

THE
GREATER BRITAIN

BY
OSWALD MOSLEY

"We cannot muddle through this time."

SIR OSWALD MOSLEY. (Speech on resignation
from the Government, May, 1930.)

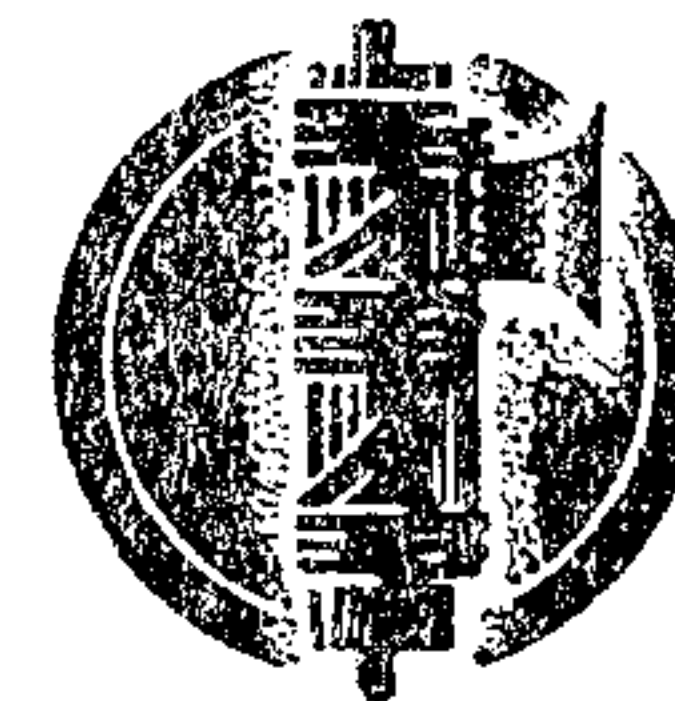
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Fasces are the emblem which founded the power, authority and unity of Imperial Rome. From the Rome of the past was derived the tradition of civilisation and progress during the past two thousand years, of which the British Empire is now the chief custodian. The bundle of sticks symbolises the strength of unity. Divided, they may be broken ; united, they are invincible. The axe symbolises the supreme authority of the organised State, to which every section and faction owes allegiance.

PREFACE TO NEW EDITION.

It is now eighteen months since this book was first published, but it has not been necessary materially to revise it for a new edition. Some new facts and new developments of our detailed policy have been included. In particular the structure of Fascist Government has been defined with greater precision than in the original book. But the main argument and policy remains unaltered. Subsequent circumstances have combined to strengthen the argument and to support the policy. In the economic chapters it has scarcely been necessary to make any alteration at all. The analysis which I first advanced in my speech of resignation from the Labour Government in May 1930 is now very widely accepted, although at the time it was regarded as unorthodox, if not fantastic. In particular, the fallacy of seeking to cure unemployment solely through a revival of export trade is now almost entirely discredited.

The Economic policy, too, now finds a far wider acceptance, but only a very partial application. Some of it has been applied in America under President Roosevelt's attempt to revive industry in the far easier conditions of that country without the overriding energy and authority of an organised Fascist Movement behind him.

The policy of this book is also reflected in the recent attempts of several countries to constitute what are now called "Autarchic" organisations which I originally described as National "Insulation". It is also reflected in recent speeches and writings in this country which attempt to persuade the Old Parties to abandon the old policies from which the logic of events is driving them.

Half-hearted and partial attempts to apply a policy with reluctance under the stress of necessity are seldom successful. Nettles which are not grasped are liable to sting. Recent events only confirm the original contention of this book that in face of the grave problems which confront this country Fascism without Fascists will not work. The task before us is nothing less than the creation of a new civilisation. Before we can really begin that task we must create a new spirit. The Old Parties may imitate in belated and ineffective fashion our policies; they can never imitate or acquire our spirit. This is the supreme mission of Fascism in the world to create a revival in the spirit of man which is prerequisite to a revival in material environment. In the brief space of eighteen months that spirit has been created in Britain. The fury with which it has been assailed was anticipated in the original Introduction and Conclusion of this book, which I have left practically untouched to afford at least a proof that we knew what we were doing.

We anticipated the bitterness of the opposition

we should evoke; we could not anticipate the full measure of the support we should secure. The publication of this book launched a hazardous adventure on an uncharted sea. The outcome depended upon the will and determination that remained to the British people. Our great confidence has been justified to a greater extent than we could have dared to hope. In eighteen months a small handful has grown to a mighty organisation stretching through the length and breadth of the land. In this early period of Fascism in Britain we have advanced far more rapidly than any other Fascist movement in the world. Great struggles await us and from time to time in the future as in the past no doubt we shall experience our reverses. These things do not matter. What does matter is that a spirit has been created in Britain which in the end cannot fail. The inspiration of the spirit of Fascism eludes the description of the written word but to-day in Britain it is a vital fact which is felt and lived by thousands.

Thousands of men and women have dedicated themselves with selfless determination and sublime passion to the salvation of this land. A religious enthusiasm carries forward the creed of the modern world to predestined triumph. These are the realities of Fascist civilisation, for Fascism is a thing of the spirit. It is the acceptance of new values and of a new morality in a higher and nobler conception of the universe. The individual in his fusion with the ideal of service finds a greater personality and purpose. The corporate entity of

Fascism embodies the finest aspirations of the human mind and spirit in superb sacrifice to a sacred purpose.

In an age of decadence and disillusion when all old values fail, the new flame purifies and inspires to loftier ambitions and mightier ends. The achievements of Fascism will be many in Britain, but the greatest has already been accomplished although the effects cannot yet be measured in terms of national policy. *The spirit lives ; the rest will follow.*

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BOOK ONE FASCISM AND THE STATE

INTRODUCTION

The Breakdown

IN Great Britain during the past ten years there have never been less than a million unemployed, and recently unemployment has fluctuated over a two million figure, which does not include a very large number of salaried and uninsured men and women at present unemployed. In 1929—a year which is now regarded as the peak of industrial prosperity—British trade was slack, large industrial areas were almost derelict, and only the stock markets enjoyed a semblance of boom conditions.

