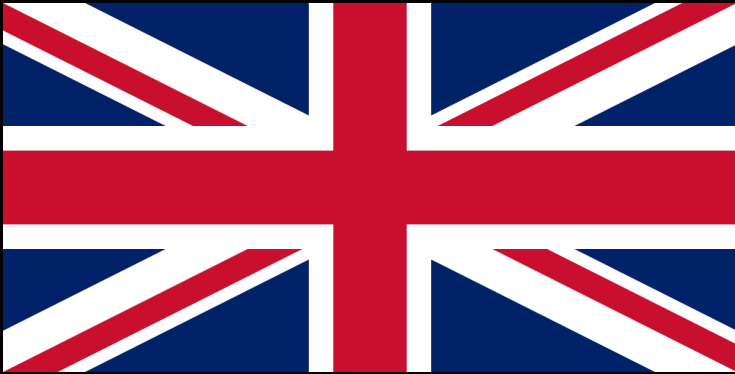


FASCISM FOR GREAT BRITAIN



One hundred Questions Asked & Answered

*“Real freedom is economic freedom. Economic freedom
cannot come until economic chaos ends; and it cannot end
until a Government has power to act”*

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1. What is the attitude of the B.U.F. Towards the Crown?

Absolute loyalty to the Crown. We shall in every way maintain its dignity.

2. Why did you leave the Socialist Party?

For the same reason that I left the Conservative Party, namely that it had broken every pledge it ever gave. I entered Parliament as the youngest member after the war. I was Conservative because that Party had been loyal to the country in the war and advanced a great programme of Social Reform. "A land fit for heroes to live in" is a bitter mockery in the light of the subsequent betrayal, but it was a living reality to my generation at the end of the war. That conception went down in the triumph of the war profiteers who comprised the majority of the post-war Parliament. I left the Conservative Party and fought and beat them twice as an Independent in their old stronghold at Harrow. Independence appeared to me to be sterile in service to the country, and I joined the Labour Party, which then presented the only hope of any effective action despite its many and obvious defects. For seven years I worked hard for Labour, and in 1929 we came to office on a pledge to tackle unemployment. I was one of the three Ministers charged with that great task. For a year the Government would do nothing. At the end of a year I produced a plan I had worked out within the Departments for giving immediate work to 800,000 men and women, and a further long term policy for the reconstruction of British industry in accord with modern facts. I said to the Government "Either accept this plan or produce a better one of your own." They would do neither, and I resigned. I took the issue to the Parliamentary Party warning them of the coming crisis which arrived eighteen months later. Out of 290 only 29 voted with me. I took the issue to the Party Conference and over a million voted with me, but the big block vote in the hands of the Trade Union bosses voted us down. I then turned my back for ever on the old system and began the long and hard struggle to create from nothing the new force capable of winning a new civilisation.

The Labour Party, including the present Leaders, clung to their offices for another year, while the unemployment figures mounted by over a million until the bankers knocked them on the head like the tame cattle they were. These men climbed to great positions on the shoulders of the workers, only to betray them for office and power. It was right to give both the old Parties a chance to make good - I shall never regret it. If I and millions of others had not given them that chance our case for a new Movement would not now be so strong.

The fact that I have belonged to both the old Parties is often urged against me. I regard it as one of the strong points in my case and am prepared to argue it before any tribunal of my countrymen. For they too have trusted the old Parties and have been betrayed by them.

3. How could the Labour Party carry out their Policy when they had not a majority?

The simple and conclusive answer is another question. If they had an unemployment policy, why did they not present it to Parliament? If they had been defeated they could have gone back to the country and swept it at a General Election. They had neither a policy to present nor the courage to fight.

