

duced and seemed safe upto the ~~war~~ onslaught against its very foundations witnessed by our generation.

We propose to inquire more closely into these ^{past} trends of thought. What moved enlightened ~~an~~ minds firmly to believe that capitalism does not admit of popular democracy? And what induced, later on, ^{that} false sense of security, ^{under the way, future} when universal suffrage seemed to harmonise with a flourishing market-economy ^{in our days?} only to be destroyed ^{in a great & singular catastrophe} by a virulent anti-democratic outbreak ^{of the kind not known to} ~~the~~ The answer might provide us with a clue how to make industrial civilisation ~~stand~~ stand at last ^{against} the fascist virus.

Chapter 1. Market economy is born.

Edmund Burke was the first among modern statesmen to be fascinated by the ^{philosophy} ~~philosophy~~ of ~~the market~~ ^{the market}. He was quick to discover in it an ^{additional} other argument in favour of his innate conservatism. His politics were ~~his~~ anti-democratic also by economic conviction. Briefed by commercial corporations of Liverpool and Manchester, he held the laws of the market to be the laws of God. Interference with the market was an unnatural act that would work its own defeat. Compulsory equalisation of incomes would merely produce misery, want, wretchedness and beggary; consequently, there should be allowed ~~no~~ increase in the number of ~~the~~ voters in England. No wonder that the paper currencies of the New England and colonies ^{turned to be} were worthless, ^{having been} ~~issued~~ issued by popular governments. Of Connecticut and Rhode Island he wrote with horror: 'By the charters of these colonies the exorbitant power which was given to the ^{far} proprietary governments to single men, was here vested, and I apprehend much more dangerously, in the whole body of the people. It is to all purposes a more democracy'. Since poverty of the masses was a law of nature, the people should be denied the deceptive privilege of applying ruinous remedies to their economic ills.

Even devoted friends of the labouring classes believed that the popular vote would ~~destroy~~ ^{destroy} the new economy and all its achievements. A Robert Owen opposed the extension of the franchise to the masses. A God-

~~would have used it to annihilate ^{an} this economic order that was torturing~~
~~them.~~ Lord John Russell insisted on the dangers of combining an economic
system founded on private property with political democracy. 'As our
society is very complicated', he said, 'and property is very unequal
ly divided, it might come that a parliament issued from universal
suffrage might ~~shake~~ ^{shake} and shake those institutions (namely, property)
which are of ^{the} utmost value in holding society together'. Lord
Macaulay summed up clearer than anybody else the reason why capital
ism was thought, ~~in the long run,~~ to be incompatible with popular gover-
nment. In his ~~speech~~ ^{speech} rejecting the Chartist petition, he said, : 'I can
not conceive that civilisation rests on the security of property... This
principle follows : that we never can without absolute danger, entrust
the superior government of this country to any class which would, to
a moral certainty, commit great and systematic intrusions on the security
of property'. If Burke, ~~in 1797,~~ ^{referred to} Connecticut and Rhode Island
'were democracies', because they had introduced popular forms of
government, Lord Macaulay, ~~in 1854,~~ ^{in 1854,} levelled the charge of mob-
rule against the whole of the United States of America. His much quoted
letter to the Hon. H.E. Randall of New York repays careful perusal. Al-
though some of his ~~prophecies~~ ^{forecasts} were to be strikingly falsified,
his basic argument ~~came~~ ^{came} closer to the inherent logic of fascism, than
anything written before or after:

'You are surprised to learn', he wrote, 'that I have not a high
opinion of Mr. Jefferson, and I am surprised at your surprise. I have
long been convinced that institutions purely democratic must sooner
or later destroy liberty or civilisation, or both... In bad years there
is plenty of grumbling here and sometimes a little rioting. But it matters
little for here the sufferers are not the rulers. The supreme power is
in the hands of a class, numerous indeed, but select of an educated class
which is and knows itself to be deeply interested in the security of pro-
perty and the maintenance of order. Accordingly, the malcontents are
firmly yet gently restrained. The bad time is got over without robbing
the wealthy to relieve the indigent. The springs of national prosperity
soon begin to ~~run~~ flow again; work is plentiful, wages rise and all
is tranquility and cheerfulness... It is quite plain that your govern-
ment will never be able to restrain a distressed and ~~is~~ discontented

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2. Man versus market.

