

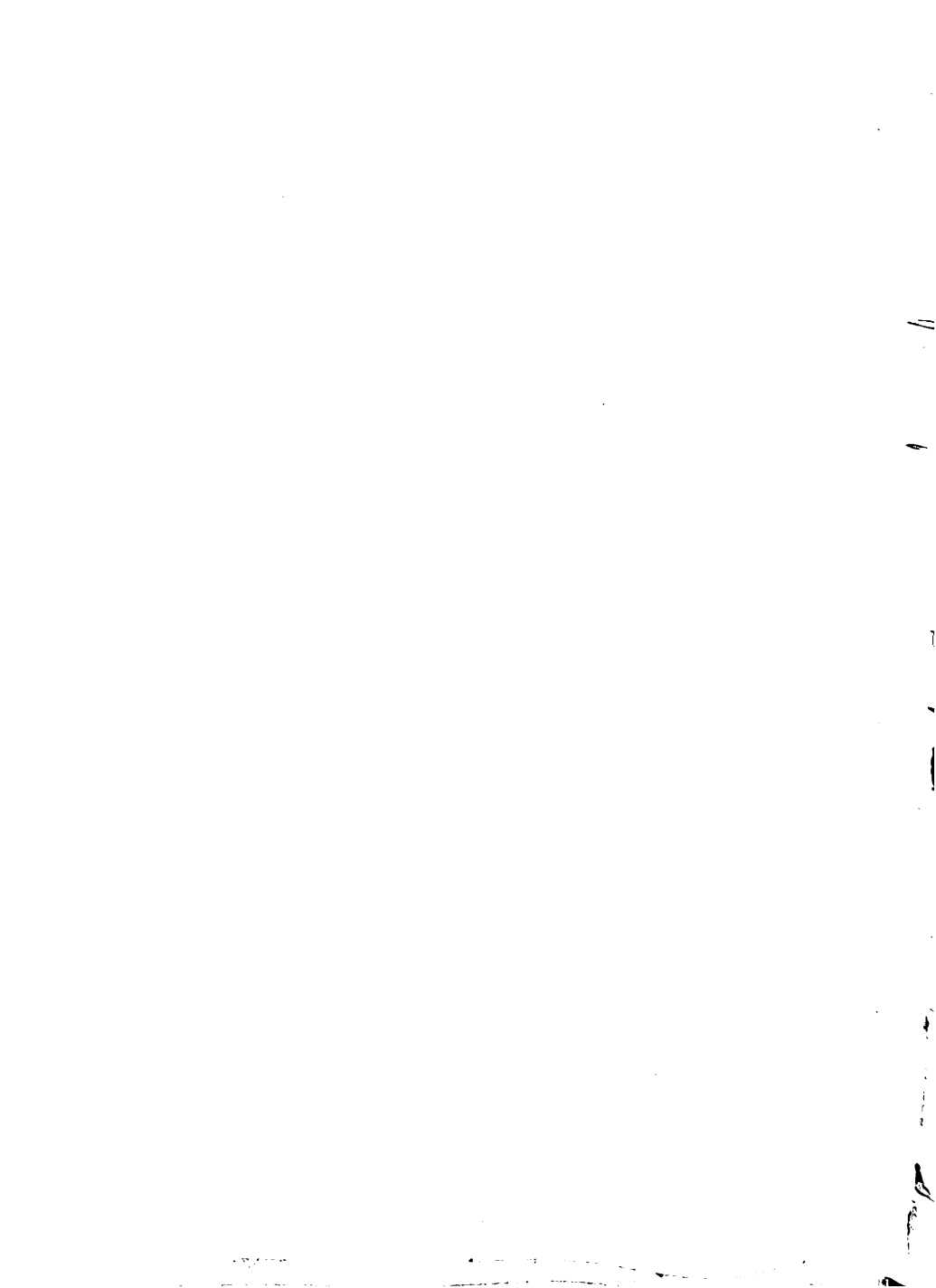
FASCISM



M. N. ROY



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FASCISM

ITS PHILOSOPHY, PROFESSIONS
AND PRACTICE

M. N. ROY

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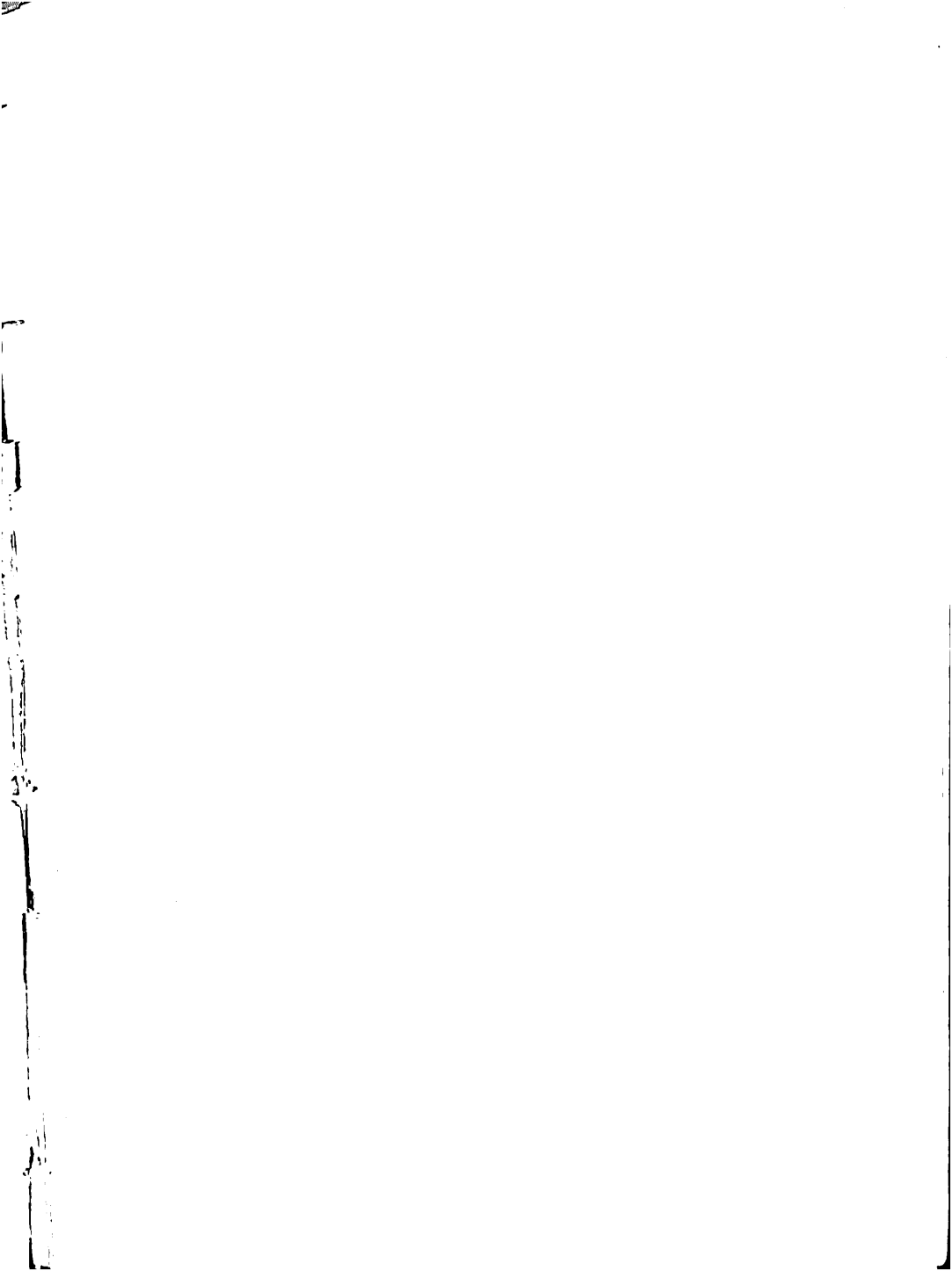
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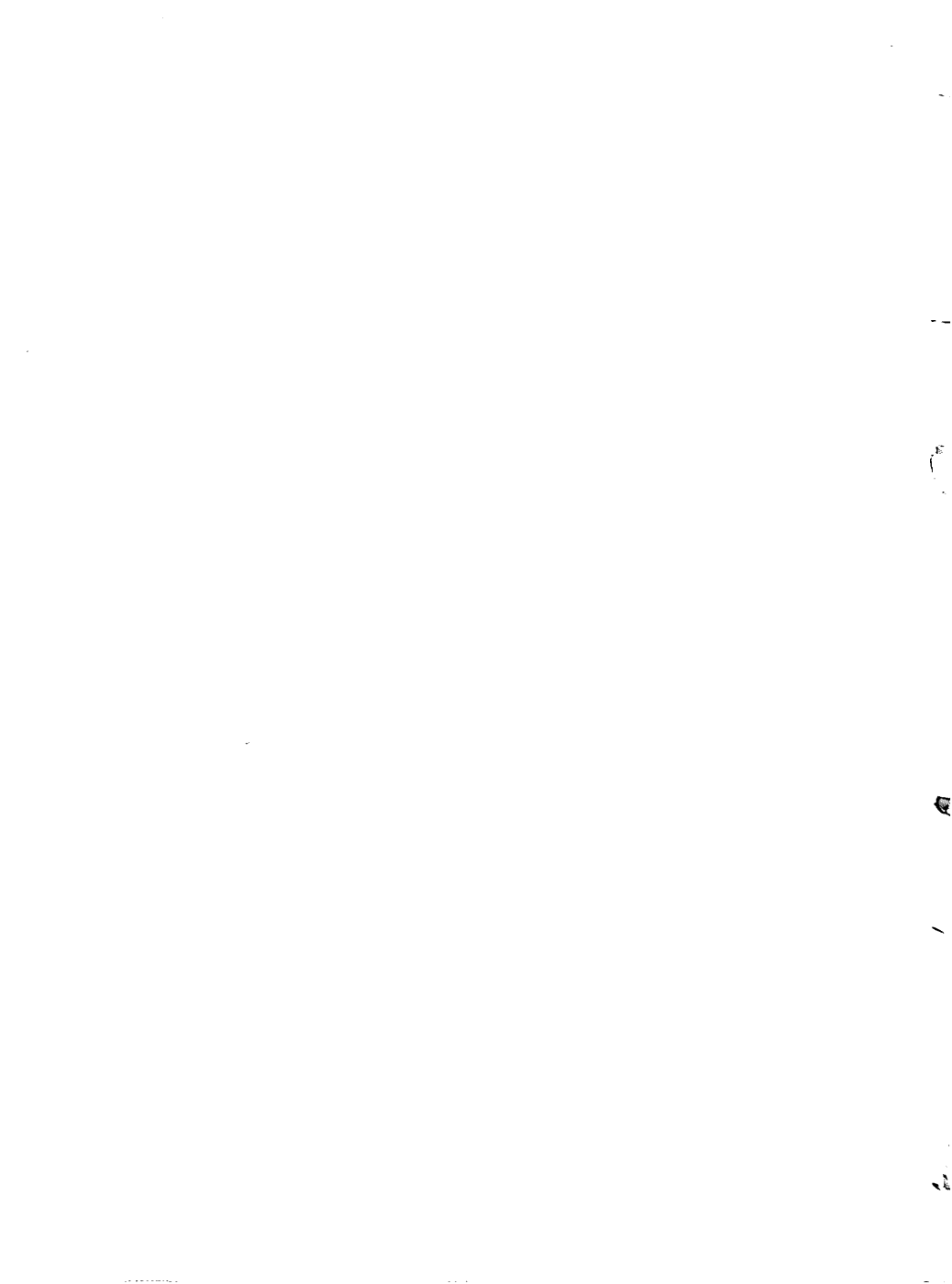
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FASCISM

ITS PHILOSOPHY, PROFESSIONS AND PRACTICE

CHAPTER I

THE PHILOSOPHY OF FASCISM.

Fascism is a comparatively new socio-political phenomenon. It first appeared in Italy in 1919. Since then, it has spread in all the countries of Europe, having triumphed completely in several of them. Its sudden appearance and spectacular progress naturally made it the outstanding topic of the day. Brutalities committed by it shocked the entire progressive and freedom-loving world. Much has been written either for or against it. Though not wanting apologists and panegyrists, Fascism, however, has been condemned as a politically retrograde and socially reactionary movement. It has been characterised as the violent effort to bolster up decayed capitalism. Its growth has been traced to the conditions of chaos created by the ruinous consequences of the great war. Plausible

explanations have been offered for its success in Germany.

But with all that, the enquiry into this monstrosity of our time has not yet been sufficiently penetrating. Historically, it is not a post-war growth. Such a sweeping socio-political movement cannot happen all on a sudden. The Fascist ideology is the logical consequence of the development of philosophical thought taking place over a sufficiently long period of history. If Fascism is a socio-political reaction, its ideological foundation must have been laid by philosophical reaction. It has been said that Fascism has no philosophy. This is an erroneous idea which prevents proper understanding of the phenomenon. Fascism has a definite philosophy which grew over a long period, precedent to its appearance as a socio-political phenomenon, in opposition to the modern scientific philosophy which provided the ideology to the revolutionary social and political movements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The philosophy of Fascism is the logical outcome of post-Hegelian idealism—of the pseudo-scientific schools of ultra-modern positivism, new-realism and empiricism, which, while pretending to reject idealism, sought to re-establish a new sort of metaphysical mysticism. Those schools of camouflaged or dishonest idealism reached their climax in Pragmatism and Neo-Hegelianism. The former co-ordinates the “carnal stomach-philosophy of vulgar Materialism”

(Study) with "religious experiences"; while the latter distorts the revolutionary weapon of Hegelian dialectics to serve the purpose of militant reaction.

Violating all the temporal standards of morality, justice and freedom, Fascism claims divine sanctions. The official philosopher of Italian Fascism Giovanni Gentile, was the first to advance that claim. He writes: "Human being is naturally religious. To think means to contemplate God. The more one thinks, the more one feels oneself in the presence of God. As against man, God is everything. Man is nothing." ("Fascism and Culture"). In order to justify political reaction and social barbarism, the philosopher of Fascism turns his back upon one of the fundamental principles of modern European culture, namely, Humanism.

Man had to free himself from divine tutelage before he could take up the struggle for temporal freedom. In order to deprive him of the hard earned political freedom and civil liberties, it is necessary to defraud him of the spiritual liberation inherited from the days of the Renaissance. The super-religious self-effacement of man preached by the philosophy of Fascism is the expression of vulgar materialism which rises in revolt against the revolutionary doctrines of philosophical Materialism. The mortal man professing the Fascist faith, vicariously drowns himself in the all-embracing being of the divinity only to resurrect as an instrument of the Almighty, his will and action

free from all the laws of this world. In order that acts of barbarism and violence could be justified, as committed in pursuance of a divine purpose, pervading the Universe, the process of thinking, which engineers such acts, is hypocritically visualised as the "contemplation of God". These acts are divinely inspired. God takes decayed and distressed Capitalism under his protection, and each fanatical defender of this worn-out system of vulgar materialism becomes an inspired, divine instrument. Through this sly stratagem of self-effacement, he retains to himself unbounded freedom of will which is denied to others. The Fascist is the Super-Man.

The super-religious doctrine of self-abnegation, however, does not prevent the eclectic philosopher of Fascism from discovering "the endless and immortal essence of man". For the historically impossible task of preserving a worn-out social system, the potentiality of man engaged in this sacred mission must be "endless, unconditional and free". Gentile does not find it difficult to give "philosophical" explanation of this crass contradiction between his doctrine of self-abnegation and the cult of all-mightiness of the Fascist. He is a Neo-Hegelian, and knows how to pervert dialectics to suit his purpose. Pragmatism, the "spiritualist" philosophy of expediency, also comes to his help. Having taught that "thought is contemplation of God", he performs what he presumably believes to be a brilliant feat of dialectic skill.

"God and thought (respectively) represent the two opposite poles of life ; both necessary and both essential, yet opposed to and contradicting each other" ("Fascism and Culture"). Again, God and man are declared to be a "flexible unity, in the eternal movement of self-realisation—a living and therefore restless unity, always dissatisfied with itself" (Ibid.) A caricature of Hegelian dialectics, this neo-scholasticism is remarkably similar to Hindu Mysticism. What is mysticism, after all, but mental confusion which takes refuge in obscurantism to reject experimentally demonstrated scientific truths and rationally established philosophical concepts? Fascist philosophy as expounded by Gentile is a classical specimen of mysticism.

Thought is contemplation of God, yet its relation to its object is that of opposition, of contradiction! How the passive state of contemplation can be identified with the active function of opposition, the object being the same, is beyond the grasp of rational mind. But spiritualist conceptions are beyond the radius of reason. Then, to identify thought with contemplation, is an epistemological innovation. By thinking about a thing, we acquire knowledge about it. Contemplation does not lead to any such result. It means dwelling upon what is already known. If one starts with religious pre-suppositions, he can contemplate the attributes ascribed to God. But his very pre-suppositions place the object of contemplation beyond

the reach of the mental activity called thought. So, it is either a pure confusion of thought to identify thought with contemplation, or it is a purposeful distortion of the basic principle of epistemology.

However much confused and obscurantist this mysticism philosophically may be, its practical deductions are very clear. They are purely materialistic in the most vulgar sense. Drawing inspiration from the Hegelian theory of State, Gentile discovers metaphysical sanctions for the Fascist dictatorship. "The Fascist State embraces and includes all spiritual values including religion... The State, which tolerates any other sovereign power, commits suicide. Whatever is spiritual is free, but within the great limits of the powers of the State which itself is spiritual." ("Fascism and Culture"). The practice of Fascism, to be described in another chapter, shows for what vulgar materialistic purposes the divinely derived power of the spiritualist Fascist dictatorship is wielded.

The bourgeoisie, defending their waning power with the bloody instrument of Fascist dictatorship, advances the claim to inherit the "divine right of kings". The kings may be things of the past, but as long as the prerogative of divine sanction remains reserved to the State, conceived abstractly according to the metaphysical Hegelian doctrine, it can be claimed, logically if not legitimately, by the class which controls the state. The mediaeval dictum—"The King can do no wrong"—is stretched by the philosophers

of Fascism to the new dictum—"The State can do no wrong".

Incidentally, it may be mentioned that the roots of the philosophy of Fascism can be traced in the divine philosophy of the *Gita*, according to which all powers (*Bibhutis*) on earth are the powers of God. Thus, philosophically, Fascism is not a new phenomenon; nor is it correct to say that Fascism has no philosophy. Fascist philosophy is the logical outcome of the spiritualist view of life. The logical connection between the doctrine preached in the *Gita* and the Fascist neo-Hegelian metaphysical conception of the State, is easily perceived. As a matter of fact, the philosophy of Fascist dictatorship results directly from the modern schools of mysticism and spiritualism which represent reaction against the scientific view of life. Its Indian ancestry can be traced through Schopenhauer whose disciple, Nietzsche, was the father of the philosophy of Fascism.

Before proceeding to trace its geneology, let us make a little closer acquaintance of this monstrous manifestation of spiritualist extravagance. "The Fascist movement is actuated by a deep spiritual motive. The doctrine of Fascism is its action. It is not a closed system of ideology. It is a new form of thought, a new method of living. The characteristic of Fascism is its religious sentiments". (Giovanni Gentile, "Fascism and culture"). The motive of Fascism has been clearly manifested by its action,

which, according to its philosopher, summarises its doctrine.

The Fascist movement unites the disillusioned petty-bourgeois masses in a fanatical army, demagogically led in the paradoxical crusade for galvanising the chains of their own slavery. The Fascist movement suppresses with violence the revolt of the slaves of Capitalism, and to perform that inglorious rôle, it is patronised by the reactionary bourgeoisie which helps it to assume dictatorial powers. The "deep-rooted spiritual motive of Fascism is evidenced by countless acts of violence, committed over a number of years, all for the sacred cause of saving Capitalism which is vulgar materialism in practice. How are such actions compatible with the "deep-rooted spiritual motive"? The philosopher of Fascism gives the answer: Fascism has *no principle*. It is not encumbered with a logical system of ideology. Spiritualism knows no reason; logic has no place in it. The spiritualist character of Fascism finds expression in its arbitrariness. Expediency—of capitalist domination—is the only law for this mad manifestation of spiritualism. It does not want to encumber itself with the ballast of really philosophical theories and rational principles. It wishes to keep its hand free to wield any weapon in its bloody crusade against forces making for the liberation of society from the vulgar materialism of the capitalist civilisation. The doctrine of an inscrutable divine will, of religious experience, of spiritual motive,

of religious sentiment, comes very handy for justifying the unbounded arbitrariness of temporal power, as simply doing the bidding of a supernatural purpose which knows no law—for which man-made laws have no validity.

Yet, according to Gentile, Fascism is the avowed enemy of "every form and system of abstract, rationalist, irreligious thought, even of unnatural liberalism, and substantially materialistic free-masonry". Here we find spiritualism standing out naked in its true significance. Fascism is religious; therefore it declares rationalism to be a danger and liberalism unnatural. It is against philosophical materialism because that is the anti-thesis of the practice of vulgar materialism. It is a defender of religion because faith places premium on ignorance, which makes the masses easy of exploitation.

CHAPTER II

THE FOUNDATION OF FASCIST PHILOSOPHY

In its frantic struggle against scientific knowledge, which consolidates the revolutionary materialist ideology, modern Western philosophy has been becoming more and more reactionary. The philosophical contribution of the capitalist culture culminated in Hegelianism which brought modern classical philosophy up to the giddy altitude of Absolute Idealism, only to pull it down by the all-shattering dialectical method. Historically and dialectically, the positive philosophical outcome of the capitalist culture is Materialism which lays the ideological foundation for a higher form of culture ; and Hegel represented the transition of modern philosophy from Idealism to Materialism.

As a rising class, the bourgeoisie had used the revolutionary weapon of materialist philosophy for its own purpose of combatting religion which provided sanction for the feudal society and absolute monarchistic State.

In possession of power, the bourgeoisie discarded the weapon which is effective in the struggle against all forms of domination. Religion and the associated cults of Mysticism and Spiritualism can be useful for any social order based upon the exploitation and

domination of man by man. Therefore, as the ruling class, the bourgeoisie not only turned their back on the revolutionary philosophy they had once professed, but became the patron of neo-Spiritualism and "scientific" Mysticism. They attempted to set back the hands of the clock of history. They disowned the teachings of the greatest philosopher ever produced by their class. Hegel's disciples were deprived of their patronage. His academic position was given to the eclectic-pantheist-mystic Schelling, while Feuerbach, the last of the Mohicans of classical philosophy, practically starved all his life because he boldly set forth the positive outcome of modern rationalist Idealism, thereby liquidating it in favour of dialectic Materialism.

