The CLASH of POLITICAL IDEALS

THIRD EDITION

ALBERT R. CHANDLER

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POLITICAL IDEALS

A SOURCE BOOK ON DEMOCRACY AND THE TOTALITARIAN STATE



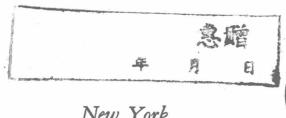
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THIRD EDITION WITH ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY



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THE CLASH OF POLITICAL IDEALS

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

The purpose of this book is to bring students into direct contact with writers who have conceived and put forth political ideas. Second-hand analyses have their value, but for full appreciation of social insights and aspirations one needs to feel the fervor and idiosyncrasies of the original authors. Further, even the most just and intelligent of men can rarely give adequate accounts of their opponents' views. It is better to hear a doctrine expounded by its friends-or better still, by the leaders who shaped it and gave it currency. In this book, leaders and interpreters of conflicting social movements speak for themselves. This is possible only in a democracy: Fascists, Communists, Nazis, and other totalitarians do not allow their subjects to hear the cases of their opponents; but democracy encourages public debate of all sides of every issue, in the faith that men will in the long run choose the good and reject the evil. That is why you will find in this book the writings of men whose programs call for books of this kind never to be printed. Some-Hitler and Stalin for examplestate this explicitly, while others offer complicated moralizing or doctrinal pronouncements as justification for limiting freedom of discussion and action. And yet, it is doubtful if any of these writers are hypocrites; that these are all statements of sincere conviction accounts for much of the tragedy that distinguishes most human affairs from the Life of Reason.

In this third edition more than one-fourth of the material is new, although its content is determined under the same broad criteria as the previous editions. Emphasis is on the current viable issues that express perennial problems, and the readings represent both these current forms and their historical origins.

The original compilation was made in 1940, when the clash of political ideals was manifested in World War II, and when many predicted that the United States and Japan would soon be involved. The second edition appeared in 1949. The first nineteen chapters were the same in both editions: namely, Thucydides, the New Testament, Milton, Locke, Jefferson, the French Declaration of Rights (1789), "The Federalists," Washington,

John Stuart Mill (On Liberty), Lincoln, Whitman, Herbert Hoover, John Dewey, the Communist Manifesto, Lenin and Stalin, Mussolini, Hitler, the spirit of Japan, and Pope Pius XI on social reconstruction. In 1949, nine new chapters were added in the hope of further illuminating present and prospective issues. Selections from Franklin D. Roosevelt, Alfred E. Smith, and a declaration of the British Labour Party were included because of their bearing on current issues in democratic countries. The section on Communist strategy and tactics, added at that time, remains in this third edition. The Tanaka Memorial shed light on Japanese war policies and possible future attitudes of the Japanese people. Selections from Chinese and Indian sources were concerned with revolutionary processes of increasing significance after several decades of development. The draft of a world constitution, prepared by Robert M. Hutchins and his associates, reflected hopes that were high at that time.

This third edition attempts to extend the perspective required by recent events. The book has been expanded, not only by substitutions, but by addition of new material both from the present and from the seminal sources of our political heritage. On the domestic scene, relations between North and South are as tense as they were a century ago; and race relations in the United States are watched closely by the peoples of Asia and Africa, and-though we hear little of this-by our Latin American neighbors. Garrison and Fitzhugh bring the original issues into focus once more. The clash of ideals over the "welfare state" and the "new" conservatism, are issues of the present and apparently of the future. The ideal of pacifism takes on new significance in an age of weapons that are designed for mass civilian destruction and long-term contamination of the air we breathe and the soil in which we grow our food. In this context, the Huxley selection replaces Gandhi's statements on passive resistance. The chapter on church-state relations contains new and more extensive material on a clash of ideals that has grown in intensity and scope, especially in the United States and Canada. Events in the Far East have moved rapidly, but no distinctive political thought seems to have emerged. Thus, the present edition drops some of the selections from the 1949 edition.

