

in comparison, say, with the Independent Labour Party in Great Britain before the war. Parties in the United States amount to little or nothing unless they have a chance to secure the presidency. Congressional government is thus decidedly hostile to the growth of third parties. Not the opinions of the electorate but the structure of the government is the great bulwark of the two-party system.

The result is an unreality of political issues. Cabinet government in the United States, on the other hand, would undoubtedly mean a large number of sectional and other parties. Cabinets would almost certainly have to be coalition cabinets. The theoretical advantages of cabinet government would dwindle as they do on the continent of Europe where the multiple party system is common. A courageous president—for example, Roosevelt or Wilson—can give Congress much of the leadership which it needs. Parties and politicians can allow the electorate to pronounce on real issues instead of on a hodgepodge of carefully phrased evasions. In short, in analyzing a particular form of government one should not be unmindful of William Penn's dictum: "Governments, like clocks, go from the motion men give them; and as governments are made and moved by men, so by them they are ruined too."

LINDSAY ROGERS

See: GOVERNMENT; LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES; SEPARATION OF POWERS; EXECUTIVE; CABINET GOVERNMENT; PARTIES, POLITICAL; COMMITTEES, LEGISLATIVE; BLOC, PARLIAMENTARY; FEDERALISM.

Consult: Wilson, Woodrow, "Cabinet Government in the United States" in *International Review*, vol. vii (1879) 146-63, and *Congressional Government: a Study in American Politics* (new ed. Boston 1925); Lowell, A. L., *Essays on Government* (Boston 1889) no. i; Snow, Freeman, "A Defense of Congressional Government" in American Historical Association, *Papers*, vol. iv (1890) 309-28; Dicey, A. V., "A Comparison between Cabinet Government and Presidential Government" in *Nineteenth Century*, vol. lxxxv (1919) 25-42; Ford, Henry J., *The Rise and Growth of American Politics* (New York 1898); MacDonald, William, *A New Constitution for a New America*

astic and generous nature, he actively encouraged many fruitful projects to aid the laboring classes and was a constant champion of freedom of conscience. His writings on controversial economic questions are thorough and vigorous. His first work, *Teoria generale degli effetti economici delle imposte* (Milan 1890), discusses the knotty problem of the shifting and incidence of taxation, with conclusions based on the theories of the Austrian school. Invited by Wollemborg to study the question of the revision of the local tax system, he published a voluminous and scholarly work, *La riforma delle leggi sui tributi locali* (Modena 1898). In this work he discusses with acumen the problems relative to the taxation of provinces and communes, with constant reference to the legislation and financial institutions of the most advanced countries, and adds concrete recommendations for a comprehensive reform. In the scientific reviews he wrote numerous articles on the subjective basis of exchange, profit, capitalistic economy, unemployment, the labor movement and various financial questions, which were collected after his death and published as *Saggi di economia politica e di scienza delle finanze* (Turin 1903) with a preface by Professor Graziani.

CAMILLO SUPINO

CONJUNCTURE, a term borrowed from German economic literature, may be broadly defined as the totality of uncontrollable and variable market conditions. Denoting originally an astrological or astronomical conjunction the word came to be used in seventeenth century Germany in the sense of a meeting of circumstances or events. Later its use became restricted to business circles, where it signified the temporary condition of the market, and was adopted from them by writers on economic subjects. The history of this term in German economics is illustrative of the evaluation through which that science has passed.

Lassalle, who appears to have been the first

Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences
Lassalle
1931

economist to use it, Schäffle and Wagner emphasize in employing this term the independence of the totality of market conditions from the actions and aspirations of the economic agents. The assertion of the dependence of business men upon conditions not of their making involved a criticism of the atomism of classical economics, for the latter ignored the organic interdependence of economic processes and maintained that all profits are earned gains. It is interesting that when the term appeared in English economics at the end of the century it was given a restricted interpretation. J. S. Nicholson identified conjuncture profits with gains due to luck or audacity, while Alfred Marshall in his discussion of profits, earnings and quasi-rent attached significance only to changes in conjuncture or the environment and the opportunities which the latter offers.

With the spread of the historical descriptive method of economic study and an increase in the number of monographic studies of the various aspects of conjuncture in Germany, the concept suffered a slight but significant change in meaning. The emphasis now was not on the independence of the market from the individual but on the incalculable variability of market conditions, which in the simultaneous oscillations of supply and demand presented a puzzling problem from the point of view of equilibrium economics.

Because of its vagueness the term has proved susceptible to a number of interpretations to suit the particular needs of the theoretical constructions in which it has been incorporated. Sombart, for example, means by conjuncture the strictly economic causative factors in the market situation, thus eliminating the incidence of natural forces and of social conditions. W. Röpke, on the other hand, understands by conjuncture the sum total of conditions which affect through the market, and only in so far as they thus affect, the profit yield of private enterprises. Finally, statistical economists use the term to distinguish unpredictable transitory economic changes from changes of a fundamental, long run character or from regularly recurring oscillations such as steady seasonal variations. In this sense conjunctural fluctuations are contrasted with structural transformations. The term is also employed in combination with a number of restrictive modifiers in such phrases as general conjuncture, special conjuncture, price conjuncture, credit conjuncture and the like.

While this term is widely used in German speaking countries, Scandinavia and Russia, in the American and English literature the term cycle is uniformly preferred with the result that the emphasis is placed not on the congeries of conditions displaying variability but on the character of the external manifestations of this variability. This difference in emphasis is to be explained in part by the earlier development of the statistical study of this subject and by the persistence in economic theory of the abstract isolationist approach in English speaking countries.

SIMON KUZNETS

See: BUSINESS CYCLES; ECONOMICS; MARKET; EQUILIBRIUM, ECONOMIC.

Consult: Röpke, W., *Die Konjunktur* (Jena 1922) ch. i; Wolff, H., *Lehrbuch der Konjunkturforschung* (Berlin 1928) chs. i-ii.

CONNOLLY, JAMES (1870-1916), Irish revolutionary socialist and nationalist. Connolly professed two creeds not usually found in combination: revolutionary socialism and intense nationalism. His early life was devoted to socialist propaganda in Great Britain, where he was associated with the Social Democratic Federation; in Ireland, where he founded the Irish Socialist Republican party in 1896 and edited its organ, the *Workers' Republic*, from 1898 to 1903; and in the United States, where from 1903 to 1910 he was associated successively with De Leonism, the Industrial Workers of the World and the Socialist party. In 1910 he finally returned to Ireland and in 1913 became prominent as James Larkin's right hand man in the great Dublin strike of the Transport Workers' Union. In the uprising of 1916 Connolly was leader of the Citizen Army; he was wounded, taken prisoner and executed.

Connolly's sympathies with the working class dated back to his youth, when he had seen and felt much poverty in the industrial districts of Great Britain. Two forces appeared to him to be the engines of exploitation of the weak; the Irish working class, oppressed by both capitalism and imperialism could not, in his opinion, be free until both had been destroyed. The principal point of his creed was that a mere political revolution without a social revolution would be of no advantage to the Irish working class.

Connolly disliked and distrusted the official Irish nationalist leaders, who represented the middle class which had "bowed the knee to