We have tragic proof that economic life has outgrown our political institutions. Britain has failed to recover from the War period; and this result, however complicated by special causes, is largely due to a system of Government designed by, and for, the nineteenth century.

Setting aside any complaint of the conduct or capacity of individual Governments, I believe that, under the existing system, Government cannot be efficiently conducted.

The object of this book is to prove, by analysis of the present situation and by constructive policy, that the necessity for a fundamental change exists. Our political system dates substantially from 1832. The intervening century has seen the invention and development of telegraph, telephone and wireless. At the beginning of the period, railways were a novelty, and a journey of a dozen miles was a serious undertaking.

Since then, railway transport has risen and pros-

pered, only to yield place to the still greater revolution of motor transport on modern roads. The whole question of power production is less than a century old, and electricity is a recent development. The modern processes of mass production and rationalisation date only from the War period. Within the last century science has multiplied by many times the power of man to produce. Banking, as we know it to-day, did not exist in 1832; even the Charter of the Bank of England and the modern Gold Standard are less than a century old. Social opinion has developed almost as rapidly as economic possibilities. Well within the last century children worked twelve hours daily in mines and workshops. Men were transported for picking pockets, and hanged for stealing sheep. Leisure and education have enormously widened the public interest in matters of Government concern. The huge expansion of commerce has made us depend more and more on one another; the building-up of popular newspapers has organised and formulated popular opinion.

From the standpoint of a century ago, all these changes are revolutionary. The sphere of government has widened and the complications of government have increased. It is hardly surprising that the political system of 1832 is wholly out of date to-day. "The worst danger of the modern world," writes Sir Arthur Salter in his brilliant book *Recovery*, "is that the specialised activities of man will outrun his capacity for regulative wisdom." *Our problem is to reconcile the revolutionary changes of science with our system of government,*

and to harmonise individual initiative with the wider interests of the nation. Most men desire to work for themselves; laws are oppressive if they prevent people from doing so. But there is no room for interests which are not the State's interests; laws are futile if they allow such things to be. Wise laws, and wise institutions, are those which harness without restricting; which allow human activity full play, but guide it into channels which serve the nation's ends.

Fascism—the Modern Movement

Hence the need for a New Movement, not only in politics, but in the whole of our national life. The movement is Fascist, (i) because it is based on a high conception of citizenship—ideals as lofty as those which inspired the reformers of a hundred years ago: (ii) because it recognises the necessity for an authoritative state, above party and sectional interests. Some may be prejudiced by the use of the word "Fascist," because that word has so far been completely misunderstood in this country. It would be easy for us to avoid that prejudice by using another word, but it would not be honest to do so. We seek to organise the Modern Movement in this country by British methods in a form which is suitable to and characteristic of Great Britain. We are essentially a national movement, and if our policy could be summarised in two words, they would be "Britain First." Nevertheless, the Modern Movement is by no means confined to Great Britain; it comes to all the great countries in turn as their hour of crisis approaches, and in each

country it naturally assumes a form and a character suited to that nation. As a world-wide movement, it has come to be known as Fascism, and it is therefore right to use that name. If our crisis had been among the first, instead of among the last, Fascism would have been a British invention. As it is, our task is not to invent Fascism, but to find for it in Britain its highest expression and development.

Fascism does not differ from the older political movements in being a world-wide creed. Each of the great political faiths in its turn has been a universal movement: Conservatism, Liberalism and Socialism are common to nearly every country. An Englishman who calls himself a Conservative or a Liberal is not thereby adopting a foreign creed merely because foreign political parties bear the same name. He is seeking to advance, by English method and in English forms, a political philosophy which can be found in an organised form in all nations.

In this respect the Fascist occupies precisely the same position: his creed is also a world-wide faith. However, by very reason of the national nature of his policy, he must seek in the method and form of his organisation a character which is more distinctively British than the older political movements. Quite independently, we originally devised a policy for British needs of a very national character. In the development of that policy, and of a permanent political philosophy, we have reached conclusions which can only be properly described as Fascism.

Misrepresentation

All new movements are misunderstood. Our

British Union of Fascists will without a doubt be misrepresented by politicians of the older schools. The movement did not begin with the wiseacres and the theorists. It was born from a surging discontent with a regime where nothing can be achieved. The Old Gang hold the stage; and, to them, misrepresentation is the path of their own salvation.

Such tactics may delay, but they cannot prevent, the advance of the movement. Nevertheless, every incident in every brutal struggle, in countries of completely different temperament and character, will be used against us. We are also faced by the fact that a few people have misused the name "Fascism" in this country, and from ignorance or in perversion have represented it as the "White Guard of reaction."

This is indeed a strange perversion of a creed of dynamic change and progress. In all countries, Fascism has been led by men who came from the "Left," and the rank and file has combined the Conservative and patriotic elements of the nation with ex-Socialists, ex-Communists and revolutionaries who have forsaken their various *illusions* of progress for the new and orderly *reality* of progress. In our new organisation we now combine within our ranks all those elements in this country who have long studied and understood the great constructive mission of Fascism; but we have no place for those who have sought to make Fascism the lackey of reaction, and have thereby misrepresented its policy and dissipated its strength. In fact Fascism is the greatest constructive and revolutionary creed in the world. It seeks to achieve its aim legally

and constitutionally, by methods of law and order ; *but in objective it is revolutionary or it is nothing.* It challenges the existing order and advances the constructive alternative of the Corporate State. To many of us this creed represents the thing which we have sought throughout our political lives. *It combines the dynamic urge to change and progress with the authority, the discipline and the order without which nothing great can be achieved.*

This conception we have sought through many vicissitudes of parties and of men ; we have found it in the Movement which we now strive to introduce to Great Britain. That pilgrimage in search of this idea has exposed me, in particular, to many charges of inconsistency. I have no apology to offer on the score of inconsistency. If anything, I am disturbed by the fact that through fourteen years of political life, and more than one change of Party, I have pursued broadly the same ideals. For what in fact does a man claim who says that he has always been consistent ? He says that he has lived a lifetime without learning anything ; he claims to be a fool. In a world of changing fact and situation, a man is a fool who does not learn enough to change some of his original opinions.

