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Right-Wing Authoritarianism and Authoritarian Capitalism

INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the notions of right-wing authoritarianism and authoritarian capitalism. This book's understanding of these terms is grounded in the Frankfurt School's critical theory of authoritarianism. Based on the Frankfurt School, and especially some of its authors such as Theodor W. Adorno, Franz L. Neumann and Erich Fromm, we can develop an understanding of right-wing authoritarianism and authoritarian capitalism. Doing so also requires us to reflect on what the role of the state is in capitalist society.

THE FRANKFURT SCHOOL'S CRITICAL THEORY OF AUTHORITARIANISM

Wilhelm Reich: *The Mass Psychology of Fascism*

Classical Frankfurt School critical theory combined the approaches of Karl Marx and Sigmund Freud in order to understand how authoritarian thought works. Wilhelm Reich was a psychoanalyst and theorist who influenced the Frankfurt School's study of the authoritarian personality. Reich (1972) argues in his book *The Mass Psychology of Fascism* that fascism and authoritarianism don't just have political-economic, but also ideological and psychological, foundations. In his writings Reich is especially interested in the question of how fascism operates with emotional, unconscious and irrational elements, and why certain humans actively reproduce fascist propaganda in their consciousness. As a consequence, it does not suffice that anti-fascism operates by criticising poverty, hunger and inequality. It has to take the psychology of

fascism into account too. Economy, ideology and psychology interact in society. According to Reich, the fact that everyday people follow fascism shows the materiality and material effectiveness of fascist ideology and its political psychology. Ideology would embed the 'economic process in the *psychic structures of the people who make up the society*' (Reich 1972, 18).

Reich shows how Hitler operated upon 'the *emotions* of the individuals in the masses' and avoided '*relevant arguments* as much as possible' (Reich 1972, 34). 'Hitler repeatedly stressed that one could not get at the masses with arguments, proofs, and knowledge, but only with feelings and beliefs' (Reich 1972, 83). 'Every form of totalitarian-authoritarian rulership is based on the irrationalism inculcated in masses of people' (Reich 1972, 312). Reich argues that one needs to explain *why* individuals are accessible to ideology. Authoritarian fathers, bosses and political leaders would play an important role in the formation of individuals' authoritarian character structure. Authoritarianism culminates in the identification with a political Führer (Reich 1972, 62–3).

Wilhelm Reich and the Frankfurt School

Frankfurt School thinkers such as Erich Fromm, Herbert Marcuse, Theodor W. Adorno, Franz L. Neumann, Leo Löwenthal and Max Horkheimer took an approach comparable to and influenced by Reich. They stress that fascism cannot be explained by capitalism alone, but that its analysis needs to take ideology, political psychology and the role of the state into account. The Frankfurt School argued for an interdisciplinary approach to understanding fascism and authoritarianism.

Reich complained that Erich Fromm 'managed to disregard completely the sexual problem of masses of people and its relationship to the fear of freedom and craving for authority' (Reich 1972, 219). Fromm (1933) reviewed Reich's 1932 book *Der Einbruch der Sexualmoral (The Imposition of Sexual Morality)*. He remarked that Reich was 'one of the few authors, who based on the results of Freud's psychoanalysis and Marx's sociology, came to new and fruitful sociological results' (Fromm 1933, 119). In the Frankfurt School's *Studie über Autorität und Familie (Study on Authority and Family)*, Max Horkheimer (1936a, 69) referenced Reich in a footnote and Erich Fromm (1936, 113) wrote that Reich's analysis of

masochism was fruitful, but that Reich's works were characterised by the 'physiologicistic overestimation of the sexual factor'.

The first German edition of Reich's *The Mass Psychology of Fascism* was published in 1933. The Frankfurt School's *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* published a short review, in which Max Horkheimer's friend Karl Landauer (1934) mentioned that Reich overestimated genital sexuality. This remark may be characteristic for the Frankfurt School's general assessment of Reich's approach. The Frankfurt School authors respected Reich's general approach of combining Marx and Freud in the analysis of the interaction of capitalism and the human psyche. Reich laid some of the foundations for this analysis, but on the other hand Fromm, Adorno and their colleagues also felt that Reich overstressed the sexual factor.

In his book *Eros and Civilization: An Inquiry into Freud*, Herbert Marcuse (1955, 239) writes that Reich made a 'serious attempt to develop the critical social theory implicit in Freud', but also formulated the criticism that 'Reich rejects Freud's hypothesis of the death instinct' and the sex instinct's 'fusion with the destructive impulses'.

