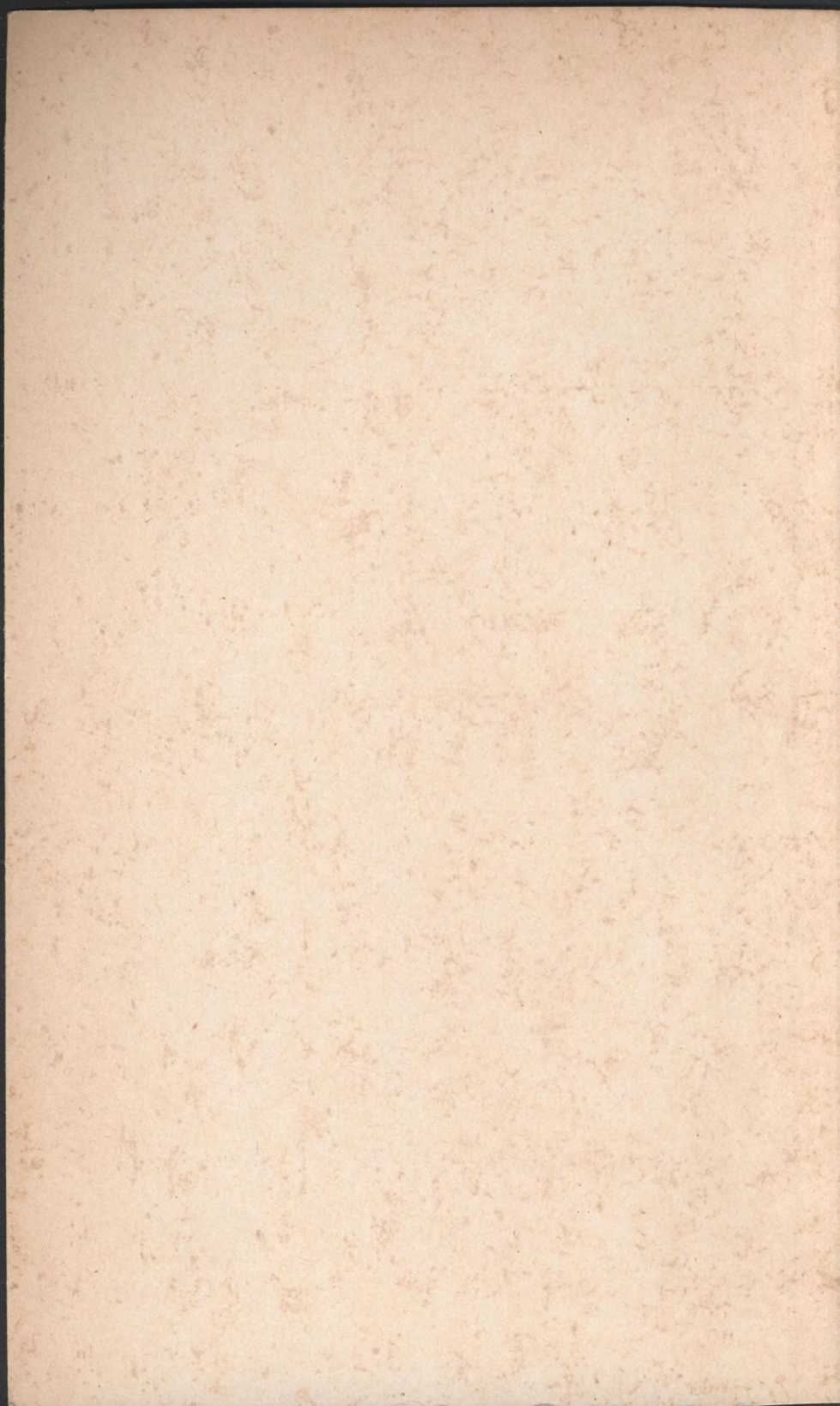


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The Foundation of Social Politics

by

CHARLES BALÁS.



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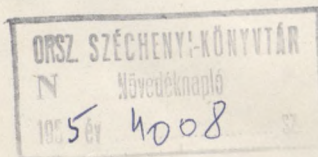
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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Preface	3
Preface to the English Edition	4
Chap. 1. Main points of view	5
Chap. 2. Connection between social interests, aims and means	10
Chap. 3. The favourable outlook	16
Chap. 4. Claims and the adequate satisfaction of needs	18
Chap. 5. Fostering a healthy spirit in the community	21
Chap. 6. Successful production	25
Chap. 7. Communist doctrine of equality	32
Chap. 8. Social democracy	35
Chap. 9. The basic factors of civilised society	44
Chap. 10. New social problems	49
Chap. 11. Organisation of the community for the common good	59
Chap. 12. The Social renaissance of a sense of duty	67
Chap. 13. The aim of Social politics for the common good	75
Chap. 14. Summary of the basic hypotheses and means of realising efficient social politics	78

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PREFACE.

THE customary treatment of Social Politics as a branch of Sociology suffers from two main defects.

Firstly, except for one or two unsuccessful attempts, there is no specific and detailed theory of the principles of Social Politics.

Secondly, although it assumes the rôle of that science whose duty it is to discover, examine and establish ways and means of ensuring the lasting welfare of the masses, of satisfying their needs and claims and of ameliorating their lot, it nevertheless fails to consider and deal with that most important of all questions—HOW their ever-increasing claims are to be satisfied.

Hitherto Social Politics has provided no answer to the following question—Is Labour, which demands an ever-greater and increasing share of this world's goods, with a violence which inclines more and more towards Revolution (advice and incitement to make this claim being a customary feature of all Social Political doctrine), is Labour willing and able to produce the necessary supply to meet the steadily growing demand?

Another question, too, remains unanswered—Labour to-day lays claim to a greater share of the common stock—is their capacity for production keeping pace with their claims (as is necessary)? and further, is there a corresponding growth in the sense of duty and the equally essential will to increase production?

It is no serious answer to this question to object that it is not the business of Social Politics to deal with the laws of production. That is not the point at issue, but, if Labour to-day demands a greater share of the world's supplies and earnestly desires to attain this end for any considerable period, then we are forced to consider this fact, that they must not lessen production, nor must the "will to work" decline in strength and intensity.

Social Politics dare not keep silence and turn a blind eye to this state of affairs which, alas, is daily becoming more and more apparent, for, whatever the quota, or system of distribution, the supplies necessary to provide an increased share for millions must first be produced and, moreover, must be kept up to the same level, if the increase in well-being is to be maintained.

If, therefore, Social Politics desires to promote the attainment of an increased quota for the masses, it should be its foremost duty to consider those social developments which will secure this great end.

The train of thought throughout this work will be mainly influenced by the two points of view set out above. It will provide a foundation for the treatment of Social Politics in detail, which will be undertaken in a subsequent work.

Budapest. March, 1926.

PREFACE TO THE ENGLISH EDITION.

THIS little book, which I wrote in 1922 and 1923, appeared first in Hungarian in 1924. My ideas on the connection between social interests, aims and means (Chap. 2) are given in greater detail in my earlier works ("The Distribution of Wealth in an Age of Capitalism, Budapest, 1913," p. 656, and "Political Economy, 1922," 2 vols.).

In days of such terrible gravity as these, large sections of the community must realise at last that in the midst of the dangers with which all enduring prosperity for the masses, all culture, all the interests of civilisation which make life worth while for civilised man, are threatened by social revolutionary tendencies, which menace us with a return to barbarism, it is those classes of society which uphold these great interests and are penetrated by them, which must be put in a position to protect and defend themselves. Is not the State—that comfortable idea to which we have become accustomed, namely, the State which is able to maintain peace and order even in face of the forces of modern anarchy—is not this already a thing of the past? It ceased to exist when class warfare became a reality, organising its forces on an ever larger scale and undermining our institutions.

The State must therefore be re-created. The impetus of revolutionary Socialism, Communism and Bolshevism is to be explained chiefly by a weakness of the bourgeois, namely, the tendency of the most valuable Conservative brains, which are condemned to destruction by the extreme Reds, to believe even now that civil war, disguised as "class warfare," is nothing more than a political tendency which may be regarded with tolerance.

Consequently, in an atmosphere of class warfare he only can be called a strong and great statesman, in a national and conservative sense, who is able to create a powerful army to back him up, not in order to bring about a revolution, but to put down with its help the revolution of civil war and thus to create the powerful State, the strong moral order and sense of duty which are so necessary for the social order and for production. We can, I think, learn this most important objective lesson from the political and social conditions of to-day.

CH. BALÁS.

CHAPTER I.

Main Points of View.

1. It is of vital importance to the community that all its members should enjoy the greatest possible degree of well-being, whether as social units, nations or states. This well-being is distinguished by an increasing feeling of contentment throughout the community, which arises in the course of its development owing to the satisfaction of individual spiritual and physical needs.

2. Preliminary conditions essential to this atmosphere of well-being are :

(a) A satisfied outlook on things in general (ethics which favour the maintenance of the social order).

(b) Adequate satisfaction of all needs.

(c) A vigorous national organisation which maintains the fabric of society.

3. The adequate satisfaction of needs may be defined as follows:—The certain provision for each individual in one generation after another of the fullest possible satisfaction, both actual and relative, of all needs both spiritual and physical.

A feeling of satisfaction amongst the masses is of the utmost importance from the point of view of peace and social contentment, as there is no earthly paradise which cannot be made to appear a vale of misery if looked upon with a jaundiced eye.

4. The only certain means of ensuring adequate satisfaction of needs for any considerable period is more efficient production, technical, industrial and cultural.

5. The greater the efficiency of production, the greater the quantity and the better the quality of the goods produced, so much the greater will be the average share of the individual.

6. However equal the distribution, if production and individual output diminish, the total amount available for distribution must also be less and the individual share, both of necessities and luxuries, must suffer a progressive decline.

Any Society in which this state of affairs prevails must inevitably be distinguished by continued consumption of the reserves of mental and material supplies produced, accumulated and stored by their forefathers—consumption which is not balanced by sufficient reproduction and which in consequence involves progressive poverty and decadence of mind and body.

7. On the other hand, where we find consistent and increasing efficiency of mental and material production, which has lasted for any length of time, there also we find an increase in supplies, with a consequent increase in the average share of each indi-

vidual. This applies especially to those commodities which are most used, i.e., to those required to satisfy the most elemental needs. The manufacture of such goods on a large scale can only be based upon extensive consumption; our best means, therefore, of benefiting the masses is to produce large quantities of those commodities which are most generally needed.

8. As the conditions set forth in paragraph 6 betoken a consistent decline in well-being, while those described in paragraph 7 lead, on the other hand, to increased prosperity, it is obvious that, whatever scheme or system of ensuring equal distribution is in force, under the conditions named in paragraph 6, the share of each individual will, sooner or later, be less than under the conditions described in paragraph 7, however unequal in the latter case the scheme of distribution.

If production and individual output diminish, social conditions rapidly reach the point where, in spite of the most equal distribution, the great majority of mankind receive less than they would if distribution were less uniform, but production were either increased or maintained at the same level. From the moment at which individuals, under a system of equal distribution, receive less than they do under a system which is more unequal but based on better production, the situation must rapidly change for the worse, since society can ensure an equal share for all, but cannot ensure efficient production.

It follows that the interests of the individual and the community are best served, not by setting up a system of the most equal distribution, but by ensuring more successful production, both spiritual and material. If efficiency in production is hindered by the system of equal distribution, then the latter must be discarded in favour of the former, and not *vice versa*.

It is not, therefore, the most important function of Social Politics to consider the consumption and distribution of the stock of commodities available at any given moment, but rather to ensure the general welfare in some form which is lasting and capable of development. Mankind can only receive a greater share of spiritual and material gifts if production and individual output continue to increase.

9. Further, some guarantees are needed against abuses of utilitarian minorities which are contrary to the public interests. Since, from the point of view of politics, the race and the nation are of greater importance to society than the individual, it is essential to secure the result of racial and national output for the nation. The parasitism of minorities which are homogeneous with the nation is therefore far less dangerous, from the national and sociological point of view, than that of heterogeneous minorities, which for this reason constitute a far more serious problem.

10. The best means of ensuring effective production is to release and utilise the physical and mental energies latent in mankind in a systematic and consistent manner. This can only be done if we succeed in freeing men's inner psychological driving power, above all the will and the love of their vocation, in such a way that they *desire* to produce as much successful work as possible, that they do not oppose the necessity of labour and are ready to work without compulsion.

11. The strongest guarantee of the "will to work" and of love of vocation is offered by that social order, in which every individual enjoys increased benefits as the result of his own increased efforts. As a contrast we have a social order in which the result of individual efforts merely adds a small increase to the collective material and spiritual total, while the individual himself scarcely benefits at all, in spite of greater efforts or increased output.

In the first case, each individual has a direct prospect of benefiting by his increase in output, whereas in the latter case no such prospect exists.

12. In any industrial system based on rigid equality the man who turns out better work and more of it than the average worker receives, relatively speaking, less than his fair share. Anyone, therefore, who is summoned to join the ranks of compulsory labour—compulsion being a necessary preliminary to any scheme of equal distribution—would obviously restrict his output to the essential minimum. We are therefore faced in this case, as far as technical and intellectual activities are concerned, with a state of inefficiency.

13. The system of private ownership tends to provide greater affluence for the individual in proportion to his own efforts. Communism, on the other hand, with a system based on equality of income, tends, relatively speaking, to reduce the share the greater the individual output and to increase the share the less the output.

Although the tendency of private ownership referred to above does not always work out in practice and is more in the region of a possibility, still its existence cannot be denied, and Social Politics should endeavour to protect a tendency which is most important and constructive, and should promote its general acceptance.

Another important point in this connection is the fact that under a system of private ownership the possibility of wages is far more elastic than in the case of a system of equality. The most that can be done in the latter case is to enforce a minimum output, with penalties for non-compliance. If, however, it was desired to give any increased emoluments to those individuals

whose output exceeded the minimum, then it would be necessary to discard the basic principle of the system of equality and adopt the system of payment by results. This system, which is the most effective in securing production, could only be adopted, however, by the disciples of equality as an occasional and infrequent exception as, should they desire to make it a general rule to increase wages for greater efficiency and increased output, then we should merely return to a state of unequal income as before. We see, therefore, that under a system of equality personal effort does not pay, it is more advantageous to produce only the compulsory minimum. This system consequently lacks the most important and effective incentives to efficiency and increase of output, namely, the possibility of deriving benefit from greater individual energy and industry, and therefore such a system can only be adopted by a decadent society, composed of those who consume but do not produce.

14. Social politics should henceforth endeavour to promote a social order whose laws will ensure that as many members of the community as possible enjoy the benefits to be derived from the application of the principle already referred to, namely, increased advantages for increased output. In such a case :—

(a) Production will reach high-water mark both in quantity and quality;

(b) Individual production will be most efficient;

(c) A safeguard will be instituted against parasitism and exploitation by ensuring that better production and output always mean a direct increase in benefit. The evils mentioned cannot be totally exterminated, but this is the least that should be done.

(d) The safeguard suggested under (c) should be guaranteed in two directions—higher pay for better work must, within limits, be protected against attempts at exploitation by capitalist monopolies or other parasitic bodies, and, on the other hand, protected against those who desire to shirk work or to lessen efficiency by means of sabotage, pressure exercised by unions, enforced strikes, class warfare, etc.

(e) Therefore, in Social Politics and also in the division of income, the foundation on which every scheme is based should *not* be a *minimum wage*, but a *minimum output* (the essential minimum).

(f) In the interest of a policy of equal payment, individual output should never be allowed to fall below the essential minimum, as this would lead to a decline in production and in the stock of commodities available for distribution, and consequently to a decrease in the share of all concerned—a destructive policy from the point of view of Society as a whole.

A general increase in wages is only possible where the average individual output required is well maintained. On the other hand, the individual must be allowed to retain his right to increase output if he so desires (freedom to work), and Social Politics should be directed to ensuring that he receives his due recompense therefor, and further, that there is no decline below the essential minimum in all conditions pertaining to hygiene and physical well-being.

(g) The following means should be adopted in order to ensure efficiency and successful production, and to maintain the desire to work:—The individual should be protected, plant, material and stores should be guarded and economically used, war should be made against waste, men, women and children should be protected and insured, means should be taken to prevent exhaustion and loss of health, and to ensure that the minimum output receives a wage enabling the worker to lead a decent, self-respecting life

(h) Since the existence of human beings is founded on certain basic physiological functions—which must also affect the society of which they form a part—these functions must be utilised as the framework on which to build up, not a decadent, but a flourishing and progressive social order.

Every State, nation or society which recognises its own highest interests devotes careful consideration to the question of racial maintenance and racial protection. This is closely connected with the modern "woman question," since women even to-day must carry out their social and physiological duties; therefore the evolution of woman must not be allowed to follow a path which will hinder her from fulfilling her highest duty, physiological and ethical, namely, the efficient maintenance of the family and of the race. Social politics must take steps to discover the ethical and social forces which will safeguard the important interests affected by this question, and must impart their knowledge to the public.

How can we accomplish progress which is universally understood as being in the public interest, and which satisfies the aspirations of an overwhelming majority of our fellow men, and which, therefore, from a social point of view, is crowned with marked success? Only by the adoption of a social policy on the lines suggested above; civilisation can only be saved from social decay and relapse into barbarism by some such policy which can point to positive results. It is indeed well worth our while to exert ourselves and to organise our forces so as to arouse and develop these constructive ideas (which is equivalent to working for the safety of culture and civilisation), so that we may fight our way through and give a good account of ourselves in the revolutionary class warfare which has been forced upon us.

CHAPTER II.

Connection Between Social Interests, Aims and Means.

1. In our consideration of the subject of Social Politics, we cannot adopt any fixed and unalterable decision as to our duties, aims and obligations, unless we have an absolutely clear idea as to the interests which we consider important and which we wish to bring to bear in public life—that is to say, in social, national and political affairs. Amidst fleeting shades of opinion, changes of feeling, tendencies of thought in social questions which are either anxious or exaggerated, our only hope of certainty is to have some firm and unwavering conviction as to our interests. This alone will help us to a timely choice of definite and concrete aims, and only in this way can we form a more or less reliable estimate of the suitability of the means to be employed in our social and political endeavours and determine whether or no they are permissible. For this reason it is necessary to discuss the ideas contained in the words “interests, aims and means,” in greater detail and to throw some light on the relation and connection between them in the social order. By interests we understand that group of ideas, by means of which we discern with more or less reliability those points of view which are to our advantage or disadvantage, either past, present or future, and which either help us to attain our ends or remove us far from them. Our interest therefore lies in the realisation and continuance of all that is helpful to us and in the prevention or removal of all that injures us or that is contrary to our aims. We might term our mental picture of these things—the “*interest idea*” or “*picture*,” our perception of them—the “*interest perception*”—and the result of our deliberations as to whether anything is to our interest or not “*the interest opinion*.”

The strength and constancy of INTEREST OPINIONS differ greatly. They are most definite when it is a question of satisfying some immediate and primitive physical need. Our INTEREST PERCEPTION, too, is most decided when the objects, events and consequences under consideration directly affect ourselves or our relations.

On the other hand, our INTEREST OPINIONS are vague, uncertain and variable in cases where the results and operations of some event or point of view merely affect us indirectly, and where their results may be judged from more than one angle. It frequently happens with regard to certain problems that many, perhaps, indeed, the majority, of the community are unable to form any interest opinion. We may often observe that men

have no clear idea as to whether certain events, tendencies or catch-words correspond either to their own interests or those of their class and nation. In these cases the majority are at a complete loss; they are swayed by moods and the dictates of fashion, by the speeches of others, by habits or newspaper articles, in fact, they allow themselves to be easily influenced by all these things and become cynical and even possibly corrupt. Whenever we are seeking to come to a decision on matters which affect many others as well as ourselves, our opinion is obviously subject to outside influences—therefore it is all the more necessary *to prevent the masses from being influenced, mentally or politically, by harmful and organised suggestion, over-persuasion, misrepresentation and deception, on lines which are absolutely contrary to their true interests.* Persons, vested interests, even races (the Jews, for instance) in command of the means to carry out a campaign of suggestion, can obtain the greatest possible influence over the masses in respect of those questions which relate to collective social and national, rather than individual, interests.

2. There are subjects on which it is easy to form a correct opinion, and there are others where a decision is difficult and necessitates a complicated mental process. The same thing applies to INTEREST OPINIONS. A noisy railway train produces an impression of danger on those who see it, by its very physical manifestations, and reminds them that it is their own interest to step out of its way. Our attitude to events, and especially to distant events, and to changes in social and political life, is not, unfortunately, affected by the same unmistakable, definitely recognisable INTEREST PERCEPTION which is aroused in us by the sight of an approaching train, with its overpowering physical effect on our senses and understanding.

Our interests are not so easily discerned in matters social and political as they are in the case of the threatening physical danger quoted above. On the contrary, they are frequently so obscure that it requires very decided mental effort and conscious search for enlightenment in order to discover and realise them. The recognition of interests in social, national and political questions is generally preceded by the expression of individual INTEREST OPINIONS, which are already in existence, or are being formed by various influences such as reading, study of the question, the opinions of others "for" and "against," advertisement, party solicitation, agitations, disputes and so forth. We can scarcely picture any social or political idea, attitude of mind or opinion, which could possibly originate in any man's brain totally unaided, without preparation and uninfluenced by his surroundings. Every idea must be preceded by the exchange of ideas with others and by a certain amount of reflection and observation.

The computation of our own ideas, opinions and interests is largely influenced, therefore, by the ideas and points of view of those around us, which we have either observed, heard, learnt from experience, criticised, praised or blamed; and it rests upon these as a foundation.

Our INTEREST OPINIONS on matters social, national, etc., are created, propagated, intensified or weakened under the impulse of our surroundings. It is also of importance to determine the origin of the various INTEREST OPINIONS and world philosophies which are prevalent in the community. According to the ideas elaborated above, the social and political views of the individual are traceable either to conscious, independent thought, to acceptance of the views of others, or to *over-persuasion*. In the first case the INTEREST OPINIONS, views and world philosophies are based on independent reflection; in the latter case they are suggested to us by others who inoculate us with their ideas, a process which requires no independent thought on our part, but merely a receptive attitude, involving less activity of brain and exercising only its lesser qualities.

The faculty of independent judgment belongs, therefore, to those who are capable of thinking for themselves, while the great majority of mankind derive their ideas, social opinions and training of thought, as well as the perception of their social and national interests, from the ideas of those around them, imparted by a process of suggestion. The recognition of this fact is especially important in dealing with Social Politics, since mankind in general and the masses in particular may be influenced by harmful and one-sided suggestions on this very subject.

It is therefore of vital importance that the only persons, ideas and movements allowed to exercise an influence by suggestion on the great mass of the community should be those which we consider, from an ethical, cultural and national point of view, to be useful and not destructive.

Suggestion and independent thought may exercise a strengthening or weakening influence upon each other. It frequently happens that our own opinions are confirmed by experience and by the influence of our surroundings. On the other hand, it is not uncommon for our convictions to be altered or modified by frequent reiteration of opposite ideas, conveyed by our surroundings or by our fellow men. We must not forget that there are men who are adepts in the art of obtaining followers by means of suggestion.

The views of everyone are more or less affected by suggestion, and we can hardly conceive of any absolutely independent train of thought; nevertheless we can readily distinguish degrees of independence, as it were, between one man and another.

Whereas A can recognise his own interests and form an opinion on them with comparative ease, B, on the other hand, is mainly influenced by the arguments and points of view of others heard at second-hand; this is even more so in the recognition of social and political interests. In this way we may adopt in perfect good faith opinions as to our own interests which are false and incorrect, if the right opinions, which are held by the enlightened few, are not proclaimed and disseminated with sufficient power.