After Hegel, the philosophy of Western capitalist civilisation struck out a path of retrogression. In search of an authority, who could hold his own in the face of modern scientific knowledge, it harked back to Kant. Neo-Kantianism threw overboard the revolutionary aspects of the philosophy of Kant. It brought the absurd skeleton of super-sensual truth out of the cupboard of ridicule in which experimental science had put it aside. It maintained that Materialism had failed to disprove the existence of the world of transcendental categories. But it was forced to concede that the super-sensual was the object of faith: the laws of reason do not have any validity for it.

In course of time, this vulgarisation of the reactionary part of Kant's philosophy failed to provide sufficient guarantee for the stability of the capitalist society shaken by its own contradictions. As a philosopher, Kant stood on the ground of scientific knowledge. His philosophy must be accepted or rejected as a whole ; and if some part is to be rejected, the non-philosophical part dealing with the super-sensual, contradicting the premises of the Kantian system, must go. Therefore, the backward movement of post-Hegelian philosophy could not stop at Kant. To serve the purposes of the bourgeoisie in power, philosophy found it necessary to return to its mediaeval "purity". It must be uncompromisingly spiritualistic. Mysticism must replace Rationalism. The ideology of revolution must be fought with the weapon of full-blooded metaphysics and religious Mysticism. All the various schools of academic Western philosophy in the latter half of the nineteenth century moved openly or covertly in that direction, notwithstanding the fact that rapid growth of scientific knowledge rendered such spiritualist extravagances and religious reaction reasonably and philosophically impossible. Therefore, eventually, the process of reaction had to abandon all pretense of rationalism and make peace with religion.

The position was stated as follows as far back as 1876. "Just as in politics, we see the nation dividing itself into two camps, so in science it divides into two general factions—metaphysicians here and physicists

or materialists there. The intermediate movements, and conciliatory quacks with their different appellations—spiritualists, sensualists, realists etc. etc.—are carried away by the current. A scientific priesthood has arisen which is aiding and abetting the religious priesthood. To destroy palpable superstition would be an easy matter if dualist confusion were not on the look-out for the gaps in science in order to lay there its eggs. Such gaps are to be found specially in the field of epistemology. The graduated flunkies use their sham idealism to keep the people in ignorance. As Lord God found his antipodes in the devil, so has the pious professor found his antagonist in the materialist. (Josef Dietzgen, "Philosophical Essays").

The scientific faith of neo-Kantianism having proved not a sufficiently strong dose to check the growing malady of materialism, the various schools of shame-faced idealism having also failed to serve the purpose, the academic philosophy of Europe in the closing decades of the nineteenth century began to invoke the ghost of Hegel. Neo-Hegelianism became the fashionable philosophy; and neo-Hegelianism means distortion and perversion of dialectics with the express purpose of presenting metaphysics and mysticism in a pseudo-scientific garb. The perverted dialectics of neo-Hegelianism, eventually, developed into eclecticism, which, discarding all principles, found the philosophical sanction for arbitrary power. The

philosophical foundation of Fascism was laid completely.

While mystic Schopenhauer was the grandsire of Fascism and the cynically reactionary Nietzsche was its prophetic herald, the credit of formulating the fundamental principles of the philosophy of Fascism goes to Bergson, the greatest philosopher of twentieth century Europe. He appeared on the philosophical arena with a challenge to the "pretensions of science" and undertook to criticise it from the point of view of greater and higher truths of religion, faith, intuition and revelation." (H. Bergson, "The Creative Evolution"). That boldness was derived from "the crisis of physical theories" at the turning of the centuries. But before long, that crisis, hailed jubilantly by the priests and professors, turned out to be a crisis of growth. No serious philosopher could rest his doctrines on that fictitious foundation. So Bergson, in course of time, sought to reconcile his philosophical spiritualism with the empirical truths of science.

Since it was no longer possible to dismiss the material world as an illusion and still call himself a scientific philosopher, Bergson tried to legalise it, so to say. One could be concerned with the material world, but only as a subsidiary to the higher world of spiritual values. That is just as the Brahman law-givers of ancient India permitted the enjoyment of *artha* and *kama*, provided that the enjoyment was governed by *dharma*, that is, by the established religio-

social laws, and the empty ideal of *moksha* was professed. The bourgeoisie had professed the principle of freedom on this earth when they fought for capturing its mastery. When, later on, their power and privilege were challenged, they made activities of the life on this earth subservient to imaginary spiritual ideals and metaphysical values. Fascist dictatorship, and all its barbarous socio-political doctrines are sanctioned by this philosophical reaction.

Science provides capitalism with powerful weapons of exploitation ; but at the same time it brings about a great revolution of the mass mind. The revival of spiritualism, in apparent conformity with scientific knowledge, is expected to help the bourgeoisie to derive material benefits from the advance of science, while checking its spiritually liberating influence. With that purpose, life is split up into two independent departments—one concerned with the material world, the other devoted to the realisation of the spiritual. By this arbitrary partition, spiritualism withdraws from the hopeless battle with science. It claims a quiet corner for itself, hoping to dominate the whole of life from there. Let science have its own truths ; but the spiritual truth is beyond its reach. There is a reality higher than the realities of the physical world and material life. In his effort to formulate a plausible philosophy of bourgeois reaction, Bergson was driven to disclaim what he wanted to defend. "If mysticism is meant a reaction against

positive science, then the doctrine I defend is, in the end, a protest against mysticism." (Lindsay, "The Philosophy of Bergson").

Bergson is realist enough to see that mysticism cannot hold its own against the irresistible attacks of science. Therefore, he would place it safely above the fray. Mysticism should not be anti-scientific; it must be *extra-scientific*. So, Fascist philosophy begins just where Indian philosophy also claims to begin,—beyond the reach of sense-perception, outside the ken of reason, beyond the radius of mind, and flies up, in imagination, to the dizzy altitude of metaphysical unrealities, to recognise them as the absolute truth. And this absolute truth, which is a mere phantom as all absolute categories are, serves as the immutable sanction for everything necessary to be done to defend the established socio-political order against the onslaught of the rising forces of revolution.

By granting the physical being a reality of subsidiary category, by admitting the validity of scientific truths for practical purposes, the line is cleared for unrestricted capitalist exploitation; but the true end of life—for the victims of this exploitation—must always be the realisation of the spiritual. The real masters of the material world, enjoying the fullest benefit of the subsidiary truths of science, do not lose anything by professing the higher spiritual ideals; but the multitude can chase those phantoms only at the

sacrifice of the frivolities and unrealities of the material life.

Bergson's philosophy (of Fascism) bears still another striking resemblance with what is claimed to be a special genius of Indian culture, namely, the ability to make a happy synthesis between opposing and contradictory factors. Only, Bergson does the trick more "philosophically" than done by the synthetic genius of India. He falls back upon Hegelian dialectics, and seeks to transform that revolutionary ideological instrument into a weapon in the hand of reaction.

Though elaborated by Hegel and applied to philosophy as well as history, dialectics is as old as philosophy itself. In ancient Greece, Heraclitos held that contradiction is the motive force of all progress. Dialectic view of the process of becoming was a part of the Buddhist philosophy (Hinayan School). It was very pronounced in Jainism. The correctness of the dialectic view of things has been definitely established by experimental science. Natural processes, in all phases of existence, including processes of thought, are caused by the constant rise of new factors in contradiction to the old, which eventually destroy the latter, and having done so, lose their negative character and consequently convert themselves into the new positive. That is the dialectical view of being which, in reality, is a dynamic process of becoming.

Real synthesis, therefore, is not a compromise between the contradicting factors; that would mean not progress, but reaction. Because any compromise must be in favour of the old at the cost of the new.

The very fact of the growth of forces for its negation proves that the old has lost its *raison d'être*. As long as a natural, human, social or political factor is possessed of objective validity, performs a beneficial function in the general scheme of which it is a part, the mechanical law of causality prevents the growth of forces for its destruction. There must be some reason for any happening. Nothing happens unless it is necessary. Destruction of old institutions, dissolution of old ideas or disappearance of old values takes place always of necessity. Therefore, "synthesis", in the sense of compromise, be it in society, politics or philosophy, is voluntary or forcible suppression of the operation of the destructive factor, and the consequent preservation of something which has forfeited its objective validity. Real synthesis is not a compromise between the thesis and the antithesis. It is the destruction of the thesis—of the old grown static—by the antithesis which is a new dynamic force, and the establishment of this latter, divested of its negative character, its destructive function having been performed, as the new thesis. Real synthesis is, as Hegel defined it, "negation of the negation".

This is a positively dangerous view, because it recognises revolution/as inherent in every phase of existence; legalises revolution, so to say. Consequently, this formidable weapon, perfected by an idealist philosopher, has been inherited by Materialism—the philosophy of revolution.

Having failed to check the ascendancy of the revolutionary social philosophy by the resort to neo-Kantianism and various other brands of distorted idealism, the official philosophy of the reactionary bourgeoisie sought to strengthen itself through the adoption of dialectics—of course in a perverted, emasculated form. It interpretes synthesis as a compromise between the old and the new. By denying the absolute validity of the negative function of the new, dialectic itself is falsified.

According to the neo-Hegelians, synthesis is not the establishment of the antithesis as the new thesis; it is preservation of the old thesis by placing restraint upon the operation of the antithesis; it is to galvanise the decayed old by a sort of the treatment *à la Sternach*, in which the vicarious function of offering its blood falls to the new.

The credit for so perverting dialectics originally belongs to Bergson, who, in that way, seeks to reconcile spiritualism with science, just as many a modern Indian intellectual does, only without adequate scientific knowledge and the requisite philosophical acumen. Bergson proposes to deprive science of its

philosophical independence ; but would benevolently allow it the honour of keeping the capitalist house, while playing the second fiddle to Mysticism. As an inducement for accepting this subsidiary position, science is granted full freedom in the field allotted to it. The result is Pragmatism. This "vulgar utilitarianism of the carnal stomach philosophy" saves spiritualism. It re-establishes faith and religion as the sublimated ideology of the most vulgar form of practical materialism, of legalised robbery, of civilised cannibalism. Fascism is Pragmatism in practice.

Bergson perverts Hegelian dialectics by attaching permanence to the concept of negation. The basic principle of dialectics is that every phenomenon is composed of a thesis and an antithesis. Negation is not a function *per se*. It is only the means of establishing a new thesis in the place of the old. So, while the revolutionary value of the process of negation is fully appreciated, the basic factor in the entire process, nevertheless, is the positive. The antithesis has a positive significance besides the negative ; and the positive is the abiding (in a relative sense) significance. The progressive significance of the antithesis consists in the positive inherent in its being, which is established as the new thesis as soon as the process of negation is completed.

Bergson visualises evolution as an one-sided process—as an endless chain of negations. The forest is not seen for the trees. Change becomes an absolute

conception which, however, is destroyed by the very nature of its being. Nothing positive comes out of the negation. One negation follows and negativates another, to be followed and negativated in its turn by still another. So continues the senseless process of constant change without ever producing anything positive. This perversion of the dialectic view, which constitutes the fundamental principle of Pragmatism, has been very correctly condemned as follows: "Evolution is visualised as an irrational, uncontrollable process which can never be foreseen or forecast; as knowing no historical law, free of the principle of necessity, which transcends the bonds of causality. It is imaginary emancipation from the laws of history which doom capitalism to destruction:—a leap into freedom which is a continuous miracle, in which state of imaginary freedom any sort of miracle can happen." (A. Thalheimer, Appendix to the "History of Philosophy" by Franz Mehring).

Pragmatism, the philosophy of Fascism, is the philosophy of endless means. Life is a dismal groping in the dark. There are no principles, no laws. Individual experience is the only guide; every event is determined by a motive. At this point, the supernatural, extra-sensual, spiritual category comes in to dominate a philosophy which, *for practical purposes*, follows, by the force of its own logic, the vulgar materialist maxim—everyone for his one self, devil takes the hindmost. And it requires no explanation

how this maxim can be beneficial only to the upper classes ; for, those in possession of power can well take care of, more than that, can aggrandise themselves at the cost of the multitude, sent to the devil—of slavery, poverty, ignorance, misery and degradation.

But this carnal philosophy of civilised cannibalism acquires an intensely spiritualist character precisely from its carnal nature. The doctrine of motive in individual action necessarily leads to the teleological conception of the Universe. Indeed, this spiritualist conception provides the moral sanction for the predatory doctrine of motive. The cult of endless experience necessarily makes of truth and other concepts of morality intuitive categories. Since his own experience is the only guide for the individual, the highest truth must also come from that source. Those actuated by selfish motive—those who consider every event of life, history and society to be a subjective phenomenon read an intelligent purpose, a divine will behind all the phenomena of nature. Egocentrists deprive truth of objectivity, and make it a matter of subjective experience. This being the case, spiritualism is really not the antithesis of vulgar-materialism. They are two sides of the same coin. Subjectivism, egocentricism, selfishness, predatory purpose—all these traits of vulgar-materialism (altogether foreign to the materialist philosophy) are always, in the East as well as in the West, hidden by the lofty and sanctimonious cant of spiritualism. This

real, native content of the mystic spiritualist view of life stands revealed through the practice of Fascism.

Though Bergson's perversion of dialectics constitutes the foundation of Pragmatism, this philosophy without principle was developed by William James who can thus be honoured as its foster-father. He set up the doctrine of "religious experience". The experiences of the material world, that is, sense-perceptions, are "indirect experiences" of the truth. They are valid as far as this world is concerned. The truth, however, can be approached directly through "religious experience". Here we find the "carnal stomach philosophy" of vulgar materialism preaching the divine Hindu doctrine that *atma-darshan* is the only road to truth which, while being manifested before us in multifarious forms, is to be realised in its pristine purity only in a super-conscious state.

"The further limits of our being plunge into altogether different dimensions, of existence, from the sensible and merely understandable world. Name it mystical region or the supernatural region, whichever you choose. So far as our ideal impulses originate in this region (and most of them do originate in it, for we find them possessing us in a way for which we cannot articulately account) we belong to it in a more intimate sense than that in which we belong to the visible world; for we belong in the most intimate sense wherever our ideals belong. Yet, the unseen region in question is not merely ideal, for it produces

effects in this world." (William James, "The Varieties of Religious Experience").

No philosophy can be more spiritualist. Ideas originate in a region qualitatively different from the physical world,—in a region not to be measured by the dimensions of time and space, and therefore must also transcend the law of causality. Such a transcendental region, naturally, cannot be penetrated by the human mind, which is a phenomenon of the physical world; and ideas originating in a transcendental, supersensual, world must be, by their very nature, immaterial, that is, spiritual categories, not in any way influenced by the practices of life on this physical world, but mysteriously having an imperative influence in a world qualitatively different from theirs—"possessing us in a way for which we cannot articulately account".

Obviously, according to this philosophy, ideas are the voice of God, and there must be a spiritual essence in the material human being which can act as the medium of those divine impulses. But the pragmatist philosophy of James, being a crude form of spiritualism, has little regard for logical consistency. He places the imaginary "ideal world" beyond physical dimensions and sense-perception. Nevertheless, he maintains that "it produces effect in this world". How does this miracle happen? In faith; for miracles never happen objectively, but only exist in the subjective world of faith. Pragmatism is the irrational cult of

experience; it is the ideology of individualism gone mad. Yet it asserts that we can acquire knowledge of the extra-physical, super-sensual, ideal which, by its very nature, transcends experience!

The difficulty is overcome by postulating a higher form of experience—"religious experience"—for the more exalted plane of existence. This is abandoning all rational thinking to declare faith as the only way to the supreme, absolute truth. The similarity with Indian philosophy is palpable. James does not mince words in reconciling his philosophy of experience with the primitive cult of faith. "What the more characteristically divine facts are, apart from the actual inflow of energy in the faith-state and the prayer-state, I know not But the over-belief on which I am ready to make my personal venture is that they exist." (William James, "The Varieties of Religious Experience").

This "philosophy" needs no commentary. It is no philosophy. It is religion,—spiritualism, of the most dogmatic sort. There is no such thing as objective truth. The individual is the criterion of truth. The means of attaining the truth is his own experience. The transcendental absolute truth is the result of "direct experience". That is to say, as regards this supreme category which transcends the material existence, while governing it, experience is free from the inconvenience of verification. The lucky superman should be taken on his words. Thus, people

suffering from hallucinations, or impostors, come to be the spiritual guides of man. There cannot be any question about their claim to the knowledge of absolute truth. It is derived "empirically" from "direct experience". Anybody given to hallucination, or desirous of deceiving the gullible, can have the "experience". The world to-day is ruled by maniacs or impostors of this type, all of whom claim either to be superman or divinely inspired. Fascism is the cult of superman, its philosophical foundation being the most dogmatic form of spiritualism.

In the hand of these people, philosophy becomes priestcraft. Truth can only be revealed, and only to those who either have the power to rule society or are backed by the power of the ruling class; because only they are in the position to enforce their claim. The professors of the neo-spiritualist philosophy are the high-priests of the decayed capitalist society, the church-divines and the pedantic preachers of morality constituting their hierarchy. The real sanction for the truth revealed through this new holy order, however, is the power of the State. Spiritualism stands naked on the hateful foundations of vulgar-materialism.

In ancient India, the Brahmans themselves possessed the power to assert their claim to revealed wisdom. In the mediaeval period, they stood approximately in the same relation to the Kshatriya rulers as that subsisting between the Church and the feudal aristocracy in Europe. At present, their function is

usurped by the modern Swamis and lay-spiritualists who appear as the ideological spokesmen of a hybrid social order in which the capitalist mode of production struggles against the time-honoured chains of feudal-patriarchal relations galvanised by the exigencies of colonial exploitation. Ideologically, India is nearer to Fascism than realised by a few. The dogmatic spiritualism preached by many an intellectual leader of modern India is the philosophy of Fascism.

Since modern neo-Spiritualism, which offers a philosophical justification of the Fascist dictatorship, partially results from the perversion of Hegelian dialectics, it will be interesting to recall what Hegel himself thought about the so-called direct source of knowledge. "In consequence of the doctrine that direct knowledge should be the only criterion of truth, all superstition and idol-worship are declared to be truth, and the evil and immoral contents of desire are justified." ("The Encyclopædia of Philosophical Sciences"). In this connection, Hegel further points out how, according to the doctrine of direct knowledge, faith becomes the standard of truth. Primitive peoples are not induced by reason to worship fetiches, stones, animals, medicine-man or the priest. They simply believe in their objects of worship. The holiness is not an objective thing; it really does not exist in the object of worship; it is an outcome of the faith, that is, superstition of the worshipper. This habit (with the primitive peoples) or trick (in the case of the

sophisticated civilised) of ascribing divinity to where it does not exist, serves the purpose of justifying "evil and immoral" desire". That is to say, spiritualism is the cover for vulgar-materialism. Such is the testimony of Hegel, the greatest modern exponent of philosophical spiritualism, whose absolute idealism is hardly distinguishable from the philosophy of Vedanta.

The sum and substance of Pragmatism—the philosophy of the capitalist civilisation in the period of decay—is the negation of objective truth, and glorification of subjective introspection as the only source of real truth, on the pretext of pseudo-realism. The affinity with Hindu philosophy is easily discernible. The standard of truth is not things existing objectively, independent of human thought; it is the expediency of life—in the capitalist society. True knowledge is not the result of our mind's getting acquainted, in an endless process of penetration, amplification and perfection, with things really existing, whether our mind perceives them or not; true knowledge is the mysterious product of our Ego in a state of self-concentration. In other words, truth is the product of our desire. It is to be attained only in "religious experience", in the "faith-state", in the "prayer-state". Gandhi does not say anything new. This brand of spiritualism disputes the validity of scientific knowledge, although, for practical purposes, it sets up the doctrine of expediency, that is, selfish motive; as the only criterion of truth and morality.

The spiritualisation of desire reaches its climax in the Pragmatism of John Dewey. "Things, that are loved, admired and worshipped, things that have been conceived by spiritualist philosophies as the attributes of the ultimate being, are the genuine elements of nature." (*Vide* "In Quest of Certainty"). Objectively existing physical phenomena are not the genuine elements of nature. Presumably they are illusions. Genuine elements of nature are those which do not really exist, except in our subjective consciousness—postulated for the satisfaction of our Ego—and are attributed to the nature to suit our purpose. Science cannot make us acquainted with nature; we must follow spiritualist philosophies for the purpose, and according to this guide, physical nature has no objective being. The attributes of the ultimate being are not to be conceived in terms of physical constants; they are spiritual categories. That is to say, the ultimate being is spiritual, and should be spiritually conceived.

* * *

Now, let us turn to some contemporary ideological heralds of Fascism who preach an ultra-spiritualist philosophy also on the falsified authority of the illustrious grave-digger of the modern classical philosophy. Albert Liebert, professor of philosophy in the University of Berlin, is a Neo-Hegelian. He is an outspoken metaphysician, and as such, is opposed to the entire modern critical philosophy, from Descartes

to Hegel—the mighty current of thought which logically led up to dialectic materialism. Let alone Bacon, Hobbs, Locke, Condillac, the French Encyclopædists, Hume and their kind, even Kant has gone down in the history of philosophy as the liquidator of metaphysics. But Liebert holds that the “all-shattering critique of Kant”, on the contrary, “ushered in a new era of metaphysics and the era of new metaphysics”. (“How is Critical Philosophy at all Possible?”). Making a metaphysician out of Kant, the neo-Hegelian professor defends the new metaphysics in the following manner:

“Actualist or functionalist metaphysics is not to be critically disregarded, because it is not based upon a being, freed or capable of being freed, from the laws of reason; the being that constitutes its basis is a rational being.” (Ibid.) In order to rationalise metaphysics so that mysticism may assume an “actualist, functional” value, that is, become a social necessity, reason is immaterialised. To be themselves, metaphysical categories must be immaterial, that is, spiritual. When reason becomes the basic metaphysical category, it is logically conceived as something immaterial; it becomes the divine light in man—soul; and the supreme concern of modern philosophy, as advocated by Liebert, is with the divine essence of man. The superman must rule the world disregarding all the laws of morality and principles of social justice. The neo-Hegelian professor is a philosopher

of Fascism. Therefore, he still teaches "philosophy" in Hitler's Germany.