4. Why is the movement called Fascist?

Fascism is the name by which the modern Movement has come to be known in the world. It would have been possible to avoid misrepresentation by calling our Movement by another name. But it was more honest to call it Fascism and thus to let everyone know exactly where we stood. It is up to us to defeat misrepresentation by propaganda and explanation of the real policy and method of Fascism as it will operate in Britain. In the long run straightforward dealing is not only honest but also pays best. The alternative name for the modern Movement is the National Socialism used in Germany. But the German Movement also is known throughout the outside world as Fascist, which is the name commonly used to describe the phenomenon of the modern Movement whether in Britain, Germany or Italy. National Socialism and Fascism in my view are the same Movement, finding different expressions in different countries in accord with different national and racial characteristics. For seven years in the Labour Party before founding Fascism in Britain, I fought for a National Socialist Policy in contradistinction to the International Socialism of that Party.

5. If you do not copy foreign ideas, why do you (1) wear a black shirt, (2) use the Italian Fascist salute, (3) use the Italian Faeces?

(1) We wear a Blackshirt because the colour Black best expresses the iron determination of Fascism in the conquest of red anarchy.

Symbolism in itself is nothing new in British politics. The Conservatives, who are naturally rather shy about their creed, wear a modest primrose once a year in memory of Mr. Disraeli. The Liberals wear rosettes of varying hues at election time. The Socialists wore red

ties until they faded pink after the last Labour Government. In symbolism as in our creed we are more full-blooded people and, literally as well as metaphorically, have put our shirt on Fascism. Our members are not compelled to wear the Blackshirt. In most districts only about 1 in 20 wear it. But those who have worn the Blackshirt in the early days and publicly proclaimed their faith before the world, have performed a service to Fascism which will never be forgotten. Strongly held opinions, strongly expressed, are a necessity in the chaos of a flabby age. The Blackshirt, therefore, is the symbol of Fascism.

(2) The salute is not Italian nor is it German, but the Germans also use it. It is the oldest salute of European civilisation and was used in early Britain many centuries before a Fascist Party was created in Italy.

(3) The Fasces, too, are a symbol used in Britain for the last 2,000 years and are to be found on most of our great monuments. The symbol was brought to Britain by our Roman ancestors, who were here for four centuries and their stock remained for ever. The Faeces were the symbol of the Roman Empire. What more fitting than that they should be used by the Empire which succeeded and surpassed the Roman Empire?

6. What does the flash and circle mean?

This is our modern symbol which belongs exclusively to British Fascism. It portrays the flash of action in the circle of unity. National action can only come from national unity, which in its turn can only come from Fascism that ends the strife of Parties.

7. What are the differences between Fascism in Britain and Fascism in Italy and Germany

The main difference is that they are Italian or German and that we are British. From this all other differences follow. Fascism in essence is a national creed finding a different national expression and method in each nation. For this reason, Fascist Movements in' each country vary more than Socialist or Communist Movements, which are international. All great Movements have been common to the world as a whole, both political and religious. All the old Parties have their foreign counterparts. Liberalism, for instance, deluged the continent with blood, but came to Great Britain by British methods characteristic of this nation's ordered greatness. In this respect we do what our forefathers did before us. We seek to bring the creed of our age to Great Britain by British methods in accord with British character. We seek also to emulate their example by finding for the

creed of our age its highest expression and development in these islands. The British have not always originated the creed of the age, but they have usually perfected it. We claim that the policy of Fascism in Britain goes far beyond any continental analogy in constructive conception.

8. How are you going to break down the barriers of class?

By establishment of the principle of no reward without service, and the consequent elimination of the parasite who creates the barrier of social class. Functional differences will exist according to difference of function, but differences of social classes will be eliminated. They arise from the fact that in present society the few can live in idleness as a master class upon the production of the many. Under Fascism all will serve in varying manner and degree the nation to which all are responsible. This present conception of divided social classes invades even productive spheres. With the abolition of a parasitic class by our proposals for dealing with hereditary wealth, this tendency too, will be eliminated. The Managing Director of a business will perform a different function from that which the Charwoman performs in sweeping out his office. But the difference will be functional and not social. Outside the difference of function and of service the Fascist State recognises no difference between its citizens. The recognition of functional differences, however, marks another difference between Fascism and Socialism. The egalitarian doctrines of the latter, which are not only social but functional, lead logically to the performance of the Managing Director's function by a committee of Charwomen. We believe everywhere in the Leadership principle and the functional differentiation which allocates definite responsibility to the individual. This principle rests on an obvious fact of human nature which Socialism ignores. Men and women are born with varying gifts and capacities.