3. It would be a mistake, however, to imagine that false INTEREST OPINIONS, especially in the social political campaign, are always the result of a well-meaning mistake on our own part. A right opinion as to our own interests is one of the most powerful weapons in industrial and social warfare. It is therefore the object of the combatants to prevent their opponents from being equipped with the requisite knowledge. In social conflicts it may be of the utmost importance to one side to prevent the other from knowing of their opposing interests. In these cases each side attempts to impose false opinions and points of view on the other by means of suggestion. This delicate but all the more deliberate form of deception is of common occurrence in social and industrial disputes. For instance, the repeated suggestion of the power of materialism is admirably adapted to laming the energy and sapping the self-confidence of those who fight under the banner of national and cultural ideals, and who take up arms in the social conflict against those lower revolutionary tendencies which foster love of self.

We have already pointed out that it is much more difficult to recognise collective interests and form a right opinion concerning them than it is to realise our own individual interests, for the general interest is not merely a multiplication of individual interests; on the contrary, the best interests of the many may, in many ways, be in direct conflict with the interests of the individual. The interest of the majority is in fact opposed to the interest of the minority. Consequently, if the interests of humanity as a whole are to be realised, then the minority must give way. In the same way temporary and fleeting interests may find themselves opposed to those which are lasting. For a long time it was held by the majority of people that none of the opposing social interests should take precedence of individual interests; consequently, in all industrial or social conflicts it was considered correct to stand aside and adopt a policy of *laissez faire*. This so-called "liberal" attitude was founded on the supposition that in social and industrial disputes the opposing parties would reach a harmonious solution of their difficulties without any interference by the State or the authorities. We might characterise such an idea as naïf, were it not the philosophy of many.

Agreements and the partial settlement of differences (due to powerful outside influences) are not impossible in the case of a clash of interests, but no one can speak of an immanent, harmonious solution of all our social difficulties without being considered, at the very least, somewhat naïf, since both energy and struggle are necessary if interests are to make themselves felt in the social sphere. The realisation of public interests must not be left to chance any more than those of individuals. It is not enough to have a clear idea of the means of promoting our own interests; we must recognise how to promote the public interest in industrial and social matters, we must desire to attain this end and devote our energies to fulfilling the task.

An essential preliminary to our activities is that we should recognise what these interests are, and that our judgment should be correct as far as circumstances and our human faculties permit.

The recognition of our interests awakens in us the will to realise them. The intensity of our will to realise our own interests (thus aroused) may vary greatly, from the pious expression of a modest hope to a determination which can face the greatest difficulties with the necessary energy.

4. INTEREST OPINIONS combined with the awakening of will-power which they create, produce another psychological conception in men's minds—the picture of their aims. The exercise of our will, which is founded on a recognition of our interests, becomes specially significant in a social and industrial sense if it has some particular end in view towards which it advances with a definite plan and method.

Just as our idea of our interests varies, so too the conception of our aims may vary in strength and intensity. For instance, we may have an idea of our own interests—that is to say, we may picture a series of situations and events which would be to our advantage, but, either we cannot picture the possibilities, sacrifices and difficulties involved in realising them, or else the prospect frightens us and consequently our will to realise our own interests is vague and indecisive. In this case we are aware of our own interests, but we have no end in view. We can observe this state of affairs in political, national and industrial problems, as well as amongst individuals, and we need scarcely wonder at it, as men have to think and decide on public matters as well as on what concerns themselves. As regards social, national and political problems, we may find that men have already formed an opinion and are already beginning to arrive at a correct estimate of their true national and social interests and to discuss them and express their views, but, since they are as yet unable to grasp the possibilities, sacrifices and difficulties

of realisation, or are discouraged by the complications and perversities of social movements, we find that this particular nation, society or class has no definite national, social and political aims. The community is already considering its own interests, but has so far no idea as to what its aims should be. It is undecided and influenced by moods, catch-words and impressions which change from day to day, and hesitates between the different possibilities which are offered by chance in one direction or another. A community in this condition can be influenced to move in directions totally opposed to its own interests, can easily be corrupted, influenced by suggestion and alarmed. It is the easy prey of self-seeking politicians and loud-mouthed agitators who can use the force of suggestion with sufficient skill; for such a community has no great aims and is not as yet composed of intelligent citizens with strong, decided convictions.

As a companion picture we have a group, a community, a nation or any majority led by intelligent citizens, which is no longer satisfied with the passive recognition of its own interests, but which takes steps to attain its own ends; a state of affairs which obviously requires greater foresight, organisation and cohesion. If we are to accomplish anything in the sphere of social and national affairs, it is essential for several people, actuated by the perception of identical interests, to work together in the same way, for the same end. If the aim is a social one, then it means at least that a number of people have agreed upon a common plan of action or have determined what tasks their united efforts are to accomplish in the general interest. They know what they want *and what they have to do*, and this marks a great advance from the mere perception of their interests. Pure perception of interests is really nothing but a kind of contemplation which has no connection with will, but to have a definite end in view is to have a finger-post which directs the activities of the will in realising our desires. In the social and political sphere the pursuance of any aim must be preceded by some consideration of certain endeavours and an agreement as to whether they are righteous and worthy of support. Thus a *collective aim* connotes a certain intellectual co-operation and organisation, or at least betokens that in the community in question the ideas which lead to a common perception of our highest interests and which actuate our will to realise these interests, are present and can be found.

5. In order to make our interests known and to carry out our aims we must have means. The means are necessary to achieve our aims, our aims are dependent on our interests; therefore, *interests, aims and means are merely links in the chain of ideas which is involved in the vindication of our interests.*

In the life of the community the thoughts and acts of men are incessantly concerned with interests, aims and means; it is the consideration of these three subjects which causes the deepest pre-occupation in all the serious endeavours and activities of life, whether that of the individual fighting for his daily bread, or in the national life or in the lives of the teachers of thought in national and social endeavour. The consideration of the interests, aims and means, and other matters intimately connected with them, which affect society, the nation and the State, in other words, *the community*, constitute that sphere of life which is commonly called politics. We can therefore speak of politics in a theoretical sense when we discuss the theory of the connection between public interests, aims and means.

Practical politics, however, means the actual use of such means and the pursuance of such aims. "Society," or Social Politics, therefore, is the consideration of the connection between the interests, aims and means of society.

CHAPTER III.

The Favourable Outlook.

1. The foundation of our social political endeavours may be described as an attempt to create a greater and more general state of well-being within the community, the nation and the State. Our most fundamental and lasting interest, therefore, is to advance in the pursuit of this ideal. The "general" state of well-being, if we are not merely making use of an empty figure of speech, may be defined as: a state in which more and more members of the community enjoy a feeling of prosperity and contentment, which arises in the course of their progress and cultural development by the satisfaction of physiological and cultural necessities. Since, however, men alone can be the architects of their own happiness and prosperity, there are two preliminary conditions essential for a widespread feeling of happiness:—

(a) The majority of the community must be psychologically fit to realise the indispensable feeling of contentment.

(b) They must be fit to work consistently in preparing the necessary conditions or in studying how to prepare them.

For this reason we must consider a favourable outlook on the world in general (ethical culture which upholds the fabric of society), and the will to act in the interest of the community, as indispensable hypotheses and necessary foundations of social

happiness and prosperity, a fact which has been recognised by the founders of all religious and cultural systems of antiquity. The apostles of modern revolutionary Socialism, whose whole endeavours are directed towards the destruction of the present social order, have failed to realise this fact; nor do they recognise this simple truth, that no progressive society of a high order can be founded on the baser instincts of mankind.

Another equally indispensable preliminary to a state of social contentment is the possibility of adequate satisfaction of material needs which, combined with and inseparable from the benevolent conception of the world, makes it possible for the majority of the community to enjoy an economic condition which we might describe as the condition of general and average contentment. We must not forget a third essential factor, namely, strong national order and organisation. A community can never be raised from a state of anarchy and confusion to a progressive, happy, contented and prosperous level under weak and blundering leaders. In human communities it always has been and always will be necessary to safeguard the public interests; this can only be done by the public itself, with the help of the State and the authorities. It is occasionally assumed that men will be so good and perfect, or the social order so well-thought-out and organised, that no legal and social penalties will be required to prevent offences against the community—such an assumption shows lack of judgment. A community or a nation should be able to protect itself in an ethical, industrial and military sense, both at home and abroad, either from suggestions aimed against the social order or from direct attack. Protection must be afforded from all enemies, social, military and industrial, within or without, from foreign nations and the dangerous elements at home, and from all races, whether homogeneous or heterogeneous.

2. The most important and essential factors of social contentment, therefore, are :—

(a) A favourable outlook on the world in general by the community, and conduct which is not prejudicial to the public interests.

(b) Adequate satisfaction of all needs.

(c) A strong social organisation.

The most important interest of any society, therefore, which desires progress and development, is the cultivation of these essential factors, which must be carried out each in its own particular sphere.

It is the business of ethics and psychology to induce the state of mind favourable to a benevolent conception of the world, the satisfaction of material needs belongs to the sphere

of political economy, while the creation of a strong and adequately organised social order must be the principal task of the higher politics.

We see, therefore, that the means of promoting a social well-being and a state of average general happiness are ethical, industrial and political, and are more or less always interdependent.

CHAPTER IV.

Claims and the Adequate Satisfaction of Needs.

1. The satisfaction of needs is better and more perfect in all cases where the supply of goods, means and opportunities is better and more perfect, both relatively and absolutely.

Consequently, in judging of the satisfaction of needs, we must consider the quantity and quality of the ways and means to be employed, a general improvement in quality and quantity showing not only industrial but cultural progress. We do not mean by this that the individual who requires the greatest number of things to satisfy him is necessarily possessed of the highest culture, but that society, by reason of its cultural progress (both relative and absolute), requires both increased wealth and a greater variety of commodities to satisfy its needs. The needs of civilised man differ, both in quantity and quality, from those of a less complex being, although they may not necessarily be more elevated in every respect.

Wherever, in a community, nation or State, we find continuous and lasting possibilities of satisfying individual needs in one generation after another, then we may say that, from the point of view of a progressive society with a high standard of culture, the satisfaction of needs, both physiological and cultural, is better and more adequate.

It is of the utmost importance that any increase in needs should denote a corresponding increase (both absolute and relative) in the cultural quality of the needs; otherwise there is no progress in the higher sense, but merely an increase of needs which may be accompanied with a tendency to effeminacy in members of the community. On the other hand, we must not forget that industrial and cultural progress not only augments the number of so-called spiritual necessities, but also the number and variety of physical and physiological needs in the narrower sense of the word—for instance, the needs and demands of civilised man in regard to food are far more varied than those of primitive man. At this stage of the argument, however, we must

point out and even emphasise from the standpoint of social politics, that although an increase in the quantity and quality of our demands on life is an inevitable accompaniment of progress, yet in certain cases increased and exaggerated claims do not denote progress, but may rather be regarded as an unfavourable social phenomenon. For instance, this may be said to be the case where increased demands (especially for the satisfaction of physical needs) exceed the supplies available, and lead either to extravagance or to a state which is incompatible with the requisite economy. Consequently, in the sphere of social politics we must make a sharp distinction between one claim and another, however much an increase in our demands on life may in itself be an inevitable accompaniment of progress. It is quite obvious that from a social point of view certain claims are beneficial and others injurious, and only those demands which tend to promote, stimulate or evoke industrial and cultural energies can be regarded as useful social phenomena, while claims which lead to extravagance or the consumption of reserves, and which breed parasitism, are plainly unwholesome.

2. This distinction enables us to discover, from a social-political point of view, the presence of that important psychological factor which determines by its presence or absence in the majority of the community, or of the classes composing it, a healthy or unhealthy state of the social organism. From the standpoint of social politics, therefore, it is of the utmost importance *that men should feel content with the satisfaction of those claims which are regarded as useful and not superfluous.* The chief guarantee that this will be so must be sought in the moral and ethical qualities of the individual; the rôle played by a widespread feeling of geniality and satisfaction—we might even say a preponderance of good breeding—is of decisive importance to social peace. We must also remember the great and unmistakable importance of the suggestions prevalent throughout the community, which are either right or wrong, and spring from peaceful or discontented sources. There is no earthly paradise which cannot be made, by skilful presentment, to appear a vale of misery, and in which the greatest social discontent cannot be spread by seditious tongues. The sources of supply are so relatively small and the forces which regulate the economic position of mankind so very far from angelic, that we can scarcely hope for an era in which men's physiological well-being within the social order will ever be so perfect that their nerves will not react to suggestions conveying discontent. For this reason the only means of enabling men to discriminate with certainty between useful and injurious social claims is to ensure *that the ethical standard of the majority of the community leads them to act in the public interest.*

One of the most important facts which must be recognised by modern communities is, that every social organism, even if only partially developed, must have an ethical culture which supports the fabric of society, which promotes a sympathetic outlook in the members of the community, and predisposes them to maintain a certain social and national order and to ensure the public safety. This culture must so influence mankind that in social intercourse the normal feeling of the majority is a *desire* to work for the common good and to *abide by their promises and contracts*, and that men should not seek to injure, deceive and cheat one another. We can easily see that men's conduct may be either for or against the public interest. In all the great volume of business and social intercourse in which millions take part, the more individuals there are who act in the public interest, the fewer there are who are obliged either to turn to the State for protection or to protect themselves by means which often bear a great resemblance to a direct attack.

In a community where a great majority of its members act in accordance with the public interest, or, in other words, are moral and upright, we do not find men obliged to resort to the methods of an earlier age of violence in order to protect themselves, or to prolong their existence by underhand methods savouring of deceit and usury. A state of affairs in which "a poor but honest" man cannot obtain even his fair share without resorting to tricky subterfuges, is unhealthy and shows that the community in question has no idea of true values and is consequently oblivious of its most vital interests, unless there is some temporary advantage to be obtained. The most vital display of energy in the whole social order is the simple subordinate work of the artisan, honestly and consciously performed. All other production and creative activity must be founded in the main on his labour, carried out efficiently and in great quantity. Cunning minds look on this class of work as unprofitable endeavour and attempt to evade it, one man avoids any occupation which entails physical exertion, another engages in sabotage, and so forth, therefore he who follows a trade affording no very great prospects, with honourable zeal, is all the more useful to the community. It is to the public interest that love of occupation and conscientious work should prevail amongst those who carry out the vast but simple labours on which the satisfaction of our necessities depend. All those spiritual attributes which tend to prevent this, such as a desire to rise in the social scale, a cynically-malevolent attitude, or a spirit of active cunning, are prejudicial to the public interest. It is therefore the duty of Social Politics in so far as it desires to promote the public interests, to place the desire to work and the love of vocation on a high and secure pedestal, and to fight against the spread of a utilitarian spirit

and all who disseminate materialistic doctrines. The increase in number of those elements who evade work which is ungrateful, but yet necessary to the community, is a dangerous phenomenon and one totally opposed to the public interest. On the other hand, it is of great benefit to the community when, from time to time, men emerge of such a calibre *that they are capable of originating social movements and events tending to raise love of work and vocation in the masses to its former high level, and to sweep away the opposing forces of cynicism and materialism.* For instance, the appearance of *Mussolini* and his gospel of *Fascism*, viewed purely from an abstract point of view, is an epoch-making event of public interest, chiefly because he and *Fascism* have implanted in the souls of his followers the moral idea of *the fulfilment of duty*, and have thus restored throughout all classes an effective ideal and philosophy. Nations in which a high moral standard prevails, where individual citizens show a love of vocation and sense of duty, even when engaged in the simplest manual labour, and where the needs of the people are adequately satisfied, may confidently expect a happy and contented community. A calm and contented outlook is not of necessity solely due to the adequate satisfaction of needs, but may be a result of being satisfied with one's work and occupation.

CHAPTER V.

Fostering a Healthy Spirit in the Community.

1. Man is susceptible to suggestion, and social groups are more or less directly due to its influence, a fact which must be reckoned with in founding social institutions, organisations, and so forth. The grade of susceptibility amongst the population in question, and any temporary influence which may affect it, must be taken into consideration. Amongst such influences special attention must be paid to dangers or harmful suggestions which it is advisable to combat in the public interest—at least in the opinion of those who hold that efficient provision must be made for the protection of vital national, racial and human interests—which involves the effective safeguarding of public interests.

The masses are more ready to listen to innumerable suggestions from all kinds of sources than to sober and considered advice based on reflection. This is especially the case in matters of public interest, where it is not a question of acting on direct impulse as it is, for instance, in the satisfaction of simple daily needs. As a rule, matters which affect the community for good or ill are not recognisable by such direct and unmistakable

signs that each one of us can place them correctly without a certain amount of thought or the necessary mental field of vision. Consequently our understanding and the deductions due to a practical outlook are not of such unmistakable value to us here as in the sphere of the satisfaction of our every-day needs; small wonder, therefore, that in deciding on matters of public interest and conduct, hear-say, over-persuasion, imitation—in a word, suggestion, play a far greater part than when we are considering our own modest needs and the possibility of satisfying them. It is hardly surprising, either, that in this case, where people have far less opportunity of relying on direct observation and of forming an independent opinion, their acts should be more influenced by over-persuasion and the advice and hints of others than when they are dealing with their own private affairs. The sphere of public affairs is the typical realm in which suggestion flourishes. It is far easier there to accept opinions and tendencies which are contrary to sober experience, easier to gain adherents for ideas and principles which have no practical justification, since in the majority of questions affecting the public interest, even experience is not so obvious and easily attainable as in our own simple private affairs. For this reason there are greater and more varied possibilities of erring or being led astray, and consequently greater success to be attained by the spread of erroneous or even harmful doctrines in the sphere of public affairs than, for instance, could be attained in private life by large groups of men who might seek to gain a living by selling diseased meat or by regular theft. The greater difficulty of forming an opinion as to public interests renders it more difficult to discover offences against them, which often leads to such offences being judged with greater leniency and consequently to a feeling of less responsibility in, say, for instance, the choice of a party or a movement, than in some matter affecting our private affairs. We can hardly be surprised that owing to these circumstances many people frequently sacrifice the common good, which although it is far more important for society, is indirect and less clearly defined in their minds, in favour of their own individual interests, which are direct and easily recognisable. In this way a utilitarian minority, a revolutionary group, or, above all, a clever agitator, versed in the spreading of ideas, can easily obtain adherents amongst the masses with regard to questions and movements affecting the general interest. He can easily persuade people to follow a certain course of action in such cases as being better and more suitable, which they would utterly repudiate if they were dealing with their own affairs. The forces of such a suggestion may become even fanatical conviction, if the sponsors of the social movement in question can offer certain direct advantages to possible adherents, a procedure which may

often have the effect of an actual bribe. We can therefore easily understand that a belief in the necessity and inevitability of "Marxian" evolution can be more easily spread amongst the masses than trust in the results of methodical resolution and endeavour. For these reasons we can see plainly how it has been possible both in the past and the present to persuade numbers of people in all ranks of society to follow movements which are easily recognisable as being contrary to the general interest. All these points of view tend to show the importance of restoring sane judgment in the matter of individual rights, the recognition of the fundamental interests of the community and the proper choice of social movements. In order that our common interests should make themselves felt, we need *effective logic* and a sound way of thinking.

2. Effective logic is that which leads us to correct conclusions. The best way of promoting sound logic in the sphere of Social Politics is to ensure, on the one hand, more wholesome criticism of social and political questions; and on the other hand, the furtherance of all methods which will result in the wider and more general dissemination of such sound and reasonable criticism throughout the community. However we may decide to organise the spread of those views and movements which we consider advisable, it is also essential to combat the influence of harmful ideas and tendencies, and, above all, to organise the circulation and reinforcement of correct and suitable criticism. The active propagation of ideas is necessary to gain a hearing for certain social views and to give them the chance of circulation, the latter being best effected by the spread and strengthening of criticism.

If we start from the point that those tendencies and ideas in social matters are correct which bring our essential interests to the fore and lead us nearer to the attainment of the ends therein involved, then the best method for us to adopt is to support these ideas and tendencies by logical argument, to speak in favour of them and to protect them before all ranks of the community, *to reiterate our convictions as to their being right and salutary on every possible occasion.*

It is obvious that any widespread results in stimulating and strengthening effective criticism of tendencies which are prejudicial to the common interest, must be conducted in the similar manner. The apostles of those movements which seek to undermine and destroy the social order have long been aware of the power and effect of these methods.

The Socialist-Communist or "Marxian" movement has known for a long time that the fate of the movement depends upon their activity in the propagation of their ideas. The measure of their success up to the present, the relatively easy and

rapid way in which those ideas took root, has been mainly due to the fact that the "bourgeois" is not easily roused and was too indolent to oppose their revolutionary suggestions by equally nimble and suggestive criticism. This accounts for the circumstance that the most general tenets of the "Marxian"-Communist teaching became commonplaces in the thoughts, even in the convictions, of large sections of the community. The awakening of effective logic to oppose this dangerous revolutionary teaching, which leads us back to a state of barbarism, is intimately connected with the question of European culture, and the promotion of the welfare of individuals, races and nations within the framework of that civilisation which has developed through many ages of bitter endeavour. The world of ideas according to Marx (together with the whole racial type of brain which leads the way in that domain) is totally foreign and opposed to the logic of European nations, and it is not to their credit that they have been so long in perceiving the necessity of circulating some effective criticism and in carrying out this common duty. The soul of the peoples of to-day finds more adequate expression in national and racial movements which are opposed to the doctrines of Karl Marx, and, further, the psychic peculiarity of all European peoples, not used to parasitism, is a belief in the value of doing one's duty by work which is up to standard in quantity and quality, as the only progressive and generally useful method, since these ideas are far more natural to them than Communistic doctrines. This can easily be demonstrated by the fact that revolutionary ideas of foreign origin, based on the awakening of the lower instincts, can be rapidly and victoriously driven out by the ideal of progress and well-being to be attained within the national social order, if the ideas and arguments which uphold it in opposition to the doctrines of Marx are circulated with energy and decision. The example of Italian Fascism, which is such an important event in the world's history, shows in a most striking way that the idea of the necessity of honest work and fulfilment of duty is a conception which appeals to the ideals of Christian and European nations. We can clearly see from this that revolutionary Socialism is a parasite which feeds upon the instincts of discontent and bears the same relation to the constructive philosophy referred to above, as a narcotic stimulant to wholesome food. The masses—according to age and circumstance—are turned, either by means of alcohol or provocation, into means to achieve their ends by those who are not in a position to influence them by the suggestive force of their self-sacrificing ideal behaviour, or by the power which they possess under the present system of law and order. As soon, however, as real men appear who, by adequate organisation and the requisite decision, re-awaken belief in the fulfilment of duty, in

common discipline, and in the power of old and well-tried unions and connections, then we find that they quickly obtain a large following. Amongst those followers, effective mass logic regains supremacy—a mass logic which holds that the only means of progress for society is the fulfilment of duty which means productive labour, in contrast to the ideas which tend to encourage the division and consumption of available commodities. The only hope of founding a period in which a community or nation may increase in material and spiritual prosperity is to ensure the spread, the strengthening or reawakening of those virtues which tend to uphold the social order; the only men who ever have, or ever will, contribute in any marked degree to the common material and spiritual stock are those who take their stand upon this foundation.

CHAPTER VI.

Successful Production.

1. We have laid down as conditions of the adequate satisfaction of needs, that from one generation to another more and more commodities of better quality should be available for material and spiritual needs. We have also pointed out that social peace and contentment depend upon the masses adopting a favourable attitude towards the world in general, as, whatever conditions may be, they can easily be convinced they are miserable, if discontent be sufficiently skilfully aroused. The only method of ensuring a long period in which needs are adequately satisfied is by effective production—that is, production which is increased in quantity and quality. The permanent and adequate satisfaction of needs can only become a factor of happiness in community or nation when, for long periods, the national output (industrial, technical and cultural) is sufficient to provide every individual with a fair average share of all commodities. In the average social or national distribution of goods, it is only possible for each individual to receive adequate provision *if sufficient commodities are available*; hence the basic factor is, not the correctness of the scheme of distribution, but the quantity of goods available. We can only consider a scheme in which every individual receives an adequate quota of necessities, when the supply equals the demand.

