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THE FASCIST TRANSFORMATION.

The problem

Chap. I.

The phenomenon.

Intensity and extensibility of the phenomenon: Their universality. Suddenness.- Surprising character (contrary to trend-dialectical). Tempo. Comparatively easy victory. (Overwhelming strength of opponents; non-resistance). - Underrated beforehand, belated when performed. -

Difficulties of investigation. very

Apparently in contradiction with the /assumptions underlying the methods developed in order to deal with phenomena of the kind. An irrational, un-Marxian, un-liberal, non-self-declaratory phenomenon. Transformation lacking direct reference to the movement from out of which it arises. What are the characteristics of a Fascist movement? What do you know by to be Fascist?

Non-characteristic: a. / Historical antecedents. b/ Mentality

What is due to theory or the other?

Description of F.M.'s.

Chap. III

The Movement leading towards Fascist transformation.

a. Sociologically.

Who takes part in it? Civilian movement, preparing to use force and violence against their opponents inside and outside the government, refusing however to challenge constituted authority as a whole. (Apparent exceptions - Spain, Japan).

all available "classes" join up. Ref: G. M. Cole, De la base, Buckley (?) R. M. L. Official movement in Hungary. class interests - in immediate relief up to the point of military keep copy, in no constructive manner (in reference to lower middle class).

Support of big business. Support of parts of the executive (judiciary, legislation, executive, especially the armed forces.)

Middle class movement?

b. Technical groups (militia) :-

Some organization of violence, but subordinate to political control. Non-patchist; Non conspirative. - Looking to the masses, but not relying upon them. -

organizationally, in terms of subordinate political powers, essential.

PARTY MILITIA? MALAPARTES? Can be combined with coup d'etat. (revolution from above.); with military dictatorship; with counter-revolution with national revolution or war;

c. Intellectual character.

No reasoned and comprehensive programme. - Either none, or un-alterable; or fragmentary; or refusing to reason it on principle. (Its ideological anti-rationalism rooted in this characteristic of the movement).

Criticism, partly, rational; program not reasoned. Underlying liberal economic as well as Marxian variety.

d. Negative-directed against system.

Mostly negative starting point. The regime, the system.

e. Anti-democratic

Against the actual institutions of repres

unity, justice, equality, freedom, peace, ...
for "true"

representative democracy in the country concerned. Against politics, party system, politicians.

f. Against a change in the property system. Against "Marxism" as a means of production, as a solution. Active support of the system of private property. Against "class-war" means against the idea of the mission of the working class in society directed towards the solution of the basic crisis. (In acknowledging this crisis it differs both from the liberal and the conservative. The liberal denies its existence; the conservative hopes to deal with it by returning to former times.)

technical - social means,
anti-socialist.

is possible: change of leader -
along the lines of ...
party with ...
of ...

Douglas credit system type
of ...
economic theory, the ...
realism of it ...

g. Anti-capitalist: Criticism of Capitalism, especially of financial, monetary system, currency, etc.; not of industrial capitalism. Attacking liberalism, identifying liberalism with Capitalism, thus sheltering Capitalism in its cooperative forms from criticism.

h. Ideology: unstable and unessential; anti-individualist in the Christian sense. Directed against the Christian values in western civilisation in order to attack democracy basically. Realist only in the economic sphere; in every other sphere "idealist". Existential and functional ontology. against significance and rationality. a (bi-centric against ideocentric).

i. Revolutionary, not conservative or reactionary.

Chap. III

The Nature of the Crisis: Democracy versus Capitalism

The causes as general as the effects. Incompatibility between Democracy and Capitalism at this stage. (Cf. Hitler, Mussolini, Laski etc.) What is the nature of this incompatibility? What starts it? What forces are working at its solution?

What is a market-economy? An autonomous system in a society? The nature of a society governed by prices. Under what conditions is it able to ...

- Important reforms:
- a. factory legislation (social insurance)
 - b. municipal socialism (public utilities)
 - c. imperialism (colonies, Greater Britain) using force and armies.

removing from influence of market
a) conditions of labor (hours) ;
b) primary collective needs ; adding
of extension of markets by force ;

This process builds up economic-political units unable to trade freely

Chap IV

Organized Capitalism

The adaptation of capitalism leads to "organized Capitalism"

Financially: redistribution of income involves colossal amount of interferences (housing, public utilities, etc. etc. etc., and so on)

Social legislation: ~~we~~ ~~decrease~~ mobility, increase rigidity; various tariffs compensating for it. English proletarians working towards imperialist expansion; (Germany: Schutzzoll) Racial interdependence of classes obvious in England, only less obvious in Germany.

Imperialism: increased rigidity of international relations. Capital fixed in colonies; The markets are ~~in~~ pegged out with ~~high~~ flags.

An unconscious growth, when the system broke down, this fact was not at once realized.

The old (liberal) international organisation of world economic system breaks down:

- a. international gold standard (internal price fluctuations impossible)
- b. free trade (unemployment, isolation of international trade)
- c. international capital markets (certainty of major wars).

A new relationship of politics to economics urgently ~~was~~ needed.

Either: a cooperative solution, making away with the war danger, and making for a peaceful community; democracy made supreme over capitalism; Political systems ~~made~~ *made* home of society;

Or: antagonistic solution; preparing for international ~~anarchy~~ *anarchy*; capitalism made workable through sacrifice of democracy. Economic system retained as the whole of society. *the fascist solution.*

Chap IV.

The Critical Situation

~~On the eve of the crisis~~
The crisis ~~of~~ *of* democracy and ~~of~~ *of* the capitalist depression.

- a. The crisis of Democracy (Parliaments).
Colossal increase in the power of working classes, either in order to win the war, or as a consequence of defeat.
England: 28 instead of 8 Million ~~working class~~ voters.
Increase in political-economic integration. (Normal in war, but this time specific).
England cannot safeguard her currency
Germany under economic pressure of working classes too dependent upon foreign loans to be able to free herself ~~from~~ *from* equality of status.
Italy putting down weakness in war to working class influence. Moreover: ~~the~~ *the* occupation of factories.

4. (The Transformation. Cont.)

Summing up: Political system failing (England 1920-1931; stabilisation 1925, national government 1931) National states (Poland, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Czechoslovakia) Defeated states, unnational, but too poor Hungary, Austria, Bulgaria and so on.

International organisationally breaking down. Not measured by amount of trade (mistake), but by preparedness and capacity to accept lower standards of life i.e. to allow price levels to fluctuate. Turned out to be zero, even in England (1931!) for instance, and in America too! The international organisation had been merely factual i.e. it could work only as long as it needed no conscious sacrifice to make it work. The more they became conscious the less it became workable. In fact the consciousness of the way it works lead to a radical change in the method of working it, amounting to a ceasing of it altogether sometimes. The price system cannot be allowed to fluctuate, once organised capital has introduced innumerable rigid elements of costs, which are however needed in order to safeguard human existence (individual and group)

Ergebnisse Span: a) internal: via interest rate b) external: Drop of price level.

External economic relations may work out as national relations in the international field.

International position of countries becoming untenable (England 1931, Japan 1931, Germany of above, Italy 1919, Austria (no)

b) The crisis of the economic system increased (Depression). The Liberal theorem. Unemployment. The trade cycle. The credit system. Interference with all kinds of prices. (Interest, commodity prices, rent, wages).

Working class losing faith in its organisations and methods. Strikes universally deserted.

Left parliamentary majorities unwilling to use powers.

Trade Unions lack public support

Both show civil war. Severing, Otto Bauer.

Right wing Reiner Morrison more alarmist which proves that only concessions envisaged, even by leftists.

Nuisance value of working class influence. Positive value during the first phase. increasing social dividend.

Preconditions

- organisation of labour market
- equalising conditions of employment
- speeding up use of machinery
- social insurance spreading risks
- factory legislation, housing
- educating the new employer
- politically: ally against feudalism
- reforming capitalism, factory legislation
- municipal socialism
- organised capitalism

5. (The Fascist Transformation . cont.)

More radical reformed capitalism ^{was} needed; a. Internationally ^{internationally}
b. extern (nationally)
c. internally

Three reforms: Levelling out of trade cycle; security of tenure; income
Can be accomplished only 1/ by the capitalist class;
2/ by a power forcing it thro' against individual capitalists

INTERNAL:

EXTERNAL:

regulating exchange (goods, currency, capital)

Satisfactorily, a) new sound basis; b) antitrust basis.

Democratic solution: Making political power, not ownership the basis retaining democracy; extending it; making it more effective and efficient. Socialism!
The critical situation.

Chap. V.

^{brought into play by the}
Class War - The forces ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} crisis; carrying on towards the state

Classes a force inhibitory only in ^{reference to the whole}. No mystic interest, that makes other ~~do~~ do what I am interested in. The leading function of classes.

Under capitalism two main classes: The ~~owners~~ ^{owners} and the workers. The owners ^{by} working for ^{their} interest, safeguard the interest of the community in production. ^{incidentally}

Y own

The workers mainly safeguard ^{their} own existence as producers. but also all the other interests of society besides the economic; the owners not in the position to do so.

Weakness of owner's position

Owners cannot carry permanent loss in Capitalism. This ^{makes} them ~~use~~ ^{use} of the reasonable use of the means of production. At the same time, ^{it} disqualifies them from taking account of any other interest of society ~~besides~~ the materially economic. The workers become the guardians of the interests of society as a whole. ^{(An anomalous situation).}

the

|| Their immediate interests make them use this position to the full ^(or contrived)

Functionalism: The wage earner making use of the political weapon to protect himself against economic (individual) annihilation.

- political & economic -

The two functions ^{opposing} become ~~the~~ fortresses of two ~~classes~~ ^{classes}. The working class ^{naturally} uses all social interests to strengthen its own. ^{makes use of}

cf. Chap. II

The other classes enlisted on the one side or the other. Both leading classes have to sacrifice immediate interests. Immediate interests ~~is~~ no key to ^{the} class war ~~effort~~ in social transformation. Only the levies (Hilfstruppen) enlisted on immediate interest basis, which maybe, of course non-material interest.

6. (The Fascist Transformation) cont.