The essence of Fascism is the power of adaptation to fresh facts. Above all, it is a realist creed. It has no use for immortal principles in relation to the facts of bread-and-butter ; and it despises the windy rhetoric which ascribes importance to mere formula. The steel creed of an iron age, it cuts through the verbiage of illusion to the achievement of a new reality.

CHAPTER I

Creed and System

Stability and Progress

In the ranks of Conservatism there are many who are attracted there by the Party's tradition of loyalty, order and stability—but who are, none the less, repelled by its lethargy and stagnation. In the ranks of Labour there are many who follow the Party's humane ideals, and are attracted by its vital urge to remedy social and economic evils—but who are, none the less, repelled by its endless and inconclusive debates, its cowardice, its lack of leadership and decision.

These elements comprise the best of both Parties : and to both Fascism appeals. The two essentials of Government are stability and progress ; and the tragedy of politics is that the two, essentially coincident, are organised as contradictions. Stability implies order and authority, without which nothing can be done. It is regarded as belonging to the "Right." Progress implies the urge to reform without which society cannot survive. It is regarded as belonging to the "Left." Stability is confused with reaction and a stand-pat resistance to change : progress with ill-considered changes, or with the futile and paralytic discussions so characteristic of a timorous democracy. As a result, neither of these

essentials is achieved. This is a dynamic age. Stability cannot exist without progress, for it implies the recognition of changes in the world which no political system can alter. Nor can progress exist without stability, for it implies a balanced and orderly view of the changes which have taken place. The "Right" seeks stability, but denies the power of adaptation which makes stability an active force. The "Left" seeks progress, but rejects all effective instruments and robs authority of the power to make decisions. The result of both systems of the two great organised Parties of the State is in the end the same. Stability confused with reaction and a resistance to change, together with progress confused with obstructive debate and committee irresponsibility, end alike in chaos. Both are instruments for preventing things being done, and the first requisite of the modern age is that things should be done.

The Farce of 1931

The final caricature of our present system may be found in the events of 1931. The country, wearied by five years of parliamentary stagnation, had rebelled from the Conservative slogan of "Safety First," and installed a Labour Government in office. For eighteen months, progress, such as it was, came under the ægis of dissentient committees and the dictation of discordant interests. As time passed, the Government fell under the spell of trade depression which it had done little to create, but which it was powerless to remedy. In the absence of any constructive policy, the Government came to the conclusion that it was necessary to reduce unem-

ployment benefit, but was too weak to do this without elaborate publicity. The country—most of all, the Unemployed—had to be frightened: and the May committee soon produced a report fit to alarm the nation. The economies called for were duly realised, even though the achievement demanded a regrouping of political complexions. The Labour Government might have successfully purchased a little respite at the expense of its supporters, had it not been that foreign financiers had read the May report and taken it in deadly earnest. The report had been circulated to secure public approval for action which was "necessary to save the pound." But it exposed our weakness, and thus started the stream of foreign withdrawals from our banks which, in spite of £130 millions of money borrowed in support, forced us off the Gold Standard in September. A Government with a constructive policy would have averted the whole situation; a Government with authority would have reformed without apology: had even this been done, it is more than possible that the crisis might have been avoided.

We are faced to-day with the results of government by indecision, compromise and blether. Both political Parties, and the remnants of Liberalism as well, stand bound by the great vested interests of "Right" and "Left" which created them. In Opposition, there is the same profusion of promise; in office, the same apathy and inertia. In post-War England, their creeds have become platitudes; they consistently fail to grapple with the problems of the time. Their rule has led, with tragic inevitability, to the present chaos. Therefore our Fascist Move-

ment seeks on the one hand Stability, which envisages order and authority as a basis of all solid achievement ; we seek, on the other hand, Progress, which can be achieved only by the executive instrument that order, authority and decision alone can give.

Parliament

It is customary to describe Fascism as Dictatorship, a term which leads to some confusion of thought. Fascism is not Dictatorship in the old sense of that word, which implies Government against the will of the people. Fascism is Dictatorship in the modern sense of the word, which implies Government armed by the people with power to solve problems which the people are determined to overcome. Modern Dictatorship implements the will of the people to action which cannot be implemented without the power of action being entrusted to Government. In this sense we accept the word Dictatorship but we do not accept it in the sense implied by our opponents. By Dictatorship we mean Leadership ; by Dictatorship they mean tyranny. Fascism is Leadership of the people with their willing consent along the path of action which they have long desired. Leadership is a term which cannot be misrepresented or misunderstood and for that reason we prefer to use it.

An exceptional amount of nonsense is talked about the term " Dictatorship ". We are solemnly assured that the Government of Mussolini is a Dictatorship against the will of the Italian people, but when he appeared before them in his tour of the

country during the tenth anniversary of his Government he was accorded probably the greatest popular reception ever given to an individual in the history of the world. Equally fatuous is the suggestion that Hitler frogmarched forty million Germans to the Poll to vote for him, but by a slight oversight omitted the three millions who retained and exercised perfect liberty to vote against him. The plain fact is that modern Dictatorship is Leadership resting on the enthusiastic acceptance of the people and could not endure without their support. It is true that measures have been adopted in these countries more rigorous than we hope will be necessary here. The reason was that these nations had drifted so far towards collapse and anarchy before Fascism came to power. The rigour of Fascist Government is in very exact proportion to the degree of chaos which precedes it. For that reason we appeal to Britain to return Fascism to power before the situation has so far deteriorated. Britain is great enough to adopt Fascism because it wants it before it has to adopt it by reason of national collapse. But whatever measures a Fascist Government employs must depend on the enthusiastic acceptance of the people and must emanate from their demand for action. Fascism is not a creed of Governmental tyranny. But it is definitely a creed of effective government in strong contradistinction to the present decadence of the Parliamentary system. Parliament is, or should be, the mouth-piece of the will of the people; but, as things stand at present, its time is mainly taken up with matters of which the nation neither knows nor cares. It

is absurd to suppose that anybody is the better for interminable discussion of the host of minor measures which the Departments and local interests bring before Parliament to the exclusion of major issues. Such matters, in which the public interest is small, take up far too much Parliamentary time. The discussion, too, is usually futile; most of the Bills before Parliament demand technical knowledge; but they are discussed, voted on, and their fate decided, by men and women chosen for their assiduity in opening local charity bazaars, or for their lung power at street corners. This is by no means an over-statement; when a young man asks his Party Executive for a constituency, they do not ask "will he be a good member?", but "will he be a good candidate?"