If, owing to unsatisfactory production, the supply does NOT equal the demand, then it is absolutely useless to seek for the just or ideal scheme of distribution which would give every individual an adequate share. General well-being can only be

attained by means of production on a large scale. If we are to see a state of general well-being lasting for any length of time, then production during that period must be so successful that the requisite supplies are available to ensure a satisfactory individual quota. The discovery, determination or calculation of a just or ideal scheme of distribution is merely paper work, which requires at most a certain mathematical skill, statistical dexterity or social-political prepossession, whereas continuous and timely production, over a long period, of supplies adequate to meet the demand for necessities, requires devoted, energetic self-sacrificing work and the inherited knowledge of generations. The said paper work merely pre-supposes certain more or less intellectual projects of reform, but the work of millions of honest and dutiful men for generations has gone to make the latter intensive development of power. It has been helped by self-sacrificing pioneer work in the realms of science and technical arts, by the honest and successful physical labour of the masses and by the safeguarding of society against destroyers and parasites. Proposals which are pleasing to the masses and directed at changing the present social order are easily framed, and a fanatical belief in their unique efficacy can be aroused by those who are technical experts in the art of leading the masses and spreading ideas; provided they are sufficiently superficial and lacking in conscience, they can easily promise a state of well-being and contentment if their proposals are accepted. General well-being for the majority of the community can only be attained in the case of millions of men, if they produce material and cultural commodities in such quantities over a long period that each of them can obtain a fair share.

The division and consumption of supplies is easy, but it is difficult to provide *sufficient* supplies to satisfy the masses, as even a slight increase of well-being and of the quota of necessities can only be attained by increased production and the successful efforts of the millions.

2. Up to the present, superficial thinkers and unscrupulous social-political movements have tried to foster the idea, which they present as the motive power for their efforts in public life, that better and more adequate satisfaction of necessities, and conditions of life for the masses, i.e., the material well-being of the majority of the community, depends chiefly upon the question of the *rights of property* as applied to the sources from which commodities are obtained, and not from the efficiency or success of production and the mechanical means employed. The holders of modern Socialist doctrines devote a great deal of brain and energy to argument in favour of common possession and in the endeavour to prove the injustice and anti-social character of private ownership. The question of increasing production

(whether ownership is private or communal) and the relation it bears to individual output is carefully ignored, either owing to well-meaning superficiality or with malicious intent. They take good care not to discuss in detail which factor is more important, more general and effective with regard to the amount of the individual quota of commodities; effective production, collective ownership or private ownership. The prevailing Socialist doctrines state the matter very simply, we might almost say with a logic made for artless and discontented multitudes, as follows :— that an increase in the average income, i.e., better conditions and satisfaction of needs for the majority, must follow as a natural consequence of collective ownership or the Communist system of distribution. Socialists are full of ingenious and inexhaustible arguments when they desire to emphasise the opportunities of accumulating wealth and using it for individual ends afforded by the capitalist system, and to use these arguments as a means of agitation. They do not observe, probably they do not wish to observe, that there is no direct connection between private or collective ownership and the satisfaction of the most important needs of the masses, and that even if some direct connection could be established, we could not therefore deduce any argument in favour of collective ownership. Amongst the prevailing or most wide-spread views held to-day, not one is falser or more superficial than that held by the modern Socialists and suggested by them to the masses, namely, that collective ownership of the means of production would necessarily mean a larger share of all commodities for the individual. This argument is based on the arithmetical thesis that the greatest number of the largest quotients is obtained by dividing any quantity into equal parts; therefore if equal distribution becomes law, the individual share will be at its highest. This demonstration may satisfy simple, uncritical persons or those who desire to believe at all costs that the new social order will be better and make for greater happiness; but if we study it closely we find in the chain of thought only one factor which determines the basic co-efficient (relative and absolute) of the quantity of goods to be divided—and that is successful production. Socialist teachings assume as a matter of course that in the case of collective production the quantity of those commodities most required for general use would be greater and more adequate than, or at least as great as, in the case of production by private owners. Modern Socialist theories are nowhere weaker or more vulnerable than here, since it is easiest of all to see in this argument that their conclusions have left out the most important point, namely, *what is the individual output* under the various forms of social and legal government, and what is the effective production. In other words, the Socialists do not answer the

following question, which they either will not or dare not ask themselves: How efficient are the methods by which the various forms of social and legal government *can and will induce men to work?* either by suitable organisation, by means of pressure, or by reason of stimulating and energising factors inherent in the psychology of human nature. That social order which brings production of essential commodities to the highest level, can distribute the largest individual quota. The results of production and the share of each one of us will be greater when we bring more work, more industry, greater knowledge, both special and general, greater conscientiousness and love of occupation into play. This is the most important and basic consideration of all, the others carry no great weight as opposed to it: namely, those objections which relate to inequalities of income due to inequalities of ownership and also to the quantity of commodities which will fall to the lower orders under a system of private or collective ownership respectively. Let us be quite clear as to the point at issue: the question is—which social and industrial system provides for the most favourable distribution for the majority of the essential commodities? We are not merely discussing under what conditions the greatest possible number of people *may receive* the greatest possible quantity of these goods; our chief preoccupation is to discover when the greatest number of people *actually do receive* an adequate share of these necessities. One of the weightiest objections to the modern organisation of production advanced by the Socialists is this, namely, that under the capitalist system a great deal is produced, but that very little (both relatively and absolutely) of the goods in question ever reaches the great mass of the community, because under a system of private ownership by far the greater share of the goods goes to the wealthy classes. We should take careful note, therefore, that Socialism makes *the present system of private ownership* responsible for the fact that the lower orders only receive a small proportion of the most essential commodities, and asserts that under the Communist system they would receive a greater share of these important necessities.

3. The superficiality of this train of thought and the paramount importance of effective production in considering this question, are most obvious when we make a closer study of what may be called the *degrees of intensity* in the rights of possession which has hitherto been somewhat neglected by students of the subject.

The proof of the almost illimitable accumulation of property by the capitalist, as opposed to the poverty of the proletariat, is used as a picturesque and highly coloured argument, which generally has a great effect, even on intelligent minds. It is

remarkable that Socialist criticism, especially that of the followers of Marx, has attacked the theory of accumulation from many different points of view, but has never discussed the effect on society of the institution of private property and its ramifications in any detail. It may be said that industrial and social-political theorists, whether their tendencies be towards the Left or the Right Party, have also failed to recognise that the idea of property can only be regarded as uniform in a purely legal sense, whereas in reality many social consequences affecting our way of life, many physical and technical consequences, result from the conditions of property, according to whether the goods which constitute our property are greater or less in quantity. Marx' theory, which presents the process of accumulation under capitalism as an argument of basic importance, does not recognise that this accumulated property, owing to the nature of its manifestation and its social effect, is no longer the same as property which consists of a less quantity of goods. This fact has not been clearly understood either by those thinkers with social-political tendencies who take their stand on the necessity of private ownership; they felt instinctively that it was correct when they were denying the "social" effect of capitalist accumulation as stated according to Marx, but they could not give any definite reason *why the accumulation and ownership of goods (whether produced or to be consumed) could not have the "social" effect (as regards mode of consumption and insufficient distribution of income) attributed to it by Socialist theories.* The essential point which is not taken into account by either school of thought is the fictitious character of property as a legal category. Lawyers and even practical men, whose industrial life is conducted within the forms and restrictions laid down by law, are accustomed to consider "property" as a right which is always equally strong, and which gives to owners at all times and in all places absolute rights over their own property. This idea of property has been accepted by social-political thinkers and even by Socialists. It has never been recognised that in real life the effect of the institution of property depends upon men, and is determined by the fact that the intensity of the utility of possession (i.e., the intensity of the use of possessions by their rightful owners) is in inverse ratio to the quantity of possessions. Consequently the intensity of property (that is to say, of the use of the rights of property) is also in inverse ratio to the quantity of possessions. For instance, property rights which relate to the food necessary to sustain the life of any individual, are quite different from a physiological point of view, to those which concern an estate of 100,000 hectares of land or a factory employing several thousand hands. The food necessary to sustain life in any individual is completely consumed, and thus strictly speaking

is turned to physical use, it is digested, used to nourish and regenerate the blood, the muscles and the nerves. The owner of a 100,000 hectares of land can only make use himself of a very small portion of the food produced thereon, the greater part is consumed by others, in fact a great number of people use it for the physical maintenance of blood, nerves, etc. In the same way, the proprietor of a cloth or shoe factory employing several thousand hands, cannot himself wear all the suits made out of the cloth manufactured there, or all the shoes. As the proprietor of 100,000 hectares of land has only one stomach, and the factory owner referred to has only one body and two legs, they can only use in a direct physical way sufficient food for one man or such an amount of other commodities as could scarcely be divided amongst many more. Consequently the goods produced by the means in their possession are used, with the exception of a very small share, by others; this rule applies all the more, the greater the possessions to which the rights of property apply. The more the sources of supply and the greater the quantity of goods (either produced or acquired for consumption) which are in our possession, the less quantity can be used or consumed by ourselves and our families, and consequently a larger share is used and consumed by others, i.e., the community. Thus the "intensity" of property, that is to say the actual use of the rights, probabilities and possibilities of use, is in inverse ratio to the greatness of the property (i.e., to the quantity of possessions belonging to any one individual).

4. The human community, the conditions of life, food and the satisfaction of elemental necessities, increase of population, in fact most of the spiritual and more complicated problems of existence, do not revolve round or depend on who originally or finally possesses the means of production or the finished products, but are mainly determined by who are the final users and consumers, and by the quantity of material and spiritual possessions which can be made use of by each member of the community. This matter cannot finally be decided by the distribution of property, but by the *state of production* at any given period; that is to say, the individual can only receive an adequate quota of necessities when supply equals demand. The question of successful production must be considered before that of the ownership of the goods produced, namely, are necessities produced in large quantities or not? *Where goods are produced in sufficient quantities for mass consumption, there the masses will consume sufficient, as mass production can only be based on mass consumption.* The accumulation and circulation of commodities must progress side by side with their use. Commodities will be consumed under any system of production, whether they are privately or collectively owned. It is obvious from the above

arguments that the most vital interest of the community as regards production is that it should be efficient, i.e., that necessities should be produced in such quantity that every individual may enjoy a fair share. If production is abundant and successful, then the adequate distribution and consumption of elemental necessities will be a more or less necessary corollary.

Private or collective ownership of the means of production do not in themselves affect the results of production, either in quantity or quality. If we can obtain better and more abundant production of the most vital necessities, when distribution of the results is unequal, then we can obtain by equal distribution or by handing over the produce to become common property, then it is to the interest of the community to adopt the first and not the second course of action.

It is to the common interest, therefore, as regards production, that on the one hand the means of production should be controlled by those whose organisation will ensure the greatest efficiency, and, on the other, that more and more members of the community may enjoy a greater and more perfect satisfaction of their needs.

The synthesis shows the ideal aim, which corresponds to the most vital interests of the community, but the means of realising it cannot be sought in a magic remedy, a proposal to reform society, by the simple means of altering the laws relating to property. Successful production requires the successful development of spiritual and physical energies and human material to put them into force; it requires discipline and knowledge, adequate space for development and the necessary sources of supply, as well as supplementary activities and sacrifices needed to ensure peace and national safety.

In the present defective condition of human affairs, it is impossible to realise the synthesis given above in its entirety, but our aim must be to get as near to realisation as possible. For this purpose constant and unremitting work will be required which arouses technical, cultural, organising, defensive and disciplinary energies, both spiritual and physical, and which continuously and successively perfects the work which has already been done. The only means which can bring us nearer to the goal is the varied and reliable work of individual units, working together in harmony—i.e., the honest and consistent industry of generations. If these preliminary conditions do not exist, social reforms, slogans, ideologies, etc., are nothing but idle schemes which, at most, can benefit some of the political parasites with elastic consciences, who are a curse to modern society, at the expense of the real professional men.

CHAPTER VII.

Communist Doctrine of Equality.

1. If production and individual output decrease, the quota of individual necessities and luxuries must be less, however equal the scheme of distribution. Any society in this condition will be characterised by the consumption of reserves (material and spiritual) produced and stored by their forefathers, and consequently by growing material and spiritual poverty and decadence.

We can say with perfect justice that revolutionary Socialism leads to ruin. In this connection it is not of the first importance to determine whether the point of view adopted by Socialist thinkers in drawing their theoretical conclusions and framing their basic hypotheses is just and accurate or unjust and inaccurate; the chief consideration is: how much work, how much industry, how much discipline which promises conduct favourable to the public interest, how much of that moral attitude which makes a life of culture possible, together with the necessary favourable outlook on things as they are—how much of all these things can be guaranteed in a community founded and built up in the way of revolutionary Socialism? We have to-day practical proof of the results, and it is not so easy now as it was a short time ago to suggest to any man capable of sane judgment that the adoption of Socialist theories would lead to the foundation of an earthly paradise; events have caused men who are capable of thought, and willing to exercise that capacity, to pause and reflect. Revolutionary Socialism, which is a menace to our social order, is a decadent and destructive movement, because apart from a scheme of equal distribution and alteration of the laws, it has nothing to offer as a foundation for a better social and industrial order. It forgets—is this forgetfulness deliberate or not?—that greater material well-being for the community can only be secured by that social order and system of production which is able to exact greater energy in production from the members of the community themselves. If, therefore, the masses can be caused to do more work under a capitalist than under a Communist system, then they will receive more necessities and will consequently be better off under the former régime. The objection that the working classes would derive little benefit from capitalist production is ridiculously weak. If production is to be carried out on any extended scale it must be done by mass production, which can only be based upon a corresponding mass consumption; this latter factor being inseparably bound up with

capitalist production, which is based upon it and of which it is a necessary corollary. The development of capitalism, therefore, must be accompanied and supported by an increase in mass consumption; such an increase and an increase in the number of articles regarded as necessities, is equivalent to an increase of material well-being.

The revolutionary tendencies which prevail in Socialism to-day destroy all the feelings and convictions in the souls of the workers which promote ethics favourable to the common interest, and without which no individual can continue to bring into play those energies which command success. Socialist agitation undermines the sense of duty and discipline amongst the masses and destroys the Christian ideal of the dignity of labour inculcated throughout the ages with painstaking care. Socialism makes it impossible for anything like the same energy to be put into their work by the masses (even in a country like Soviet Russia, where strikers can be shot down), especially in a community where capitalist production either is, or will be, non-existent, where there are no energetic capitalists to organise and where the social order fails to demand a certain minimum output in return for wages, the only sure method of securing effective labour. In a Socialist-Communist community the only means of ensuring adequate and sufficient individual output would be the use of force. In a community whose founders have begun by destroying in its masses the virtues of industry and pride in work, and have replaced them in the souls of the workers by a cynicism most injurious to the common interest; simply in order to fill them with enmity towards the present social order, its ideals and the conception of duty which supports and protects it—in such a community there are no longer any individual ethical guarantees of honest and successful work.

The Socialist-Communist order would also lack the organising and guiding energies of enterprising business men, so that nothing but force would remain to ensure the necessary industry and zeal of the workers. In this respect the State, or whatever the authoritative power might be called, is least fitted to deal with individuals who are recalcitrant or lacking in goodwill; for the worker stands in an entirely different relation to an employer than to a Socialist authority. A labourer working for a capitalist employer does so in a social order which demands a certain concrete result from his labours. In present conditions the great majority of the workers must comply with this demand, although Socialist agitation continues to undermine personal pride in satisfactory output. The situation would be completely altered if a Socialist State were to find itself confronted with those very workers whom they had incited to revolution against their

former employers, and in whom they themselves had awakened destructive tendencies. The expectations of these workers have been raised to an exaggerated degree by promises and hopes of a better social order and the desire to harm the old order has led to a great decrease of industry; further, the Socialist order has reduced the hours of work and the minimum output. Working classes such as these will remain utilitarian even under the new social conditions.

2. If we watch the course of events and the direction of social tendencies with due seriousness, the following problem presents itself: the ideal of honest work, which should prevail in the common interest amongst the working classes, is being threatened with slow extinction owing to the campaign of the revolutionaries against the ethics of the existing social order, which the Socialists have so aptly called "the revolutionising of the individual." They do not realise, or possibly they are not educated enough to realise, that by so doing they are not only destroying the present social order, but are also attacking any social organisation which is built up on the effective labour of the working classes—that is to say, they are undermining the foundations of the promised Socialist state. We may justly say, that whilst this destruction of "moral" is slowly ruining capitalist production and causing serious crises, it would render production run on Communist lines totally impossible. Under such a régime, the factors which stimulate work under the capitalist system, and the motive power of private ownership, would be lacking, so that with the removal of these utilitarian incentives nothing would be left to depend on but the sense of duty and desire to work; and the development of the virtue of industry would be the sole means of ensuring that the masses should actually produce in an efficient manner sufficient commodities to satisfy the needs of the community. *Communist States, therefore, would require working classes with a higher ethical standard in order to secure the same amount of work as capitalist organisations can secure with workers of a lower moral calibre. Any such new organisation would require workers with a high sense of duty to ensure production equal to even the average output of to-day; whereas, in point of fact, they are training up a vast army of men with a low moral standard and little sense of duty. Wherever we see Communism in actual practice to-day we see a community of misery and not of well-being, since the latter can only be attained by energy and increased productive labour.*

CHAPTER VIII.

Social Democracy.

1. It is of the utmost importance that whatever political and social systems may be in force, no perverse tendencies should place hindrances in the way of effective social co-operation, such as would prevent the systems in question from being successfully carried out. From the point of view of social and political co-operation, the system and practice of social democratic governments is of all others the least suitable. According to the Socialists, social-democracy is the prelude to Communism; what they really mean is that by tactical use of democratic institutions they hope to prepare the way for Socialist aims; thus social democracy is an instrument in the service of Communism which hovers before them as a goal. If social-democrats occasionally deny or attempt to soften this, it is only for tactical reasons. According to modern Socialist ideas, therefore, the relationship of social-democracy to Communism is that of an unsuccessful present to a better and happier future. In the unsuccessful present the proletariat, by way of transition, is still obliged to lend itself to the organisations and institutions of bourgeois society in order the better to gain political power; it must to a certain extent pretend that it has taken a path in common with certain bourgeois elements out of conviction, but all with the intention of breaking later with the political ideology and institutions of the bourgeois, and taking its own way in an entirely opposite direction, leading to the blessed state of Communism. Democracy, therefore, from a Socialist point of view, is principally there in order to help the proletariat on the way towards Communism. As a matter of fact, to the masses, there is very little difference between the ideas which dominate Social Democracy or Communism; in both, the dictates of Karl Marx are the dogmas to which the proletariat must swear allegiance. The common aim of both is the same and they both consistently suggest to the masses the same belief, that the doctrines of Marx are infallible and his aims, since they alone are right, need no alteration.

Social democracy is also a revolutionary movement; it generally calls itself the international revolutionary social-democratic party, and only occasionally shows a disposition to change the title, purely for tactical reasons. Social-democracy takes its stand on class warfare, and it speaks for the boundless weakness and helplessness of "bourgeois" governments, that they allow the party to exist within the State as a recognised political party, which inscribes the device of "revolution" on its banner.

and, with perfect propriety, under the protection of the law, organises and preaches class warfare. Modern democratic states have even permitted social democracy to organise with the avowed intention of promoting class warfare, while they have put obstacles in the way of organisations founded by the Conservative classes in order to protect themselves from aggression. Consequently, we have seen the following ludicrous situation: a State preventing a certain portion of the community from exercising self-protection with a view to upholding the existing social order, while it permits the other portion of the community to organise and develop class warfare and revolution designed to overthrow the State, under the guise of a recognised political party. What is the chief reason for this astounding weakness of modern States? In the less robust, no doubt the threatening attitude of the masses makes a difference, but, apart from the dictates of sound sense, there is surely experience enough to show that it is possible by energetic and determined organisation to gather together a strong and useful force for the defence of those national and social institutions, which are recognised as being worthy of maintenance. If certain Governments, therefore, protect those who advocate class warfare and other forms of agitation prejudicial to State and community, at the expense of those who desire to maintain and protect the social order, we may find the principal reason—apart from forces outside politics—in the perversities and weaknesses of the parliamentary political system. In order to obtain the support of parliamentary parties or to gain a parliamentary majority, the most vital interests of community, nation and State must be denied—for this reason we must look on powerless and endure, while the work of destruction goes systematically on. The critical historian of a later age will possibly point out what a degree of political decadence is denoted by this state of affairs. This course of action simply means that those who practise it, in return for a provisional compromise or some temporary support, are perpetually agreeing to the future destruction of the existing social order. The art of government of those States with a parliamentary system, which, for temporary party reasons, are afraid to employ drastic remedies for the cure of the great social disorder, consists merely in the successful postponement of this inglorious future. The original weakness in dealing with the situation is now making itself felt; European governments did not realise, they either would not or dare not recognise, that the most vital interest of European Christian communities and States forbade them to permit the existence of any agitation, party, government or parliamentary fraction which was based on the doctrines of Marx, or to make any political concession whatever to revolutionary class warfare. Protection against aggressive

class warfare is an elementary duty. If a State cannot afford the Conservative classes adequate protection against modern revolutionary tendencies, then at least it should not tie their hands and abet revolution, by preventing them from defending themselves. Mussolini deserves a place in the world's history because, by setting aside decaying parliamentary fractions, he showed nations for the first time how effective means of self-defence, on a really grandiose scale, can be created against revolutionary movements.

2. We will now look somewhat more closely at the social and industrial inefficiency inherent in social democracy. Its ultimate aims are those of Communism, but since, having made a compromise with bourgeois democracy, it must adopt the political arrangements of a bourgeois society, it shows for that very reason what we might call a native inefficiency, as opposed to the more extreme and impatient Communist tendencies. On the one hand it stirs up the masses and makes them impatient and discontented in order to gain a large body of adherents, on the other hand it is obliged for tactical reasons, and as a means to an end, to compromise with democracy. The leaders, as far as they and their careers are concerned, may be perfectly satisfied with this social-democratic party government system, this period of transition based on a compromise. One or other of them will interpret the present social situation as necessitating a long continuance of the transition period "because, in the present capitalist order, the preliminary conditions necessary for the future social order are not sufficiently developed" for the proletariat to enjoy the final results. As a matter of fact these interpreters enjoy the advantages offered them by the "bourgeois" social order. The masses, however, are not always so patient; is not "socialisation of the individual" the creation of dissatisfaction with the existing social order, an almost indispensable means of gaining partisans? In troublous times, when the masses show their discontent and lack of patience more plainly than suits the taste of social-democratic political leaders, then the programme of social-democracy appears indeed an ineffective ideal to the restless and dissatisfied millions. On such occasions it becomes clear that the compromise with the existing social order, and in the interests of revolution, cannot be maintained in revolutionary and troubled times; since then one must either join the forces of revolt and run to welcome Communism and the dictatorship of the proletariat by the way of social revolution, or one must repudiate the accepted aim, one must recognise and proclaim that it is false, the latter course of action involving the social democrat in the protection of the institutions of the existing social order against his Socialistic comrades, so that he can remain a Socialist in name only—a Socialist of bourgeois-democratic convictions. The masses and their leaders, who are

not very advanced in a social and political sense, are not satisfied with this conduct, however much it may be to the common interest and justifiable from the point of view of prudent shrinking from a revolutionary goal.

