COMMUNISM, FASCISM, AND DEMOCRACY

THE THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

THIRD EDITION

Edited by

Carl Cohen
The University of Michigan
CONTENTS

PREFACE xix
INTRODUCTION xxiii

PART 1 COMMUNISM 1

Section 1 Utopian Socialism 3

1 Friedrich Engels Socialism, Utopian and Scientific 5
   Part I The Utopians 5
2 Henri Comte de Saint-Simon Selected Writings 14
   The New Christianity 14
   A World Upside Down 15
   The Plan of a New Society 18
   The Golden Age 18
3 F. M. Charles Fourier Selected Writings 19
   Of Association 19
   Evils of Individual Action in Industry 20
4 Robert Owen The Book of the New Moral World 21
   To the Nations of the World 21
   From the Old World to the New 22
   The Development of Superior Human Character 26
   The Irrational Society 27
   The New Moral World 28

Section 2 Dialectics 30

5 Friedrich Engels Socialism, Utopian and Scientific 32
   Part II Dialectical Philosophy 32
6 Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel Lectures on the Philosophy of History 38
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section 3</th>
<th>Materialism</th>
<th>61</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels <em>The Germany Ideology</em></td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Premises of Materialism</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Friedrich Engels <em>Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy</em></td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Feuerbach and Hegel</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Idealism and Materialism</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Ludwig Andreas Feuerbach <em>The Essence of Christianity</em></td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Materialism and Atheism</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Karl Marx <em>Theses on Feuerbach</em></td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section 4</th>
<th>The Theory of Dialectical and Historical Materialism</th>
<th>74</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels <em>Manifesto of the Communist Party</em></td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Vladimir I. Lenin <em>The Teachings of Karl Marx</em></td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Marx's Economic Doctrine</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Karl Marx <em>Capital</em></td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Fetishism of Commodities and the Secret Thereof</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Composition of Capital</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Law of Capitalist Accumulation</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Law of the Concentration of Capital</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Law of Increasing Misery</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Friedrich Engels <em>Socialism, Utopian, and Scientific</em></td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Part III Scientific Socialism</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section 5</th>
<th>Imperialism</th>
<th>127</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Josef Stalin <em>The Foundations of Leninism</em></td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What Is Leninism?</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>V. I. Lenin <em>Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism</em></td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Concentration of Production and Monopolies</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Export of Capital</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Division of the World Among Capitalist Combines</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Imperialism as a Special Stage of Capitalism</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Place of Imperialism in History</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
19 Mao Tse-tung *Selected Writings* 139
Western Bourgeois Civilization Is Bankrupt 139
20 Kwame Nkrumah *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism* 141

Section 6 Revolution 145
21 V. I. Lenin *State and Revolution* 147
The State as the Product of the Irreconcilability of Class Antagonisms 147
The State as a Relic of Antiquity 148
The "Withering Away" of the State and Violent Revolution 149
22 Eduard Bernstein *Evolutionary Socialism* 152
Dogmatism and Scientific Socialism 152
Legislation Versus Revolution 154
23 Josef Stalin *The Foundations of Leninism* 155
Revolution Where? 155
Revolution in One Country 157
24 Leon Trotsky *The Permanent Revolution* 158
What Is the Permanent Revolution? 158
25 Mao Tse-tung *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* 161
Revolution Is Made by a Disciplined Revolutionary Party 161
26 W. E. B. DuBois *Pan Africa* 163
27 Nikita S. Khrushchev "We Will Bury You" 166
28 Daniel and Gabriel Cohn-Bendit *Obsolete Communism* 168
It Is for Yourself that You Make the Revolution 168
29 Fidel Castro *Those Who Are Not Revolutionary Fighters Cannot Be Called Communists* 171