Consequently, sexual liberation *per se* becomes for Reich a panacea for individual and social ills. The problem of sublimation is minimized; no essential distinction is made between repressive and non-repressive sublimation, and progress in freedom appears as a mere release of sexuality. The critical sociological insights contained in Reich's earlier writings are thus arrested; a sweeping primitivism becomes prevalent, foreshadowing the wild and fantastic hobbies of Reich's later years. (Marcuse 1955, 239)

The Frankfurt School's first generation seemed to sympathise with Reich's general approach of combining psychoanalysis and Marxism, and with his assumption that the analysis of authoritarianism needed to take ideology and psychology into account. At the same time they were highly sceptical of Reich's analysis of sexuality, and considered his approach as a form of sexual reductionism that reduced authoritarianism to the suppression of sexual instincts and saw sexual uninhibitedness as a panacea against fascism and authoritarianism. The Frankfurt School's theorists did not share sexual reductionist assumptions such as the claim that 'suppression of the natural sexuality of children and adolescents serves to mold the human structure in such a way that masses of people

become willing upholders and reproducers of mechanistic authoritarian civilization' (Reich 1972, 322).

Max Horkheimer on Authority

Max Horkheimer (1936b, 70) defines authority as 'internal and external behaviors in which men submit to an external source of command'. The Enlightenment challenged the authority of the church and the monarch, but set up capital as the new authority:

Bourgeois thought begins as a struggle against the authority of tradition and replaces it with reason as the legitimate source of right and truth. It ends with the deification of naked authority as such (a conception no less empty of determinate content than the concept of reason), since justice, happiness, and freedom for mankind have been eliminated as historically possible solutions. [...] That the struggle against dependence on authority should in modern times change directly into a deification of authority as such is a development rooted in the origins of the struggle. (72, 76)

Capitalist authority is shaped by the irrationality of the 'blind power of chance' and crisis in capitalism (82), and 'the reified authority of the economy' (83) that expresses itself as the class relationship between capital and labour. Horkheimer also stresses the role of the family, and writes that the patriarchal family is 'the creator of the authority-oriented cast of mind' (112). In capitalist patriarchy, authority in the family has to do with the social position of the father and the mother in earning the family's living (122). The need to sell one's labour power always carries with it the threat of poverty and of not being able to feed one's children. Marcuse (1936, 210) argues in this context that discipline at work is an inherent feature of the organisation of the labour process. The need to conform to the market and to the boss is built into capitalism, which influences the family's structure.

Erich Fromm on the Authoritarian Personality

Erich Fromm (1984) conducted a survey among German workers. The data collection took place from 1929 until 1931 and resulted in a total

of 584 responses. For analysing personality types (radical, authoritarian, compromise-oriented) he used a total of ten questions, grouped into three domains: political opinions, attitudes to authority and attitudes towards fellow human beings. The analysis showed, for example, that workers in larger companies and urban centres were more radical and less prone to authoritarianism than those in smaller companies and rural areas. Workers who identified as communists, left socialists or social democrats were less authoritarian than those identifying as Nazis or as supporting bourgeois parties. A limit of the study was that only 17 Nazis participated; 29 per cent of social democrats, 7 per cent of left socialists, 8 per cent of communists showed some authoritarian leaning. In this study, Fromm defined the authoritarian attitude as the personality of someone who 'affirms, seeks out and enjoys the subjugation of men under a higher external power, whether this power is the state or a leader, natural law, the past or God' (209–10), and opposed this outlook to the radical attitude that shows 'a demand for freedom, for oneself and for all human beings [...] on the basis of solidarity with others' (209).

Fromm (1936) argues that the patriarchal family that has a dominant father is one of the authoritarian personality structure's sources. The same mode of projection and identification with authority takes place in other parts of society too, where individuals positively affirm leaders such as politicians, managers, bosses or teachers. Fromm argues (unlike Reich) that childhood experiences do not determine political positions taken in adulthood, but constitute predispositions (86). A decisive aspect would be the human desire to be loved and the fear of being deprived of love and being rejected (78, 96). Fromm argues that Freud disregards the 'relationship of family structure with the structure of the totality of society' (88). The level of authority of the father in the family would be mediated with 'the societal totality's authority structures' (88). The operation of the Oedipus complex would depend on societal structures, which means that the son does not always and does not necessarily perceive his father as a sexual rival. The implication is that a lower level of authority in education can result in less psychosocial rivalry and less search for identification with authority.

