To the contempraries such stilcinations seemed fantastic to the point of political irrelevance. To-day we know better. We have come to recognise in them the authentic features of that most ghastly social age the metal to recognise of our thing, fascism.

what we may noticealies, is the significant fact that mostly unknown to these writers, their prophecies were mosely embroidering on
a pattern current with a contact and statement manufact a century before
i.e., during total believed he
annihannian industrial Revolution. These ideas universally accepby columnian, later on fell in oblivion.

The point is of more than historical interest , indeed, it is a short cut to the understanding of fascism itself. The fascist development of our days is, in effect, a recrudescence of the old and soften of capitalism popular government. Their incompatibility miniman was recognised from the first. To the political days of a lowed to share in papelitical control.

Thus from the start the desic threat of slavery averaged them is shadow for the desire.

The desired of industrial society. True, by a remarkable lapse of the collective last quareter of the memory the middle noting the consciousness of the dang are faded away. Popular government mammandam was widely intro

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duced and seemed sake upto the water onslaught against its very quintations witnessed by our generation.

We propose to inquire more dissely into these treends of thought. What moved enlightened an minds firmly to believe that capitalism does not admit of popular democracy? And what induced, later on, and false sense of security, when universal suffrage seemed to harmonise with a flourishing market-economy only to be destroyed in fartise avoirul anti-democratic ou orcak of the industrial civilisation that provide us with a clue how to make industrial civilisation that make at last and the fascist virus.

Chapter 1. Market economy is born.

Edmund Burke was the first smood modern statesmen to be fascinated Re was quick to discover in it an other argument in favour of his immate conservatism. His politics were anti-democratic also be economic conviction. Briefed by commercial corporations of Liverpool and Manchester , he held the laws of the maj ket to be the laws of God. Interference with the market was an unnatu ral act that would work its own defeat. Compulsory equalisation of incomes would merely produce misery, want, wretchedness and beggary; consequently, there should be allowed in increase in the number of be voters in England. No wonder that the paper currencies of the New Engla were worthless , entry the result issued by popular governments. Of Connecticut and Rhode Island he wrote with horror: By the charters of these dolonies the exorbitant power which was given to the . propriety 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 ruintous remedies to their sconomic ills.

even devoted friends of the labouring classes believed that the popular vote would destroy the new economy and all its achieveents. A Robert Owen opposed the extension of the franchise to the masses. A God-

win declared himself genemy of revolution . In principle, they agreed with Malthus and Ricardo that not politics but education adone could meet the needs of the situation. Philanthroists and economists differed onlyin the kind of education they wished to see applied. Godwin and Owen urged the claims of infinite perfectibility, and might have wished to raise the labouring people morally and intellectually had above the level of the upper classes of society; Malthus and Ricardo argued; the finality of the laws of poverty and population , and wished to see indefibly impressed even on the humblest mind. For nothing short of a rationally gained certainty of their being doomed to toil in misery would ever make the poor submit willingly to their fate. The Rev. Malthus personally instructed newly wed couples in the economics of population. 'The working classes feel,' wrote Harriet Mar tineau in all sincerity ,' that while they are at work they ought to be comfortable ; box and they will not acquiesce while thosenwhon they see that those who work less are more comfortble, and they are not told way'. She continued: The is what remains for us to do: - to find out why , and to make everybely understand it. She personally undertock to teach the poor by means of ner famous ' Illustrations to political economy'. Free moral of these stories that while the abolishment of outdoor relief was a cruel but beneficial measure, the extension of the franchise would be both dangerous and futile. .. Jarany Bentham , the master mind of the Age of Reform , regarded subjection as the natural state of man, and inequality as his natural condition. Apart# from agent Jacobinsand Democrats , who, incidentally, showed amarked disregard of sconenomics, no one stood for the principles of popular government in this country. France had had bee a political revolution; England's revolutionhad been industrial. Es was precisely this economic revolution tion which banned any step toward the polatical enfranchisement of the common people, in this country.