The Fascist Transformation ^{is} ~~times~~ ^{climax} not by the apex of class war, but by its decline (Austria, no-strikes, Italy, no strike. Germany in spite of ghastly unemployment, no strikes.) This shows that the weakening of the working class, ~~and~~ ^{fall} in its ~~own~~ ^{own} weapons precedes the Fascist attack. In fact, as long as the lower middle class believe that a Socialist solution may come, they are not virulently Fascist. They become so when the futility of the working class activities becomes clear, while the working class does not liquidate its positions although not making use of them any more. The working class strength becomes a nuisance value. (The ^{equal} complaint against Mussolini ~~is~~ ^{was over} for this having acted when the danger had passed, ~~and~~ does not account for this lag which is not psychological, but objectively political: only after the futility becomes obvious was the F. move possible) ^{of Soc}

^{Temporary} The reasons for the failure of formal democracy ought to be understood by Marxians. They are not the non-political influence of press, church, school etc, but the ~~economic~~ ^{economic} solidarity of the capitalist with the worker which the capitalist is able to enforce. Cf. Otto Bauer in Knopf. The Marxian contention that the working class can not reform capitalism, ~~is~~ ^{is} sound. ~~It~~ ^{Does not} mean that it cannot be reformed. The Price, that's the point.

Chap VII

The Great War - The post-War period: Historical background and national mentalities.

The process leading up to the outbreak of the war before the WWI. The war was, partly, an outcome of this process.

Still, a new period of history is opened in the middle of the twenties. The war, the post-war upheavals together with the first part of the Russian revolution and the Central European revolutions forms part of the XVIII-XIX century evolution. In the middle of the twenties a radical change begins, of a dialectical character, perhaps facilitated by the new unification of minds by the radio. Anyhow, middle of the twenties, a surge of change emerges.

History is the background of the Fascist transformation. Capitalism, constitutionalism, working class movement etc. They all arise on a specific background and national mentality, but are not identical with them. The rise of Fascism must be separated from the general course of history, in order to clarify its characteristics.

a/ Historical background.

These events took one Fascist form.

On the other hand, the Fascist transformation had to take up itself the functions deriving from such situations.

1/ Counter-revolutions in Central Europe, relatively in England, took up a Fascist form;

2/ establishment of new nation-states in actually mixed territories;

3/ indefeated or quasi-defeated countries international readjustment was needed (Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey, Germany, Italy)

4/ Austrian economic consequences of defeat raise international readjustment issues.

5/ national - Bolshevik in Hungary (ex ample of influence of historical process of a national order on social revolutions).

two main functions working: counter-revolutionary: Germany, Austria nationalist typical: Germany

although in minor cases like Turkey definitely progressive comparatively; or national integrating banking toward Japan.

In all cases international readjustment breaks down and new political economic units emerge, in continuation of the development which is the hindrance of the readjustment, i.e. organized capitalism.

The democratic type increases the influence of parliamentarism: New Deal, Blue government.

The Fascist type eliminates democracy and goes onto an antagonistic type.

Analysis of the international adjustment needs: currencies, trade balances, capital repayments. Partly independence from other countries; Germany, Russia. Opposite solutions.

3. (Fascist Transformation, cont.)

Adjustments of the countries concerned to international balance had to proceed in spite of an increase of the factory which had impeded such an adjustment already before the war i.e. organised capitalists.

In Italy counter-revolution was the first in order of time. But it hardly developed more than the use of Fascism for many years to come. Still, the idea that parliamentarism had to go, that Marxism was the enemy, that Italy would hold her own in competition with other countries with the help of the new system - these ideas were there from the start.

In Germany the counter-revolutionary function was in abeyance. (there had been no revolutionary movement comparable in effectiveness to the occupation of the factories); it was the international problem which dominated the scene. While in Italy the international motive was secondary to the class motive, in Germany at least in the beginning, Fascism was more indebted to the nationalist than to the capitalist motivation (this may however be dubious). The German Nationalist seem quite reactionary enough and had sufficient support from the middle class parties and groups to safeguard class interests; it was mainly in view of the far reaching foreign programme of German nationalist middle classes, that Papen-Schleicher did not seem ~~strong enough~~ to guarantee a sufficient measure of elimination of working class influence. So Hitler was called in.

In Austria the counter-revolution had practically fulfilled its course with the revision of the constitution (1934) that Fascism was established was almost completely due to foreign relations. The international problem needed from the point of view of the middle class dictatorship. Especially the Italian influence worked for it, in view of the strong national sentiment in Austria which could have been counter balanced only with the help of the Socialist - making back the counter revolution of 1929. Dictatorship was the outcome. In view of Roman Catholic Church interests it took the form of Kluge's ~~form~~

In Poland, again, counter-revolution would have been sufficient served by the National Democrat reactionaries. But the foreign situation called for a strong government (military) etc, that needed again a non-existing unity in the nation. The multi-national state made democracy anyhow, impossible in budgetary basis.

In all these countries in economic position was irretrievable. Still, the immediate factor which made international balance impossible was the working class. In Italy this meant emigration, in Germany foreign debts, in Poland an uncertain currency, industrial dependence on foreign countries. In Germany ~~industrial~~ and Austria an inflation, in Poland and Italy devaluation had come about. And adjustment to the international situation was impossible. (Repayment of debts, upholding of the currency,)

The stabilisation of the currencies under pressure of the Western capitalist states, was premature. The Western states had to take over the whole of the pressure Central European stabilisation. But these Western states could not themselves bear this burden once they had stabilised (1925, 1926).

9. (The Fascist Transformation cont.)

From 1925, 1926 onwards the UK had to shoulder the burden of the deflation (i.e. continued foreign loans, and since 1927, the non-reduction of the interest rate, in order to prevent London from a flight of the foreign lender. This was the main cause of the terrible dimensions of the American crash, which, finally, came. Crypto-inflation had been going on all the time.

In England itself the main step was the creation of the National Government (the National Government) amidst conditions of international adjustment since 1925 to international economic conditions.

In France, Laval represented such a tendency, but with outstanding success.

In Japan the crisis came in 1931, when the Manchurian adventure made her go over to a more independent form of international capitalism. Her exchange had to be manipulated dictatorially. This took the form of the 'Army' system.

Chap. VIII: The Corporative State, its theory.

What does this amount to in theory?

Spain's account. Pius XI. Mussolini's. French Fascists?

Guild System? Neither the craft nor the non-craft conditions of guild given.

The economic system takes over the run of society. Society reduced to Capitalism, but with corporatism instead of individual ownership.

The Corporative state is the rationalization of the truncating process performed by Fascists out of society. Still, the reform ideas not unconnected with it.

How to make private property of whatever kind, compatible with state intervention? What ever state it be? This is the question.

The new exterior organized in an antagonistic way. This is very true and dominates the international situation.

Chap. IX: The Corporative State, in practice.

How far have Italy, Germany and Austria progressed on this road?

How far are other countries on the same way? What does it depend whether a country is moving one way or the other?

Chap. X: The Philosophy of Fascism.

The consequences of radical anti-individualism. Reactions to it.

Metaphysical characteristics of it.

Chap. XI: A degenerative process.

Chap. XII: On the Brink of a New Religious Wars.

AD Chap I. The Fascist Transformation

A/ Intro

Universality: Countries with
 Suddenness: Italy 1914-1918
 Surprising: Contrary to rate; staggering
 Easy victory: Impregnable; non-resistance; paraly
 Unseen enemy: underpinned; denied when acts performed (possibility). Not acknowledged as revolution. The F. transformation refused recognized definitions. They at liberal conventions. i.e. "movements" are to be 1/ self-territory, or at least, conclusion even though not self-territory; 2/ intellectually consistent ("der F. ist verstanden"); 3/ change in the economic system or rather a property system. In fact, F. mystificatory, inconsistent, leaving the property system untouched. E.g. And the promised transformation been achieved or not? No answer possible as no definite or definite promises had been made. arraigned for non fulfillment of promises and for fulfillment of them

Even the Roman Church resisted and outmanoeuvred by F. in Italy. Ity assailed.

B/

F. transformation possible with hardly any F. Movement. Then, only of the change which is bring about the Transformation. Non-resistance of opponents as much a characteristic of the Transformation as the existence of an active positive F. movement in the sociological sense.

Moreover: a F. Movement is solely characterized by the fact that it leads or tends to lead to a F. transformation. Either, actually, in the past, or, potentially, in the future on account of its resemblance to the movements that have done so in the past.

Impossibility of saying for certain whether a movement is F. or not. ("tends towards F." is a frequent and correct description). E.G. Social credit Lucy Long (Share the Wealth), Father Coughlin (Social Justice), The German Youth Movement. Any of these (or similar ones) non-F. at other periods (Silvio Gesell), Hyndman and Bernfield (Youth Movement), Social Justice and Share the Wealth/democracy/ analogous to Weitling or Proudhon. These latter revolutionary formally on account of the nature of the total situation. It is the total situation the function of which the F. or anti-F. character of "movements" of this kind must be understood.

Some of these movements in their nature neutral; swelling the tide, what ever way the tide runs. (open air movement, planning movement)

Some of these are Fascistoid: i.e. they turn F. under favorable conditions. Some are

disappearing altogether under unfavorable conditions. Some are

I handle: Youth League (A) i.e. factors in changing the situation itself
 II Fascist: Social credit, Democracy, Youth Movement (B)
 III Fascist: 100 American Corp. Union, Heinrich Himmler

2. Ad. Chap. II. The movements that precede the Transformation.

a/ Sociological descr.

aa. Body of the mov.

Lower middle class elements, including students (exclusive of aristocracy), white collar workers, third party in industry, organised Xty (German Protestant, Austrian Catholicism); grocers, small shopkeepers, retailers, occasionally, farmers.
(Hitler: originally in favour of ~~minority~~ minority mov
Mussolini: permanently for minority,
Spain: similarly.)

The same classes under Herriot, Lloyd George, Benes, Roosevelt, Stanning (right wing Socialists) supporting the working class activities, if when these are forthcoming.
"standing for democracy and progress."

essential elem. 1.

available elem. 2-3

bb. relations to other classes

- 1/ Big business (constant feature) Gino Olivetti, Pirelli, Count Volpi, Stefano Benni, Langman(?), Stinnes, Henry Ford, Krueger, Alpine Montan (Vereinigte Stahlwerke) Japan(?).
- 2/ dispossessed elements.
inflation victims,
occupied territories, refugees,
unemployed(!),
demobilised,
discharged officers and civil servants, incl. Abbau (i.e. Geddes Axe)
provincial intelligentsia
- 3/ farmers, peasant, agricultural unrest.

