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THE INACTIVE ELECTORATE AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION

BY FRANCIS G. WILSON
University of Washington

If, with Horace, one must accept as final that "the short span of life forbids us to cherish long hopes," it may be that the permanence of non-voting in our democratic societies must be recognized as part of the general liquidation of more generous hopes for the sovereignty of the people. The expansion of the electorate during the nineteenth-century progress of democracy was certain to bring about the continuous fact of political abstention in the modern state. Democratic thinkers have taken various attitudes on this upsetting circumstance, but no means has been discovered whereby the total body of the electorate can be brought to participate habitually in elections, much less to assure that such activity shall be intelligent and instructed on the issues before the voters. The overwhelming practical and theoretical objections to compulsory voting laws have prevented the general adoption of this solution. On the other hand, there is a wide-spread but sporadic and ineffective effort to persuade the voters to register and visit the polling places on election days. "Civic spirit" has not solved by any means the annoying fact of a large percentage of the electorate being habitually inactive.¹

While the conceptions suggested above are involved in the liberal interpretation of the state and society, they are connected likewise with the idea of popular sovereignty, and the free expression of freely formed individual opinion. Most fundamental of all is the principle that man as a rational being has a right to and is worthy of freedom. In the world in which we live today, however, a new aspect of the problem of non-voting has been presented by the development of the authoritarian and anti-liberal view of the political process. There has been no specific elimination of voters as might be practiced by the realization of older, aristocratic and feudal theories of the state, though instead there has been developed a definite effort to limit or destroy the effectiveness and function of the ballot as it has been thought of in democratic com-

¹The distinction involved here is between the active electorate, i.e., those who habitually vote, and the inactive electorate, i.e., those who habitually do not. In a sense, this is a continuation of the French revolutionary distinction between active and passive citizenship.

munities. A new structure of the political party has been developed, the single-party system, and there has been a conscious rejection of the principles of majority rule and popular sovereignty. The voter in the authoritarian state faces a widely different situation than does the elector in the democratic and liberal scheme of politics. The separation of the party from the conception of political "opposition" and the establishment of the "world-view" movements has, in effect, established the party as a definite part of the state and given it a public law status which is fundamentally in the disagreement with older notions.²

These developments are in accordance with *The Revolt of the Masses*, as José Ortega y Gasset has phrased it. We are the witnesses of a general denial of the historic and cultural forms of authority, and of a repudiation of the intellect and science. Ortega regards the masses as indocile and unwilling to accept any authority outside of the arrogant individualism of the primitive mass-man.³ Spengler, on other hand, believes we are to enter a period of technicism which is a phase of the decline of the West. It is a period of Caesarism and the age of the modern tyrants. To Ortega, however, this authority cannot endure, and there will be no technicism if the appreciation of science is undermined.⁴ The vote in such a period of authoritarianism as has been generally predicted will be subjected to all forms and mechanisms of control, which will be in sharp contrast to the liberal ideal of free opinion.⁵ We may even reach, according to one satirical suggestion, a time in which propaganda will be aided by the glandular control of our emotions.

²C. E. Merriam, *The Making of Citizens* (Chicago, 1931), p. 109, suggests that the new notion of the party is not that of the "party" at all. The party in its new relation is a governmental organ and has imposed upon it functions which are inconsistent with traditional views. He remarks: "In Russia and Italy new forms of political organization have been developed in place of the political party. These are the Communist Party and the Fascisti, both of which carry on functions different from those of political parties."

Otto Koellreutter, *Grundriss der Allgemeinen Staatslehre* (Tubingen, 1933), p. 166, says: "Die Partei ist im Einparteistaat somit der einzige Träger und Gestalter des Staates. Sie verkörpert nach der politischen Anschauung des Nationalsozialismus und Faschismus die Nation und wird deshalb auch vom Verfassungsrecht offiziell anerkannt."

³*The Revolt of the Masses*, tr. from the Spanish, (New York, 1932), pp. 65, 68, 90-91.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 90-91. See Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West*, tr. from the German, (New York, 1928), Vol. II, pp. 386ff; *Man and Technics*, tr. from the German, (New York, 1932), *passim*.

⁵See Wyndham Lewis, *The Art of Being Ruled* (New York and London, 1926), pp. 37, 47, 55, 62.