The practical principles of market-edonomy and/popular government were published to be a second simultaneously. Adam Smith's 'Wealth of Nations' appeared in the same year in which Major Cartwright published his democratic credo of manhood suffrage. Although no one connected these events at the time, by the end of the eight subth century their conflicting implications had become apparent and began to dominate

nate political torus. Economists were agreed that the whip of hunger washneeded tomake the wage-system workable and to swing the mechanism of a competitive labour market. A simple reference to irrefragable sufficed to justify the contention that Major Cartwright and the Democrats, as well as, later on, the Chartists were a public danger. Had not Malthus profed withmathenatical priecision, the self-restraint of the poor could make avoidable such great checks on the growth of the population as were periodically inflicted through and hid it not follow that poor relief. war , pestilence and famine? wash curse indisguise, since it onlypade the number of the poor redundant, and thus condemened them to cruel death? Did we not have the word that wages could never rise above the bare of David Recarde for it substitionce level, and that any attempt to raise them higher must result ingeneral destitution Youlyif the poor annin bore their lot fatiently, would they be safe from starvatoon, wonly if they resigned themselves to their misery could they beneath at all. They must, therefore be kept away from the levers of government, which they would necessarily try to use on which the community, to wreck the property system /, inclduing the per themselves , depended, for their substatence. The answer of the students of the new economy to the demand for universal suffrage was hhanhmbhahhhhhhh negative. The incompatible ty of democracy and capitalism had been established as an axiom.

A. The Chartist decade published theory into practice. Never in all her history had alarger number appracched the rulers of this country in the name of a more fervently held creed than those millions of the lower ranks whose signatures were affixed to the fidiou/red rolls of parchmen ment. Their petitions were in vain. Robert Peel calledon the demand for extension of the vote to the people 'nothing more nor less than the impeachment of the Constitution of the country'. In this he was right, for had they been invested with the vote habhahahahahaha, the Chartists... millions would undoubtedly have used it to annihilate the economic order that was torturing them.

before of agriphics of with the freed Revolution involved of the first than the first than the former than the former than the first than the son the first than the son the first of farmers?

to annihilate the cooncrie order that was terturing then Lord John Russell insisted on the damgers 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 parliment issued from universal suffrage might dearery and shake those institutions (namely, property) which are often of the utmost walue in holding society together'. Lord Mac Yauly 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 hie epech Vrejecting the Chartist petition, he said, : ' I was nbb conceive that civilisation rests on the security of property ... This principle follows : that we never on without absolute danger , entruet the superior government of this country to any class which would , to a moral certainty commit great and systematic inracds on the security of property'. If Burke sin 1737 thought Connecticut and knode Isalnd 'mere democraziones', because they had introduced popular forms of government . Lord MANNA Macaulay, Lin 1857, Tlevelled 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. Although some of his concrete propheries were to be strikingly falsified, his basic argument occurre closer to the inherent logic of fascism , than anything written before or after:

opinion of Mr. Jefferson, and I am surprised at your surprise. I have long been convinced that institutionans purely democratic must sconer or later destory liberty or civilisation, or both... In bad yeffas 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 property and the maintenace 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 matienal prosperity soon begin to minn flow again; work is plentiful, wages rise and all is tranquility and cheerfulness... It is quite plain that your government will never be able to restrain a distressed and and disconnected

majority. For with you the majority is the government and has the rich, which are always a minority, absolutely at itsmercy... As I said before, when society has entered on this downward progress, either civilication or liberty must perish. Either some Ceasar or Napoleon will seize the reins of government with a strong hand or your republic will be after fully plundered and laid waste by bar brians in the twentieth of century as the Roman Empire was in the fifth, with this difference. That the Huns and Vanalcs who ravaged the Roman Empire came from without, and that your Huns and Vandals will have engendered within your own institutions... Thinking this, of course, I cannot reckon Jefferson among the benefactors of mankind.