9. What about Freedom?

At present the mass of the people have no freedom. Under Fascism for the first time they will have freedom. What is the use of a vote if the people never get what they vote for? How can they get what they vote for when only two big Bills can be carried through Parliament in a whole year on account of obstruction? The beginning of freedom for the people is that the programme for which they vote shall be carried out. It cannot be carried out until the Government has power to act. By giving" Government the power to act, Fascism brings not the end of freedom but the beginning of freedom. Real freedom is economic

freedom. Economic freedom cannot come until economic chaos ends ; and it cannot end until a Government has power to act. Real freedom means good wages, short hours, security in employment, good houses, opportunity for leisure and recreation with family and friends. Modern Science enables us to build such a civilisation. It is not built, because Democracy prefers talk to action. We have to choose between the freedom of a few professional politicians to talk and the freedom of the people to live. In choosing the latter, Fascism makes freedom possible and releases the people from the economic slavery rivetted upon them by the Democracy of talk.

10. What is your attitude towards religion?

We believe in complete religious toleration. The Fascist attitude is well summarised by the Christian precept " Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's." We are concerned with the business of the Nation, not with the business of religion. None of the great religions preach the subversion of the State, and therefore they have no conflict with Fascism. On the contrary we welcome religion which inculcates a sense of service and of spiritual values, for service and the values of the spirit are the essence of Fascism.

11. Will there be freedom of the Press under Fascism and will newspapers be free to criticise the Government?

The Press will not be free to tell lies. That is not freedom for the people but a tyranny over their minds and souls. Much humbug is talked on this subject. What is Press freedom ? In practice it means the right of a few millionaires to corner newspaper shares on the stock exchange and to voice their own opinions and interests irrespective of the truth or of the national interest.

Newspapers are not made any longer by news or journalism. They are made by sheer weight of money expressed in free gift schemes, etc. They serve not the interests of the many but the vested interests of the few. In that service they will stoop to any lie or any debauch of the public mind. This must be stopped, and the freedom of the National Press to serve great interests at the expense of the nation must be curtailed. On the other hand, local newspapers, generally speaking, are fairly conducted, with a sense of national responsibility and will certainly be treated differently by Fascism from the great dope machines of the vested interests which now are dignified by the undeserved title of National Press.

Constructive criticism will always be welcomed by Fascist Government. False and malicious criticism designed to serve vested interests will be dealt with as follows. The Government representing the Nation will have the same right to sue a newspaper which makes untrue statements about it, as an individual at present possesses. If an individual is libelled he has redress in the Courts. But the Nation has no redress. Any lie may be told by a newspaper, however damaging to the national interest, with complete impunity. Lies against the nation should be dealt with even more severely than lies against the individual. Therefore, the right to sue in the Courts should be extended to the Nation represented by its elected Government. Press attacks on the Crown and Royal family will be regarded as an extremely serious offence. In brief, our Press policy is that newspapers shall tell the truth. The principle is novel but who can say that it is wrong?

12. What will a Fascist Government do about D.O.R.A. And similar restrictions?

Fascism will "substitute the obligations of manhood for the restrictions of childhood." We are opposed to the present treatment of the nation as a race of children. We will sweep away this legislation by a Parliament of old women for the protection of a minority of degenerates from themselves. Men cannot be made sober by act of Parliament. They can only be made worthy citizens of a great Empire by the creation of a new social sense and a higher patriotism. Fascism teaches men and women "to live like athletes" in order to fit themselves for service of their country. There will be fewer drunkards and degenerates under Fascism because there will be no room for them in a higher civilisation. But there will also be a far greater measure of private freedom for the normal man and woman. In their public life we ask of men a greater obligation and a higher service. In private life in return we accord them a greater freedom.