Section 7 The Dictatorship of the Proletariat 174
30 V. I. Lenin *State and Revolution* 176
The Transition from Capitalism to Communism 176
First Phase of Communist Society 180
Higher Phase of Communist Society 182
31 V. I. Lenin "Left Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder 187
"Left Wing" Communism 187
Compromises 188
Communism and Trade Unions 190
Communism and Parliaments 193
The Task of the Communist Parties 194
On Communist Morality [from *The Tasks of the Youth Leagues*] 195
32 Josef Stalin *The Foundations of Leninism* 197
The Dictatorship of the Proletariat as the Instrument of the Proletarian Revolution 197
The Dictatorship of the Proletariat as the Domination of the Proletariat over the Bourgeoisie 198
33 Mao Tse-tung *Selected Writings* 201
The People's Democratic Dictatorship 202
Centralized Democracy 207
34 Karl Kautsky *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat* 209
Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat 209
35 *Programme of the Communist International* 211
The Ultimate Aim of the Communist International—World Communism 211

**PART 2** FASCISM 215

Section 1 Absolutism 217
36 Niccolo Machiavelli *The Prince* 219
37 Jean Bodin *Six Books of the Commonwealth* 226
Concerning Sovereignty 226
The True Attributes of Sovereignty 229
38 Thomas Hobbes *Leviathan* 230
The Origin and Nature of the State 230

Section 2 Organicism 223
39 Georg W. F. Hegel *The Philosophy of Law* 235
Idea and Aim of the State 235
The Constitution 237
The Power of the Prince 238
The Meaning of War 239
International Relations 240
40 Johann G. Fichte *Addresses to the German Nation* 241
The Unity of the German Nation 241
The Love of Fatherland 242
41 Heinrich von Treitschke *Politics* 245
The State Idea 245
The State as Person 248
The State as Power 249
The State as Sovereign 251
42 Mario Palmieri *The Philosophy of Fascism* 252
Fascism and Liberty 252
The Fascist State 254

Section 3 Irrationalism 257
43 Georges Sorel *Letter to Daniel Halevy* 259
The Social Myth 259
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Richard Wagner</td>
<td><em>Writings on Politics</em></td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rebirth of the German Spirit</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Friedrich Nietzsche</td>
<td><em>Beyond Good and Evil</em></td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Will to Power</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Master-Morality and Slave-Morality</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Need for Struggle</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Instinct for Rank</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Houston S. Chamberlain</td>
<td><em>Foundations of the Nineteenth Century</em></td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Entrance of the Germanic People into the History of the World</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Freedom and Loyalty</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A Forward Glance</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Alfredo Rocco</td>
<td><em>The Political Doctrine of Fascism</em></td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Alfred Rosenberg</td>
<td><em>The Myth of the Twentieth Century</em></td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Myth of Nordic Blood</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 4</td>
<td>Fascist Philosophy in Italy</td>
<td></td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Alfredo Rocco</td>
<td><em>The Political Doctrine of Fascism</em></td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Benito Mussolini</td>
<td><em>The Doctrine of Fascism</em></td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fundamental Ideas</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Political and Social Doctrine</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Giovanni Gentile</td>
<td><em>The Philosphic Basis of Fascism</em></td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Mario Palmieri</td>
<td><em>The Philosophy of Fascism</em></td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fascism and the Meaning of Life</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fascism and the Conduct of Life</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Corporative Idea</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Legacy of Rome</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Hero as Leader</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>The National Fascist Party and The Charter of Labor</em></td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The National Fascist Party</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Charter of Labor</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>The Fascist Decalogue</em></td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 5</td>
<td>Fascist Philosophy in Germany</td>
<td></td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Hermann Göring</td>
<td><em>Germany Reborn</em></td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Swastika Versus Star</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Alfred Rosenberg</td>
<td><em>The Myth of the Twentieth Century</em></td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>German National Honor</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>State and Folk</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nordic Europe</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Ernst R. Huber</td>
<td><em>Constitutional Law of the Greater German Reich</em></td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The People</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The <em>Führer</em></td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The National Socialist Party</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Individual and the Reich

58 Adolph Hitler Mein Kampf, and Selected Speeches

The Importance of Racial Purity

The Aryan Race

State and Race

Clothes and Bodies Serve the Nation

Citizens and Subjects

Organization and Hierarchy

The Army as the School of the German Nation

The Jew

The Jewish Threat

Might Makes Right

Nationalism vs. Internationalism

To the German Youth

PART 3 DEMOCRACY

Section 1 What Is Democracy?