Macaulay's assumptions, in 1857, were almost identical with those of Burke, in 1757. The laws of market economy prohibit any intervention in economic life on the part of the workingpeople. Unemployment and destitution, which must periodically occur, are overcome by a self-acting mechanism as long as the poor are prevented from interfering with the system. Yet if they have the power to peddle, they will do so. That's with in a country with universal suffrage, in the long run, civilisation can be rescued only by a dicatroship. In modern terms: Fascism alone can have capitalism, once the fatal mistake has been committed of enfranchis ing the working people.

Chaple 2 Thom pendamber the fatal field.

Schnere revelle such for and a ser sone me to me compression or continuous M. S. A transfer of indeal the same was some and assert assert and assert assert and assert a Just 180. Tel 12 c. Just Jak pure la Beddle, c.e. will do ser atter. not dism to loss as the end are provented that into the state of the Anticton . The wire perforance rooms . The reproduct by a self-rolling objet of the out (1226 and other managing soulces, under to smeat and grant-The state of the s And the same of the second of Commence of the Board of the constraint of the c Bythe of the New conclusion with the service of the D. Mark. III Thumber M. Light Land of the property of the same That Banky is assenting

2. Man versus market.

It is easy to get used to the sound of words, and, feventually,

forget their meaning. Such a tenred the significance of which
seems to have been lost on account of its frequent use is the word

commodity as applied to human labour. Actually this usage which is general today, mamor connotes a state of affairs which has bowe intobeing as the result of sunique development.

The normal meaning of commodity is that of goods produced for sale the distribution of which scott rolled by markets medianism, i.e. by supply and demand interacting with price. To say that humna labour is a commodity is to assume that it is possible to delwith it as if it were producedfor sale, as if its supply depended upon price, as if human bein engendered beings were assument to response to the urge of making profits.

Actually, nothing of the kind is the case. What we call labour has not the elightest resemblance to a commodity . It is the control an aspect of man's life , which is neitehr detachable from humannhaings him, nor capable of being hoarded, or trasnported, or manufactured or consumed. To be able to speak of i s cale, the lagrand device of contract for services in the and inferred tout the fulfilemnt of the contract involved the trasnfer of the invisible and immaterial description commodity labour from the seller to the buyer. I have by a however, be all fictions are transmitted to the made to sept ons are the name of harm to the actual world. However, legal fictions instruments of thought which common annuabilities and the same classes the course of civilisation lay in the human implications of anaundonn that commission fiction.

human society, has imagentame or rath r of adult; males, immunication of human society, has imagentame or rath r of adult; males, immunication of human society, has imagentated at the disposal of the market action of the fictious committees is being bar tored.

economic life is embedded in somman where social relations and is regulated by Antacitic variety of motives profining in a propagation of the bears more than a faint resemblance to profit or gain. In England the origins of the labour market go back to the middle of the Eighteenth Century . i.e. the beginnings of the Industrial Revolu-Uptil then the NHOWN HANDING 16th century orgainsation of labour televant was prevalent with its public regulation of all namement aspets of luding number of the authorities, labour. Wages were assessed by publicantanthundry, the terms of contractives in not less than was afform year, conditions of work My (set out by law. Although the Statute of A tifi(rs (1563) protooted the anniannand manufacutrer its , main purpose was, of blows course, to provide agricultural workers for the landlord and himin annunguen and set an apper limit to wages. Except later WEAS in which ununitatednotahanan vagran be d that was setteld hammanto higgle and haggle hadno occasion waster ners Addananinhagananninhagana over thetenwagenn paye, since than/ Although with important wannandand by hann regulation of custom. booal variations, conditions were the tinky the same all over the country, fatig Nothing inthe nature of a national competitive labour market/existed? The unemployed were taken care of by the poor law wannhummm and the poor house, whichpronninghadanthanghaitenehteran only a miserty which offered a wetermal shelter hat wasnot meant to/punitive; the apprenticpeship clases of the Statute limited the supply of labour; the Act of Settlement wanted made the labourer practically a prish but at ensured panishnserin a serf of the landlord/nam less t maintained his right to relief unnanninnanagethernnanaen in his home parish. established security (of employment, of income, of and was in being As long as this system existed, no Labour market wouldeby annannnnnnnnnnnnnnnn was possible.