Where the lower middle classes are conservative (traditionally) e.g. Austria, they support the political parties (Xtian Socialists) against the Heimwehr, i.e. the Fascist party.

In Hungary (1919) the lower middle class votes freely overwhelmingly for counterrevolution. (Must be checked).

In France foremen and even third party in industry join with workers in the Blum stay in strike.

These classes must support socially effective class like the own in heavy industry or the workers in heavy industry. In F. they support the former. "Democratic conclusions of G.D.H. Cole, De Man etc unfounded".

b/ Organization and technique.

Civilian movement. (Not an army rebellion). Italy, Austria, (Vogel Germany (Reichswehr) not parts of the movement. (Army outside, in spite of Austria). Their connivance however only one removed from a "Fascistization" of Trade Unions (Italy, All Germany, England). i.e. the paralysis of Tr.Un. in the face of the enemy.

Officer's detachments (Hungary, inland) not typically N. German younger officers (Soviet Movement) only on account of his looking to the peasants etc, as to their higher commands.

Preparedness to use armed force or violence. The role of force accepted. The Social Democratic form of Marxism the Marxist working class movement contradicted by this. No overrating of force (an other Marxist element). Use against political opponents whether outside or inside the government. Use of force in order to free the full impact of the movement. Forced not used against constituted authority as a whole. "The Army persecuted; the civil service" supported "in its duties. If not united, it is disrupted by the Fascist tactics. (One part of the executive supported, another not Austria: Gemeinde wache. Germany: Prussian Police. France Spain(?)).

Sabotage of democratic government from inside. (Gil Robles methods) Seipel; Helfferich; Fick in Thuringen. Use of Reichstag ala Goering. Other civil liberties used in the same fashion.

Connivance of judicial and police, as well as of parts of the executive. As long as the government is not prepared to drop the economic system altogether, if this were necessary, bourgeois influence in the government present effective. F. movements invariably bank upon this fact. The regular recurrence of the element of "too late" -ness in dealing with Fascism, issue to this circumstance.

Subservience of violence to political party. K'n-patchist (Not necessarily illegal. Non-military militia part of the party. (The safeguard against a torian rule).

- May form part of
 - aa. revolution: Poland, coup d'etat: Greece, Yugoslavia;
 - bb. social counter-revolution: Hungary, Germany, national outburst (Austria) etc.
 - cc. military: Poland, Spain, Hungary, Japan; civilian: Germany, Austria.

Politically

- a. a connivance, leniency, of part of constituted authority, part of the system;
- b. going into latency, springing up swiftly suddenly, when tide turns.

No F. militia fights
 The Army. Italy (Fascia). *Germany (Austria) Austria (Czech army).*

Intellectual characteristics.

The unconscious character of the movement is magnificently expressed in its relation to its programme. Its deliberate anti-intellectualism (mostly present) the consequence of this unconscious character.

Italian Fascism featured this. Refer to Croce, Nietzsche Futurism, Dadaism, Spenglerism.

Germany Meier v. der Bruck "Das Dritte Reich"; anti-intellectual forerunners; Neo-romanticism (Stefan Georg Ludwig Klages, Rudolf Kassner (Characterology), Franz Bieri, Karl Kraus, Friedrich Paul Ernst, Spann (Neo-Hegelian) Neo-mysticism of Eckardt, Spann (re)discover Adam Müller, (in Italy) Herder etc.

Attitude to programme.

Germany. Unilateral programme, not what is usually to be, if a 1000 years are envisaged. Clearly not the programme of the Third Reich. Ambiguity (regard to Federaled inflation), to Rosenberg and the Church or rather, Christianity. (i.e. both to finance and religion).

after first four years plan (unemployment (was not mentioned in original programme); second four years plan either colonizer synthetic raw materials. (not mentioned). Contrary to programme: a. unification of Reich b. Lateran pact in Italy. (?). Details of programme not adhered to in Germany (economics (inflation and multiple stores). Italy socialist programme before accession; b. discarded for no-programme after accession; later changed to corporatism.

Fragmentary programme. Townsend, Huey Long, Caughlin, Major Douglas.

"Mein Kampf" discusses the basic insincerity problem. Analogous problem in Communism. Though the latter is, principle, rationalistic. NMS Anti-rationalism does account therefore in itself for this Fascist trait. In Marxism a heroic and heroic membership. This distinct not accepted in Fascism. "by?"

Negative attitude. Main feature of its political programme. As the system, the regime. Opposition to all the accepted principles of power in society.

Positive features: Authority of the leader. discipline, sacrifice, duties, obedience, (anti-intellectualism as a tactic idea).

Anti-democratic. Directed against the actual forms institutions

(Anti-democratic)

in which representative democracy is embodied in the countries concerned. No attack against democracy as a system which expresses the will of the people, or rather makes the will of the masses prevail. Refusing to accept class distinctions and prerogatives;

Attack directed against: a. party system; party government; b. representative institutions (ballot, elections) c. political character of elections, institutions as against vocational,

d. democratic principles of equality, liberty, fraternity (mainly equality of Span). Also Hitler and Mussolini against equality. Against majority rule. For the rule of anybody else: the philosopher, the expert, the captain of industry, the technician, the scientist, the aristocrat (the few), the biological A plus man; the genius, -anybody but the man elected to rule by the ruled.

e. political content of the N. anti-democratic attitude. The intent to destroy the influence of Marxism, i.e. the political working class movement. Typified by the fact that after the Reichstag election the Communist party was simply outlawed, their mandates annulled (?). This proves to be the precondition of an attack on the Union of the working class i.e. the organs of their influence in industrial (economic) life. In fact, the victory of a N. movement is synonymous with the disappearance of party elections and of governments responsible to representative bodies; simultaneously either organs of discussion and formulation of public opinion prohibited and their secret continuation prevented.

N. is against "the whole system". Rightly, from its own point of view. N. embodies an implicit acknowledgment of an important truth i.e. that the influence of the working class both in politics and industrial life are inseparably linked with the liberal and democratic organization of society under the private ownership of the means of production.

f. Against a change in the property system.

For the continuance and the reinforcement of the private ownership of the means of production. This is open said, but not emphasized. The liberal economic theory an esoteric part of F. philosophy, like the Marxist variant on the other side.

Still, it reveals the key to the Transformation. By destroying the actual political regime while retaining the actual economic regime, F. unconsciously defines the seat of power under its own regime with complete definiteness. It will have to define it accordingly. A glance at the nature of the social responsibilities bound up with the ownership of the means of production under our present system will reveal the true character of the relationship between owners and the holders of political power other than such as effectively MM derives from the population as a whole, irrespective of whether it belongs to the class of owners or not. (Douglas credit-sense analysis - revealing)

This is the meaning of anti-Marxism.

g. Anti-capitalist movement.

It is directed against liberal Capitalism. By identifying liberal with Capitalism, liberal capitalism is identified with Capitalism; other (reformed) forms of Capitalism are thus sheltered from the criticism directed against Liberalism. (Anti-Capitalism of Douglasites etc). Local mechanism which makes a dictatorship inevitable and, secondly, makes it a capitalist dictatorship as long as economic life is run under the responsibility of the owners of the means of production.

A promise of a reformed capitalism implicit. Three aspects of criticism recognized: (So-called Social anarchy, trade cycle, introducing elements of planning)

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------|---|
| a. | unlimited competition | of planning |
| b. | unemployment, insecurity | security of tenure, limit of dismissal. |
| c. | unwarranted disparities of income | some measure of level of incomes. |

These elements recur in "Integral Fascism".
Röhm, Spirito, Rosconi, etc.

h. Ideology.

Neg 1. and Nietzsche. The roles of Klages and Spann.
Cf. Chapter on philosophy.

i. "Revolutionary"

Not conservative in the classic sense (Burke, Deism, etc)
Not reactionary; (Sa-sain).
Yet able to satisfy both to an important degree.

THE FASCIST TRANSFORMATION

Chap. I. The end of an era.

The end of the liberal nation. Democratic institutions, civic liberties and representative government abolished over greater part of the world. Nationalist dictatorships of a vehemently anti Socialist character established. A tendency towards economic self sufficiency emerging.

What is the explanation of the suddenness and unexpectedness with which Fascism arises? Of the swiftness and unopposive ease, with which it ~~overcomes~~ ^{comes} its supposedly invincible opponents? Insert: What are the general causes of Fascism? And what were the conditions determining ~~the time and manner of its actual emergence?~~

Chap. II Current theories.

- a. An enterprise of private armies. (Condottiere spirit; blackmailing one's patrons; the financially self-supporting militia).
(third party in industry)
- b. A lower-middle class movement (new middle class; ~~new middle class~~ ; psychological theories;)
- c. New Nationalism (new ~~middle~~ post-War states; Versailles; imperialist phase of capitalism).
- d. "Capitalism at bay" (Lumpenproletariat; capitalist dictatorship).

These theories false and / or insufficient to explain the actual course of events.

Chap. III The nature of the crisis.

- a/ causes must be as general as ^{the} effects ~~is~~ attributed to them.
- b/ ~~causes must be as general as the effects attributed to them.~~ immediate & essential causes; i.e. the time and manner and the ~~the~~ tendency.

The time and manner of the emergence of Fascism determined the War and its aftermath in the international field.

In order to present clearly the ^{the outcome of the} post-war conditions ~~but upon an external pressure~~ ~~reacted upon the~~ systems of a number of countries, we must distinguish between three sets of

Firstly, the ~~evolution of~~ ^{changes in the} industrial systems ~~wards~~ greater rigidity in pre-war times ^(organised capitalism)

secondly, the necessity of ~~external~~ ^{external} readjustments in the post-war period, a need that the ~~national~~ ^{national} systems were unable to meet ^{by the old methods;}

thirdly, the effect of ~~external~~ ^{political and economic} strain on internal conditions.