13. Will free speech be allowed such as is enjoyed to-day by Parties in opposition to the Government?

When the Parties come to an end, their methods will also come to an end. But in place of that obsolete system the people will possess a much more real freedom of speech than they enjoy to-day. The people have no freedom of speech to-day except in private conversation, which gets them nowhere. Only the organised Parties can afford to take halls for meetings, and only professional talkers from Westminster do the talking. The liberty of professional talkers

to talk for ever while the Nation perishes will certainly be curtailed. But idle faction will be replaced by opportunity for the whole people to express their opinions, and to help the Government with constructive criticism in the great corporations constituted for that purpose. Within the appropriate corporation every farmer or farm-worker, every engineer and miner, every doctor and accountant, every housewife in the special corporation for married women, will be invited to express their opinion and their suggestions will be welcomed. That is real freedom of speech.

14. Will Fascism allow opposition parties to exist?

It is the deliberate aim of Fascism to bring to an end the Party game which we believe to be the ruin of the Nation. We substitute a new system of action suited to the modern age for the system of talk which belongs to the past. For instance, a Parliament elected under Fascism will be a technical and not a political Parliament. The franchise will be occupational and not geographical. Men and women will vote according to their industry or profession, and not according to their locality. They will vote for people versed in the problems of their industries, and not for professional politicians. In such a system there is no place for parties and for politicians. We shall ask the people for a mandate to bring to an end the Party system and the Parties. We invite them to enter a new civilisation. Parties and the Party game belong to the old civilisation, which has failed.

15. What about Dictatorship?

The Fascist Movement represents Leadership, not Tyranny. It offers to the people a Leadership in national revival which they will accept of their own free will. The Dictatorship is a Dictatorship of the will of the people expressed through a Leadership and Government of their own choice. The only way in which the will of the people can be carried out is through a Leadership which they choose for the purpose and give the power to act.

Fascism offers that Leadership through which the will of the people can be effective. Thus a Dictatorship of the people themselves replaces the present Dictatorship of Vested Interests. Parliament and Government are paralysed by universal talk. Programmes for which the people have voted are never implemented. As a result real Government under Democracy rests in the hands of the great interests, such as International Finance. Fascism restores to power the people. That power can only be expressed through Leadership

voluntarily accepted and chosen, but armed by the people with power
to do what they want done.

16. How will you gain power?

By legal and constitutional means. We seek power by the winning of a Parliamentary majority. Directly we have completed our election machinery we shall contest Parliamentary elections. Our first task was to create the Fascist Movement. Our second task is to create an election machine, which in Britain is a highly technical process. When this second stage is complete we shall fight elections.

17. How will you use Parliamentary power?

The first Act of a Fascist majority will be to confer on Fascist Government the power to act by Order, subject to the right of Parliament at any time to dismiss the Government by vote of censure if it abuses that Power. Thus we shall combine the power of the Government to act with the right of the people to control the Government through the Parliament they have elected.

18. If a Government has the power to act by order does it then injure the freedom of Debate and the right of minorities?

The present system ignores the fact that majorities also have their rights. In the name of free debate a minority now has the power to prevent a Government carrying out the programme for which the majority of the people have voted. The first necessity is to secure the right of the majority to the action which they demand by their vote. This is impossible so long as an obstructive opposition has the power by endless talk to prevent action by Government. The will of the people is greater than the right of the minority. That first principle is denied by the practices of present Democracy.

19. How do the people retain control of a Fascist Government after giving it “power of action by order”?

(1) The Parliament they have elected can at any time dismiss it by vote of censure. In this respect they retain the same control as they at present possess. (2) At the end of a normal lifetime of a Parliament or a lesser period they can themselves dismiss it by a direct vote on universal franchise. The most effective control the people can possess is that any Government will have this possibility in mind.