Problems already on the horizon of time may well be included in future editions. The cultural, technological, and political awakening of "underdeveloped" areas will bring the enormous creative potential of millions of people into contact with every political ideal represented in

these readings. Other problems may be raised by the development of a powerful Chinese nation, which has rejected democracy to rise in power under the aegis of Russian Communism, but which will soon be powerful enough to take its own course. In the United States, the conflicts between labor, industry, and government have grown sharper on issues of power, authority, and responsibility. And, the clash of ideals will probably manifest itself more strongly in the area of church-state relations.

I wish to express my gratitude to Professor David Spitz and to other colleagues who have made valuable suggestions, and especially to Samuel E. Gluck of Columbia University. Mr. Gluck has also compiled and annotated the classified bibliography and written its introduction, which will be of value not only to undergraduates, but to advanced students and instructors in philosophy, the social sciences, and history. One special feature of the bibliography is its emphasis on the interaction of politics with other aspects of social life.

A.R.C.

USE OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

The references at the ends of chapters and the major bibliography at the end of the book must be used together. There are few duplications, and the reader will soon discover the cross-references most efficient for his own projects. References at the ends of chapters are almost all Professor Chandler's: those added by the bibliographer in the page-proof stage of the book are clearly distinguished.

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THUCYDIDES ON ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY

[Thucydides (about 460 to about 399 B.C.) wrote the history of the Peloponnesian War, in which democratic Athens and oligarchic Sparta fought intermittently for nearly thirty years. In the first winter of the war (431 B.C.) the Athenians held a public funeral for those who had fallen in battle. Pericles, the leading statesman of Athens, gave the oration, which Thucydides reports. As to the fidelity of the report, we have no evidence except Thucydides' general comment on the speeches incorporated in his history: "As to the speeches which were made either before or during the war, it was hard for me and for others who reported them to me, to recollect the exact words. I have therefore put into the mouth of each speaker the sentiments proper to the occasion, expressed as I thought he would be likely to express them, while at the same time I endeavored, as nearly as I could, to give the general purport of what was actually said," (Book I, Chapter 22, Jowett's translation Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2nd ed., 1900]). Whatever the relative contributions of Pericles and Thucydides to this oration, it stands as an authentic expression of the ideals of Athenian democracy.

Democracy is here treated as "a way of life." Little or nothing is said of methods of voting, rotation in office, or the administration of justice, but much is said of the character, good judgment, and mutual tolerance of the citizens.

After commenting on the custom of giving an oration on such occasions, Pericles continues (Book II, Chapters 36-43, Jowett's translation):]

"I will speak first of our ancestors, for it is right and seemly that now, when we are lamenting the dead, a tribute should be paid to their memory. There has never been a time when they did not inhabit this

land, which by their valor they have handed down from generation to generation, and we have received from them a free state. But if they were worthy of praise, still more were our fathers, who added to their inheritance, and after many a struggle transmitted to us their sons this great empire. And we ourselves assembled here to-day, who are still most of us in the vigor of life, have carried the work of improvement further, and have richly endowed our city with all things, so that she is sufficient for herself both in peace and war. Of the military exploits by which our various possessions were acquired, or of the energy with which we or our fathers drove back the tide of war, Hellenic or Barbarian, I will not speak; for the tale would be long and is familiar to you. But before I praise the dead, I should like to point out by what principles of action we rose to power, and under what institutions and through what manner of life our empire became great. For I conceive that such thoughts are not unsuited to the occasion, and that this numerous assembly of citizens and strangers may profitably listen to them.

"Our form of government does not enter into rivalry with the institutions of others. We do not copy our neighbors, but are an example to them. It is true that we are called a democracy, for the administration is in the hands of the many and not of the few. But while the law secures equal justice to all alike in their private disputes, the claim of excellence is also recognized; and when a citizen is in any way distinguished, he is preferred to the public service, not as a matter of privilege, but as the reward of merit. Neither is poverty a bar, but a man may benefit his country whatever be the obscurity of his condition. There is no exclusiveness in our public life, and in our private intercourse we are not suspicious of one another, nor angry with our neighbor if he does what he likes; we do not put on sour looks at him which, though harmless, are not pleasant. While we are thus unconstrained in our private intercourse, a spirit of reverence pervades our public acts; we are prevented from doing wrong by respect for the authorities and for the laws, having an especial regard to those which are ordained for the protection of the injured as well as to those unwritten laws which bring upon the transgressor of them the reprobation of the general sentiment.

