

The Corporate State:

University of Colorado.
Boulder, Colo.
1936, October 13th.

33

LS III

1/ The world crisis.

600

The extent of the world crisis. Some ~~MM~~ hundred Million people changing the relationship of politics to economics. The period: Post war times? No. Since the twenties.

2/ The cause of the general crisis: The incompatibility of capitalism and democracy in our time. The two solutions: The extension of democracy: New Deal, Socialism, Communism. The Fascist solution: The Utopia of the Fascist solution is called the Corporate state.

3/ Fascism promising a reform of the capitalist economics in three different directions: planning, security of tenure, levelling ^{business competition} of incomes.

At the price of the disestablishment of democracy.

4/ The theory of this solution: Reform of capitalism possible ^{Political} under capitalist dictatorship. Not possible under working class pressure. This is the political problem. *therefore against political and economic way of working class*

5/ The economic problem: Is interference ^{ultimately} with the private ownership of the means of production possible? The responsibility of the owner for the avoidance of permanent loss. *The avoidance of loss more basic than the profit motive. A formal principle.*

6/ The sociological character, ^{istics} of the corporate state: The abolishment of political democracy leaves the political function to the economic system to perform. Capitalism becomes the whole of society. Exfoliation of political functions. This theory upheld by Spann the originator of the corporate system.

7/ Mussolini never in favor of it. The Guild idea totally misleading. 1/ industry today not a craft; 2/ class structure of society does not allow the guild to be the basis of social stratification to today.

8/ How far has the Corporate state been achieved?
Italy: 1926 Syndical ~~MM~~ and corporate phase. *Charta del Lavoro*

- Functions of syndicates; Corporations;
- 1928 Corporate Ministry;
- 1928 Corporate Chamber;
- 1930 ~~MM~~ National Council of Corporations;
- 1934 Corporations (end of year.);
- 1936 Emergency principle accepted (*Quotidian*)

The War i.e. the emergency idea.

Germany: 1933. Ständischer Aufbau discarded. Kriegswirtschaft instituted.

Other countries. The USA. Organisation of industry compensated by development of democracy.

University of Colorado
Boulder, Colorado
1936, October 1st

The Corporate State

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Final Movement:

in one time

1. popular movement directed
against the institution of
representative democracy & the
party system, with an
emphasis on the political
rights, purporting a
reform of the law system at the price of disintegration
of democracy & permanent stability

The Spanish Situation.

Logan. Utah State Agricultural College.
3rd November, 1936.

A typical counter-revolution.

- (a. The intermingling of national and social conflicts in our time.
- (b. Crisis of Democracy; failure of party system - Spain an important example.

I. The historical background.

Spain the typical Roman Catholic monarchy of the old world.

Ruled by Church, army and big landed estates.

School system underdeveloped, illiteracy, agrarian destitution.

67% of the land owned by two % of the owners.

24 Million inhabitants, 3 Million landless
earn ~~thirty~~ 40-60 cents a day.

1923 - 1931 Primo de Rivera's dictatorship failed. Peaceful accession to power. Complete failure (fascist?)

1931 April 14th King Alfonso yields the throne. Niceto Alcala Zamora takes his place on December 10th, 1931. Cortez Constituyentes elected June 28th by popular vote. Old constitution 1876. December 9th 1931. new constitution adopted. Zamora elected.

First biennium.

April 14th, 1931 - November 19th, 1933.

Cortez have left majority in the Cortez Constituyentes. Left: Democratic and constitution; Right: Church, army and landed gentry. Republican; Constitutional; Autonomy of Catalonia; Separation of Church and State; Agrarian Reform.

September 9th Azana resigns; October Barrios (Martinez) Prime Minister with Azana and Lerroux.

Second or "black" biennium.

NOVEMBER 19th 1933 - February 16th, 1936

| | | |
|---|---|-------------|
| Cortez lose left authority. of 473 members | Right parties: 207 | 207 (72) |
| | Centre Radical (Lerroux) 104 | 167 (136) |
| | Catalon Right (Cambo) 63 | |
| | Left: Socialists 58 | |
| | Catalon Left (companys) 19 (Communist 1) | 98 (451) |

December 17th. Lerroux - Gil Robles government.

DURING 1934 ALTERNATING RIGHT AND ~~LEFT~~ CENTRE GOVERNMENTS.

The Spanish Situation (continued)

October 1934 Left beaten at the polls. Asturias rising. Moors and foreign legionaries used.

Alcala Zamora impartial all through.

Breaking up of Radicals: six total cabinet crises and three extra - parliamentary governments;

July Nombela Affaire corruption of.

October Strauss complaint -

Right government. Radicals dropped by Gil Robles.

Portela Valladares .

June 1936: Jose Maria: Gil Robles. CEDA

"For us Democracy is a transitory means of influencing the politics of a country....Therefore what I do is to find a supporting base on whatever offers itself to me, in order to transform it, and, if necessary, destroy it. I do not refer to such an insignificant and transitory thing and the form of government, but to the problems of the fundamental change of the country"....