For Fromm (1936), not all authority and suppression of instincts are authoritarian: he distinguishes between supportive authority that helps individuals to develop, and repressive authority that aims at exploitation and domination (111, 135). Fromm characterises the authoritarian per-

sonality as a sadomasochistic character type that feels pleasure in both submission to authority and the subjection of underdogs. Authoritarian societies foster sadomasochistic personalities (117–18). Authoritarian personalities therefore show ‘aggression against the defenceless and sympathy for the powerful’ (115). Authoritarianism has an extremely polarised relationship with the powerful and the weak: ‘To the one group all good characteristics are ascribed and they are loved, and to the other group all negative characteristics are ascribed and they are hated’ (116). Authorities would often support and promote this dual structure in order to reach the double goal of on the one hand keeping the relationship with one group ‘free from hatred and directing on the other hand hatred against forces that it wants to combat with the help of the subaltern’ (116). ‘Finally overcoming sadomasochism is only thinkable in a society, in which humans govern their lives planfully, reasonable and actively and where not the bravery of suffering and obedience, but the courage for happiness and the overcoming of fate form the highest virtue’ (122).

Adorno’s Study of the Authoritarian Personality

Adorno et al. (1950), in their study *The Authoritarian Personality*, empirically studied the question: ‘If a potentially fascist individual exists, what, precisely, is he like? What goes to make up anti-democratic thought? What are the organizing forces within the person?’ (2). The study focused on American citizens. Methodologically it used questionnaires with factual, opinion and projective questions as well as in-depth interviews. There were four versions of the questionnaire in which the research team developed four versions of the F scale (fascism scale) that measured the extent to which a person had a fascist leaning: form 78, form 60, form 45, and form 40. The forms were named according to the number of questions they consisted of. All versions of the questionnaire had nine dimensions in common, and included a series of questions for each of these dimensions. A Likert scale ranging from –3 (‘I strongly disagree’) to +3 (‘I strongly agree’) was used. The scores were recoded ranging from 1 (strong disagreement) to 7 (strong agreement). The dimensions used were as follows (see Adorno et al. 1950, 228):

1. Conventionalism: adherence to middle-class values;
2. Authoritarian submission: submission to authorities and leaders;

3. Authoritarian aggression: opposition to people who violate conventional values;
4. Anti-intraception: opposition to the subjective, the imaginative and the tender-minded;
5. Superstition and stereotyping: belief in rigid categories, mysticism and predetermined fate;
6. Power and 'toughness': identification with leaders, power figures, strength and toughness;
7. Destructiveness and cynicism: general hostility towards humans;
8. Projectivity: belief that the world is wild and dangerous;
9. Exaggerated concerns with sex.

The study showed that these nine dimensions tended to appear together in authoritarian consciousness (Adorno et al. 1950, 751). Dimensions two and six both refer to the belief in leadership figures and top-down power politics. The stereotype aspect of dimension five as well as dimensions three and seven refer to a negative view of the world, which is seen as hostile and as being polarised into friends and enemies. It is not clear why, in dimension five, superstition and stereotyping have been combined. These seem to be two different aspects of authoritarianism. Dimensions one, eight and nine have to do with a patriarchal and militaristic view of the world, in which conservative moral values dominate, women are reduced to housework, traditional gender roles prevail, men are seen as dominant, the ideal man is a warrior and soldier who confronts a wild and dangerous world, and there is a constant threat of war for which one has to be prepared. The belief in superstition is a form of naturalism that focuses on the disbelief in the human capacity to change society for the better, the fetishistic belief in mechanic determination and society's rule by mystical forces that humans cannot influence. It is surprising that collective identity, i.e. nationalism and ethnocentrism, does not form a separate dimension of the F scale. Whereas fascist worldviews may have some variety in terms of the enemies they perceive, oppose, hate and want to destroy, all of them seem to have the closed and rigid we-identity of a national or ethnic community. Daniel Woodley (2010) argues, in his comprehensive review of critical theories of fascism, that although nationalism comes in a variety of forms that change historically, 'nation and nationhood are central components of fascist political discourse' (Woodley 2010, 185). Adorno et al.'s study used a separate ethnocentrism

scale (E scale) that focused on attitudes towards people of colour, minorities, patriotism and anti-Semitism (Adorno et al. 1950, chapter 4). It is somewhat surprising that parts of the E scale have not been included in the F scale, because such a separation implies that there can be fascism without nationalism and ethnocentrism.