Firstly. The pre-war period.

From liberal capitalism to organised capitalism. (Increasing rigidity of the industrial system).

Laissez-faire was (in practice, challenged) long before it could have drawn the whole range of industrial organisation into its orbit. Together with the expansion of the sphere of economic competition a **contrary** movement set in: the reaction of society as a whole to the effects of economic liberalism. No increase in the amount of commodities produced could in itself compensate ^{at} for the loss of safety, sanity, security and stability ^{the} ~~condition~~ ^{condition} of human existence. The social history of the XIXth century was actually a blend of liberal capitalism and ~~the~~ ^{the} protective measures forced upon society by the devastating effects of the capitalist experiment on human life and happiness.

Let us consider the results of this ~~social~~ ^{social} movement on society as whole.

Under liberal capitalism separate and autonomous spheres of activity are created. The economic system gains an artificial independence. Economic affairs cease to be also *supposed to interfere with economic* But the further the separation ~~the~~ *unity* their original unity ~~is destroyed~~ completely economics tend to absorb all other spheres of social existence, restricting the political state proper to the rôle of the notorious night watchman.

... system tends to become a society. Conversely, the political state of its own industrial and economic life *of the political state is not* ... advances from the feudal order, the more completely economics tend to absorb all other spheres of social existence, restricting the political state proper to the rôle of the notorious night watchman.

But the absorption of society by liberal capitalism would amount to the complete destruction of society by Capitalism. Society reacts to this peril *through various means of self-protection.* The political state starts out to regulate, limit and control the economic sphere *incidentally, political*. ~~By its~~ *process due to the disintegrating* interference with industrial life ~~the political state~~ more or less reverses the effects of liberal capitalism on society: while liberalism was ~~progressively~~ *dividing* disintegrating society into ~~distinct~~ *and other separate spheres* distinct economic, political spheres, ~~these are~~ *potential intervention integrates them* ~~now being integrated~~ again, into ~~some kind of~~ *(tends to)* ~~whole~~ *interpenetrate* and industry ~~interpenetrate~~ *interpenetrate*.

It was this partial and ~~partial~~ *incidental* reintegration of society ~~which~~ *has* been often described as the transition from liberal to ~~organized~~ *regulated* capitalism in the last quarter of the XIXth and the first decennium of the XXth century. Undoubtedly, ~~some~~ *some* of the dangers threatening society from the blind forces of an economic automaton were ~~lessened~~ *and many* ~~some of the tensions and contradictions~~ inherent in the competitive system were ~~alle~~ *alle* viated.

~~However the basic contradiction of the capitalist system was not overcome.~~ *the class structure of cap. soci proved an insurmountable obstacle to "org. cap."* The economic system implied the separation of **society** into two classes: of the

owners of the means of production whose sole responsibility product ion was carried on and whose economic existence depended upon the dispositions of the market; it was necessary to consider the effects of such action on society as a whole. This consideration was left to the political state i.e. ~~under the democratic institutions called for by liberal capitalism~~, to the majority of the population. Thus while economic power was wielded by one class, political power increasingly fell to another class. The working class ~~that had~~ ^{with} no responsibility in the running of the productive system, became the repository of the general interests of society, while the ~~leisured and, mostly better~~ ^{capitalists were} ~~committed~~ by their function in society to disregard any but their own personal pecuniary interests. Thus to the working class fell the double political rôle both of safeguarding its own economic interests, and to stand for the general interests of society as a whole. *This double rôle of the working class is the key to much of the problem of the world since an early tension between the political and the economic system reinforced by the effects of increasing immensely (the economic antagonism of owners and workers. fortresses)*

The industrial and the political systems became, as it were, the ~~home~~ ^{clearance} of two different and opposing classes. True, the ~~relation~~ ^{clearance} between State and industry was ~~lessened~~ ^{bridged} and a system of complicated deals and compromises between the two main social classes achieved a kind of uneasy ~~balance~~ ^{their interests}. But the ~~basic~~ ^{fundamental} contradiction ~~remained~~ ^{remained}. Underneath superficial and incomplete integration of state and industry ~~the~~ ^{was not overcome} the disrupting forces of ~~the~~ ^{antagonistic classes} ~~remained~~ ^{clear} basicly antagonistic classes *of antagonistic classes clear was also the basic incompatibility of capitalism and democracy contained within*

5. - 10. the

While lack of basic un-
"organised capitalism"
system to maintain the political

~~in organized capitalism~~
While ~~the~~ lack of un-

~~economic system of capitalism~~

resulted in a ~~system~~ diminished ~~importance~~

a whole. In innumerable ways, the rigidity of the economic system was increasing under organised capitalism. Stability and security, sanity and safety were bought at the price of ~~diminishing~~ the capacity for adjustment.

The strain had ~~previously~~ been localised in the system; institutional safe-

guards ~~had~~ been set up to withstand ~~the~~ it. But on the whole the strain

had shifted ~~from~~ the internal to the external field; more ~~and more~~ the institu-

tional safeguards were being established on the ~~international~~ frontiers.

Thus a ~~new~~ ~~and~~ ~~new~~ ~~fundamental~~ contradiction, was developing

between ~~the~~ ~~growing~~ international interdependence ~~and~~ ~~the~~ diminishing capacity

for adjustment. ~~This~~ ~~remained~~ almost unnoticed up to the postwar period,

when, unexpectedly, it ~~led~~ led to a ~~world wide~~ collapse of the social

system.

inheritance
fatal ~~inheritance~~ of the economic system

was responsible

~~inheritance~~ of org. capitalism
~~fatal~~ inheritance from the

of the political system

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between the growing international interdependence and the diminishing capacity

for adjustment. This remained almost unnoticed up to the postwar period,

when, unexpectedly, it led to a world wide collapse of the social

system.

The crisis was due to the instability of the international system to overcome the massive economic imbalance caused by the war and the Treaties. Adjustment by the means of liberal capitalism had become impossible on account of the rigidity of the economic system in organised capitalism. Consequently, the international organization of economic life based on the gold standard, free exchange of commodities and capital exports broke down. ^{The} ~~the~~ establishment of ^{closed} ~~complete~~ integration of the national system, including the complete integration of the political and economic spheres, was inevitable in order to face up to the unreleased "unbalanced" external strain of the situation. In view of the lack of unity in society, complete integration was possible only in two ways: either by destroying the capitalist system or by destroying democracy. The first solution was the democratic alternative. it presupposed the establishment of a socialist economics, i.e. the supersession of the prediction on the basis of private ownership of the means of production by the national ownership of these means; the other was Fascism. Wherever the first solution could not be brought about, the second was inevitable. Apart from the fulfilment of the Democracy in Socialism, Fascism was the inescapable consequence of capitalism in the period of imperialist wars.

Secondly, The post-War world calls for vast readjustments. The adjustments are international, partly economic.

The ~~completely~~ changed world of the post-War world.

The war had greatly increased the economic system. Partly on account of the war and partly on account of the ascendancy of the working class both in the defeated and the defeated countries, the development towards organised capitalism had been ~~undoubtedly~~ speeded up. The economic system had become less elastic than ever. Numerous attempts at restoring the balance by a return to liberal capitalism were based on an illusion. In spite of the support of these efforts by the wealthiest countries, the only result was to aggravate the world economic depression of 1929.

The reasons which made the readjustment vital to the nation were of quite different order. Mostly they were economic proper. Sometime they were of a political order-- e.g. in the case of Germany or Austria, where the international situation called for relative ~~unity~~ unity. But what ever the ultimate reason, the immediate cause was everywhere economic: the foreign exchange, foreign loans, trade balance etc, were the crucial questions of the post-war period. Every other internal problem became vital ~~internal~~ to the ultimate decision only if and when it linked up with the question of the ~~international~~ international balance. ~~internal~~ (The working class everywhere for the liberal account gold standard etc, although the chief obstacle of this policy succeeding!). The ruling class draws the conclusion that the other solution inevitable, but without the influence of the working class.

8.

Thirdly, The internal balance
The deadlock works out.

The domestic financial strain over the
internal.

Mercantilism--an external necessity.
Liberal capitalism, a foreign trade theory.

Organised capitalism, a necessity of foreign trade?

National government in England: victorious in the sign of
gold standard, but efficient in destroying it. Still, the incapacity
of the democracy to restore the liberal system to which it adheres
is the main charge against the Labour Party.

the wide character of the MM Transformation?
The suddenness and unexpectedness of its emergence? *at a powerful state*

The comparatively easy victory over its supposedly ~~invincible~~ opponents?

Why ~~was~~ the strength of the movement generally underrated, and its reality often doubted even after its very victory?
often

Why is it /impossible to say for certain whether a movement is of F. character or not?

Why is the depth and volume of the F. Transformation comparatively independent of the strength and impact of the movements preceding it?

~~to F.~~
to F.

Is a silent transformation /possible? A transformation which would not be preceded by a F. movement, and still would be genuinely F. in character?

If so, can it be said that the so-called F. character of a movement consists in anything ^{else} but ~~the~~ fact that ~~the~~ transformation to which it leads ~~to~~ is recognised as being a F. transformation?

Movements which in their nature are neutral ~~MM~~ relative to F. ^{these} they can swell the tide of a F. transformation as well as ~~MM~~ of an opposite one movements, which are Fascistoid:- they turn F. under favorable conditions, and disappear under unfavorable ones; F. movements which definitely tend to change conditions in the Fascist sense.

What change in the social structure precede the F. Transformation?
What is the essence of the Fascist transformation? What is its relation to the so-called Corporative State? How does it affect the national and international problems of our time?

3. (The Fascist Transformation, cont.)

Chap. III

The adaptation of Capitalism leads to "organised Capitalism"

Financially redistribution of incomes involves colossal amount of interference (housing, public utility, social insurance, and so on)

Social legislation and factory laws increase rigidity; customs and tariffs compensating for it. English Trade Unions working towards imperialist expansion; (Germany: Schutzzoll) Mutual interdependence of classes obvious in England, only less obvious in Germany.

Imperialism increases rigidity of international relations. Capital fixed in colonies; The markets are pegged out with ~~high~~ flags.

