

The State and the Individual in Fascism.

Hereford, 15th October, 1934.

I understand from the programme that an address on the Communist attitude towards the individual has preceded this one. Unfortunately, I was not present at that lecture, and can therefore not use it as a background as it were for my own. Yet it will be very helpful in another way.

For a long time Communism was rather generally thought of merely as a political fact, or movement. It is widely realised to-day and here I refer to the address of Father Watt-- that it is more than that; it is a philosophy.

Now, exactly the same applies to Fascism. For a long time it was regarded as a political fact only, or, as a political movement with political aims, at the best. We must realise that it is more than that; it is a philosophy.

This leads to our subject or, rather, to the method by which we must deal with this subject.

Before we can usefully proceed to describe the attitude of a Fascist State towards the individual we must enquire into the position which Fascism as a school of thought takes up towards Individualism.

The Fascist State is ^{only} that ~~into~~ which Fascist Philosophy makes it. ~~And the position of the individual in the Fascist State is but the application of this part of thought in practice.~~ Now Fascist philosophy, if anything, is anti-individualist.

✓ Many people will object that this cannot be. Fascism regards Socialism as its greatest enemy; so, clearly, it must be individualist. Not at all. Fascism denounces Socialism first and foremost for its internationalism, for its non-admission of the

nation and the race as the ultimate realities. Now Socialism refuses to admit them as such precisely because it believes in the equality of all human individuals as individuals. ~~[It is individualist and radical-ly tolerant because it is individualist.]~~ ^{in fact} In fact Fascist philosophy denounces Socialism as the most insidious and the most consistent form of Individualism. To combat it, it deems it necessary to dig down to the very roots of Individualism -- and it is precisely there that it clashes with Christianity. Here again, as you all know, it is the racial tolerance and the pacifist internationalism of Christianity it objects to most violently. Both, however, are but the outcome of Christian individualism.

Indeed, nothing can be more important for the study of Fascist philosophy, than the ~~striking fact~~ ^{apparent paradox} (that Fascism, politically, fights both Socialism and Christianity. It is, precisely this ~~apparent paradox~~ ^{fact} which reveals Fascism as essentially anti-individualist.

^[The different spheres of] Fascist philosophy are merely the elaboration of this one all-important negative ~~aspect of the philosophy~~ point. Whether in general philosophy, history, politics, economics, sociology, ethics ^{or} and metaphysics, the shortest cut to the understanding of Fascist philosophy is ^{everywhere} its anti-individualism, precisely ⁱⁿ of that sense of the term in which both Christianity and Socialism are individualist.

3.

This needs some explanation:

It might be said with some measure of truth that the primary concern of political Fascism is with the Socialist movement to which it is violently opposed, and that its conflict with organised Christianity is but secondary to this. This may very well be correct. ~~The~~ ^{But if its} clash with Christianity ^{was is} ~~may have been~~ secondary, ~~but~~ ^{is} it ~~was~~ by no means accidental. For the fact remains that in order to fight Socialism ^{effectively} radically, i.e. with any degree of intellectual ^{radicalism} effectiveness, Fascism had to attack Socialism at its philosophical and moral roots, and that in this line of attack it was bound to clash with Christianity itself. ^{Let us be clear about one thing: that} For, ~~ultimately,~~ ~~there is no other~~ justification for Socialism ~~that~~ is to be found in religious individualism. Given the conditions of modern industrial society, Christian individualism calls for some change in the economic order itself, ~~[a change that cannot leave the forms of ownership untouched in so far as the instruments of production are concerned.]~~ ^{means} That neither Socialism, nor, for that matter, Christianity, seem to be ~~very~~ ^{aware} ~~conscious~~ much of this mutual relationship does not invalidate the ^{in the least.} objective truth of the argument. Nor indeed that in many cases they both passionately deny the very existence of this relationship.

^{context} That the terms individualistic and individualism are ^{in this} as yet somewhat lacking in clarity, I do not wish to deny. I feel confident that in the course of ^{our analysis of} ~~developing further~~ Fascist philosophy these terms will grow very much more definite. It will, indeed, emerge with the utmost clarity that the opposition of Fascism to

3a.

both Christianity and Socialism is due to the fundamental antagonism of Fascist thought to the eternal sources of religious individualism.

Prominent fascists are more than vaguely conscious of this.