The logical conclusion of this new metaphysics is the following principle: "The first (prius) is not the being as such,—a complete absence of thought—but the conception (or the idea) of being. (Ibid.) (It seems that the learned professor believes that a dead body comes to life by the simple contrivance of being placed on its head). The fundamental principle of idealism is vulgarised to let in theology, pantheism, mysticism, naturally with the good old dogma of creation out of nothing—by the magic will of a non-material being, that is, a being which exists disregarding all the laws of existence. The phenomenal Universe is the outcome of the rise of consciousness in the primal state of Absolute Nothing: the rise of *Ahamkar* in the *Nirvikar*, *Nirvikalpa* state of the *Brahma*, is the source of the physical nature. The Universe is, as Schelling puts it, "self-contemplation of God". Having no existence but in his consciousness, the Universe with all its phenomenal diversities,—the endless appearances in the inanimate as well as the living nature—exists in God. There exists nothing but God.

This mystic philosophy can explain the world only by its inability to explain it—by stating an enigma which itself defies rational explanation: "Out of nothing comes omnipotence." Or, "*Leela*". In either case, the world is visualised as a standing miracle per-

formed by a divine magician ; or it can be dismissed as a hallucination, a bad dream. If it is a standing miracle, anything may happen any time ; there is no law but the whim of the all-mighty magician, and the cosmic whim finds its expression in the arbitrariness of earthly dictators. The chaos of capitalist society is just justified by a spiritualist philosophy. If, on the other hand, the world is dismissed as a hallucination, as done by the inherently Fascist philosophy of India, the sorrows, sufferings and miseries of life are explained away as unreal, not able to affect the divine essence of man which alone exists. This way also, the same mundane purpose is served. Spiritualism keeps the multitudes in their place, thus guaranteeing the security of the established order of class domination.

Another apostle of neo-Hegelian mysticism is the French philosopher Emile Lasbax. He makes of Hegel's dialectics of contradiction a cult of the reconciliation of antagonistic forces, and finds in this reconciliation the essence of life. The reconciliation is styled "love". "What does life consist of? The reconciliation of the two great opposing principles of being and non-being, birth and death. But what force brings about this reconciliation? Love. By means of love, we penetrate the ultimate mysteries of being ; only love enables us to see into the final object of dialectics." (Emile Lasbax, "The Dialectic and the Rhythm of the Universe"). Neither Mahtma Gandhi nor Rabindranath Tagore can find any fault with this philosophy of

Fascism ; and this is not the personal opinion of a recluse or a poet. Lasbax is a popular teacher in one of the classical seats of learning in France—the University of Clermont. The soporific of mysticism and the sentimental cult of love are in vogue among the disillusioned, confused and demoralised bourgeois intellectuals of the West. Actuated by these “noble” sentiments, they appear as the ideological protagonists of Fascism.

Having laid down that synthesis of opposing principles is the essence of life, Lasbax defines the task of philosophy as “reconciliation between reason and faith”. This task has for ages baffled the prophets, priests and professors of the class-ridden civilisation of the East as well as of the West. Now it is simplified by arbitrarily reducing the entire complex of natural phenomena (including life, society and history) to the mystery of a divine will. As a matter of fact, reason is not reconciled with faith ; it is simply sacrificed on the altar of that capricious Goddess. To make the mystery of divine will appear “reasonable”, philosophy is converted into a modern brand of anthropomorphic religion. Lasbax, of course, denies the objective reality of the physical Universe ; he goes farther, to reject even the dogma of old fashioned mysticism, namely, that of emanation. He boldly endorses the fundamentalist religious view: “The world is a creation out of nothing—a process which corresponds with the idea of creation.” (Ibid.)

The modern professor of philosophy does not hesitate to draw the logical conclusion from this view regarding the origin of things, and postulates an anthropomorphic Godhead. "The supreme creator is an organism—a synthesis of three successive stages". This ridiculous attempt to visualise everything, even God, dialectically, is not following Hegel. It is insulting him. But it does fit in exactly with the Hindu philosophical conception of the Supreme Being, namely, the conception of *Sat-Chit-Ananda*. The philosophy of capitalism in its present bloodiest phase is this pure spiritualism of the neo-Hegelians.

According to Lasbax, "the divine atmosphere is the source of everything". What is the implication of this sublimely spiritualist view of life? The God being the embodiment of love, goodness, truth, justice etc., the inequities, cruelties, falsities, and all the rest of the evils of the established social order are to be looked upon as mere variations of those divine attributes. The system of exploitation, brought to the climax in the capitalist society, particularly in the present period of its decay, inevitably engenders class antagonism. In the inexorable struggle for existence, the producing majority is forced to revolt against the exploiting minority threatening the very existence of the established order. One requires little imagination to see the bloody implication of the cult of love in this situation. The cult of love, the doctrine of reconciliation, of synthesis, are cruel ideological weapons forged to

defend the interests of the upper classes,—to keep the multitude resigned to their fate of slavery, degradation and suffering, so that the harmony of the mysterious divine will is not disturbed.

The preacher of neo-mysticism Lasbax draws the logical conclusion from his philosophy of love when he thunders against the “pure economic materialism” of what he called “Socialist and Communist Mysticism”, and frantically fights this hated spectre which threatens to subvert the established political institutions. Lasbax is frank and strictly logical. The practical inferences that he makes from his philosophy of reconciliation and “dialectical” mysticism are highly instructive. They should cure those Indian intellectuals of the mental malady of spiritualism, who do not profess this cult as conscious reactionaries. According to Lasbax, the divine principle of reconciliation—love—demands union of the State and Church as the synthesis of natural and super-natural authorities. (Vide Emile Lasbax, “The Human Society”). Priesthood, religion, metaphysical moral, in short, the entire paraphernalia of spiritualism are weapons in the service of the State of class rule, just as the army, navy, police etc.

The neo-Hegelian philosopher of Fascism does not stop there. According to him, the earthly expression of the divine universal rhythm is also “dialectical”—it goes from the “monarchy to the republic and from this to the empire”. (Ibid). Here, spiritualism stands

out as the ideology of Imperialism. Philosophy is not a matter of shibboleths and catch-phrases. It has a socio-historical background, and practical consequences, which must be necessarily of the same nature when ideas flow in the identical channel.

It will be dull and superfluous to deal with the whole array of the pundits of contemporary Western philosophy who preach spiritualism as heralds of Fascism. A glance at the official learning and intellectual life of the degenerate capitalist civilisation of the West may give the Indians the cheap satisfaction of seeing the worshippers of materialism turning towards the home of spiritualism for salvation. But a critical understanding of this spiritualist revival will convince all but the rank reactionary that spiritualism is not a thing to be proud about. If it is true that in the feverish anxiety for salvaging the decayed capitalist civilisation, the West is appealing to India for remedy, well, that can hardly be considered creditable for Indian culture. On the contrary, it should be looked upon as a positively damaging reflection upon the spiritual genius of India. It is not a compliment to be recognised as the only possible bulwark against the rising tide of revolution which is threatening to destroy capitalist society so that humanity may enter into a higher stage of progress in all the departments of life. Yet, curiously enough, the pride of Indian spiritualism is precisely that it alone can perform this none too creditable function of checking revolutions. The

supposed novelty of Gandhism consists in this that it has found a road to freedom which does not lay through revolution: that it has replaced physical force by soul force as the means to attain the goal of freedom and progress.

To criticise these pretensions of Gandhism is not a part of our present purpose. But incidentally its kinship with the philosophy of Fascism has been exposed. It is a geneological kinship. The theory that freedom and progress do not necessarily depend upon periodical revolutionary changes, has been an important part of the philosophy of the Western ruling class ever since the bourgeoisie established themselves in power. Of late, even the "algebra of revolution", as Hegelian dialectics has been correctly characterised, has been falsified to produce a theory of freedom and progress without revolution. Long before Mahatma Gandhi appeared with his miraculous method of painless socio-political dentistry, the Russian-Swiss philosopher David Koigen preached what passes as Gandhism to-day. "Koigen confronts the 'man of revolution' with the 'man of Renaissance' in whom the positive element of life predominates over the negative, who are free from the disease of the revolutionary passion in thought and feeling, in whom all the forces and strivings vibrate together harmonically in a melodious symphony, for whom their own life is their ethics, that is to say, who need not think in terms of

morality, since they are personifications of it". (Franz Mehring, "On the History of Philosophy").

A splendid example of the capacity of Western civilisation to compete with India in expressing reactionary thoughts in beautifully poetical forms! There we have the cult of superman differently stated. Fascist dictators, in order to act according to the expediency of capitalism in distress, must not be bound by any principles of morality; they must have their own codes of ethics. The practical application of all this neo-spiritualist teachings and mystic ideas, is Fascism,—this violent form of capitalist domination. So long as the bourgeoisie could rule through the fraudulent institution of parliamentary democracy, the essential spiritualism of their philosophy was somewhat hidden behind apparently scientific and rational forms. As long as their power was obeyed as a matter of course, they did not find it necessary to fall back upon the reserve of divine sanction which they had inherited from the feudal monarchy. The gathering of the forces of revolution, which to-day challenge the power of the bourgeoisie, the break-down of the parliamentary system under the pressure of the inner contradictions of capitalism, has compelled the bourgeoisie, in one country after another, to throw off the mask of parliamentarism and wield their dictatorship openly. The Fascist movement prepares the way to this dictatorship; the Fascist State is its instrument. The ultra-

spiritualism, neo-Metaphysics, and "rational" mysticism of the Bergsonian, Pragmatist and neo-Hegelian schools of philosophy provide the ideological foundation for, and justify, the bloody dictatorship.

CHAPTER III

THE CULT OF SUPERMAN

The most characteristic feature of the philosophy of Fascism is the cult of Superman. The father of the cult is Nietzsche, who was a disciple of Schopenhauer; and Schopenhauer found "consolation in the philosophy of the Upanishads". So there is a close kinship between the crassest manifestation of vulgar-materialism and the spiritualist ideology of the orthodox Indian nationalism. Fascism is nationalism inspired by revivalist ideals. The practice of Fascism shows where revivalism leads to. Its ideological background, on the other hand, reveals that revivalism is the spirit of social reaction; it is an ideological instrument for fighting progress which presupposes revolution.

The grandfather of Fascism, Schopenhauer, was a prophet of pessimism. An admirer of the "divine philosophy" of the Upanishads, he carried on a life-long struggle against the revolutionary essence of Hegel's philosophy. To fight Hegel's philosophy philosophically was, however, beyond his mental calibre. The impotent rage of the reactionary, therefore, was vented in abuse. Schopenhauer's philosophy was the ideology of the German bourgeoisie defeated in the revolution of 1848. Defeat generated pessimism

which was expressed in the longing to run away from the rude realities of life.

According to Schopenhauer, unchangeable, immutable laws of nature condemn man to a life on the worst possible world. Since the intolerable conditions of life can not be changed, the desire to run away from the world full of those conditions is irresistible. Naturally, the tormented soul of Schopenhauer, which was the personification of the despondence of the defeated German bourgeoisie, found consolation in the philosophy of the Upanishads—a philosophy which for ages prevented the Indian people from facing the realities of life with the courage to change them. The essence of Schopenhauer's philosophy is the debasement of human will which is declared to be "thoroughly evil and mean". The implication of this philosophy is a negative attitude to all progress, since the objective forces of progress find their subjective expression in the will of man. With this doctrine, Schopenhauer stands exactly on the same ground as the Hindu philosophy, which also declares desire to be the impediment to self-realisation—the fountain-head of true knowledge. Schopenhauer's philosophy was so full of contradictions that a critical historian of philosophy was provoked to make the following observation: "If the world is a thing that better had not been, then the thoughts of the philosopher, himself a part of this world, had also better not been thought". (Franz Mehring, "On the History of Philo-

sophy"). But the philosopher thought according to the necessities of his time and the conditions in the midst of which he lived. He was a philosopher of reaction and as such could not think otherwise. So thorough-going reactionary was Schopenhauer's philosophy, that even the hateful antisemitism and the mediaeval attitude towards women of the Fascists can be traced to his credit.

Nietzsche improved upon his master, and in substance proclaimed that human will need not be ashamed of its native character of "evilness and meanness". Since it is evil and mean, let it be openly so, and be proud of it. Schopenhauer had called life a crime. Nietzsche defined it as the expression of "possessiveness, harshness, cruelty, of the desire to overwhelm the stranger and the weak, to oppress and exploit". Here are the fundamental features of Fascism. But how was it possible for Nietzsche to make such a combative creed out of the pessimism of his master? The re-formulation of the philosophy of reaction resulted from a change in the position of the German bourgeoisie in the socio-political life of the nation.

Since Schopenhauer preached his pessimism, things had happened in Germany to embolden the bourgeoisie. They had learned to express their sentiments in a different language. Pessimism had given way to cynicism. The German bourgeoisie had failed to conquer political power. The revolution of 1848

was defeated because they had betrayed it. But the revolution was a historical necessity. It had to take place. The bourgeoisie failing to bring it about, it was imposed from above,—by the grace of Bismarck who kicked the timid and demoralised bourgeoisie up to the position of sharing power with the Prussian junkerdom, of course, still as a subordinate. That change in their social position put its stamp on their philosophy.

The way to capitalist development was no longer closed. The reason for pessimism was gone. But it was not replaced by healthy optimism which is the product of self-confidence, bred by victory. The life of the German bourgeoisie was still dominated by the privileged military caste and landed aristocracy. It was still "evil and mean". So, they decided to make the best of the bad bargain. Hence their cynicism expressed in the philosophy of Nietzsche.

The life is an ephemeral phenomenon ; so, let us take the most out of it. Even this cynical view of life as a merry-go-round in which everybody is for himself, letting the devil take the hindmost, can be given a spiritualist twist, if we adopt the Hindu standard: Life is not overwhelming me, I am its master. The spiritual guide of the modern Indian intellectual, Vivekanand, echoed Nietzsche when he vaingloriously declared: "If I drink wine, I don't let the wine drink me". He may not have learned from the cynical philosopher of European reaction. Because his holy

master had taught the lesson. In his quaint language, Ramakrishna preached: "One eating pork can have his mind fixed upon God, whereas another living on *habishya* may be the slave of *Kamini-Kanchan*." That is to say, with a spiritualist prejudice or pretence, one is entitled to live a life of vulgar materialism. This teaching of a twentieth century *Avatar* is not different from the cynicism of Nietzsche. Indeed, the whole body of Ramakrishna's teachings, rationalised by Vivekanand, is tuned in this trend which fully reflects the spirit of Hinduism. In the *Kaliyuga*, the high ideal of pure spiritualism can not be realised. Now, people should live the life of a *Samsari*; and this is justified as long as they do so with detachment, reverentially, in a spirit of worshipfulness. In practice, the spiritual ideal is discarded. It has never been a reality. At last, the time-honoured illusion is dismissed, not with a revolutionary courage, but with hypocritical sanctimoniousness. Vulgar-materialism receives the benediction of God. But the materialist philosophy still remains taboo. The religious view of life can not be free from this dishonesty and insincerity when it persists after its social usefulness has long been exhausted.

Nietzsche's philosophy of capitalism follows the Indian way. In as much as you retain the spiritualist view that life is a crime, that human will is evil and mean, you may indulge in this crime, as much as you like, without polluting your spiritual-self; as long as

you remain the master of your will, its evilness and meanness do not contaminate the purity of your essential being. Then you can do anything you like—give free reins to the possessiveness of life, to the desire to oppress, overwhelm and hurt the weak; you can do all this with a clear conscience, morally, since the world by its very nature is the worst possible, it cannot be made any worse. Nietzsche made these inferences quite logically from the *Aupanishadic* philosophy of Schopenhauer. Out of the negation of the will to life, there emerged the will to power. Sympathy for the sorrows and sufferings of life was transformed into a contempt for them. Thus developed the cult of superman who was recognised in the captains of the rising modern industry.

The supermen are "free-spirits", "good Europeans"—Teutonic saviours of the world, proud custodians of the "spiritual Aryan culture", appearing with the civilising mission of sharing with the Briton "the white man's burden". The immediate political expression of Nietzsche's philosophy was the demand of German Imperialism for a "place in the sun"—that is colonial expansion. Fascism is the crassest manifestation of the same philosophy of power and predatoriness. The Nietzschean cult of superman—this fundamental dogma of the philosophy of Fascism—has been correctly characterised as "the philosophy which objectively glorified big capital and

as such appealed to the public". (Mehring, "On the History of Philosophy").

That is how an ideology for German Imperialism and subsequently for Fascism was constructed out of the sublime philosophy of the *Upanishads*. Neither was it vulgarised nor was it abused. The justification of arbitrary power on earth always follows logically from the assumption of a metaphysical First Principle which knows no law. Indian philosophy based on this assumption will also become the ideology of vulgar materialism as soon as the relation of classes is so readjusted as to equip the bourgeoisie with the necessary weapons of coercion. Let them have a place in the sun of power, and you will find the spiritual culture shedding its antiquated form and terminology, to adapt itself to the new socio-political conditions. In fact, our blessed spiritualist philosophy has never done anything but to serve the interests of the upper classes. Only it must change its form and terminology in accordance with the social composition of the ruling class of a given period. Even to-day, the divine doctrines of "truth and non-violence" are serving the purpose of arresting the forces of social discontent and political revolt. The taste of a little power, granted by the grace of Imperialism, is driving our spiritually minded nationalists towards Fascist practices. That is only to be expected in the home of the philosophy which inspired the ideological fore-runners of Fascism.

The "free-spirits" of Nietzsche are endowed with

the "*bibhuti*" of God. Therefore, they are naturally destined to be "rulers and subjugators"; they have the natural "right to rule and subjugate the human herd", which is "condemned to powerlessness and to be treated unjustly". This revolting view of human relations, deprived logically from Schopenhauer's doctrine of the innate evilness and meanness of man, made Nietzsche a rabid anti-Socialist. Thus, he appears in history as the immediate ideological herald of the Fascist crusade against Marxism.

It is one of the cardinal principles of the Indo-Aryan spiritualist view of life that one should bear cheerfully and with resignation all the sorrows and sufferings of life. Nietzsche was a firm believer of this principle; and therefore could declare that the real improvement of the conditions of the workers would be brought about by teaching them to suffer cheerfully. One could easily see that Nietzsche's anti-Socialist propaganda was a shadow of Gandhism cast ahead. So, if Gandhism is to be regarded as a body of religio-ethical doctrines—the quintessence of ancient Indian culture, then the world has already experienced its modern political expression. Gandhism as a philosophical tradition has led to Hitlerism. Let the Indian nationalists take note of this fact. The logic of history cannot be any less binding in India than in Germany.

The spiritual father of Fascism held that what was intolerable for the rich could be borne by the poor; therefore, he was of the opinion that the workers

could be easily taught to practise the virtue of suffering. According to Gandhism the capitalists as well as the workers are children of God ; and the poor should not envy their rich brothers. Gandhism glorifies sacrifice and suffering as great virtues. If this dogma is admitted, every measure to enforce the practice of these virtues should be regarded legitimate, morally as well as logically. What is the use of having an ideal if one is not prepared to sacrifice everything for its realisation? Gandhists, entrusted with the administration of the Imperialist State, are showing that if necessary they would be prepared to take all measures for enforcing the practice of virtues the practice of which, according to their perverse philosophy, would make better men out of the Indians.

Nietzsche's philosophy, justifying crass class domination, bears striking resemblance with the Hindu doctrine of *karma* and, indeed, is an echo of the voice of God himself: "The four castes are created by me, according to quality and merit". (*Gita*) The caste system places different groups of people in different social stations. If that system is providentially ordained, those belonging to lower stations must be reconciled for ever to their positions. Social inequality is thus perpetuated on the authority of divine will. The slave must be slave for ever! The ruling class enjoys its power and privileges as gifts of God which only the sinful can ever dare to take away from it. In *Gita*, the God also announced that all earthly

powers are manifestations of his power. Not only are the priestly privileges of the *Brahman* exercised on divine authority ; not only did kings and emperors in the past rule as incarnations of God ; but even to-day the parasitic land-lords claim to be "the natural leaders" of the peasant masses whom they exploit; and native princes wield autocratic power with the connivance of orthodox nationalists who clamour for representative Government in the British provinces.

Having condemned the "human herd" to powerlessness and subjugation, Nietzsche could have no patience for them. He exclaimed: "Happiness on this earth will never be increased through the change of institutions ; it will be realised through the disappearance of the melancholic, weak, groveling, complaining temperament". Again an echo of the spiritual voice of India—this philosophy of Fascism: Earthly things cannot make man really happy ; happiness is a state of mind, independent of the outside world. It is all a matter of temperament. One can be happy by the very simple means of imagining himself happy.

Spiritual culture has taught the Indian masses to point out the difference in the size of the five fingers of the same hand when their attention is drawn to the social inequity and inequality to which they are subjected. They have been taught to accept their position as befitting their merit. They have not only been taught to be reconciled to their hard lot, but to

look upon the established social order as an expression of divine dispensation. Nietzsche also argued that "there being much hard and rough work to be done, some people must be held down in conditions that make them fit for this sort of work". The entire caste system—that creation of the special genius of India—was based on this principle. The philosopher of Fascism was inspired by the Aryan spirit of caste when he suggested that "masses of Asiatic and African barbarians could be imported so that the uncivilised world might constantly be at the service of the civilised". Why not? Did not the Aryan Brahmans, with the help of their warrior allies, condemn the bulk of the aboriginal population of India to the perpetual servitude of the *Sudra*? It is an ill-grace to complain against being paid in your own coins. The cult of service is a feature of India's spiritual culture. It is one of the dogmas of Gandhism, and Gandhism is the ideology of orthodox nationalism. Inasmuch as service is endowed with a metaphysical merit, slavery is raised to the dignity of honour, no limitation can be logically placed upon its scope. You should serve whenever you have the blessing granted you—by the grace of God, operating through his more fortunate white progeny.

Nietzsche places the "free-spirits" above the moral concept of bad and good, because, ever since the early days of Christianity, these have been the weapon of the "human herd" in their revolt against the "free-

spirits". His work on superman morality has become the bible of Fascism. Here are some characteristic passages: "Religion is a weapon in the hand of the strong, the free, who are prepared and destined to rule, in whom intelligence and art combine to produce a ruling race. For them, religion is a weapon to overcome resistance to be able to rule. Religion binds the subjugated to the rulers, stifles in the former the hidden, inner conscience which would induce them to disobey the rulers". It always has evil consequences "when religion seeks to assume sovereign power—tries to be the end in itself instead of being a means among other means, a means of breeding and rearing in the hands of philosophers. . . . The essential quality of a good and healthy aristocracy is that it can accept with clear conscience the offer of a mass of men who, in its interest, must be oppressed and reduced below the human level, to slavery, to mere instruments of labour. Egoism is the nature of superior souls. By egoism I mean that firm belief that others must naturally be subjected to, sacrifice themselves for, beings like ourselves. This sort of egoism belongs, as a matter of course, to superior souls. In it, there is no feeling of harshness, coercion or arbitrariness. It is rather the basic law of things. Should I look for a name for it, I would call it Righteousness." ("Beyond Good and Evil").