In a practical system of government our political philosophy comes to these conclusions. Whatever movement or party be entrusted with Government must be given absolute power to act. The people will retain through the machinery described in the next chapter a direct control over Government. On the other hand, the power of obstruction, the interminable debate of small points within the present Party system which today frustrate the nation's will to action, must be abolished. The present Parliamentary system is not the expression, but the negation, of the people's will. *Government must have power to legislate by order to carry out the will of the majority without the organised obstruction of minorities who at present use Parliamentary procedure to frustrate the will of the nation.* We must eliminate the solemn humbug of six hundred men

and women indulging in detailed debate of every technical measure, handled by a non-technical assembly in a vastly technical age. Thus only shall we clear the way to real fulfilment of the Nation's desire, which is to get things done in modern conditions.

Liberty

When we propose an effective system of Government we are, of course, charged with the negation of liberty by those who have erected liberty into the negation of action. Liberty, by the definition of the old Parliamentarians becomes the last entrenchment of obstruction.

We hear so much glib talk of liberty, and so little understanding of its meaning. Surely nobody can imagine that the British, as a race, are free. The essence of liberty is freedom to enjoy some of the fruits of life, a reasonable standard of life, a decent house, good wages, reasonable hours of leisure after hours of work short enough not to leave a man exhausted, unmolested private happiness with wife, children and friends and, finally, the hope of material success to set the seal on private ambition: these are the realities of liberty to the ordinary man. How many possess this liberty today? How can the mass possess such freedom in a period of economic chaos? Many unemployed, the remainder living in the shadow of unemployment, low wages, long hours of exhausting labour, bad houses, shrinking social amenities, the uncertainty of industrial collapse and universal confusion; these are the lot of the average man

today. What humbug, then, to talk of liberty! *The beginning of liberty is the end of economic chaos.* Yet how can economic chaos be overcome without the power to act?

By our very insistence upon liberty, and the jealous rules with which we guard it, we have reached a point at which it has ceased to be liberty at all. We must preserve the nation's right to decide how, and by whom, it shall be governed; we must provide safeguards to ensure that the powers of government are not abused. But that is far from necessitating that every act of government must be subject to detailed and obstructive debate, and that in an assembly with little experience or knowledge of administrative problems. This fantastic system, begun in good faith as the origin of freedom, has ended by binding the citizen in a host of petty restrictions, and tying the hands of each successive governments. Even in debate, the orators of Parliament no longer hope to convert one another, as they did in the days of Sheridan. The Party Whips are in attendance; a member who disobeys will soon find himself cut off from the Party—which, incidentally, paid the expenses of his election—and his chances of keeping his seat will be of the smallest. The only useful purpose of debate is to advertise each member in his constituency.

It is quite obvious that this system creates bad government and hampers the individual citizen. Constitutional freedom must be preserved; but that freedom is expressed in the people's power to elect Parliament and Government and thus to choose

the form and leadership which it desires. Beyond this it cannot go. In complicated affairs of this kind, somebody must be trusted, or nothing will ever be done.

This is the kernel of our Parliamentary proposals. To some it may seem to imply the suppression of liberty, but *we prefer to believe that it will mean the suppression of chaos.*

ORGANISATION OF THE MODERN MOVEMENT

The same principles which are essential to Government apply, with even greater force, to a political movement of modern and Fascist structure. Here we are dealing, not with the mass, but with the men who believed in the cause, and are devoting their energy to its aims. We have seen the political parties of the old democracy collapse into futility through the sterility of committee Government and the cowardice and irresponsibility of their leadership. Voluntary discipline is the essence of the Modern Movement. Leadership in Fascism may be an individual or a team, but undoubtedly single Leadership in practice proves the more effective instrument. The Leader must be prepared to shoulder absolute responsibility for decision and must be surrounded by a team equally prepared to take responsibility for the functions clearly allocated to them. For the only effective instrument of revolutionary change is absolute authority. We are organised, therefore, as a disciplined army, not as a bewildered mob with every member bellowing orders. Fascist leadership must lead, and its discipline must be respected. By these principles, both

in the structure of our own movement and in the suggested structure of Government, we preserve the essentials of the popular will and combine them with the power of rapid decision without which the nation will ultimately be lost in chaos. No man need join a Fascist movement and accept its leadership who does not wish to do so and the subsequent Fascist Government will be submitted to a direct vote of the people as a whole.

The immediate task is the firm establishment of the Modern Movement in the life of the British nation. Ultimately, nations are saved from chaos, not by Parliaments, however elected; not by Civil Servants, however instructed: but by the steady will of an organised movement to victory.

A whole people may be raised for a time to the enthusiasm of a great and decisive effort, as they were in the election of the National Government. That enthusiasm and effort may be sustained for a long period, as it was in the war by the external pressure of a foreign threat to our existence. History, however, provides few cases in which the enthusiasm and unity of a whole people have been so sustained through a long struggle to emerge from disintegration and collapse.

For such purpose is needed the grip of an organised and disciplined movement, grasping and permeating every aspect of national life. In every town and village, in every institution of daily life, the will of the organised and determined minority must be struggling for sustained effort. In moments of difficulty, dissolution and despair it must be the hard core round which the weak and the

dismayed may rally. The modern movement, in struggle and in victory must be ineradicably interwoven with the life of the nation. No ordinary party of the past, resting on organisations of old women, tea fights and committees, can survive in such a struggle. Our hope is centred in vital and determined youth, dedicated to the resurrection of a nation's greatness and shrinking from no effort and from no sacrifice to secure that mighty end. We need the sublime enthusiasm of a nation, and the devoted energies of its servants.