The pressure for the establishment of sucha market came from those Social V who had first conceived of the new human mechanism. Lord Marsfield proclas ed from the Bench, that labour was a commodity like any other. Burke, w. as the laws preconsided the ananahanahanahana lams of commerce prinning number of God, & only was consistent when hen in demanding that there should be no interferent market -) hugges the just price of the Middle Ages hannanna result of such in Burke's view, the NNAME just price nnesisions unjust . This was what Furke , in effect, argued . Wounding spinn the employer the right to expert a numbrant profit when panning assess ment of wages fix its price higher than phannannahnannahan would artifically manah which that felches on market, amounts to manning on the employer, wince it deprive him of something that ognnannannannanh is his by natural right mnuntusingn moralist. judge and the the hannys jannanthannda fienda unnama ienua bigannda fienda unnanna husa dunga to MAN The natural scientist's conclusions were if anything even ha sher. invented Joseph Townsend nanunannunhangnunhannunannunhann For th the maradigm of the goats and the dogs which was to destrined o ponbenomenonenofinthennmomnnnonennnantiann to be of the greatenn conse lonely and uninhatibled quence/ The scene was set on the island of Juan Fer andez . in the Pacific Ocean. According to a current story, thanfipnanahnantomithean nhadnpeophen privateers had kept goats nnn there who multiplied at a great rate, then providing the tes with nunwiannan food on their occasionalvisiats. The Spanish government , bent to destroy the goats, nnnannnann landed a bitch and a dog on the island. These also multipled at a biblical in the shape of handanna roaming herds of pate, being richly provided with food annuannunghnunnnahanhandanin In the course of time and make minimum and make make make make my goats, mmammimmmm hunh the increase of the numbers of goats and of dogs seased.

to multiply. goats and dogs ceased finantiphyingn numbumambamaman, the goats Loud deis (deciminated by the dogs, and the dogs thus finite themselves limi Their suppy of food. Only the/st widiest of the goals whommand fastest and and then as well as of the dogs from many management surivived. a definite much of the and studiest of both species survived. Hunger, Many Only fastest Townsend proclaimed, was the magnitumane magistrate that kept the authroity) even. balance hannannahama No other annanna was needed. This , he argued, of the poor willing work of without one tring tothe water legal compulsion . sufficed to abolish the Poor Laws which prevented the poor than from starving , and the labour market would see to it that nemannn theman nonananahanananananananananananananan there should be no unemplo lestruction edddddannntbbbbb! All that was required was the the traditional popponer organisation of society with its security from starvation. thunpophennnnonmunnpauphe . Berrived of their cudomatry status , manage the common people would be at the mercy of the bour market .

meeting with This tremdous innovation did not prevail without amnustingnames serious ogbstruction. The countryside was deeplyn steeped tradition . To deprive settled folk of them status, meant the annantingmainthanangapations destructions the erganic to emms of the fires of the rural community. And this at the time when the financh French Revolution political who were reddeningsthennesky lighting up the/horizon and the desaringform dalababbo demand for home grown food made landowners embark on wholesale encloures, this and passessing apparation and an administration and the second pasture in the pa Sometimes without a cot tages to be to live in. permanately possible on of the countryside would have impaiged on the threatening depopulation of the countryside bbbb vital to aninfarmanna husbadniy reseves of agriculural labour anninpantantafannessanatatimessananahanna . the times of peak demand. innaineanofingaakndanandpin pring and Autfumn, Allthis weart annumount in growth and market and the second and th parannantantantal and parson the authority of squire and parson a danger to the largest industry of the country, agricutture, ananchusnan an uprooting of the political and economic foundations of rural society. Re governed)

the present was not dunniminate by the future but by the past. Not the needs o of a yet unborn industrial civilisation, but the known requirements of the diviliantion dominated nontande and a compression description desc fashioned the course of developments. In vains did the wachine cry out for ' hands' , bnesenwerennebained and pres -for a trasnformation of the common people into some sealers of (labour pm fac comers and of land and the agriclustal employers phrennotneann and not give way . miles () needanganananananan bransunsasihpuntanihenssohanismacfathe markstennnandnthisoopn samnupnan to the formiciale ahannannagainnanahanasahahannanananahahannanananahaha market-institutions to the spread of itaninatitions, and amoun above all, / those most formidable them/, the labour market. This was the significance of the famous allowned system of the Poor Law, commonly associated with Speenhamland. /

