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The philosophy of Fascism

A. What is Fascism?

~~there seem to be two~~ ^{The simplest} ways of defining it ^{as a movement}; ~~(b) as a set of institutions~~

- (a) ~~as a movement~~: You do not know a Fascist movement when you see it social credit' Huey Long, Father Coughlin; Townshend
- (b) a Fascist movement is not/essential ^{really} to the victory of Fascism; ^{as shown by the history}

more exactly: Fascism can be victorious without any Fascist movement of importance having been present; (Austria); Primo de Rivera; Franco in Nationalist Spain. The history of Italian Fascism proves how ~~important~~ small movements may bring complete victory: there is no adequacy between the strength of the movement visibly standing for Fascism and the measure of completeness of the victory of Fascism in terms of power.

Summing up: The Fascist ^{Movement} Party is the least important of the factors which bring about a change over to Fascism. The more important are

Surprise ~~explained~~

- (a) the tacit support which it finds in the ruling classes esp in the army police judiciary & the capitalists of all parties often including the Churches (Austria, Spain) & other classes incl.
- (b) the lack of resistance put forward by the/work classes either disillusioned by their former policy or: under so strong pressure from Fascism that they do not put forward any alternative policy to Fascism.

BUT WHY DOES VICTORY FALL SO EASILY TO THEM? Why is the Dem. taken as a rule by surprise?

B. The real ~~crisis~~ Crisis:

Obviously, ~~this~~ this implies the existence of a real crisis i.e. an actual danger to society as a whole unless a solution to the deadlock can be found.

IT is the crisis of capitalism in its liberal form; it must either pass on to ~~another form~~ a corporative form or else proceed to an extension of democracy to society as a whole including the industrial sphere i.e. to socialism.

Causes of the crisis:

The causes may have been various and well hidden. It is our society as a whole which is under judgement and all and everything has a part in bringing ~~the~~ matters to ahead.

Still, all factors have joined up in one dominating feature of the present world situation: the complete break down of the economic order under/ we have grown up. international
the which

(incidentally: this is often put down to the self sufficiency tendency of the F. countries. This means forgetting that Roosevelt torpedoed the ~~INTERNATIONAL~~ World Economic Conference of 1933 and that Neveill Chamberlain had gone off Gold in 1931). Superficial. *the Br. Consensus*
Cabinet went

The factors working ~~INTERNATIONAL~~ towards the break down of the World Economic system were there before: In the form of competition ~~and~~ for markets and capital exports :

a the Great War was both an out come of the conflict and an attempt of the part of the single states to avert the effects of ~~INTERNATIONAL~~ the increasing difficulty of working that system.

b after the Great War a vast effort was made to return to that pre-War system (stabilisation of ~~INTERNATIONAL~~ currencies on Gold);

c when this effort broke down then all countries in the world had to adapt their lives to the new situation i.e. the absence of ~~INTERNATIONAL~~ a international economic order.

a It was at this third stage that the real international nature of the crisis became ~~clear~~. All nations ~~INTERNATIONAL~~ were suddenly in the same boat. *Apparent*

b In the industrial countries the social crisis started. All this had happened since 1933 (Fascism had been hardly more than a new name for an old thing in Italy before that.)

c Two mutually exclusive ways of meeting the situation :

international solution :: Socialism
national way of meeting it: no solution: The corporative state

as you cannot understand capitalism without understanding its function , it is necessary to understand that F. promises to meet the economic needs of the situation at the price of

aa organising for war and giving up the postulate of peace;

bb repudiating the postulate of democracy and inflicting making ~~INTERNATIONAL~~ individuals unable to be the members of a democratic community.

great Difference between Fascism and Democracy

The characteristics of our period:

The development of the strong executive (dictatorship cry against Roosevelt; the end of the two party system in this country and the 9/10 the majority of the national government);

The self-sufficiency tendency (the difference lies in ~~the~~ the purpose of the strong government in Gr. Br or USA and e.g. Germany;) as well as in the purposes to which the new instrument of self sufficient economies are put in this country and in the Fascist countries.