While all the fundamental principles of Fascism were thus enunciated by Nietzsche, those who followed

him as the ideologists of that bloody movement were followers of Bergson or of his disciple George Sorel. To appreciate the significance of this spiritual genealogy, it should be remembered that Bergson sought to reconcile the objective reality of matter with his metaphysical doctrine, only as a subsidiary category. He rejected materialist philosophy, but endowed the practice of vulgar-materialism with the spiritual protection. Bergson's attempt to make a synthesis between the material and the spiritual under the sovereignty of this latter, placed philosophy back in the vicious circle of dualism. In the past the political expression of the dualist philosophy had been the autocracy of feudal monarchy; to-day, it is the liquidation of parliamentary democracy and the establishment of Fascist dictatorship. Dualist philosophy resurrects religious fundamentalism—the primitive conception of an anthropomorphic God, and the creation of the world by him. This primitive religious concept, in its turn, is the ideological reflex of arbitrary power on earth, which in our days must take the form of Fascist dictatorship, that is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. As a revolutionary class, the bourgeoisie disputed the doctrine of the divine right of kings; to-day, as a reactionary force, they fall back on the same fictitious right, in order to maintain themselves in power through the application of all the measures of political autocracy, civil coercion,

economic vandalism and social barbarity which they fought in the past.

The philosophic-moral sanction for arbitrary power and unbounded will provides the basis for the cult of superman—a cult that necessarily breeds brutality, violence, coercion, repression, in short, all the attributes of Fascism. A Mussolini or a Hitler is the personification of the cult of superman. As a superman, he represents the spiritual will and, in worldly matters, is not bound by the human concepts of freedom, right, justice, morality. Therefore, the “saviour” or the “regenerator” of the world brazenly proclaims that freedom is not a necessary element of citizenship; the individual citizen enjoys real freedom in the absolute power, that is, arbitrariness, of the State; and the superman is the Octopus personified. The modern dictator at the service of the bourgeoisie declares “L’Etat c’est moi”, imitating the feudal dictator of the past; and he even lays claim to the divine right. While assuming the Premiership of Prussia, Goering declared himself a “direct successor” of the kings of Prussia who were supreme bishops”. Those feudal kings ruled with “divine right”; as their direct successor, the Fascist dictator also inherits that right.

According to Hitler, the State is everything and the individual citizen has no right to exist except as a pawn of the absolute power which may gamble away his life whenever it pleases. This mediaeval

spiritualist political philosophy of absolute power logically leads to the irresponsible war-propaganda of the Fascists. The vanity or vagary of the absolute ruler may any time call upon the people to sacrifice themselves on the bloody shrine of the Moloch. They must do so out of loyalty to the State, or as patriotic duty, irrespective of whether it has any real bearing upon national interest or not. This practical implication of the Fascist political philosophy is stated with brutal frankness by von Papen—the man who convinced the German bourgeoisie that Hitler should be placed in power. “The function of woman is to bear children to be soldiers. There is no more glorious ideal of life than to die on the field of battle”. This bloody cult debases motherhood and is therefore resented and combatted by the followers of materialist philosophy who are accused sanctimoniously of disrupting the family. But to the orthodox Indian nationalist, it must sound familiar,—as a fascinating echo of the cry of *Kshatrya* virtue.

The “National Socialism” or Hitler is the gruesome ghost of mediaeval Prussianism: and Prussianism represented what is still glorified in India as the laudable *Kshatrya* virtue. This virtue was preached to the masses when they lived in serfdom. Chattel of the feudal lord, either Indian or Prussian, they had to leave the plough to bear the sword. Since this alteration of professions was never determined by their own will, but according to the interests of the

lord, (in those days, robbery was often more lucrative than peaceful toil on the land), *Kshatrya* virtue had to be inculcated in the people. The ideal of death on the field of battle was glorified in the epics, and preached through mythological legends. As a matter of fact, the epics were written to manufacture the vicarious spirit of heroism in the people; and the practical value of *Kshatrya* heroism, just as of Prussian nationalism, was the aggrandisement of the feudal lord. If sometimes the lord got the worst of it, well, that was in the game. Speculation and adventure have their risks as well as benefit.

“Let it be written on our epitaph: We have been hard; we have been ruthless; but we have been good Germans.” (Hitler). The cult of superman enabled another hero of Hitlerism to cry cynically: “The State must have the courage to break its own laws.” (Goebbels). The moral sanction for such arbitrary, absolutely unrestricted, power on earth can be derived only from the pseudo-philosophical conception of a supernatural spiritual force, of an absolute divine will, which is not bound by the laws of nature, yet is the sovereign principle or power governing the destiny of man. That is the philosophy of Fascism, the quintessence of which is the cult of superman. It is a philosophy which bears a striking resemblance to the Indian spiritualism of the Vedanta school as well as of the dualist systems which visualise the world as the *leela* of the Almighty. On the strength of this

kinship, the ideologists of German Fascism—Spengler, Spann, Kayserling etc.—hail the spiritual message of the East as the saviour of the West.

The philosophy of Fascism is essentially identical with Indian spiritualism. If Fascism can ever save the capitalist civilisation, the spirit of India may claim a reflected glory. But that would not be curing the world of Materialism. That would be helping vulgar-materialism continue holding humanity subjected to its domination. Can we be proud of a philosophy which may bring us such a glory? Will not that glory rather make us ashamed of having cherished a false ideal through all these ages? These are pertinent questions, to be seriously thought over by those Indian nationalists who can think, who are not simply swayed by a prejudice, or who are not conscious reactionaries—potential Fascists—themselves.

CHAPTER IV

UNDER THE SIGN OF THE SWASTIKA.

On the background of Nietzsche's cynical philosophy of power, there appear Kayserling, Spengler, Spann, Sombart and others who have directly shaped the ideology of the "National Socialist" movement which has developed under the holy emblem of the Swastika. They are all bitter enemies of philosophical materialism, and advocate a spiritual regeneration of the Western civilisation. Some of them look out for the mysterious message from the East. The emblem of the Swastika vouches for the Oriental parentage of this cult of power and violence. Adolf Hitler and his bloody band are the evangelists of this "spiritual" message from the East. Modesty is no virtue with these modern evangelists. Drunk with power, Hitler makes the following blatant declaration to the world: "Tell them that this is the crucial moment in the history of humanity. Tell them that Adolf Hitler is the man of the hour, not because he has been appointed Chancellor, but because no one else could have been appointed Chancellor." (In a special interview with Cornelius Vanderbilt Jr., published in the American magazine "Red Book", 1933).

Holy Mother India would have little reason to be proud, were the evangelists of the bloody cult of

the Swastika really her spiritual progeny. Although their ideology bears a striking resemblance to that of Indian orthodox nationalism, the Fascists, historically, are bearers of the tradition of *Western* spiritualism. But since Western spiritualism is no different from the Indian brand, this also would show equally ugly teeth, if its protagonists ever came to power.

A Prussian junker of the old régime, Kayserling is an admirer of Indian mysticism. The revolution of 1918 overthrew the old socio-political order of feudal-militarist predominance. It therefore appeared to him as causing "the downfall of the Western civilisation" which he identified with the unrestricted power and prosperity of his class. The future, naturally, appeared dark to him. Since democratic and socialist "foolishness" was threatening to destroy aristocratic privileges and militarist power, Kayserling wistfully hoped that mysticism might still save those pillars of what he thinks to be the European culture. He began to glorify "the mystic culture of the East" for the simple but tendencious reason that it has preserved "ideal social institutions and immutable human values". He writes: "The Hindu fakirs are the ideal in faith and knowledge. Man is spirit in his profoundest essence, and the more he recognises this, the more firmly he believes it, the quicker his fetters fall away. It is, therefore, possible, as we find in Hindu mythology, that perfect knowledge may overcome death. The divine reveals itself to man every-

where in the frame of his intimate prejudices." (Count von Kayserling, "Travels Journal of a Philosopher").

Since Hindu mythology offers the hope that death may be overcome, the representative of a dying class, naturally, finds in it the highest wisdom, and advises his fellows to take to mysticism. Hold on to your "intimate prejudices", and you may avoid the impending catastrophe—through some miraculous divine intervention. Rise of Hitler was the expected miracle. Those who have lost all self-confidence because of the disappearance of their objective social usefulness, must pin their faith on the magical, mystical, supernatural, divine. Their obstinate desire to live compels them to seek consolation in that direction. Fascism has appeared as the bearer of the mystic message,—as the saviour of the European culture, based upon aristocratic privilege and militarist power, in addition to the predominating factor of capitalist exploitation. Not only does the Fascist dictatorship, exercised under the holy emblem of the Swastika, try to bolster up the decayed system of capitalist exploitation, it brings relief even to the parasitic class of the Prussian junkerdom, (feudal landlords).

An English gentleman, Sir Evelyn Wrench, records the following opinion of "a progressive conservative landlord" (in the "Spectator", London): "I was sceptical as to whether Hitler had the qualities

to make a national leader... He has accomplished a rebirth of the German nation. We feel that we live again. We can hold our heads high once more." Hitler's demagogic talk about Socialism, in the beginning, scared the landed aristocracy. The last resistance to Hitler's advent to power came from them acting through the "monocled Cabinet" of von Papen. But the landed interest finally had to give way under the pressure of big capital. In power, Hitler forthwith dissipated the groundless fear of the landed aristocracy. His advent to power meant the undoing of the revolution of 1918. And therefore it was hailed as the "rebirth of the German nation". Every class in power identifies itself with the whole nation. The aristocracy have no longer to live under the ominous shadow of the democratic Weimar Constitution. Naturally, they feel that they live again, and can hold their heads high. No wonder that the ideologist of their class, Kaysersling, should herald the advent of the Swastika—the sign of Eastern mysticism.

Another ideologist of Fascist dictatorship, Paul Ernst, deplores the "breakdown of German idealism". But, in his opinion, the breakdown manifests itself in the failure to arrest the progressive dissolution of the capitalist society, and to check the advance of the forces of disruption. He proposes to enliven Western idealism with profuse injection of Eastern mysticism. To be able to do its counter-revolutionary duty—to make the last desperate effort for arresting the

irresistible forces of social revolution—idealist philosophy should discard its rationalist encumbrances and pseudo-scientific disguise ; it must take the field armed with the good old weapon of faith and prejudice. And naturally it must make a pilgrimage to India where the sacred instruments have been preserved through ages. "The highest of our metaphysical thought, we owe to men who lived naked in the forests of India, and nourished themselves on rice, begged by their disciples." (Paul Ernst, "The Breakdown of German Idealism").

The masses of people are getting too "materialistic". They are demanding the full value of their labour—a demand, if enforced, will mean the disappearance of the idle possessing minority which alone is supposed to be able to appreciate spiritual values and to further progress. In order to be held in their place, the masses should be taught the virtue of "simple living and high thinking". Who can serve as a better example for this noble purpose than the naked sages of ancient India? A modern "Langota Baba" might also do.

Like the Indian orthodox nationalists, the ideologist of Fascism also condemns capitalism,—but not as a system of production based on the exploitation of man by man, and which has outlived its historical function. The only fault he finds in it is that "it suppresses human individuality." That is also the position taken up by the Indian apostles of economic

revivalism who rant against "machine civilisation", because it turns man into an automaton. It does not occur to them that man is the maker of the machine, and can possibly put a stop to its abuse by becoming the master of his creation. The ideologist of Fascism also does not propose the abolition of the system under which machine suppresses human individuality. He suggests spiritualisation of the system. He is of the opinion that "the goodness or badness of any particular system does not lie in itself, but is the result of the attitude creating it". (Ibid.)

So, the substance of his proposition is: Change the attitude of capitalism (let it be for the service of God or of the abstract entity called nation), and it will be "good". This is an echo of Gandhism; rather, Gandhism is the echo. Because Ernst wrote already in 1921. Whatever might be the chronological relation, between its different manifestations, the theory is the same. At the best, it is an illusion; in reality, a swindle.

A system has no existence apart from the purpose, with which it is created. The purpose of capitalism—in fact, its very function—is to make profit which cannot be done if the workers receive the full value of their labour. Exploitation of the producing majority is the very sense of capitalism or of any other system which divides society in classes. The system is created with this purpose, and therefore will cease to be itself if it ever thinks of abandoning the purpose.

No philosopher or prophet can command serious adherence to this foolish illusion based upon utter ignorance of the system he proposes to cure of its inherent evils. So, the cure is prescribed for the other party. Obviously, it is the attitude *towards* capitalism that should change. This proposition, of course, can be made and maintained within the limits of idealist philosophy. It is a swindle that can have a spiritualist sanction. Capitalism is neither good nor bad by itself. It is what we think it to be. Give up the sinful (materialist) notion that it is bad, and it will cease to be bad. Capitalism does not exploit its victims; the miseries of these latter are the product of their mental state,—their attitude towards capitalism. Persuade them to change their attitude—to imagine themselves happy in the midst of misery, free in the chains of slavery—and capitalism would cease to be bad. Let them consider work as the “service of God”, they would cease to be victims of wage slavery, and feel themselves ennobled in their humility. Does not the God himself teach through the *Gita*: “Do your duty with no concern for the result”? And a modern prophet of Indian spiritualism, Bipin Chandra Pal, inspired by the divine doctrine of *Gita*, preached to the victims of capitalism: “Work for the sake of work; wages are only a bye-product.”

All this brazen capitalist propaganda takes up spiritualist complexion in the coloured light of the idealist philosophy which does not recognise objective

truth. The prophets who make a cult of the truth, in practice, always experiment with the untruth. The evils of capitalism, immensely accentuated in its epoch of decay, like all other natural and social phenomena, have no objective reality. They reside only in the consciousness of the victims of capitalism. The workers are not actually exploited; their sense of injustice is only a perverse imagination on their part. They would not feel the pinch of hunger if they could come to realise that physical existence is but an illusion,—that the soul is immortal and does not suffer from the want of food. *Vedanta*, with or without the *Mayabad*, teaches this. Its pantheism, to be consistent, must interpret the capitalist system as an integral part of the supreme being. Thus, another philosopher of Fascism is found preaching pure *Vedanta*,—as the means for the preservation of the “materialist” Western civilisation!

Paul Ernst, this apostle of militant anti-materialism, this passionate prophet of neo-mysticism, this herald of Hitlerism, used to be a Tolstoian. But already in 1920 he took the field as a holy crusader against Socialism. Even the Social-Democratic Party, which had just recently betrayed the revolution, was too revolutionary for this arch-reactionary Messiah of Mysticism. He advocated the necessity of a dictator as the guarantee not only against Socialism, but also against the danger of democracy. The Tolstoian lover of non-violence ferociously exclaimed that “freedom

could be re-established only when ten thousand scoundrels shall be hanging in the streets of our cities." (Paul Ernst, "Spirit, Awaken!"). The scoundrels to be so treated were the Socialists and Communists whose sin was to fight for the liberation of the working class from capitalist exploitation. When it comes to earthly power and privilege, a mystic 'spiritualist preacher of the message from the East forgets his pacifism and love for non-violence and appears as the bloodthirsty defender of the established order. His conception of spiritualised freedom means slavery for the masses. Inspired with such murderous but mystic cults, Fascism arose in Germany to suppress the revolt of the masses against the decayed system of class domination.

In his famous work—"Decline of the West"—Spengler also preaches pessimistic mysticism of the most morbid sort. He attacks rationalism and scientific method fiercely, holding up "the intuitive and the soulful" in man as of permanent value. In a later work, "Years of Decision", Spengler elaborates his mysticism, in order to establish the scientifically untenable thesis that cultural differences are rooted in the souls of the different races. As a corollary to this, his old racial chauvinism goes to the incredible extent of contending that mass unemployment in Germany is due to the encroachment of the coloured races. For some curious mystic reason, the Russians also are included in this category. Here the real

nature of the mystic cult of race stands exposed. Mysticism becomes the philosophy of Imperialism. Not only that. Spengler's mysticism is enlivened by profuse diatribes against liberalism, humanitarianism and internationalism,—all these are anathema with the Fascists.

According to this mystic philosopher of Fascism, the supreme task of the moment is to combat the menace of the coloured races as well as the "pampered white workers". This is the task of the "men of blood" who, "full of contempt for the mass of mankind, will restore law, order and honour". These saviours of civilisation—"these splendid beasts of prey" idealised by Nietzsche—"are willing to fight and die for hardy virtues, untouched by the sentimental idea of equality of man".

Taking his cue from the militant ideologists of German Imperialism—Treitschke, Nietzsche, Chamberlain etc.—this mystic mourner over the decline of the West declares war upon the democratic and liberal traditions of the nineteenth century. He exclaims: "The battle for the planet has begun. The pacifism of the century of liberalism must be overcome, if we are to go on living." This is the ideology of the neo-German Imperialism which threatens to plunge the world into a holocaust if Germany will not be restored to her place in the sun. The Fascist demand for colonies is the echo of the racial mysticism of the heralds of the message from the East like Spengler.

But in practical matters, he calls the spade a spade. It is the revival of Prussian militarism, not the spiritual message of India, which will save the West from destruction. He invokes not a message of freedom, but heralds the barbarous band of Attila. That is the spirit of the East which appeals to the Fascists and inspires them to commit bloody and barbarous deeds.

Spengler is thrown in this fit of hysteria by the spectre of "the world revolution which began hundred and fifty years ago". The philosopher of the Fascist "national revolution" deplors the great French Revolution "as a great misfortune for the West", because, in his opinion, it marked the decline of the West. This is a singular view of the European history. Even the schoolboy knows that the great French Revolution marked the birth of the modern Western civilisation which is in the decline to-day. And what is declining is not the positive values created during these hundred and fifty years, but only the capitalist system of exploitation, which must give way to a harmonious social order. But Spengler's task is to create an ideology for the revival of autocracy. So, the hundred and fifty years of political freedom and social progress must be forgotten as a bad dream. He declares that "the doctrines of equality and democracy have shaken the foundation of the State", because they upset the feudal relation of classes. "Liberalism and rationalism have shaken the idea of authority. The result is the present chaos out of which rises the spectre

of Communism." There is a method in Spengler's madness. The proletarian revolution necessarily follows the bourgeois revolution. Therefore, this mystic spiritualist hater of freedom and democracy goes straight back to the feudal middleages in search of the ideological weapon to combat the menace of revolution. Faith must replace reason, mysticism must vanquish rationalism so that a desperate attempt to push back the hands of the clock of history could be hailed as the means of saving the civilisation. With all his hysterical outbursts and blood-thirsty doctrines, Spengler is rigorously logical. None could demonstrate so very clearly that this neo-mystic philosophy of Fascism is the ideology of the worst form of vulgar-materialism.

Weber, Sombart, Spann—all these philosophers of Fascism are rabid anti-materialists and advocates of the revival of aggressive spiritualism. The crusade is begun with a re-statement of the traditional principle of philosophical spiritualism: "It is impossible to perceive nature." (Otto Spann, "The Lessons of Political Economy"). It is repetition of the good old Berkeleyian dogma—"We perceive only our own perceptions"—as well as of the much older and more venerable *Mayabad*. It is all a hallucination. With the crusader's zeal, Spann brandishes this old discredited weapon to strike at the root of all "evils: to overthrow the natural sciences", which have, step by step, driven spiritualism out of philosophy. Since

it is impossible to know nature, since our perception can never give us any reliable knowledge about it, the natural sciences are all useless. The vain pursuit of the impossible should be given up, and faith in God should be the only guide of life. "Civilisation can be saved only by the destruction of the cult (philosophical materialism) which claims to have knowledge without God and knowledge without virtue". (Ibid.)

Here, blind zeal overreaches its mark. Of course, materialist philosophy is "knowledge without God". It has proved that the two are utterly incompatible. But materialism is more than sterile atheism. It does not set out on the Quixotic venture of deposing a non-existing God. It simply points out that ignorance is the shrine of God; knowledge shakes the shrine, and eventually God disappears when its searching light is thrown upon his imaginary being. God and knowledge cannot go together because God blocks the road to knowledge. The second assertion of Spann, however, is totally false. It is a mean slander. Knowledge does not discard virtue. In the world of spiritualism, virtue prostitutes herself for the satisfaction of the spiritualist Ego. She is but the means to an end. Materialism honours virtue for herself. It raises her from the degrading position of a prostitute to the nobility of an independent self. The materialist is virtuous not out of fear, not by coercion, not for greed; he is virtuous because he can not be otherwise. And it is knowledge which enables him to practise virtue

only for the pleasure of it. The spiritualist cannot appreciate such a noble spirit. His is the virtue of the Egoist, the counter-part of which is the morality of the slave. Such virtue and morality are needed to cement the cracking structure of the capitalist society. They are associated with ignorance, superstition and the resulting faith. Materialist philosophy—the science of sciences—drives these old gods out of the dark corners of their temples. Therefore, it must be destroyed. The fanatic crusader exclaims: "There should be a fight, having for its object complete annihilation of the materialism of all shades. Since the days of the Enlightenment, there has been no task more necessary for the salvation of culture." (Ibid.)

The attack being against all shades of materialism, natural sciences also must go. Even the agnostics should receive no quarters. It will be a veritable dance of Dionisus—the advent of Fascism. But for the destruction of what? Not for destroying the "materialism" of the Western civilisation. No, the crusade is to save the capitalist civilisation from the menace of the materialist philosophy. The salvation will be found in the re-assertion of its spiritualist essence which is said to have been corrupted and confused by scientific knowledge. Materialism is not in the nature of Western civilisation. It is foreign to its spiritual traditions. It is regarded as its deadly enemy. The entire history of the philosophy of the capitalist civilisation was a fight against philosophical

Materialism. At last, the fight has reached the decisive stage. Destruction of the materialist philosophy is the condition for the salvation of capitalism. Caught desperately in a life and death struggle, capitalism seeks guarantee in the revival of fundamentalist religion, and is drawing upon the dark forces of ignorance, superstition, faith, mysticism. The philosophy of neo-spiritualism would fight without gloves. Appearing in its pristine purity—in the splendour of mediaeval barbarism—it hopes to inspire its adherents with fanaticism. Throwing off the pseudo-scientific garb, it resembles what is cherished by the Indians as the special genius of their race. In abstraction, this mystic and mythical heritage may appear sublime. But the demonstration of its practical value—in the vulgarly materialistic and atrociously barbarous phenomena of Fascism and Hitlerism—should disturb the dream.

