

# Notes

## INTRODUCTION

1. For a brilliant analysis of this ambivalence of Marx and Engels towards the role of the state see G. Tarschys, *Beyond the State* (Stockholm, 1972).

## CHAPTER 1

1. For example by Max Weber.

2. As suggested in F. Tonnies, *Society and Community* (English translation, London, 1955).

3. The Communist parties of Italy and France have made themselves an exception only when converting themselves into social democratic parties proposing few radical changes.

## CHAPTER 2

1. S. M. Lipset and R. Bendix, *Social Mobility in Industrial Society* (London, 1959) pp.33-8.

2. *Ibid.*, pp.17-33.

## CHAPTER 3

1. K. Marx, *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844* (Moscow, 1959) p.124.

2. For further discussion see Chapter 6.

## CHAPTER 4

1. David Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd* (New York, 1950) remains one of the best studies of the pressures to conformity in modern societies.

## CHAPTER 5

1. J. Locke, *Second Treatise on Government* (1690) 2, 4.

2. W. Sumner, *What Social Classes are to Each Other* (New York, 1883).

3. K. Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (English translation, London, 1943).

4. K. Marx, *Private Property and Communism* (English translation, London, 1975).

5. J. Locke, *Second Treatise on Government*.

6. J.-J. Rousseau, *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* (1754).

7. J. S. Mill, *Dissertations and Discussions* (1859) II.

8. For a description of these widely varying benefits see R. M. Titmuss, *Income and Social Change* (London, 1962).

9. Given this total immutability of pay-differentials under 'free collective bargaining', the capacity of the wealthy to evade or avoid taxation aimed at redistribution, and the increasing proportion of taxation levied indirectly, the only means of securing a long-term and irreversible shift in incomes to create a

more equal society is in modern conditions likely to be through a statutory incomes policy designed to secure the fairer distribution of income desired by society (a fact which makes it surprising that many who profess to be socialists in Britain consistently oppose any such radical measure, apparently preferring the law of the jungle which already exists).

10. The differential changes of acquittal or of winning a civil suit in modern societies, at least in the Anglo-Saxon world, according to the differential skill of the advocates are magnified by the entire system applied. A legal system such as our own, based on confrontation and challenge followed by a vote, while perhaps suitable in the conditions of the Middle Ages, is totally inappropriate to a modern society, providing enormous room for faulty decisions according to the variation in the investigating powers, as well as the forensic skill, of the lawyers employed on either side. It places immense responsibility on both judge and jury for reaching a decision of overwhelming importance on the basis of evidence presented in the most partisan, incoherent and confusing form possible – a confusion deliberately fostered by each advocate in relation to all evidence unfavourable to them. A system of initial impartial inquiry by magistrates, with the assistance of the police, and subsequently open to challenge in the lawcourt, as in the continental system, would appear more likely to arrive at objective and fair decisions, and could certainly present the evidence in a more lucid and comprehensive form than the hit-or-miss system at present employed in Britain and the US.

#### CHAPTER 6

1. This type of argument is found in C. D. Burns, *Democracy* (London, 1935) pp.68–75; H. J. Laski, *A Grammar of Politics* (London, 1925) p.17; H. J. Ford, *Representative Government* (London, 1925) pp.307–9. It was of course Lord Acton who said that ‘power corrupts: absolute power corrupts absolutely.’

2. Cf. H. R. G. Greaves, *Foundations of Political Theory* (London, 1958) pp.199ff.; J. R. Pennock, *Liberal Democracy* (New York, 1950) pp.105–15.

3. James Mill, *An Essay on Government* (London, 1821); H. B. Mayo, *An Introduction to Democratic Theory* (Oxford, 1960) p.118; J. Plamenatz, *Men and Society* (London, 1963) pp.30–6.

4. Mayo, op. cit., pp.218–22; N. Riermer, *The Revival of Democratic Theory* (New York, 1962) pp.99–134.

5. R. A. Dahl, *A Preface to Democratic Theory* (Chicago, 1956) pp.132–5; G. C. Field, *Political Theory* (London, 1956) p.124; Mayo, op. cit., pp.219–20.