"And we have not forgotten to provide for our weary spirits many relaxations from toil; we have regular games and sacrifices throughout the year; our homes are beautiful and elegant; and the delight which we daily feel in all these things helps to banish melancholy. Because of the greatness of our city the fruits of the whole earth flow in upon us; so that we enjoy the goods of other countries as freely as of our own.

"Then, again, our military training is in many respects superior to that of our adversaries. Our city is thrown open to the world, and we never expel a foreigner or prevent him from seeing or learning anything of which the secret if revealed to an enemy might profit him. We rely not upon management or trickery, but upon our own hearts and hands. And in the matter of education, whereas they from early youth are always undergoing laborious exercises which are to make them brave, we live at ease, and yet are equally ready to face the perils which they face. And here is the proof. The Lacedaemonians come into Attica not by themselves, but with their whole confederacy following; we go alone into a neighbor's country; and although our opponents are fighting for their homes and we on a foreign soil, we have seldom any difficulty in overcoming them. Our enemies have never yet felt our united strength; the care of a navy divides our attention, and on land we are obliged to send our own citizens everywhere. But they, if they meet and defeat a part of our army, are as proud as if they had routed us all, and when defeated they pretend to have been vanquished by us all.

"If then we prefer to meet danger with a light heart but without laborious training, and with a courage which is gained by habit and not enforced by law, are we not greatly the gainers? Since we do not anticipate the pain, although, when the hour comes, we can be as brave as those who never allow themselves to rest; thus too our city is equally admirable in peace and in war. For we are lovers of the beautiful, yet simple in our tastes, and we cultivate the mind without loss of manliness. Wealth we employ, not for talk and ostentation, but when there is a real use for it. To avow poverty with us is no disgrace; the true disgrace is in doing nothing to avoid it. An Athenian citizen does not neglect the state because he takes care of his own household; and even those of us who are engaged in business have a very fair idea of politics. We alone regard a man who takes no interest in public affairs, not as a harmless, but as a useless character; and if few of us are originators we are all sound judges of a policy. The great impediment to action is, in our opinion, not discussion, but the want of that knowledge which is gained by discussion preparatory to action. For we have a peculiar power of thinking before we act and of acting too, whereas other men are courageous from ignorance but hesitate upon reflection. And they are surely to be esteemed the bravest spir-

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its who, having the clearest sense both of the pains and pleasures of life, do not on that account shrink from danger. In doing good, again, we are unlike others; we make our friends by conferring, not by receiving favors. Now he who confers a favor is the firmer friend, because he would fain by kindness keep alive the memory of an obligation; but the recipient is colder in his feelings, because he knows that in requiting another's generosity he will not be winning gratitude but only paying a debt. We alone do good to our neighbors not upon a calculation of interest, but in the confidence of freedom and in a frank and fearless spirit. To sum up: I say that Athens is the school of Hellas, and that the individual Athenian in his own person seems to have the power of adapting himself to the most varied forms of action with the utmost versatility and grace. This is no passing and idle word, but truth and fact; and the assertion is verified by the position to which these qualities have raised the state. For in the hour of trial Athens alone among her contemporaries is superior to the report of her. No enemy who comes against her is indignant at the reverses which he sustains at the hands of such a city; no subject complains that his masters are unworthy of him. And we shall assuredly not be without witnesses; there are mighty monuments of our power which will make us the wonder of this and of succeeding ages; we shall not need the praises of Homer or of any other panegyrist whose poetry may please for the moment, although his representation of the facts will not bear the light of day. For we have compelled every land and every sea to open a path for our valor, and have everywhere planted eternal memorials of our friendship and of our enmity. Such is the city for whose sake these men nobly fought and died; they could not bear the thought that she might be taken from them; and every one of us who survive should gladly toil on her behalf.