(Mussolini in his speech made in Trieste on 20th Sept. 1920 declared that it would be "fallacious, perilous, criminal to build houses on the shifting sands of the Christian-Socialist-Communist International." "These ideals are worthy of respect but are still very far from reality". (Discorsi. Ed. I. p. 107)

Probably he meant very much the same as Forges-Davanzati, one of the official spokesmen of Fascist Italy when he says: "Fascism alone in the world recognises the fact that the laws of world affairs are those of imperialistic civilization which has its own reasons for being, its own history and its own morality over against the deceptions of social democracy" and, he might well have added: --Christianity.

x x x

And now let us proceed to a short analysis of fascist philosophy: to its philosophy of society, of history, of the Human Universe. ~~this~~ We will deal with the philosophy of the State and its attitude towards the Individual last.

A ~~the~~ systematic philosophy of Fascism has been produced by Othmar Spann, the Vienna philosopher. Apart from the racialist philosophy of the Hitler school, there is ~~besides him~~ ~~there~~ no other serious exponent of Fascist philosophy as a "Weltanschauung", as a method and principle of thought and action as it were encompassing the ~~whole~~ whole of the Human Universe.

There is some difficulty about the name of this system from the point of view of an English public. This philosophy calls itself Universalist. This in England the Catholic University of the Holy Spirit is often made to signify that it ~~does not~~ allows racial discrimination.

4. ~~Of the various systems of thought which have appeared in the history of the human mind, it is only Fascism which is a direct application of the principle of individualism.~~

Fascist Philosophy and Individualism

(Society, History and the Human Universe)

A/SOCIOLOGY

1.) "The decay of our Civilisation through Democracy must be put a stop to" by "breaking away ~~from~~ from the source of the democratic delusion: which is INDIVIDUALISM.

Ofhina
Spann, the ~~philosopher~~ philosopher of Fascism;
The author of Universalism.

For Individualism leads to Bolshevsim".

Havalding

The Counter-Renaissance

equals ANTI-INDIVIDUALISM

What is Spann's case against individualism?

a/ Individualism leads to an ~~isolated~~ ^{inadequate} ~~isolated~~ personality, ^{fictitious, self-contradictory}

self-sufficient, living on its own, which can be only fictitious; to an ~~isolated~~ ^{inadequate} society because there is nothing to link up such isolated individuals into a society; society can never be a reality with them.

b/

They clearly conflict with

Both assertions ^{appear to be} true. But ~~they do not agree with~~ the Xrian concept of personality which does ~~not~~ regard the individual as a spiritually self-sufficient being; but as ~~the~~ ^{regards} Men as the Sons of God; ?

2/ and which does ~~not~~ regard human society as something outside us, but as the Brotherhood of the Sons of God; ?

The explanation of this apparent contradiction is this:

Christianity is religious individualism (York)
Spiritualist individualism (Witchy - kind of)

Spann and Fascism general ~~individualism~~ starts from the concept of the atheist individual; ; from Nietzsche's "God is dead!" ^{Kierkegaard: "If there is no God, then I am God."}

Proof: Spann enumerates the types of possible individualist personalities: the primitive savage, the Titans, Hercules, Prometheus, Thor, -- they are all pagan except the hermit, who is outside society ex definitione; Spann forgot to mention the religious individualist;

That Spann has this type of individualism in his mind can be clearly shown by the most extraordinary fact, that

IT IS IN SPANN'S UNIVERSALISM THAT THE UNCHRISTIAN ORIGIN OF FASCIST

~~the Christian individualism of pagan religion~~ ANTI-INDIVIDUALISM BECOMES MANIFEST; The mere suggestion that Christian individualism could lead to an isolated, self-dependent ~~an~~ individual, an atom as it were which has no inherent link with his fellows is so absurd that it suffices to ~~make~~ ^{raise} the point in order ~~that it is itself the proof of the~~ to realise the purely pagan mentality of Fascism.

Spann's repudiation of individualism shows that his concept of the ~~individual~~ ^{individualism} is ~~un-Christian~~.

radically ~~un-Christian~~ concept of the individual it refers to.

4a

Spann:

"For Individualism leads to Liberalism ; Liberalism leads to Capitalism; Capitalism leads to Marxism; Marxism leads to Bolshevism."

oooooo ---- oooooo

"Every sort of Individualism whatever, if it be but consistent must lead to the assertion that the individual ~~and~~ ~~man~~ a spiritual being is spiritually self-contained, self-sufficient autark.

Archb. York: The Xtian concept of Personality
"In the ultimate reality of things each soul is precious in the sight of God and derives its value from that. †

i.e. The absolute Value of the Individual ~~is~~
derived from the existence of God.

C/ The Fascist Philosophy of the State.