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⁷See my *Review*, Vol. view; see also of the Social

It is natural, therefore, that other devices than the ballot should emerge as means of expressing the feeling of the members of the nation.⁶

There are two distinct ways of regarding the fact of voluntary non-participation in politics. We may take the point of view of a stable and progressive democracy. As a pragmatic fact, non-voting continues to be a normal facet of the democratic process. In an age of well-organized constitutionalism there is reason for political abstention, since the values which motivate political conduct are secured under the organization of the limited, liberal state. The ballot is a form of protest which may be used as occasion demands in order to enforce a somewhat negative yet effective responsibility upon those who are the elected representatives of the people. A realistic view of the behavior of democracies leads one toward the belief that there is no danger in the continual absence of a large number of the legally established electorate from the voting booth. When men have what they want from the political order, there is insufficient excitement in campaigns to draw all of them to the ballot box on election day.⁷

Our attention today, however, is constantly being drawn to the abnormal, to the political instability of our times, and to the emergence of new forms of social leadership and organization. That voting has continued in fact to be an important phase of political life under the alternative form provides the starting point of an examination of the problem of non-voting in times of stress and the reorganization of government. What strikes the eye first of all in the study of the early stages of the authoritarian state is the tremendous increase in voting, and the progressive diminution of the number of legal voters who stay away from the polls. All kinds of pressures may be adopted, as in Germany, to compel the citizen to vote, but above all this there remains the fact that political passion decimates the complacency of the inactive electorate. Moreover, in the second place, we must remember that the utopian mass movements of the present age use the ballot only as a part of

⁶Spengler, *The Decline of the West*, Vol. II, p. 416 notes that when the imaginative power of parliamentarism has gone, unparliamentary methods will take its place, such as money, economic pressure, and the strike. He also speaks of the rise of "a vote-apathy" even in great crises when the oligarchical structure of parties has reached its height. *Ibid.*, p. 456.

⁷See my paper "The Pragmatic Electorate," *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. XXIV (1930), pp. 16-37, for a full discussion of this point of view; see also the author's sketch on "Independent Voting" in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*.

the general technique of attaining political ends.⁸ The mass moves toward violence; direct action in a thousand different details comes to its own, even though the ballot may remain as a kind of elusive but primary symbol of the authoritarian democracy of the present-day Europe.

Professor Alvin Johnson once remarked that the approach of the revolution is heralded by the rise in political participation and the diminution of the number of non-voters. In a society in which only fifty per cent. of the electorate participates, it is clear that politics does not satisfy in a way the desires of the mass of individuals in the state. As the percentage of participation rises above, let us say, ninety per cent. it is apparent that the tensions of political struggle are stretching to the breaking point the will toward the constitutional. Order itself is at stake, and it must be noted also that post-war Europe indicates that the rise in the number of those voting is accompanied with an increase in direct action and political violence, though it may not actually attain a stage of true civil war. Government by the few voters who make an appearance on election day may be corrupt, it may be the very foundation of the continuance of the old party oligarchy, but at least it is certain that the political waste is less than the mass of the people will stand. In other words, the increase in voting is merely a phase of the transitional stage to the open use of violence, the "Magna Charta of barbarism."⁹

From another point of view, many of those who stress mass participation in politics have, perhaps by intuition and a general sense of the proprieties of their own situation, favored the use of violence. The proletarian movement as long as it is truly mass-led is almost certain to be revolutionary rather than parliamentary in

⁸See H. F. Gosnell, *Why Europe Votes* (Chicago, 1930), pp. 188ff, for observations on the more rich development of party technique in certain European situations. It may be suggested, however, that the intensity of social and political issues produces many party techniques which may have a value only under such circumstances. Gosnell recognizes that an increase in the blood-pressure of political conflict brings about an increase in participation.

⁹Ortega y Gasset, *op. cit.*, p. 82. The sharp increase in the percentage of those voting in Germany before the rise of the National Socialists to power in 1933 is a very pertinent demonstration of this fact. But it should be noted that violence and constant sublimated civil war accompanied the almost perfect participation of the German electorate in the large number of elections during the last few years before Herr Hitler became Chancellor. Luigi Villari, *The Fascist Experiment* (London, 1926), p. 63, declares that in the Italian elections of 1924 there was an increase in participation from fifty-five to seventy-three per cent.