The comming of Speenhaaland was unspectacular, but its ending was all the more dramatic. Its introduction nanobann dates from 1795, when family allowances manentiment based on a sliding scale was annihilation firs the most limited to the manufacture of the limited to the manufacture of the limited to the last the most limited to the statue book.

Fibbbb The circumstances carrounding bining the minimum and antiment

Venforcement of this Act, the information and all anti-democattic spirit which was unmanumental and all anti-democattic spirit which was unmanumental and anti-democatic spirit which was unmanumental and anti-democatic spirit which was unmanumental and anti-democatic spirit which was unmanumental and the century to conserve.

Speenhamland was so much apobertuction of the labour market. between wa peculiar oupromisewhich would the semblance of such a m Haye bace market /compat maintename of the right to live! labour on the market , and higgle and Labouers would be ' seling'their aficts haggle for wages, but actually they would be assured of a minimum inimum income which would 666 so cure them from want but prevent them from The managemental amount of the dole was starving, abblibbbbb/dpendent upon the price of bread and /supplemeted by see rate allowances for the wife and every child, than allownaces also depending for the amount on dependentmapon the bread pobbe price ; if the wage ' paid by the the dole plus allowances employer wasminingfineinning no less than this annumby the labourer would apply to the pune local vest ry administ rating the poor law and the wa ew ould be supplemented from the rates so as to manufa the required scale. From the employers point of view this meant anunbandfynnonwagenn that if he chose to pay wages lower than those set by the scale, then and the wage he paid he was free to doso, sinnenuages would be suplimented from the rates. upto the lovel of the scale. From the point of view of the Poor Law authorities, the system could be reggreed as earleing the burden of the a dole to be paid waintenance of the poor by allowing/ aid- in wages. tunhanpainnfinnanthan unatemann from the polt of view, Timally, of a opitalist system, it determining up permitted the finningnofinnageennhynnappennancenoffannesshing chages throug tine labour market , while actually removing the cutting edge of that dangeross mechanism.

The resommediations of the magistrates of Berkshire ran as follows:

'When the gallon loaf of bread imminion.shall cost R/- shilling,
then every poor and industious person shall have for his support 3
shildings weekly, either procured by his own ornis faimily's labor,
or an allowance from the poor rates, and for the support of his wife
and every other of his family, 1/6; when the gllong loaf of bread shall
cost 1/6, then 4 shillings weekly, plus 1/10; on every pence which
the bread pride rises above 1/- he shall have 3 pence for himself and 1
pence for the others'.