The State the only Reality: Gentile: The State has an absolute moral value for us as being the person from whose functions all other persons derive their value.

What sort of Liberalism is their possible under these conditions?
 "Gentile: Of which Liberalism do we speak?"

The second point where Jewry enters: Jewry the physical embodiment of the reign of LIBERALISM, the scapegoat for CAPITALISM; the ~~mainstay~~ of Liberalism. A historic fact: Jewry emancipated on the continent very recently by ~~MM~~ Liberal Tolerance :

HERE AGAIN ANTI-SEMITISM UNCONSCIOUSLY EXPRESSIVE OF THE STRONGEST ELEMENT IN THE FASCIST UPRISING: Its antagonism against Liberalism, as the outcome of religious individualism.

:B/ The Philosophy of the Human Universe in Fascism.

Universalism: The whole is before the part.
What does society look like if once the individual is discarded as its natural foundation?

- 1/ Spann's "totalitarian Philosophy" the answer to this.
 Society the only reality: the individual has but a derivative existence; like the members of a body
 Platonic functionalism of the extreme kind;
 An organicist night-mare. Carta del Lavoro: The Nation an organism.

- 2/ Racialism is the materialistic form of this organicist universalism
This again leads to a most extraordinary concept of group life
 Carl Schmitt: Group life based on Enmity?!
 Groups come into existence and continue in existence only to fight other groups (nation)
 Group solidarity is a virtue ~~in~~ ^{sustains} the existence of the group.

Heidegger :
 oooooooooooooooooooooo ----- oooooooooooooooooooooo

No greater contrast ^{conceivable} ~~possible~~ than the Sociology of group life of the Christian than this. Fellowship and co-operation inside the group the basis of community. The enmity theory almost blasphemous. *This again a consequence of religious individualism.*

we must recognize that

The attack on Socialism's individualist fully justified.
~~The economic system is justified only in terms of a Christian attitude, and moreover a retreat from the concept of the fulfillment of human personality~~

The Socialist or Marxian Sociology :

- I coming about* {
- 1/ originally direct and personal relationships,
 - 2/ self-estrangement of man through distribution of labour and the class distinction between capital and labour (Capitalism) *increasing for this through*
 - 3/ overcoming self-estrangement through direct personal relationships again (Socialism) *the need to be understood*

Marx on "crude communism":
 "This communism, being a negation of human personality is but the consistent expression of the nature of private property which entails such a negation."

5a

Carta del Lavoro;

"...the Italian nation is an organism with a higher life with higher means of action and higher aims than the individuals (or groups of individuals) of which it consists".

Heidegger, Inaugural ^{address} ~~speech~~ ^{Original} as the new head of Breslau Univ.

Martin Heidegger: Die Selbstbehauptung der deutschen Universität. Breslau, 1933. (27. Mai). Rektoratsrede.

consists in
a self
assertive

"The spiritual world ^{of a people is not} ~~is~~ ^{mere} the superstructure of its culture, as little as it is the ~~repository~~ ^{repository} of practical knowledge and practical values, but this spiritual world ~~is~~ ^{is} the power of ~~the~~ ^{the} people to ~~preserve~~ ^{preserve} in its very depth its forces emanating from the soil and the blood, as ~~an~~ ^{an} ~~irruptive~~ ^{irruptive} and dislocating power, ~~in the~~ ^{in the} ~~circum-~~ ^{circum-} ~~stances~~ ^{stances} ~~of its own existence~~ ^{of its own existence}" (13). It is ~~only~~ ^{only} a spiritual world of its own ~~which~~ ^{which} is a guarantee of the greatness of a nation. For it is this spiritual world which ~~decides~~ ^{decides} it ever and again ~~to~~ ^{to} decide between the will to ~~greatness~~ ^{greatness} and the passive tolerance of decay, setting as it were the pace ~~to~~ ^{to} the march of our nation towards the ~~aim~~ ^{aim} of its future history. (14)

{ Labour service,
Military service, should be compounded into one. By what force can this
Study service. be achieved?

Answer: Teachers as well as students must realise that it is the principle of struggle that dominates both science and life. Both these forms of struggle must again be in a continuous struggle between themselves. Thus all the forces of volition and of thinking, all the faculties of the mind and the body, the heart and the brain, should be developed through struggle, should be strengthened through struggle, and should be preserved in the form of a perpetual struggle.

We side with the interrogative type of minds that choose the struggle which arms itself with knowledge. And ~~with~~ ^{with} Carl von Clausewitz we profess: "I have done with the light-minded illusion that sets its hope on a rescue by the hand of chance". (Clausewitz is the great classic on military strategy of the Germans.)