It is easy to get used to the sound of words, and, eventually, forget their meaning. Such a ~~word~~ ^{term} the significance of which seems to have been lost on account of its frequent use is ~~the word~~ ^{that of} commodity as applied to human labour. Actually, this usage, which is general today, ~~now~~ connotes a state of affairs which ~~is~~ ^{is} the result of unique development.

The normal meaning of commodity is that of goods produced for sale the distribution of which is ~~controlled~~ ^{therefore} by ~~markets~~ ^{the} ~~mechanism~~, i.e. by supply and demand interacting with price. To say that human labour is a commodity is to assume ~~that~~ ^{that} it is possible to ~~deal with it as if~~ ^{deal with it as if} it were produced for sale, ~~as if~~ ^{as if} its supply depended upon price, ~~as if~~ ^{in the natural course of things} human beings were ~~naturally born~~ ^{engendered} in response to the urge of making profits.

Actual ly, nothing of the kind is the case. What we call labour has not the slightest resemblance to a commodity. It is ~~not~~ ^{simply} an aspect of man's life, which is neither detachable from ~~human beings~~ ^{him}, nor capable of being hoarded, or transported, or manufactured, or consumed. To be able to speak of its sale, ~~the best device~~ ^a ~~is a contract for~~ ^{must be used? of a} services ~~must be made~~ ^{and} ~~inferred~~ ^{inferred} that the fulfilment of the contract involved the transfer of the invisible and immaterial ~~commodity~~ ^{commodity} labour from the seller to the buyer. ~~It is by means of such~~ ^{It is by means of such} legal fictions ~~are~~ ^{are} ~~made~~ ^{made} ~~to apply to labour~~ ^{to apply to labour} by these lives do not ~~exist~~ ^{exist} in the actual world. The ~~invisible~~ ^{invisible} element ~~which~~ ^{which} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~very~~ ^{very} ~~real~~ ^{real} institution on which ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~course~~ ^{course} of civilisation lay in the human implications of ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~commodity~~ ^{commodity} fiction.

For if labour is ~~a~~ ^{to be treated as} commodity then, the vast ~~majority~~ ^{majority} of human society, ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~at~~ ^{at} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~disposal~~ ^{disposal} of the ~~market~~ ^{market} for all practical purposes, ~~at~~ ^{at} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~disposal~~ ^{disposal} of the ~~market~~ ^{market}, ~~this~~ ^{this} ~~being~~ ^{being} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~very~~ ^{very} ~~real~~ ^{real} institution on which ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~course~~ ^{course} of civilisation lay in the human implications of ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~commodity~~ ^{commodity} fiction.

Now, nothing could be more contrary to the traditional organisation of human society than ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~market~~ ^{market}. We do not mean, the occasional hiring of some types of labour, or the ~~fact~~ ^{fact} that some individuals ~~earn~~ ^{earn} their living by selling their labour. ~~This~~ ^{This} is frequently the case in ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~very~~ ^{very} ~~real~~ ^{real} institution on which ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~course~~ ^{course} of civilisation lay in the human implications of ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~commodity~~ ^{commodity} fiction.

while ~~the~~ ^{for the rest} economic life is embedded in ~~social~~ social relations. ~~It~~ ^{It} is regulated by ~~a~~ ^a variety of motives ~~none~~ ^{none} of which bears more than a faint resemblance to profit or gain.

In England ~~The~~ ^{proper} origins of the labour market ~~go~~ ^{end} back to the ~~middle~~ of the Eighteenth Century, ~~i.e.~~ ^{the} ~~beginnings~~ ^{beginnings} of the Industrial Revolution. ~~Uptil then the~~ ^{Uptil then the} 16th century organisation of labour

was prevalent, with its public regulation of all ~~aspects~~ ^{relevant} aspects of labour. ~~Wages were assessed by public authorities,~~ ^{the authorities,} the terms of contract was ~~of~~ ^{fixed in not less than} one year, ~~and~~ ^{and} hours and ~~major~~ ^{other} conditions of work ~~were~~ ^{were} set out by law. Although the Statute of Artificers (1563) protected the ~~craftsman~~ ^{craftsman} 'manufacter' ~~,~~ ^{its} main purpose was, of ~~course,~~ ^{course,} to provide ~~agricultural~~ ^{agricultural} workers for the landlord and ~~and~~ ^{and} set ~~an~~ ^{an} upper limit to wages. ~~Except~~ ^{Except} for some industries