But a labour market that does not threaten the unemployed with the sanction of hunger, is a useless organ under capitallism. While the almost phorentumn Speenhauland was /universally acclaimed in thebeginning, long run effects were horrible beyond words.) Gradually agminita put under a rusel England was anadantannana regime which seemd to satelfy everybody. it appeared amenthan without any cost to anyhody. In the short from this name and an anahanana parpulagannaruanganasa, andor satefied everybody without assumants to any-The employer could pay as low wages ashe liked, the labourer was under no compulsion to exert himself, parents were free of the respoposibility for their offspring, the offspring were htbaratednonamahenna free of the authroity of their parents, unnunnannannannannannannannannanna young people could marry without ours forther future, and seem if they lastards were no worse their ofer the taken tare of the squire and the parsons sway over the village was never assater aba peace and quite reigned in the ruralnuffishan countrysize of England, whether agricutor al or industrial namusa that it me how atificials pauperised. ac turing , were mannennennintan These was no bottom in wages , and wages higher than the sould began to be Eru worse 1 en exception. Weree than that, farmers were relugiousnt to employ such was a true banamanananan saying. Inside of a gerneration runal nanghandnnannadniann self-resepcting they noundunmenonundahanonundungiddan cottag ere and b bouers the timen Engilah countryisde were sinking to the level of A datrobattsednnastres of nandmannon an and amount in a seritable cultural cast asstroke engulated anul their inherited civilisation) they resembled more that the shaft the same and the civilisation of the companion of the com driffinnend detribalised natives of a modern coloinal area attendention than pentilennanni disposeessed by but taxesandn and debased by gamblingand prostituion than the essent inhabitants of an anceint mannann culture, For the decencies of setteled life wore off on the promiscuity of the couldfeel all the more safe , where a man fishanthannafannthannnnthannhonnunhinsatannannnnnn sunk in the lower he had finishbbbb the estimation of his fellows. effect was one of utter demoralisations. The poor rate had been methe publi spoil... To obtain their share the brutal bullied the adminstrators, the profilegte exhibited their bastards which mu tobs fed, the idle

folded their arms and waited till they got it; ignorantboys and girls married upon it; poachers, thieves and prostitutes exorted it by intimidation; country justices lavished it for popularity, and Guardia for convenience..." Eventually, together with the rising rates, the productivity of law ur itself deteriorated, thus attracking the risks.

of this crazy system... The farmers and valued more highly the cenefit subjectived wages than they be married walked more highly the cenefit subjectived wages than they be married walked more highly the cenefit

But a capitalist systm could not propper on pauper wagner labour. After 1815, during the post-war derpression, high prices and extensive farming came to an end, and were replaced by low prices and less wasteful work sous to work sous to the spurious methods of pauper pretending to expensive farming to the farming to expensive farming to the farming to expensive farming to the farming to expensive farming the farming to the farming to expensive farming the farming to the farming the fa

The pauper who pretended to do his work merely to be entitled to be.

anahanan bread hanahananananbanbanbabbreduced. By the end of the 1820

ies the condition of the agricultural labourer in la arge part of had the countsyide hanns detirorated further. No wondert hat the uros

workers could not maintain thementheir standards in theface of the inexhaustible industrial reserve army represented by the ever increasing number of paurised aguindnumb labourers whommen

anaisbhannaannanninexhansiabhannnaanindusabhanaanna sanuanaanna

countryside. NINE

The demand for a geniune labour market was now renewed with hundreffold hubbbbbbbb emphasis.

Owen's description of his workers. Harriet Martineau. Englas and

Manchester. The 1833 Report. (even though exaggerated).

The impossibility of establishing a selfsupporting economic class.

The truth of the economic argument. The bayes would rive

Inverted humanitarians. Figures and Facts.

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

The essence of this type of needucation of the masses involved some thing akin to psyhoological torture. Although of amild kind, it was neverthle so meant to create unbearable conditions, is such as would be preferred only to rank starvation, and not even that unconditionally. Often the genteel man poor preferred starvation.

Such reed ucation involved dictatoral methods. One of the assumpt tions was: final inferrority of the people. They are altogether subhuman. They are ignoarant and deserve to be so. They are powerless and rightly so. Contepmt, in institutionalised forms, was the only aftequal

repsosnee. It might have been often deserved -- that indeed is our poin But the inyman situation had to be maintained whether deserved or not. The disfranchisment of the pauper followed from this Lack of civic status... From here derived the idea that civic institutions should be shaped in sucha way as to educate the poor. Education e wouldmorally endgager him it were grantishans etc. etc.

The political disfranchisment followed from this also as a political nedessaity. How could the tortured be put by their torut. rers in power, without danger of their removing their tottumers? But that would have been the end of the lawour market.

Hardly any middle loass <u>Mitlaufer</u> joined the Chartists.

The anti-working calss feeling now hardnened into a metaphys sical conviction of the annimunimum minths moral superiority of the owning cases over the propertyless classes. and the corresponding humanifering ity of the latter as compared with the former.