6. A. D. Lindsay, *The Essentials of Democracy* (Oxford, 1935) pp.78–82; Mayo op. cit., p.75; Sir E. Barker, *Principles of Social and Political Theory* (Oxford, 1951) pp.294–7.

7. Dahl, op. cit., pp.136–7; Riermer, op. cit., p.109.

8. Field, op. cit., pp.123–5; Greaves, op. cit., p.204; H. J. Laski, *An Introduction to Politics* (London, 1931) p.48.

9. The point of decision in practice moves progressively further back into more obscure recesses: from parliament to cabinet; from cabinet to cabinet committee; from there to official committee; finally to the bureaucracy within a department.

10. The decision on wording might perhaps be made by some permanent all-party or non-party body, perhaps judicial, or under the authority of the Speaker of the House of Commons.

11. There might be a system for the registration of organisations 'accredited' to a ministry and normally consulted on matters affecting them. Each ministry would publish immediately the fact that an interest group had approached it (though the content of such representations would of course be confidential). Removal of secrecy *within* pressure-groups may be almost as important: the formulation of policy in private sometimes has the effect that an active minority takes it on a course not necessarily approved by the passive majority of the membership.
12. The Association of Municipal Corporations in Britain for some time demanded the establishment of local urban parish councils within the county borough or municipal borough.

## CHAPTER 7

1. Marx, *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts*.
2. The functioning of this firm is very fully documented, thanks to the writings of those associated with it. See Jacques Elliot, *Changing Culture of a Factory* (London, 1951) and *Glacier Project Papers* (London, 1965); and W. Brown, *Exploration in Management* (London, 1960).
3. For a study of this partnership see A. Flanders and others, *Experiment in Industrial Democracy* (London, 1968); and J. Spedan Lewis, *Partnership for All* (London, 1948) and *Fairer Shares* (London, 1954).
4. For a description of this system see F. Singleton and A. Topham, *Workers' Control in Yugoslavia* (Fabian Society, 1963).
5. For consideration of some of these problems see H. A. Clegg, *A New Approach to Industrial Democracy* (London, 1963).

## CHAPTER 8

1. Titmuss, *op. cit.*, p.112.
2. One calculation is that if all pre-tax undistributed income had been included in income there would have been no levelling in personal income between 1939 and 1945, when most of the levelling of the past thirty years in Britain occurred. Between 1949 and 1959 the yearly total of undistributed income of all private companies rose from £914 million to £2147 million, or by 135 per cent (*ibid.*, p.113).
3. *Report of the [Radcliffe] Committee on the Working of the Monetary System*, para. 450.
4. R. P. Good, *The Individual Income Tax* (Washington, 1966).
5. Gifts among the living have been subject to tax in the US for many years. The capital transfer tax in Britain now secures some of these objects.
6. In the US in recent times less than 10 per cent of new investment is financed by new issues: the rest comes from internal savings or bank loans. In West Germany and Japan the proportion raised on the market is even less.
7. The occasional rise of 'super-competitive' states with no benefit from oil, such as South Korea and Taiwan, is no real exception since even these can compete only in relatively low-technology industries.

## CHAPTER 9

1. The simplest method by which governments could assure the survival and independence of newspapers would be by preventing advertising on television (as already done in many countries and recommended for Britain in the Pilkington

Report) or at the very least taxing it more heavily, and so providing more such revenue for newspapers. This would also serve to restore quality to television programmes.

CHAPTER 10

1. For a fuller examination of these organisations and the way their authority might be strengthened see E. Luard, *International Agencies: the Emerging Framework of Interdependence* (London, 1976).
2. For studies of American and British communities of this type over the last two centuries see M. Holloway, *Heaven on Earth* (1951), and W. H. C. Armytage, *Heavens Below* (1965).

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