C. The Essence of Fascism lies in the institutional field in this:

Fascism recognises the epochal nature of the crisis and answers by with the most radical change in mentality:

Here classes enter. The two leading classes (objectivity)

Fascism Internationally: Empires
Nationally: The Corporative state. (USA)
Industrial Dictatorship & Industrial Corporative

Democracy: Internationally (collective security can fit in)
Nationally: Socialism

Russia .

D. It is the existence of Russia that has brought matters to a head:

The problem of raising mankind to a higher state of existence has been solved in Russia. This explains the

- the support given to Fascism in all capitalist circles in the world
- the way in which the triumph of socialism is to be hidden by the greatest effort of misrepresentation and calumny since the days of the French Revolution.

E. Internationalism and Democracy linked:

Here again the Fascist prove real insight: the insight inspired by real hate:

The position taken up is radically anti-Christian, because they have recognised the essentially Christian basis and origins of Western Civilisation from which they have decided to depart;

Individualism in the sense of ~~human~~ personality: the infinite value of the individual as well as the universalism of Christianity have been repudiated.

Marcian philosophy (with Engels: Dialectical materialism)

Naturalism has been put into its place; The life force, the vital, the biological. The logos, the Word, i.e. the source of meaning and significance is being denied.

Religious insight tells us that

the present crisis is a crisis of mankind;
 that it cannot pass except by the establishment of
 an world encompassing framework of society.
 that the units of this must be the nations;
 but that they are unable to solve this task unless they
 become real unities, no longer separated into two classes
 of people of different responsibilities.

2.)

b.) The role of the working class. The mission is of
 an objective nature.

Location in the class annals of Germany.

July 12th, 1936.

THE PHILOSOPHY AND ECONOMICS OF FASCISM.

An inquiry into the nature of Fascism

I.

Introduction.

Before we start out on the philosophy of Fascism we must get rid of some widely spread prejudices on this subject:

a/ The Peace Treaties responsible for Fascism on the continent.

"The Versailles Treaty is hardly more responsible for the Nazis in Germany than it is for the Younger Officers and other Fascist movements in Japan, for Signor Mussolini, for the Belgian Rexists, the Dutch Nazi, the Roumanian "Iron Guards" the dictatorship of the Colonels in Poland, Colonel de la Rocque and the "Francists" across the Channel, and our own Oswald Mosley and the "hard Tories".

b/ national ^{mentalities} psychologies responsible for Fascism: e.g. Prussian or Italian etc.

1/ Refuted by the above; nothing less similar than these nations!

2/ national ^{mentality} psychology non-existent as a historical factor (only for small changes in the short run, never for great changes i.e. out the long run, for the psychology itself changes completely when fundamental necessities are at work. E.g. Russian mujik transformed into a stachanovist; the etc.

or: (types) III

c/ national variations do not prove the ~~existence~~ existence of the species:

e.g. capitalism different in different countries, just as feudalism was different in Germany, Japan, England or Prussia is yet the same, basically.

What is the common aspect of that which happens in Germany, or Japan, the USA or for that matter, in England or Austria? How to discover whether a tendency is Fascist or not? Whether a proposal points in the Fascist direction or not?

II.

~~Characteristics of Fascist Movement~~ Fascist Movement

Fascist movements characterised by technique: Armed civilians, using force and violence without ~~MONARCH~~ authority but enjoying the connivance of the police, the judiciary etc.

Black and Tans; awakening Magyars; Italian Fascist "di Combattimento;

the ideology of these groups usually nationalistic, sometimes racialist, but from the point of view of their social programmes often radically anti-capitalist e.g. the Combes anti-lamdowning class Fascist in Hungary; the Italian radical "socialists".

*clash between Democracy and
imperialist competition
controlled by the owners of the means of production
of the countries*

(The philosophy and economics of Fascism) continued.

Social credit etc.

the German Feder-Gold anti-capitalism (against ~~with~~ chain stores etc); sometimes the ideology is "for law and order" but oftener it is "revolutionary" especially vaguely Socialist, but very definitely against actual nationalisation of the means of production. An other characteristic: The programme is either declared
a/ unimportant (Mussolini)
b/ flexible or
c/ immutable but unessential.