Spiritualism is the ideological weapon of reaction when the forces of progress are dormant, weak, inadequate or suppressed. It has had this significance in India. Where the forces of progress are active, aggressive, menacing, their spiritualism becomes the black banner of bloody counter-revolution. It takes the field with the object of combatting "the evils of social discontent". In the West, it is to-day serving this purpose. In India, it may do the same thing to-morrow. Ominous signs are to be discerned on the horizon. In both cases, it is the enemy of progress.

The philosophy of Fascism is militant spiritualism which finds metaphysical sanctions for despotism and violence. It is mystic, and fanatically religious. The proudly proclaimed aim of Hitlerism is the "spiritual regeneration of the Germanic race through the revival of Aryan culture". Fascism also froths and fumes against the "materialism of the modern civilisation", and declares its determination to cure it of this evil. Its programme is to lead the Germanic race back to the pristine purity and simplicity of mediaevalism; thus regenerated, the Germanic people will act as the chosen of the God and establish its rule over the rest of the world. It all sounds very much like the professions of the Indian orthodox nationalism.

The mystic ideology of Fascism is represented by the emblem of the Swastika, which is borne by the fanatic band who are taught not to ask any question but only to obey. Mysticism is the glorification of ignorance. It makes a spiritual capital out of that questionable asset. Unless mystified, the masses of people cannot be expected to revel in their servitude, much less to galvanise the corroded chains of their own slavery with the blood of their fellows, who are not endowed with the bliss of ignorance. Idealisation of an imaginary past makes the masses oblivious of the rude realities of the present, and prevents them from visualising a better life in the future. In the frenzy of worshipping the mythical gods of the Golden Age, they easily allow themselves to be led away from the

historic duty of destroying the demons who make their present life miserable. Idealisation of the past serves the interest of those who are benefitted by the miseries of the present. The zeal for the revival of the past spiritual culture only perpetuates the vulgar-materialist practices of the present.

Fascism raised the mystical emblem of the hooked cross (Swastika) to crucify the enemies of capitalism. This unholy crusade is conducted with a religious frenzy. The revival of Aryan culture is heralded by barbarous attempts to stamp out modern culture. Mythical gods are invoked in fantastic religious demonstrations,—for the restoration of the worship of Thor and Wotan, those fierce gods of the northern savages. The mythical “Aryan” ancestors of Fascist Germany did not hail from Central Asia. They were, the nordic race of pure blue blood.

Here is the apple of discord among those who commonly worship at the shrine of the “Aryan culture”. The theory of an Aryan race having been exploded by modern anthropological researches, a special Aryan culture resolves itself into a myth. Indian nationalists who are attracted by the “Aryanism of the Fascist movement should take note of one point: Fascist Aryanism is the cult of the superiority of the white race. Why prefer a Hitler or Mussolini to the British Imperialist, while both sing the same song,—“White Man’s Burden”. This tragi-comedy exposes the mythical nature of the cult of Aryanism, be it of the

Fascist or of the Indian spiritual imperialists. The Indian culture no more bears the stamp of the spiritual genius of the Aryan race than does the German. In either case, the cult is an instrument of reaction, with no scientific-historical foundation, based on ignorance, serving the base materialist interests of the upper classes—industrialists and bankers in Germany, the priesthood and the landed aristocracy in India.

The picturesque cult of Thor and Wotan worship, however, cannot serve more than the purpose of religious pageant. Germany is too civilised to allow even the most backward strata of her population to relapse into savagery. Fascist demagogy cannot set the hand of the clock of history so far back, even temporarily. Therefore, Fascist ideology combines Christian fundamentalism with savage mysticism.

The leader of the Fascist "German Christian" movement, Ludwig Möller, declares: "Adolf Hitler has been sent by God to save the fatherland." It seems that the *Kalki Avatar* lost his way from the heaven to the earth, and has appeared in Germany, instead of India. But that should not make much difference as long as he performs the mission of re-establishing the *Sanatan Dharma* of the Aryans. Adolf Hitler himself believes in his divine mission. According to the High Priest of the "German Christian" Church, upon being appointed Chancellor, Hitler exclaimed: "Everything seems like a miracle of God." Of course, it was a miracle; otherwise, how could an ignorant

demagogue become the "saviour" of Germany? His elevation to unrestricted power must have appeared miraculous to Hitler all the more because that did not happen on account of any merit on his part. In September 1934, after nearly two years practice of suppressing all values and institutions cherished by modern civilisation, Hitler declared: "Everybody knows that we are battling against Godlessness and decay of morals. We may be sure that God's blessings will rest upon our work." A year later, drunk with the success of his brutal practices, he announced: "Fifteen years ago, I possessed nothing but my faith and will. To-day, the movement is the German Nation and the Reich. Could that have been possible without the blessing of the Almighty God? We are what we are not against, but by the will of Providence." Only it was not the faith of an ignorant adventurer that moved the mountain. It was the will of the ruling classes which expressed itself in the triumph of their man of choice.

Such atrocious crimes against humanity as the Fascists commit can not be justified by any human argument; therefore, divine sanction must be invoked. Events, that are just, moral and useful, do not need the doubtful authority of impostors to be justified; they stand by their own merit. Only, Hitler's God does not live in the heaven, but on this mortal earth. He has appeared in Germany with the naked sword

dripping with blood in his hand, not as the agent of God, but of Mammon.

The religiosity and mysticism of the Fascists are insincere as well as superstitious. The following passage quoted from the "Germania" (the press organ of the German Catholic Party) is a significant commentary on the religiosity of Hitlerism: "The anti-religious, neo-heathenism is on a much lower level than pre-Christian heathenism which at least honoured its gods and was in this respect pious." A still more damaging commentary comes from the spiritual head of the Christian world. Incensed by the Nazi attack upon the Catholic Church in Germany, the Pope, in a declaration made in February 1934, said: "The great noble German people is in a tragic moment of its history, a moment of exaltation of ideas and practices neither Christian nor human, of a pride of race which could not but produce a pride of life as far as possible removed from the spirit of Christianity or even of humanity."

Fascist terrorism is not confined to the political field; it does not leave the religious life of the people unmolested. Toleration is unknown in Fascist philosophy. At the time of Hitler's advent to power, a very popular prelate stood at the head of the German Protestant Church. Bishop Büddelschwing was a modern divine with progressive tendencies. He did not approve of Fascism. His democratic convictions, confirmed by genuine Christian piety and charity, had

earned for him the epithet of "the Bishop of the poor". Such a man, with all his spiritual qualities, could not be depended for the "Aryanisation" of German culture. In a convention of religious dignitaries, the Hitlerites failed to oust him in fair fight. He was re-elected. The Fascists, thereupon, staged one of their sham elections. Now fully in power, they employed more effectively all the methods of terrorism, coercion and slander used in the parliamentary elections. The great majority of the working class, which constitute the bulk of urban population in Germany, being indifferent to an ecclesiastic election, the victory of the Fascist candidate was sure. The campaign for replacing a popular, genuinely Christian divine, by a henchman of Hitler was conducted with the slogan—"We are the Storm Troops of Jesus Christ". With this pseudo-religious fervour, Fascist ruffians bullied people to vote against their conviction. "German Christianity" was thus established on the foundation of force and falsehood to serve as an abject weapon in the defence of the mundane interests of industrial barons, banking magnates and junker-landlords. In a speech during the election campaign, Hitler demonstrated the spiritual consciousness of the Fascist dictatorship by declaring that "a State that does not protect the Church is worthless". Only, the Church must be subservient to the State. Neither the venerable Catholic Church, nor the popular Evangelical Church secured the protection of the Fascist State. A new

Church was created to serve the purpose of finding divine sanction for Fascist barbarities and was proclaimed as the spiritual arm of the all-mighty State. In a classical "Aryan" spirit, the Fascist State recognises the protection of *Dharma* to be one of its duties, and the *Dharma* is the spiritualist ideology of class domination.

The victory against the popular Christian prelate, won thanks to terrorism, coercion and slander, was nevertheless proclaimed by the victorious henchmen of Hitler also as "a miracle wrought by God". In the Fascist kingdom of heaven in earth, everything happens by miracle. The finger of God is seen behind every act of violence and barbarism. In his infamous declamation in the Reichstag Fire Trial, Goering declared that "in the night of the fire, Hitler announced it as a sign from the heaven". Incendiaries at the service of God, and speaking with divine inspiration!

The deification of "the leader" became more pronounced in proportion as the practice of Fascism grew more hateful. To-day, Hitler has become a member of a new mystical trinity together with the German God and the "German people". His picture on the altar of the German Evangelical Church is a common and familiar sight to-day.

The apostle of the prophet of "German Christianity" is Alfred Rosenberg, whose book—"The Myth of the Twentieth Century" has become the bible of National Socialism. He rejects traditional Christian

virtues as "negative" and opposes them with what he calls "positive Christianity". This new faith is so very antagonistic to the teachings of Christ that it drove the orthodox dignitaries of the Evangelical Church to issue a Manifesto protesting against this vulgarisation of Christianity. Although the Manifesto was addressed to the Leader himself, who was respectfully greeted by the protesting pastors, and only expressed "anxiety and fears", it was promptly suppressed by the police. The historical document concludes:—"Even a great cause, if it places itself in opposition to the revealed will of God, must finally bring the people to ruin. Hitler is invested with the dignity of the National Priest, and even of the Mediator between God and the people."

The following declaration of Goebbels proves that the anxieties and fears of the orthodox Church dignitaries were not unfounded: "When the Leader addressed his last appeal to the people, it was as if a profound agitation went through the whole nation; one felt that Germany was transformed into one single House of God, in which its intercessor stood before the throne of the Almighty to bear witness. It seemed to us that this cry to heaven of a people for freedom and peace could not die away unheard. That was religion in its profoundest and most mystical sense. A nation then acknowledged God through its spokesman, and laid its destiny and its life with full confidence in His (Hitler's) hand."

Rosenberg has drawn the picture of Christ after the new Messiah. He rejects the biblical Christ as a deceptive picture drawn "by Jewish fanatics like Mathew, by Materialistic rabbis like Paul, by African jurists like Tertullian, by mongrel half-breeds like Augustin." He depicts the Christ of his "positive Christianity" as born of Teutonic parents, as an aggressive revolutionary who descended on this world, not to bring peace, but, like Hitler with a sword in hand. The mission of the Christ invented by Rosenberg was to suppress revolution. He complains that the Christian Church forgot the teachings of its prophet, and declares that Hitler has come to fulfill the counter-revolutionary mission of the founder of Christianity. Those acquainted with the facts concerning the origin of Christianity know that if Christ did not preach the cowardly doctrine of meek submission, he certainly did not appear as the hero of counter-revolution. On the contrary, the historical Christ was one of the leaders of the revolt of the Jewish people against Roman oppression. Original Christianity was the ideology of a revolutionary movement. Rosenberg's "positive Christianity" is the bloody cult of counter-revolution. As a matter of fact, he does not propose to revive original Christianity as against the reactionary orthodox of the Christian Church.

"Rosenberg opposes the religion of Wotan and Siegfried to the religion of Rome and Wittenberg and Geneva. He opposes the morbid Swastika, the symbol

of the Sun God, to the dreary symbol of the Christian cross. He opposes the 'living religion of race and blood' to the 'unreal and demoralising and denationalising religion of the universal spirit and human brotherhood'. He opposes the religion of the Superman to the religion of 'the weakling and the Underman'. He opposes the elementary German virtues of honour and freedom to the debilitating Christian virtues of pity and charity, which every honest German feels to be a sinister and constant menace to the soul of Nordic Europe." (Charles Sarolea, "The German Anti-Christ" in "Current History", New York, June 1935).

Taking his cue from Spengler, Rosenberg deplors the decline of the West, which tragic process, according to him, is a result of the European people forgetting "the Germanic truth". That mistake was committed four hundred years ago—at the period of the Renaissance. Everything that has happened since then in the name of progress represents "European retrogression and disintegration". The establishment of parliamentary government, the rise of democracy, the triumph of humanitarianism, the poisonous influence of the international and cosmopolitan spirit, the spread of liberalism, pacifism and even feminism—all these are included in that pernicious process of European retrogression.

In the opinion of the High Priest of Hitlerism, "every living religion must be inspired by the national

spirit: nations are the thoughts of God". The Germans, of course, are the chosen people, the German nation presumably is the highest idea of God. Therefore, they "have been set apart to fulfill a sacred mission and the only conceivable purpose of a German National Church is to mobilise and unite all the citizens in the service of that divine mission." A disciple of Nietzsche, Rosenberg contemptuously rejects "the spurious moral values of the Sermon on the Mount". He calls upon the German people to rise above the concepts of good and evil. Of course, that mystic elevation is not attainable to all and sundry even of the blessed Germanic race. That is a privilege only of the superman who stand under the emblem of the Swastika, determined to conquer the planet. The new religion of the Fascists, called "German Christianity", should discard the Bible in favour of the Icelandic Sagas, the Nibelungen, the works of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, and the Pan-German doctrines of Chamberlain. The resurrected Germans should worship mythological heroes like Odin and Siegfried, barbarian conquerors like Attila and Theodoric, feudal monarchs like Frederic the Great, Prussian militarists like Bismarck, the new Avatar Hitler being the Zeus of this picturesque Pantheon. The worshippers of these gods should draw their inspiration from "the Nordic myths, and Sagas, and Fairytales, which alone have expressed German aspirations and ideals, and represented German moral

values." Nothing could be a more eloquent exposition of the spiritual outfit of these new saviours of humanity.

The mission of the new German Church, says its founder, is "to enthrone the mystical religion of the blood and the heroic religion of honour and valour". When this spiritual and spiritualising mission is accomplished, the re-born race of superman will be able to emulate the "aggressive heroism" of their mythical ancestors and be able "to impose their will upon the whole world". Christian charity and humanitarian piety are condemned as "deadly oriental poison". The National Socialist Germany will be purged of this poison through a "radical religious and spiritual revolution".

This is the practical application of the "Spiritual Message" of the East, when it finds a response in the "Materialist West". The convert, in the frenzy of neo-religiosity, discards the noble and progressive elements of religious culture, to find in its foundation of faith and superstition the weapon for his counter-revolutionary purpose.

"In fact, the Nazi movement is a strong reaction against that type of politics which considers economics the main thing, and did not bother about man's soul." (Oswald Garrison Villard, "The German Phenix"). It is irreparably damaging for the doctrine of the soul and the spiritualist philosophy in general when they find their protagonists in a violent, atrocious,

untruthful, mean and barbarous movement like the Fascist.

Hans Heinz Ewers is one of the very few German authors of any distinction who sided with Hitlerism. He became the chief official ideological exponent of the movement. His latest book gives a graphic exposition of the Fascist ideology. "The philosophy of the Swastika defends the instincts of the heart against the insolence of reason." (H. H. Ewers, "Rider of the Night"). Ewers expounds Fascism as a mixture of the mysticism of Wagner and the cult of sorrow and suffering preached by Nietzsche, combined with a motley variety of irrational urges—psychological factors, which precisely because of their irrationality, are interpreted as spiritual forces not bound by the limits and laws of material life. The belief in a mystical force governing human life for its "real" welfare helps the victims of capitalism to realise the sacredness of sorrow and suffering. A critic reviewing Ewers' book very pertinently observed: "The philosophy of the Swastika offers the very world which is most tempting to starved and frustrated souls—the world of superstition and mythology." ("The New Republic", New York, May 10, 1933). In the absence of bread, the Roman dictators entertained the mob with worldly circus. The Fascist dictators do better. They regale the victims of capitalist decay with spiritual circus. Spiritualism and mysticism are the food for the starved and frustrated souls. Normal human beings, the ways

of material and, therefore, intellectual and moral development open before them, have no use for those elixirs of an imaginary health. Mystical extravagances and spiritualist hankering are sickly ideological growths on the putrid ruins of the vulgar-materialism of the capitalist civilisation. But they are limited to the degenerate and demoralised middle classes which are brought to their miserable economic plight by capitalism ; yet they cannot throw off the allegiance to the traditions of a decayed culture. The ruling classes, while sanctimoniously fomenting this growth, look upon it with cynical contempt.

Just as the present incurable crisis of the capitalist society is causing the essentially spiritualist modern European philosophy to degenerate into mysticism and religious fundamentalism, inherent in that philosophy, just so was the spiritualism of Indian culture the product of unsurmounted social crises in the past. It is a chronic disease which for ages has eaten into the vitals of India's social organism, having been the cause of the prolonged slavery of our people. The fact that to-day others are falling victims to the same disease does not make it any the less dangerous. The fact of healthier organisms getting infected by it, rather proves the fellness of the disease. The virulent outbreak of the most ugly symptoms of the disease in other parts of the world should put us on our guard and induce us to find cure for the disease. Fascism is the monstrous manifestation of a philosophy which

is cherished by the Indian intellectuals even to-day. The practice of Fascism should give them the food for thought.

Those who see the hand of God behind everything, or believe that everything happens according to a mysterious divine purpose must defend the world as it is. For, any dissatisfaction with it is irreligious; any desire to change it is blasphemous, and any attempt to remake it is downright heresy, revolt against divine providence, and therefore must be suppressed by all means, in the name of religion and spiritual values. Often, religious fanatics behave immorally and commit violence in sincere pursuance of their superstitious notions and faith. What is the use of having a faith or a philosophy, unless one is prepared to stand by it at all cost? Religion, spiritualist philosophy, is the ideology of those defending a given state of things. It is utterly antagonistic to the forces of progress.

CHAPTER V

NATIONAL SOCIALISM

In Germany, Fascism has taken the deceptive and demagogic title of National Socialism. In practice, it is neither Socialist nor Nationalist. Politically, it is the administration of the capitalist society in the period of decay. In Germany, Fascist dictatorship has been committing acts of greater violence and brutality than even in Italy, because since its victory in the latter country, capitalism decayed still farther, driving its defender to the frenzy of despair.

The Fascist state is the instrument of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie divested of the deceit of parliamentary democracy. The sole function of the Fascist movement and Fascist State is to suppress with brutal and bloody violence the working class and the associated social elements engaged in the task of building a higher civilisation on the ruins of the capitalist order. The tragic aspect of Fascism is that, as a movement, it is composed largely of the lower middle class ruined by the capitalist system ; it is the paradoxical phenomenon of the victims of rapacious capitalism fanatically and furiously engaged in the thankless task of saving the cause of their own ruin. Such a movement can naturally have no room for truthfulness, honesty, sincerity, not even the commonest

decency. Necessarily, it is based upon lie, deceit and humbug. Hitler's autobiography has been characterised as a book of hundred and forty thousand words which contains hundred and thirty nine thousand mistakes. (Lyon Feuchtwanger). This great German writer had to leave Hitler's Germany, his works having been burned as containing un-German ideas. Indeed, demagoguery is the main weapon of Fascism.

The more backward, and for that reason the most abject, victims of capitalist rapacity were mobilised in the Fascist movement through a fraudulent agitation against capitalism. Under the banner of pseudo-Socialism, they were marshalled as the storm-troops for the defence of capitalism in distress. That miracle could not be performed except through unrestricted indulgence in brazen lies, shameless deceit and extravagant demagoguery. The agitation, ostensibly against capitalism, was in reality directed against the political, civic and cultural freedom, historically associated with bourgeois democracy—the political order established by capitalism when it operates as a progressive social force. Parliamentary democracy was identified with capitalism and its abolition was prescribed as the only cure for all the evils of the capitalist society. Parliamentary democracy has been destroyed by Fascism. But capitalism still remains with greater power than ever, and exploiting the working class more brutally. Indeed, in these days of revolutionary upheaval, the abolition of parliamentary

democracy provides additional guarantee for the maintainance of capitalist domination.

The relative freedom granted by the parliamentary régime enables the working class to organise and otherwise prepare itself for the struggle to overthrow Capitalism and establish Socialism. Therefore, the abolition of their own achievements becomes necessary for the bourgeoisie in the struggle for defending their power and privileges. The Fascist movement is created to do that dirty job for Capitalism. Bourgeois philosophers lay the ideological foundation of the movement. It is liberally subsidised by the financial and industrial magnates against whom it vituperates in the beginning. The bourgeois-democratic State tolerates, indeed, surreptitiously aids and abets the movement which openly calls for its destruction. The police and military forces of the bourgeois-democratic State secretly form alliance with the movement for the overthrow of the Government. Artful demagogy, cheap sentimentality, extravagant promises (never meant to be kept), unscrupulous slander against the opponents, fomentation of national jingoism, fanning of race prejudice—all these and many similar means are employed to hypnotise the economically ruined and intellectually bankrupt lower middle class masses. The demos is turned against democracy. Fascist dictatorship is established through a theatrical coup d'Etat as in Italy, or "constitutionally" and "bloodlessly" as in Germany.

The bankers and industrial magnates, who financed the agitation to whip up the ruined petty-bourgeois masses into a nationalist frenzy had made immense profit out of Germany's defeat and disgrace. They had forced the Republican Government into the orgy of inflation of 1923-24 so as to wipe out the huge internal indebtedness contracted during the war. Patriotism left the petty-bourgeoisie in utter bankruptcy. Had not the internal indebtedness been liquidated so fraudulently, its service would have compelled the Government to tax higher incomes heavily. In order to absolve the war-profiteers from just taxation, the Government simply confiscated the billions of hard-earned savings that the middle classes had invested in war-bonds as patriotic duty. That confiscation ruined them, and laid the social foundation of the National-Socialist movement. Eventually, the scions of the ruined middle class donned the brown shirt with the mystic sign of Swastika and placed themselves at the service of those who had robbed and expropriated their class.

The fat capitalists, grown fatter through war-profiteering, having evaded taxation with the aid and connivance of the Republican Government, the entire economic burden of the Versailles Treaty fell upon the producing masses. The consequence was progressive pauperisation of the bulk of the population, while a small upper stratum grew richer and richer. Due to impoverisation, the taxable capacity of the

masses had declined. State finances were thrown entirely out of balance. For years the German Government was bankrupt. The current expenditure of the State could be reduced by cutting down the budget of social services and pensions for the demobilised and disabled soldiers. But there was the war indemnity to be paid. The demand of the victorious powers could be met only by dipping into the pockets of those who had made money out of the war and had evaded the responsibility of defeat by expropriating the lower middle class. In that situation, the cry of the National-Socialist movement, financed by those who had money, that the Treaty of Versailles was ruining Germany was bound to be very popular. The Republican Government had signed that treaty and was trying to meet the demands made under it; therefore, it was the enemy of the German people. It must be overthrown. The "National Revolution" was to begin with a counter-revolution.