"I have dwelt upon the greatness of Athens because I want to show you that we are contending for a higher prize than those who enjoy none of these privileges, and to establish by manifest proof the merit of these men whom I am now commemorating. Their loftiest praise has been already spoken. For in magnifying the city I have magnified them, and men like them whose virtues made her glorious. And of how few Hellenes can it be said as of them, that their deeds when weighed in the balance have been found equal to their fame! Methinks that a death such as theirs has been gives the true measure of a man's worth; it may be the first revelation of his virtues, but is at any rate their final seal. For

even those who come short in other ways may justly plead the valor with which they have fought for their country; they have blotted out the evil with the good, and have benefited the state more by their public services than they have injured her by their private actions. None of these men were enervated by wealth or hesitated to resign the pleasures of life; none of them put off the evil day in the hope, natural to poverty, that a man, though poor, may one day become rich. But, deeming that the punishment of their enemies was sweeter than any of these things, and that they could fall in no nobler cause, they determined at the hazard of their lives to be honorably avenged, and to leave the rest. They resigned to hope their unknown chance of happiness; but in the face of death they resolved to rely upon themselves alone. And when the moment came they were minded to resist and suffer, rather than to fly and save their lives; they ran away from the word of dishonor, but on the battlefield their feet stood fast, and in an instant, at the height of their fortune, they passed away from the scene, not of their fear, but of their glory.

"Such was the end of these men; they were worthy of Athens, and the living need not desire to have a more heroic spirit, although they may pray for a less fatal issue. The value of such a spirit is not to be expressed in words. Any one can discourse to you for ever about the advantages of a brave defense, which you know already. But instead of listening to him I would have you day by day fix your eyes upon the greatness of Athens, until you become filled with the love of her; and when you are impressed by the spectacle of her glory, reflect that this empire has been acquired by men who knew their duty and had the courage to do it, who in the hour of conflict had the fear of dishonor always present to them, and who, if ever they failed in an enterprise, would not allow their virtues to be lost to their country, but freely gave their lives to her as the fairest offering which they could present at her feast. The sacrifice which they collectively made was individually repaid to them; for they received again each one for himself a praise which grows not old, and the noblest of all sepulchers—I speak not of that in which their remains are laid, but of that in which their glory survives, and is proclaimed always and on every fitting occasion both in word and deed. For the whole earth is the sepulcher of famous men; not only are they commemorated by columns and inscriptions in their own country, but in foreign lands there dwells also an unwritten memorial of them, graven not on stone but in the hearts of men. Make them your examples, and, esteeming courage to be freedom and

freedom to be happiness, do not weigh too nicely the perils of war. The unfortunate who has no hope of a change for the better has less reason to throw away his life than the prosperous who, if he survive, is always liable to a change for the worse, and to whom any accidental fall makes the most serious difference. To a man of spirit, cowardice and disaster coming together are far more bitter than death striking him unperceived at a time when he is full of courage and animated by the general hope."

[Pericles concludes with some further exhortations, especially to the relatives of the dead.

For the interpretation of Athenian democracy the reader may consult G. H. Sabine, A History of Political Theory, (New York, Holt, 1937), pages 11-19; W. S. Ferguson, Greek Imperialism (Boston, Houghton, 1913) Chapter II; and A. Zimmern, The Greek Commonwealth, 4th ed., (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1924).]

CHRISTIAN LOVE IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

[The Christian ideal of brotherly love has been invoked in support of various forms of social organization. The following passages from the New Testament are basic expressions of this ideal. Too often the sonorous phrases of the King James version evoke merely a mood of vague exaltation. For that reason I have chosen to present Goodspeed's version, whose plain, everyday, twentieth century language challenges us to ask what practical meaning these ideas may have to-day.

Professor Goodspeed, the translator, is the author of many books in the field of New Testament studies, and a special student of the papyri which record the colloquial speech of the period. After long service at the Uni-

versity of Chicago, he became emeritus in 1937.]

The Sermon on the Mount*

When he [Jesus] saw the crowds of people he went up on the mountain. There he seated himself, and when his disciples had come up to him, he opened his lips to teach them. And he said,

"Blessed are those who feel their spiritual need, for the Kingdom of

Heaven belongs to them!

"Blessed are the mourners, for they will be consoled!

"Blessed are the humble-minded, for they will possess the land!

"Blessed are those who are hungry and thirsty for uprightness, for they will be satisfied!

"Blessed are the merciful, for they will be shown mercy!