3. Communism is the real aim of social-democracy, but it desires to attain it by using the democratic institutions of bourgeois society; as democracy it is perpetually stirring up opposition to the existing social order. It makes use of the weaknesses of democracy and Liberalism and of their impotency in dealing with the masses, and in this way introduces elements of inefficiency and destruction into democracy itself. Past events show that Socialist movements during critical and stormy periods do not by any means act in the peaceful way described in what is after all the impossible formula of "the democratic development" of a Socialist state, namely, that revolution should manifest itself as "natural evolution" because the foundations of any order are laid in the time of the order preceding it. The examples which unfortunately are already at our disposal present a very different state of affairs. They show that, in really revolutionary times, even Socialism becomes sincere, throws aside its mantle of hypocritical ideologies, and instead of the peaceful democratic "evolution" referred to, it resorts to force, brushes democracy aside, and brings about revolutions such as Marx and Engels dreamed of when they were speaking most sincerely of revolution—in the Communist manifesto. The examples we have show no sign of that "development" which is emphasised by social democracy, no doubt for "tactical" reasons, in order to present the movement as parliamentary in nature; on the contrary, every example shows the destructive barbarity of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the Soviet, which sound sense can only describe as retrograde developments. If social democracy is in power, it is impossible to offer any serious opposition to Communism on account of their similarity of aim, still less is it possible to settle with it finally. In cases where social democracy is weak and cannot obtain a majority, it may occasionally be possible for them to maintain the hypocritical attitude on which the movement is based (the conjunction of Socialism and democracy). The idea of social democracy and that parliamentary system which governs with its help are both tinged with great and dangerous hypocrisies; for those impossible and ridiculous paradoxes occasioned by the weakness of modern democracies, have arisen out of the parliamentary compromise with social democracy. For instance, the penal code relating to offences against class or the community punishes such offences as sedition or seditious speech, attacks on religion, or any particular social class or sect, and on property—such offences being contrary to the law of the land. On the other hand, class warfare which is

far more important than any individual attempt at revolt or disturbance, is officially recognised, as well as many movements of a revolutionary and destructive character, which carry out a consistently organised campaign in favour of Socialism. By continuous tolerance, the revolutionary warfare carried out with consistent method and on a large scale against society, law and order, and also the subterranean international efforts directed to the same end, become as it were constitutional tendencies which are systematically preparing the revolutionary war on the "bourgeois." Various Socialist fractions are allowed to appear as constitutional national parties, parliamentary circles enter into compromises with them, form agreements and even Coalition Governments with them—and these practices which lead to decay and dissolution are stated to be necessary conditions of modern, rational politics. It needed the crazy suggestions of foreign minds so to trouble the natural good judgment of the politically governing classes amongst the European nations, that they are prepared without much emotion to suffer this political decadence leading to dissolution and a new state of social barbarism, because of the delusory effect of its paltry utilitarian advantages. Mussolini had to appear as sober representative of those who will not be led astray, in order to draw attention by his historic and drastic methods to the sickness of parliamentary rule and of a decaying social order. His example enables every one to recognise the truth, which is as simple and obvious as Columbus' egg, but which is hidden from the public perception by the opposing suggestion contained in the doctrines of Marx and by the petty utilitarianism of the modern parliamentary system—the truth, namely, that class warfare and revolution can only be conquered by counter-revolution and the defensive methods which are forced on other classes, since in a State where class warfare prevails the authorities are not strong enough to maintain order. On the contrary, since everyone belongs to some class or another, as soon as the classes begin to make war on each other, the power of the State becomes a mere fiction. The State must declare itself, in these cases, on the side of the forces which maintain law and order, and must not have anything to do with the compromise with revolution made by dying parliamentarism—that is to say, if it desires to carry out its national, cultural, and civilising duties and not to become, in the hands of Socialism, either the machinery destined to destroy the Christian European social order and its institutions, or, according to the Marxian scheme, a rudimentary organ destined to annihilation.

The inefficient political system of the modern States has up to now weakened not only the State but the social order and the discipline and ethics of the masses as regards the common interest; hence a low moral standard which is intimately connected

with inefficient production. The effect of the social democratic system on production is without doubt unfavourable.

4. We have already had a direct opportunity of observing the ineffective organisation of production under social democracy. As modern Socialism is the enemy of capitalism and therefore of employers and contractors, it must by its very nature be in opposition to them; Socialism is a world philosophy opposed to that of industrial producers and stands in an opposite social and political camp. Social democracy lives on this contrast and by accentuating and increasing it, it desires to awaken the consciousness of the differences between capital and labour in the lower middle class, which, owing to economic conditions, viewed through Socialist spectacles, seemed to be especially suited to absorb Socialist ideas. In this way the lower middle classes often act as very valuable helpers of social democracy. A social and political tendency which is perpetually in touch with labour aspirations and with the working classes themselves, and which is therefore very closely connected with them, can only take deep and lasting root amongst the masses if it is continually endeavouring to express their feelings and aspirations. This cannot be done by way of telling them home truths, but only if the whole tendency of social democracy is to express the most immediate thoughts and aspirations of the working classes. It thus tends to become a demagogy, as only in this way can it maintain itself in the spirit and by the methods of democracy. It is forced to flatter its partisans, like more or less every democratic party which seeks to attain its ends, not by awakening and developing the duty of heroic self-sacrifice, but by rationalistic encouragement of class egoism. The ideal of social democracy is not that Christian ideal which, in the interests of spreading a morality which is to the common good, strictly enjoins men not to look upon one another as enemies, but is rather that other utilitarian (at least, from the point of view of "class consciousness," utilitarian) ideal which does not hesitate to look on all the other hated social "classes" as enemies to be injured by every possible means. The working classes and individual workers brought up and fortified in this class consciousness have no ideals which lead them to consider the common interest, when it is a question of their own class interests as opposed to those of employers whom they regard as their enemies. Their chief idea is to get more pay for less work, just as the typically selfish capitalist tries to get more work done for less pay. This point of view which takes no account of the interests of production leads to complete inefficiency.

Social democracy is nourished on this tendency and these aspirations, which all embody a certain inefficiency of production; it is obliged to lean on them and makes the most unscrupulous

use of them to the advantage of its own party and class. It takes no thought of the consequent injury to the human community, since on account of the doctrines of Marx it cannot and dare not exercise any scruples. It thus advances towards Communism and prepares with absolute inevitability (either knowingly through class fanaticism, or unknowingly through carelessness) *not the foundations of the future organisation of production in the social order of to-day, but simply inefficiency in the realm of production.* Those humane ideas and endeavours first emphasised by philanthropic social politicians in their attempts at protecting the interests of labour, have been used more than once in a direction which leads to increasing want of success in production. The desire to conserve the strength of the workers and to fix reasonable hours which will safeguard the health of the women and children, has been developed or replaced by a shortening of hours which is very prejudicial to output. These endeavours do not stop short at the point which seems to be indicated by a consideration of effective production which also takes account of the common interest, and by the fulfilment of those arrangements for protecting the health of the workers which tend to obviate any physiological dangers particular to the trade in question. The programme of shorter hours is accompanied by the programme of the compulsory restriction of output, according to which the unions fix and control maximum output; the latter programme being completed by strikes and sabotage. This may appear now-a-days as a usual means of promoting class interests, and may seem quite natural, not only to social democrats, but to some doctrinaire social politicians; but on the other hand, it is quite obvious that the consequence must be a progressive want of success in trade and production, due to these social conditions.

5. In view of the class warfare organisation of the unions and of the democratic nature of social democracy, it is useless to suppose that it will ensure effective production for the common good, or to hope for working classes who can and will appreciate the importance of this great social interest. Social democracy, with its party and union organisations, is not suited to ensure and protect output in the common interest, as against the views and desires of the masses. In any class war between Capital and Labour it will effectively weaken the former and will promote and lead the struggle with that end in view. On the other hand, it is anxious to render an account to Labour as regards the egoistic wishes and aspirations of the masses of more and more "class successes" and more perfect fulfilment of their wishes as to hours and wages. Social democracy, therefore, in the guise of revolutionary Socialism according to Marx, not only attacks the existing social order, it undermines and destroys the

discipline and energies of the workers and destroys their technical and ethical capacity. As democracy, or rather as a party which makes use of democratic forms and institutions for tactical reasons, it depends on the masses and on being followed and favoured by them, and therefore from time to time it must give an account of results such as will please the masses. Under these circumstances is it to be wondered at that the vital interest of effective production gives way to class, union and party interests? Social Democracy, therefore, must be considered as a company of those who divide, and wish to divide, those who devour more and more and produce less and less. The movement is the true embodiment of social inefficiency, but it is also a living example of that ineffective industrial condition and policy which is characterised by the principle of less work and more pay. The greater the power obtained by Social Democracy, the more these perverse ideas, which form part of it, must come into prominence.

Where Social Democracy is in power, or takes part as the largest or one of the largest political parties in leading the social and industrial policy of the government, it must obviously attempt to carry out at least part of its plans, but above all it must try and fulfil certain promises made to its partisans. The nature of democracy urges this, and also the wish to retain political power under democratic conditions. Social Democracy is obliged to announce and to promise its adherents a better social order and reforms, which will fulfil, at least in part, the Socialist demands of less work and more pay, less exertion, more enjoyment. As we have already pointed out, the attitude of social democratic workers to employers, who afford opportunities for production, is antagonistic and full of the desire to weaken and even injure the enemies of their class so that they consider lessened output, work not up to standard, strikes and sabotage, as nothing but modes of warfare, which every true Socialist is bound to use in his war against "class." The inexhaustible source of the inefficiency inherent in Social Democracy is this very idea of the masses, that it is their duty as comrades to prepare a better future by such actions against their employers, which certainly weaken the latter but which lessen successful production and accentuate the scarcity of commodities. The consequent lessening of successful modern production is considered by Social Democracy to be a virtue, from the point of view of class warfare and party politics. Any Social Democratic government or parliamentary fraction which comes into power, wholly or partially, is tainted from the outset with this vice, and in democratic conditions it cannot rid itself of it and the obligation bound up therewith; it must continue to adhere to the principle of less work and more pay, its

policy must be that of buying and rewarding the masses by "successes" or promises, so that it does not lose their support; which all tends to injure successful production. Trade Councils, "socialisations," unemployment benefit, tariff agreements, which show the spread of Social Democracy, Socialistic organisation of the labour market and industrial arbitration, the Socialistic education of youthful labour, are all signs of growing inefficiency in production. Social Democracy has attained power by promising the people greater well-being, and is therefore obliged in the interest of its political friends to practice a lavish policy, contrary to the interests of production and destructive to the stock of commodities in hand. Thus it is the party and the policy of those who use and devour and bring about deficits, those who produce less than they consume, but not the party and the policy of those who save and increase production. This company of "devourers" has already obtained followers by strikes, sabotage, provocation, the awakening of cynicism and promotion of revolution, and has trained this army for its own ends by wearing down and destroying all sense of duty, love of occupation and industrial discipline *as far as production is concerned*. Social Democracy hopes to govern and remain in power with this root political vice, and with working classes which have already been robbed of all the industrial virtues required to ensure efficient production. The working classes which it has educated, and the masses over which it rules, produce less than before, but use far more. Sooner or later this must result in scarcity of commodities of every description and the consequent impoverishment of the community in those goods required for the satisfaction of elemental necessities.

The masses which are educated on Social-Democratic lines are discontented, make great demands and are more and more prone to follow extreme tendencies; Social Democratic maladministration cannot keep pace with their claims for long, and consequently the movement in the direction of Communism or anarchy becomes more marked. State funds are depleted by unemployment benefits on a large scale and by subsidies to classes which are either unemployed or producing little, and as a result of Social-Democratic rule, the people are inevitably driven towards the social forms, misery, Communism and anarchy. Whether Social-Democracy is to be submergered by Communism or anarchy depends chiefly on whether the extreme tendency which replaces it can and will become a dictatorship or not; in the latter case there will be anarchy amongst the masses, in the former the organised terror of a revolutionary minority. It is quite unimportant by what name this wretched state is called, in either case it means ruin, increasing poverty, brutality and barbarism; there are such periods in which the social order decays,

culture and civilisation perish, and mankind relapses into the barbarous state of ages long past.

The events described are usually occasioned by careless and unscrupulous political tendencies, which gradually undermine and destroy the ethics and institutions which guarantee the efficacy of spiritual and material production. Social Democracy which is, and considers itself, merely a transition stage on the way towards "Communism," the social order of the future, is a factor which does a great deal to disturb effective production. As example has shown us, Communism assumes that production cannot be carried out successfully with labour which has been trained on revolutionary or Social-Democratic lines; therefore Communism resorts to terrorism and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the realm of industry. It is obvious that it cannot replace the labour-organising and energising factors of capitalism, and therefore compulsory production in a Communist state is primitive and rudely organised.

Society is threatened by these tendencies, with new barbarism, new reigns of terror, new ages of suffering and misery. Our only safety lies in *leading the community* back to a knowledge of duty by way of a social regeneration so that efficient production may be re-created.

CHAPTER IX.

The Basic Factors of Civilised Society.

1. In the history of the human community, at least so far as history throws any light on it, we seldom find a very long period of calm. We find not only individual struggles, but also war between groups, communities and organisations in the greatest variety. In addition to the military efforts and clashes of the various groups and peoples, we meet with those different wishes, aspirations, organised and consistent efforts, and other sporadic differences and conditions due to chance which we call more particularly "social." These "social" problems may also present varied elements and represent different categories. Racial, national, industrial, cultural and religious aims, interests and endeavours appear in the foreground in various forms, connections and sequence, so that the movement or the problem inherent in it is dominated first by one and then by another.

It is only possible for those who are superficial, prejudiced, or who deliberately misrepresent things, to ascribe all the more important endeavours of groups in the human community to one single motive as is done by the disciples of Marx, who seek to

prove that everything which is remarkable and fundamental in human society is traceable to "economic" reasons and motives. If we are to seek in human nature for some motive which, because it is a natural necessity, makes as a rule no concessions to the satisfaction of other desires, we must recognise it in the instinct of racial preservation; this it is which, from time immemorial, has had all things living, including mankind, in its power. For natural reasons, no living creature can ignore it for long, since the instinct for self-preservation causes our senses and our intelligence to focus themselves upon the problems; to neglect or oppose the interests of self-preservation means death for every living creature sooner or later. The permanent social realisation of self-preservation is manifested in racial preservation, since every human being and animal belongs to a certain race possessing its own racial peculiarities. Racial preservation has its own particular interests, methods and difficulties.

The most direct method is biological nourishment and assimilation, to ensure which a certain strength is needed. In the individual animal stage of the fight for existence this strength is that of the individual and the measure of it is determined by his racial inheritance; the wolf fights for existence with the muscular strength, mobility and courage inherited from generations of wolves, as a man fights with his inherited human capacities; thus our elemental nature is concerned with a fight waged by brute force and not by economic means.

2. In the community the strength of the individual finds expression in more or less organised groups and divisions of labour, contrary to the struggle of isolated units. It is necessary to join forces and divide labour so that the particular needs, both lower and higher, of the community may be satisfied. Men of the same stem, race and nation who are consequently united in a community, carry on the struggle for existence in groups, within which each individual can attain his biological ends and satisfy his desires for food and racial preservation; the so-called world of "industry" can only find a place and a definition within these limits. It constitutes, then, the total of those various methods and sacrifices which can only be ensured by the help of the successful display of physical force by groups—that is to say, by warlike power, which establishes the national home, defends it, ensures the people space to live and defends them against other races. These methods and sacrifices can only be such as are of service in a physiological sense and which can be perceived by the senses. On the other hand, what false logic or what strange social (or possibly racial) instincts inspired the theory which would lead modern nations to forget that it is only work, much akin to an armed struggle and based on the organised physical force of groups, races and nations, which gives room for expan-

sion and which provides the preliminary conditions essential to industrial work and well-being; while, according to this theory, the military and political warfare of races and nations is a purely accessory result of industrial conditions and the organisation of production. It is easy to see that he who thought out this theory belonged to a race and class which in all peoples and communities has devoted itself to utilitarian occupations, in place of the man's work of establishing and defending the national home. This work enables such people to collect and enjoy more and more possessions, the production of which has been made possible by the risks and exertions of others. In the labyrinth of history we find that wars, revolutions and political events follow or precede various stages of industry and production in the most varied sequence; consequently it is very easy by means of methodical and consistent argument to mingle events, conditions and stages, which either precede, follow or coincide with one another in such a way as to form a vicious circle; and in this way economic conditions which afford us the means of satisfying the most pressing instincts of self-preservation, appear as the most important goal for the endeavours of the community. In order to awaken the masses, or at least the thinking members of them, to any effective criticism of this false ideology, which obscures origins and identifies or confuses results, nothing less than the shattering effects on industry of unforeseen military and political events are required.

The "Marxian" variety of Socialist thought exercises a great influence on the mentality of the modern masses, as a great campaign of active propaganda and suggestion has been carried out on its behalf. It is indeed very easy to imbue anyone who is engaged in manual labour with the idea that as modern production could not exist without his work, he or his class are the only cause of all the well-being, and that the production of food and, in fact, all the conditions of life, depend on him alone. This trend of thought, however, ignores (the organisation of Socialist propaganda takes good care to ignore everything that does not suit its aim) the fact that the varied organised labour which constitutes modern production, can only be built up upon the foundations of countless political, military and intellectual activities, upon adequate organisation, education and discipline, and upon the results of the struggle to establish the national home and gain space for development.

The Marxian picture which desires to represent the actual organisation of its production as the foundation of any social order, all political, military and cultural activities being merely founded upon it, is completely false, as there are categories which may be cause and effect, premises and conclusion; but this

is done in an arbitrary way, so as to characterise as essentials those things which it desires to represent as such in its teachings, which are designed to push the movement.

3. Human activity which affords the possibility of peaceful existence and certainty of life—facilities for work and biological certainty—therefore is and always has been a preliminary condition essential to productive work. It is by no means always economic work; on the contrary, looked at from the economic point of view (that of the smallest sacrifice and the greatest result), it often demands irrational self-sacrifice, which from the purely utilitarian standpoint can never meet with an adequate recompense. The Socialism of Marx has no idea of the value of such work which establishes and maintains a national home; it is foreign to it and is, and will be, carried out by races with which it has nothing in common. In the problems of the human community it only recognises part of the "eternal human" as being essential and fundamental: that part whose exploitation has been secured, as their contribution to the functions of social life, by the race to which the father of Socialism belonged—i.e., "industrial" activity in the narrower sense.

Industrial work does not occupy the entire activities of human society; it does not even occupy the most important place in such a way that all other social activities are but functions of industry. On the contrary, industrial work, production and the various stages of its development, depend upon the preliminary conditions of the foundation of a national home and a social order, upon discipline and upon the certainty of success in the struggle of races and peoples for material existence and well-being. The organisation of production can only be established upon the foundations of a preceding military political and administrative order, and can only develop within its limits. The production and industrial organisation of nations whose political and military system has broken down, is also disorganised, whereas when the State and the social order are flourishing we generally find corresponding prosperity in industrial life and progressive development in production; which both deteriorate again, directly State and society come to political and military shipwreck. History up to now has shown this, and not the opposite picture of the logical connection between events according to which production is the foundation of all else which has been presented by modern revolutionary Socialism as correct either in the interest of revolution, or so that a certain group of men may gain the upper hand in consequence of revolution. In this respect we cannot admit that industrial and political events and occurrences in their chain-like sequence can be regarded as both causes and effects. We should then be confronted with a vicious circle and accordingly Marxism would be just as much right and

wrong as the ideas opposed to it. We cannot admit this, because to do so would be extremely superficial and would be equivalent to admitting that we are afraid to undertake the objective consideration and sober judgment of the events of human society in the order in which they actually occurred. The work of establishing a nation, political and military work, must precede any possibility of development in production and industry and ensure a field of action for the latter. Social movements, therefore, which proceed from industrial causes, can only ensure a new order and development of production and industrial life if they have previously been able to create a social order, military, political, administrative and ethical, in which work and discipline, as also the success and development of production can be ensured. Productive activity must be preceded by the certainty of peace and the existence of suitable and willing workers; a truth which is frequently forgotten by the various social ideologies and schools of thought, and which is often obscured by the fact that sufficient distinction is not made between cause and effect. If this truth is ignored in times of *great political and social events and changes*, these social changes will only bring about decreased production and a poorer and needier community than the old. We can best see this exemplified in those States in which revolutionary Socialism has already created its social order in the name of "Marxism"—the old Russia was undoubtedly better off in a material sense than the Russia of to-day. It is a weak excuse for the more moderate Social-Democratic partisans to say that the Russian upheaval does not really correspond to the scheme of Marx, as the foundation of the subsequent Socialist order had not been laid in the previous Russian regime. Russian followers of Marx speak quite differently and regard their victory as a triumph of "Marxism," and they are quite right. They know and feel it—"Marxism" must be in the blood, it is not enough to interpret and discuss his writings. They feel and know that it is a real victory for Marx that his blood relations have come into power in a great State, their aim is to create the same conditions all over the world; this is the chief thing in their eyes, not the fact that the great majority of the community are suffering from greater poverty instead of enjoying the promised social well-being. This will change, they say; the chief thing is that they already have the upper hand. Human nature manifests itself in all the problems of the human community in many varying ways; some of the most important of these are the striving for success, for power over one's fellow-men, and for more favourable personal conditions, these efforts being rooted in the ground of biological needs. In "Marxian" revolutionary Judaism, which as a human and social group has its own particular "interest perception," the "eternal human" lives as the

struggle for power. This is perhaps most marked amongst the Jews, who are a social class living amongst races alien to them and who have always been more intent than other nations on exploiting the foreign races amongst whom they live. The deliberate realisation of "Marxism" by revolutionary Judaism is the outward sign of their eternal attribute. European nations and communities which have established each their own national home, raise justifiable objections to this new order, which is equivalent to a poorer, more wretched and more barbaric community. It is to our interest, therefore, that the human endeavour which corresponds to our views should be successful and that our share of the duties of the social order should be *Guidance, the possession of power, rule and Government*, all the more so since this denotes higher culture, more developed production, discipline, order, ethics and general well-being. Italian Fascism and movements of a similar kind which are in earnest (and not in appearances only) are tendencies which suit the "eternal human" endeavours of European nations and races to attain power and found social orders, and to protect and guarantee the existence of that superior social order and production which Marxian Socialism and Communism can overthrow, but cannot replace by a better. For this reason these movements are important milestones in the development of modern communities; they are forms of *self-defence* which seem called on to preserve the predominant interests of the great majority; namely, culture and social peace.

CHAPTER X.

New Social Problems.

1. The great problems of the human community occur as the collective results of the psychic ideas which live in the minds of the millions and which gain a social reality in this way. This reality is a very great power and men often feel its effects for long periods. The power of ideas is embodied therein and this circumstance accounts for the might of those who are the supporters of ideas which are coincident with their own interests. The problems are born in the minds of individuals, but they only attain social and political importance when they have obtained a place in the minds of groups, as mass ideas and mass convictions. In this form thought becomes a power as it is supported by the energy of countless numbers, and in such cases the quality of the thought makes no difference to its power. For this reason it is quite common for those to obtain an easy mastery over their

fellows, who spread some ideas, usually possessed of suggestive power, and with their help they may attain to leadership. He who can plant aims in the minds of millions can rule over millions with their help; this has been amply proved in the past by the example of the founders of religions, and in the present by that of Socialism. This circumstance explains the lasting rule of certain groups of men over others and over the masses. The power of the Jews, who are scattered all over the world, and wherever possible in leading positions, is principally due to the fact that they have been able to spread and suggest as convictions to the masses those ideas and tendencies which, rightly or wrongly, they considered to be in their own interests. We have already pointed out that the quality of the idea is not of much importance, since the power lies not in the idea but in the number of people who believe in it. Consequently it is of vital interest to the community to know what sort of ideas are being spread, so that destructive tendencies should not become powerful forces in the minds of millions, but rather such ideas as can be welcomed by friends of human progress, culture, morals and social discipline, since the future continuance or disappearance of our culture and civilisation depends on the continuance or disappearance of these virtues.