20. Should a Fascist Government incur a Parliamentary vote of censure, what occurs?

If a Fascist Government incurs a Parliamentary vote of censure in its first Parliament, it will immediately ask for a vote of the whole people in universal franchise whether it goes or carries on. After the election of the second Parliament, which will be a technical and not a political Parliament, the life of the Government will depend, not on Parliament, but on direct votes of the whole people taken at intervals of not longer than five years. In practice we shall probably ask for a vote of the people even more frequently, because to carry through the Fascist revolution we shall want always to know that we have not only the tacit consent, but the enthusiastic support of the people behind us. The support of the people is far more necessary to a Government of action than to a Democratic Government, which tricks the people into a vote once every five years on an irrelevant issue, and then hopes the Nation will go to sleep for another five years so that the Government can go to sleep as well.

21. If the people vote against a Government what will happen?

The Government will resign and H.M. The King will send for fresh Ministers, who, in his opinion, will secure the confidence of the country. A fresh vote will then be taken to discover whether or not the people have confidence in the new Government. In this way we restore the Royal Prerogative to send for new Ministers in the event of the defeat of a Government. By present practice the King is bound to send for the Leaders of the Parliamentary Opposition, and,

22. At the end of the first Fascist Parliament how would Governments be chosen and Parliaments elected?

The first Fascist Parliament will come to an end within the normal lifetime of a present Parliament, and before that date the permanent Fascist system will be introduced. Thereafter the life of Government will depend, not on Parliament, but on the direct vote of the whole people by universal franchise. Nothing shall come between Government and People. They will be asked whether or not a Government shall continue in a direct "Yes" or "No" decision. Parliament will be elected to advise Government on the technical problems of a technical age. Therefore, it will be elected not on a geographical but on an occupational franchise, according to industry or profession. Parliament will become a serious body suited to the complex problems of the modern age, and the knock-about frivolity of the Party game will be eliminated.

23. When the first Fascist Government introduces a Bill to confer power of action by order on the Government, what will you do if the House of Lords throws it out?

The people will have voted for a Government returned with a constitutional majority to pass this measure as its first Act. If the House of Lords throw out the Bill under these circumstances it will violate not only the spirit but also the practice of the British Constitution in modern times. The Peers will be rebels against Crown and People and will be treated as such. Fascism, therefore, would grasp the nettle and would suppress the House of Lords. It would immediately be replaced by a Second Chamber truly representative of Modern Britain.

24. "The people," you have stated, "will vote within their own industries on subjects with which they are familiar." How then, will the people be able to express their opinion on non-technical subjects such as Religion, Foreign and Imperial Politics, Education, etc.?

They will be able to express their opinion in the same way as they do now by voting for or against the Government which represents them in these matters. In addition, they will have greater opportunity to express their opinions on these subjects through the Second Chamber, which will largely exist to deal with them, in place of the anachronistic House of Lords.

25. What will be the position of the House of Lords?

The House of Lords will be replaced by a Second Chamber representing the industry, culture and ability of the Nation. This Second Chamber will also contain representatives whose technical knowledge of science and industry shall be specific and detailed beyond the needs of the House of Commons, and will also contain representatives of Education, Religion, the Services, Science, Art, and every aspect of the people's spiritual life. From this national pool of culture and ability, Government will derive a real assistance.

The present House of Lords is an anachronism. It was originally intended that the House of Lords should broadly represent industry and culture. In early days the Peers owned the land, which was the only industry, and enjoyed exceptional opportunities of education. To-day, Agriculture is not the only industry and many Peers are not even connected with land or industry. Further, none would claim they enjoy a monopoly of culture. Therefore, by abolishing the present House of Lords in favour of an Assembly genuinely representing the

industry and culture of the Nation, we restore the original conception
of the British Constitution.

26. If voting is on an occupational basis, who will represent that quite large number of people who live on allowance or pensions?

A special Corporation will be constituted to watch their interests, from which in particular consumers' representatives be selected by Government for service in other Corporations. Ex-Service men will, of course, be conspicuously represented in this Corporation.