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its spirit. To an exponent of syndicalist violence, such as Georges Sorel, the increase in functioning violence means a diminution in the interest in electoral participation.¹⁰ This may be true of a militant and well-organized workers' movement which has at the same time a definitely anti-political and anti-intellectual ideology. However, for the mass of individuals who are part of a well-established proletarian or bourgeois "religion," all means of participation are likely to be seized upon in order to enforce the incoherent demands which well up from the poorly outlined rage of the disadvantaged.

The communist has observed the fact that mass movements with a passion for sustained participation in political agitation are likely to result in the repudiation of proletarianism and the rise of what he generically calls "fascism"—that last desperate attempt by the bourgeoisie to stave off the revolution. The critical moment in the life of a class brings out the indifferent and non-participating members of the group. When the consciousness of life and death struggle has seeped into the average mind, the customary lethargy no longer has a place. Active and militant steps must be taken. The traditional forms of life must be preserved, and the leader who rises at this junction and promises to put down the enemy will receive an enthusiastic following. The passive middle classes, the petty bourgeoisie, come out to vote again and again—for authority.¹¹ Such rationalization on the part of the communist does explain after a fashion why the class conscious proletariat has been overwhelmed and the promised revolutionary era postponed indefinitely into the shadowy future.

It has been noted that the National Socialist movement brought into activity the indifferent voters, those who had believed that their order of the world would endure without any active support. It was this support which was the primary factor, along with the mistakes and under-estimations of its enemies, which assured the triumph of the National Socialist *Bewegung*. To vote is to protest furiously against the enemies of the movement. Most critics doubt whether any vote is purely rational, at least in the onslaught of Graham Wallas in *Human Nature in Politics* (which must be a part of the creed of a modern Machiavelli). The emotional and

¹⁰*Reflections on Violence*, tr. from the French, (London, 1914), p. 75.

¹¹See R. P. Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution* (New York, 1934), p. 119. H. J. Laski, *The State in Theory and Practice* (New York, 1935), p. 286, suggests, on the other hand, that hatred among the few and apathy among the many is the direct path to counter-revolution.

distraught participation which one witnesses when over ninety per cent. of the legal electors march to the polls time and again must be even less rational than the higher critics of democracy have been wont to describe.¹² During the last few years, all passivity and repose has been drained from the German political struggle. The masses were, no doubt, participants either because they wanted repose or because they were conscious fighters for the new *Reich*. In substance, however, this passionate participation is a rebellion against politics itself. The indifferent voter came out to vote for authority and against politics. He acted primarily to end politics, very much as we once acted militaristically in a war to end war which resulted in a peace to end peace.¹³

It must be agreed therefore that the ballot is a mass weapon, though serious question may be raised as to its present effectiveness. This query may come from either the Marxian or the liberal side. What we have seen above is that the elimination of non-voting may mean in fact voting against "the blessings of political discord."¹⁴ The communist views the whole contemporary development in the light of an increase in the intensity of the class conflict. When the class war reaches an advanced stage, the stage tends to become stronger and, indeed, authoritarian, declared Engels. The executive emerges from its hibernation of peaceful and stable constitutionalism to assume the helm of state.¹⁵ As a part of this general point of view, however, Lenin held that under capitalistic democracy, the wage-earner is, like the slave of the ancient city-state, excluded from participation. Being occupied with his overburdening tasks, he is likewise little interested in politics. The communist seeks to draw the worker into the creative violence of the class struggle, and as a matter of party tactics he may be urged to vote, along with other means of expressing his conception of the kind of society that ought to be.¹⁶ The vote is merely a means, but the good party adherent must vote when the proper candidate is on the ballot. Voting itself is not a primary weapon; it is merely

¹²See in general E. M. Sait, *Democracy* (New York, 1929).

¹³Konrad Heiden, *Histoire du national socialisme*, tr. from the German, (Paris, 1934), pp. 272ff, 277.

¹⁴See G. C. Lewis, *A Dialogue on the Best Form of Government* (London, 1863), p. 43.

¹⁵Cited in N. Lenin, *The State and Revolution* (London, 1919), pp. 14-15, 37.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 89. It is safe to say that when the Communist Party offers candidates, its members and sympathizers participate in a much greater percentage than is customary among the supporters of constitutional parties.