^{*} From The Gospel according to Matthew, Chapters 5, 6, and 7, in The New Testament, An American Translation, by E. J. Goodspeed (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1923).

"Blessed are the pure in heart, for they will see God!

"Blessed are the peacemakers, for they will be called God's sons!

"Blessed are those who have endured persecution for their uprightness, for the Kingdom of Heaven belongs to them!

"Blessed are you when people abuse you, and persecute you, and falsely say everything bad of you, on my account. Be glad and exult over it, for you will be richly rewarded in heaven, for that is the way they persecuted the prophets who went before you!

"You are the salt of the earth! But if salt loses its strength, how can it be made salt again? It is good for nothing but to be thrown away and trodden underfoot. You are the light of the world! A city that is built upon a hill cannot be hidden. People do not light a lamp and put it under a peck-measure; they put it on its stand and it gives light to everyone in the house. Your light must burn in that way among men so that they will see the good you do, and praise your Father in heaven.

"Do not suppose that I have come to do away with the Law or the Prophets. I have not come to do away with them but to enforce them. For I tell you, as long as heaven and earth endure, not one dotting of an i or crossing of a t will be dropped from the Law until it is all observed. Anyone, therefore, who weakens one of the slightest of these commands, and teaches others to do so, will be ranked lowest in the Kingdom of Heaven; but anyone who observes them and teaches others to do so will be ranked high in the Kingdom of Heaven. For I tell you that unless your uprightness is far superior to that of the scribes and Pharisees, you will never even enter the Kingdom of Heaven!

"You have heard that the men of old were told 'You shall not murder,' and 'Whoever murders will have to answer to the court.' But I tell you that anyone who gets angry with his brother will have to answer to the court, and anyone who speaks contemptuously to his brother will have to answer to the great council, and anyone who says to his brother 'You cursed fool!' will have to answer for it in the fiery pit! So when you are presenting your gift at the altar, if you remember that your brother has any grievance against you, leave your gift right there before the altar and go and make up with your brother; then come back and present your gift. Be quick and come to terms with your opponent while you are on the way to court with him, or he may hand you over to the judge, and the judge may hand you over to the officer, and you will be thrown into

prison. I tell you, you will never get out again until you have paid the last penny!

"You have heard that men were told 'You shall not commit adultery.' But I tell you that anyone who looks at a woman with desire has already committed adultery with her in his heart. But if your right eye makes you fall, tear it out and throw it away, for you might better lose one part of your body than have it all thrown into the pit! If your right hand makes you fall, cut it off and throw it away! For you might better lose one part of your body than have it all go down to the pit!

"They were told, 'Anyone who divorces his wife must give her a certificate of divorce.' But I tell you that anyone who divorces his wife on any ground, except unfaithfulness, makes her commit adultery, and anyone who marries her after she is divorced commits adultery.

"Again, you have heard that the men of old were told, 'You shall not swear falsely, but you must fulfil your oaths to the Lord.' But I tell you not to swear at all, either by heaven, for it is God's throne, or by the earth, for it is his footstool, or by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great king. You must not swear by your own head, for you cannot make one single hair white or black. But your way of speaking must be 'Yes' or 'No.' Anything that goes beyond that comes from the evil one.

"You have heard that they were told, 'An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.' But I tell you not to resist injury, but if anyone strikes you on your right cheek, turn the other to him too; and if anyone wants to sue you for your shirt, let him have your coat too. And if anyone forces you to go one mile, go two miles with him. If anyone begs from you, give to him, and when anyone wants to borrow from you, do not turn away.

"You have heard that they were told, 'You must love your neighbor and hate your enemy.' But I tell you, love your enemies and pray for your persecutors, so that you may show yourselves true sons of your Father in heaven, for he makes his sun rise on bad and good alike, and makes the rain fall on the upright and the wrongdoers. For if you love only those who love you, what reward can you expect? Do not the very tax-collectors do that? And if you are polite to your brothers and no one else, what is there remarkable in that? Do not the very heathen do that? So you are to be perfect, as your heavenly Father is.

"But take care not to do your good deeds in public for people to see, for, if you do, you will get no reward from your Father in heaven. So when you are going to give to charity, do not blow a trumpet before