The economic ruin of the working class as well as of the lower middle class had created an acute revolutionary situation in Germany. The masses would not tolerate any further burden. But the upper classes were equally unwilling to disgorge any part of their ill-gotten wealth. Germany was caught between the spectre of revolution at home, and the threat of military intervention from abroad. The National-Socialist movement was created by the ruling classes as the guarantee against both the dangers. The

fraudulent talk of Socialism would deceive the more backward section of the working class ; on the other hand, national jingoism might organise an effective resistance to the enforcement of the Versailles Treaty.

Having destroyed the democratic State, the "National Revolution" did not do any harm to capitalism which had been one of the targets of the National-Socialists before they were placed in power. The first act of the Nazi State was suppression of the working class parties, which act, for the time being, created the guarantee against the danger of revolution. Having done that, it recklessly launched upon the career of national jingoism, not to protect the welfare of the German people, but to free the industrial magnates from the obligations of the Versailles Treaty. If the victorious powers were to collect the indemnity, it could come only from those who were in the position to pay. The masses of the German people had been bled to the last drop. The freedom from the "dictation of Versailles" could be possibly had only through the show of a military resistance, should the allies try to press their claim. That would appear to be a mad adventure, which, however, proved to be successful because the allied powers had learned from experience that military intervention was not a paying proposition. In any case, they were also afraid of the spectre of revolution in Germany. Consequently Nazi jingoism had free reins. Instead of doing any harm to the capitalists, the jingoism of the National-

Socialist movement actually helped them out of the economic crisis. The programme of rearmament to vindicate national honour meant an industrial boom, the profit of which went to the capitalists. With an empty coffer, even the miracle-mongering Messiah could not possibly foot the bills of the rearmament programme. Industrialists and financiers granted *their* new Government credit for the orders for arms and ammunitions. The National-Socialist State was thus mortgaged to them. No talk of Socialism could be allowed in that situation. Hitlerism shook off the pseudo-socialist pretensions of its earlier days, while its nationalism became the instrument of new German Imperialism.

National Socialism is a misnomer as well as a contradiction in terms. Socialism knows no boundary. It is incompatible with Nationalism. Much less can it be associated with the jingoist, imperialist, nationalism of Fascists. National Socialism is a fraudulent label put on a bitterly anti-socialist, anti-working class movement. To destroy Marxism is the declared object of the Fascist movement. It is generally admitted to-day that there can be no Socialist movement, that is a movement for the liberation of society from capitalist exploitation, except on the basis of the philosophical, social and political principles formulated by Karl Marx. "Certainly, there is no Socialism save that of Marx, of which the statesmen need take account in our times." Not only liberal

professors like Herald Laski are of this opinion. The admission comes frankly even from conservative authorities. The famous German professor of sociology, Müller-Lyer, for example, writes: "The Marxian theory of economic determinism has become an axiom of social sciences." From this, it must be clear how far from even the mildest form of social reform and how opposed to any social progress is a movement which declares Marxism to be its greatest enemy.

The fanatic hatred of Marxism alone is more than enough to give lie to the socialist profession of Fascism. Even before it came to power, the main occupation of Fascism was to terrorise the working class by all sorts of violence, and all its terrorist activities were financed exactly by those who ought to be the most afraid of Socialism. In power, the first and foremost act of Fascism has been to suppress with bloody brutality not only the Communist parties, but also the anti-revolutionary Social-Democratic parties, and even trade-unions of the most reformist sort. Its heavy hand fell mercilessly also on the liberal intellectuals who supported and sympathised with the working class.

To spiritualise capitalism, is one of the blatant humbugs of the National-Socialist programme. To catch the imagination of the destitute lower middle class and the backward workers, the National-Socialist movement indulged in anti-capitalist demagogy.

Having suppressed all the forces directly or indirectly hostile to capitalism, the Nazis declared the completion of the National Revolution.

There should be not the slightest encroachment on the privileges of Capitalism, while its political power would be exercised through the Nazi dictatorship. To justify that shameless betrayal of the deluded multitude, Fascist theoreticians discovered two categories of Capitalism,—“exploiting” and “constructive”. The former was to be suppressed, while the latter protected and encouraged. That was brazen falsification of economic theories. The most elementary knowledge of the science of economics convinces that there can be no Capitalism without exploitation. The “constructive” achievements of Capitalism are reared on the basis of depriving the working class of a part of the value of their labour. Economic theory is prostituted so that Capitalism could flourish in the spiritual Reich of National-Socialism. Such stalwarts of capitalist exploitation as Krupp von Bohlen (with his gigantic munition plants), Thyssen (with his extensive iron and steel industries), Vögler (with his kingdom of coal) are recognised as representatives of “constructing capital”, and as such are counted as stout pillars of the spiritual Fascist State. As a matter of fact, big industrial and economic interests are placed beyond the control of the totalitarian State—that octopus which has driven its bloody tentacles into every other department of the national

life of Germany. The National Economic Council, composed of the big industrial magnates, with Krupp von Bohlen as the Chairman, functions as a sort of Super-State.

Under this novel Socialism, "freedom is not a requisite and liberty is not essential to the individual citizen". Thus spake the modern Zarathustra—Hitler. The National Socialist Party has become the sole party of the German bourgeoisie, and the Nazi State is the trustworthy custodian of German Capitalism. Soon after Hitler's accession to power, the German People's Party, which ever since the foundation of the Republic represented the interests of heavy industry, liquidated itself advising its members to join the National Socialist Party. Even the monarchists found "National Socialism" identical with their reactionary cause. They also merged their powerful semi-military organisation—The Steel Helmet—with the Nazi Storm Troops.

The social complexion and political purpose of National Socialism threw off the veil of demagogy and deception when the packed parliament of Hitler in March 1933 assembled at the tomb of Frederic the Great to bury the Republic and resurrect the ghost of reactionary feudal militarism. In the monarchist atmosphere of Potsdam, surrounded by the paraphernalia of blatant reaction, Hitler forgot his dupes—the bankrupt middle class and backward workers. In his speech to the Nazi Parliament, asking for

dictatorial power, he waxed eloquent about the virtues of the Hohenzollern dynasty, the decadent scions of which, present in the ceremony, thus felt that they had not donned the sign of Swastika for nothing. Hitler assumed dictatorial power not as the "saviour of the German people", but as the instrument of all the forces that had exploited and oppressed them for centuries.

On the other hand, having brutally suppressed the Communist Party and dissolved also the harmless Social-Democratic Party, the Nazis did not spare even the reformist trade unions. These were also destroyed, their leaders were arrested, their funds confiscated. Practically, all the leaders and active members of the labour movement, except those who fled the country in time, were arrested and held in prison without any trial or even any charge framed against them legally. Many were brutally murdered, and almost all of them inhumanly ill-treated in prison. This brutal attack upon the working class was followed by an official communiqué which announced: "Three months of National Socialist Government proves to you, workers, that Hitler is your friend, that Hitler wrestles with the problems of your freedom; and that Hitler will supply you with work and bread."

While in Germany Fascism was still making demagogic promises to the deceived and deluded multitude, in Italy, twelve years after its accession to power, it was speaking an entirely different language.

At the end of 1934, the General Secretary of the Fascist party, Achilles Starace, addressing a meeting of mostly unemployed workers, declared: "Remember that Fascism promises you neither honours nor jobs nor profits, but only duty and combat." Only a few hours before, the leader himself had spoken at another workers' meeting in Milan. There, he had expounded what could be called the idealism of Fascist economy. "The economy which concerned itself only with private gain is being replaced by an economy which has as its principal object the safeguarding of the interests of the collectivity. The workers must enter ever more intimately into the production process, participating in its necessary discipline. If the last century was the century of power of Capitalism, the present century is the century of power and glory of labour." A system that permits its official spokesmen to talk two different languages in course of one single day, cannot have any other principle than insincerity and cynicism. Having brutally destroyed all free organisations of labour, abolished the right of strike, cutting down wages on the plea of national necessity, Mussolini bragged about the power and glory of labour!

Having come to power with the support of the big capitalists, terrified by the spectre of Communism and Syndicalism, Mussolini could never be sincere in his professions regarding the welfare of the workers. The original program of his Fascist Party was a queer mixture of Syndicalism and nationalist jingoism. But

before long, the program became the defence of Capitalism against the rising tide of revolution. The doctrine of national solidarity provided the plea for the swing from pseudo-leftism to the extreme right. The black-shirted army of Mussolini was mostly recruited from middle-class hooligans, and paid and equipped with money freely given by the big industrialists. Even before Mussolini came to power, his mercenary bands were turned loose against the Socialists and labour organisations. After his advent to power, trade-union offices were raided and nearly twenty thousand leading members of the labour movement were either killed or imprisoned or forced to go to exile.

The real picture of the condition of the working class, after more than fifteen years of Fascist rule in Italy, is given in a book written by a Fascist economist. During the great war, the real wages of the Italian workers were reduced by half. In the years 1919-21, the pre-war level was regained. That was the result of the revolutionary action of the working class against which Fascism appeared as the bloody instrument of Capitalism. To-day the real wages have again sunk nearly to the level of the war period. (*Vide* Dr. Paola Arcari, "Wages and Cost of Living"). As against this increased exploitation of the working class, the tax burden on the rich classes has been progressively reduced by Fascism. Inheritance taxes have been greatly reduced, while the scope of indirect taxation

has been enlarged. Over sixty per cent of the State revenue is levied through taxes which fall upon the toiling masses.

The attitude of the Fascist Government towards the big landlords has been no less friendly. It violently suppressed the Catholic Popular Party which advocated redistribution of land in favour of the poor peasants. Even to-day, nearly forty per cent of the agricultural land belong to half a per cent of the agrarian population. The remainder is distributed among about five million families, two million of whom are tenants. The average holding of a peasant family is slightly more than two acres. No less than one third of the gross produce of agriculture is appropriated by the landlords as rent. Even a greater share goes to the State in the form of direct and indirect taxes.

In Germany, Fascism, though sailing under the false colour of "National Socialism", does not show any less dark a record. The ultra-nationalist policy of self-sufficiency has been forcing the cost of living higher and higher. On the other hand, for expanding export trade artificially, the wages have been cut down to reduce the cost of production. The much advertised solution of the problem of unemployment was the result of cutting down wages to a miserable level and forcible dispatch of unemployed workers to the notorious labour camps where they performed practically unpaid labor. "The German people staggers

under a load of low wages, part-time employment and high cost of living ; and the Nazi Labour Front, which was to have abolished the class struggle and brought employers and workers together in friendly collaboration, is said to be rapidly breaking up." ("The New Statesman and Nation", London, Sept. 8, 1934). Since this was written, the disintegration of the Labour Front has been prevented by transforming it into a system of slavery for the workers. In this system of class collaboration in national interest, the share of the workers is discipline and sacrifice.

In the midst of such a situation, the anniversary of the foundation of the National Socialist Party was celebrated. To the assembled crowd of local party leaders, that is the real victors of the "revolution", the Leader declared that "the National Socialist revolution has settled the social structure of Germany for a thousand years." So, the conditions of the masses were not to be regarded as a transitory consequence of radical re-adjustments, but as permanent for at least a thousand years. Hitler further admonished that "the people must learn not to ask too much of a revolution and to distinguish between the possible and the impossible". The object of those amazing pronouncements was to bury once for all the idea of "the second revolution" entertained in the pseudo-socialist part of the Nazi program. "The possible and the actual achievements of Fascism are the concentration camps, the whip, the destruction of freedom,

the degradation of public mind, the drilling, the army and the return to barbarism." (Ibid.)

Encouraged by Hitler's public rejection even of the pseudo-socialist aspects of his own program, the then Economic Dictator of the Third Reich, Dr. Schacht, delivered a broadside attack against the economic theories of National Socialism. He disparaged "economic theorising" and, said that "we cannot dismiss as reactionary experiences gathered in the past". Capitalism was to dominate the economic life of National Socialist Germany. As a defender of past experience, Dr. Schacht argued that "at a time like ours, it is not fitting to set up theoretical economic edifices. National Socialism recognises only acts, not plans. We shall not let ourselves be guided by vague theories. The economist theoretician of the National Socialist Party, Gottfried Feder, had just written an article in which he had recapitulated the economic clauses of the party program. One of the fundamental economic demands of the party, before it came to power, had been "the abolition of interest bondage". Feder foolhardily remembered that demand, and called upon the National Socialist Government to order reduction of the bank discount rate and a general lowering of bank mortgage interest. He perorated: "German economy is more than ever dominated by high financiers who hold the middle class tradesman and craftsman in a state of interest slavery, since under present conditions, his efforts are still more con-

centrated on the helpless task of meeting his interest obligations. Dr. Schacht's broadside was obviously provoked by this feeble voice of pseudo-socialism. Placed in power by the grace of the high financier, Hitler could no longer be bothered by the cares and worries of the middle class tradesman and craftsman.

The fundamental doctrine of National Socialist economics was that "interest slavery" was the root of all evils from which the German people was suffering. The central plank of the Nazi social program was abolition of interest obligations and State monopoly of credit. The father of this theory was Gottfried Feder, who taught Hitler "everything I have learned of the necessity of a national revolution" (Hitler's *Autobiography*). But soon after he came to power, Hitler pushed his economic preceptor out of all positions in the National Socialist State. The spokesman of high finance, Dr. Schacht, became the economic dictator. By the end of 1934, a painless cure for interest slavery had been discovered. It was prescribed by a new medicine-man, Köhler, who became the head of the economic commission of the party. "Pay off your debts, do not incur new debts. Without debts, there will be no interest slavery." Richard Darré was the last of the Mohicans of National Socialism. Even two years after Hitler had come to power, Darré still remembered the party's promise to the peasants, namely, distribution of land. That was a serious offence against the National Socialist State.

But Darré was dismissed from his post of the Minister of Agriculture for a much milder offence. He simply advocated devaluation of the mark in order to raise agricultural prices. For that financial heresy, injurious for the industrial capitalists, Schacht demanded his head, and was promptly propitiated by Hitler.

Hitler's position towards the end of 1934 was as depicted in the following: "Absolute this Führer may be, but certainly he is not omnipotent. He too must placate great interests and study such drifts of instinctive feelings as may have survived the dragooning of public opinion. Mass emotion does not yet concern him; he is confident that he can still cope with it by propaganda, and amuse it by pageantry; in the last resort, he will crush it and terrorise it, and he crushed the less reliable part of the Brown Army. For, his former paymasters, the captains of great industry, he has more respect. They told him to discipline the pseudo-revolutionary left; convincing himself that he was asserting his own personal authority, he promptly obeyed them. It is probable that he will continue to obey them." ("The New Statesman and Nation", August 11, 1934).

Time and again, Hitler as well as the leading members of his party have boasted that the triumph of National Socialism in Germany has saved Europe from Bolshevism. "If the Nazis had not won, Bolshevism would not only have conquered Germany, but all of Europe. The Nazi success was our s

salvation from complete Bolshevik barbarism." As a matter of fact, in the beginning, the German Fascists had not even pretended to be Socialists. Already in the revolutionary days of 1919 to 1920, they declared their object to be "fight against the Red Peril". Hitler began to solicit financial support from the Employers' Association as early as 1922 on the ground that his party was committed to an anti-labour policy. "He did not betray the workers after his rise to power ; he was against them from the beginning." (Conrad Heyden, "History of National Socialism"). Only in 1926, the Hitlerites began the anti-capitalist agitation. The pseudo-socialist clauses were introduced into the party program not on the initiative of Hitler, but against his opposition by the Strasser brothers. They were removed from the party leadership, as soon as it came to power, and ultimately one was killed and the other emigrated.

In the second year of the Hitler régime, the left wing of the party began to show marked signs of dissatisfaction with the reactionary policy of the ruling clique. There was a large proletarian element in the party. The rank and file of the Brown Army was largely proletarian, recruited from the unemployed young workers. They expected some of the extravagant promises of economic relief to be fulfilled. There was a growing cry for "the second revolution". The powers behind Hitler's throne were annoyed as well as alarmed. In behalf of the landowners and

militarists, von Papen made a menacing speech. It was through his instrumentality that Hitler had become the Chancellor of Germany. He gave it to be understood that unless the puppet behaved according to the wishes of its patrons, it could be pulled down as easily as it had been pushed up. Krupp von Bohlen threatened to resign his chairmanship of the Economic Advisory Council. The threat implied withdrawal of the support of heavy industry from the Hitler régime. The order was given and Hitler had to obey. He enacted the infamous "blood purge" of his party on June 30, 1934, in order to destroy "the danger of a second revolution" (Goering).

While thus acting under the dictate of the landlords, militarists, and capitalists, Hitler announced: "our program is epochal, not immediate. Our system will exist for a thousand years. We are working for the millennium. Have patience! Wait!" As regards socialisation of industries, demanded by his deluded followers, he opposed experiments as dangerous, "because they eliminate the creative element, the power of personality, from the industrial process. Expropriation of big estates was also a part of the original program of his party. In power, he expressed the opinion that "efficient production demands that the great estates remain intact".

"The men who pull the strings in new Germany, are the heavy industrialists, the great financiers, the junker class. At their dictation, Hitler removed the

pseudo-socialist tune from the program of National Revolution. Capitalism commanded its retainers to put an end to interference with profit; Hitler obeyed; the revolution is over." (Ernst Henri, "Hitler Over Europe"). That is a correct statement of the situation in Germany under Hitler régime. The Fascist profession of Socialism was a deception. Raised to power by the ruling classes, the Nazis are ruining Germany to satisfy the greed of their masters.

The nationalism of the Fascists is no less fraudulent than their profession of Socialism. In industrially advanced countries like Germany, real national welfare cannot be promoted without improving the condition of the working class. Because there, the working class constitutes the majority of the population, and national interest must be determined by the welfare of the majority. The interests of the working class cannot be antagonistic to national welfare. Therefore, the bitter hostility of the Fascists against the working class contradicts their concern for national welfare.

The Hitlerites won the support of the ruined middle classes with their cry against the Versailles Treaty. They wanted to vindicate national honour. Revenge against the powers who had inflicted the humiliating treaty upon the German people was the war cry of the Fascists. But before a year was over after his accession to power, Hitler declared: We do not need to rehabilitate the honour of our people on

the battle field. There, nobody has taken it from us. Only one disgrace has befallen us. It was not in the West, nor in the East, but back home. This disgrace, we have made good." (Speech at the Nuremberg Festival, September 1933). The disgrace referred to was the revolution, the triumph of which alone would have guaranteed the real welfare of the German nation.

Except in the case of the Soviet Union, the Fascist warlikeness is a demagogic bluff and bluster. Hitler's spectacular repudiation of the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles could not be possibly successful except with the connivance of the allied powers. To-day, Germany has again built up a powerful army. But four years ago, when the Fascist Government declared the determination to tear off the Versailles Treaty and rearm Germany, the political alignment and correlation of military strength of the European nations was such that the bluff could be called any time if the allied powers wanted. A "preventive war" advocated by many in France would have made the defiant Nazis take to their heels. The war would be fought on the German soil and before two weeks, Berlin would be occupied by the army of the Franco-Polish alliance. In such a war, the industrial centres of Western Germany would be promptly occupied by the French, and, in case of any resistance, would be devastated. Naturally, the patrons of the Nazis did not want that. Their object in prompting the theatrical sabre rattling of the Hitlerites was to make

money out of a prosperous munition trade. They dared play the risky game of war mongering because they knew of the reluctance of France to get involved into another war. So, if Germany has emerged out of her defeat as a nation again armed to the teeth, demanding back her place in the sun, the credit for that achievement does not belong to the "undaunted spirit of German manhood" stimulated by the philosophy of Fascism. The Neo-German Imperialism is a monstrous bastard born out of the fear for revolution on the part of the allied powers. By beating down the forces of revolution in Germany, the Nazis were rendering a meritorious service to international Capitalism. They should be helped in their task. The glory of having torn the Treaty of Versailles to pieces enabled Hitler to command the uncritical following of the middle classes with whose help he stemmed the tide of revolution at least for the time being.

Those who admire Germany's miraculous recovery of military power do not know how that process took place actually with the aid and consent of the allied powers who thus acted under the fear of a revolution in Germany. Many years before Hitler appeared on the scene with the mission of vindicating the national honour of Germany, the military clauses of the Versailles Treaty had been greatly rescinded by the Locarno Pact. According to that treaty, negotiated by the Republican Government which was accused by

the Nazis for having sold Germany to the Allies, the occupied territories were evacuated many years earlier than provided in the Versailles Treaty. Another concession granted by the Locarno Pact was the withdrawal of the Allied Control Commission which was to supervise the disarming of Germany and particularly the de-militarisation of the left bank of the Rhine. Britain and France, preoccupied with Chamberlain's idea of creating an anti-Soviet block, made these concessions to Germany which, practically, permitted her re-militarisation. This happened years before Hitler's demagoguery had mobilised German manhood for vindicating national honour. British diplomacy, under Chamberlain, wanted a strong Germany as a bulwark against the "Bolshevik menace". And the danger of a revolution in Germany which might easily cross the Rhine scared France out of her wits. Briand's misguided liberalism destroyed her security established by the Versailles Treaty.

An eminent English lawyer, J. H. Morgan, K.C., who was attached to the Allied Control Commission, writes: "Both these covenants (evacuation of the occupied territories and withdrawal of the Control Commission) were carried out by the Governments of England, France and Belgium. Few, indeed, are they in this country who have any conception of the length to which the British and French Governments went in performing these covenants, and, indeed, much more than was covenanted. It was not merely that

the Control Commission was ordered to withdraw, on the faith of pledges given by the German Government, that Germany's continuing defaults in the matter would be cured. The work of demilitarising Rhineland, in other words, the execution of articles 43 and 180 of the Treaty of Versailles, was also abandoned." ("Daily Telegraph", London, beginning of April, 1936).