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Turning situation. In of both major national *Reich* rejects the most effective who direct the can best be based on the rectly out of is based on area which (*Volk und* construction expression of culture and involved in given expres of political organic unit of the folk; the first serv

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¹⁷It is not democratic or the suspicion of cracy. See in "The political fessor Sidney

a phase in the strategy of the class struggle. In the communistic society, the right to vote is widely granted on the basis of occupational affiliation or productiveness, though the guiding principles of justice are derived from historical science and stand above the abortive doctrine of "what the public wants."¹⁷

Turning to the other side, we observe an equally paradoxical situation. In the "leader state" (Führerstaat) there is a rejection of both majority rule and the primary principle of voting. The national *Rechtsstaat* will have none of these. As the leader state rejects the idea of popular sovereignty, so it sees the highest and most effective expression of the political principle in the leaders who direct the course of policy. Leadership is the institution which can best manifest the unity of authority, but authority in turn is based on the community (*Gemeinschaft*). Authority springs directly out of the existence of the community. When the community is based on its natural foundations, a folk in a definite territorial area which has been woven into the historic destiny of the folk (*Volk und Boden*), we have a nation. A nation is not an artificial construction of the state or the makers of peace treaties; it is an expression of folk spirit and unity, which is given outlet in race, culture and the mother speech. There are, however, certain values involved in the very conception of the folk. These are not to be given expression in terms of fortuitous majorities or in the struggle of political parties, but in the leadership which can bring about an organic unity between the folk and the state. Power is a servant of the folk; and the leader is, in the spirit of Frederick the Great, the first servant of the race.

It is natural under these assumptions that the vote should be regarded as more artificial and less necessary in the determination of broad issues than in the liberal doctrines of political society. A party becomes an element in the state which is the historic carrier of the folk spirit; the party contains in its objectives a *Weltanschauung*, a totalitarian attitude which is impossible to achieve in the fragmentary conception of the party in the liberal pseudo-democracy. Participation in political life comes only through adherence or support of the party which is the most adequate guarantor of the

¹⁷It is hardly necessary to enter into a long debate as to whether Russia is democratic or autocratic. The primary role of the party leaders tends to confirm the suspicion of despotism, while the right to vote on a wide scale suggests democracy. See in general *International Conciliation* No. 305, December, 1934. "The political and Social Doctrine of Communism." In this pamphlet Professor Sidney Hook questions the democracy of contemporary Russia.

folk values at the basis of community existence. The vote is important only as it maintains the logically necessary totalitarian attitude. Outside the party there is no real political life.¹⁸

Obviously, the leader state does not require the constant participation of the individual in politics, nor does it need for its organic existence the partial and chaotic system of political representation which has been characteristic of liberal democracy. Non-voting is, in theory, perfectly plausible once the proper leadership has been established, though occasional elections or plebiscites may be required for the enforcement of the fundamental principle of the complete responsibility of the leader, a characteristic of Germanic democracy as taught by National Socialism. On the other hand, it is clear that present German policy favors a complete participation of the electorate in an election whenever it occurs. Assuming the German people are fairly well contented with the policy of the government, experience might teach that such a high percentage of voting cannot be maintained. The perfect participation of the pre-Hitler days can be maintained, short of open coercion, only by the continuation of a state of revolutionary tension. The disappearance of non-voting during the critical days before the establishment of the present regime was, as we have suggested, the use of political means to end politics. The habitual non-voter will not have his habits changed by a passionate political interest that cannot be sustained.

Authoritarianism can accept the non-voter in so far as this is a rejection of the liberal and democratic ideology, though in so far as the new folk state demands the adherence of the citizen in an objective way, the vote may be a fair indication of the existence of the folk mind. Nevertheless, there has been in romanticism, of which the National Socialist movement must be regarded as a variation, a definite tendency toward the rejection of political participation and a turning toward the higher values of life which can be sought in other ways.¹⁹ It is not inconsistent with romanticism that it should reject the universal values of liberal technique²⁰

¹⁸See Koellreutter, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 139, 166, 192. Consult in general also Helmut Nicolai, *Die rassengesetzliche Rechtslehre* (München, 1932) and A. Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (München, 1933), Vol. II, Ch. I.