CHAPTER II.

The Corporate State

Rationalisation of Government.

THE main object of a modern and Fascist movement is to establish the Corporate State. In our belief, it is the greatest constructive conception yet devised by the mind of man. It is almost unknown in Britain ; yet it is, by nature, better adapted to the British temperament than to that of any other nation. In *psychology it is based on team-work ; in organisation it is the rationalised State.* We have rationalised industry and most other aspects of life, but we have not rationalised the State. Yet the former makes the other the more needful, lest the economic power of man should pass beyond the power of his control.

Sir Arthur Salter has said that " private society has developed no machinery which enables industry as a whole to contribute to the formation of a general economic policy, and secure its application when adopted ". It is this machinery of central direction which the Corporate State is designed to supply—and that, not as a sporadic effort in time of crisis, but as a continuous part of the machinery of government. It is essentially adaptable ; no rigid system can hope to survive in a world of quickly changing conditions. *It envisages as its name implies, a nation organised as the human body.* Every part fulfils its function as a member

of the whole, performing its separate task, and yet, by performing it, contributing to the welfare of the whole. The whole body is generally directed by the central driving brain of government without which no body and system of society can operate.

This does not mean control from Whitehall, or constant interference by Government with the business of industry. But it does mean that Government, or rather the Corporate system, will lay down the limits within which individuals and interests may operate. Those limits are the welfare of the nation—not, when all is said, a very unreasonable criterion. Within these limits all activity is encouraged ; individual enterprise, and the making of profit, are not only permitted, but encouraged so long as that enterprise enriches rather than damages by its activity the nation as a whole.

But so soon as anybody, whether an individual or an organised interest, steps outside those limits, so that his activity becomes sectional and anti-social, the mechanism of the Corporate system descends upon him. This implies that every interest, whether " Right " or " Left ", industrial, financial, trade union or banking system, is subordinated to the welfare of the community as a whole and to the over-riding authority of the organised State. No State within the State can be admitted. " All within the State ; none outside the State ; none against the State ".

The Producer as the Basis of the State

The producer, whether by hand or brain or capital, will be the basis of the nation. The forces

which assist him in his work of rebuilding the nation will be encouraged ; the forces which thwart and destroy productive enterprise will be met with the force of national authority. The incalculable powers of finance will be harnessed in the service of national production. They will not be fettered in their daily work ; but they will be guided into the channels which serve the nation's ends.

This is the true function of finance, intended, as Sir Basil Blackett has insisted, to be "the handmaid of industry". There will be no room, in our financial organisation, for the unorganised operations which have led to such enormous complexities and have rocked the structure of British industry to its foundations. In our labour organisation there will be no place for the trade union leader who, from sectional or political motives, impeded the development of a vital service. But there will be an honoured place for the financial organisation which joins in the world of British reconstruction, and for Trade Unions which co-operate with such reconstruction, in the interests of members who are also members of the national community.

Class war will be eliminated by permanent machinery of government for reconciling the clash of class interests in an equitable distribution of the proceeds of industry. Wage questions will not be left to the dog-fight of class war, but will be settled by the impartial arbitration of State machinery ; existing organisations such as Trade Unions and employers' federations will be woven into the fabric of the Corporate State, and will there find with official standing not a lesser but a greater sphere of

activity. *Instead of being the general staff of opposing armies, they will be joint directors of national enterprise under the general guidance of corporative government.*

The task of such industrial organisations will certainly not be confined merely to the settlement of questions of wages and of hours. They will be called upon to assist, by regular consultation, in the general economic policy of the nation. The syndicates of employers' and workers' organisations in particular industries will be dovetailed into the corporations covering larger and interlocking spheres of industry. These corporations in their turn will be represented in a national corporation or council of industry, which will be a permanent feature in co-operating with the Government for the direction of economic policy.

The idea of a National Council was, I believe, first advanced in my speech on resignation from the Labour Government in May 1930. The idea has since been developed by Sir Arthur Salter and other writers. A body of this kind stands or falls by the effectiveness of the underlying organisation. It must not consist of casual delegates from unconnected bodies, meeting occasionally for ad hoc consultation. The machinery must be permanently functioning and interwoven with the whole industrial and commercial fabric of the nation. The machinery must not be haphazard, but systematic, and continually applied. Sir Arthur Salter envisages such machinery in the following passage : "In industry and trade, banking and finance, in the professions, there are institutions which are

capable of representing more than merely sectional interests. They may have been formed primarily for defence of a common interest against an opposing organisation or against competitors of the public ; but they have, or may have, another aspect ; that of preserving and raising the standard of competence and the development of traditions which are in the general public interest." This latter is precisely the aspect which the corporate system develops into a smoothly-working structure of industrial government. To this end, no other concrete policy has yet been developed.

The first principle is to absorb, and use, the elements which are useful and beneficial. In this respect Fascism differs profoundly from its opponent, Communism, which pursues class warfare to the destruction of all science, skill and managerial ability ; until, when it begins to feel its feet, it has to buy these same qualities at enormous cost from foreign nations. This precisely describes the course of events in Russia. The first task of Leninism was to destroy, to root up every tree in the garden—whether good or bad—merely because it had been planted by the enemy. Then, when destruction had brought chaos on the heels of famine, there came a five-year plan of American conception, implemented by a nucleus of German and American technicians hired at immense expense.

Such is not the method of Fascism, its achievement is revolution, but not destruction. Its aim is to accept and use the useful elements within the State, and so to weave them into the intricate

mechanism of the Corporate system.

Loyalty to the Crown, but Revolution in Methods of Government.

Whatever is good in the past we both respect and venerate. That is why, throughout the policy of the movement, we respect and venerate the crown. Here, at least, is an institution, worn smooth with the frictions of long ago ; which in difficult experience has been proven effective and has averted from this Empire many a calamity. We believe that, under the same impartial dispensation, the greatest constitutional change in British history may yet be peacefully achieved. While the position of the constitutional monarchy is unaffected and indeed is strengthened by Fascist policy the remaining instruments of government will be drastically altered by the legal and constitutional means to which we adhere, in order to provide the effective instruments of government and of action which modern problems demand.