27. Have occupational groups any control over their elected representative on their Corporation? Can they dismiss him if he does not fulfil his duties to their satisfaction?

Yes, they can dismiss him by their periodic votes at Corporation elections as they can dismiss any other representatives or Government itself.

28. What will be the relation between Parliament and the National Council of Corporations?

In brief definition, Parliament will deal with the general problems which confront the Nation. They are largely but not entirely the broad aspects of industry. The National Council of Corporations will deal with the more detailed industrial problems and for many years, during the creation of the complete Corporate State, will be very fully occupied with that detail.

29. How can new Ministers emerge if Party Politics do not exist?

New Ministers will not emerge as at present by their skill in the Party game. Reputations will not be made by sitting up all night in Parliamentary obstruction to prevent a Government carrying out the programme for which the people have voted. Reputations will be made not by cheap debating but by constructive ability. New Ministers will emerge within the great Corporations and new organs of national life by virtue of their constructive ideas. Thus Ministers will be drawn from the whole nation, wherever ability can be found, and not from a small circle of professional politicians. Far more opportunity will exist for new men and new Ministers to emerge under Fascism than exists under the present system, which confines Ministers to the relatively few people who can secure the independence requisite to a political career or, worse still, to the "kept men" of the Party machine.

30. What are your proposals for the reform of local Government

No nation can be efficient if the Government pulls one way and the local authorities pull another way. What would be the fate of a big business whose head office pursued one policy, and whose branch offices pursued an opposite policy ? Yet this is the system under which the country is governed at present, with a consequent increase in the chronic paralysis of Government. The Fascist principle is that the will of the majority of the country as expressed through their elected Government must prevail nationally and locally. Action is impossible until this principle is established. Local authority areas will be greatly enlarged for the sake of efficiency and will be governed during the transitional period as follows.

The local leader, armed with executive authority and responsibility, will be an M.P. of the majority party in Parliament, selected from, an area with which he is specially acquainted. He will be advised by a council elected locally on an occupational franchise which will provide a technical and non-political council. Thus the majority of M.P.'s will all possess executive function. Instead of hanging about Westminster obstructing in the Chamber and gossiping in the lobby, they will be among their own people doing a job of work. When Parliament meets at regular intervals to review the work of the Government they will be armed with practical suggestions and criticism from first hand knowledge of local problems. M.P.'s will be converted from windbags into men of action. But electors must be more careful than at present to select men of capacity. They will have not merely to talk but to act.

31. Would women be eligible as representatives (I) on all Corporations, (ii) on any Corporation?

They will be eligible on all Corporations representing their industry or profession. In addition the great majority of women who are wives and mothers will for the first time be given effective representation by Fascism. A special Corporation will be created for them, which will have special standing in the State. That Corporation will deal with outstanding women's questions such as mother and child welfare. In addition, it will assist Government in such matters as food prices, housing, education and other subjects, in which the opinion of a practical housewife is often worth more than that of a Socialist professor or spinster politician.

33. What is your attitude to Science?

Science must be the basis of the technical State of Fascism. In the modern world the function of the State is largely to keep the ring clear for the technician. The money spent on both scientific and technical research is absurdly inadequate. With a more far-sighted policy, not only could industrial discovery one hundred-fold replace the money expended, but many of the ravages of disease might be conquered. Democracy is always penny-wise and pound-foolish. Fascism, not only by money but by honour, will reposes its faith in the scientist.

34. How can you plan production and distribution scientifically if the means of production remain in private hands?

Through the Corporate system which directs private enterprise into channels beneficial and not inimical to the Nation. As will be explained the Corporate system will (1) Prevent anti-social undertakings through the control of finance, and when necessary by direct prohibition (see questions 46, 47, 48) ; (2) will fairly adjust wages and profits by the raising of wages to afford a fair share of the expanded proceeds of industry to the worker (questions 36, 39, 40) ; (3) will thus also hold a proper equilibrium between saving and investment (question 36) ; (4) will eliminate abortion of