¹⁹See G. A. Borgese, "Romanticism," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. XIII, p. 430. Borgese notes the rejection of civil and political participation by such aesthetes as Tieck and Friedrich Schlegel. The French writer Flaubert is another example of the same trend.

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which we can observe in the ideal of a wide electorate and representative, constitutional government. The personality of the leader is a symbol of the personality of the folk, and the function of the mass, that is, of public opinion, is critical and advisory rather than determinative. This is true even of councils or corporative bodies which may be set up, for their function is not to decide but to advise.²¹

The conclusion can hardly be escaped that older and liberal schemes of participation will wither under the authoritarian leader state, and that in so far as these devices are continued, even the Germanic idea of an election cannot be maintained by a high level of participation. By and large, non-voting would seem to be an acceptable corollary of the national *Rechtsstaat*.

The development of the corporative state provides a rough alternative to the liberal system of participation. In Italy membership in a professional organization or association recognized by the state is a form of political participation, and with the completion of the evolution of corporativism the traditional forms of voting may be entirely supplanted. Membership in the party is likewise a gateway to the political arena, and it should be recalled that the Grand Council of the Fascist Party is definitely recognized as an organ, perhaps virtually a sovereign organ, of the state.²² The creation of new political machinery in authoritarian states is still in a condition of rapid flux, yet it is fairly clear that the institutionalization of the principle of political elites, whether in Italy, Germany, Russia or Poland, will gradually work toward the elimination of the passionate and intense revolutionary participation in which non-voting virtually ceases to be an observable fact. In the

²⁰See Ernst Troeltsch, "The Ideas of Natural Law and Humanity in World Politics," in Otto von Guericke, *Natural Law and the Theory of Society 1500-1800*, tr. and introduction by Ernest Barker, 2 vols., (Cambridge, 1934), pp. K201ff.

²¹Koellreutter, in commenting on the establishment of *der preussische Staatsrat* in July, 1933, a body composed of many types of persons and occupational representatives, remarks: "In dem Staatsrat wird ausdrücklich keine formale Einrichtung, sondern ein wichtiges Organ der preussischen Staatsführung erblickt. Eine Abstimmung in Staatsrat ist ausdrücklich ausgeschlossen. Der staatsräte sollen sich vielmehr als Persönlichkeiten zu den Vorlangen der Regierung äussern. *Op. Cit.*, p. 139. Cf Guido de Ruggiero, *The History of European Liberalism*, tr. from the Italian, (London, 1927), pp. 236-37, 210ff.

²²See Werner Niederer *Der Ständestaat des Faschismus* (München und Leipzig, 1932), pp. 112-13. See also in general E. L. R. Rosen, *Der Fascismus und seine Staatsidee* (Berlin, 1933); *International Conciliation*, No. 306, January, 1935, "The Political and Social Doctrine of Fascism."

long run it will be logically inconsistent to demand as a supplement to elitism the complete participation of the mass of possible voters.

However, this time has not yet come. The revolution is yet to reach its consummation, and the mass energy of the post-war era must be recognized by those who may be the most firm believers in the single-party system as creative of the political elite which properly should exercise power. We are now in a period of mass utopianism, and the centralization of leadership in the hands of a small group, even the establishment of social dictatorship and aauthoritarianism, is perhaps an inevitable result. Men vote for the charismatic political leader, and in his hands rest the power generated by the masses on the march.²³ Utopianism in contemporary politics goes hand in hand with the apotheosis of the leader, the rise of the authoritarian state, and the sharp and overwhelming increase in political participation. Perhaps it is only the theory of the "iron law of oligarchy" of Michels and others which can adequately explain this seemingly contradictory phenomena.²⁴ It is not wholly unnatural that the critical observer of authoritative utopianism, whether in Russia, Italy or Germany, should believe that the tree planted with such haste should be tardy in bearing fruit.