Right-Wing Authoritarianism's Four Dimensions

One problem with the F scale is that its dimensions are overlapping and incomplete. A more comprehensive understanding of right-wing authoritarianism focuses on four dimensions:

1. Authoritarianism and leadership: belief in the importance of strong authorities and leaders.
2. Nationalism, ethnocentrism: belief in the superiority of a particular community that is conceived as forming a nation or ethnicity. Nationalism and the friend/enemy scheme (see dimension 3) serve the purpose of distracting attention from the class conflict that shapes capitalism. Fascism is a particular form of capitalist ideology and political practice.
3. Friend/enemy scheme: the national community is defined in relation to one or more constructed out-groups that are portrayed as dangerous enemies that should be opposed, fought and eliminated. There is a rigid distinction between groups that are conceived as being strictly different, separate and opposed. Adorno et al. (1950, 113) found that 'ethnocentric hostility toward outgroups is highly correlated with ethnocentric idealization of ingroups' and that there is a general opposition to all kinds of out-groups among ethnocentrists.
4. Patriarchy and militarism: there is a belief in conservative values, including traditional gender roles, sexism and the heroism of warriors and soldiers, whose task it is to defend the nation and fight against the perceived enemies. Society is seen as being shaped by a dichotomy between strength and weakness. The world is conceived as a wild and dangerous place with a constant threat of war and the need to defend the nation against enemies. This conservative picture of the world often comes with a stress on the importance of nature, the human body and physical strength.

Levels of Right-Wing Authoritarianism

Right-wing authoritarianism, right-wing extremism and fascism are not just ideologies and psychological dispositions, but can also be political movements that can turn into societal systems. When discussing questions such as 'Is X right-wing authoritarian/right-wing extremist/fascist?', one must always be clear about which level of being one is talking about: one must clarify whether one is talking about the level of consciousness, psychology/character structure, ideology, political movements/groups/parties, institutions or society. There can, for example, be fascist ideology and character structures within a democratic society that either has organised fascist movements or does not. The basic distinction that needs to be drawn is the one between the levels of the individual, social groups, institutions and society. There is a micro (individuals), a meso (groups and institutions) and a macro (society) level of the far right. Right-wing authoritarianism involves all of the four elements mentioned above. There can be right-wing authoritarian individuals, groups and institutions and a right-wing authoritarian society. Right-wing extremism and fascism are an intensification of right-wing authoritarianism so that an increase of quantity turns into a new quality: fascists favour terror and violence for attaining their goals (hierarchical leadership, nationalism, opposing perceived enemies, patriarchy, militarisation). Fascism's final factor 'is the reliance upon terror, i.e., the use of non-calculable violence as a permanent threat against the individual' (Neumann 1957, 245). A right-wing authoritarian individual, group, institution or society does not necessarily favour terror and a police state that represses all opposition, but right-wing authoritarianism can turn into fascism. A fascist society presupposes fascist individuals, groups and institutions.

Adorno's F Scale and Related Studies

A number of studies have built on Adorno et al.'s F scale. Altemeyer (1996, 6) defines right-wing authoritarianism as a combination of authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression and conventionalism. His right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) scale uses 30 items that are scored on a Likert scale ranging from -4 (strong disagreement) to +4 (strong agreement). The answers are recoded so that -4 corresponds to 1 and +4 to 9. The RWA scale for a particular individual therefore ranges from a

minimum of 30 to a maximum of 270. Altemeyer (1996, 47) argues that his approach is different to the one used by Adorno et al. (1950). But at the same time he admits that Adorno et al.'s model was the starting point and got him interested in studying right-wing authoritarianism (45).

Duckitt et al. (2010) developed the authoritarianism-conservatism-traditionalism scale (ACT) that consists of 36 items. Each of the three dimensions consists of twelve items. Altemeyer's three dimensions were renamed: authoritarian aggression was called authoritarianism (A), authoritarian submission was called conservatism (C) and conventionalism was called traditionalism (T). Based on Altemeyer's scale, Dunwoody and Funke (2016) developed the aggression-submission-conventionalism scale (ASC). The difference is that Altemeyer's scale uses single-, double- and triple-barrelled questions, whereas Dunwoody and Funke's 18 items avoid multi-barrelled questions. The items in the scales used by Altemeyer, Duckitt et al., and Dunwoody and Funke are organised along the first three of Adorno et al.'s (1950) dimensions. Aspects of nationalism, patriarchy and warfare are not present in the RWA, ACT and ASC scales. The important aspect, however, is that such research confirms the continued relevance of Adorno's empirical method.