3. The fascist virus.

Ninenteenth century thought was market minded and feared the people.

THE FASCIST VIRUS;

Pascism is merely the most recent and most virulent outburst of the anti-democratic virus which innered in industrial capitalism. The seconomy to all forms of popular government was emphasised by the classics. If was acute during the first century after the Industrial Revolution ; subsequently latent for a few decades giving rise to a false sense of security among democratical only toder lop into world wide tendency in ourddays.

The ruling classes had good remon to fear the establishment of popular government, and to oppose them a development, which ultimatery to an attack on the property system from which they be-In Lord Macaulay's words , were convinced that they never can without absolute danger entrust the superior government of this country to any class which would , to a moral cortainty, commit great and systematic inraods on the seculity of property. This man simply was to acknowledge the fact that to the most numerous strata of society, viz., the working classes, time democratic institutions offered a ready access to power , and percentage the destruction of a property The various phases of this long struggle can be hardly understood take account of its seement background. Liberal account had a two-fold effect on the development of popular, forces: On the one hand, it urged thereon to bigger and bigger efforts to the market mecanism indeed on the other classes to stem the democratic tide. attempted to protect itself against the disastrous effects of the warket mechanismy, and tagrafore for political and industrial power, while capitalists could supply point to that self-same machanism as a proof of the dangers of a proof of the dangers of litarian influences in politics Andining opposition es to the extension of the franchise was & market medacista on the sea Modern capitalism could be established only after the customery legal seculirty of employment and land tenure and been abolished

and replaced by the manuatic device of a free competitive market in regard to labour and land. Such an institutional mishandling of the elements of human existence, man and his natural environments, could not fail to call forth protective receives on the part of society as a whole. Such the form of factory laws, social insurance, municipal socialism, and trade union activities and practices. This type of intervention is socially necessary in order to prevent the destruction of the human substance through the blind action of the automatism of the market, though from the atrictly economic point of view that mechanism often reactiving avourably to outside intervention dynamically thereby economic forms the first the contains a first through the comprehensive through the outside intervention dynamically thereby economic forms the first through the comprehensive

But executed of utmost danger to the privileges of property which would be found of even the semblance of social usefulness and have become rise for abolishment.

At this point

Compared to the market mechanism served as a live wire tempe to the owners. Indicated any amplement interventions, though absolutely vital to the survival of society, tended to impair the mechanism of the market, which then the functioned even worse than before. Yet at the cere hint of a more comprehensive planned intervention, the market panicked and there was imminent danger of the stopping of the productive apparatus. Suddenly forces may confidence and the offending forces may promptly made to disappear from the political and industrial scene. The performance was as unfailing success. In vain did the popular parties show the greatest moderation and discipline: in the nature of things, their assurances carried no conviction. The mere possibility that in an emergency they might disregard the sanctity of titles to property, and the sanctity of titles to property, and the capitalist system any comprehensive and planned reform of the capitalist system on the working class was a impossibility, as long as the market mechanism ruled the day.

Historically, three phases must be distinguished: The forcible & setting up of a competitive national labour market and the refusal of the vote to the people; the period of false security, lasting a few

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

The first period 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 institute before another half century had elapsed after the introduction of a free labour market was the vote - most reluctantly - granted to the workers in this country.

Buring 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 American scene.

The third period, that of crisie, was introduced by the Great
War, and the world wide trade depression of the 1930ics; Mass unemploys
ment, insecurity of tenure for the producers, and irrational distribution of incomes had reached an uncearable pitch. The system had broken down and its redical 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 tha
Faccion was the accountie.
Continuity of the accounties the property owners, usually in
alliance with the lower middle class, 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 powerful defence of capitalist property, the free market, has faller. There is now nothing aparty from brute force to prevent the abolishment of the privileges of the property-owning classes, if 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 mammamma once the poison fails to be totally effective, it must prove entirely ineffective. Post-fascist capitalism can not any many hold out against democracy and the advance towards socialism.