Since men of culture, who fear for the remaining treasures of mankind, are filled with great uneasiness because revolutionary ideas are gaining ground amongst the masses, while the mentality of the restless disciples of revolution is spreading amongst the Western peoples, we must be all the more glad to observe new phenomena, which point to the birth of new tendencies equivalent to a strengthening of the ideals of discipline and devotion to duty. For this reason the social renaissance which can now be observed in many countries is of great importance, as it protects the national idea, the virtue of the fulfilment of duty and of individual and social labour for the common good. The most important point of all is that this tendency has organised a national army which can oppose and successfully counter class warfare. These matters are of such vital moment that their real greatness will only be estimated at its true value by succeeding ages. We are not yet accustomed to realise adequately the productive nature of this social renaissance, just as we took a long time to give due value to the meaning of Socialism. It would be ridiculous to judge Fascism by the sympathetic or antipathetic quality of the movement and its representatives, and it would be equally incorrect to take its political relation to the Italian people as the basis on which to form an opinion. The social and historical significance of this movement is in its example and suggestive power and in its essence, by reason of which it stimulates similar activities in all classes of many nations, becoming the



idea and endeavour of many; awakening similar convictions and opposing Socialism by a movement which is in a position to maintain the basic institutions of society and, which is much more important, to increase and protect the results of mental and physical effort, so that the objective friends of culture and civilisation can but give a joyful welcome to Fascism.

2. The most important social problems are those new ones which are not concerned with promoting those energies which maintain the accustomed honourable order of society, but in which it is a question of fighting for and realising new aims and a new order. Such a task lies before us, since the defeat of those revolutionary and destructive movements which attack the foundations of society and threaten the garnered treasures of culture and progress cannot be accomplished without a new organisation, new methods of defence, and above all, new and increased social energies. It is superfluous to point out that the differences of class warfare to-day cannot be settled by means of harmony between social and industrial forces, which is said to promote peace and which was the basic teaching of the classical theory of economics; and yet not so very long ago we placed our trust in the presence and effect of this condition. To-day it is generally felt that in order to turn men from the way of revolution and anarchy, we require organised forces and decisive actions carried out according to a well-thought-out plan. All clear-seeing men can hardly doubt this, and any doubts they may have relate rather to whether it will be possible to find sufficient energy and numbers in the social classes opposed to revolution to raise an army of enthusiastic supporters for a social movement on such a grand scale and keep them together with the force of their convictions. The great social problem of our day thus assumes a totally different aspect in which the principle of *laissez-faire* gives way to deliberate organisation and the union of forces. No one of any perception believes now that the revolutionary social movement will end in harmony because of any increased obedience to law and order; everyone feels and sees that in such an age the only way of attaining this end is by effort and the systematic union of forces. The new social problem of our day, therefore, is to gain the victory in the social war of attack and defence. Everyone knows that it is a fight for life and therefore no one believes now that the end can be obtained by means of a passive policy of *laissez-faire*. The belief in such a policy is made for more peaceful and satisfied ages than ours, and even then it was peculiar to the contented classes. Discontented members of class or community, or those who were fearful for their position, always resorted to energetic measures to protect their own vital interests, whether in the social or political sphere. Let no one doubt that we are living in *new social conditions*,

and therefore in a far sterner age than our fathers. The only means of saving, both for ourselves and for future generations, those things in the social and political sphere upon which civilised man lays most weight is a more decided, methodical and better organised fight for existence. We live in an age when the masses are banded together in an army, filled with hate, whose root idea is to overthrow the institutions of the existing social order, both good and bad, simply in order to gain the mastery, an age in which mass industry which ensures successful labour has been replaced by a purely utilitarian philosophy, inclined to do mischief, for the sole purpose of doing further damage to the foundations of the existing social order. This denotes that we have reached a stage in the history of human communities in which the army of those who support and defend the treasures of civilisation gathered throughout the ages faces the army of those who would destroy, which has increased in numbers and has recently become dangerous. This age resembles that of the migration of nations, in which the Roman Empire and its culture was attacked by ever-increasing hordes of barbarians. The civilisation of to-day is threatened by an equally dangerous enemy. We might even say that the present situation is far more difficult, since the terror of Communism and Bolshevism threatens both from within and from without. The so-called "bourgeois" society is disinclined to make use of adequate methods of defence which must be thoroughly and systematically thought out, but which may cause a certain amount of discomfort and, as in more peaceful and milder days, it only re-acts at the approach of danger. Consequently this age in which we live will perhaps decide the fate of men for many years to come. It depends upon what use we make of our time and if we look ahead, or not, whether the social and industrial order of the future will remain or be so organised that it will be possible to carry out mental and spiritual work in such a way as to develop the energy necessary to ensure progress and to maintain material and spiritual production at its present level, or whether the community will consume the stores of physical and spiritual commodities gathered with so much great effort, because revolutionary tendencies have gained the upper hand. It depends—perhaps for all time—upon the attitude of our generation whether the forces of revolution or of law and order are to prevail in the immediate future, and what the fate of our society is to be: is our civilisation to follow the way of progress or of ruin? The generation of to-day, especially the younger members of it, control the points which will switch the train on to one line or the other. The attitude of this generation must in the main decide as to whether the industrious calm and moral devotion to duty of Christian European communities is to gain

the upper hand, or the retrogressive tendency of ideologies which desire to make a clean sweep of our social order, our values and our institutions. Unfortunately the masses cannot always be regarded as capable of thought, still less of any consecutive thought. A man who is carried away in sympathy with a number of others is not master of his own will and judgment in the same way as he who thinks and weighs matters alone or in surroundings which have no cramping or compelling effect. In a crowd, men exercise power over one another by suggestive action, by the example of their own behaviour, by a threatening attitude or by the mere effect of numbers. Any particular action may denote social pressure or social terror to the masses; this applies in an increased degree to those mass movements whose object is to exercise terrorism by means of which opposing movements may be suppressed. The aggressive attitude of revolutionary tendencies makes it impossible for an individual to choose his actions and their direction according to his own convictions, as he is opposed by masses and their violent activities. For this very reason revolutionary acts are not the result of quiet methodical consideration, but a series of acts corresponding to some mechanical formula. Leaders cannot simply abandon a course which has been proved to be wrong, exaggerated and precipitated, since the masses, which have been moved in a certain direction by their leaders, who have worked upon their feelings, then develop a certain fanatical adherence to that direction. This mass fanaticism is far too significant a factor to be ignored, and is, moreover, far too obstinate to give way at once to the advice of sound sense. Consequently those who have promoted revolution in quite good faith cannot break at once with their previous tendency if they should chance to change their minds, still less can we expect a break from those who, from motives of self-interest, fear of a fall from power, or of revenge, are bound to a movement of which they once proclaimed themselves adherents. The dangerous and serious nature of the problem presents itself with greater emphasis when we reflect that anarchistic and revolutionary movements have passed to-day far beyond the experimental and Utopian stage, and that we have actually reached a condition of dissension and social strain where defence cannot be carried out with the old and well-tried methods which have proved ineffectual, but only by those really energetic and warlike methods which are forced by the attackers on those who wish to defend themselves successfully. The manner in which these methods are to be used in the effective defence of the cultural and national values of our social order, depends entirely on the nature and danger of the attack. It is justifiable, when dealing with those who attack classes remaining faithful to the old order with actual brute force, to make use of the same

methods against them, since these promise effective self-defence. The only hope of successfully withstanding revolutionary methods is to prepare and organise counter-revolution with the requisite forces, in anticipation of attack. The child of this age must be quite clear on this point and familiarise himself with it, for when the community is divided into two opposing camps, the old State which maintained order vanishes and the stronger party becomes the State—at least for some considerable time. For this reason the most important new problem which confronts our social order in the struggles carried on to the sound of old and well-known war cries, and for ends which are already well known is: *How are the classes which are threatened or attacked to organise effective self-defence, and how are they at the same time to save those social values and institutions which have been accumulated during the ages and which ensure successful social production?*

3. As we have already pointed out, not only are there new problems which are indicated by new ideas and catch-words, but a host of old problems in a new form cluster round the old ideas. Consequently, influenced by moods and experiences, millions of men change their ideas as to their aims and methods and another collective result is brought about; within the arena of modern social warfare, ideas as to aims and methods have shifted in this way. The aim of grasping at power is far more direct now than it was even a little time ago, the methods are far less intellectual and theoretical, consisting principally of appeals to brute force. *The alteration in the nature and method of the social struggle has therefore completely altered the social problem* since class warfare which can only be conducted on legal and constitutional lines, that is to say, which does not actually affect the conditions of life for the opposing parties, is a very different thing from warfare which has already reached a point when forcible methods are the most suitable, and which is waged for the purpose of destroying the existing laws and of exterminating—almost in a literal, physical sense—certain social classes.

National, racial, and, in the narrower sense, social interests are those around which the most important questions affecting the common good are grouped. The national problem is that one of these three closely-connected social problems which most nearly resembles its predecessor, but even so the modern *national problem* is not quite the same as the old. From the industrial, racial, social-political point of view, even from that of military power and mass psychology, it has absorbed so many new elements that the modern national problem in its tenor and intensity, and often in its aims, is of an entirely new order. The interests connected with it are altered, the new problems relate chiefly to the efforts which can be made under present conditions to protect

the national interests, or which are customarily considered, as legal or illegal. As a general rule it may be asserted that, in an age which is much occupied with social questions, where the minds of many are concerned not only with their individual affairs but with matters which have a collective or social interest, these collective problems, which occupy the attention of great numbers of the community, gain in strength and intensity. This rule also applies to national problems; they are more intense and of greater importance to-day than ever before. The Socialist school of thought has vainly attempted to dispute their claim, and to represent industrial factors as being the only essential and decisive ones; the close relationship between national and industrial interests has made the fate of the nation decisive for the fate of the working classes, in an age in which the problem of maintenance for modern wage-earners is intimately connected with the fate of the nation and its industrial political power.

States and nations are neither industrial nor commercial enterprises, but are political institutions protecting the national home and founded in the first place on a military basis. Commercial England is founded on military enterprise, just as the United States, Italy, Germany, Hungary or Poland. The event which precedes and causes the foundation of a State is usually a military event, and from this point of view it is a matter of indifference whether the sons of the nation in question have fought and gained the victory themselves, or whether it has been done for them; even the rise of Communist Soviet Russia is due to military causes, namely, the Great War. The most noble and important human organisation known to us, that of the State, is based on immense physical effort, in a military sense, and rests upon it as the decisive preliminary factor. It is only ideologists of a certain origin who attempt to obliterate the importance of this fact and its meaning—for instance, by declaring that the State is a class State, and the military character of its foundation is applicable in this particular case only, that the beatific future State will be founded on "Progress," which is foreseen in their infallible teachings and which works with the force of a natural law, and not on the military efforts of mankind. Ideologists of this extraction are not used to carrying out the difficult, hard and by no means utilitarian work of founding a nation or a State, but on the principle of "the smallest sacrifice and the greatest advantage" they have made use of the States and communities founded on the infinite sacrifice of others, and have made them the sphere of their own prosperity. It is, therefore, hardly surprising if certain schools of thought look on the work of establishing a national home and founding a new social order in the same light as their own utilitarian work.

4. The recognition of the truth that a nation is founded on military prowess, and that therefore the continuance of social institutions and of conditions which afford the masses opportunity to live, is also founded on the military efforts made in establishing the national home, is not of a nature to recommend itself to Socialist thinkers and agitators who decry state and nation, because it affords them no opportunity of self-aggrandisement before their followers. For this reason they take good care to ridicule the idea of State and nation and belittle the work of establishing the national home. This ridicule is doubtless a strong weapon since it appeals to low and dissolute tendencies, especially to those which are opposed to the more or less ascetic virtues of duty and a sense of discipline—tendencies which promote neither self-control nor temperance, but rather pleasure-seeking. The widespread derision of national ideals, which is of foreign origin (usually Semitic), not only amongst the masses, but also in the realms of literature and journalism, explains the readiness of countless numbers—who are perhaps really quite well-disposed—to pass over events which take place before their very eyes, and to be mainly influenced in thought by this suggestive derision with its utilitarian ideas subversive of duty rather than by the logical influence of facts and events. In spite of all adverse suggestion, the strong and healthy conception of national interests and the necessity of protecting them is deeply implanted in the minds of all the best and strongest nations. Those who hold these convictions, however, are opposed by an army of such expanding force that it can only be repulsed if those who support national ideals forsake their easy-going methods and bring new energies into play in the social and political spheres (note, for instance, the success of the Italian Fascist movement as opposed to the ideas of Marx). The old, inherited national problems assume a new character to-day; on the one hand the importance of the national point of view as regards individual and social interests is steadily increasing, even under modern political and industrial conditions; on the other hand, national communities are faced with the necessity of increased self-defence against opposing revolutionary tendencies.

5. If we wish to be thoroughly acquainted with social questions, it is of the utmost importance to determine who turned the power of suggestion against the basic institutions of society, the State, the family property, the accepted moral code, etc., or rather, who turned the millions who are influenced by these suggestions, in a direction of such revolutionary force. If we look closely at the birth of revolutionary doctrines and of the present great revolutions, we cannot doubt that behind industrial discontent which is continually on the increase, and behind the abstrac-

tions of the supposed laws of industrial necessity, stand minds which act with a conscious end in view and which are filled with a fanatical hatred of our Christian European society. The suggestions above referred to emanate from them and are spread by them in ever-widening circles. It is an undeniable fact that modern social revolutionary movements are set going, directly or indirectly, by the energies and brains of the Ghetto, and that the direction given to these movements by them makes them so dangerous.

Racial problems have also reached a new stage. America recognises the failure and danger of the movement which places all races on an equal footing, and the eugenic separation of the black races is more and more widely observed with increasing severity. The mingling of the white and black races is legally forbidden since it would mean the physiological, cultural and moral ruin of the white race. The perception of racial interests is developing and spreading in the United States, not only in connection with the negroes, but also with Jews. During the last generation, millions of Jews—chiefly from Eastern Europe—have occupied the most important industrial positions to such an extent that public opinion in Christian America looks upon the position thus created as desperate.

Nationalism founded on racial and religious feelings is growing among the hundreds of millions in Asia, and even in North Africa, and its future political effects must be felt. The Jewish question is of such a nature and of such world-wide importance that we must consider it seriously whether we will or not; to keep silence or to deny the existence of any problem would be sheer hypocrisy and levity, since all classes of society, as it were, speak of it as an actual and burning question. Social sciences, therefore, must devote serious consideration to the matter and train the intelligent classes of the community to treat this difficult, but extremely important, social problem with the sincerity, objectivity and thoroughness which it deserves. The duty of science in regard to this question is, to state the problem, to criticise the train of thought which deals with it and the proposed methods of solution, and to take up a scientific, sincere and unprejudiced attitude. The rôle of Judaism in the history of society and the community which goes back for thousands of years, has gained in importance to an extraordinary degree. Under modern conditions the social, racial and industrial Jewish problem is of growing significance because the Jews now number some 17 to 18 millions, and amongst all nations they secure an ever-increasing share of this world's goods and of the national income, continuing to penetrate into the higher, richer and more influential classes of society, displacing the former owners of

wealth and power. They are on the way to becoming, and in some respects have already become, the ruling class in industry and consequently in other ways. On the one hand they possess to an increasing degree the advantages of wealth and power and the means of obtaining them, and on the other hand they seek to shake the foundations of the existing social order by playing a leading part in social revolutions. Capital, the Press, Socialism and international secret societies are chiefly in the hands of the Jews or are greatly influenced by them, and where the old order has been overthrown by Communism (as, for instance, in Russia and other Soviet States) they have become, so to say, the ruling political class.

Without any knowledge of the Jewish question it is quite impossible to become acquainted with the modern social and industrial problem, which can never be settled until the former difficulty has been solved in one way or another. Consequently it cannot be the business of science to deny the existence of the Jewish problem, which is known to everyone, but rather to take note of it and consider it more thoroughly and exhaustively than ever before.

6. The so-called *labour question* is not the same either in nature or in power as it was some decades ago and even directly before the Great War. Whether we like to admit it or not, we are in the midst of an age of deliberate and organised class warfare. The revolutionising of the nation on lines laid down by Marx has penetrated more or less into all European and American communities, even where the classes affected have not yet fully recognised that the work of suggestion is being carried on, or where it is even denied on principle. Everywhere we see the masses, in greater or lesser numbers, seeking to attain new ideals by the overthrow of the existing institutions, national, social and legal, and by abolishing the right of private ownership, in spite of the sad lessons taught by the new order wherever it has been established since the Great War. The direct or indirect "majority" ideal of the Socialist classes is more or less a kind of degenerate Communism, although its realisation spells ruin for nation and state, as we understand them, and also for culture, civilisation and a state of advanced prosperity. For this reason social and national policies designed to preserve these things must look at their interests from a new point of view—they must define their aims and choose their methods. We can only ensure a future for culture and civilisation if we can establish a judicial system which protects essentials, and an equally secure State, and if this State and this judicial system can be guarded, even in an actual physical sense, by those classes of the community who feel the necessity of their maintenance.

Our knowledge of the social question must be *re-cast* in the light of recent experiences; we must create new social arrangements to suit a new and great aim, as well as adequate laws and a judicial system. We must oppose revolution by constructive and efficient organisations, fit to protect the nation and the community, and to ensure successful production. These new problems impose new duties and obligations on every section of the community which supports civilisation and its true interests. The learning of these duties and the deliberate spread of that knowledge is most important and well adapted to furnish the European peoples with *new ideals and aims* and to help them to realise them.

CHAPTER XI.

Organisation of the Community for the Common Good.

1. A country, a nation, a State, or, generally speaking, a community, can only be said to be organised for the common good when, after thorough and objective consideration, its conditions and institutions can be regarded as suitable means to a particular end—that end being a culture and civilisation which will guarantee more perfect social conditions.

This aim approaches realisation when there is a progressive increase in the quantity of commodities required to satisfy spiritual and material needs in general and the average individual quota in particular. We understand by these commodities everything that can help men to be more intelligent and dexterous, stronger, healthier, better and more disciplined, and in consequence of these things—happier.

We have already pointed out that in a community consisting of many, each individual can only receive an adequate share of commodities if the community in question has produced a sufficient quantity. Consequently, progress in the direction of culture and civilisation which will guarantee more perfect social conditions can only be attained by successful production, both spiritual and physical. A social order or organisation which renders production possible may be considered as being for the common good—that is to say, adequate, worthy of maintenance, development and protection; since adequate distribution of commodities both as regards quantity and quality, and a share of cultural and ethical advantages can only be developed on the foundation of successful production.

Since social arrangements which place distribution in the foreground, but which do not ensure satisfactory or progressive production, show a tendency to a continual decrease of prosperity,

whereas those which ensure continuous, lasting and effective production also show increased well-being, it is quite obvious that in spite of the more equal and liberal scheme of distribution in the first case, it will sooner or later lead to a smaller average individual quota (probably very quickly, because of the rapid consumption of goods required to satisfy the needs of the community) than the more unequal and less generous scheme of distribution, if in the latter case the *organisation or production is more efficient*.

In the case of unsuccessful production with decreasing individual output, the community will rapidly reach the stage of a diminished individual quota. From this point conditions must quickly change for the worse in a social order which promotes equality but not effective production, since in such a case the reserves are consumed with increasing rapidity and the desired co-efficient is less often present in the quantity to be divided, since commodities consumed are not replaced in equal quantities. For this reason Communism becomes sooner or later a community of misery. The chief duty of social politics, therefore, is not to consider the distribution and consumption of commodities available at any one moment, but to devote its energies to *the progressive development and lasting assurance of general well-being*. Since the members of the community cannot receive a generous individual quota of spiritual and material commodities unless production and individual output increase steadily, it is irrational, if equality and distribution is a hindrance to successful production, to sacrifice the latter in favour of the former.

On the other hand, guarantees are needed against abuses of utilitarian minorities which are prejudicial to the common good. In emphasising the fact that efficient organisation of production is more important than equal distribution, we have not by any means implied approval of the various forms of parasitism which exist in an age of capitalist production and distribution. On the contrary, any social policy which looks ahead and is really working for the common good, must take particular care to do away with any abuses contrary to the public interest which may occur in capitalist and other systems of production and of distribution of income. *The nation or the State itself and its organisation need not therefore be shattered and destroyed as revolutionary Socialism proclaims, but the order and organisation of the modern community must be carefully guarded and improved, whereby, too, the community itself and its basic arrangements must be preserved and retained.* The modern community and its foundations—i.e., its civilisation and culture—are the result of the spiritual, physical and military labour, and of the sacrifices made for generations by Christian European peoples and their allies. *No sane person would hazard the loss of the culture and*

civilisation thus attained. Revolutionary Socialism stakes its all and threatens mankind with a new age of barbarism, which will bring us greater misery, suffering and injustice than we have to endure in consequence of the existing social order.

2. Attention must now be drawn to an incorrect idea which may lead to very false conclusions as regards an opinion on social political matters. It has become a generally accepted commonplace to regard all occurrences and conditions of the modern community, good or bad, as the *consequences* of the right of property, the existing social order, capitalism, etc., *therefore as the results of the abstract ideas of the social and industrial institutions, as if whatever is done or left undone was not due to the acts of living and active human beings.* We must regard a conception of this kind as inefficient, indolent and tending to obscure the issue, while it conceals criminal negligence in a social political sense, since it regards the deficiencies of any particular system not as abuses and omission due to want of "moral" and discipline in human beings, but as consequences of the abstract ideas of the social order, relieving individuals, who are solely responsible for physical and physiological conditions, of all responsibility and absolving them from the duty of conducting themselves to the common good. This is the lazy method of so-called industrial and social political Liberalism, whereby those parasitic and utilitarian abuses flourish for which men are responsible and which at the same time offer possibilities of exploitation by men.

It does not follow that because the institution of private ownership must be regarded as a foundation of successful production, all methods and opportunities of capitalist profit-making or division of income are to be approved, and not considered either worthy of blame or of complete rejection. Social politics must draw a sharp distinction between capitalist production, as such, and those different types of income and profit-making which unrestrained capitalist exploitation can devise or employ, especially with regard to speculative profits, unless it is adequately kept within bounds in the public interest. We understand by capitalism or industry conducted by means of capital, a system in which the financial authority or paying power is multiplied. The advantage of such a system as applied to production is that it facilitates the establishment of undertakings employing men and producing goods in large quantities, also, which is even more important, industry run on these lines gives better opportunities of control over both men and goods. *It is these very means of control which can be so easily abused and which capitalism tends to misuse.* The control of men and of commodities which is given to capital and credit, in infinite variety, and with increasing delicacy of manipulation, by modern trade and commerce, offers illimitable possibilities of profitable exploitation to

the clever parasites and freebooters of modern industrial life, providing occasion for refined usury and legal opportunities for the non-productive acquisition of wealth. Capital which drives labour and raw material into the channels of production enriches mankind, since new and varied commodities to satisfy the needs of the community pour out from the workshops in its wake. From the social point of view, however, the weakness of capitalism is the fact that it can be used not only for production but also to gain income and profits without production, and it is often extremely difficult to control and differentiate between these two uses. The great interests of the consumer, the worker, the great army of the "exploited" and, we may therefore say, of the great majority of the community demand that, whereas on the one hand it is necessary to maintain the right of private ownership and capital as basic institutions of the community because of their efficacy in production, on the other hand, *the spheres of the earning of income and profits with the help of capital, of money, of credit and of financial authority should be rigidly controlled in the interest of the community.* The first thing to remember in considering what form control should take is that legal opportunities for the non-productive two-sided acquisition of income, i.e., that which is not connected with the creation or making available of actual commodities, mental or material, should be eliminated from the commercial capital and credit system as much as possible. The realm of non-productive speculative profits in particular should be restricted as much as possible. The great majority of the modern community which as consumers and workers supports these non-productive traders and profiteers, is still waiting vainly for some stock exchange reform by means of which the legal opportunity and business methods of acquiring income and profits by means of speculation, which quite rightly is objected to as being the cancer of modern industrial life, may finally be eradicated.