The old (liberal) international organisation of world economic system breaks down;

- a. international gold standard (internal price fluctuations impossible)
- b. free trade (on account of unemployment, dislocation of international trade)
- c. international capital markets (~~collapse~~ ^{incompatible with} major wars).

It was an unconscious growth; its breakdown, when it happened, was not understood.

A new relationship of politics to economics urgently needed.

1. The full implication did not become clear until ~~such~~ ^{major intern. readjustment} was needed - after the war.

Either a cooperative solution, making away with the war danger, and making for a peaceful community; - democracy made supreme over capitalism; political system made home of society;

Or antagonistic solution; ~~preparing for~~ ^{maintaining the} international anarchy; capitalism made workable through sacrifice of democracy. Economic system retained as the whole of society. ^{i.e. society reduced to the economic system.} the fascist solution.

Chap. IV.

The Critical Situation.

The crisis ~~manifestation~~ of ~~parliamentary~~ and the capitalist depression.

a. The crisis of ~~Parliamentary~~ ^{Parliamentary} ~~democracy~~.

Colossal increase in the power of the working classes, either in order to win the war, or as a consequence of defeat.

England 28 ~~instead~~ ^{instead} of 8 Million ~~voters~~ voters. Increase in politico-economic integration. (Normal in war, but this time specific).

Problems of adjustment:

- England cannot safeguard her currency;
- Germany under economic pressure of working classes too dependent upon foreign loans to be able to free herself of ~~the~~ inequality of status.
- Italy putting down weakness in war to working class influence. Moreover: ~~the~~ occupation of factories.

Summing up: Political system failing (England 1920-1931; stabilisation 1925, national government 1931) National states (Poland, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Czechoslovakia) Defeated states, unisnational, but too poor Hungary, Austria, Bulgaria and so on.

Connections of war with
break down
of the economic system
The process of adjustment
called for high degree of
flexibility & increased
rigidity proved itself to
be a function of inter-
economic structure, on
the old basis.

International organisation ^{in 1920s} essentially breaking down. Not measured by amount of trade (mistake!), but by preparedness and capacity to accept lower standards of life i.e. to allow price levels to fluctuate. Tuned out to be zero, even in England (1931!) in France, and in America too. The international organisation had been merely factual i.e. it could work only as long as it needed no conscious sacrifice to make it work. The more ~~it~~ became conscious ^{of its working}, the less it ~~was~~ ^{was} workable. In fact, the consciousness of the way it works lead to a radical change in the methods of working it, amounting to a ceasing of it altogether sometimes. The price system cannot be allowed to fluctuate, once organised capitalism has introduced innumerable rigid elements of costs, which are however needed in order to safeguard human existence (individual and group).

unbalanced
expansion of prices:
a) internally: inflation rate
b) externally: deflation rate, depression

economic
external market is different way work
not as national markets, in the
international field

International positions of countries becoming untenable (England 1931, Japan 1931, Germany of above, Italy 1919, Austria (no)

b) The crisis of the economic system increased (Depression).
The Liberal theorem. Unemployment, The trade cycle, The credit system. Interference with all kinds of prices. (Interest, commodity prices, rent, wages).

Working class losing faith in its organisations and methods
Strikes universally derided.

Left parliamentary majorities unwilling to use their powers.
Trade Unions lack public support
Both shun civil war. Severing, Otto Bauer.
Right wing Renner, Morrison "alarmist"
- which proves that only concessions envisaged, even by leftists.

Nuisance value of working class influence.
Positive value during the first phase of Cap.
conditions: increasing social dividends.

- organisation of labour market
- a) equalising conditions of employment
- b) speeding up use of machinery
- c) social insurance spreading risks
- d) factory legislation housing
- e) educating the manual workers
politically: ally against feudalism
reforming capitalism; factory legislation
municipal socialism
organised capitalism

4 of

Chap. I. The changes preceding it.

Many people think that the F. movements themselves are a sufficient explanation of the F. Transformation.

or class

a. The sociological character of the F. movements

aa. lower middle class and peasants,

bb. unemployed, demobilised soldiers, declassé ci-devants,

cc. new middle class, third party in industry,
the same classes acting differently under other circumstances

b. Armed force and violence used.

Malaparte, putchism, private
false description; civilian movement.

c. Pure demagoguery

Lumpen proletariat, ceasarism, (1) careerism;
no explanation at all. Why do the

d. counter-revolution

Germany, Austria, Poland, Italy(?)

counter-revolutions need not be Fascist. (military, dynastic)

e. nationalism

Versailles Treaty (!) Trianon, Sevres, Neuilly, St. Germain,
Japan,

multi-national state: Poland, (Roumania) Jugoslavia, Czechoslovakia.

need not be Fascist; could be Republican, democratic, Socialist, conservative, reactionary,

f. ideological eruption

anti-rationalism; anti-Bolshevism; romanticism;
vitalism; historicism; paganism; medievalism; feudalism;
no explanation of success, of universality, of material means.

Chap VII.

The Great War. - The post-War period; Historical back-grounds and national mentalities.

The process leading ^{to} the deadlock started ^{led} before the WWI War. The War was partly an outcome of this situation. Still, a new period of history is entered in the middle of the twenties. The War, the post-War upheavals together with the first part of the Russian Revolution and the Central European Revolutions form part of the XVIII century national general. In the middle of the twenties swift, radical ~~and~~ change begins, of a dialectical character; partly perhaps facilitated by the new unification of minds by the radio. Anyhow, middle of the twenties, a surge of change, ~~emergence~~ History is the background of the Fascist transformation. Confer Capitalism, constitutionalism, Working class Movement etc. They all arise on a specific background and national mentality, but are not identical with ~~the~~ Fascism. The ~~various~~ Fascism must be separated from the general course of history, in order to clarify its characteristics.

a/ Historical background.

These events took on a Fascist form.

On the other hand, the Fascist transformation had to

upon itself ~~historical~~ functions, deriving from such a situation:

1/ Counter-revolutions in Central Europe, relatively in England, took up a Fascist form;

2/ establishment of new/nation-states in actually mixed territories;

3/ indefeated or quasi-defeated countries international readjustment was needed (Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey, Germany, Italy)

4/ Austria economic consequences of defeat raise international readjustment issue.

5/ national - Bolshevism in Hungary (example of influence of historical process of a national order on social revolutions)

two main functions emerging: a) counter-revolutionary: Germany, Austria b) nationalist: typical: Germany

although in minor cases like Turkey, ~~definitely~~ progressive, comparatively or nationally integrating banking towards Japan.

In all cases international readjustment breaks down and new politico-economic units ~~emerge~~ reemerge, in continuation of ~~that~~ development which was the hindrance of ~~the~~ readjustment. ~~and~~ organized capitalism.

The democratic type ^{new unit} increases the influence of parliament: New Deal, Blum government.

The Fascist type eliminates democracy and goes onto an antagonistic ~~revolution~~.

Analysis of the international adjustment ~~and~~ currencies, trade balances, capital repayments. Partly, independent from ~~other~~ other countries; Germany, Russia. Opposite solutions. (since)

b) National mentalities

Institutions, literary, ideological different.

Effect of them on form, methods, ideologies of F. Movements.

etc
university
transformation

(the role of the day)

?

original

8. (The Fascist Transformation. cont.)

Adjustments of the countries concerned to international balance had to proceed despite of an increase of the factor which had been ~~supposed~~ such an adjustment ~~already~~ before the war i.e. organised capitalism.

Italian counter-revolution was the first in order of time. But it hardly ~~became~~ more than the name of Fascism for many years to come. Still, the idea that parliaments had to go, that Marxism was the enemy, that Italy would hold her own in competition with other countries with the help of the new system - these ideas were there from the start.

In ~~Germany~~ the counter-revolutionary function was in obeyance. (there had been no revolutionary movement comparable in effectiveness to the occupation of the factories); it was the international problem that ~~dominated~~ dominated the scene. While in Italy the international motive was secondary to the class motive, in Germany at the beginning, Fascism was more indebted to the nationalist than to the capitalist motivation (this may however be dubious). The German Nationalist seem quite reactionary enough and had sufficient support from the middle class parties and groups to safeguard class interests; it was mainly in view of the far reaching foreign programme of German middle classes, that Papen-Schleicher did not seem ~~able~~ to guarantee a sufficient measure of elimination of working class influence. So Hitler was called in.

In Austria the counter-revolution had ~~paradoxically~~ ^{run its} course with the revision of the constitution (1929). That Fascism was established was almost completely due to foreign relations. The international problem needed from the point of view of the middle class dictatorship. Especially the Italian influence worked for it, in view of the strong national sentiment in Austria which ~~could~~ ^{could} have been counter-balanced only with the help of the Socialist - making back the counter-revolution of 1929. Dictatorship was the outcome. In view of Roman Catholic church interests it took the form of XL-imo Anno fascism.

In Poland, again, counter-revolution would have been sufficient ^{identical} ~~observed~~ by the National Democrat reactionaries. But the foreign situation called for a strong government (military) etc., this (needed again) a non-existing unity in the nation. (The multi-national state made democracy any how impossible on bourgeois basis).

In all these countries the economic position was irretrievable. Still the immediate factor which made international balance impossible was the working class. In Italy this meant emigration, in Germany foreign ~~debts~~ debts, in Poland an uncertain currency, in Austria dependence on foreign countries. In Germany ~~and~~ and Austria an inflation, in Poland an Italy devaluation had come about. Any adjustment to the international situation was impossible. (Repayment of debts, upholding of the currency,)

The stabilisation of the currencies under pressure of the Western capitalist states, was premature. The Western states had to take over the burden of the premature Central European stabilisation. But these Western states could not themselves bear the burden once they had stabilised (1925, 1926)

9: (The Fascist Transformation. cont.)

From 1925, 1926 onwards the USA had to shoulder the burden of the deficits (i.e. continued foreign loans, and since 1927, the non-reduction of the interest rate, in order to protect London from a flight of the foreign lenders). This was the main cause of the terrible dimensions of the American crash, when it, finally, came. Crypto-inflation had been going on all the time.

In England itself the main step in a Fascist direction (the National Government) came in consequence of incomplete adjustments since 1925 to international economic conditions.

In France Tardieu represented such a tendency with out making much impression at the time. Daladier 1934.