In the first instance Fascism seeks power by the winning of a parliamentary majority at a general election. That majority will be used to confer upon government complete power of action by order. Parliament will be called together at regular intervals to review the work of the Government. In the intervals Fascist members of Parliament will be employed as executive officers in the areas whence they are returned to Parliament. By this means Fascism will overcome an anomaly which at present paralyses effective government. Many measures of government have to be implemented by local author-

ities which are often opposed to the government of the day and concerned only to obstruct its work. The team of government pulls one way in Whitehall and the team of local authorities pulls the other way in the various localities. The result is a deadlock familiar to all concerned with national administration, which would not be tolerated for a moment in any business concern. It is difficult to imagine the head office of a business pursuing one policy while half its branch offices pursued another. Yet this is precisely the situation which for years past has often reduced the mild efforts of successive governments to a tragic farce. Consequently Fascism would replace the present local authorities with executive officers who would be the Fascists M.P's., which the various areas had returned. The elective principle would thus be combined with executive efficiency and the will of the national majority would prevail over obstructive minorities. They would be assisted by locally elected Counsels from which would be selected executive officers to be heads of the various departments of local government. The present committee system would be swept away under which each Councillor is liable to serve on several committees as a "jack of all trades but master of none". Each departmental chief would be responsible to the local officer or Fascist M.P. who in turn would be responsible to National Government. The Fascist principle of individual responsibility and clearly allocated function would be maintained throughout and for the first time it would be possible to assess responsibility for failure and success. By these means Fascism

would provide an executive instrument to implement the nation's demand for rapid action while retaining the principle of elected representation in every element of national life.

Together with this reform of the House of Commons and Local Government Fascism would replace the present House of Lords by a Second Chamber of specialists and men of wide general knowledge. The House of Lords is one of the unworkable anachronisms of the present system. In days gone by the Members of the Upper Chamber were in some ways exceptionally endowed with the qualities of government. Their position had secured them education and their wealth had enabled them to travel—in these, and a multitude, of other ways they had the advantage of their contemporaries. They were hereditary land owners on a large scale, in days when the ownership of land was the only serious industrial responsibility which economic circumstance had created. Thus they spoke with authority in many matters with which others were less fitted to deal; and, so long as this went on they were a fitting and indispensable branch of the law giving body.

Their position was derived from the social inequalities of the period; and there is no social factor which time has more radically changed. As individuals, the Members of the House of Lords are neither better nor worse, richer nor poorer, wiser nor more foolish than their colleagues in the Commons. Their only function is interference without responsibility. They have become hereditary automata, whose powers successive govern-

ments have found it necessary to truncate. Originally the House of Lords represented in some degree the main industry and interest of the Country which was agriculture. To-day they have largely ceased to represent that interest and scarcely can be said to represent any other. It is therefore only natural and in keeping with British tradition and constitutional practice that they should be replaced by a Chamber which represents in a specialist sense every major interest of the modern State. The type of interest which would there be represented would be as follows:—Representatives of the Dominions, Crown Colonies, India, religious thought, the fighting services, Civil Service, education, authorities on foreign affairs and those who have rendered the State conspicuous service. In addition, of course, the National Council of Corporations composed both of Employers' and Trade Union representatives would be thoroughly represented in the reconstituted Second Chamber.

Occupational Franchise

Such a combination of new and effective instruments in Government will enable Fascism in the lifetime of the first Fascist Parliament to carry through the immense changes in the national life requisite to the entry of the new civilisation towards which the compelling facts of the modern age impel every advanced nation. At the end of that Parliament a new election will be held on an Occupational Franchise—a steel worker will vote as a steel worker ; a doctor as a doctor, a mother as a mother, within their appropriate corporation. Party war-

fare will come to an end in a technical and non-political Parliament which will be concerned not with the Party game of obstruction, but with the national interest of construction. Thereafter the life of the government will be dependent on a direct vote of the whole people held at regular intervals, which in any case will not exceed the lifetime of a present Parliament. In the event of a government being defeated it will be the duty of the constitutional Monarch, as at present, to send for ministers in whom he believes the nation will show confidence in a fresh vote.

The nation as a whole will, therefore, exercise a more direct control over government than at present in that the life of government will depend on a direct vote of the people instead of upon the intrigues of a Party Parliamentary system, which usually have no relation to the issue on which parliament was elected. The people also will secure in this parliament which assists government with technical and instructed criticism a truer representation in that they will vote within their own industries and occupations for candidates whom they know well on subjects with which they are familiar. An engineer shall vote as an engineer ; and thus bring into play, not an amateur knowledge of foreign and domestic politics, but a lifelong experience of the trade in which he is engaged, he will vote in common with others of similar experience, and will give the reasoned decision of a technician in his particular trade in a choice between members of that trade. Is not this a truer representation of the individual and of the complex com-

ponents of the life of the modern State than prevails at present?

As things stand at present, there is nothing to prevent the electorate, supposedly all-wise, from electing a parliament composed entirely of sugar-brokers. Each might be an excellent candidate for whatever party he chose to represent. He might well be affluent, genial and docile; a firm supporter of charity bazaars, a pillar of local football elevens, a regular contributor to the party funds of his constituency. If, with all this, he kisses babies with a pretty grace, and promises reforms enough to impress the electors, he may well find himself in Parliament. If enough sugar-brokers did it, there is no reason at all why the whole of Parliament should not be sugar-brokers: but this would scarcely fit them for the task of discussing a Bill dealing with the complexities of unemployment administration in a northern industrial town. In fact, the unemployed might expect to fare rather badly.

This is an exaggeration; but the like of it, in miniature, happens at every election. Electors vote on general considerations of policy, which they cannot understand, since the facts are not fully before them. The truth is, simply, that the issues behind every political decision are far too complicated to set before the public. The result is that elections are fought in a welter of journalistic catchwords—"Three acres and a Cow"; "Tax Fortunes, not Food"; "Safety First"; "Hang the Kaiser"; "The Red Letter" and "Save the Pound" as a prelude to depreciating the Pound!

This is a travesty of democratic law-giving.