6.

B/History

" The ~~more~~ progressive ~~the~~ revelation and the fulfilment of the true nature of man."

The Fascist interpretation:

No eschatology
No progress
No necessity

Cyclical theories modelled on
Vico a .la Penger,
Kinetic Universalism of Spann
dynamic historicism of Croce
racial mysticism or struggle for
life

Blood and muscle th e ultimate realites.

Races the bricks theedfice of human history is built of

C. Human Universe

9. dy
The consequence of its refusal to accept religious individualism:

1. A refusal to interpret the Universe in terms of consciousness and will. Purpose, responsibility, self-realisation. To regard history as a road to freedom; institutions as an instrument of freedom; society as a field of the self-realisation of man. Instead a purely existential ontology: ~~the institutions and functions for the individual as a personality.~~ The highest category in this world of thought is the existence and functioning of an institution. It cannot do more than be. It cannot signify. Such a view of life compatible with almost every sort of social philosophy including many different shades of individualism: as e.g. the individualism of Nietzsche, or of the pagan heroic type; in effect it is rather apt to think of the differences between ind. as all-important. Incompatible with religious Individualism, however, that is, with the belief in the intrinsic value of every individual.
A denial of the value of general normative principles.
2. No ultimate values, no universal ~~norm~~ norm, no validity of general rules or laws neither in Law, nor in Society, nor in History, Logic or Ethics, etc. No Necessity (and yet no freedom either)! A radical Irrationalism, eclecticism, historicism. This does not mean that it is a universe without God. What it does mean is that God is not concerned about this our universe. Or, to put it more ~~clearly~~: that the human universe cannot be concerned mainly with God. Which again is only another way to say that it is not concerned ~~with individuals as individuals.~~ with individuals as individuals.
3. The central metaphysical position: Final or infinite resignation. You cannot have Equality, you cannot have Fellowship, you cannot have Peace, you cannot have a society with the right personal relationships you cannot have the Kingdom of God on earth. It is a delusion, it is a temptation, it is a danger. This is the most important change of outlook that has happened for hundreds of years. Spann's claims not exaggerated. A Counter-Renaissance. He ought to have said: a return to Paganism. Christianity and the Middle Ages, The Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, Democracy, the French Revolution and Socialism -- ~~are~~ parts of one and the same world of an ever changing and ever developing religious individualism. Fascism is the most fundamental break in the history of humanity since the idea of religious individualism was born. 2

*indeed un-
der stated.*

*means breaking away from relig. indiv.; another
to form indiv. & not break forever.*

*The idea
was*

~~Private~~

D/ The Fascist Philosophy of the State.

The opposition between Christianity and Socialism on the one hand, Fascist philosophy on the other, nowhere ~~is~~ ^{more} conspicuous ~~as~~ ^{than} in the appreciation of the State:

This is a Socialism it

It varies from a qualified Good to a necessary evil, and in Tolstoian ~~Christian Utopias~~ ^{indeed in} as well as in the Socialist Utopias to an increasingly necessary Evil.

For Fascism the State is the ~~only reality in the realm of spiritual existence.~~ ^{and the absolute value} the only reality in the realm of spiritual existence.

The official definition of the State in Italy runs thus:

"The State in Fascism is not the counterpart of the individual, not merely the ultimate authority to which the individual must ~~willy-nilly~~ ^{willy-nilly} surrender, but it is ~~total and absolute authority,~~ ^{total and absolute authority,} incapable by its very nature of restriction or qualification..."

The Italian Philosopher

Giovanni Gentile: (The State has an absolute moral value for us as being the person ~~by~~ ^{by} whose functions all other ~~persons~~ ^{persons} derive ~~their~~ ^{their} value, which by coinciding with the functions through being in accordance with the functions of the State, becomes ~~absolute.~~ ^{absolute.} ~~themselves.~~ ^{themselves.})

According to Italy

Sovereignty is not vested in the people, but in the State as represented by

- 1/ the Crown, 2/ the Fascist Party (as the expression of the political unity of the nation and as the political ~~training centre~~ ^{high school} of the ruling class; 3/ the corporative structure (as the expression of the economic unity ~~of the~~ ^{of the} and the professional ~~of the~~ ^{of the} Nation."