II. The February Elections.

The Right is disappointed.

| | | | | | |
|-----|------------------------|-----------|-----|-----|--------|
| | Right | 144 (267) | | | |
| | The three Left parties | 286 | | | |
| | Revolutionary" | 118 | Soc | Com | Syndic |
| 470 | | | 99 | 16 | 3 |

Zamora calls a Left government.- exclusively republican. Azana made Premier. Afterwards President of the republic.

The Revolutionary Left.

U.G.T. Unión General de Trabajo
2,000,000 Socialist (Madrid)

Social Democrats
Indalico Prieto
Largo Caballero
Syndicalists

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~
C.N.T. Confederación Nacional de Trabajo
500,000 - 1,000,000 (Barcelona)

Anarchists F.A.I. Federazion Anarchistica Iberica.

Trotzky-ists Unified Marxist Party.
60,000

Communists(Moscow) 50,000

The Spanish Situation - (continued)

VII. The Reactionary Rising.

April 7th Zamora 283; Mayo Azafia President 717 (out of 874)

May 13th Successor : Casares Quiroga - Republican.

Long series of Fascist murder attacks openly supported.

July 12th José de Castillo, Lt. of the Shock Police, murdered.

13th Calvo Sotelo assassinated by the Shock Police.

14th Gil Robles indicts the Government (leaves the country).

17th - 18th Rebellion breaks out.

THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR.

1923 - 1931 Failure of Primo de Rivera. (so-called Fascist régime) in

April 14th 1931 - November 19th 1933 Reintroduction of the Republic.

First biennium.

November 19th 1933 - February 16th 1936. The "black" biennium.

Lerroux and Gil Robles.

February 16th - July 17th Popular Front Civil War.

The Right: Three Groups: Church, Army, Great property owners.

The Left: Middle-class left Radicals (Azafia), the revolutionary left.

The History of the Rising.

The Non-Intervention Pact.

Germany and Italy: (In the Balkan
(In the Mediterranean

José Maria Gil Robles: " For us Democracy is a transitory means
of influencing

July (end) 21 Italian planes flown to Spanish Morocco

August 2nd 11 German planes 20 heavy Junker bombers flown to Spain.
("Deutschland" protecting Centre).

August 24th German arms embargo.

August 27th Italy, Portugal.

August 31st Committee set up in London.

August 11th USSR lowers military age from 21 - 19.

August 24th Hitler ~~increases~~ increases from 1 - 2 years.

The Spanish situation.
 Logan. Utah State Agricultural college
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The intermingling of national and social conflicts in our time.
 Crisis of Democracy; failure of party system.
 Spain an important example.

I. The historical background.

Social Background

The Spain the typical ^{Roman} Catholic monarchy of the old world.
 Ruled by Church, army and big landed estate.
 School system underdeveloped, illiteracy, agrarian destitution.
 67% of the land owned by 2% of owners.
 24 Million inhabitants 3 Mill. Landless
 7-8 - 2/6 a day, earn 14-60 cents a day. *Comp. 5 million*

Political Background

1923- 1931 Primo de Rivera's dictatorship failed. Peaceful accession to power. Complete failure (fascist?)
 1931 April 14 King Alfonso yields the throne. Niceto Alcalá Zamora takes his place on December 10th. 1931.
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First biennio

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Cortez have Left majority in the Cortez Constituyentes. ^{itu} Republican; Constitutional; Autonomy of Catalonia; Separation of Church and State; Agrarian Reform; ^{Left. Democrati & Constitution} ^{Right. Central Army, B. Tanks} ^{prop} September 9th Azana resigns; October. Barrion (Martinez) Prime Minister with Azana and Lerroux.

Left 491 98 265

Second or "black" biennio:

1933/16

November 19th - February 1936.

Cortez lose Left majority: Right parties: 207 207 (42)
 Centre ~~104~~ Radical (Lerroux) 104
 Catalan Right (Carrasco) 63 167 (136)
 Left: Socialists 58
 Catalan Left (Companys) 19 + ... 98
 (Communist 1) 451

Right 136 162 64

Left 42 212 144

December 17. Lerroux - Gil Robles: government

DURING 1934 ALTERNATING RIGHT CENTRE GOVERNMENTS. ^{or October. Ordo}

October 1934 Left beaten at the polls. Asturias rising. Moroccan and foreign legionaries used.

Alcalá Zamora was impartial all through.

28 June 1933
 19 Nov. 1933
 16 Feb 1936

32⁹⁸ 96

Rep
60-70 covered,

Reprint
432

S. Dakota
Mass.
Kans.
Ohio
D.C.
Ill.
Ia.
Miss.
N.Y.
Penn.
W.V.
Wiz.
Ind.
Ohio.

2. (Spanish situation continued).

1935 breaking up of Radicals : six total cabinet crisis and three extra-parliamentary governments;

July Nombela affair corruption of
Oct Strauss complaint right gov.
Portela & Valladres. Radicals dropped by Gil Robles.

June 1936: José Maria Gil Robles: *CEDA*

relaxation & reintegration.

Cont. M. 25. ...

"For us democracy is a transitory means for influencing the politics of the country. What I do is to find a supporting base on what ever offers itself to me, in order to transform it, and, if necessary, destroy it. I do not refer to such an insignificant and transitory thing as the form of the government, but to the problems of the fundamental change of the country".