In the next section, we will take a closer look at right-wing authoritarianism's four levels.

RIGHT-WING AUTHORITARIANISM AND AUTHORITARIAN CAPITALISM

Nationalism is a particular ideology that constructs fictive ethnicity and the nation as communities in order to distract attention from class conflicts and other forms of social antagonism. Right-wing authoritarianism is a concept that is based on the critical theory of the authoritarian personality that was developed by Frankfurt School authors such as Erich Fromm and Theodor W. Adorno. Hierarchical leadership, nationalism, the friend/enemy scheme, patriarchy and militarism are the key elements of right-wing authoritarian personality, ideology, movements, institutions and systems.

A Model of Right-Wing Authoritarianism

It is common linguistic use to speak of right-wing extremist individuals or movements, but the term right-wing extremist society is hardly used.

Right-wing extremism is an ideology, political goal and movement, but not a type of society (Holzer 1993, 31–2). Right-wing extremism is a militant and violent form of right-wing authoritarian consciousness, ideology, social movements and organisations, whereas fascism can potentially be found at the level of the individuals, groups, organisations and society. One can speak of fascist individuals, fascist consciousness, fascist ideology, fascist social movements, fascist organisations, fascist institutions and a fascist society. Each of these levels presupposes the previous ones, but the lower organisational levels do not necessarily imply and require the upper ones. A difference between right-wing extremism and fascism is that right-wing extremists exhibit a latency towards accepting and favouring violence against political opponents, and attacks are mostly limited to political style as well as communicative, ideological and symbolic violence (Bailer-Galanda and Neugebauer 1997, 55; Schiedel 2007, 29). Fascists and fascist societies, in contrast, use violence and terroristic means in order to try to harm, imprison, ban, kill or exterminate their opponents and scapegoats. The boundary is blurry because psychological intimidation and threats (for example online and on social media) are also a form of violence aimed at harming individuals.

Figure 3.1 shows a model that visualises right-wing authoritarianism. Right-wing authoritarianism's four elements (authoritarian leadership, nationalism, the friend/enemy scheme, patriarchy and militarism) often interact with each other. It uses political fetishism: it fetishises the nation in order to deflect attention from class contradictions and power inequalities. Nationalism constitutes a we-identity by constructive fictive ethnicity. Authoritarian leadership is the way in which the power of this national collective is organised, namely in a top-down manner, in which a leader rules and the followers submit to their authority. Authoritarian leadership and leader fetishism is used as a political organisation principle that often also extends to the organisation of the capitalist economy, culture and everyday life. Right-wing authoritarianism sees hierarchic, authoritarian leadership as the basic organisational principle for economic, political and cultural systems and relations in society. The friend/enemy scheme constructs enemies and scapegoats in order to distract from class and capitalist relations. It is about 'Them', the 'Other', the 'Enemies'. Militant patriarchy has to do with the relationship between 'Us' and 'Them'. It glorifies the soldier and warrior and sees law-and-order,

Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA)

Individual ⇔ Group ⇔ Institution ⇔ Society

RWA's social role: Deflection of attention from structures of class, capitalism and domination