In practice this means:

In short: the Crown, the Party and the corporative structure. But the latter has no roots or foundations of its own: it is ~~directed and nominated in everything~~ ^{directed and nominated in everything} by the Party.

members are nominated ^(that is)

The Crown

~~on the other hand~~ ^{on the other hand} is bound to act through the Prime Minister but cannot choose his person just as it cannot dissolve parliament (or that which now carries this name);

as the high school of the ruling class is therefore the ~~only~~ ^{only} repository of ~~power~~ ^{power} ~~of the~~ ^{of the} ~~sovereignty~~ ^{sovereignty} ~~of the~~ ^{of the} ~~Nation~~ ^{Nation}. In Germany the influence of the ~~Army may~~ ^{Army may} ~~make~~ ^{make} ~~a~~ ^a ~~difference~~ ^{difference} ~~in this respect~~ ^{in this respect}.

9.

The State .Contin. (1).

Liberalism that set it

It is astonishing to hear ~~of any~~ Liberalism ~~obtaining~~ after ~~this~~ ^{this} in a Fascist society. For if the State is everything and the individual nothing, how can there ~~be~~ ^{any} respect for the personality of the individual?

But here is L. and G.

Gentile : " Of which Liberalism do we speak?"

This explains the attitude the Fascist State takes up ~~towards~~ towards

~~individual conscience~~ ~~whether~~ ~~religious~~ or not. Religious individualism, Liberalism and Socialism ~~are~~ always ident.

Malaparte (Curzio Suckert) : "Fascist Syndicalism ... prepares and performs a return to the national civilisation strictly Italian..."

Gentile:

"....Of which Liberalism do we speak?...One Liberalism locates the root of Liberty in the individual, and hence opposes the individual to the State, which latter no longer has an intrinsic value but serves the welfare and the perfection of the individual; it is a means and not an end. It limits itself to the maintaining of public order, thus remaining entirely outside the realm of spiritual life which latter is enclosed in the inner realm of the individual consciousness. This Liberalism is historically classical Liberalism of English origin and, I add immediately, it is false Liberalism or contains only a half-truth.

"But there is another Liberalism developed by Italian thought and by German, which declares this antagonism between State and Individual absurd. (Note: not ~~absurd~~ but absurd, i.e. non-existent). For always the maximum of Liberty coincides with the maximum force of the State."

This is one of the things that impresses me

The explanation of this ~~statement~~ ^{paradoxical} statement is ~~the~~ ^{the contradiction} nothing--Gentile says-- in the single individual can pretend to be guaranteed and promoted, but what has a universal

bearing and expresses a higher will and interest ~~than the~~ ~~will and interest of the single individual.~~ ~~In other words, the individual as such, as a personality, cannot pretend to be safeguarded at all by the State. By Liberty not his Liberty, but the Liberty of the State is meant.~~ ~~No wonder that~~ "maximum of Liberty coincides with the maximum force of the State!"

Malaparte: (Curzio Suckert)

Fascist syndicalism is preparing and performing a return to the national civilisation strictly Italian, thoroughly historic, on the ruins of modern anti-national, classist, originally Anglo-Saxon civilisation which from the Reformation on has suppressed all our native and natural forces and recently triumphed with democratic Liberalism and Socialism. " (L' Europa Vivente, p. 109.)

10. ~~11~~

Conclusion.

(10.)

We hurry to the end.

social & political freedom

The attitude of the Fascist State towards the individual is clearly very much more than a question of the rights of citizenship, of civil rights ~~altogether~~ altogether. In fact it involves the attitude of Fascism towards life in society itself.

Incidentally it has become ~~clear~~ clear in what sense F. is to be regarded as anti-individualist, or, to put it in another way, in what sense of the term is fighting both Christianity and Socialism as Individualism.

It is in the sense of religious individualism. *the basis of all sense, toward and fruitful internationalism*
An analysis of Fascist philosophy reveals better than anything else could the real nature of religious individualism. Better than than we had understood it till now, perhaps.

The refusal to interpret the universe in terms of consciousness and will;

The refusal to accept the validity of general normative principles; *central significance of ethics and value life*

The refusal to top its hierarchy of values with the Absolute, *to shape human society, the life of mankind after His Will.*
isolated
are but aspects of the central refusal to base its world on the religious interpretation of the individual, *and sharing the ~~the~~ ~~deliberation~~ of every kind of the social freedom.*
Let me remind you of this:

Several times in the history of these two thousand years Mankind has swerved in the persuasion of the road towards the ~~the~~ the realisation of the Kingdom of God on Earth. It was like passing through a cloud, a cloud of resignation. This time the danger is greater. For in Fascism resignation is final.

what is meant & intended

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