. Joshin e Hil 'est quinement 'fellet moo la lacarbe' full ena dece and delicer. There to good sort trong to the torne to and the sort and the second constitutes Athe property-orally classes, a V to immediations of is a democratic moverfield of the series of the series was also as of report of the . There as the state of the salten yourselet emercial the rest or jet of the Chiparista nactors in anotary, the fallvidual mas to be made fro petit franchistic solution eponyuneously as a re units of the miss of negation fact inspire paraible unit and the virus must be allowed troop lets water surice the prize test religion of (d) so delegate the loss that never allow itself to be destroyed, by that virus. Int memman ance the poison fails to be totally eightier, it much prove entirely inenlage for then grant per den cee monthstane defeastword . evidente demogracy and the navance towards socialism.

The natural nistory of fascism.

- 1. The arigina mondique wines. A hunter younge ...
- 2. The faccist ' reform ' of capitalism.
- 3. The answer to fascism.

1. A humalyean ago -

The problem of fascism is as old as capitalism. The threat was there sin When from the start. The negative ttopia ANNWLEM the sleeper wakes and the Time amonine. Jack London's The Iron Heel. when USA was your Bukre. on thenecessity of poverty. Onthe impossibility of fielding all. Mal thus on the need for repressive characks, un The absuridty of his preevntive checks.

Educationalism. Martineau. (Maltaus). Owe and Godwin were anti-revo

The C hartist movement quahsed by bona fide anti-demorat the Peel & Maca ulay. Herb rt Spencer. Sir Henry Sumner Maine. Cobden and Bright. 1848 in France... Darwinims did the rest.

The thaughtless era. Low point of political education reached James Mill flourishes. (Riardo and Mill).

2. The faccist ' reform ' of capital ism.

When capitalism got under way, de mocracy could be safely introc.

E.g. England, and later on in Bermany, France stc.

But capitalism had not overcome its orginal weaknesses. This became pparent in the 1920 ies. Mass uremployment and business syscke, The gold standard moloch. Stablity and security was had not been created beginning to our ideals, of justice and fairness.

Thereform of capitalism cropped/ Up.At the price of mannismnnn eliminating democracy... Three reforms. Full employment. Security of tenrus. Redistributio of purchsing power..

-2-

Some times hardly conscious of their true nature.

An inherent the bobbbbin an industrials or iety. Irrewe potive anticodients and of pshychological conditions. Domesticated fascism. In some countries, where favored by circumstances, they repower. In other countries they are still fighting for recgonition.

Sociolgoical definition of fascism. Organisation for coetty beed on industry under private property maintaining the continuity of the titles so property.

Politically it eliminates the influence of the working calss as such.

It is for this reason, that it must be against democratic institutions.

The answer to fascism.

The achievments of fascism. On thesearch for peaceful forms of facis

The maintenance of liberty.

velopment. Not before an other half century had clapsed affer the ennotment of a free labour market, was the vote — west rejustantly granted to the workers inkingland (1884); on the Contine it this happened between 1871 and 1906.

During this short period of time capitalism and dencoracy scamed to flourish side by side. The illusion of their harmony was the result of transitory factors, such as the enormous expansion of market 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.

emergence of the dilemma of capitalism vs. annihimma democracy. Attadio and all referm of the capitalist system had become unavoidable, but the working class was not prepared to carry infimum it into effect. It was willing neither about to abdicate now to assert its ascendancy. Under these conditions the very existence of a popular democracy unantificated annihimmanian could be represented as an obstacle to reform. When an all-out attack on the polutices and industrial rights of the industrial workers who the reuselt, after which the propertyoneers from a lieur reform of capitalism by revolutionary means, based on the site and complete destruction of democratic incitations. Thus they defieved their main purpose, manely, to achieve the reform under their own less and maintaining the derable national managements and maintaining the

Butthe short run solution of the crisis was bought at the price of the starting of a degreeative process insummatum industry, diviliant tion. In order to eliminate democracy permanetly, the individual had to 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 farcist virus was completing its work.