in which ~~vagrants and beggars were employed,~~ ^{labour was} ~~wages~~ ^{had no occasion} ~~to~~ ^{to} haggle and haggle ~~over~~ ^{over} ~~pay,~~ ^{pay,} since ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~by~~ ^{by} ~~regulation~~ ^{regulation} of custom. ~~Although~~ ^{Although} with important local variations, ~~conditions were~~ ^{conditions were} ~~the same~~ ^{the same} all over the country, ~~nothing~~ ^{nothing} in the nature of a national competitive labour market ~~existed.~~ ^{existed.} The unemployed were taken care of by the poor law

and the poor house, ~~which~~ ^{which} ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~not~~ ^{not} meant to be ~~punitive;~~ ^{punitive;} the apprenticeship clauses of the Statute limited the supply of labour; the Act of Settlement ~~made~~ ^{made} the labourer practically a ~~serf~~ ^{serf} of the landlord/~~but~~ ^{but} at least ~~maintained~~ ^{maintained} his right to relief ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ his home parish. ~~and~~ ^{and}

This ~~together~~ ^{together} established security ~~of~~ ^{of} employment, of income, of standards. As long as ~~this~~ ^{this} system ~~existed,~~ ^{existed} ~~no~~ ^{no} labour market ~~could~~ ^{could} be ~~possible.~~ ^{possible.}

The pressure for the establishment of such a market came from those who had first conceived of the new ^{social} mechanism. Lord Mansfield proclaimed from the Bench, in 1767, that labour was a commodity like any other.

preconsidered the ~~principles of the laws~~ of commerce as the laws of God, and only was consistent in demanding that there should be no interference with wages.

The just price of the Middle Ages was the result of such interference; in Burke's view, the just price was far from being just, was actually unjust. This was what Burke, in effect, argued.

The employer had a right to expect a profit when employing labour, an assessment of wages consequently that would artificially raise the price higher than

which it fetches on a free market, amounts to an unconstitutional 'tax' on the employer, since it deprives him of something that is his by natural right.

judge and the moralist. The natural scientist's conclusions were if anything even harsher.

Joseph Townshend ^{invented} set forth the famous parable of the goats and the dogs, which was destined to be of the greatest consequence.

The scene was set on the island of Juan Fernandez, in the Pacific Ocean. According to a current story, the Spanish privateers had kept goats there who multiplied at a great rate, thus providing the pirates with food on their occasional visits.

The Spanish government, bent to destroy the goats, landed a bitch and a dog on the island. These also multiplied at a biblical rate, being richly provided with food in the shape of

goats. In the course of time the increase of the numbers of goats and of dogs ceased.

the increase of the numbers of goats and of dogs ceased.

~~to multiply.~~

~~goats and dogs ceased to multiply.~~ ^{found their supply} the goats ~~decimated~~ ^{decimated} by the dogs, and the dogs ~~thus finding themselves limited~~ ^{fastest and} in their supply of food. ~~Only the swiftest of the goats survived~~

~~and those as well as of the dogs~~ ~~survived.~~

^{definite number of the} Only ~~the~~ fastest and swiftest of both species survived. Hunger, ~~How~~

Townsend proclaimed, was the ~~magistrate~~ ^{magistrate} that kept the ~~balance~~ ^{even.}

balance ~~was maintained~~ ^{authority} No other ~~authority~~ was needed. This, he argued, was the way of ~~feeding~~ ^{feeding} the poor ~~without any~~

legal compulsion. ~~It~~ ^{to this end it} sufficed to abolish the Poor Laws which prevented the poor

~~from~~ ^{from} starving, and the labour market would ~~see to it that~~

~~that there should be no unemployment.~~

All that was required was the ~~destruction~~ ^{destruction} of the traditional ~~organisation~~ ^{organisation} of society with its security from starvation.