It is not true that the non-productive method of gaining profit, which is preferred to-day, is so much an essential accompaniment of modern production and capitalist industrial life that it must be accepted and endured as a necessary evil in the interests of ensuring production. This excuse can only be that of interested persons or of those indolent opportunists who wish to dispose of this question as being, so they are ready to believe, an unavoidable hindrance. The matter requires to be settled in detail and must be treated with a sincere desire to be of use, with absolute disinterestedness, and careful observation of the speculative methods of making profits, which are contrary to the common good; in short, with an empirical Christian method, which takes account of the public interests and is based on will, experience and knowledge of the subject. A small, poor and

weak State can obviously do very little in this direction so long as the nations which are at the centre of the world's commerce do not recognise the facts and comprehend their duty. Efficient social politics must stamp out the crying abuses of speculation and eradicate the legal opportunities of profit-making which are contrary to the common good from trade and the Stock Exchange. This does not mean that the basic institutions of society must be destroyed and that certain necessary functions must be done away with, it merely means that criminal and commercial law in regard to speculative profits must be effectively framed and applied. The great national awakening, in the form of movements which aim at strengthening moral and the sense of duty, which is taking place in many states will, it is hoped, bring us nearer to a proper consideration of the common good in this respect also.

3. Nations to-day are in need of an active and efficient policy in dealing with industrial and politico-economic abuses, with parasitism and utilitarianism, because all these "isms" work and do harm, not in an abstract way, but in the deeds and in the attitude, either of omission or commission, *of living men*.

It is quite incorrect to believe that so-called "capitalist production" is absolutely obliged to endure the utilitarian-parasitic symptoms of ill-health, which can be observed in the modern community and is quite unable to get rid of them; still more incorrect is it to represent the widespread occurrence of such evils as profiteering and usurious exploitation as a sickness which is inherent in the community or the social order. These evils are due to the acts, abuses and negligence of human beings, and must therefore be treated, prevented and made rarer in them, no matter how often they may occur. This is the only conception and mode of action which can make any real improvement, as it removes the abuses of human utilitarianism in the existing order of state and society with careful, upright, efficient and persevering activity, without shunning methods which will restore health and order, and without overthrowing and destroying the existing social order, not only with its evils but with its civilisation, culture and possibilities of development.

Corrupt utilitarianism and barbarous revolutionary Socialism cloaking themselves with the mantle of decadent Liberalism, make deliberate use of a misleading statement when they say that, in consequence of the utilitarian parasitic abuses of the community as now constituted, it is impossible to carry out any essential improvements in the existing arrangements of society and the State. The logic of sound common sense teaches us something quite different, namely, that where it is a question of human acts and relations, *it is both possible and necessary* to influence men themselves. When we speak of restraining

"capitalist exploitation," usurious utilitarianism and parasitism, in the public interest, it is not a question of repressing the masses or of improving the individual, but of restraining men and groups of men who are to a certain extent by their very nature opportunists, forced to adapt themselves to political crises which affect industry, and who are bound to the modern state by a thousand ties and interests. These very utilitarian "exploiting" elements which are made chiefly responsible by all critics of present industrial and social political conditions, are those which are most often obliged to seize favourable opportunities of exploitation. The modern State, however, can often reduce these opportunities without much difficulty. It has so many ways of doing this, political means relating to taxation, income, and industry, in addition to penalties and so forth, that even when it cannot do all that is required, it can, with sufficient goodwill, do enough; not always, be it said, by easy-going political opportunism, but, if necessary, by a will and desire to be of use which is commensurate with the greatness of the interests at stake.

If we judge the possibilities of useful activity open to social politics with conscientious objectivity, we must agree that the modern State, or modern political economy, even in the present social and judicial conditions, is in a position to carry out *very important improvements*, especially affecting the satisfaction of needs and distribution of wealth in the largest classes of the community. First of all the modern State can employ an effective policy as to the distribution of income amongst the wealthiest classes; with a consistent policy in regard to prices and taxation numerous methods of doing this are available (see Political Economy (in Hungarian), Budapest, 1922, Part 2, p.p. 491-556). The biggest modern productive undertakings are in so many ways dependent on the State and its industrial policy that the State can nearly always influence their prices. It need hardly be said that there should be no undue persecution of these enterprises, still less should they be allowed to profiteer by means of monopolies. *In practice it depends mainly on ethical factors if the State will intervene, and, if so, to what extent.* The first requirement is politicians or State functionaries of unquestionable probity who have no material interest in the activities of these great undertakings or capitalist groups; further, if the necessary will is there, ways and means can be found, guarantees and decrees against profiteering and abuses of trusts and "cartels" can be issued even in the existing social order. *The understanding and moral level of parliaments is an important, possibly the most important, factor,* it is also most necessary, in the public interest, to regulate the connection between politicians and Members of Parliament and these industrial undertakings.

The State cannot adopt the same attitude of aloofness to the question of prices as it did some ten or twenty years ago. The question of the price of essential commodities has recently become one of the principal problems of any active policy of social amelioration, especially where there is a large population dependent on the fluctuations of production.

It is no longer a hopeless task for a policy which aims at improving the conditions of the people to oppose the exploitation and parasitism of trusts and "cartels" if they make use of the numerous politico-economic means of doing so which are at the disposal of the State to-day. Still more can be done if the causes of high prices are to be sought, not in the activities of the great productive enterprises, but rather in the profiteering methods of non-productive circles in trade and usury, which stand outside production. Intervention in the public interest may be considered all the more decisively necessary in such cases, as in restraining unproductive speculation there is far less question of injuring the interests of production than if it were a question of proceeding against large productive undertakings, and because results—for instance, in checking speculation in stocks and shares—can be obtained by far more simple and uniform means than would be necessary to influence the prices of big industrial concerns. From a social political point of view it must be enunciated as an ethical principle that it is non-moral and contrary to the public interest to exploit great national crises, disasters and wars as a means of obtaining usurious profits. A policy of prices framed for the common good must endeavour to prevent the exploitation of such unforeseen events for the object of obtaining profits which exceed the usual "bourgeois" rates.

4. As we have stated, there are many ways open to the State, within the compass of the existing social order, in which to develop a really "social" policy with regard to consumption and income. It is not a question of changing the framework of State and society, *but rather of filling it with an adequate moral content*. If political corruption or flabby insensibility stand in the way of the public interest making itself felt, then indeed our only hope lies in a moral renaissance of society such as we can see in action in the most modern examples of to-day. These examples show us, too, that such a moral regeneration is only possible upon Christian, national and ethical foundations, since the society of to-day can only reach a fuller ethical standard in this way. While Socialism declares war upon existing social and cultural morality, the regeneration of national and social "moral" which is going on before our eyes, must raise the standard which has decreased in the present generation and thus, at the same time, increase the ethical efficacy of society to a level commensurate with the task of improving the social conditions of large

sections of the community. The basic institutions of the existing social order, therefore, if administered with adequate social and political ethics, cannot be obstacles to progressive well-being for the masses, nor can they fail to achieve a marked decrease in abuses if a serious and persistent endeavour is made. The Socialist-Communist systems which represent consumption, as opposed to efficient production, must lead to increased poverty; on the other hand, as we pointed out when emphasising the fact that effective production is a higher ideal than equal distribution, it does not follow that crying abuses of industrial life to-day are to be commended, and that they should not be so far amended as to make an improvement in the social conditions of the masses. On the contrary, there is nothing to be said against great wealth and large incomes if they also mean greater and more efficient production which gives employment and wages to large numbers. We hold the opinion, which up to now has received little consideration, *that the vital point is not the judicial form of ownership which in all cases is outwardly uniform, but the way in which the rights of property are used in individual cases with social effects which are by no means similar.* The effects depend upon the aims, and the methods employed in putting the rights of property and distribution of wealth into force. The various rights implied in the idea of ownership can be exercised in order to obtain efficient production, in such a case there stands behind property and the distribution of wealth based upon it, an *organisation of production* and a *process of production* which enriches society with commodities essential to large sections of the community. On the other hand, these rights may be exercised in a parasitic way in the distribution and acquisition of wealth, without any increase of production or actual commodities. In such a case, it is the duty of those who care for the common good to create guarantees and to oppose the abuses of utilitarian minorities.

Every political course of action which recognises national and racial interests, and which is based on a definite plan, must aim at *securing the benefits of national and racial labour, efforts and sacrifices for the nation and race.* If we analyse this important and basic interest more closely, and the effects connected with it, we must see at once that, in consequence of this national interest, the parasitism of heterogeneous minorities is far more dangerous in a national and social-political sense than the parasitism of minorities which are homogeneous with nation or race; for this reason the parasitism of heterogeneous minorities is of vital importance in the life of the nation. It means, in fact, that strangers seize the most favourable opportunities of making wealth, in trade or otherwise, and consequently that foreigners in speech or race become the wealthiest and most prosperous

class and take the lead in industry. The situation is especially dangerous when it is a question of races which are not assimilated easily, as if they are in possession for any length of time we find in the end that the leaders and ruling classes in industrial life are drawn entirely, or in great preponderance, from these foreign elements, and it may happen that the real nationals only carry out heavy and unremunerative work, while the leading positions, which are more lucrative and afford opportunities for an easier life and greater material prosperity, have been captured by strangers. For this reason any policy framed in the national interests, which will not permit nationals to endure nothing but poverty and unremunerative labour, while all advantages are enjoyed by a heterogeneous and exploiting class, must look ahead and devise plans of defence.

The twentieth century has brought up the great problem of defending the interests of national races, and in future *this question will occupy an increasing place in the consideration of peoples which are alive to their national and racial interests.* The United States has recently made a great advance in this direction. *While in the 19th century the problem of so-called class interests made its appearance, the 20th century is faced by an even greater difficulty in the undoubted self-consciousness of awakened racial interests in modern nations.* National interests in a narrower sense seem to play an increasing part in social and industrial questions, as is proved by the spread of movements with a "Fascist" tendency. All these important occurrences which must be considered and treated in a scientific manner as great problems of the 20th century, justify the conclusion that the social questions and struggles of this era will be influenced to a far greater extent by national and racial points of view than was the case in the 19th century.

CHAPTER XII.

The Social Renaissance of a Sense of Duty.

1. As we have seen, effective production can be best ensured by the systematic and consistent evocation and use of the hidden physical and mental energies of mankind. The fruits of these energies are wares of great variety, technical and intellectual, and the factors which make for a healthy spirit in the community are: a great quantity of such wares, the possession of the most important sources of cultural production as part of the common stock, and the consequent creation of a social atmosphere in which the endeavour to produce efficient technical and intellectual work becomes a mighty and enduring spiritual force in the souls of those who come under its influence. By "a healthy spirit"

we do not mean an empty phrase, but a hidden indwelling tendency in the minds of many which prompts men to work for the common good and leads them to release their energies in building up, maintaining and realising the good, in destroying evil and repelling the forces of dissolution and thus, as mass psychology, lays the certain foundation of successful social co-operation. Mental and technical results, variety of commodities and their sources, in short, well-being, civilisation and culture, greater general happiness and social conditions which afford the possibility of an existence better worth-while—all these things can only be realised amongst men if the motive powers—in the first place will and love of occupation—are developed and so fixed in their minds that they will be led to carry out the millions of small actions which go to make a more perfect whole. For this reason such moods as psychic capacities must be realised in men as will give guarantees for efficient action. Efficiency in a group is the first essential for the spread of efficiency in large sections of the community. Psychic efficiency, *i.e., an inclination on the part of men to carry out actions which promise success, which in turn leads to the development of successful energies*, is always spread by means of an already existent group, either by means of force or suggestion, sometimes with the help of both these factors.

This was well known to the founders of religions, to prophets and apostles, and was no less familiar to the founders of forms of government and social organisations. Those politicians who refuse to recognise the psychic element in the structure of society in any way, and are guided by the assumption that permanent social institutions and organisations can be planned and maintained without being planted in the hearts of men, are mere caricatures of statesmen. Social institutions are so much an integral part of men's lives that they are firmly convinced a certain order and arrangement is useful and necessary, or else, which has practically the same effect from the point of view of the maintenance and continuance of these institutions, they are of opinion that only those institutions are strong which are supported, protected and maintained by powers which punish or destroy recalcitrant members of the community. Without psychological factors of this kind there can be no permanent or vigorous social institutions, therefore *such institutions as we desire to see maintained must be called into existence in the minds, convictions and "interest perceptions" of mankind.*

According to conditions, necessities, social arrangements, differences in judicial forms and types of authority, but above all, as a result of differences in national psychology, the creation of social institutions in the minds of men may have many gradations. The creation of social institutions depends on the awakening and spread of the appropriate interests and forces, that is

to say, on the belief in the powers hidden in or standing behind them. Men must therefore hold certain views and opinions with regard to certain social institutions and movements, and these views must be imprinted on their minds by the authorities and developed into increasingly strong convictions by means of repetition.

2. The spread of the psychological process described can be all the more successfully accomplished where it is already deeply rooted in some social class, group or organisation, or where some group or organisation can arouse and spread the requisite views. The most important factors in spreading such views are "force" and agitation—by "force" we mean principally some despotic "*fait-accompl*i" affecting human beings. For instance, when a powerful army occupies any country, this display of force arouses in the people of the territory occupied a conviction that great power and considerable forces stand behind the orders and proclamations of the invading army, and they feel that it would be dangerous and even fatal to offer opposition. If the strong army can control the occupied territory for a considerable period it is very easy, with the help of the opinions and convictions aroused by the "*fait-accompl*i," to persuade the population of the occupied territory to believe that powers and forces stand behind the other institutions and arrangements of the invaders, and that anything is preferable to opposing them. This conviction naturally takes root more quickly and strongly if it is confirmed by daily example, i.e., the more suggestive examples of power the invading force can display, so much the more will people believe that the institutions it defends are really strong, that it is really dangerous to oppose them, and therefore better to adapt oneself—that, in a word, the belief in their power is well founded.

It goes without saying that this "mass" opinion with regard to social institutions, which are forcibly created but then accepted gladly, and which are suitable to the opinions of men and of the age, is far more easily spread in the psychological way, which, as we have already explained, the institutions themselves call into existence in the minds of men. The suggestions of a popular power have great possibilities of dissemination, but we must not forget that the power and permanent effect of popular suggestion cannot vie with the effect produced by the observation and evaluation of force, nor with a conviction based on authority and we must also remember that a compelling force stands as a sanction behind the orders and institutions of the ruling power. The knowledge of the sanctions attached to social institutions, orders and judicial decrees, is the most efficient guarantee that men will conform to them.

3. It has already been stated that certain authoritative institutions and enactments exercise mass suggestion by their very existence, and by concrete examples of their working, and thus create a volume of opinion with regard to themselves. The creation of "mass" opinions can be accomplished in another and more specific way, not by seeing the working of any institution and knowing of the sanctions attached to it, but by specially directed persuasion, suggestion, enlightenment, explanation and very often by distortion, lies and deceit, in a word, by means of agitation. Agitation may equally well be conducted in favour of some existing order, institution or authority, as against it. In the latter case, however, endeavours are made to influence mass psychology against existing institutions, decrees and so forth, and to persuade the people that they are injurious, unjust, unsuitable and that in their own interests these institutions should not continue but should be altered or done away with. Agitation consists, therefore, in the creation of directly suggestive trains of thought, and in the effect produced by these means on the mental processes of others. Mass opinions and convictions based on observation of institutions and knowledge of their working and sanctions, can easily be distinguished from those which are founded solely and entirely on what may be called some subjective thought transference and should not be confused with them.

Opinions formed in this way are not controlled by impressions based on direct observation of facts, but by the many varieties of suggestion, by the awakening of feelings and passions, and thus are produced in a far less critical way and are less capable of being controlled. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the dissemination of views and mass opinions which are far more superficial and unfounded than those based on experience and facts, can yet be ensured by means of agitation. For this reason a strong belief in a better future social order far more to the taste of the masses, can easily be aroused, with the help of clever and biased agitation. Statements which can neither be proved or disproved by actual experience, but which are agreeable to the tastes and instincts of the masses, thus become strong convictions in the minds of certain classes, that is to say, they become social facts of such importance that they cannot be ignored. The power and importance of views held by the masses depends chiefly not on their being true or false, but on the power of those who hold them. It is therefore not a matter of indifference but of the most vital importance from a national, political and social point of view what world philosophy and what principles are held by the majority of the population, or at least by a large section of it, what passions, views and instincts move them, whether they owe allegiance to certain ideals or whether they are slaves of cynicism,

whether love of occupation and a sense of duty exist or can be roused in them and whether they react only to the baser and more harmful instincts of mankind.

4. No society can show effective co-operation unless there is enough sense of duty in its members to ensure that reliable work can be carried out in the most varied departments of industry. When the sense of duty is small and restricted and when, in consequence, there can be little reliance on obtaining effective work, more and stronger measures of compulsion must be adopted in order to force men to produce work up to standard in quantity and quality.

Every age has had its own characteristic factors and institutions which have served as means of compelling greater or smaller numbers to work. In one age the direct factor of force played the chief part, in another indirect measures of compulsion were more prominent. In the era of modern production, with the present arrangement of classes, the necessity of large sections of the community to earn wages is a very potent factor of compulsion, uniting the masses who were scarcely known in olden times in the very centre of modern production, a circumstance which gives rise to much thought and discussion, and even to prophecy. All *external measure of compulsion*—direct or indirect—however, can be *relatively effectual* from the point of view of the amount of work accomplished. Coercion can never be entirely successful when applied to very large and numerous classes of the community. If men have a sense of duty they require little persuasion to carry out their proper allowance of work, and the less sense of duty they possess the more forcible the measures required to ensure the proper output.

The degree of the sense of duty inherent in men and of the coercion which can be applied to them is limited and relative, like everything else in the human community, the compulsion of the so-called "Capitalist order" being no exception to this rule. The best demonstration that the compulsion exercised by capitalism is a far from perfect means of ensuring successful work is given by the newest developments and methods of labour movements and class warfare. The latest methods of the latter often include sabotage, destruction of machinery, spoiling of material, etc., according to the degree of barbarism which has been reached. The exercise of pressure on those who are willing to work preventing them from doing so, the fixing and continual decrease of the maximum output, further, a tendency to demand far shorter hours than those required by industrial legislation, are employed as weapons in class warfare, and *owing to the success with which they are used they render the individual output of the workers under the capitalist system more and more unsatisfactory.* The very way in which Socialism regards class

warfare, and Trade Unions look upon it as a weapon to be used in their interests, the spirit implanted in this connection in the minds of the workers with regard to output, namely, that only a small output should be aimed at, even at the cost of decreasing production—all this is nothing less than a long-continued attack on efficient work. Capitalist "compulsion," from the point of view of satisfactory output, is becoming less and less effectual owing to the attitude of Socialist unions and organisations and their policy of "ca'canny" and sabotage. Therefore the policy and practical demonstration of modern Socialism is the policy of destroying successful work—a real policy of *anti-efficiency*. In this respect social democracy adopts the same tactics as the extremists (their final goal being the same). Their policy might be summed up as: *the policy of higher wages at the expense of decreased production*. This is the most dangerous of all for the common good, as the community would thus become poorer in essential commodities, which would therefore cost more. In the final result this policy affects consumption, and of all classes of the community the capitalists are the least likely to suffer, since they lose least owing to a rise in prices, and are best able to turn the circumstance to their own advantage. The practical result of this Socialist policy is inefficiency and a state of affairs contrary to the common good, as the existence of the great majority of the community is not lightened but actually made more difficult.

5. This deliberately created inefficiency is far more destructive from the point of view of "*mass psychology*."

The progressive decay in the great mass of the workers of the desire to work, the sense of duty, love of occupation and adequate individual output, which were moral duties, dries up the most specific and at the same time the most difficult source of energy in the community—the fount of energy inherent in civilised man which cannot be replaced by anything else, namely, the will—which directs the energies towards successful production. This is the great "mass psychological" factor in production which decides by its presence or absence in both the mental and material sphere the progress or decadence of the community.

The guarantees that will, "moral" and energy are present in the community in sufficient measure to ensure successful output, can and must be sought for in men themselves. If men are so educated and inspired that they have a sense of duty, love of occupation, in fact, *ethical ideas which cause them to act for the common good*, then guarantees are to be found in the community for efficient work and the fulfilment of duty. This fact was well known to great conquerors, organisers and founders of religions and social systems and they laid great stress upon the necessity for saturating the people, or whatever class they were working upon, with ideals and aims which imbued them with the requisite

incentives towards action for the common good, and with the tenacity to remain faithful to these ideals. All civilisation lies in the hearts of men, and the soundest culture can be based upon efficient "moral" which ensures progress both mental and material. *The community must be saturated or resaturated with such "moral,"* and everything must be done which is humanly possible to ensure the dissemination of these ideas. The means to this end are: example, organisation, instruction, agitation designed to make men better, more energetic, more conscious of their duty, and also to strengthen those psychic feelings such as national sentiment, religio-ethical ideas, etc., which are necessary preliminaries and which prepare the ground for the spread of the virtue of the fulfilment of duty in efficient work.

It is only possible to exercise any actual successful influence in this direction if the nation or community already possesses a group with such psychic tendencies, or one which is reliably organised and becomes the constant supporter or example of these virtues and of practical actions in the service of the higher national and social ideals. This group or organisation leads the way in the social renaissance of the sense of duty. Such, for instance, is the importance of Italian Fascism which was born at a time when the revolutionary and destructive doctrines of "Marxism" had very nearly captured the Italian masses which were already powerfully affected. This effective national movement has succeeded in replanting sound ideals in the minds of the Italian people in place of international revolutionary cynicism. The pages of history will record that the Italian community gave an example of social regeneration to the world: *the wholesome example of the efficient fulfilment of duty in the national interest.* This example also shows that ideals which have grown up in the soil of nation and race are more attractive and more suitable to the said nation and race than those which are suggested and spread by foreigners. For this reason, as soon as Italian Fascism, which was based on a national foundation and was born of the national nature, opposed the foreign Marxist tendencies which were contrary to the national bias, victory fell to the ideals which are characteristic of Italy, in spite of the utilitarianism of Marx which is so alluring to the masses.

It must be quite incomprehensible to Marxian materialism that a movement could succeed which states, for instance, that Fascists possess not rights but duties, in contrast to the movement which proclaims a right to the full results of labour and the total consumption of the results of production. The disciples of Marx cannot understand how the masses can prefer a movement which does not tickle the egoism of the individual but makes an appeal for unselfish action in the interests of the community! The solution is quite simple and only appears incredible to the

true follower of Marx: self-sacrificing efficiency is the manifestation of the Italian race—Marxian materialism that of the Jews.

As soon as someone appears who shows the Italian ideals which correspond to his own nature, instead of ideals and promises of alien origin, he repudiates strange ideals with disgust and turns joyfully to those which spring from his own superior civilisation. The Italian community does not need to be consciously anti-Semitic to recognise in Fascism its own efficient and creative culture, and in Marxism an alien barbarism which is destructive to the creations and creative power of the national spirit.

6. Another equally important institution connected with the social renaissance of the perception and fulfilment of duty, which has spread throughout the world in a more modest form, is the Scout Movement. The idea of the fulfilment of duty as a virtue which is beneficial to the community is being taught by the Scout Movement to those who are most receptive of all—the young. It is a valuable product of efficient English education, is an attractive and practical method of building character, of ennobling morals, and of improving children so that they may be brought up as individuals who will be useful to the human community. How much higher and more cultured are the civilisation and world philosophy, the ethical conception of Fascism and the Scout Movement, than that of Socialism based on the doctrines of Marx, which plants the barbaric and destructive tendencies of to-day in the souls of the masses and inoculates them with hatred, in order to promote its own revolutionary aims to the detriment of all the most vital institutions of the European Christian social order. If modern society is to retain its cultural advantages, if it is not to retrogress, if social production is to be maintained at an adequate level, then a powerful ethical regeneration is needed so that in future men are not filled with a spirit of anarchy and revolution, but with a world philosophy which arouses the energies of successful labour and love of occupation in the services of mental and material progress. *For this purpose the suggestive power of groups and organisations, which are filled with the spirit of fulfilment of duty, must be brought into play, and even positive action must be taken to serve great ends, for any society is condemned to ruin which expects the State to do everything and does not realise that the community alone can protect itself against the threatened revolutionary developments.* The conception of Fascism brings the soundest logic to bear on this point: that class warfare is the greatest conceivable anomaly in a civilised community. If, however, the State of to-day is so weak and political conditions in such a state of decay that they cannot hinder class warfare, and that the spread and almost the official organisation and conduct

of class warfare by political parties is tolerated from motives of culpable political opportunism, then self-defence and the use of every available weapon is necessary to overcome the forces of destruction; ay, more, it is a holy duty for that section of the community whose world philosophy stands for the maintenance of State and national institutions and for the protection of national and racial interests.