The original conception of the present Parliamentary system was that free and full discussion in Parliament and at elections would instruct public opinion in the great issues of the day and thus would enable a reasoned verdict to be given by the electorate. In the degeneration of that system it has become a game of very sharp practices with the sole object of replacing the set of men in Office with another set of men who obtain their places by any panic cry which may serve the purpose of the moment however dishonest or however irrelevant it may be to the real issues before the Nation.

Opposition no longer serves the purposes of reasoned criticism and analysis of the Government's policy which exposes weaknesses and elicits the verities of National problems. Modern problems are too technical by their very nature to be handled effectively by such an assembly. Debate, therefore, is no longer constructive but purely destructive and concentrated on transient issues of popular passion which tend yet further to obscure the real issues which should receive the attention of Government. New personalities emerge and Parties come to power not by virtue of their constructive gifts but by reason of their skill in the purely destructive art of discrediting the existing Government on small and jejune points which have no bearing upon reality. New men do not emerge as they will do within the technical Fascist system by the strength of a new and constructive idea. They emerge in the slapstick comedy of Parliamentary debate as adepts in the pastime of getting jobs for themselves

and their Party by any means fair or foul which smart advertising and meaningless slogans may assist. Once the game is won and the jobs secured they settle down to the respectable lethargy of Office.

The danger of our present system is the fact that it brings itself too easily into contempt. Nobody, nowadays, expects election promises to be fulfilled. Governments are elected on the strength of their appeal to passion and to sentiment. Once in office they promptly resign their effective power in favour of the great interests within the State, but yet superior to the State, who exercise their power in secret. The increasingly technical nature of all problems in an economic age has made it difficult or impossible to explain the real issues to the electorate as a whole. The division between daily politics and the reality of Government has become ever greater. The technician has become ever more enchained by the passion, the prejudice and the folly of uninstructed politics.

By such a system as we advocate, the technician, who is the architect of our industrial future, is freed for his task. He is given the mandate for that task by the informed franchise of his colleagues in his own industry. A vote so cast will be the result of experience and information. *Is not this in fact the rationalised State?* Is not this system preferable to the solemn humbug of present elections, which assumes that the most technical problems of modern government, ranging from currency management to the evolution of a scientific protective system, can be settled by a few days' loose dis-

cussion in the turmoil of a General Election?

The ordinary man would greatly resent such treatment of the facts of his daily industry and life. If someone strolled into an engineering shop and, after five minutes' cursory examination of an intricate process which the engineer had studied all his life, proceeded to tell him how to do it, the engineer would quickly send the intruder about his business. Yet these are the methods which our present electoral system applies to that most intricate and technical of processes, the government of a civilised State.

The Rationalised State, as well as rationalised industry, has become an imperative necessity. The Corporate State provides the only known solution to the problem. Our electoral system has become a farce, worse even than in the days of bribed elections and pocket boroughs. As it is organised at present, our system of government lacks the calibre to carry us out of trade depression and set Britain again on top of the world. As time goes on, the world crisis may possibly diminish;* but even in that

* Since these lines were written in 1932, we have witnessed one of those "recoveries" within the present system which were anticipated throughout the economic argument of this book. According to the "Economist" of October 21st, 1933 "Excessive self-gratification should, however, be stilled by the reflection that at this rate of recovery we shall not rejoin the "projected" trend of 1924-29— itself a disappointment—until some time in 1939". The same bulk of production in 1939 as in 1929 would of course involve a larger figure of unemployment than the 1,200,000 of that period, owing to a larger supply of labour and new means of rationalisation. The "recoveries" of the present system tend to be ever slighter and shorter: the "depressions" tend to be ever longer and more severe. We have no evidence that stable and permanent recovery can come from the present system with its alternating depressions and booms. On the contrary, present evidence strongly supports the original argument of this book.

event we are not organised to emerge in a position comparable with our former prosperity. After the crisis of 1921—a crisis far less severe than that of 1932—we did not recover even the semblance of our old prosperity ; government must be rationalised if we are to avoid a repetition of the last decade of unhappy history. On the other hand, if the clouds of depression do not lift, and the State remains unrationalised, there is a very real danger that the farce will be recognised as such, and that the country will turn—and turn violently—to the catastrophic remedies of Communism.

CHAPTER III.

The State and the Citizen

Hag-ridden Britain

THE moral and social law and convention of Britain provide the most startling of all contrasts with the Briton's strange illusion that he is free. *The plain fact is that the country is hag-ridden.* In no other civilised country, except perhaps in the United States, has the individual so little freedom of action.

We live on public anarchy and private repression: we should have public organisation and private liberty. We are taught that it is an outrage to interfere with the individual in his public capacity as producer, financier or distributor—though, if he uses his powers badly, his anti-social conduct may damage tens of thousands of his fellow-citizens. But we are taught to interfere with every detail of his private life, in which sphere he can damage no one but himself, or at most his immediate surroundings. A man may be sent to prison for having a shilling bet on a horse-race. But he can have a tremendous bet on the stock market, and live honoured and respected as a pillar of industrial finance. He may damage the whole life of the nation in the capacity of capitalist or trade union leader, but he may not even risk the slightest

damage to himself by obtaining a drink after the appointed hour!

We are treated as a nation of children; every item of social legislation is designed, not to enable the normal person to live a normal life, but to prevent the decadent from hurting himself. At every point the private liberty of the individual is invaded by busybody politicians who have grossly mismanaged their real business—which is the public life of an organised nation.

It is, of course, a simpler task for limited intelligences to keep public-houses closed than to keep factories open. The politician, conscious perhaps of his own limitations, turns naturally to a sphere with which he is more familiar. The result is the creation of a political system which is precisely the reverse of what a political system should be. *In the public affairs of national life we have disorder and anarchy: in the private affairs of individual life we have interference and repression.*

It is scarcely even anarchy; it is a laughable form of organised humbug, which has made us the mock of every civilised country. *The whole system is the child of that same mentality which has transformed Parliament into a bleating of ineffective sheep; which blundered into the War, the Peace, the Debt-Settlement, and the Financial Crisis.* It is the by-product of age, struggling with a problem for which it feels itself unequal; and, as such, it is a supreme challenge to youth and realism.

