of pragmatism which they afford ought, on pragmatism's own criteria, to be of first importance.

In order still further to show a smiling rather than a carping face at the outset, I own myself able to find little except admiration for the following works, which may serve to give the reader a general orientation as to my own philosophic per-

spective. For convenience sake I shall limit them to typical books in English.

In sociological theory there are the works of Professor R. M. MacIver, especially *The Modern State*, and of Professor Morris Ginsberg, especially his useful *Introduction to the Psychology of Society*.

In ethics, after the works of T. H. Green, I accept as outstanding the work of L. T. Hobhouse, whose *Rational Good and Morals in Evolution* seem to me the most adequate basis of ethics available in the works of a single thinker.

Though I cannot altogether agree with his statement of value as purely a function of interest, Professor R. B. Perry's magisterial treatise *The General Theory of Value* has enabled me to leave out a chapter of exposition on "The Pragmatic Theories of Value".

In Metaphysics I have derived great stimulation from the work of Professor A. N. Whitehead, whose ideas (so far as I profess to understand their often poetically obscure suggestions of the organic nature of all reality) seem to me to afford a metaphysical basis for much that I have tried to say here. I am sure of agreeing with L. T. Hobhouse's *Development and Purpose*.

In the Philosophy of the State on its ethical side, I accept with few reservations at least one side of Professor Hocking's *Man and the State* and *The Present Status of the Philosophy of Rights and Law*, i.e., the rationally purposive nature of rights. I have, however, tried to suggest the limits of his formal theory by an analysis of the relations, actual as well as normative, of the state with other associations.

For a judicious and historically illustrated statement of the *Foundations of the Modern Commonwealth*, with especial emphasis on American constitutionalism, there is the work of that title by my colleague, Professor A. N. Holcombe. The only reason that I have not used his term *Commonwealth* throughout where I have referred to the constitutional state is that commonwealth has been put to so many different uses as to blur the ordinary meaning of the term. The British Commonwealth of Nations, so-called, is not a constitutional state, but a co-operating group of states united by the formal symbol of the crown, so far as the Dominions are concerned; and an Empire with the

most complex and various organization of dependencies for the rest.

For a brief picture of international realities, Manley O. Hudson's Calcutta lectures on *Current International Co-Operation* seem to me to be as just a statement as any.

In a book that has been growing since 1920 the list of my obligations is naturally, if formidably, long. I owe my greatest intellectual debt for this work and for anything I may ever do, to my old tutor at Balliol, Mr. A. D. Lindsay, now the Master. I have tried by the dedication to indicate something of the extent and the abiding nature of that obligation to one of the wisest of friends and counsellors. After the Master of Balliol, I should name that great scholar under whose kindly supervision much of this work was done, the late Sir Paul Vinogradoff, then Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence at Oxford. How still more short of its goal this work would have been but for the critical guidance of his vast erudition, only the author can know, and any expression of gratitude is at best feebly inadequate. Valuable criticisms were also made by my examiners, Mr. A. J. Carlyle and Mr. John McMurray. No list of my indebtedness for this work would be complete without acknowledgment of the truest assistance of my friends and my fellow students in the golden days at Oxford just after the war—Professors W. R. Dennes of the University of California, and R. K. Gooch of the University of Virginia, and Basanta K. Mallik of India, to all of whom I would acknowledge what I owe for the stimulus of their own ideas as well as for their criticism of mine. As this work grew, in a way, out of an attempt to answer some of Professor Alexander Meiklejohn's questions to the Lotos Club at Oxford, it is fitting that I should thank him here and at the same time apologize for the inadequacy of the answer.

My debt to my colleagues at Harvard is a collective as well as an individual one, that of one to whom support and good counsel has been freely given by his seniors in a great fellowship. If I single out for special thanks Professors Allyn A. Young, R. B. Perry, Ernest Hocking, Irving Babbitt, W. B. Munro, A. N. Holcombe, C. H. McIlwain, Carl Friedrich, and John Dickinson (the latter now of Princeton University), it is simply because I have most imposed upon their generous willingness

to criticize helpfully. It goes without saying that they can hardly be held responsible where I have failed to profit by their counsel.

An almost equal debt of gratitude is due from me to my former colleagues at the University of California, first of all to Dean R. G. Gettell, but hardly less to Professors E. M. Sait, D. P. Barrows, Carl O. Sauer, George Adams, W. R. Dennes, David Prall, and Stephen Pepper. I have further profited by helpful suggestions on juristic theory from Professor Max Radin of the Law School and from Professor C. G. Haines of the University of California in Los Angeles.

For reading parts of the proof and for many useful corrections I wish to thank Professor F. W. Coker of Ohio State University and Dr. Rupert Emerson, my colleague at Harvard, and the following Rockefeller Fellows, now Research Fellows in Government at Harvard: Drs. J. Lambert, M. Einaudi, E. Hula. Mr. Joseph Wright, Superintendent of the Library for Municipal Research at Harvard, has prepared the index and re-read all the proof—a service of the greatest value, as every scholar knows. I shall be grateful to those who point out any remaining errors.

To my students I owe the usual debt of any teacher, perhaps the greatest of all where the final shaping of one's ideas is concerned. And to my uncle, Edward Graham Elliott, formerly Professor of Politics in Princeton University, there is due an acknowledgment for criticism and guidance of a very intimate sort, for which no thanks are expected, but for which I should none the less like to render them here. If I have sometimes differed from his own theories and those of his late master in theory, Professor Georg Jellinek of Heidelberg, it has always been with real respect.

A final acknowledgment is due to the editors of *Economica*, of the *Political Science Quarterly*, the *American Political Science Review*, and the *American Economic Review* for permission to reprint with the necessary alteration portions of this volume that appeared as separate studies in these journals.

W. Y. ELLIOTT.

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