The same well-informed and competent witness testifies that even previously the Commission had connived with German rearmament by leaving intact strategic structures in the demilitarised zone, on the German representation as to the commercial utility of belligerent establishments. Even on the left bank of the Rhine, fortified areas, means of transportation and other "permanent works of mobilisation" were left intact by the evacuating allied armies out of deference to the spirit of Locarno. It had been known for years that the German Security Police in the occupied territories was camouflaged Reichswehr. But in that case also, "out of deference to German susceptibilities, the British and French Governments agreed in 1927 to the maintainance of these formations in the Rhineland on the understanding that their character was to be demilitarised." (Ibid). There was another issue of immense significance—the creation of the "Shadow Army"—which the British and French Governments tacitly waved after the conclusion of the Pact of Locarno. Under the very nose of the Control

Commission, between 1920 to 1926, General von Seeckt kept intact the cadre of the old army, and prepared the way for the reintroduction of general conscription. The Pact of Locarno, instead of arresting the process of German rearmament, proceeding until then secretly, legalised it, so to say.

So, the doubtful glory of having regained for Germany the right to arm herself does not belong to Hitler. It was acquired before as a gift from the allies, and the gift was not to the German nation but to those who had driven her to the disaster of the great war and had made immense profit out of that disgrace. Now they set about to make more profit out of the glory so easily won. Within one year of the withdrawal of the Control Commission, the military budget of the German Government increased ten times. That meant large orders for the heavy industries. The jingoist nationalism of the Nazis was a pretext for expediting the process of rearmament so profitable for big business. Immediately upon Hitler's advent to power, the monthly expenditure on rearmament rose to hundred million dollars a month. It has been rapidly increasing ever since. The Fascist State has discarded the parliamentary procedure of publishing its budgets. Therefore, it is very difficult to make any accurate estimate of the money spent on armament. But according to competent military experts, it was more than one thousand million marks in 1934. That represented forty per

cent increase over the previous year. In the following year, the military budget was again doubled. It has been estimated that, during the first four years of the Hitler régime, the total expenditure on rearmament was sixteen thousand million marks. During the same period, another four thousand million marks were spent on "public works", which are mostly disguised strategic constructions. In other words, until now, the Fascist Government has spent nearly one fourth of the total expenditure of Germany for the entire Great War.

Most of this huge sum, which is practically subsidy for the heavy industry, is raised by internal loans. The people are simply forced to subscribe to these loans. In 1935, the internal indebtedness of Germany was one third of the total national wealth. Since the rearmament program cannot be paid out of current income, it must be paid out of future income. The future of the nation is mortgaged to the munition makers. Taxation has reached its limits. The result is sinking standard of living for the majority of the population. Those who can pay easily find the way to shirk the responsibility. In 1934, a decree was issued asking all big industrial enterprises to hold at the disposal of the Government all dividends exceeding six per cent. Promptly, the balance sheet of big trusts (Krupp, Thyssen, I. G. Farben, A. E. G. etc.), making huge profits out of the nationalist orgy of rearmament, showed a profit less than six per cent.

On the other hand, all the funds of the savings banks, trade unions, co-operatives, and other social insurance institutions, have been taken over by the Government in return for "rearmament notes". Thus, the whole burden is falling on the poor middle classes and the proletariat, who will further pay with their lives when "the war for vindicating national honour" comes. Meanwhile, the rich is getting richer at the expense of the nation. The latest device to suck the poor is the Sales Tax. It is a kind of gross income tax, which burdens the payer in inverse ratio to his income. A man with an income, say of hundred, spends practically the entire amount for buying necessities; thus, his entire income is taxed. On the other hand, one with an income of thousand spends only a fraction of it for the same purpose. The higher the income, the smaller the fraction taxed. This is economics of National Socialism in practice.

An eminent economist, formerly attached to the German Government, writes: "The only gainers, as the past two years of Hitler's régime have shown us, will be the manufacturers of armaments. They will not have to suffer losses, because of a shortage of raw materials, as the import policy of the Government favours the importation of raw materials needed for military purposes at the expense of those needed in the production of consumer's goods." (Paul Crosser in "The New Republic", New York, March 6, 1935). Mass consumption has been forced down. The

standard of consumption is fixed by the Government. The standard of all staple articles of food has been reduced by 25 to 30 per cent. As regards clothing, it has been cut to half. The forcibly reduced standard of consumption serves as the measure for adjusting wages. Small traders, craftsmen and the peasants suffer in consequence of the rapidly sinking purchasing power of the working class. The Nazi leaders do not promise any improvement. On the contrary, they demand sacrifice and more sacrifice for national honour. Goebbels has declared with finality that "wages can not be increased". Of course not. The reason is given by the Nazi economist Windschuh, who admits that, given the present wages, further rise in prices will mean sinking living standard; but he calls for stimulation of export necessary to pay for the raw materials for the armament industry, and cynically says that "the standard of living should be subordinated to that purpose". Nor this is an individual opinion. Authoritative Nazi leaders have proclaimed time and again the following slogan of National Socialism: "If Germany is free and defiant and has enough guns, why worry for such paltry things as butter, eggs and clothes." The nation is thus economically ruined in order to vindicate "national honour". The German people is entertained with circus when they are crying for bread. But even the circus would prove to be a dangerous game, if Nazi war-mongering was really directed against the former enemies of Germany.

Only in the case of the Soviet Union, the Nazi war-mongers mean what they say. Their foreign policy is guided by Bismarck's dictum "Drang nach Osten". To destroy Bolshevism and conquer the fertile fields of Russia, are the dreams of the Neo-German Imperialism. Immediately upon his accession to power, Hitler entered into an international intrigue for an attack upon the Soviet Union. In the projected holy crusade against the home of Bolshevism, the Nazis were prepared to enter into an alliance with the national foes of Germany, namely, France and England. The agitation for a war of revenge against the powers who inflicted the shame of Versailles upon Germany, was all a bluff. In March 1933, Hitler had a secret conference with the Polish Minister in Berlin. He proposed a joint attack upon the U.S.S.R. Poland also was counted among the national enemies of Germany. But Hitler was prepared to forget old grudge in order to secure Polish help for making war upon the Soviet Union. It is reported that he proposed a division of Russian territories with Poland. The next diplomatic move of Hitler was to send Rosenberg to London as his special envoy, with the mission of drawing Britain in an anti-Soviet alliance. It is significant that the high priest of National Socialism, during his visit to London, was the guest of Deterding, the head of the Royal Dutch Petroleum Combine, who is notorious for his persistent intrigues against the U.S.S.R. Hitler had to set aside his pet idea of the war against Russia,

because it was not favourably received either in London or in Paris. Not that the rulers of England and France were averse to such a war, but they knew better than Hitler, and were therefore unwilling to plunge headlong in the adventure.

As a matter of fact, the Nazis have always tried to come to terms not only with England, but even with France, which is ostensibly their pet abomination. Only a few weeks before the German army marched theatrically in Rhineland to violate the Treaty of Versailles, Hitler had given a special interview to an important French journalist. In that occasion, he had expressed his eagerness to come to an agreement with France. Upon the French journalist drawing his attention to the anti-French sentiments expressed in his autobiography, Hitler explained that that was all for home-consumption. Since the march into Rhineland was not meant to be threat against France, and she was previously assured of that, no action was taken to counter that repudiation of the Versailles Treaty. If France acted, the move could be easily checked. Germany was not yet ready to risk a major war. It is reported that the General Staff was opposed to that provocative move. But neither France, nor England wanted to do anything that would surely impair Hitler's prestige at home. That would hasten the collapse of the Nazi régime and re-appearance of the danger of revolution across the Rhine. Besides,

France was reassured beforehand that Germany did not want to make war against her.

Shortly after the "blood-purge" of Nazi party, one of the most trusted lieutenants of Hitler, Rudolf Hess, addressed a message of "peace and goodwill" to the ultra-nationalist French War Veteran Association. He praised the French soldiers for their bravery. He even extolled the French Foreign Minister Barthou, a disciple of the hated Clemenceau, who dictated the Treaty of Versailles, to tear off which is the proclaimed mission of the Nazis. Hess talked tenderly of peace. He addressed the hated enemy in these words: "As a proud soldier speaking to a proud soldier, I ask, must there be war? Cannot we get together? Can't we, together, preserve mankind from the horrors of war by the use of goodwill?" The bluff and bluster of Nazi war-mongering is exposed when it is known that ever since 1924, Hess was the man who sang most loudly the hymn of hatred against France. His vulgar hatred was expressed in the following verse: "Hey, Francie, you over there will have to die, so that we may live". All that was pure demagoguery for whipping up the jingoist nationalism which helped only the big industrialists to make money out of the munition trade. That has been the only achievement of Fascist nationalism.

CHAPTER VI

THE "BLOODLESS" REVOLUTION

The Fascists claim to have revolutionised Italy and Germany bloodlessly. Their record not only in those two countries, but in many other countries, gives lie to the pretension. However, some facts about the rise of the "Supermen" will be interesting reading.

In Italy, Mussolini did not march in to capture Rome as the Commander of a victorious popular army. The hero was keeping himself safely away at a great distance, when the theatre of the March to Rome was staged. With the money liberally supplied by the capitalists, he had got together the mercenary band of Black Shirts who demonstrated their valour by committing countless terrorist acts against the revolutionary workers and peasants. But the actual capture of power from the hand of the weak and terrified liberal bourgeois Government was not achieved by the black-shirted army. That was done by the regular army, which placed Mussolini in power because he had proved himself so bitter and ruthless an enemy of the revolutionary mass movement. The Fascist March on Rome did not take place before the consent of the regular army had been received. Had the army stood loyal to the established State, the "bloodless revolution" would have never taken place and the

Italian people might have been spared the misfortune of Mussolini's dictatorship.

The liberal bourgeois Government having failed to cope with the revolutionary situation, the ruling classes—landlords and capitalists—decided to replace it by another government, which would be more efficient in suppressing the revolutionary movement and, at the same time, more subservient to their orders. The regular army, officered by their own men, was at their command. But in a revolutionary situation, the loyalty of the ordinary soldier can not be relied upon. Therefore, the regular army alone cannot be the dependable weapon for suppressing a popular revolutionary movement. Some sections of the people must be won over for the counter-revolution. The pseudo-syndicalist propaganda and nationalist jingoism of the Fascists served that purpose. Middle class rowdies and backward workers were enlisted in the mercenary black-shirted army of Mussolini. The plan was to place Mussolini in power so that the counter-revolution might have the appearance of a popular movement. Of course, he was not expected to do the dirty job with his "Supermen". The regular army was always there to fall back upon.

It was in that situation, that Mussolini was to "capture power". Since the regular army had already granted him its protection and patronage, there would not be any effective resistance. The power lay at his feet. Even then, at the last moment, the hero got into

a blue funk. Having issued the order of the March on Rome, he did not take the risk of leading it personally. When that feat of heroism was staged, the hero was sleeping quietly at Milan. After Rome had been occupied, some of his trusted lieutenants telephoned him the message of victory and asked him to appear on the scene. Even then, he would not risk his skin. Evidently, he did not believe in the miracle. Finally, he was persuaded "to march as the victor of Rome" in a sleeping car, only when he received the call from the General Staff.

Until then, the "revolution" was bloodless. But the prelude to that tragi-comedy had been sufficiently bloody. Thousands of workers had been massacred. They did not begin the violence. They had peacefully taken possession of factories which had been closed down because the owners could not make sufficient profit by running them. If they were allowed to run the factories peacefully, there would have been a real revolution without any bloodshed. That was not allowed to happen. Organised violence, not even according to the established laws of the country was perpetuated in order to prevent the workers from doing peacefully what the capitalists had failed to do, namely, to run the industrial apparatus of the country so that the workers would have their means of subsistence and the economic life of the country might not be paralysed.

After his advent to power, Mussolini committed mass violence in order to suppress all opposition to the new régime. The victory of Fascism was neither a revolution nor was it bloodless. It met no resistance from the régime it destroyed. Therefore, it was not necessary for it to shed blood. On the other hand, the resistance from the revolutionary masses was not armed. Therefore, the violence committed in that direction need not take the form of large-scale bloodshed. But to put many thousands of men and women in jail for the rest of their life, is no less bloody than to put them to the sword. Besides, there were many others, also to be counted in thousands, who were murdered and massacred in mass.

Now, coming to Germany, one has to dispel the legend of Hitler's coming to power "constitutionally". The legendary character of this assertion is obvious. Hitler's rise to power was facilitated by the practical suspension of the Republican Constitution. He did not violate the Constitution. That was done for him by his employers and patrons. He celebrated his advent to power by formally scrapping the Weimar Constitution which had been practically destroyed by the "Republican Government" headed by the Junker-Militarist von Hindenburg. In Germany just as in Italy, the Fascists came to power as the paid agents of the big capitalists, and were successful because there was no resistance from the side of the established régime, which they replaced. The popular resistance

they met was overwhelmed by the coercive forces of the State so as to facilitate their march to power. That march was a long tale of violence committed by those avowed enemies of the established régime, not only with the connivance, but with the actual aid of the latter.

But Hitler became the head of the German Government in consequence of a victory at the polls. Thus, he was the choice of the people. He came to power with "popular support". How is that fact to be explained? The explanation is found in the facts of the election itself. The election of March 1933, which placed him formally in power, was a sham. He had already been made the Chancellor by the grace of Hindenburg, that representative of the militarist rulers of Germany. The hero was thus placed in the position which enabled him to manoeuvre the elections so as to produce a resounding victory. As a matter of fact, he suffered a defeat.

The only opposition came from the two working class parties, which together had polled nearly forty per cent of the votes cast in the previous elections. The new election took place when those popular parties had been practically placed out of the battle through "legal" repressions and illegal terrorism. While the Social-Democratic Party was still allowed to exist legally as a matter of formality, the Communist Party was completely suppressed. It was the third largest party in the country with a hundred seats in the

Parliament. Alone, the fact of the suppression of the Communist Party proves that democracy had to be destroyed before the Fascists could have "a democratic victory". All the outstanding Communists were either in jail or in hiding. Its members had been subjected to the bloody terror of the Fascist bands. The Social-Democratic Party was equally terrorised. Polling booths were jealously watched by the Fascist hooligans. So, it was a risky venture to vote for the Communists or even the Socialists. Many did not vote; many others were not allowed to vote according to their conviction. Not a few of those who voted for the Fascists did so under duress,—for fear. Thousands of Communists could not go to vote because they were in hiding. On the other hand, Nazi Storm-Troopers herded in voters who did not want to vote for Hitler. While the newspapers of the opposing parties were suppressed, their propaganda literature confiscated, meetings broken up by paid hooligans, their supporters terrorised to vote against their wish or to avoid voting altogether, the entire propaganda apparatus of the State was at the disposal of the Fascists.

Under such circumstances, a fair election is not possible. The result of an "election" held under such an atmosphere does not indicate the popular feeling. But even such a sham did not give Hitler a majority. The Fascists did not poll more than forty per cent of the votes cast. That again represented even a smaller fraction of the entire electorate. Because

for reasons mentioned above millions of voters did not go or could not go to the polls.

On the other hand, despite unbounded terrorism, and labouring under insurmountable difficulties, the Communist Party retained eighty out of its hundred seats in the Parliament. Therefore, it should be recognised as the real victor of the election. For, under normal conditions, it would have polled many more votes. That shows that, in a really democratic election, Hitler's fate would have been an ignominious defeat. Thanks to the comparative freedom from the difficulties under which the Communists laboured, the Social-Democratic Party came out of the unequal fight even with a better result. The result of the election was that the Communists together with the Social-Democrats and other minor anti-Fascist groups captured nearly half the seats in the new Parliament. The victor could not face such a Parliament. Still more violent acts were committed, the last vestige of democratic freedom was abolished, in order to clear the way to his "constitutional dictatorship". Eighty constitutionally elected Communist deputies representing nearly four million voters, who actually cast their vote inspite of organised terrorism, and many more who did not cast their vote, were disallowed to take their seats in the Parliament. A considerable number of Social-Democratic deputies also had to absent themselves in order to evade individual prosecution and persecution. In short, the rump Parliament which voted Hitler to

dictatorial power itself did not represent more than seventy per cent of the electorate, and nearly half of those returned by a fraction of the electorate did not vote for Hitler. So, the Fascists came to power when they did not count upon more than thirty five per cent of the electorate. That shows the fictitious nature of Hitler's "constitutional" advent to power.

The fictitiousness of Hitler's "democratic" victory is revealed by still another fact. Ever since 1928, the Fascist vote had increased in successive elections by leaps and bounds. But in the election held just a few months previous to the one which is said to have raised Hitler to "constitutional dictatorship", the Fascist advance received a serious set-back. The number of votes cast for the Nazis suddenly dropped by nearly two millions. That was a clear indication that the artificially bolstered up movement had passed over the apex, and was on the decline. The more intelligent of the backward middle class masses were losing their faith in Fascism. They were seeing through the bluff and bluster of Nazi demagogy. In the previous election, the Nazis had secured majorities in several provinces. There, they formed Ministries, which failed to do anything to fulfil the promises with which the electorate was fooled. The confidence of its following shaken, the movement would have disintegrated if its patrons did not rush to its aid. The bourgeoisie found it necessary to kick their hero

up to power, seeing that he and his loud-mouthed lieutenants were too cowardly to measure strength with the revolutionary working class in the open field.

The dotard Hindenburg was asked to pocket his Prussian pride and hand over power to the upstart who had just suffered a severe reverse at the polls and commanded only a minority in the Parliament. Hitler's advent to power was signalled not by any genuine popular support, expressed in an election, but by the reluctant reception of the "contemptible Bohemian drill-sergeant" by the haughty Field-Marshal. Both served the same master on whose order the President of the Republic delivered the discredited Goddess of Democracy to be violated by the "drill-sergeant". Thus placed in power against the democratically given verdict of the majority, Hitler made legal and illegal use of the entire machinery of coercion in order to stage an electoral victory. He went to the extent of committing the most outrageous act of political incendiarism ever known in civilised history. In order to find a plausible pretext to eliminate the Communist Party, which alone could offer an organised resistance, the Nazis burned down the Reichstag Building. That act of incendiarism was the signal for the "bloodless revolution".

Hitler hailed the burning of the Reichstag as a sign from the God. With the divine sanction he suppressed all opposition. Yet, the people refused to give him a majority at the elections. God might not

help the modern Messiah, but the bourgeoisie was there to glorify their hero. As their chosen instrument, he had to be raised, by hook or crook, to the position of absolute power, so that he could perform the bloody task allotted to him. The "bloodless revolution" was brought about by the application of unrestricted violence and was to have the bloodiest consequences. Raised to dictatorial power by the grace of the bourgeoisie, Hitler, just as his predecessor in Italy, has been doing the bidding of his patrons.

The "bloodless revolution" is determined to destroy all the noble spiritual achievements of mankind. "Germany is providing a fearful example on a fantastic and incredible scale. Early mediaeval history has to be searched for parallels to the edifying performances inspired by the desire of twentieth century Germany to preserve the purity of its national culture." (Robert Briffault, "The Nationalist Craze in Culture" in the "Current History", New York, August 1933). The same eminent authority on cultural history also writes: "All foreign critics have commented on the phenomenal artistic and literary sterility of Fascist Italy."

Fascist hostility to modern culture is simply fierce. It represents a lapse into sheer barbarism. This aspect of Fascism has provoked the greatest resentment throughout the civilised world. It has shocked even those who do not object to the basic task of Fascism, namely, to suppress the revolutionary

working class movement with boundless violence in order to buttress up the tottering structure of capitalist society.

As regards the "supermen" who claim to have performed the miracle of bloodless revolution, it is not necessary to say more than to quote some authoritative liberal opinion which is beyond the suspicion of partiality.

"Germany is ruled to-day by drug-addicts, murderers, thieves, forgers and moral decadents. These are not mere random terms of abuse; they describe the commonly recognised characters of most of the chief leaders of the Nazi movement." ("The Nation", New York, August 2, 1933).

"Crimes have been committed whose magnitude stifles protest because the civilised mind is stunned into incredulity. Still more difficult is it to visualise what life is destined to be for the millions of Germans who are too civilised and too intelligent ever to adapt themselves to the madness of the National Socialist State." (Harrison Brown, "Six Months of Hitlerism", Ibid.) This English journalist, who lived four years in Germany, also writes that the Nazi war propaganda goes to the unbelievable extent of making membership of pacifist organisations legally (!) punishable with long-term imprisonment. The famous German writer Carl von Ossietzky suffers torture and imprisonment simply because he is a pacifist. Only last year he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace. But still he remains in

jail, deprived even of the right of trial in an open court.

A liberal American journalist, noted for his sympathy for the German people, suffering from the injustice of the Versailles Treaty, writes: "A positive religion of pre-war militarism and brutality is flashing through the Reich, plus a semi-mystical absorption of the nation into a fanatic creed. The creed seems irresistible to the supermen to whom Jews, professors, pacifists, Socialists, radicals, liberals, and democrats are sub-human." (John Gunther, "The Nation", New York, June 7, 1933).

Dr. Fritz Schweyer, former Minister of Interior in the Provincial Government of Bavaria, now superseded by a Fascist Pro-Consul, in a private letter to his Ex-Colleague, the former Prime Minister, writes: "No trace has been left of rights and justice, of law and order. Divine and human rights are being trodden under foot, and degenerates profess to be the moral regenerators of Germany, while in reality they have merely imposed their will on fellow-humans by force, and like wild animals have satisfied their egoistical instincts." For expressing an opinion, fully corroborated by daily events, in private correspondence, Dr. Schweyer was tried and condemned to imprisonment for "treason".

"It is perfectly clear that the present German Government is made up of brutes and reactionaries who, in the effort to obtain power, are waging war

upon all that is fine and valuable in German culture." ("The New Republic", New York, April 26, 1933). The quotation is taken from a communication published anonymously. The correspondent did not want his name to be published for the fear that, if detected in telling the truth, he (an old professor) would be the object of the barbarous vengeance of the Fascists. The system of the terroristic suppression of the truth is so diabolically well organised that even Germans who have themselves fled beyond the reach of that terror, do not dare to tell the truth. Many of them have friends and relations still living in Germany. The vengeance is often wrecked on these latter. Usually, the relatives of emigrated anti-Fascists are held as hostages to keep the mouth of those abroad shot.

The barbarously violent practices of the "bloodless revolution" went so far as to provoke the protest from the few solitary exceptions among the "supermen" who still retained the last vestige of elementary decency. It is reported that Count von Reventlow protested to Hitler against "the procedure of dragging trade-union officials including women to the Nazi head-quarters, there to be beaten and (the women) to be otherwise ill-treated, often in a way that cannot be described."