~~the common people would be at the mercy of the labour market.~~

~~the common people would be at the mercy of the labour market.~~

That new institution (competitive)

But a labour market that does not threaten the unemployed with the sanction of hunger, is a useless organ under capitalism. While ~~the~~ ^{almost} Speenhamland was universally acclaimed in the beginning, its long run effects were horrible beyond words. ~~Gradually~~ ^{put under a} rural England was ~~subjected to a~~ ^{regime} which seemed to satisfy everybody, without any cost to anybody. ~~In the short run~~ ^{it appeared} ~~as if~~ ^{as} a method which satisfied everybody without cost to anybody. The employer could pay as low wages as he liked, the labourer was under no compulsion to exert himself, parents were free of the responsibility for their offspring, the offspring were ~~liberated~~ ^{free} of the authority of their parents, young people could marry without care for the future, and ~~if~~ ^{if} they ~~did~~ ^{did} marry, their ~~relations~~ ^{relations} were no worse off for it, ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~legitimate~~ ^{legitimate} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~quire~~ ^{quire} and the ~~parson's~~ ^{parson's} sway over the village was never greater and peace and quiet reigned in the ~~country-~~ ^{country-} ~~side.~~ ^{side.} ~~No wonder that it was popular~~ ^{No wonder that it was popular} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~labouring~~ ^{labouring} population of the ~~districts~~ ^{districts} of England, whether agricultural or ~~manufacturing~~ ^{manufacturing}, were ~~not~~ ^{not} pauperised. ~~There~~ ^{There} was no bottom in wages, and wages higher than the scale began to be an exception. ~~Worse than that,~~ ^{Even worse,} farmers were reluctant to employ such persons who were not ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~effect~~ ^{effect} of ~~laws~~ ^{laws} ~~compulsion~~ ^{compulsion} ~~were~~ ^{were} sharpened by ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~laws~~ ^{laws} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~psychological~~ ^{psychological} ~~debasement~~ ^{debasement}; ~~once~~ ^{once} a pauper, always a pauper was a true ~~banishment~~ ^{banishment} saying. Inside of a generation ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~cottagers~~ ^{cottagers} and ~~labourers~~ ^{labourers} ~~were~~ ^{were} ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~than~~ ^{than} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~tribalised~~ ^{tribalised} ~~natives~~ ^{natives} of ~~English~~ ^{English} ~~country-~~ ^{country-} ~~side~~ ^{side} ~~were~~ ^{were} ~~sinking~~ ^{sinking} to the level of ~~a~~ ^a ~~tribalised~~ ^{tribalised} ~~natives~~ ^{natives} of ~~loafers~~ ^{loafers} and ~~malingerers~~ ^{malingerers}; a ~~terrible~~ ^{terrible} cultural catastrophe engulfed their ~~inherited~~ ^{inherited} civilisation; they resembled more ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~tribalised~~ ^{tribalised} ~~natives~~ ^{natives} of a modern colonial area ~~dispossessed~~ ^{dispossessed} by but ~~taxes~~ ^{taxes} and ~~debased~~ ^{debased} by gambling and prostitution than the ~~present~~ ^{present} ~~inhabitants~~ ^{inhabitants} of an ancient ~~culture~~ ^{culture}. For the ~~decencies~~ ^{decencies} of settled life were off ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ the promiscuity of the ~~poorhouse~~ ^{poorhouse}, where a ~~man~~ ^{man} ~~sunk~~ ^{sunk} in the lower he had ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~estimation~~ ^{estimation} of his fellows. The total effect was one of utter demoralisation. ~~The~~ ^{The} ~~poor~~ ^{poor} rate had become the public spoil... To obtain their share the brutal bullied the administrators, the ~~profligate~~ ^{profligate} exhibited their bastards which must be fed, the ~~id~~ ^{id}

folded their arms and waited till they got it; ignorant boys and girls married upon it; poachers, thieves and prostitutes extorted it by intimidation; country justices lavished it for popularity, and Guards for convenience...." Eventually, together with the rising rates, the productivity of labour itself deteriorated, thus ^{sapping strength} attacking the ~~ribs~~ of this crazy system... The farmers ^{had} ~~had~~ valued more highly the benefit

~~of subsidised wages than they had ^{frankly} ~~valued~~ ^{the} ~~benefit~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ~~sales~~.~~

~~For~~ Speenhamland meant ~~abundant~~ docile labour and a ~~generally~~ low level of wages, ^{all round,} thus more than compensating the rate payer for his plight.