In the 20th century, side by side with, or rather opposed to, the revolutionary class movements of the 19th century we find, even in social struggles, that great national and racial interests make themselves felt; they fill the souls of the peoples with ideals which are more proper to their natures and with better aims for national energies than "class warfare," which has been stirred up by aliens.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Aim of Social Politics for the Common Good.

1. It has already been pointed out that will to work and love of occupation can only be widespread in a social order in which the individual can personally enjoy the fruits of his own increased endeavours, but not when every effort merely goes to increase the collective store, and the individual quota of income and commodities is hardly increased at all, in spite of longer hours and greater individual output. The only social arrangement suitable to increase and popularise productive industry and the will to work is that in which men may find direct possibilities and hopes of better rewards for better individual work, i.e., direct incentives to industry. If the social arrangement does not offer any direct opportunity of reward for efficient individual output, then the most rational incentives, we might even say the initial impulse, of the will to work and love of occupation, are missing. If there is no direct opportunity of reward for greater energy and industry, and therefore the soil is unfavourable for the cultivation of these social virtues, how can we expect them to exist or to flourish in the social system of equal distribution which is quite unalterable, more particularly since in such a system the worker who fares best, relatively speaking, is he whose output does not exceed the compulsory minimum. In an unalterable (more or less Communistic) system of equal distribution, the better the individual output in quantity and quality and the more commodities added thereby to the common stock, the less, relatively speaking, is the reward. This arrangement destroys industry and effort as it renders them irrational and purposeless.

In a system of equal distribution it is not worth while to display energy, industry and love of occupation; it is best to furnish only the compulsory minimum since the system is based on the principle of equality of income and stands upon it. If such a system were to offer increased payment for increased work as an incentive to production, then we should return at once to the system of unequal distribution. This inefficient and imperfect social order which is always very primitive (owing to the merely apparent justice of its principles) can therefore make little use of the most rational methods of obtaining successful results, since these methods (such as adequate or more nearly adequate pay for more work or better quality) strike at the very foundations of this social order and show its true character. Systems of equal distribution can only create the rational, psychological conditions necessary for the display of energy and industry by re-establishing the system of private ownership. Since it is impossible for a system of equal distribution to do this without sacrificing its Communist principles, then nothing remains but to apply methods of force and terrorism to ensure industry in cases where it is not automatically present, or to repudiate Communism and resume slowly the superior methods of the old order. Such a community could only reckon upon the results of production, however small, due to the sense of duty of its members so long as the virtues of industry inculcated in the previous order, retained some influence in the new regime. After this influence has ceased, a community which lacks all rational incentives to industry, and which is retrogressing towards barbarism, can only make use of methods of force and terrorism to compel its members to work. In these conditions he fares best who exerts himself least within the limits prescribed for the minimum output. Private ownership, on the other hand, tends to provide better remuneration for the individual the greater his output, although the wage may not always be quite commensurate with the work rendered. The chief point upon which great stress must be laid is this: *the presence of this important tendency can be established beyond doubt as a characteristic quality of private ownership, and is in no way opposed to it, although the way in which it manifests itself at present shows certain weaknesses.*

On the other hand, the opposite tendency of the levelling Communistic system can be equally well established, namely: *the greater the output the smaller, relatively speaking, the remuneration, and vice versa.* It is also worthy of note that in a system of private ownership the elasticity of wages is greater, and reward can therefore be made to approximate more closely to work done than is the case in a system of Communistic equal distribution. It is therefore the most important task of social politics to promote in the community the tendency towards

greater remuneration for better work without exercising any prejudicial influence on the increase of production as a whole, and further to enable more and more members of the community to be sure of receiving wages in proportion to output, as in this way :—

- (a) Production will be at its highest in an absolute sense both in quantity and quality;
- (b) Individual production will be most efficient;
- (c) The individual quota will be at its largest.

2. No absolutely perfect system is possible in fallible human conditions, and no perfect social order can be created by fallible men; but if we compare the system of private ownership and that of Communistic equal distribution, and place the mental and material results of these systems side by side, then from the point of view of culture, civilisation and social ethics favourable to the common good, there can be no doubt that of the two the system of private ownership is the one which can ensure a more favourable development for the community, higher culture, and industrial conditions promising greater prosperity, not only for the individual but for the masses.

We have shown that the inherent tendency of private ownership is towards higher pay for greater output, and that the tendency of the equalising Communistic system is exactly the opposite, and in addition it is quite clear *that whereas in a system of private ownership the inherent tendency fails to make itself adequately felt because of perversions and abuses, the equalising-Communistic system is false from the very start; it is a failure and leads to the inevitable decay of production, culture and social ethics.* Sound commonsense tells us not to decide in favour of a social tendency which does not and cannot ensure favourable development from the important points of view quoted above, but advises us rather *to improve*, if possible, the institution which embodies the tendency towards satisfactory social progress. The more this system suffers from perversions and mal-administration the more we should endeavour to improve it.

Since perfect conditions and systems do not exist, it is obvious that the eradication of the perversions apparent in the system of private ownership can only be relative. The object of our endeavour should not be to seek for perfection under present human conditions, but rather to attempt such improvement as we can effect in the institutions we already possess. The chief thing from the point of view of the great social interests is that the endeavour to improve conditions should be shown by a strong will and the display of energy in pressing on towards the goal, so that we can speak of, at least, *relative improvements and amelioration* of the social conditions of technical industrial life. This can best be achieved, in harmony with the realities of life,

if we have some *concrete end in view*, which we desire to attain because of our better and more clearly realised interests, and *if we also endeavour to make relative improvements in present conditions for the same reason*. In this connection the dictates of commonsense (based naturally on thorough consideration and a practical turn of mind) will show us the best way to attain good results, all the more so since the mind of man would scarcely supply a complete set of basic principles, especially in the social sphere. Those peoples and nations are on the right road which try to attain to reasonable relativity in their social arrangements and institutions, as is shown by the historical development and institutions of Christian European communities.

Certain groups of a more unquiet spirit make far less modest social demands than were made formerly, and picture the more perfect social order of the future in very glowing colours. The realisation of their sanguine expectations is all the less likely, in contrast to the moderate social ideals and demands of the more sanely thinking peoples, which are better suited to promote conduct favourable to the common good and thus to serve as a foundation for greater mental and material progress.

It must never be forgotten that those who really make a social order are the law-abiding, quiet, self-disciplined members of the community itself.

CHAPTER XIV.

Summary of Basic Hypotheses and Means of Realising Efficient Social Politics.

1. The fate of mankind and also of every human community is bound to some portion of the earth's surface. Each individual people, nation and State must possess some territory, and there is no organised community which is not connected with some particular spot on earth by close and vital interests. The closest and most important of all these are connected with the territory which the chances of historical events has made the home of the particular people, nation or race. It needed protracted struggles, work, the sweat and blood of generations before a people could transform the place of their abode into a national home affording them civilisation, culture and prosperity. While our people, owing to a happier conjunction of circumstances or to the possession of remarkable pioneers and leaders, were able to fight and conquer a better, larger and more adequate place of abode, helped possibly by more favourable

geographical and climatic conditions and by valuable racial qualities, another people were obliged to conquer, retain and protect a national home which offered less advantages with relatively greater sacrifices. The work of gaining and defending a national home was and must be carried out by every nation, race and community. There is no people on earth of any importance and no race which in the course of history has not been forced to wander and has not been driven out by other peoples and races, and has not been obliged at some time, in some place, to conquer and defend a national home. During historic and pre-historic ages Europe has been the scene of the migration of many different peoples and races. Every European nation of to-day was founded by peoples who had wandered far, who at the cost of untold labour and warlike effort, made their place of abode into the national house, more or less civilised as the case may be. The only exception in this respect are those parasitic races which either were unaccustomed or did not wish to make the sacrifices required to found a national home, but rather settled as utilitarian minorities in places where another self-sacrificing race had already established themselves. They migrate into countries which have been rendered fit for human habitation by the conquering, defensive, physical and mental work of others in order to settle in some section of the people or society without having made any sacrifice themselves. These peoples who establish no national home by military prowess may be of such a type that they only penetrate into the lower strata of any community which gives them shelter, carrying out work of a manual nature only and forming thus a lower caste. The only danger then to the community is that these aliens should increase and multiply and finally outnumber the national race. This has been known to happen, and cowardly peoples which shrank from military sacrifices were often found in history to be better off in point of numbers than those who displayed the military virtues, since these were likely to increase mortality, thus in the course of centuries the cowardly non-combatant races generally outnumbered the races which harboured and defended them.

Other races, however, always seek to penetrate into the occupations and social strata which afford them greater prosperity and opportunities. They obtain possession of social positions which involve no sacrifice, but, on the contrary, afford utilitarian possibilities of acquiring riches, and seize the most favourable opportunities of making a livelihood in a society which has been founded and is maintained by the laborious mental and physical work of others.

The advantageous position of being parasites preying on other races also demands the work of someone or other in founding and defending a national home. Even parasitic aliens

need *others* to do this work for them, otherwise there would be no countries for them to enter and profit by the situation, but they leave to others the sacrifices which from a utilitarian standpoint can never be recompensed. The worldly wisdom of their race and the tradition of their society consists in building up prosperity on the labour of others.

It is therefore clear—although it is obscured and denied by many as being an unpleasant truth—that it is impossible to secure a place of abode fit for culture, civilisation and prosperity without the work of establishing and defending a national home; it must be done by some one, but a people which makes these sacrifices for the benefit of others is naïf and blind to its own interests.

If we seek, therefore, to establish hypotheses and means of attaining social-political ends, we must lay special stress upon this truth—*that the necessary preliminaries to every effective industrial and cultural social activity are sacrifices, endeavours and labour which establish and protect a national home and thus promise peace, security and a future.*

2. The community can only hope to obtain on the part of its members the standard of work, requisite in quantity and quality to promote progress, hinder decadence, gain and retain civilisation, culture and prosperity if it is able to awaken, educate and transmit from generation to generation *those individual qualities*, those psychic propensities known as virtues, which render men willing and able to render efficient work, not only when they are forced to do so by threats, but at other times and in all departments of their life and activities.

We have already stated in detail in a previous chapter that the first essential of successful production, mental and material (growing social prosperity, the foundation and continual increase of true human progress) is the presence of certain virtues in large masses of the community and from the point of view of the most important social aim—efficient mental and technical production—we require reliability, a sense of duty and industry in large sections of the population.

These virtues which are for the common good cannot be awakened or guaranteed by word of command or forcible reforms, that is to say, by direct influence. The preparation for them consists of long-continued work which educates men, restrains and tames them and suggests these virtues to their minds; further, it is necessary to create surroundings and permanent arrangements which strengthen a sense of duty and industry, and promise that these virtues may meet with a reasonable return from the selfish individual point of view. In other words, *the arrangement of society must not be irrational from the point of view of the virtues which ensure efficient mental*

and material production and the necessary dissemination and preservation of individual human qualities. For this reason we have indicated the unusual importance of private ownership and certain institutions concerned with rights of property, and the irrationality and inefficacy of equalising Communistic arrangements. If we then endeavour to count and arrange the means at the disposal of social politics for the foundation of a happier community, from the mental and material point of view, we may confidently assert that in the human community the maintenance and protection of the ethical level of private ownership and certain rights of property in general, and arrangements which foster individual ambition, energy and a sense of duty, most certainly belong to these means. It need hardly be said that there are many other methods and arrangements suited to awaken energy and a sense of duty in men as well as the system of private ownership. They all possess one common characteristic, that they make differences in some way, ensuring reward, lifting individuals out of a permanent and unalterable state of equality with one another, consequently these institutions which awaken ambition, sense of duty and energy, *do not equalise but differentiate.* For this reason they are not available for systems which aim at levelling, as they strike at the very root principle of the system. In the category of systems and methods which differentiate we may include all those which recognise, establish and reward industry, knowledge, perseverance, self-sacrifice and successful work, and those who practise these virtues, which have been mentioned and suggested as being good and distinguished. The system of private ownership is naturally first in order on account of the greatness of its effects; it is able to influence and stimulate men from their most egoistic and rationalistic side. For this reason it is indispensable to social progress, to the maintenance of the social level, and also to efficient mental and material production, although on the same grounds it may lead to perversions and abuses.

3. In view of the importance of private ownership with regard to energy and efficiency of labour, it would be ridiculous, because it may be subject to abuses and because perversions either do or may occur in a society based upon it, to root out the institution entirely, in favour of a system of equality which has a superficial appearance of greater justice, and thus to commit an act of the greatest possible injustice and evil against mankind in robbing them of the prosperity and successful results of mental and material production. Who would think of discarding realities tested by experience in favour of an untried idea!

While Communism inveighs against private ownership on account of its "ill-effects" and would destroy its good points on account of the bad ones, industrial Liberalism, which adopts an

attitude of *laissez-faire*, trusting to the harmony of conditions left to themselves, or at least with the attention to self-interest which influences those who are afraid of a rational regulation of industrial life, represents that it is useless and superfluous to struggle against these "ill-effects." Both tendencies are false and illogical. Both are nothing less than a hindrance (either due to self-interest or embarrassment) to the action of practical men who listen to commonsense. Sensible men, for instance, in social or political affairs cannot possibly consider any untried institution superior to the basic arrangement by which men have not only existed for thousands of years, but, in spite of all its weaknesses, have attained a high degree of development. If, however, certain experiences are available which show that the proposed new direction of society will not bear criticism, then we should be all the more chary of sacrificing such an old and basic institution which has served us so well. Sound sense and experience gained in the course of social development, on the other hand, contradict the idea which excludes the *improvement* and perfection of institutions and conditions, only in order to avoid State or political interference with human egoism.

Judicial institutions, social arrangements, are purely abstract ideas by means of which the totality of certain rules and wishes affecting the conduct of men are defined and made into living thoughts. The conduct of men is vital and determines the fate of the community; it shows itself either passively or actively.

The results of human behaviour are displayed in the forms taken by social arrangements and conditions. The effects of private ownership and of institutions relating to the rights of property are also results of human action. *We must therefore influence the acts and methods of men if we wish to increase the favourable and counteract the unfavourable effect of these institutions.*

It is not therefore the duty of social politics either to destroy private ownership and the rights of property, or to allow human egoism to run rampant within the limits of these institutions; it should rather endeavour, when necessary for the common good, to control the use which it made of these institutions by selfish and faulty mankind, and to guide and set limits to their activities in the interests of others. *Accordingly defence against exploitation and parasitism is a duty for the common good, at least so far as ensuring that work which is better in quantity and quality should be rewarded with a corresponding increase in remuneration. This principle must develop into a basic tendency and come into force everywhere if only in a relative sense.*

In an absolute sense it can never be made quite impossible for one individual to make use of the work of another; the diversity and sub-division of labour makes this inevitable in a

variety of ways, since the very division of work means that individuals make use of each others' efforts. The social organisation of labour in the more developed stages of technique and civilisation promotes the division of work, and thus entails the use by certain individuals of the work of others. From the social point of view it is of vital importance that the tendency for work which is better in quantity and quality to be better paid should become a guiding principle throughout the varied and many ramifications and sub-divisions of labour whereby men make use of the labours of others. If this principle becomes established it means, in other words, that justice and fair play rule in the question of wages. In every-day life the application of the principles of "better pay for better work" also means greater social justice and fair dealing, it excludes the most crying and unjust cases of parasitism and exploitation, and makes the principle of their exclusion from social life an actual fact. It would be a great mistake, however, to carry out this practical principle with mathematical exactitude. *Social life cannot tolerate any rigid mathematical equality without its exercising a destructive effect from its very rigidity.* We have seen the destructive and barbaric nature of Communism which is traceable to its rigid system of equality. It would be equally mistaken to demand that the wage of one individual as compared to another should be raised to correspond absolutely exactly with his increase in output. It is only possible to do this in exact arithmetical proportion, and within limits, in cases where the wages relate to work which is identical from a technical and industrial point of view. For instance, in carrying coal which is paid for by weight, one man may get one and a half times as much as another because he has done one and a half times as much work. Even in such primitive work as this, however, the principle cannot be carried out with mathematical accuracy by division, multiplication or proportion to the very last degree. The most simple work and also the human frame have certain limits beyond which output and wages can only be estimated as approximately more or less. If we consider that in the social division of labour the quantity and quality of various mental and physical labour cannot be exactly estimated it is quite obvious *that as a general rule it is impossible to effect the payment of wages which are mathematically exact and in proportion.* For instance, it is not possible to determine the value of scientific learning, even when it can be utilised on the technical side of production, as opposed to simple manual labour. *The valuation will always remain a matter of psychology and not of mathematics alone.* For this reason the valuation and remuneration of work cannot always be accomplished by means of mathematical proportion, but must be a question of *social fair dealing.* In this connection, however, the principle of "better

pay for better work" will do away with the worst discrepancies, even if output cannot always be estimated with absolute accuracy, and we rely in our judgment of values upon social and psychological factors which take account of various circumstances impossible to compare from a mathematical standpoint.

4. In order that the principle of "better pay for better work" should become established in our social order—in other words, to encourage that pleasure in work which comes from the knowledge, based on experience, that it pays to be industrious, conscientious and to do our best—we must seek to establish guarantees in two directions. It is natural that these guarantees should also be guarantees of successful work from the social point of view. The first thing, as we have already tried to formulate, is to establish the tendency towards better remuneration for more valuable and efficient work, so that it manifests itself unmistakably everywhere and is already in evidence in the payment of wages, although it would be a mistake to think that any mathematical principle can be brought into force in this connection, which is a matter of social fair dealing.

Another not less important guarantee for successful work and for the principle of wages more nearly approximate to results is the *safeguarding of successful work* in the narrowest sense. This protection may apply to the tendency of "better pay for better work" as one of the factors which guarantee efficiency, or it may be directed towards the prevention of attacks of any kind on the technical results of successful work.

The modern State which is working for the common good must also look after the department of *Workmen's Insurance*. We include in this term the protection of everything that concerns the bodily, ethical and industrial interests of workers and their dependents. A modern State must see that this is carried out, subject always to the interests of the general public, and must not permit its realisation to come within the sphere of activity of "class warfare." The sphere of *Workmen's Insurance* must not be appropriated by any single section of the community, still less can it be left to any political party or group.

The protection of the workers must be organised to correspond with the most vital interests of the community, and must not be allowed to become a monopoly of class warfare or of certain class exertions so that one-sided interests can make capital out of it. It is *the duty of the State* to carry this principle into effect, and more especially to ensure that its realisation can actually be considered to correspond to the most vital interests of the community. We do not wish to imply or aim at any kind of State Socialism, but rather to eliminate class warfare and to lay stress upon the idea of realising social and humanitarian

ideals as one of the greatest social aims of the 20th century. Whole libraries have already been written on the subject of Workmen's Insurance; it is a section of social politics which has already been considered in the utmost detail hundreds of times, but the idea of insuring the interests of the workers quite apart from class warfare and revolutionary tendencies has not up to the present received due consideration as a problem of great social importance and a significant duty of civilisation.

Consequently, it should be recognised and adopted by a social political school of thought whose point of view is above "class interests" and the circle of revolutionary ideas.

We are in the midst of an epoch in which revolutionary tendencies, actual class warfare, social political tendencies, based on the lowest mass instincts, and consequently the mass psychology of barbarism increase and make progress, and we cannot fail to recognise the necessity and inevitability of energetic and successful self-protection, in order to safeguard the efficiency of mental and material production.

The struggle which has been forced upon us by our opponents must be waged until we have gained the victory and established safeguards for the common good. This task is the most vital duty of a modern community which is fully awake to its own interests, as otherwise it can only look forward to a rapid mental and material decadence.

If weighty interests of the community are bound up with successful production, it is no less important that successful production should be fully safeguarded. The successful result of mental and material production are not only of industrial importance, but are of vital social, cultural and national interest, and their efficiency must not be endangered by the working classes or any section of them. The more numerous any class of society, the more important from its point of view are the results of production, in order that enough "mass" commodities may be available, and further that the arrangements, institutions and technical creations which benefit the great mass of the population may be available in sufficient number and satisfactory condition. The classes which are numerically greatest are the "mass" consumers and any decrease in production means first of all a decrease in the amount of commodities available for mass consumption. Efficient production must not only be considered from the point of view of "mass" commodities and "mass" consumption, it is inextricably bound up with every condition of prosperity and culture. *Efficient mental and material production, therefore, is equivalent to prosperity and culture.* If it is endangered they are endangered also, and most of all in any class which is numerically great.

For this reason we must look on efficient production as a social and social-political duty based on the interests of prosperity, culture and civilisation, and must keep this important end in view. It must be protected from all enemies, within or without, from individuals and groups, from social classes and their "class warfare." No class has the right either deliberately or out of prejudice to make the community poorer in culture and civilisation. So-called "class warfare," which numbers hindrance of production amongst its weapons, must be prevented for the sake of these most vital interests since it causes harm in ways which are inadmissible and must be opposed. We may therefore say that all movements, methods or tactics which endanger successful mental and material production are illegal in any State or social order, which is real and not merely an empty phrase, and are therefore abuses which must be forbidden, prevented and abolished. Who is to forbid, prevent and abolish them? If we look at the nature of the thing the answer is very simple: those individuals and those sections of society who hold the necessary convictions as to the common good. If the powers of the State are put into force by elements who hold these convictions and are animated by a sense of duty, the task of protecting mental and material production is actually carried out by the State, which after all is only as strong as the masses, organisations and classes which stand behind it. If the community or some portion of the population opposes the State and endangers mental and material production, the only hope is that other sections of the community will have the power to enforce the prohibition, prevent hindrance and beat down opposition. If mankind succeeds in making progress along the way of successful production (mental and material), later ages will think with gratitude of those who in the critical days of social struggle did their part in gaining the victory. If decadence and decrease of prosperity and culture are to be our lot, then in this age of ignorance of human interests and of lack of commodities both mental and material the champions of this poverty—the representatives of social revolution and social class warfare—will be great men.

It is abundantly clear from the above that the guaranteeing and safeguarding of social work against non-workers or those who endeavour to decrease production, even if ostensibly for "class interests," is a vital public interest which must be considered as an important aim and a high-minded duty. For this reason sabotage, terrorism by trade unions which affects production, defence against enforced strikes, must be considered as social political means of the greatest value and future interest to the modern community, on which the question of successful production and the prevention of decrease depend and probably will continue to depend.

The wretched conditions which prevail and the ludicrous weakness of democratic States is manifested in most countries by the fact that the guarantees of that labour and satisfaction of needs which are of paramount importance to the majority of the population always hang upon a thin thread which can be cut, at a signal, so to say, from the G.H.Q. of revolutionary class warfare. Nothing demonstrates more clearly the impotence of our social order and, in spite of sad experience, the careless handling of this problem, than the fact that in most States a political or similar strike may break out at any moment, which in consequence of disputes about wages, questions relating to union or party prestige, or with some deliberate end connected with "class" in view, can disorganise lighting, the arrangements for the supplies of food, water and all the most essential commodities at one and the same time. It is a disgrace to the State and social "order" that the smooth running and maintenance of these essential services should depend as it were upon the goodwill and intentions of leaders of Socialist revolutionary parties and organisations; it is a disgrace to the whole Christian European social order that, taught by previous experience, they have not yet in every civilised State developed efficient means of protection, and, if necessary, of defensive counter-revolution. Apart from Fascist Italy, there is no country in which serious methodical defence on a sufficiently large scale has been organised in order to deal with the constant threat of aggressive class warfare, directed towards the hampering of labour, production and social intercourse.

