April23rd, 1941.

CAN HITLERISM SOLVE THE WORLD PROBLEM?

The future hisorian will be faced by a vast and unique event: The passing of 19th century civilization in the short time that elapsed between the first and the second great War of the 20 th century.

The situation of the world is defined by this event. We will discuss Hitlerism in relation to the problems set by it. \*

At the beginning of this period, 19th century ideals were paramount, indeed their influence had never been greater; by its close herdly anything was left of thet system under which our type of society had risen to world leadership. (d) Within national fronthers representative democracy had been safe-guarding a re-(b) gime of liberty, and the national well-being of all civilized nations had been (d) measurably increased under the sway of liberal cepitalism; the balance of power system (d) and secured a comparative freedom from long and devastating wars, while the (d) gold standard had become the solid foundation of a wast system of economic cooperation on an almost planetary scale. Although the world was far from perfect, it seemed well on the way towards perfection. Suddarly this unique sdifies collepsed: The very conditions under which our society existed passed forever. The teaks which face us in the present cannot, we believe, be understood except in the light of this tremendous event. It is both national and internetional, political end economics-all our institutions are involved. The bistorian is at

a loss where to start. "Framy the exact time of the Change : The Conservative 'Twenties and the Revolutionary 'Thirties.

1914? The Great war of 1914-18 had been, on the whole, true to 19th century type: one alignment of great powers against another; belligerents and neutrals; soldiers and civiliane; business and warfare:-all distinct and separate. Defeat resulted in a treaty which was intended to insure that life should continue very much as before. The war presenting intended to insure that life should continue very much as before. The war presenting intended to insure that life should continue very much as before. The war presenting intended in a predecessors.

The trend of the "Twenties was distinctly conservative. The spectacular revolutions and counter-revolutions of 1917-23, et m when they were more than upheavals resulting from the shock of defeat. introduced no new element into Western history. Not only Hindenburg and "ilson, but also Lenin and Trotsky, were in the 19th century tradition. The tendency of the times was simply to establish, or eventually to re-establish, the system commonly associated with the ideals of the English, the American and the French revolutions of the 17th and 18th centuries. Hadical policies served traditional aims. The Great War had been had the system since the beginning of the century; in the peaceful 'Twenties this of a fort was intensified, but the effects of the 'ar had merely schenced these diffpulties.

Suddenly in the early 'Thirties, with an ave-inspiring vehemence, change set in. Its landmarks were the abandonment of the gold standard by Great Britain and subsequently by all other countries; the Five-year Plans, especially the sollectivization of the farms in Russia; the launching of the New Deal; the National Socialist revolution; the collapse of the balance of power in favor of autorch supires. By 1940 every vestige of the international system had disappeared, and,

except for a few enclaves, the peoples were living in an entirely new inter-

national setting 2. If films that the current explanations cannot be accepted.

Our gouthai you mo: O Can the stablish and of Killoring enjoir is Campersola the problems set by issues set by this transformation?

- (a) The clash of idologies was obviously a reflex the institu-tional situation rather than its cause. It was not the Bolshevik, who destroyed the Gold Standard, but Neville hamberlain in Great Britgin, and it magnet a Possier but Devile Great Britain; and it wasnot a Pascist , but Franklin Roosevelt who followed suit in management
  - (b) The Great War is credited by many people bill having been the root dauge of the great destruction. But were things sound andhale before? Or was the Great War not rather inhinonatoponofonnonnonnonningth th outcome of the same forces whitehouse southing the same though admittedly, (immensely) Increasing the difficulties which brought it about?
- & greed (c) The short sight eddness of the politicianand the bested interest annaha/ of the business-man is made gresposible. Of all the assignment of scapeering goats this isportages the most unjust and. At no period in history was therefore disinterested state make to restore the Gold Standard; Twenties when heroic efforts were made to restore the Gold Standard; or with inthe ' Thirttes , when the Pacifist statesmen instisted with passionate / nonnhohion on the setting up of an international machinery for organizing peace. to restore peace and prosperity yetall their efforts were in vain a fund merely hastened MMMM ruin .

Z.82.7

lant

ree

Andyetall their

In the retrospect fraining for the defines the nature of the difficulty we were up against. A woole civilization was crashing before our the eyes.