But ^{no} a capitalist system could ~~not~~ prosper on pauper ~~wage~~ labour. After 1815, during the post-war depression, high prices and extensive farm

ing came to an end, and were replaced by low prices and ^{value of labour} less wasteful methods of using labour. ~~The spurious methods of pauper~~ ^{for} ~~pretending~~ ^{to} ~~work so as to~~

~~to ^{work so as to} be entitled to benefit, ~~now~~ ^{were now} ~~become~~ a too expensive ^{kind of work,} ~~method of caring for~~ ^{labour.}~~

~~neither the employees nor the employer could~~ ^{proper.} ~~The horror of ^{Capitalism} ~~was~~ ^{explained}~~ ~~The labour market, ^{was} ~~hesitant~~!~~

Handwritten scribbles

The pauper who pretended to do his work merely to be entitled to be ^{paid a} too expensive a worker even at the very low wages. Eventually, ^{itself} the ~~pauper~~ ^{gliding scale} ~~was affected~~ ^{allowance being} ~~bread~~ ^{reduced}. By the end of the 1820s the condition of the agricultural labourer in a large part of the countryside ~~had~~ deteriorated further. No wonder that the urban workers could not maintain ~~their~~ standards in the face of the inexhaustible industrial reserve army represented by the ever increasing number of ~~pauperised~~ ^{pauperised} labourers ~~of~~ countryside. ~~None~~

The demand for a genuine labour market was now renewed with hundredfold ~~emphasis~~ emphasis.

Owen's description of his workers. Harriet Martineau. Engels and Manchester. The 1833 Report. (even though exaggerated).

The impossibility of establishing a self-supporting economic class. The truth of the economic argument. ^{in that wages would rise}

The Poor Law Reformers argued that humanitarianism must go. ^{inverted} Inverted humanitarians. Figures and Facts.

The reeducation argument. Abolish the right to live, without establishing the right to work. Consequently compelling the labourer to accept any kind of wages, ~~and~~ or voluntarily apply for admission to the Poor House transformed into a workhouse. (Not sent to the workhouse, but admitted to it). Less eligibility principle. At the same time, rationalisation of administration, purification from corruption, creating moral and hygienic ~~standards~~ standards.

The essence of this type of reeducation of the masses involved some thing akin to psychological torture. Although of a mild kind, it was nevertheless meant to create unbearable conditions, ~~such~~ such as would be preferred only to rank starvation, and not even that unconditionally. Often the genteel ~~poor~~ poor preferred starvation.

Such reeducation involved dictatorial ^{total} methods. One of the assumptions was: final inferiority of the people. They are altogether sub-human. They are ignorant and deserve to be so. They are powerless and rightly so. Contempt, in institutionalised forms, was the only adequate

response. It might have been often deserved--that indeed is our point. But the inhuman situation had to be maintained whether deserved or not.. The disfranchisement of the pauper followed from this lack of civic status... From here derived the idea that civic institutions should be shaped in such a way as to educate the poor. Education would morally endanger him if it were ~~gratuitous~~ etc. etc.

The political disfranchisement followed from this also as a political necessity. How could the tortured be put by their torturers in power, without danger of their removing their torturers? But that would have been the end of the labour market.

Hardly any middle class Mitläufer joined the Charlists. The anti-working class feeling now hardened into a metaphysical conviction of the ~~unparalleled~~ moral superiority of the owning classes over the propertyless classes, and the corresponding human inferiority of the latter as compared with the former.

3. The fascist virus.

Nineteenth century thought was market minded and feared the people.

THE FASCIST VIRUS;

Fascism is merely the most recent and most virulent outburst of the anti-democratic virus which ^{was inherent from the start.} ~~emerged~~ in industrial capitalism. ~~The~~ ^{antagonism of ~~the~~ economy} to all forms of popular government was ^{already} emphasised by the classics. ~~It~~ ^{Ret antagonism} was acute during the first century after ~~of~~ the Industrial Revolution; ~~it~~ ^{it was} subsequently latent for a few decades, ~~giving~~ ^{giving} rise to a false sense of security among democrats, ~~but~~ ^{but} only today ~~top~~ ^{in all pervading} into a world-wide tendency in our days. ~~For~~ ^{For} ~~fascism~~ ^{is no more than the most recent form of the security of capitalism} the ruling classes had good reason to fear the establishment of popular government. ~~and~~ ^{to} ~~opposed~~ ^{opposed} such a development, which ~~was~~ ^{would} ~~lead~~ ^{lead} to an attack on the property system from which they benefited. In Lord Macaulay's words, ~~they~~ ^{they} were convinced that they never can without absolute danger entrust the superior government of this country to any class which would, to a moral certainty, commit great and systematic inroads on the security of property.' This ~~was~~ ^{was} simply to acknowledge the fact that to the most numerous strata of society, viz., the working classes, ~~the~~ ^{the} democratic institutions offered a ready access to power, and ~~therefore~~ ^{therefore} to the destruction of a property system of which they were the victims.