In Japan the crisis came in 1931, when the ~~USA~~ her ~~independence~~ independent ~~of the international~~ market. Her exchange had to be manipulated dictatorially. This led to Fascism. Principal Army Fas

Chap. VIII. The Corporative State. Its theory.

What does this amount to in theory?

Spann's account. Pius XI. Mussolini's. French Fascists?

Guild System? Neither the craft nor the non-craft / precondition of guilds given.

The economic estates take ^{charge} the run of society. Society reduced to Capitalism, but with corporatism instead of individual ownership.

The Corporative state is the rationalist idea of the truncating process performed by Fascists on society. Still, the reform ideas not unconcerned ^{needed} with it.

How to make private property of whatever kind, compatible with state interference? what ever state ~~is~~ be? This is the question.

The new external ^{and internal} organized in an antagonistic way. This is very true and dominates the international situation.

Chap. IX. The Corporative State. in practice.

How far have Italy, Germany and Austria progressed on this road;

How far are other countries in the same way? On what does it depend whether a country is moving one way or the other?

Chap. X. The Philosophy of Fascism.

The consequences of radical anti-individualism:

Relations to ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~city~~ ^{city}.

Metaphysical characteristics of ~~F.~~ ^{F.}

Chap. XI. A degenerative process.

Chap. XII. On the Brink of ^(a new era of) Religious Wars.

Ad. Chas. L. THE FASCIST TRANSFORMATION

A/ Intensity and elasticity of the change.
"Friends of Europe." New Nationalism; Religious fervour.
Encompassing character of the change. Hitler's speeches?

Universality :
Countries with Fascist Movements.

Suddenness :
Italy 1919 - 22 / Germany 1930 - 33.

Surprising:
Contrary to trend; dialectical; staggering rate of progress.

Easy victory:
Impregnable position of opponents; paralysis; paralysis.

Unseen enemy: underrated; transformation denied when actually performed (silent transformation) (reality). Not acknowledged as a revolution. The economic definition of the F. transformation refused recognition because it did not confront accepted definitions. These at the bottom liberal conventions: i.e. "movements" are to be 1/ self-declaratory, or at least, conscious even though not self-declaratory; 2/ intellectually consistent; ("der F. ist verlogen"); 3/ change in the economic system or rather the property system. In fact, F. mystificatory, inconsistent, leaving the property system untouched. E.g. Had the promised transformation been achieved or not? No answer possible, as no definite or definable promises had been made. Arraigned for non-fulfilment of promises and for fulfilment of them.

Even the Roman Church misled and outmanoeuvred by F. in Italy. (Xty assailed).

B/ F. transformation possible with hardly any F. Movement. Then, only of the change which is happening about the Transformation. Non-resistance of opponents as much a characteristic of the Transformation as the existence of an active positive F. movement in the sociological sense.

Moreover: a F. Movement is solely characterized by the fact that it leads or tends to lead to a transformation. Either, actually, in the past, or, potentially, in the future, on account of its resemblance to movements that have done so in the past.

Impossibility of saying for certain whether a movement is F. or not. ("tends towards F." is a frequent and correct description). E.G. Huey Long (Share the Wealth), Father Gaughlin (Social Justice), The German Youth Movement. Any of these (or similar ones) non-F. at other periods (Silvia Gesell), Wynneken and Berr (Youth Movement), Social Justice and Share the Wealth Democracy, analogous to Weitling or Proudhon. These latter revolutionary formally on account of the nature of the total situation. It is the total situation, the function of which the F. or anti-F. character of "movements" of this kind must be understood.

Some of these movements in their nature neutral; swelling the tide, whatever way the tide runs. (open air movement, planning movement)

Some of these are Fascistoid: i.e. they turn F. under favorable conditions. They are F. i.e. a factor in changing the situation itself.

Part 1: Minimal military; 100% Americanism; "Dixie"; company unit.

Part 2: Social; with movement.

Part 3: Social; with movement.

a/ Sociological descr.

aa. body of the mov.

Lower middle class elem^{ent}, including students (exclusive of aristocracy), white collar workers third party in industry, organised Xty (German Protestant, Austrian Catholicism); grocers, small shopkeepers, retailers, occasionally, ~~workers~~.
(Hilter: original in favour of ~~minority~~ minority movement
Mussolini: per ~~for~~ for minority,
Spann: similar)

The same classes (Roosevelt, Stauning, Lloyd-George, Benes, Socialists) supporting the working class and when these are for the coming progress.
Stanning for democracy

essential elem. 1.

available elem. 2-3

bb. relations to other classes.

- 1/ Big business (constant feature) Gino Olivetti, Pirelli, Count Volpi, Stefano Benni, Langr, Stinner, Henry Ford, Kreuger, Alpin, Montan, (reinigte Stahlwerk) Japan(?)
- 2/ dispossessed elements.
inflation victims,
occupied territories, refugees,
unemployed(!),
demobilised,
discharged officers and civil servants, incl. Abbau (i.e. Geddes-Axe)
provincial intelligentsia
- 3/ farmers, peasant, agricultural unrest.

Where the lower middle classes are conservative (traditionally) e.g. Austria, they support the political parties (Xtian Socialists) against the Heimwehr i.e. the Fascist party.

In Hungary (1919) the lower middle class votes freely overwhelmingly for counterrevolution. (Must be checked).

In France foremen and even third party in industry join with workers in the Bum stay-in strike.

These classes must support a socially effective class like the own in heavy industry or the wokers in heavy industry. In F. they support the former. "Democratic conclusions of G.D.H. Cole, De Mar etc unfounded).

b/ Organisation and technique.

Civilian Movement. (not an army rebellion). Italy, Austria, (Vaugoin) Germany (Reichswehr) not parts of the movement. (Army outside, in spite of Guerin). Their connivance however only one removed from a "Fascistization" of Trade Unions (Italy, Germany, England) i.e. the paralysis of Tr.Un. in the face of the enemy.

Officer's detachments (Hungary, Finland) not typically F. Japanese younger officer (Shows Movement) only on account of his loyalty to the masses etc, and to the higher command.

Preparedness to use armed force. The role of force accepted. The Social Democratic working class movement content with this. ~~When~~ No overrating of force (an other Marxian) against political opponents whether outside or inside the government. Use of force in order to free the full impact of the movement. Forced not used against constituted authority as a whole. "The Army permeated; the civil service" supported in its duties. If not united, it is disrupted by the Fascist tactics. (One part of the executive supported, another not). Austria: Gemeinde wachen. Germany: Prussian Police. France(?) Spain(?)).

Sabotage of democratic government from inside. (Gil Robles methods) Seipel; Helfferich; Frick in Thuringen. Use of Reichstag ala Goering. Other civil liberties used in the same fashion.

Connivance of judicial and police, as well as of parts of the executive. As long as the government is not prepared to drop the economic system altogether, if this were necessary, bourgeois influence in the government present and effective. F. movements invariably bank upon this fact. The regular recurrence of the element of "too late"-ness in dealing with Fascism, is due to this circumstance.

Subservience of violence to political party. Non-putschist (Malaparte wrong.) Not necessarily illegal. Non-military movement. Militia part of the party. (The safeguard against a pretorian rule).

May form part of

- aa. revolution: Poland, coup d'etat: Greece, Yugoslavia;
- bb. social counter-revolution: Hungary, German national outburst (Handstreich) Rome.
- cc. military: Poland, Spain, Hungary, Japan. civilian: Germany, Austria.

Politically

- a. a. connivance, leniency, of part of constituted authority, part of the system;
- b. b. going into latency, springing up swiftly & suddenly, when tide turns.

No F. militia fights

the Army.
Italy: Facta; Germany-
Schleicher; Austria - away.

o/ Intellectual characteristics.

The unconscious character of the F. movement pregnantly expressed in its relation to its programme. Its deliberate anti-intellectualism (mostly present) the consequence of this unconscious character.

Italian Fascism featured this. Referncett Crowe, Nietzsche Futurism, Dammuzio, Spenclerism. Germany Moeller van der F. "Das Dritte Reich"; anti-intellectualist forerunners: romanticism (Stefan George, Ludwig Klages, Rudolf (Cha. peereology, Franz Blei, Karl Kraus, We. Herriod, Spann (Neo-Hegelian) Neo-Mystic, right-wing on recatdiscovery Adam Müller, Vico (Itivites, i.ve. etc. y and a. of

Attitude to programme.

Germany. Unalterable programme which what if ususally would be, if a 1000 years are envisaged. Clearly not the programme of the Third Reich. Ambiguity (regard to Fedrazn and inflation). to Rosenberg and the Chruch; or rather, Christianity. (i.e. both to finance & religion).

after first four years plan (unemployment (was not mentioned in original programme); second four years plan: either colonies or synthetic raw materials. (not mentioned). Contrary to programme: a. unification of Reich; b. Lateran act in Italy. (?). Details of programme not adhered to in Germany in economics (inflation and multiple stores). In Italy a socialist programme before accession; b. discarded for no-programme after accession; later changed to corporativism.

Fragmentary programme. Townsend, Huey Long, Caughlin, Major Douglas.

"Mein Kampf" discusses the basic insincerity problem Analogous problem in Communism. Though the latter is, in principle, rationalistic. Anti-rationalism does not account therefore in itself for this Fascist trait. In Communism exoteric and esoteric membership. This distinction not accepted in Fascism. "why?"

Negative attitude. Main feature of its political programme. Against the system, the regime. Opposition to all the accepted principles of power in society.

Positive features: Authority of the leader. discipline, sacrifice, duties, obedience, (anti-intellectualism as a romantic idea).