3. The causes of the transformation.

- The first century of the Machine Age has come to a calose. The problem A. of industrial society: workeneed for summaris international and and and international and the effects of a market economy (b) on the other hand the equally vital need min for the market system. Funfortunately, the muchos protective measures tended to impede and self-regulation. The tensions and compromises between the conflicting policies continued right through the century, bringing in the New Writins bins. 19, 4 4 11 11
  - B. The nation state was the giver unit of politico-economic integration integration integration integration integration. It unus supplied protection goars t the effects of the internal market; it absorbed the shocks of the external ( world) market protecting the community against the dangers of interdependence.
  - C. The international economic system was the transformed comprehensive institution of the period. But its functioning tended to thrown the spran which thus became the shock absorbers of both the internal and the external system.
  - D. The Hundred Years Peace was an obvious function of this interm national manne economic organization. (3/- yo gran between the Unstern flast Proper). now world cataclysm.
  - As to rebuild the internal structure of the states;
  - B. to rebuild international divisionof labour;

Can Hitterism Jolue the World Problem. We are himing through a test trais forms how, while sets for problems to the world; the question is - who (which nations) with solve these problems? - Once leadership in a process incustable, then the struggle for leadership heromas pringhy a question of movinal. Only the one of the other can lead; especially if the principle & wetters involved are 2 ( 4) What hive of the town her can lead; especially is the principles & methods involved and unitially exclusive The point at all the files? whip of the future is where will that plane the subso what hive of transforms how is the in the state what hive of transforms how is the in the state have it so (A.) The future historian will be faced by a vest and advigue event: The 4 justitutions: quality: "Davas"; Fromonic & polytoral National & international National & international One of these is besize and has not Encombed in the Hind's Lawon world: Democracy. Vital, effective, Democracy. Vital, effective, Marked in the Hond's Lawon world: (B). When did the Mansformation stal? (C) What caused the transformation (a) timing i (b) causing. development in linds external causation ; conntries.

The Machine and the Market .... (4.) havies - faire (free campelition) and intervention in (Antometisis) self regrations) Regheve mare the thing me workeble: MASI - UN engloqueat. (B) the intermetional economic rystem (9 St.) wer the seper- framework auf of aut matic asjainant. (Antimetion - self-reputation) Pressive on foragin exchanges (D) Them tension & White conceptions. (D) Imperiation & White conceptions. he decisive in portance of the maticin - thate. Internal and external protection afforded by it. Whet kas the Merian Jupply? except power Jul at (A) Jone reform of the capits hit hystere its as well) what price ? (And others its as well) what price ? (And others its as well) (B) Interneticine his? Complete das heretie of wat twee guy. (c) Degenerative totation ( that min). Mit the shiples chance of retriente macon? Releasing the forces of the future And other with for the treachine And other with for the treachine but in England (Mapoken derbroged be old Laroper but in England mapoken derbroged be old Laroper the new T abiles with destroy the old horld, but the american people with have to min it. J

## ESSENCE OF FASCISM.

Union Theological Seminary. August 4th, 1941.

The term F. covers various things (a) a movement ; b) a social system; and c) a philosophy oflife which inspires themovment and is fulfilled in the system.

My subject is the philosophy of life

## I. Historical background.

The origins of F. must be sought in the deep seated origin of our industrial civilization, with its two mianinstitutions: political democracy and industrial capitalism.

At a definite point of their development these two came into conflict, notably inEurope. The post-War situation developed into an imminent danger. to society as a whole : the danger of a <u>deadlook</u> of the political and the comomisystem. The threat was expressed in the danger of <u>permament wass unemploymen</u> on the onehand; the <u>failure of leadership</u> unuminima by the prty ridden democra-ticrepresentative podies.

The reasons for such a situationneed not keep us here. Many people would put it down to the tension of the classes , and describe the crisis as one of class war . It is more proable that the tension itself resulted from a more general cause underlying the unsatisfacotry working of the social system as a whole. and closely linked with the very foundations of our industrial civilization.