Between capitalism & democracy
 The various phases of this long struggle can be hardly understood ^{without} ~~take~~ ^{take} account of its ~~economic~~ ^{economic} background. Liberal ~~capitalism~~ ^{capitalism} had a two-fold effect on the development of ~~the~~ ^{the} popular forces: On the one hand, it urged ~~them~~ ^{these forces} to bigger and bigger efforts, ~~to~~ ^{in their endeavours} to stave off the dangers ~~of~~ ^{involved in} the market mechanism ~~involved~~ ^{involved} on the other, it ~~helped~~ ^{furnished new arguments to} the ruling classes to stem the democratic tide. ~~the~~ ^{fall on the one hand} working class ~~attempted~~ ^{help them to} to protect itself against the ~~disastrous~~ ^{disastrous} effects of the market mechanism, and ~~therefore~~ ^{for that reason} pressed for political and industrial power, while ~~the~~ ^{on the other hand} capitalists could ~~point~~ ^{point} to that self-same mechanism as a proof of the dangers of ~~literary~~ ^{literary} influences in politics. ~~the~~ ^{supplying} ~~opposition~~ ^{of the property owners} of the property owners to the extension of the franchise was ~~reinforced~~ ^{reinforced} by the economic argument. ~~The~~ ^{The} ~~details~~ ^{details} of this double action of the market mechanism ~~on~~ ^{on} the development of pop. gov. are ~~significant~~ ^{significant}.

Modern capitalism could be established only after the customary or legal security of employment and land tenure had been abolished

decades; the crisis of democracy and the fascist attack on the political and industrial rights of the working class.

The first period ^{was} ~~is~~ introduced by the warnings of the classics who insisted on the incompatibility of the new economy and the democratic institutions. After the enactment of the Poor Law Reform the struggle against Chartism dominated the scene. Not ~~later~~ before another half century had elapsed after the introduction of a free labour market was the vote - most reluctantly - granted to the ~~men~~ workers in this country.

During the second, short, period, - from the introduction of ~~the~~ universal suffrage to the outbreak of the Great War - capitalism and democracy seemed to flourish side by side. The illusion of harmony was the result of transitory factors, such as the enormous expansion of markets, the sharing of trade unions and labour parties of the benefits of the advance, as well as to the false impression created by the ^{progressive} American scene.

The third period, that of crisis, was introduced by the Great War, ~~and the world wide trade depression of the 1930ies~~; Mass unemployment, insecurity of tenure for the producers, and irrational distribution of incomes had reached an unbearable pitch. The system had broken down and its radical reform could no longer be put off. In a number of countries the dilemma of democracy versus capitalism emerged in the most acute form. The working class was constitutionally unfitted to carry out the reform on the basis of continuity of titles to property, yet it was unprepared to perform it under disregard of the continuity. ^{Fascism was the alternative.} ~~Under these conditions,~~ The property owners, usually in alliance with the lower middle class, ^{now} found themselves able to carry out the reform by revolutionary methods, after having utterly and completely destroyed all democratic institutions while maintaining the continuity of their titles to property, and thereby their ruling position in society.

However, this short run 'solution' of the crisis was bought at the price of a degenerative process in industrial society. Once the market mechanism has been replaced by a system of regulated markets, an indefinite process of reform and reconstruction has become possible.

That most ^{sensitive} ~~powerful~~ defence of capitalist property, the free market, has fallen. There is now nothing apartv from brute force to prevent the abolishment of the privileges of the property-owning classes, if ^{only} a democratic movement is in being. That is why every vestige of democracy must be eliminated under a fascist economy . But in order to prevent the re-emergence of any democratic nucleus in society, the individual has to be made incapable of functioning spontaneously as a responsible unit and the unity of mankind must be negated. The fascist virus must be allowed to complete its ~~destructive~~ work.