Anti-democratic. Directed against the actual forms institutions

(Anti-democratic)

in which representative democracy is embodied in the countries concerned. No attack against democracy as a system which expresses the will of the people, or rather makes the will of the masses prevail. Refusing to accept class distinctions and prerogatives;

- a. party system; party government;
- b. representative institutions (ballot, elections)
- c. political character of elections, institutions as against vocational,
- d. democratic principles of equality, liberty, fraternity (mainly equality of Spann). Also Hitler, Mussolini against equality. Against majority rule, the rule of anybody else: the philosopher, the expert, the man of industry, the technician, the scientist, the aristocrat (the few), the biological A plus man; the genius, -anybody but the man elected to rule by the ruled.

e. political content of the F. anti-democratic attitude. The intent to destroy the influence of Marxism i.e. the political working class movement. Typified by the fact that the ~~Reichstagsbrand~~ Reichstagsbrand the Communist party was outlawed, their mandates annulled(?). This ~~was~~ ^{was} to be the precondition of an attack on the ~~working class~~ ^{working class} i.e. the organs of their influence in industrial (economic) life. In fact, the victory of a F. movement is ~~synonymous~~ ^{synonymous} with the disappearance of party elections and of governments responsible to representative bodies; simultaneously all other organs of discussion and formulation of public opinion prohibited and their secret continuation prevented.

F. is against "the whole system". Rightly, from its own point of view. F. embodies an implicit acknowledgment of an important truth, i.e. that the influence of the working class both in politics and industrial life are insolubly linked with the liberal and democratic organisation of society under the private ownership of the means of production.

f. Against a change in the property system.

For the continuance and the reinforcement of the private ownership of the means of production is openly said, but not emphasized. The liberal theory is an esoteric part of F. philosophy. Marxian variant on the other side.

Still, herein lies the key to the... a. For by destroying the actual political... we retain ing the actual economic... isly determ ines the seat of power... with complete definiteness... to define it accord ingly. A glance at the... social responsibi lities bound up with... the means of pro- duction under our... will reveal the true character of... between owners the wielders of political... than such as effect ively... derives from... population as a whole, irres pective of whether it belongs to the class of owners or not. (Douglas credit-scheme -analysis- revealing)

This is the meaning of anti-Marxism.

g. Anti-capitalist movement.

It is directed against liberal capitalism. By identifying liberalism with Capitalism, liberal capitalism is identified with Capitalism; other (reformed) forms of Capitalism are thus sheltered from the criticism directed against Liberalism. (Anti-Capitalism of Douglasites etc). Logical mechanism which makes a dictatorship inevitable and, secondly, makes it a capitalist dictatorship as long as economic life is run under the responsibility of the owners of the means of production.

A promise of a reform of capitalism implicit. Three aspects of criticism recognised: (So-called Socialist)

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------|--|
| a. | unlimited competition | introducing elements of planning |
| b. | unemployment, insecurity | security of tenure, limitat. of dismissal. |
| c. | unwarranted disparities of income | some measure of level: of incomes. |

These elements recur in "Integral Fascism". Röhm, Spirito, Rossoni, etc.

h. Ideology.

Hegel and Nietzsche. The poles of Klages and Spann. Cf. Chapter on philosophy.

i. "Revolutionary"

Not conservative in the classic sense (Burke, Sehn, not So-sein).
Not reactionary;

Yet able to satisfy both to an important degree.

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R. ... of my ... the draft

CUNARD WHITE STAR LIMITED.



Ship:

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- 9 -

I have stated that the deadlock between democracy and the economic system of Capitalism is at the root of the Fascist transformation.

This deadlock is due to the impotence of the political and economic machinery in the face of an acute crisis endangering the whole of the system.

so-called The paralysis of the political machinery in the face of the crisis of capitalism in our time refers to the extremely serious situation of production concomitant upon the world economic crisis 1929-1933.

The Fascist transformation is an attempt to overcome this deadlock (in a definite way, i.e.) by the abolishment of the democratic political system altogether.

The deadlock is "at the root of the transformation" in that it creates a tendency towards Fascist socialization in the above sense of the term.

In view of this fact a double relationship between this tendency and the rest of "the course of history" makes its appearance:

- a the course of history tends to take on Fascist forms
- b Fascism is invested with the functions arising out of the course of history in that specific countries.

this accounts

- a For the secondary Fascist features *which are being taken on by* ~~wherever~~ events of national history;
- b For the secondary national characteristics of Fascism in certain countries;

Still *one of the* major events of the "course of history" is of *so universal a character* that it becomes a constituent part of the conditions out of which Fascism arises.

This event is the Great War with *the consequent* need of major adjustments *in all countries* either in order to return to the former national and economic balance or in order to adapt the country to the *new* ~~disappearance~~ *disappearance* of the former system balance. In this sense the Great War i.e. the post-War period is *in a* period of testing *of* the whole social system.

The F. Transformation

It did not stand the test. For reasons that were developing before the War (and partly brought it about), industrial countries were moving towards some measure of politico-economic integration (as a reaction to the increasingly threatening dangers of a laissez-faire policy to the whole of society, the working class being only the spokesman of general social interests in this respect). The war *spoiled up* greatly *increased* this integration. However, it remained a haphazard *change* *outcome* of a class struggle under circumstances under which this struggle necessarily had dangerous effects on the whole of society! In the first period of Capitalism, it was a beneficent class struggle; in the second, the working class was not

reliable "any more from the pair system off" nation states"):

17 "the property system and the

The danger of this struggle is much increased when the classes become identified with two functions of society: politics and economics.

This ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~shown~~ ^{shown} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ every field of historical life: Haphazard integration cannot continue. ~~Complete~~ ^{Complete} integration becomes inevitable. At this stage the ~~latent~~ ^{latent} crisis of democracy becomes a ~~danger~~ ^{danger}.

Every problem leads back to the root problem (stated correctly above by Hitler.) ^{When the working class becomes involved in the present system, it is a) the property system of the state system (the wing)}

THE REAL DIFFICULTY SEEMS TO BE TO GIVE A PRESENTATION OF THE VARIOUS WAYS IN WHICH THE DEADLOCK INCLUDES ~~THE~~ ^{THE} INTERESTS, AT HOME AND ABROAD.

THE FASCIST TRAIL

- Chap. I: The Transformation.
- Chap. II: ~~The changes preceding it.~~
~~The movements that preceded it.~~
- Chap. III: *Representative Liberal*
Democracy and Capitalism.
- Chap. IV: "Organised Capitalism".
- Chap. V: The psychological movement.
- Chap. VI: Role of social class.
- Chap. VII: Historical background and national mentalities.
- Chap. VIII: Corporative State - a theory ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~future~~
- Chap. VIII: " " - *more police.*
- Chap. X: Philosophy of Fascism.
- Chap. XI: A degenerative process.
- Chap. XII: A new Era of religious wars.

nnnnnnnnnnnnnnnnnnnnnnnnnnnnnn

THE FASCISM

Chap. I. The phenomenon.
The Problem.

Intensity and extent of the changes --: A) Their universality.
Suddenness -- Surprising character (contrary to trend - dialectical). Tempo.
Comparatively easy victory. (Overwhelming strength of opponents; non-resistance). - Underrated beforehand, denied, when performed. -

B) Difficulties of investigation.

Apparently in contradiction with the assumptions underlying the methods developed in order to deal with phenomena of the kind. An irrational, "un-Marxian", un-liberal, non-declaratory phenomenon. Transformation, lacking direct reference to the movement out of which it arises. What are the characteristics of a Fascist movement? What do you know it to be Fascist?

Non-characteristic: a. / Historical antecedents.

b/ Mentality

What is due to the one or the other?

Description of F.M.'s

Chap. II. The Movement tending towards Fascist transformation.

a. Sociologically.

Who takes part in it? - Civilian movement, preparing to use force and violence against their opponents inside and outside the government, refusing however to challenge constituted authority as a whole. (*Apparent exceptions - Spain, ...)

All "Available" classes join up.

(De Gaulle)
G.D. Cole
Spencer
RM V.

Officers movement in Hungary.

Class interests satisfied only to the point of military keep & pay, not in a constructive manner.

Support of big business.
Support of parts of the executive (judiciary, legislation, executive, especially the armed forces.)

Middle class movement?

b. Technical means (militia)

Some organization of violence, but subordinate to political control. Non-putschist. Non conspirative. - Looking to the masses, but not relying upon them. - MALAPARTE? Can be combined with coup d'etat. (revolution from above.); with military dictatorship; with counter-revolution with national revolution or war;

organizationally militia is subordinate feature; politically essential, however.

c. Intellectual character.

No reasoned and comprehensive programme. - Either none, or un-alterable; or fragmentary; or refusing to reason on principle. (Its ideological anti-rationalism rooted in this characteristic of the movement)

Criticism, reasoned; programme not partly

liberal economic as criterion as the Marxist variety economic

d. Negative - directed against "system."

Mostly negative starting point. the regime, the system.

e. Anti-democratic

Against the actual institutions of repres

put roundly again ...
asking for ...

representative democracy in the country concerned. Against "Politics",
party system; politicians."

f. Against a change in the property system. Against "Marxism" means against nationalisation of
the means of production, as in Italy. Active support
of the system of private property. Against "class-war"
means against the idea of alienation of the working
class in society directed towards the solution of the
basic crisis. (In acknowledging this crisis it differs
both from the liberal and the conservative. The liberal
denies its existence; the conservative hopes to deal
with it by a return to former times.)

technical - oriented means
anti-socialist.

in practice: exchange of
land in T.W's, of function
not party (elimination of
unproductive incl. of work class).

g. Anti-capitalist: Criticism of Capitalism, especially of financial,
monetary system currency, credit; not of industrial
capitalism. Attacking liberalism, identifying liber-
alism with Capitalism; thus sheltering Capitalism in its
corporative forms from criticism.

Draper's work shows typical
of unscientific fascism
the mechanism of it.

h. ideology: unstable and unessential. anti-individualist in the
Xtian sense. Directed against the Xtian values in western
civilisation in order to attack democracy basically.
Realist only in the economic sphere; in every other
sphere "idealist". Existential and functional ontology.
against significance and rationality. (biocentric
against ideocentric).

i. Revolutionary, not conservative or reactionary.

Chap. III.

The Nature of the Crisis.

Democracy versus Capitalism

The causes as general as the effects. Incompatibility between
Democracy and Capitalism at this stage. (Cf. Hitler, Mussolini, Laski
Wises) What is the nature of this incompatibility? What
is the actual effect? What forces working at the solution?

factuality comp
(radical) ...
in his
point
Lippmann

What is a market-economy? An autonomous system of society?
The nature of a society governed by prices. Under what conditions
was it able to function?