Concrete proposals deferred: "Let us first increase in numbers"; "let us first get rid of this system" strongly negative, aggressive, anti-intellectualist emotional etc. Never reasoned statements of any

longitudinal

Politic

Fascist systems, proposals / organisation of industry - another matter; these may or not be put forward by Fascist movements: -- they are realised by victorious Fascism.

They may be put forward without a movement, peacefully, in a constructive spirit. What is the connection between the two? Fascist movements completely different when in power than before that. This is one of the most important characteristics. Makes it so essential to recognise the Fascist character of a movement in time

(Not the usual watering down of the programme when a party is in power. 1/ ~~was~~ More radical than out *revolutionary, after the event.* of power.

2/ Programme changed into its opposite;

3/ ~~More violent and revolutionary~~ *departs, near, after* to government than ~~ENTER~~ out of it.

The political origins of F. everywhere the same: It is a movement against democracy, in order to destroy the influence of the ~~work~~ *working* class in legislation. Where representative government tends to strengthen working class influence, especially its influence towards Socialist solutions, an anti-democratic move sets in. Fascism is a political move against Democracy because Democracy under modern conditions, esp. in a crisis tends to lead towards ~~democracy~~ *social control of the means of production* (i.e. the communal ownership of the means of production). *A reform of capitalism provided at the price of abolishing the abolitionist of representative democracy*

Common people

The difference between F. and former, old-fashioned anti-democratic movements (military dictatorship, "strong" governments, reactionary "coup d'etat" governments) is, that F. seeks to be based on the masses (whether a minority or a majority). This is the completely new aspect of it: A violent mass movement tending to disenfranchise the masses themselves! If there was anything politically incon-

ceivable under the name only of liberal democracy, it was this.

3.
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(The Philosophy and Economic of Fascism).
continued.

III.

~~The characteristics of Fascist philosophy~~
~~clearable under the same classic values of liberalism it was this.~~

The characteristic method of Fascism to get at the masses is to turn against the political party system the parties, against "politics".

Political institutions.
Fascist system (institutions).

The characteristic point in Fascist proposals, programmes or institutions is that the industrial organisation is made the basis thereby eliminating the influence of of society the workers, for under the industrial organisation they are necessarily subordinated to the management which is responsible for the ordered process of production.

Here you have the essence of Fascism:

while it destroys the representative form of democracy thereby eliminating the influence of the working class which is necessarily political, it at the same time establishes the influence of the actual owners of plant and factories, who thus are made supreme in society. the semblance of working class influence is upheld by the parity principle of Capital and Labour. This means that the owner and the employees are equal as a group. This is of course reasonable, indeed inevitable, when they are regarded as two parties to a contract, but it means the complete disenfranchisement of the workers if it is the only form in which he can make himself felt in society.

III. Fascist philosophy.

These three characteristics are the basis of F. Its philosophy is a justification of this concept of social organisation.

Anti - democracy leads to anti-individualism (looks socialist but is not, because Socialism is basically individualist).

Materialist in the sense of anti-idealism, appealing to immediate interests as against working class solidarity, international solidarity etc.

Against equality: basic idea: the inequality of men and races (rulers and ruled). Inferior classes and races.

Organic principle in the sense of the equality of functions which means the negation of the equality of those individuals who are engaged in them.

INDIVIDUALISM NATIONALISM INTERNATIONALISM ORGANIC PRINCIPLE

4.
(The Philosophy and Economics of Fascism)
Continued.

The Economics of Fascism.

Introduction:

What is the ^{source} starting point of the crisis which leads in modern industrial communities to the Fascist danger?

We must clearly understand the nature of our economic and of our political system.

What is democracy? ~~The representation of the people in the sphere of politics. The possibility of the expression of the conscious wills of human beings.~~ ^{individuals through representative institutions.}

What is Capitalism?

Industry run under the private ownership of the ~~means of~~ production. (A very new system, completely experimental and the right attitude towards it is that of a thing on trial.)

Now, how does the competitive system work to-day?

- a) Increasing insecurity ~~to~~ the individual. Trade cycle. Increasing depressions.
- b) Increasing number of people affected by the redistribution of occupations.

In consequence the State must protect the individuals and groups of individuals against the effects of the trade cycle and the working of the competitive system.