If, then, we have come to the conclusion that the disappearance of non-voting is a sign of impending revolutionary protest; if it has been suggested that the entrance of the habitual non-voter into the activistic world of politics is, realistically, a dangerous sign, we have yet to balance this conception with an idea of long-standing historical advocacy. We have seen that Sorel believed that an increasing interest in direct action would mean diminution of participation in the traditional sense. The same conclusion has been reached by those of a more unblemished anarchistic train of

²³See Robert Michels, "Some Reflections on the Sociological character of Political Parties," *The American Political Science Review*, XXI (1927) 753ff; Vilfredo Pareto, *Les Systemes socialistes*, 2 vols., (2e ed., Paris, 1926), for a stringent criticism of the utopian politics of the masses. The introduction to Volume I explains his theory of the circulation of elites. Spengler, *The Decline of the West*, Vol. II, pp. 386ff, explains the rise of tyranny from popular government in its extreme form.. See also C. T. Muret, *French Royalist Doctrines since the Revolution* (New York, 1933), p. 121; H. J. Laski, "Alexis de Tocqueville and Democracy," in F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *The Social and Political Ideas of some Representative Thinkers of the Victorian Age* (London, 1933), pp. 106ff.

²⁴Cf. C. J. Friedrich, "Oligarchy" in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. XI, p. 464. Friedrich regards as inevitable the tendency of oligarchies to contract, which produces in turn a popular reaction—perhaps the kind which gave rise to oligarchy in the first place.

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thought. The anarchists have, for the most part, supported a complete boycott of the authoritarian political process. With Proudhon they have held that any authority recognized in principle leads ultimately to despotism in practice.²⁵ Non-participation has been advocated repeatedly by those who have been disposed to reject the principle of authority. But the revolutionary anarchist has been unwilling to see a remedy in mere non-voting and non-participation in general. The revolution is necessary, and the technique of protest becomes the strategy of the mass upheaval.²⁶

Experience in recent years might indicate that the anarchist dream has less footing in reality than the point of view which has been presented here. There may come a time when the revolutionary protest will take the form, in one aspect at least, of an increase in non-voting. One might well agree if non-participation could be so effectively organized as to reduce the percentage of those voting to a mere fractional part of the electorate that the situation would be as equally dangerous as perfect participation to the social and stability and energy of a society.²⁷ Such a condition might mean the complete demoralization of the masses and the willing surrender of ruleship to him who might desire it—on the condition that the supply of *panem et circenses* is undiminished. Some indicate that this was the condition of Roman republicanism in its latter days and during the inception of the principate.²⁸ In the present situation the tendency has been the other way, for the revolutionary impulse has found one form of expression in an increased enthusiasm in all forms of action, direct and indirect.

The suggestion may not be wholly without foundation that one of the strengths of the present authoritarian movements is the recognition that mass politics is ultimately irrational. Intelligent leaders must face an unintelligent social world, and the rise and

²⁵See P. J. Proudhon, *Oeuvres complètes: Idée générale de la Révolution au XIXe siècle*, nouvelle édition (Paris, 1923), pp. 177ff. *Ibid.*, pp. 227-28, Proudhon remarks that the people do not have enough time to govern and to carry on their own affairs at the same time.

²⁶See F. W. Coker, *Recent Political Thought* (New York, 1934), Ch. VII.

²⁷C. E. Merriam, *Political Power* (New York and London, 1934), pp. 173ff, discusses the power of such men as Mahatma Gandhi and Tolstoy. Gandhi's power arises from peaceful political abstention, that is, from non-violent non-cooperation. Such protest tactics have been, of course, a great danger to British authority in India.

²⁸But cf. Ortega y Gasset, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-72. A. F. Hattersley, *A Short History of Democracy* (Cambridge, 1930), p. 71, observes that political participation had few attractions for the Roman citizen because of the superior position of the Senate and the magistrates.

fall of their movements is a chart of the tides of irrationality which sweep the pages of history.²⁹ The young and virile, if not brutal, political leaders of the group rising to power on the ruins of the old political synthesis must no doubt realize that mass participation may be revolutionary in character, and as such it must in the long run, if continued, be as great a menace to their power as to those who have been displaced. Here is surely one of the deeper springs of the advocacy of the creative minority which produces a governing class. The elite may take care of the lean years after political participation has declined and then in various forms begins slowly to rise with the uncompromising power of the flood. The pragmatists who find in the mass movements and mass voting of these critical times the natural outlet for their desire for power, must recognize that in the end they will be judged pragmatically. But this is as yet in the future.³⁰

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²⁹A very striking satirical treatment of the present-day conditions in politics is to be found in Wyndham Lewis, *The Art of Being Ruled*.

³⁰See in general Rosen, *op. cit.*

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