In the consciounsess of the masses it took the form of an impending orfisis resulting from the untenbale nature of the situation. The conflict between capitalism- the industrial system based on the private ownership of the measn of production- and democracy - a system of representing

between <u>capitalism</u> the industrial system based on the private ownership of the mean of production and <u>democracy</u> , a system of representive institutous giving a preponderant indusnee to the mease of the working pople, was the order of the day. Obviouely, it was an<u>essential feature</u> of such a situation <u>socialist</u> that If there should be acrisis, <u>democracy would tend towards</u>/<u>demonnahimn</u> <u>solutions</u>, irrespective of the actual moral, intellectual and therefore make <u>effective political force</u> at its disposal. The traditional rulling classes had the support of the lewer middle classes in withstanding the <u>unform</u> claims of the working classes to a leadership for whichthey lacked the power and the programme, and <u>ultimately</u> event he working classes stood aside when the fascies made their bid for power. It is a fact of the utmost important that the fascies more <u>andiesses</u> to such a stream of the utmost important that the fascies more <u>andiesses</u> to be a leadership for which they lacked the power and the programme, and <u>ultimately</u> event he working classes stood aside when the fascies made their bid for power. It is a fact of the utmost important that the fascies more <u>andiess</u> the artist had been, the less resistance e did they offer. <u>THENDEREDEPETEREDE</u> No surer sign of thm a general spiritual crists tan the self- effacement of the democratic forces in the 1930 jest could be imagined. that could be imagined. II. The Essence of Fascism.

As a political religion Fascism is directed towards the destruction of the institutions of popular democracy.

But these instituions turned out to be rooted in the Christian tradition of WesternCivlization. The connection was neither simple nor direct, but there it was, nevertheless.

A rdical attack on democracy must be an attack on he relgious found dations of democracy.

### Fascismis such an attack.

The tow two correlative concepts are the individual and mankind. A society constituting of individuals; the unity of the human world consisting of <u>mankind</u>. religion

Both ideas are be ically Christian. On no point does Christian Annanzun differ more widely from other religions than in the assertion of the Soul and of mankind. In its social reference Christianity is the discovery of the individual and of mankind. Fascismas a religious positionis anattack on these two. Here you get the essence of F.

### Ethics

2.

In respect to the Ethics of Christian ty it isultimate resignation or Satanistic glorification of evil. The former form is expressed in Dostojewiski's <u>Great Inquisitor</u>: the bitter in <u>Nietzsche</u>, or <u>Klages</u>.

## Metaphysics.

Biofcentric as against logocentric values. ANM The naturalizm of the pre-spiritual existence.

But Ludwig Klages philosphy qualified by refusal to return to the cave,

# Science

Intelle ctualsuperioritydue to unbiased views on <u>colitics</u> and <u>economics</u>. Butthe F. solutions are degnerative solutions: they solve the problems temporarily bat the price of making them insolugable in the long run.

A great corrective to liberal utópianism, which is resposible for the most outstadning weakness of Markism. The early works of Mark however are entirely free from the anti- religious bias and are based on a religious anthropology of utmost importance. (Tillich has workedon this subject. though ne did not know yet, I believe, the latterky discovered wroks. The Mark-Leinin institutes edition/very misleading in its presentation.

#### The system:

The politicallaystem aboished; the economic made supreme. World Empire offered as asolution, but without any ideas as to the solution of the <u>national problem</u> and of the <u>motive for work</u>.

A movement fruitful in its destrction but utterly unable to regainse the ubbBt world.

A non- religious consciencusness unable to cope with this situation. For it is unable to fix its aims beyond the changing conditions. The Essenceof Fascsim.

A/ ThePhilosophy of Fascism. ( as it stands , except for a diapteron <u>Italin "asolism</u> ( Pareto, Gentile, Mussolini)

German Synthetics ( Spengter ),

German FaithMovement ( Bäumler, Blüher, Bergmann, Hauer , crew).

Metaphysics, Existentialists, Phenomenolgists etd (Haidegger, etc.)

B/ The Sociology of Fascism. ( as it is outlinedi.e.)

a Theory of the Corporative State.

exclude thesociology of the Fascist a/ Elite b/ Following from " the" Sociologyof Fascism.

Prove that this \_ ultieror and dependent sociology is determined by the general socielg of Fascsim. ( On the toher hand , explain ina positive fashion the constitution of the elite as well as of the followin ing.

C/ The Economics of Fascism.

The failurs of Liberal Cacitalism . The Problemof Inter / ventionism.

D/ The Politics of Fascism

HOw does the <u>Fascist</u> situ<u>tationa</u> iarise? Historical

. 1