It was it able to

- Important reforms (periods):
- a. factory legislation (social insurance)
 - b. municipal socialism (public utilities)
 - c. imperialism (colonies, Greater Britain) using force and armies.

taking out of the market
1) labor conditions (hours)
2) spinning collective work
3) expanding markets by force

This process builds up economic-political units unable
to trade freely

III. The Economy

PART III.

- 6/ The nature of ~~the~~ times. (Attempt of a diagnosis).
 The mode of appearing.
 a. sudden
 b. dialectical
 c. in the world, (not in the individual); unrelated to the
 d. new possibilities (efforts or out of proper
 e. changed role of the individual. relation to these.

- 7/ In the international sphere.
 a. **The process** of disintegration. International anarchy.
 b. international organ. of credit, currency, capital invest-
 ment and trade gone.
 c. adaptation (not imitation) inevitable.
 d. different economic systems coexistent.
 e. Crisis of Capitalism arising out of the international sphere
 f. Autarchy and its double meaning. **NEW INTERNATIONALISM**

- 8/ In the national sphere.
 The inter autonomous economic sphere
 a. Democracy and Capitalism. (Politics and Economics).
 b. Interventionism and liberalism.
 c. The dead-lock. Society endangered.
 d. Scarcity and Food

- 9/ The role of Christianity.
 a. The class war: Not a cause, but a solution.
 b. The proletariat's mission.
 c. The alternatives. "The religious war."
 d. Teniger and topower solutions.
 e. diagnosis, not prognosis, Prophecy not toeright
 term.
 f. Christianity holds the solution:
 A/ radical, active, passionate internationalism which
 rebels against ~~the~~ its own nation;
 B/ radical social transformation that ~~the~~
 C. ~~social expeditionist~~ social community. expects the advent
 Social Revolution in the West. ent of true commu
 The East not really un-Christian and anti-
 Christian.

The "east" in need of new sources of idealist
 inspiration, is not the normal the
working class, to save at their missions
unless this happens either death will win
or lets will be able to continue only at
terrible price.

B/ State intervention:

- The overwhelming motive of the increasing state intervention in industry is the necessity
- a/ increasing security for
 - 1/ by increasing security for producers (whether owners or employees) of plant (this also includes security)
 - 2/ by increasing the security of tenure for those employed;
 - b/ increasing ~~the justice~~ the justice in the distribution of incomes, by levelling them up and down some scale of those concerned
 - a/ diminishing the freedom of those concerned with industry.
 - b/ It is an economic law that every increase with price (whether of goods or land use, or capital, or labour or land use, or goods or services) maintains a balance

The Temptation of the Liberal...

The Temptation of the Corporate State...

- A PREPAREDNESS to accept state intervention. To be helpful. To maintain order. To pay the price. (Unless you do, Administrative Socialism is v...)
- A PREPAREDNESS to accept democratic control. (Unless you do, Administrative Socialism inevit...)

A "new spirit" can make the impossible possible, but never without an institutional setting. It can make institutions workable which could never work on the basis of the old psychology.

C/ Wages and hours.

Increased cost of production (usually).
 Never to side with the sales interest of the employer; but to develop an independent spirit, which sees the question in broader terms.
 There is no need for a shifting of one's position.
 position in relation A-B

This not a recipe for harmonic solutions. Successive

I have tried to give an interpretation of these events and it together with the attitude towards the case is what you want to a demand of your brain and...

countries was beset
 of self-protection
 titive system. Capitalist
 and most incomplete
 Thus while international
 the capacity of the system
 actually
 was/diminishing.

one count of the measure
 to the dangers of a comp
 be integrated,
 the in haphazard
 units.
 of the increase,
 to changing needs

This inherent contradiction
 War conditions of the world. Just
 for vast adjustments, the

the post-
 suddenly arises a need
 down.

The manner in which
 It was mainly external
 the nature of the strain. The War
 greatly accelerating the

determined by
 effects had been
 economic

systems had very much increased
 influence of the working class

of the enhanced
 Internally the tension

between representative democracy and
 transformation of liberal capital

was eased
 so-called organised

by the gradual
 But the strain had

capital
 internal to the ex-

external field. Altho' it was not noticed at the time,
 society to

the capacity of
 changes in the international

sphere had greatly diminished. Thus the progress of democratisation
 which was consequence of the war as well as of defeat

created

a state of affairs, in which the necessity of extensive
 adjustments to an entirely new international balance

encountered

was confronted by the a much increased lack of elasticity
 in almost all countries concerned.

lack of elasticity

Chap. I The Fran.

How to explain the wide work.

The suddenness and unexpectedness.

The comparatively easy victory.

opponents?

Why is the strength of the movement

reality / often doubted even

often

Why is it / impossible to say for certain

or not?

Why is the depth and volume of the E,

and of the strength and impact

to E.

Is a silent transformation / possible?

not be preceded by a F. movement,

E. in character?

If so, can it be said that the so-called E. movement consists

in anything but the fact that the transformation low high it leads

is recognized as being E.?

Movements which in their nature are neutral NI relative to E. - they can

well be the side of a F. transformation as well as of an opposite

movements, which are Fascistoid; - they turn F. under favorable

conditions, and disappear under unfavorable ones; E. movements which

What is the essence of the Fascist transformation? What is its relation

to the so-called Corporative State? How does it affect the national

and international problems of our time?

Chap. II. The class

Many people think that

explanation of the F. France
or class

a. The sociological character

- aa. lower middle class
- bb. unemployed, demobilized
- cc. new middle class, third

b. Armed force and violence used.

Malaparte, putchism, false description; civil

c. Pure demagoguery

Lumpen proletariat, none no explanation at all. War

d. counter-revolution

Germany, Austria, Poland, counter-revolutions

e. nationalism

Versailles Treaty (!) Britain, Japan, multi-nationalist; Poland, Czechoslovakia.

need not be Marxist; could be conservative, reactionary,

f. ideological eruption

anti-rationalism; anti-Bolshevism; paganism; vitalism; militarism; paganism; feudalism; no explanation of success, of universality, of material nec

icient

wants,

circumstance

on.

III, careerism;

military, dynastic)

ully, St. Germain.

ogoleaovia, Czecho-

democratic, Social

The full blown s

The leading Fascist count.
transformation. Other count
tion. Such variability of
ism, constitutional monarch.
between the full blown spec
rely nominal presentations
liamentarism in Japan, or Trad
mi resemblance to the Western c
this name were rightly regarded a
holds good of . movements and ins
with true . Like the Democracy
were representative of their kind
as foreign to German F. as the Ni
Yet the fact that both effectively
f internationalism in our time, a
ous other obviously more than s
e us) to call them together
A theory of . will naturally have t
ever, it will have to account also n
between the various less characterist
that the phenomenon itself, even tho

(a - m - and the
lture is NEW
way (to
MOMENT b
analogy
com atur
no. evic
at as
own;

... of the ...
... of the ...

representative government
violently anti-Socialist
... ..

... towards national self-sufficiency
... ..

... anarchy. What is the explanation

... .. of that

... swiftness and comparative ease with

... invincible opponents;
its world wide extent; ...
... almost / ... of ...

... which is ...
understood. its almost world wide extent

What ... are its causes and ...
about And above all: What is the ...
phenomena reveal? What is Fascism?

Chapter II. ...

Several explanations offered.

- a. A middle class movement. (New States; ...; third party in industry.)
- b. New Nationalism. (New States; ... system; Imperialism).
- c. Neither explains the main problem, do not fit the facts.
Capitalist counter-revolution.
Does not explain the actual historical events.

Chap. III. Our explanation.

Causes as general as the effects.

During the course of the XIX century the economic system of capitali

The fascist transformation, timed not by the apex of class war, but by its decline. (Austria, no-strikes, Italy no strike, Germany in spite of ghastly unemployment no strikes.) This shows that the weakening of the working class, ~~before~~ in its unconscious precedes the fascist attack. In fact, as long as the lower middle class believe that a Socialist solution may come, they are not virulently fascist. They become so when the futility of the working class activities becomes clear, while the working class does not liquidate its positions although not making use of them any more. The working class strength becomes a nuisance value. (The complaint against Mussolini ~~was~~ ^{was} for his having acted when the danger ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~passed~~. It doesn't account for this lag which is not psychological, but objectively political; only after the futility becomes obvious was the F. move possible) of Soc.

The reasons for the failure of formal democracy ought to be understood by Marxian. They are not the non-political influence of press, church, school etc, but the directly economic solidarity of the capitalist with the worker which the capitalist is able to enforce. Cf. Otto Bauer in Knef. The Marxian contention that the working class can not reform capitalism, is sound. But does not mean that it cannot be reformed. The Price, that it

5. (The Fascist Trajectory

More radical reform

INTERNAL

Three reforms: Level 1
can be accomplished

EXTERNAL

disparately
regulating exchange
i.e. either on a world
or a national basis
Democratic solution:

Market
retains
more

Chap. V.

Class War: The
on today

Classes a force inhibitory only in
power in interest, that makes other
The leading function of classes.

Under

capitalism to maintain classes. The
The owners in working force
of the community in production.
The workers mainly safeguard the
but also all the other int.
economic; ~~do not~~ not in the
Owner cannot carry over

as a whole. no mystic
I am interested in

the workers.
to safeguard the interest

of production. At the same time, disqualifies them from
taking account of any other interest of society besides
the materially economic. The workers become the guard
dians of the interests of society as a whole.
situation.)

Their immediate interests make them use this position to
the full.

Functionalism. The wage earner making use of the politi
cal weapon to protect himself against economic (indi
vidual) annihilation.

The two functions become the fortresses of two classes
The working class naturally uses all social interests
to strengthen its own.

The full blown

leading Fascist countries. Other countries. Such variability. Socialism, constitutional mechanism between the full blown merely nominal present. Socialism in Japan, or the resemblance to the West. These were rightly regarded as good of movements and the true. Like the Democratic are representative of their foreign to German F. as the fact that both effectively a 1. internationalism in our time, various other obviously more than force us to call them together.

A theory of will naturally move over, it will have to account also between the various less characterized that the phenomenon itself, even the

republic

aint fa-
nder

is name

is res

mercedes.

eventually

Germany.

gress of peace

ed in view of

een them,

am of.

phenomenon; how

conditions

for the fac

of a wide