59 Pericles Funeral Oration

Our City Is Thrown Open to the World

60 Aristotle Politics

The Varieties of Democracy

The Vital Role of the Middle Class

The Attributes of Democracy

61 Carl Cohen Democracy

What Democracy Is

62 A. D. Lindsay The Essentials of Democracy

Democratic Problems and Paradoxes

Discussion as the Essential Element in Democratic Participation

Voting

63 Joseph A. Schumpeter Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy

Democracy as Competition for Political Leadership

64 Henry B. Mayo An Introduction to Democratic Theory

The Theory of DemocracyOutlined

Distinguishing Principles of a Democratic System

65 John Dewey from Intelligence in the Modern World and from The Philosopher of the Common Man

The Foundation of Democracy

Creative Democracy

Section 2 The Justification of Democracy

A JUSTIFICATION OF DEMOCRACY UNDER THE LAWS OF NATURE
CONTENTS XV

66 John Locke Second Treatise of Government 387
Of the State of Nature 387
Of the State of War 388
Of Political or Civil Society 390
Of the Beginning of Political Societies 392
Of the Ends of Political Society and Government 396
Of the Extent of the Legislative Power 398
Of the Legislative, Executive, and Federative Power of the Commonwealth 402
Of the Subordination of the Powers of the Commonwealth 403
Of the Dissolution of Government 406

67 Jean Jacques Rousseau The Social Contract 412
The Social Contract 413
Of the Right of the Strongest 413
Of Slavery 414
That We Must Always Go Back to an Original Compact 415
Of the Social Pact 415
Of the Civil State 417
Of the Limits of the Sovereign Power 417

68 Thomas Jefferson The Declaration of Independence and Selected Letters 419
The Declaration of Independence 420
On Rebellion 421
On Monarchy and America 421
On Government by the People 422
On Education 423

69 Carl Cohen Democracy 424
The Argument Outlined 424
The Justification of Democracy in General 425
The Justification of Democracy in the Body Politic 429
Objections and Replies 434
Equality as an Hypothesis 438

B JUSTIFICATION OF DEMOCRACY BY ITS CONSEQUENCES 442
70 John Stuart Mill Considerations on Representative Government 444
The Ideally Best Polity 444

71 Alexis de Tocqueville Democracy in America 449
The Real Advantages of a Democracy 449
General Survey of the Subject 458

72 Ernest Barker Principles of Social and Political Theory 460
Democracy and the Plurality of Ideas 460

73 Charles Frankel The Democratic Prospect 464
Why Choose Democracy? 464
The Significance of the Democratic Political Method 464
The Uses of Democracy 467
Section 3 Democracy, Representation, and Majority Rule 473

74 James Madison The Federalist Papers (#10, and #51) 475
How Retain a Popular Government while Guarding
Against the Dangers of Faction? 475
How Balance the Powers of Government? 477

75 Edmund Burke Speech to the Electors of Bristol 478
A Parliamentary Representative Is Not a Mere Delegate 479

76 J. Ramsay MacDonald Parliament and Democracy 480
The Parliamentary Idea 480

77 John C. Calhoun A Disquisition on Government 484
Man and Government 484
Government and Constitution 485
The Concurrent Majority 491
Numerical and Concurrent Majorities Distinguished 492
The Concurrent Majority and Constitutional Government 494
Objections and Replies 496

78 The Supreme Court of the United States
Baker v. Carr 499
Just Representation Must Protect the Equality of Citizens 499

79 Lani Guinier "No Two Seats: The Elusive Quest
for Political Equality" and "The Triumph of Tokenism" 502
The Elusive Quest for Equality of Participation 502
When Is a Representative System Fair? 503
Black Political Empowerment 504
Proportionate Interest Representation 505
Criticism of Proportionate Interest Representation 507
Proportionate Interest Representation as a Democratic Ideal 510