Anti-fascism is grounded on the conviction that mankind will never allow itself to be destroyed by that virus. But ~~nevertheless~~ once the poison fails to be totally effective, it must prove entirely ineffective. Post-fascist capitalism can not ~~any more~~ hold out against democracy and the advance towards socialism.

The fascist virus.
The natural history of fascism

1. ~~The origins of fascism.~~ A hundred years ago...
2. The fascist 'reform' of capitalism.
3. The answer to fascism.

1. ~~The origins.~~ A hundred years ago...

The problem of fascism is as old as capitalism. The threat was there from the start. The negative utopia ^{is when} the sleeper wakes and the Time machine. Jack London's The Iron Heel when USA was young. Bukre. on the necessity of poverty. On the impossibility of feeding all. Mal thus on the need for repressive checks. ~~on~~ The absurdity of his preventive checks.

Educationalism. Martineau. (Malthus). Owen and Godwin were anti-revolutionary and only limitedly democratic.

The Chartist movement quashed by bona fide anti-democrats. Peel & Macaulay. Herbert Spencer. Sir Henry Sumner Maine. Cobden and Bright. 1848 in France... Darwinism did the rest.

The thoughtless era. Low point of political education reached James Mill flourishes. (Ricardo and Mill).

2. The fascist 'reform' of capitalism.

When capitalism got under way, democracy could be safely introduced. E.g. England, and later on in Germany, France etc.

But capitalism had not overcome its original weaknesses. This became apparent in the 1920ies. Mass unemployment and business cycles, The gold standard moloch. Stability and security had not been created. Society could not be fashioned according to our ideals, of justice and fairness.

The reform of capitalism cropped up. At the price of eliminating democracy... Three reforms. Full employment. Security of tenure. Redistribution of purchasing power..

"degenerative short run' solution.

tendency
An inherent tendency in an industrial society. Irreversible
antecedents and of psychological conditions. Domesticated
fascism.. In some countries, where favored by circumstances, they rose
to power. In other countries they are still fighting for recognition.
Some times hardly conscious of their true nature.

Sociological definition of fascism. Organisation of society based on
industry under private property maintaining the continuity of the titles to
property.

Politically it eliminates the influence of the working class as such.
It is for this reason, that it must be against democratic institutions

3. The answer to fascism.

- The achievements of fascism. On the search for peaceful forms of fascism.
- The problem of post-fascist societies.
- The essentials of a socialist development.
- The maintenance of liberty.

velopment. Not before an other half century had elapsed after the enactment of a free labour market, was the vote —most reluctantly— granted to the workers in England (1834); on the Continent this happened between 1871 and 1906.

During this short period of time capitalism and democracy seemed to flourish side by side. The illusion of their harmony was the result of transitory factors, such as the enormous expansion of markets, the sharing of trade unions and labour parties in the benefits of the advance, as well as the false impression created by the American scene.

The ~~mass~~ world wide unemployment of the 1930s caused a re-emergence of the dilemma of capitalism vs. ~~unstable~~ democracy. A radical and reform of the capitalist system had become unavoidable, but the working class was not prepared to carry ~~it~~ it into effect. It was neither ~~able~~ ^{willing} to abdicate nor to assert its ascendancy. Under these conditions the very existence of a popular democracy ~~unsubstantiated~~ ~~unsubstantiated~~ could be represented as an obstacle to reform. ~~Was~~ An all-out attack on the political and industrial rights of the industrial workers was the result, after which the property owners ~~themselves~~ (mainly in alliance with the lower middle class) carried into effect a reform of capitalism by revolutionary means, based on ~~the~~ ~~the~~ and complete destruction of democratic institutions. Thus they achieved their main purpose, namely, to achieve the reform under their own leadership ^{and maintaining the} ~~maintaining the~~ continuity of titles to property.

But the short run solution of the crisis was bought at the price of the starting of a degenerative process ~~in~~ industrial civilization. In order to eliminate democracy permanently, the individual had to be made incapable of functioning spontaneously as a responsible and responsive unit in society and the unity of the human race had to be negated. The fascist virus was completing its work.

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