Parliamentary governments usually treat the problem with thoughtless indifference and postpone its consideration, instead of taking the initiative and trying to find a satisfactory solution. In the case of an acute general or political strike they are obliged to take a firmer stand, but are far too opportunist and short-sighted to propose or carry out any radical solution. They conclude a provisional compromise with the strikers or, if we look at the matter more closely, with the forces of social revolution, and thus save the situation or their own political power for the time being. Precautionary measures which are thorough and far-seeing are (apart from the example of Italy and similar movements) by no means to the liking of opportunists, who have their own little political fish to fry on the fire of great events. Organisations are formed to deal with supplies in the case of a general or political strike, but they are usually inefficient attempts which took shape at a time when a strike had just been successfully overcome. It is by no means an unusual occurrence for constructive organisations which safeguard production, transport and supplies, to be dropped for tactical reasons merely to avoid annoying certain Socialist or Radical parties. All this demon-

strates clearly that Europe in this fateful age is ruled by social politicians of very inferior quality and by political parties without any sense of duty, whose intellect and energy are equally feeble, while in the opposing revolutionary and anarchist camp the apostles of Marxism have not only cast a spell upon the masses, but have also *organised* the successful development of revolutionary class warfare as opposed to the *political impotence* of so-called "*bourgeois*" *parties and governments*.

If the historic example of Mussolini and men like him, who appear from time to time, had not shown that it is *possible* to deal with political strikes, terrorism by trade unions, and Marxism, by creating counter-movements as strong, or even stronger, the scales would not have fallen even now from the eyes of those concerned. For the disciples of Marx, and also those often much esteemed and very vain representatives of academic Socialism, who are not always very competent to form an opinion or distinguished by much backbone, circulate the opinion that these attempts at self-defence against Socialist "class warfare" will in any case prove useless. This opinion is not only very cowardly and dangerous, but also betrays the weakest possible power of judgment and is totally unworthy of the thinking European communities. It means in fact that the endeavours of the minds or social forces of men of European race would of necessity be fruitless, if opposed to the Marxian aims of minds of the type which harbour these ideas.

In order to deal with the efforts, acts, arts and practices of attack, and the organisations of social revolution and class warfare, with the magic of suggestion which emanates from their ideology and cripples their opponents, we need the deeds of those combative organisations which are created by those who fear for order, culture and civilisation and desire to protect themselves. These deeds must not take the form of petty commercial social politics, but must be commensurate with the gravity of the problem. In the first place production and supplies must be protected from revolutionary attempts, which serve as preliminary skirmishes in the campaign of "class warfare," and usually begin in the form of so-called political and similar strikes which cripple the most important organisation dealing with the supply of necessities.

Strikes of railway men, employees of electric light and water undertakings, printers, workers in trades supplying food, etc., must be countered by the previous organisation and strengthening of formations capable of effective defence, if necessary of counter-revolutionary technical and labour formations.

Neither the State nor the classes of the community must allow public interests to be set at naught by trade union terrorism, and the most powerful trade unions to be subordinate to

orders from the G.H.Q. of revolutionary class warfare. For this reason the community which wishes to preserve itself must have its own trade unions, it must conquer the revolutionary unions, incorporate their adherents into its own organisations and make sure of them, according to the example of Mussolini; but this example must be perfected and developed to suit the time and the conditions. For the moment we cannot dream of a victory in "class warfare." In most European States to-day we are brought up against this fact to begin with—that the leaders of revolutionary movements, for instance, are in a position to prevent the dissemination of opinions which are not pleasing to them by very primitive but effective methods, namely, by the censorship of the compositors. It depends on them how much of the ideas of those who represent a world-philosophy inimical to their own shall be printed. Is it not a disgrace in these conditions that the representatives of the opposed non-revolutionary ideas have not been able up to now to ensure the efficient spread of their ideas in print in anticipation of the possible flare-up of any such social struggle?

If, therefore, we stand for the efficiency of social work, for the permanence of the most important functions which serve the public needs and for the safeguarding against revolutionary tendencies, we must recognise the most important means of attaining this end, namely, that within the framework of self-defensive organisations designed to maintain the social order, the labour trade unions must be guided in a national and conservative direction, organisations must be created to this end, the masses must be united in such societies and every organisation based on revolutionary "class warfare" must be declared illegal.

"Class warfare" is civil war, and therefore is illegal and cannot be permitted or endured. If, however, a certain section of the community begin civil war in the guise of class warfare, then those who are attacked are justified in self-defence, which must be regarded as a holy duty from the point of view of the highest interests of civilisation and mankind. It is necessary for the working classes to be united in unions or some similar institutions not necessarily a slavish copy of them, which guarantee equal or even better protection of their interests, but also ensure a greater sense of duty and better "moral." Such institutions have to work with a view to maintaining and building up the social order, and not in a spirit of destruction, and have to represent and promote (as the old trade guilds did) not only group or "class interests," but also the public interest which they seem to be capable of doing in view of their attitude towards the maintenance of the social order. Labour organisations of this type would be more worthy of European culture and social order

and no doubt would be able to make a reality of the most important interest of this social order, namely, efficiency of production.

In order that the conservative sections of the community can carry out effective self-defence against the revolutionary movement and its aggressive measures, and further, with regard to the question as to which army is to be victorious in the case of social crises and struggles, it is of special importance whether the labour unions follow and owe allegiance to national or revolutionary tendencies. The strategic positions, whose possession is of decisive importance for the outcome of social struggles and revolutions, even for the civil war called "class warfare," are concentrated in the hands of industrial unions. Technical industrial unions, owing to their central position and because they are easily mobilised, can decide, in case of aggression, on the seizure and occupation of the central points of modern civilisation, the towns, traffic junctions, etc. For this reason they are to be considered not only as fighting troops, eager for battle, but as the army of technical experts and the organisers of technical equipment, without which factors it is practically impossible to carry on modern warfare successfully for any length of time.

Village people and peasants can only be organised and set in motion with great difficulty, they are too scattered and generally arrive too late; for this reason the attitude of the town population generally decides the fate of modern revolutions, especially that of social revolutions, but here the unions of industrial workers are of great importance. The agricultural population can scarcely offer any opposition to the *faits accomplis* of the urban populations, whereas the better organised and technically superior dwellers in the centre, mainly on account of this superiority, can easily deal with any opposition from scattered country dwellers who move with difficulty. Consequently we see that even in an agrarian State like Russia the industrial workers of the cities decided the revolution, and with it the fate of the whole country. The leaders of Russian Communism, with the help of the industrial classes, insinuated themselves into those positions of power from which they were able to bring the population of the entire country under their yoke, while the "bourgeois" society of the leading State of Europe looked on with shameful indolence at the extermination in a literal sense of the greater part of the Russian classes similar to their own. From this we can understand why Mussolini made it his duty in such a grand way to lead the industrial unions in the direction of national ideals. We do not by any means say that it is not important to organise the agricultural population and the peasantry on national conservative and constructive lines. On the contrary, the agricultural population is the backbone and strength of the race, which does not prevent us from recognising the great

importance of industrial labour organisations in social disputes. This recognition is of great interest to us, and of itself brings us face-to-face with our task for the common good, according to which the conservative tendency—if it desires to prevail—must, like Mussolini, win over as many of the industrial population as possible.

However many difficulties the carrying out of the duty we have outlined presents, any social order which does not wish to be defeated in the revolutionary class struggle and consequently to sink into the barbarism of Communistic Socialism, MUST, sooner or later, set itself to accomplish this task with determination. Delay spells danger; the most important thing to-day is not the discussion of petty political questions, but the development of great social problems. It is the most vital interest of culture and civilisation, and of every nation conscious of its destiny, that the social order should suppress revolutionary and anarchistic tendencies and continue to progress. The serious movement of the conservative social classes not only offers the possibility of doing this, but fortunately (in contrast to the faint-heartedness of those who do not know their own interests and who encourage cowardice), has given us examples of its accomplishment.

5. In order that the masses may enjoy favourable conditions for long periods, which must be chiefly manifested in wages which make a satisfactory existence possible, it is necessary that the standard of production should be such that "mass" commodities are turned out in sufficient quantity to provide each individual with an adequate average quota. Efficient distribution which ensures this for the great majority of the population, can only be based upon production which is adequate.

On the other hand, production which is adequate can only be realised if each individual produces an adequate *individual output*. *Minimum output* must therefore be the starting-point for practical social politics, since adequate average minimum output is the only basis on which production which *satisfies the requirements as to distribution* can be founded; these requirements being a *sufficiently large supply from year to year of the necessary commodities, especially those which are required for mass consumption*.

Those commodities which serve for the satisfaction of the most elemental needs are of paramount interest to every individual. If these (food, clothing, houses, arrangements for the satisfaction of the principal industrial and cultural needs, such as streets, schools, railways, etc.), are present in sufficient quantity, then each individual can enjoy his fair share.

Socialist and Radical tendencies do not lay stress upon minimum output, but make a weapon of maximum output, which

no doubt is a starting-point far more popular with the masses, in order to force an increase of wages by the method of decreasing the individual output, not caring that by this means the efficiency of production is diminished and as a last result the community is poorer in goods which are needed for mass consumption, that is to say, they wish to increase the well-being of the workers while production is less ample than before. The result must naturally be that the claims for increased wages coincide with a progressive decrease in the amount of "mass commodities" which manifests itself in the form of a rise in prices. *The upshot is that the working classes as consumers must go without those commodities which they, as producers, have failed to produce.* This is an unavoidable necessity, but if enough is produced enough can be consumed; and since modern production is to a large extent "mass production," it can only be based upon "mass consumption." The commodities of mass production can only be consumed by correspondingly large numbers of the community. The only solution for sound social politics is to make a certain *minimum individual output* the starting-point for wages.

6. In the interest of an increase in the average wage, individual output must never be allowed to fall below a certain minimum standard, as this decreases the efficiency of production in general, as well as the actual stock of goods (physical and cultural) available, and thus reduces the individual quota of the latter. For this reason a decrease in individual output has a destructive effect. According to this, therefore, a rise in wages should only be possible in cases where the required average individual output has been maintained. On the other hand, the individual should retain the right to exceed the average output if he so desire. (Freedom of work.)

The principle of freedom to exceed the average output must be protected by unassailable sanctions, in view of the great social interest of effective production. The interests of the community in this connection are far too important to allow them to be tampered with for the sake of class, party or social endeavours, wishes or tactics. The restriction or regular prevention of the right to exceed average output is an attempt on the part of representatives of class warfare *which fully entitles us to retaliate in the same sphere in a similar way.* Social political precautionary measures must be directed towards ensuring that anyone who does more work receives his just reward (higher wages, etc.), not, however, neglecting social hygiene and workmen's insurance (minimum maintenance, safeguards against over-exertion, restriction of the work of women and children, and so forth), since the protection of the health of the worker in every department of labour is a vital national and racial interest.

If the systems of wages have been adapted to the principle of guaranteed minimum output, and have been adjusted all round on these lines, then it is quite natural that the tendency towards an increased quota, coincident with the increase in production, should also manifest itself in the sphere of wages. In order that this tendency may be realised in this sphere in a more general and satisfactory manner, we must remember that in this connection "results of production" must not be understood as meaning only the business profits of an undertaking which mature and are exposed in terms of money; we must understand by it, if not the results of the production of all mankind, at all events those of a nation or a State which its own population has the first claim to share. The share must be understood as *meaning the average* quota of those goods produced, or acquired for "mass" consumption, which falls to each individual of the nation. From this it follows that the tendency to increased distribution which accompanies increased social and national production, must express itself in the general national average, i.e., *in the better general satisfaction of needs of the working population*. The chief point is that it should be possible to establish this from the point of view of mass physiology, social hygiene and culture (for instance in the form of better conditions as regards food, housing, child welfare, education and insurance). This tendency cannot be calculated and proved with mathematical accuracy in "terms of money" in every undertaking or in the case of all employers and employees. After what has been stated above, we can confirm and emphasise that the tendency of increased wages which is manifested in conditions affecting essential commodities, mass physiology, social hygiene and culture, that is to say, in other ways than in actual industrial and social conditions calculable in terms of money, can only continue and rest upon permanent foundations if the system and ratio of distribution do not injure efficiency of production, if in fact distribution depends upon the results of production and not *vice versa*.

7. In order to ensure efficiency, success of occupation and of individual work, *individuals, plant, materials, stores and physical energies* must be guarded and economised, work which is careless or detrimental to the community must be put down, workers must be protected and insured, the bodily powers of women and children must be safeguarded, endeavours must be made to prevent physical exhaustion and loss of health and to ensure that the minimum individual output yields a living wage. We must not lose sight of the fact that modern industrial methods are in many respects detrimental to the community.

The profit on an undertaking when looked at from a selfish and individual standpoint may not be entirely profitable from

the standpoint of the community. Industrial methods and results which are satisfactory from the individual standpoint of yielding financial profits may often be extravagant and detrimental from the point of view of mankind, of national, social and physical sources of raw material, when we consider economy in the interest of those who come after. For instance, an individual may do good and profitable business by clearing land or a mountain of timber, but this act may for ever transform large tracts of land into barren country which, if utilised with sensible care and economy, might have served this or that nation for untold generations with its wood and humus as valuable sources of raw material. This act of carelessness resembles the manner in which we waste the mineral fuel of the earth. Mankind today searches feverishly for petroleum, exploits and uses it; the capture of oil-bearing territory has come into the foreground as one of the great political questions, but this valuable fuel is used with the thoughtless and careless methods of an extravagant youth. Owing to technical achievements, men in their superficial optimism are not aware of the dangerously extravagant developments which are taking place, and they do not consider that even the further advance in technical knowledge which is to be expected, cannot restore to future generations valuable natural resources which have been exhausted. We only draw attention to these things in order to point out how utterly unimportant and even misleading profit expressed in terms of money may be from a social, national, or social political point of view. Evaluation in terms of money or exchange can only be applicable from the personal standpoint of an individual concluding a business deal in the result of which he is personally concerned, but is totally unsuited as a standard by which to measure or express the interests of the nation or community in regard to any particular property. Social politics must therefore, for its own purposes, guard against expressing the importance of commodities, sources of material, social and individual peculiarities, conditions and qualities in terms of money. *The profit or advantage expressed in terms of money gained by any individual member of a nation is not therefore of absolute advantage, use or value to social politics if the great industrial and physiological realities of the community suffer.* Consequently the efficiency of production from a social political point of view cannot be judged from its financial and profitable results. Efficiency in a deeper and realer sense is shown in the advantage of the goods produced to the community or nation from a physical, physiological, technical and cultural point of view and in the utility of these commodities which is manifested by natural and wide-spread use. *Consequently efficient production is manifested in any nation by the kind and quantity of goods, institutions and arrangements serving*

to satisfy physical and spiritual needs which it makes available at any particular moment. This is the real and deeper meaning of efficient production which can only be expressed in a lesser and more restricted way in terms of money.

At this point in considering the question of the concrete results of production we must not forget the health, the physical, moral, and racial interests of the industrial population. From this social political standpoint *no production is successful which goes hand in hand with mental or physical distress, moral ruin and suppression of the joy in work and of a sense of duty.*

8. *Ways and means for ensuring successful racial maintenance* must be sought and recognised by social politics. We can hardly speak of a healthy community unless it renews itself in sufficient numbers. The necessary rejuvenation is a matter of life and death for any social order and therefore it is a vital necessity and duty to ensure an adequate birth rate, indeed this is of such general basic racial and social interest that it would appear out of the question to apply the thoughtless standards of individual egoism in considering the function of racial maintenance. This function demands such unselfishness, such great individual and physiological sacrifices on the part of women that it cannot be left to the individual to decide whether she will carry out a duty which is very troublesome for her but absolutely indispensable to society. It will be of decisive importance for the modern social order and for individual peoples and races, whether the function of racial maintenance has been satisfactorily carried out in the past and will be so carried out in future. For instance, it is a question of deep and vital interest to the population of the United States whether the white race will succeed in keeping its strain pure and unmixed, as opposed to the black race, and thus maintain its superior qualities, and also whether the white race is to be renewed by the admixture of valuable or less valuable elements from the old world. The societies of other peoples and nations have all racial problems of more or less importance, which come into prominence in a more and more decisive way in the 20th century.

All human and therefore social existence is ultimately based on certain basic physiological functions and these must be manifested in a satisfactory way, so that they may serve as foundations to a flourishing and not a decaying people. Efficient racial maintenance and protection must sooner or later become the special care of any community or nation and eventually of any State which recognises its own great interests.

These problems are closely connected with the woman question. The basic social and social political interest here is that modern woman should carry out her physiological duties in

an efficient manner (efficient from the standpoint of the community, nation and State). Consequently it is of vital interest to the community that the social evolution of modern woman should not take a direction which would hinder her from fulfilling her important physiological and social-ethical duties, above all, that of successfully maintaining the race and family. We must regard the recognition and putting into force of this great social and racial interest, as an aim whose importance and pre-eminence must not be obliterated by any individual, class, industrial or other less universal interests and aims. The social sciences and, above all, social politics must spread the knowledge of the interests, aims and means which are manifested and applied in the problems of race and racial maintenance.

9. In completion and conclusion, we would once more emphasise the opinion that society can only be saved from ethical, industrial and cultural decay and relapse into a new condition of barbarism by efficient politico-economical measures in the degree described, by pursuing aims which correspond to these measures and by carrying on the struggle to ultimate victory. We have arrived at an age of such social possibilities that in face of the dangerous tension between opposing factions and especially in consequence of the suggestive and overpowering influence exercised by these factions on individuals who are carried away by them, *we need the clearest judgment possible and decided "interest perception"* in order to decide which basic institutions of society offer, in spite of their inherent human weakness, the best possibilities for the development of prosperity, culture and civilisation. The only social-political tendency and attitude which can be regarded as constructive and efficient is that which aims at placing the community in firm possession of the best guarantees of prosperity and culture. In order to attain this end it is indeed to our interest to pursue a constructive and efficient policy on the lines suggested in the preceding pages, to organise and by putting forth our whole strength to carry *our campaign of defence in the revolutionary class warfare, which has been forced upon us, to a successful issue.*

What is really the objective truth as regards social revolution and class warfare? *Revolution and class warfare are anomalies in a regulated community.* In spite of this, what happens? *Communism and social democracy openly announce themselves as revolutionary parties* standing for the principle of class warfare, and behave accordingly. In their unions "agitations" and other spheres of activity *they openly and deliberately organise revolution.* States with parliamentary rule permit this, either because they are conscious of their impotence or because they think it is right in view of their democratic-liberal attitude of *laissez-faire.* As time goes on, however, more and more

license is permitted. The State, either from indolent passivity or because of some political compromise, silently acquiesces in, and later even openly allows, preparations for revolution by political parties and even overt acts of "class warfare" which eventually has its representatives in the Government itself. Movements for promoting revolution and class warfare are thus legalised by the parliamentary system, and "revolution" and "class warfare" become the slogans of parliamentary parties. Parliaments themselves are revolutionised more or less rapidly and when revolutionary parties come into power, parliaments are used to prepare the way of Communism.

Although the governing system of modern parliamentary States has gradually legalised "class warfare" and preparations for social revolution, and is continuing to do so, it is not inclined to permit similar movements set on foot by so-called "bourgeois" society, although their object is the maintenance and defence of the institutions representing the existing order of the State. *The modern parliamentary State legalises revolutionary class movements, but not those which aim at promoting its own order.* Consequently it is permissible to organise revolution on a large scale with the object of overthrowing institutions which are officially protected by the State and its laws, but not to organise, even in a far more modest and restricted way, with the object of supporting the State and its aims. Movements with national and conservative aims are often deprived of means which are at the disposal of illegal, revolutionary, socialistic movements, whose activities are directed against the State and nation. Why? Because the protection of the conservative interests is not organised on such an extended scale as that of socialist revolutionary interests. Who dares to assert that in our society the fate of our greatest national and cultural possessions, the efficiency of technical and material production, in fact everything of paramount importance to every civilised man, is adequately secured by the present ridiculous and foolish safeguards? Do not let us deceive ourselves. The trend to the Left, which began in following the ideals of the French Revolution, has swept over the masses with the force of a passion which breaks down all limits imposed by the restraint of individual logic. Since the end of the 18th century a very powerful trend to the Left has been observed in the development of public opinion, and still continues to-day, unless it is counteracted by a national and conservative tendency. This tendency is necessary, as without it the passionate adherence of the masses to the Left knows no bounds. The Liberalism of the noble philanthropists of the 19th century turned into bourgeois Radicalism as soon as it spread to large sections of the population. Bourgeois Radicalism spread downwards, and after meeting with Communist suggestions it took a further turn to

the Left, as social democracy. The mood of the masses hastens still further towards the Left, as the suggestions which influence it emanate chiefly from those from whom this tendency to the Left is a great chance to secure power. Thus we continue to move Left in the direction of the dictatorship of the proletariat, anarchy and barbarism, so long as other aims, duties and "interest perceptions" are not created either by severe physical privations or by movements in the opposite direction, set on foot by the national, conservative elements of the community. *The only hope of bringing events and the masses in the world back to sober realities lies in the counter efforts and suggestions, in the organised power of these latter elements, which are neither revolutionary nor anarchistic, but which desire to maintain the basic social institutions and the ethical ideal of the fulfilment of national duty.* This alone can restore to the souls of men that discipline and sense of duty which are requisite for efficient social co-operation.

For this reason, the conservative classes who represent the "national" point of view have as much and even *more right to organise defence in the interest of prosperity and culture, than the revolutionaries have to organise their attack.* If those on the Left prepare for class warfare and revolution with deliberate method and great energy, then the Right have more justification and necessity to organise defence in the struggle which has been forced upon them, although their efforts may be christened counter-revolution. Sound sense and clear perception of our interests alike call for this justifiable self-defence. Fascism alone, up to now, has recognised most rightly and in the boldest style that efficient mental and material production can only be saved from the danger of Communistic barbarism by self-defence organised against revolutionary Socialism in the same measure as Socialism organises the attack.

Any social order which is not in a position to organise defensive national counter-revolution in this way in order to meet the attacks of revolutionary Socialism and Communism, and to carry on the fight to the bitter end, is lost, and any social order which makes no attempt to defend itself, possibly deserves its fate. We must not forget, for instance, that if revolution and class warfare gain adherents in more and more sections of the community and seize positions of political power, that the State will also be expropriated in favour of revolution. Consequently the State cannot defend us for ever against these revolutionary tendencies if we do not protect ourselves *and the State.* The State, for instance, is an abstract idea whose efficacy is manifested in those who exercise power in its name. If, therefore, the authorities who have the power and whose duty it is to proceed

in the name of the State against revolution and aggressive revolutionary class warfare, are either afraid or cannot or will not do so, then the requisite measures must be taken by those classes of the community who are alive to the necessities of doing so in their own interests.

The endeavours of State or society and of social organisations to find some solution of the social question, to restore or preserve social peace, to guarantee the efficient working of the vital functions of society, can therefore only recognise defensive forces which are able to hold out against the forces of anarchy and revolution and which are well organised, not only from a military point of view but also in labour formations and unions. Not to know this is unpardonable ignorance of the nature of modern social conditions—not to recognise it is an unjustifiable illusion. Compromises relating to interests, the developments of new institutions which are maintained in a spirit of social justice and equity can only be lasting and guarantee good work if such strong compensating and forceful sanctions are available. If there are no such sanctions, the dissolution of the civilised world will begin and will progress with ever-increasing rapidity until we reach the barbarous state of a new dark age. The social order cannot be saved by anything but adequate, organised *force*.