Francisco: Marquis de Estella (Primer de Rivera)

II. The February elections

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470

Zamora calls a Left government - *Exclusive Republican*
Azana made premier. Afterwards President of the Republic

Francisco Gil Robles (U.H.P.)

The revolutionary Left:

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Indalecio Prieto
Largo Caballero
Syndicalist

UGT Unión General de Trabajadores
2,000,000 Socialist (Madrid)

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Anarchist

FAI Federación Anarquística Iberica

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POUM

Unified Marxist Party

Communists (Moscow) 50,000

60,000.

General staff of the working class parties.

III. The Reactionary Rising

April 7 Zamora resigned 283% ... May 13. ...

Long series of Fascist murder attacks openly supported:

July 12 José de Castillo, Lt of the shock police murdered

13th Calvo Sotelo assassinated by the shock police

14th Gil Robles indicts the government. (leaves the country)

17-18th Rebellion breaks out.

Peace Ballot.
No isolation.

Empire element.
League Policy.

Failure due to 1) Military mistake.
 2) Social factor. OIL.
 3) Lopsided League.

Spain the same factor hindering Britain (first days of Civil War)

THE LEAGUE IN JEOPARDY.

Azana responsible for

SPAIN Casas Viejas (Jan 12) 16 people shot out of hand.

1933 (Sept 9) Azana resigns; Lerroux takes over

(Oct 8) ~~Barrios~~ Cabnt Coalition Azana and Lerroux.

Nov 19 ELECTIONS

Right 207

A

S.

P.

U.

Radical 104

}
167

473

Catalan
right

Socialists 58

Catalan left 19) 77

Dec.17 Lerroux Government with Gil Robles.

1934 Socialist

Oct 7 Lerroux

Oct 6 (rising) Legionaries & Morrish regulars take Oviedo.

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was brought back by the President.

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(breaking up of the Radicals) Six total cabinet crisis and three extra-parliamentary governments.

P V

Apr.7 cabinet

May 3 Government
Lerroux & Gil Robles.

payments for colonial

July 26 Nombela Affaire

Oct 18 M.Strauss complaint "
Radicals dropped by Gil Robles.

Dec.17 P V

Premier Senor Jose Giral

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Portela & Valladares

Apr.7

cabinet

May 3

Government
Lerroux & Gil Robles.

payments for colonial

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Radicals dropped by Gil Robles.

Dec.17

Portela de Valladares

Premier Senor Jose Giral

A KEY TO EUROPEAN POLITICS

~~National~~ National and social wars *in our time,*

A great subject. I wish to give them ^{characteristic} general ~~summary~~ of our time.
The time they live in. The forces at work in it. The dangers confronting them.

Three kinds of wars: National; Germany and France; perhaps Italy
Religious; Crusades; Islam; 30 years; and England.
Social; War of Independence; Civil War. (Lincoln)
(Declaration of Independence)

*1. Both may be civil wars.
2. Intermingle with national*

Social and religious wars; many similarities.
Whether social or religious wars to-day? *Dubious*
social communities on a religious basis

I: The first period of post-War politics. 1919-1933.

National antagonism ^{alone} dominating.
The central problem is that of the Peace Treaty Order.
a/ Dominating alignment of powers.
b/ " " the trend of constructive solutions.

Was it an order?
A full understanding of the Peace Treaty system necessary.
Balance of Powers or Power policy.
The contradictions of the Treaty System:
a/ Old type elements: make pay: territory, cash, arms;
b/ new kind element: no safeguard except a voluntary
association of nations. unsustainable.

HOWHAD THIS COME ABOUT? USA and English guarantee repudiated

thinking the gap; Disarmament promise.
a/ Alignment: Revisionist and anti-revisionist. *However, both needed*
b/ Constructive solution twofold:
Revision and collective security.
Policy of chief powers:
Germany, France, Great Britain. - Reasons (USA)

Locarno and Revision.

Breakdown of Disarmament conference and of League Policy.
Art. 16 and Art. 19.
Sanctions and Revision of treaties.

II: The second period of post-War politics. 1933---

Social antagonism enters.
~~Germany~~ and the Russian antagonisms. The revisionist front disintegrates.
Revision more acute than ever.
The social front develops. Germany in both fronts.) France and ~~the~~ Russia brought together.
2) England weakness starts here.

' A key to European Politics. (Continued.)

England and US^A. One power standard. Pacific situation. England & Jap
 England unable to decide. Shortcutting Japan.
 England vetoing the franco-russian alliance.
 June purge. Sir John Simon in Berlin.
 Germany's strength.

England losing in the Eastern Mediterranean. (Ethiopia).
 England losing in the Western Mediterranean. (Spain).

What the alignment of democratic powers will EM have to be?

Spanish development a good instance of the intersection.

The illusion of a senseless conflict the lack of under-
 standing.

The League issue not off. Russia comes in. England will have to
 stand for it? Italy and Power Policy. Germany, Japan
 and Italy the so-called havenots. Is the national problem
 part of the new organisation of economic life? Part of the
 social problem? The future will answer this question.