One of the founders of the now-defunct Republic, its first Chancellor, Philip Scheidemann, writes from his exile at Prague: "Hitler's Berlin is an incendiary torch with which criminals and a group of mentally

deranged are playing around a keg of powder." ("The Times", London, end of June 1933). For the offence of expressing this opinion, all the members of Scheidemann's family, including several women, still in Germany, were arrested and held *in communicado* in some detention camp where mediaeval means of torture are applied to all the inmates, irrespective of age or sex, by the "criminal and mentally deranged" Hitlerite ruffians.

"Adolf Hitler is the despair of biographers. To delineate the life of any living political leader is difficult at best. But when the leader is a half-mad Caesar, raised to power by the frenzy of fanatics ; when he is at once a non-entity and a Messiah ; when his behaviour ranges from the common-place to the terrible, from the ridiculous to the sublime, from the vulgar to the pathological ; and when he heeds spectral voices from outer darkness and liquidates those who know too much, then the task of the biographer becomes almost impossible." ("The New Republic", New York, June 10, 1936.)

"When one listens to the Führers oratory, one knows that one is in the presence of a diseased mind. The events of last June (the massacre of his once trusted lieutenants) compel us to class him as a dangerous victim of the mania of persecution. A great and highly civilised nation lies at the mercy of an unstable neurotic, capable of explosive outbreaks of calculated fury, and at his side, the only personality,

that may be able to guide him, stands Goering who is on his own record rather more brutal and much more reckless than the Führer himself." ("The New Statesman and Nation", London, August 14, 1934).

"Fascism is a revolt against reason, and an appeal to violence, to emotion and to passion, its outcome is inevitably cruelty, madness and gangsterism." (Robert Dell, "Germany Unmasked"). This severe verdict is backed up by quotations from official publications. Mr. Dell shows how the brutality, which the Nazis sometimes defend as necessary, and sometimes denounce as "Jewish lies", are not accidental excesses, but logical and deliberate acts of Nazi policy. One of the popular songs of the "bloodless revolution" has the refrain: "If Jewish blood drips from the knife—Then we march twice as well".

As authoritatively declared in the autobiography of Hitler, the object of Fascism is the destruction of the weak and the triumph of the strong. The Fascist panacea for social evils is annihilation of the Jews and forcible maintenance of Capitalism. Its political programme is increase of armaments and war of conquest. "Colonies were acquired by the right of might. Europe needs raw materials and colonies, and with a heroic conception of life, the white race is destined to rule. But if ruling nation gave away to pacifist ideas, allowing colonies to govern themselves, these would merely say 'We do not need Europe any longer'."

(Hitler at the Conference of University Students, Munich, January 26, 1936).

On his own admission, Hitler will go down in history as a skilful demagogue and a rank opportunist who knows no principle. According to him, the most effective method of leading the masses is to deceive them. His principle of agitation is to repeat simple slogans until the masses begin to believe in them. "His complete philosophy of life was conditioned by his vagrant years in pre-war Vienna. There has been no development since then; only adaptation to circumstances. For close on twenty years, he has had no intellectual cares. His conception of politics is peculiar. Denying the importance of economics, despising the working class as fools, for whose intelligence no lie can be too stupid, he has remained unscathed by the worries which attack the normal politician, and has felt no impulse to attack injustice and inequities. Profoundly respectful to the army, the capitalists and the junkers, he has longed to abolish the system which deliberately gives to the weak and the oppressed weapons with which they can defend themselves against the strong. Rejecting the fundamental principles of democratic civilisation, he has longed to restore the pristine glory of a Germany where the strong rule and the weak were subjects." (Rudolf Olden, "Hitler").

Finally, a few quotations from a recent book by one who spent sixteen months in Germany to

investigate conditions "without prejudice". Warning the world against the whisperings spread about Hitler's personal life, he writes: "He sees himself as a crusader and thinks the whole time of saving mankind. That is why he reaches such a stage of mystical exaltation when he talks about saving the world from Bolshevism." (Stephen H. Roberts. "The House that Hitler Built"). Describing how Hitler, while speaking in the public, goes into emotional frenzy, crying or gazing vacantly, like a mad-man, Professor Roberts quotes Goering to say: "We can always get Adolf to weep when confronted with a difficult situation." With all his indulgent attitude, Professor Roberts is compelled to declare Goebbels as the most dangerous man in Europe. "Because this man despises humanity and yet is in charge of sixty six million human beings. Dwarfish Goebbels has a sneering contempt for humanity, due to a mixture of tortured nerves and acute resentment psychosis born of his physical defects. He has always been an apostle of bitterness. Throughout the length and breadth of Germany, I heard nobody speak of him with affection." (Ibid.)

Such are the "Supermen", who are to-day the masters of the destiny of Germany. Their like rule Italy and a number of other European countries. And there is no guarantee against the whole of Europe coming under the sway of the lunatic preachers of the

cult of barbarism. To-day, the spectre of Fascism is threatening to destroy European civilisation. Hitler represents this hideous spectre. "He is a phenomenon which one slays or is slain by." (Konrad Heiden, "Hitler").

CHAPTER VII

THE PRACTICE OF FASCISM

In August 1934, a Manifesto was issued to the world over the signatures of a large number of scientists, writers and leaders in other branches of intellectual activity, calling for an international congress to combat the cultural menace of Fascism. The following are extracts from that historical document:

"We know that in the Fascist countries many highly respected scholars have been driven from the scene of their activities, or have voluntarily quitted their home, because they refused to sacrifice their learning to the violent demands of the totalitarian State. Specially the events in Germany have evoked our most profound concern for the perpetuation of the freedom of science. In that country, the exact sciences have been openly degraded to jobbing for war industries. Only such investigations are favoured, as are likely to bring about economic and technical predominance over the world. All branches of physics which cannot be made to serve political and economical imperialism are therefore hampered and restricted. Studies which have contributed essentially to the broadening of our concepts of the physical

universe, are thrust aside openly as vain and fruitless intellectualism. Verified scientific knowledge concerning heredity and race is cast aside. In its place, appear new doctrines, unverified by honest research, for the annihilation of hundreds of thousands of human existences. In accordance with the National Socialist belief that it is senseless to help the weak at the expense of the biologically strong, social hygiene is shorn of all justification. Colleges are forced to establish 'chairs of natural healing'. The gates are opened to superstition and deceit. Regardless of historical truth, pre-historical and ancient times are so presented as to support the thesis of superiority of the nation concerned and the inferiority of all others. Very often, purposeful mysticism is substituted for an awkward historical truth. The suppression of free research and the violation of truth are most clearly revealed in the new jurisprudence which is designed to give a theoretical basis for the cruel and arbitrary practices founded on legal conceptions of the middle-ages. Teaching and studying are enslaved along with pure science. Colleges suffer from intellectual terror. Through the misuse and contempt for free research, there is an imminent danger that the whole structure of scientific knowledge will be destroyed, and from the fragments a new series of pseudo-science will be erected, which will be harmful for the progress of mankind."

Within two months after Hitler's accession to power, more than two hundred eminent men of learning were driven from their high academic positions. The vandalism was committed on the pretext that those men were Jews. Many of them were Jews, but their real crime was that they were free-thinkers, some were Socialists, most of them Liberals and others guilty "merely of the impartiality and integrity of mind which in Nazi eyes are the greatest of all crimes". ("The Manchester Guardian", middle of May, 1933). Those illustrious victims of Fascist barbarism counted among themselves such men of world-historical importance as Albert Einstein, Professor Zondek, famous Gynæcologist of Berlin, the greatest leading chemists, Richard Willstaetter and Fritz Haber, the famous Professor of Psychology in the University of Heidelberg, Otto Meyerhoff, the economist of international fame Moritz Bonn and a whole host of others of equal eminence in different branches of science. Einstein was declared as the "enemy No. 1 of awakened Germany". This fact alone is the most damaging testimony for condemning Fascism at the bar of humanity as the mad enemy of civilisation and culture. The testimony becomes simply overwhelming when it is known that all the leading lights of the scientific, literary and artistic life of contemporary Germany have been driven out of the Nazi Third Reich.

The Nazis were not content with depriving the seats of learning in Germany of the brilliant lights

who had made them famous. They wanted to inflict their vandalism upon the rest of the world. Upon his leaving Germany, Einstein was invited by the Collège de France to honour it by accepting a chair. Thereupon the Nazi press clamorously demanded that in future the dismissed academicians should not be allowed to leave Germany, lest the "enemies of Germany insulted her by honouring them".

The burning of the Library of Alexandria remains recorded as one of the most revolting events of history. The Fascists, at last, have outshone even that act of incendiarism. They made a bonfire of over twenty thousand books, written by great authors in all branches of human knowledge. The Library of Alexandria was burned in the age of barbarism, which followed the collapse of antique civilisation. But the deliberate destruction of a vast collection of works of science and literature by the Nazis took place in the twentieth century, in the heart of one of the centres of modern civilisation. It was not a random act committed by fanatics in the heat of passion. It was a deliberate attempt to destroy the accumulated result of scientific research, cultural progress and artistic achievements, which did not fit in with the savage cult of Fascism. A long list was made of all such "objectionable" works, and they were collected by force throughout the country and thrown to the flames in a number of places.

The world was horrified by that organised destruction of scientific and literary treasures. "All the standards that civilisation has created are being uprooted." (The Nation, New York, July 5, 1933). Commenting on that incredible act of vandalism, a famous German publicist, domiciled in America, wrote: "The burning of the works of Thomas Mann, for example, damns them (Nazis) more deeply than anything else, since it marks their repudiation of their own highest embodiment of human civilisation and a frank plunge into degenerate savagery. It is to be noted that an attack of unrivalled strength and ferocity is being launched against the life of the mind, against all intellectual values, against all disinterestedness of thought, of research, of aspiration, against the slowly won rights of human spirit, against every principle and every truth and every freedom that men have lived for and often died for, since the Renaissance, against all that had constituted for so long the very character of humanity itself." (Ludwig Lewisohn in "The Nation", New York, June 21, 1933).

The Nazis are proud of their contempt for "intellectualism". Indeed, glorification of ignorance is a part of their cult. "The young Nazis to-day make a virtue of being ignorant and despising the learning and attainments which generations of German culture slowly achieved." (Hamilton Fish Armstrong in the "Foreign Affairs" July 1933). This is not anti-Nazi propaganda. The Nazi Minister of Education, Rust,

declared that "National Socialism is not unscientific, but only hostile to theories." One could only smile to hear of science without theory, and wonder what that could be. The Minister, however, does not leave the world in doubt. In their cultural conviction, the Fascists are nothing if they are not brutally frank. The Minister gave a definition of science without theory, when he announced that "philosophy and science must be re-orientated in the spirit of the Storm-Troopers." A description of that spirit will be best given in official Nazi jargon:

"So stand the Storm Battalions

"Ready for racial fight ;

"Only when Jews lie bleeding

"Can we be really free."

(National Anthem)

"They must try to make the world understand why Germany on January 30, 1933 had struck out the word pacifism from its vocabulary." (Von Papen, as Vice-Chancellor in Hitler's first Government). On that day, Hitler became the Chancellor of Germany.

"For the living, it is a holy duty to fulfil the mission for which Germans gave their lives in the war. They must be ready to redeem with blood a pledge written in blood." (Goering). The man who best represents the spirit of the Storm Troopers laid down the function of the women in a community inculcated with that spirit. "The woman's place is in the home ;

her duty, the recreation of the tired warrior." And the Nazi young womanhood, inspired with the spirit of the Storm Troopers, responded. "There is no higher or finer privilege for a woman than that of sending her children to war." (Declaration of the Women's Order of the Red Swastika). Finally, there is the oracle, the Minister of National Enlightenment and Propaganda, Goebbels: "The woman's task is to be beautiful and to bring children into the world. The female bird decorates herself for the male and hatches the eggs for him. In return, the male looks after the food or else he stands on guard and scares the enemy away." The new spirit of "awakened Germany" know no difference between man and lower animals. The same instinct that guide the latter holds good also for the former. That is Nazi re-orientation of philosophy and science.

The fanatical race hatred of the Fascists, besides being one more token of mediaeval barbarism, is a convenient camouflage. Their diatribes against the legendary Jewish international finance serve as a smoke-screen to hide their subservience to the real financial and industrial power. It was not in the economic, but in the scientific and cultural fields, that the Jews occupied prominent positions. In the former, they were no more powerful than traders, often being the smaller fry. The great industrial combines and potential banking concerns, which, controlling the economic life of Germany, also dictate her political

destiny, are owned and directed by Christians. Jewish intellectuals (some of them standing in the forefront of the world of science and art), Socialists and traders (mostly petty shopkeepers), are sacrificed on the altar of artificially fomented race hatred as the bait to catch the guileless petit-bourgeois victims of Capitalism to become the abject instrument for furthering its rapacious designs. The ferocious anti-Semitism of the Nazis has been explained as follows by an authority of modern history: "In the nineteenth century, social prejudice and practice virtually excluded Jews from higher offices in the army and the civil service. This is one reason why Jews devoted themselves so largely to the practice of law and medicine, to literature and similar professions, and came to have a preponderance in these occupations, thereby arousing the jealousy and envy of the National Socialists who covet these positions for themselves." (Sidney Fay, Professor of History, Harvard University, "Nazi Treatment of the Jews" in the "Current History", New York, June 1933).

With still another fiction, the Nazis justify their anti-Semitism. Socialism and Communism are condemned as the product of the conspiracy of international Jewery. Marxism is characterised as the manifestation of Jewish greed, harmful for the interest of the German people and incompatible with the cultural genius of the Teutonic race. With this argument, anti-Semitism is made a part of the crusade against the revolutionary working class movement.

But the fact is that the German working class almost completely belonged to the "Teutonic" race—more completely than any other section of the German people. There were Jews among the intellectual leaders of the movement. But the rank and file is purely Christian.

Even to-day, more than fifty thousand men and women are held in prison or detention camps in Nazi Germany. Most probably, not more than one per cent of these victims of Fascist terror belong to the outlawed Jewish race. But ninety per cent of them belong to the working class. The motive behind the mad race hatred is neither "scientific" nor political, but purely economic. Every Jew ousted from his position either as a professor, or a professional, or a trader made room for a Nazi aspirant who could not be successful by his own merit. The result of anti-Semitism has indeed been beneficial for some Aryan traders. But for the academic and cultural life of Germany it has been a marked degeneration. The chairs in the famous German seats of learning, vacated by academicians of international fame, have been filled by mediocrities. The repulsive cult of hatred, which has thus ruined the intellectual life of Germany, is given a pseudo-scientific foundation by prostituting the science of anthropology. The foundation of the doctrine of the purity and quality of blood, which has been raised to the dignity of "science" in the spirit of the Storm-

Trooper, was laid by the frustrated sign-painter who has made a hell out of Germany.

"The black-haired Jewish youth lies for hours in ambush, a satanic joy in his face, for the unsuspecting girl whom he pollutes with his blood and steals from her own race. By every means, he seeks to wreck the racial bases of the nation he intends to subdue. Just as individually he deliberately befouls women and girls, so he never shrinks from breaking the barriers race has erected against foreign elements. It was, and is, the Jew who brought negroes to the Rhine, brought them with the same aim and with deliberate intent to destroy the white race he hates, by persistent bastardisation, to hurl it from the cultural and political heights it has attained, and to ascend to them as its masters. He deliberately seeks to lower the race level by steady corruption of the individual." (Hitler, Autobiography).

The fanatic who wrote this hymn of race hatred is himself a black-haired mongrel, who has actually committed the crime of which he accuses the imaginary Jewish youth. Born in that part of Europe where purity of blood disappeared already in the dawn of history, he has managed to pollute fair Germany. But the real meaning of this cult of race and blood is Imperialism. The underlying idea is that the white race, composed of the Nordic supermen with blond hair and blue eyes, is superior to all other races, and therefore, naturally destined to rule the world."

National Socialism is an outgrowth of the doctrines of Gobineau and Houston Stewart Chamberlain, coloured by Pan-Germanism. The fundamental social and political tenet of the Third Reich is based upon the doctrine of Aryan superiority." (Wickham Steed, "Hitler—Whence and Whither"). Only the Aryan forefathers of the Nazi Imperialists did not come from Central Asia, but from the Polar regions of the North.

One of the popular slogans of the National Socialist movement, even years before Hitler came to power, was "Germany must have colonies". Of late, this demand has become very pronounced, and is being pressed on the threat of war. But to insist on Germany's necessity for colonial expansion has all along been a feature of National Socialist propaganda. Indeed, the pseudo-socialist items of the programme were set aside on the ground that the social problems of Germany could not be solved before the expansionist policy could be put into practice. "When, as in the case with Germany, sixty five million people live in a small space, it is no use trying to solve the social problem, because the essential conditions for a solution are lacking. The condition for the solution of the social problem at home is to build up the outward strength which will create the room for the existence of the individual and of the nation as a whole." (Goering, Speech at a workers' meeting in Berlin. April 9, 1933).

The "outward strength" having been acquired through monstrous rearming by ruining the German masses economically, the Nazis are on the war path for shouldering their share of the "white man's burden". The other day, Hitler announced that "it is absolutely essential for Germany to make herself strong so that she can successfully demand the return of her colonies". And Goering, with his characteristic brutal frankness, told the world how the ambition will be realised. "We must continue our demand for colonies and must make this demand louder and louder until the world is unable to resist it. The main truth is that Germany has now a new and strong army, and she has got rid of her inferiority complex." Supermen are in power in Germany. They are convinced of their racial superiority, and they are determined to regain the place in the sun. That is the practical expression of the mystic cult of race and blood.

From its very birth, Fascism, as an international phenomenon, was avowedly imperialist. Already in 1919, Mussolini wrote: "Imperialism is the eternal and immutable law of life. Now he is all ready with his plan of imperialist expansion. Shortly before the invasion of Abyssinia, he announced the plan. "Italy has no future in the West and the North. Her future lies to the East and to South,—in Asia and Africa. The vast resources of Asia must be valorised, and Africa must be brought within the orbit of civilisation.

We demand that nations, which have already arrived in Africa, do not block at every Italian expansion."

The Fascists do not make a secret about the way to their expansionist ambition. Their cry is: "A war for space and employment". Colonies must be conquered in war which, incidentally, will solve the problem of unemployment at home by consuming the masses of unemployables as cannon-fodder. In its period of decay, Capitalism cannot give employment to an increasing section of the working class. No relief can be given to the permanently unemployed, because of the falling rate of profit. Therefore, the solution of the problem of unemployment, born of the decay of Capitalism, is to be found in the abolition of the decayed system in favour of an economy free of internal contradictions. But the historical rôle of Fascism is to defend the outworn system, which has become antagonistic to the general welfare of the community. Therefore, Fascism seeks the solution of the problem of unemployment in war. It has been correctly said that Fascism means war. This characterisation is borne out by the following famous declarations.

"Fascism issued from the war, and in war it must find its outlet. Our country cannot advance except through a great war." (Mario Carli).

"Three cheers for the war! May I be permitted to raise this cry. Three cheers for Italy's war, noble and beautiful above all! Three cheers also for war

in general!" (Popolo d'Italia). This is an extract from an article by Mussolini written in the very beginning of the Fascist movement. Two years later, still not yet in power, he wrote in the same paper, the central organ of his party: "Peace is absurd, or rather, it is a pause in war." In 1926, speaking in the Chamber of Deputies, he declared "the Italian nation to be in a permanent state of war". The next year, he graphically described the ideal of Fascism: "We must be ready at a moment's notice to mobilise five million men and be able to arm them; we must strengthen our navy and also our aviation, in which I believe more and more, and which must be so numerous and so powerful that the roar of its motors will drown every other noise on the peninsula, and the surface of its wings hide the sun from our land." To fulfil these conditions for the realisation of Fascist ambition, the Italian masses have been economically ruined. The echo of their suffering and the voice of their protest have been ruthlessly suppressed so that nothing but the beating of war-drums can be heard on the peninsula of Italy.

Before the Abyssinian war, the Italian Government had incurred an indebtedness amounting to the incredible figure of hundred and fifty thousand million of Liras. It is estimated to have increased at least by fifty per cent since then. Owing to the inability of the financially bankrupt State to make the payments necessary for balancing international trade,

imports have been progressively restricted. And in the limited quota of import, preference was given to articles necessary for the preparation of war. The result has been continuous rise of the prices of food-stuff and other articles for consumption. On the other hand, salaries and wages have been continuously falling. With rising prices, falling wages and decreasing purchasing power of the Lira, the standard of living of the entire people, except a thin upper stratum, is being forced further and further down.

In Germany, the Fascists not only follow the footsteps of their fore-runners in Italy, but improve upon them. While preparing for the war of conquest of the "weak and the backward" races, they have committed unspeakable cruelties for exterminating the enemy at home. Not only the working class, but all progressive elements—Liberals, Pacifists, Humanitarians, true Christians—are included under the category of the enemy to be exterminated in order to make National Socialism triumphant. The numerous prisons and detention camps, where many thousands of these enemies are held, are the scene of mediaeval torture perpetuated to extract confessions from the helpless victims and to make them declare allegiance to the Nazi régime. This method of exterminating internal enemies was defended by the Nazis in the International Penological Congress held in Berlin in autumn 1935. The German delegation, headed by Goebbels, advocated the doctrine of "severity in

prison" as against the "treatment of humanity and education", urged by the delegates from other countries. Goebbels brazenly maintained that the torture of prisoners was "necessary and useful". The shameless pronouncement of the Nazis so horrified the foreign delegates that a famous French jurist exclaimed: "The idea of revenge must disappear from every utterance of justice. Otherwise, we return to barbarism". Consequently, a large number of foreign delegates left the Congress, having declared that the gulf between the concepts of penology prevailing in their country and those in Germany was so vast that there could be no basis for even a discussion of the principles propounded by the German delegation, which included the Nazi Minister of Justice.

"I have been in a German labour camp. I have been in a German prison. I have seen terrible things. Keep out of that hell. Germany is hell, because one loses hope there. I am a Christian. I cannot talk to those people. But I can talk to the Communists, because, for one thing, they have sense, and, for another, they care about the welfare of humanity." This declaration was made by a Catholic priest in a working class meeting in the Saar Valley on the eve of the plebiscite, the result of which was hailed as another popular support for the Nazis. It depicts the true state of affairs brought about by the practice of Fascism. The experience of that practice com-

pelled a Catholic priest, no friend of Bolshevism, to recognise the defender of the welfare of humanity precisely in that movement to destroy which is the declared mission of Fascism. That evidence alone should be enough to condemn it as a scourge.