This protection can be built up ^{in times of increasing prosperity} but tends to break down when industry is on the downgrade.

Inevitably, democratic parliaments tend to uphold the social security of the individual. It is here that the conflict with the ~~owners~~ of the plant comes in.

Historically: In continental countries Fascism comes when ~~the~~ democratic parliaments try to safeguard the security of the individual against the effects of the economic system and the injustice ~~which~~ with which it works. A danger to the Capitalist system emerges.

Impasse: Dead lock- Either democracy or the Competitive system must go. Fascism decides against democracy. It proposes to run industry with out the control of parliaments.

^(check it)
It starts by setting Trade Unions aside or putting up leaders who are prepared to coop with the

V/ THE Economics of Fascism.

The difference between the F. Movement and the F. systems is marked in the question of Economics..

I.

The F. Movement: anti-party politics; pro expert; dictatorial, catering for the support of the lower middle classes apparently anti-capitalist, but setting its face against Socialism proper.

Economic programme:-

a/ against chain stores, multiple stores and coops.
promise:- Taxation of coops. prohibition of multiple stores.
anti-Jewish propaganda.

b/ against the financial oligarchy, the banks (not the industrialist)
F&F

promise: Social Credit ; (Feder Geld) Silvio Gsell (Munich)
Major Douglas.

- 1/ these do not affect the property system
- 2/ promise something for nothing;
- 3/ lead to dictatorial solutions;
only the dictators are the actual owners of the means of production, because all other power has been abolished.

Economics of theThe Fascist system.

Fascism in power drops its programme completely.
interim completely

a/ Social credit. Feder Geld . Dropped.

b/ Anti-multiple store agitation dropped.
Coops retained, only taken away from workers.

Its own programme is a different one.

Fascism in power has three characteristics:

- 1/ abolishing democracy ;
- 2/ retaining the private property of the means of production industry;
- 3/ giving the worker apparent ~~human~~ equality by the principle of equality of functions which implies lack of human equality.

Economics

(The Philosophy and Economic of Fascism).
continued.

Once the influence of the working class in politics and through independent Trade Unions of their own is destroyed, then it is possible to reorganise Capitalism, so as to make it less oppressive and disastrous, i.e. to do away with the insecurity
the dislocations,
the injustice
the loss of production
entailed in it.

But this is impossible. The basic fact in capitalism is that you cannot ask the man who runs the industry on his financial responsibility to run himself into a loss, because then he cannot carry on. Therefore under Capitalism it is inevitable that the last word should be with the property owner, the man who is responsible for the management of industry.

A/ The Corporative State.

Can the State interfere with prices ?

Is an alternative to a competitive system being developed?
employed.

a/ Italy the syndical phase.
the corporative phase .

Unions of employers and
Add the expert, the State
and party man.

Functions? Labour conditions
Study and investigation.

Difference : strikes prohibited.

b/ Germany

(The Philosophy and Economics of Fascism).
continued.

The Corporative state. (not co-operative).

Under the capitalist system the State cannot interfere with prices.
Is any new system being developed? Any alternative to market economics?
Italy - The syndical phase. (Unions of employers and employed on parity).
The corporative phase.

A/ (The Corporative Ministry, (Adding to this the expert and
The Corporative Chamber. the representative of the party
The Corporative Unions.) and the State).
The National Council of Corporations.

The only new principle established is that of the prohibition of strikes.

In every other way it is the Capitalist system.

In Germany nothing new has been established.

B/ Autarky The idea of self sufficiency .

Germany starting on the economic of war.
Cutting herself loose from of
international credit system; (repudiating her foreign debts)
gold standard. (42% cover thrown away)
international market (3000 Mill Mark favorable balance)

No corporations established .

In fact nothing is being put in the place of the democratic system, but Capitalism preparing for War.

The national idea, the military idea is the real raison d'etre of this system.

The deadlock of democracy and Capitalism is not solved, it is shelved, till the outbreak of War.

The economics of Fascism are the economics of War preparation .

A/ England will be faced with the same great problems soon, either in a War or in order to avoid the War.

B/ The questions are of the same nature. It will depend on the insight and clarity of the working class whether they are able to work democracy more effectively than the Continental parties did.

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