80 Carl Cohen Democracy 510

A DECISION-MAKING RULES AS THE INSTRUMENTS
OF DEMOCRACY 511
The Need for Decision-Making Rules 511
Efficient Rules and Protective Rules 511
Majority Rule and Its Varieties 513
Majority Rule as the Special Instrument of Democracy 516
Rule by Fluctuating Majorities 517
The Misuse of Majority Power 519

B REPRESENTATION AS THE INSTRUMENT OF DEMOCRACY 520
Direct and Indirect Democracy 520
The Elements of Every Representative System 522
Degrees of Representation 523
Decision-making Rules and Representative Bodies 524
Bases of Representation 525
Geographical and Proportional Representation 527
Levels of Representation 529
Representation Between Elections 530
The Dilemma of the Representative 531

Section 4 The Ideals of Democracy 535

A FRATERNITY 537
81 George Washington *Farewell Address* 537
Union as the Bulwark of American Aspirations 537
82 Abraham Lincoln *First Inaugural Address* 538
The American Union Is Perpetual 538

B LIBERTY 542
83 John Stuart Mill *On Liberty* 543
The Tyranny of the Majority 543
The Domain of Human Liberty 544
Of the Liberty of Thought and Discussion 546
84 The Supreme Court of the United States
Cases on the Freedom of Speech 558
*Schenck v. United States* (1919) 559
*Abrams v. United States* (1919) 559
*Gitlow v. New York* (1925) 561
*Whitney v. California* (1927) 563
*West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette* (1943) 565
*United States v. Dennis* (1951) 567
*Yates v. United States* (1959) 570
*Barenblatt v. United States* (1959) 571
85 Alexander Meiklejohn *Political Freedom* 581
How Is the First Amendment to Be Understood? 581
The "Clear and Present Danger" Test Rejected 585
86 Milton Friedman *Capitalism and Freedom* 590
Political and Economic Freedom 590
Economic Freedom Supports Political Freedom 592
A Free Society Requires a Market Economy 595
87 Norman Thomas *Democratic Socialism* 599
Planning and Democracy 599
Planning and Liberty 600
Socialist Planning for America 600
Social, Private, and Cooperative Ownership 601
88 Friedrich A. Hayek *The Road to Serfdom* 602
Planning and Democracy 602
89 Thomas Hill Green *Liberal Legislation and Freedom of Contract* 609
Negative and Positive Freedom 609
90 John Rawls *A Theory of Justice* 614
The System of Liberty 614
The Principle of Equal Participation 616
The Meaning of Equal Political Liberty 617
The Extent of Equal Political Liberty 618
The Worth of Political Liberty 618
The Ideally Just Constitution 620

C EQUALITY 621

91 Immanuel Kant Foundations of the Metaphysics of Morals 622
All Humans Are Equal in Being Ends in Themselves 622

92 Thomas Paine The Rights of Man 623
The Unity of Man 623

93 Alexis de Tocqueville Democracy in America 625
Equality and Liberty Compared 625

94 The Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments 628
The History of Repeated Injuries and Usurpations on the Part of Man Toward Women 629

95 Harold J. Laski A Grammar of Politics 631
How Is Equality to Be Understood? 631

96 Ralph Barton Perry Puritanism and Democracy 637
Human Equality and the Maxim of Equal Opportunity 637

97 The Supreme Court of the United States Cases on Equality 643
Plessy v. Ferguson (1896) 643
Brown v. Board of Education (1954) 646
University of California Regents v. Bakke (1978) 647

98 Martin Luther King, Jr. Letter from Birmingham City Jail, 1963 652
Civil Disobedience in Defense of God-Given Rights 652

99 Nelson Mandela Statement at Trial, Rivonia, South Africa, 1964 657
Political Division Based on Color Is Entirely Artificial 657

D AUTONOMY 660

100 Carl Cohen Democracy 660
Democracy as Autonomy 660
Autonomy and Heteronomy Contrasted 662

Name and Title Index 665