Public Service—Private Liberty.

The Fascist principle is Liberty in private life.

Obligation in public life. In his public capacity a man must behave as befits a citizen and a member of the State; his actions must conform to the interests of the State, which protects and governs him and guarantees his personal freedom. In private he may behave as he likes. Provided he does not interfere with the freedom and enjoyment of others, his conduct is a matter between himself and his own conscience.

But there is one condition. The State has no room for the drone and the decadent, who use their leisure to destroy their capacity for public usefulness. In our morality it is necessary to "live like athletes", to fit ourselves for the career of service which is the Fascist idea of citizenship. To all moral questions the acid test is first social and secondly scientific. If an action does not harm the State, or other citizens of the State, and if it leaves the doer sound in mind and body, it cannot then be morally wrong. It has been suggested that this test conflicts with religious teaching. The contrary is the case, for it coincides with every tenet of real religion. Any Fascist is free to add to this test any other moral consideration which his private conscience or religious belief dictates. Our aim is not to conflict with religion, but to indicate the Fascist conception of citizenship which is in every way compatible with religion. The Fascist is expected to live a dedicated life, but it is the dedication of manhood to a fighting cause not the dedication of a monk to withdrawal from the world and its problems.

We detest the decadence of excess as much as we

despise the decadence of repression. An ordered athleticism of mind and body is the furthest aim of justly enforceable morality. And even for the enforcement of this we would rely on the new social sense, born of a modern renaissance, rather than upon legislation. The law arrests the occasional drunkard ; but it does not touch the tippler, the weakling and the degenerate.

In our ordered athleticism of life we seek, in fact, a morality of the Spartan pattern. But when the Fascist State is won this must be more than tempered with the Elizabethan atmosphere of Merrie England. The days before the victory of Puritan repression coincided with the highest achievements of British virility and constructive adventure. The men who carried the British flag to the furthest seas were far from hag-ridden in their private lives. The companions of their leisure hours were neither D.O.R.A. nor Mrs. Grundy.

Fitness and Happiness

We know that happiness, no less than fitness, is a social and a political asset. The more gaiety and happiness in the ranks of those who grapple with the tasks of to-day, the better is it for the achievement of their mission. But all gaiety of life and happiness in private things must contribute to, and not diminish, the power to serve the State. In practice we are glad to see a man on race-course, on football stand, in theatre or in cinema during well-earned hours of leisure ; and we do not mind in the least seeing him in a public-house or club, provided that he is not there to excess, and does not there

squander his health or his resources. In many things the distinction is between relaxation and indulgence. The latter becomes decadence, but the former contributes to healthy enjoyment, which in its turn contributes to efficiency and to service.

Therefore, in asking our members to "live like athletes" we do not advocate the sterility of Puritanism and repression. We want men in every sense of the word in our ranks, but men with a singleness of purpose which they order their lives to serve. We expect our members to keep fit, not only in mind, but also in body, and for that reason we have often been attacked as organising for physical violence. We shall certainly meet force with force ; but this is not the motive of these activities. No man can be far sunk in degeneration so long as he excels, or even performs competently, in some branch of athletics. It is a part of the dedicated life of a new movement to maintain that constant training in mind and body which is readiness to serve when the time comes. In our own movement, in fact, we seek to create in advance a microcosm of a national manhood reborn.

Such is our morality, which we claim is the natural morality of British manhood ; and from it follows hostility to the social repression and legislation of to-day, and to every achievement of our hag-ridden politics which is summarised in D.O.R.A. We seek to create a nation-wide movement which will replace the legislation of old women by the social sense and the will to serve of young men. *Every man shall be a member of the State, giving his public life to the State, but*

claiming in return his private life and liberty from the State, and enjoying it within the Corporate purpose of the State.

Women's Work

Our organisation began as a men's movement because we had too much regard for women to expose them to the genialities of broken bottles and razor-blades with which our Communist and some of our Socialist opponents conducted the argument until the Blackshirt movement was strong enough to overcome these tactics. Now women play a very important part in our organisation and will be increasingly valuable in our work as we develop our electoral organisation. The part of women in our organisation is very important but different in some respects from that of the men; *we want men who are men and women who are women.*

In the political organisation of the Corporate State we envisage a highly important part for women. Professional women and those engaged in industry would, of course, find their natural representation in the corporations which cover their industry and their profession. The greater question remains of the representation and organisation of the great majority of women who seek the important career of motherhood, and who have never yet been represented as such in any organisation.

To many the idea may seem fantastic, but the logic of the situation seems to demand some Corporate organisation and representation of motherhood. It is a truism to say that motherhood is one

of the highest callings, and of the utmost importance to the State; why, therefore, should women not be accorded representation and organisation as mothers? Normal women have hitherto suffered greatly from the absence of representative organisation. Their representation has drifted into the hands of professional women politicians, irreverently described as the "Members for No Man's Land". Such women are perhaps adequately qualified to represent certain aspects of women's life, but few of them have any claim to represent the mothers of the nation. Why should not the representation of motherhood be an organised force in the counsels of the State? The care of mother and child is an integral part of the Fascist State, which regards itself, not only as the custodian of the present, but also, in far greater degree than the Old Parties, as the custodian of the future.

There are many questions which are of primary interest to women, and which an organisation of this kind would go far to solve. Questions of housing, health and education in their widest application, come naturally within its sphere. And there remains matters of still wider political and social significance—on which the counsels of womanhood must be of first importance.

The great majority of women do not seek, and have no time for, a career of politics. Their interests are consequently neglected, and their nominal representation is accorded to women whose one idea is to escape from the normal sphere of women and to translate themselves into men. That process in the end is never very effective, and

the attempt makes such women even less qualified than the average man to deal with the questions of home and of children.

Consequently, the representation and organisation for the first time of normal women, on whom the future of the race depends, are a practical political necessity. Fascism, in fact, would treat the wife and mother as one of the main pillars of the State, and would rely upon her for the organisation and development of one of the most important aspects of national life.

BOOK TWO

THE FOUNDATIONS OF POLICY