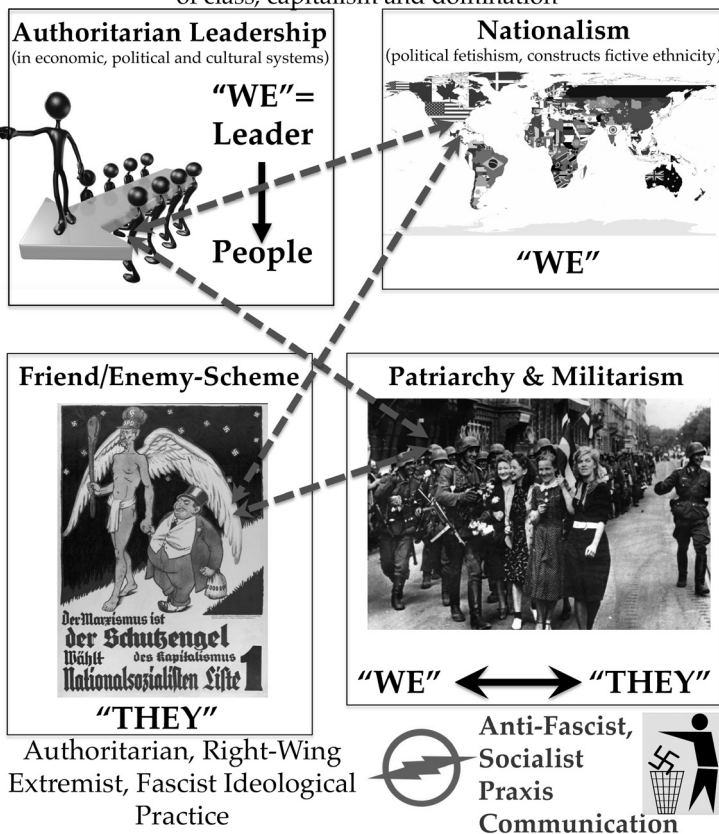


Figure 3.1 Model of right-wing authoritarianism

repression, exploitation, domination, politics, violence, imperialism and war as the appropriate ways for organising social relations. The more militant, terroristic and violent right-wing authoritarianism and authoritarian capitalism become, the more they become right-wing extremism and fascism.

Right-wing authoritarianism is an ideological practice, which means that it is not just a worldview and thought system, but also a form of human action and organisation in the economy, the political system and

culture. It can just be organised on the level of ideas, which is a cognitive and communicative social practice in itself. But it can also be the guiding principle of how to organise social relations. Such ideological practices can take place at the level of the individual, group, institution or society as a whole. Right-wing authoritarianism at such a level always presupposes that it exists at the previous level as a necessary condition.

Anti-fascism is an anti-ideological praxis that challenges and questions right-wing authoritarianism, right-wing extremism and fascism. It is not just practice, but praxis, a particular form of practice – socialist practice. Because right-wing authoritarianism tries to deflect attention from the true causes of society's problems through nationalism and the friend/enemy scheme, socialism is the appropriate praxis response that sheds light on social problems' rootedness in power, exploitation and domination and offers perspectives that transcend capitalism, domination and class. Praxis communication is communication that acts within democratic-socialist structures or aims at establishing such structures and a society built on them.

Authoritarian Capitalism

The capitalist economy is a class economy, in which labour produces commodities that are privately owned and sold to the benefit of capitalists trying to accumulate ever more capital. Capitalism is a particular form of society that combines the exploitation of labour and the accumulation of monetary capital, the accumulation of political decision-making power, and the accumulation of cultural definitional and reputational power. Authoritarian capitalism is a specific type of capitalism. Authoritarian capitalism is a capitalism that uses repressive state power in order to advance capitalist interests, which features a blurring of the boundaries between the state and big capital, state intervention into the economy in favour of big capital, law-and-order politics, armament and militarism, and a certain degree of repressive politics against immigrants, the political opposition and other constructed enemies. Fascism is a particular form of authoritarian capitalism. Any authoritarian capitalism is not necessarily fascist, but can turn into fascism. Authoritarian capitalism has tendencies towards limiting the opposition's and perceived enemies' freedom, whereas fascism eliminates them. The basic difference between

authoritarian capitalism and fascism is one between repressive limitation and elimination.

Franz L. Neumann's Definition of Fascism

Franz L. Neumann defines fascism as 'the dictatorship of the Fascist [...] party, the bureaucracy, the army, and big business, the dictatorship over the whole of the people, for complete organization of the nation for imperialist war' (Neumann 1936a, 35; see also Neumann 1944/2009, 360). Fascism refuses 'groups with an independent existence of their own, groups which come between the state and the individual' (Neumann 1936a, 35), such as independent trade unions, meeting points, movements and parties. There is an assimilation (*Gleichschaltung*) of groups and organisations. In fascism, 'the state is everything, the individual nothing' (Neumann 1936a, 36). Fascism robs workers of their rights (42). Workers have no influence in the economy and the state (43). Neumann stresses both the political-economic and ideological character of fascism. He points out the role of the authoritarian state that represents the interests of capital and the fascist party/leader in order to destroy any influence of the working class and other potential oppositional movements. An aspect that is missing here is the role of nationalism as an ideology that constructs a fictive unity of capital and labour as nation.

Neumann stresses that state apparatuses (bureaucracy, army, party) become fused under the control of the state. As a consequence, no independent groups are allowed to exist within the state, economy or society. Fascism is for Neumann an inherently imperialist and war-waging type of society. This aspect relates to the characteristic of militarism. Two elements that he does not discuss are the connection between militarism and patriarchy as well as the friend/enemy scheme and exterminatory and repressive politics that are based on it. In his later book, *Behemoth*, Neumann (1944/2009) discusses all aspects of fascism in detail, including nationalism, the friend/enemy scheme and patriarchy.

Charismatic Leadership

NEUMANN AND WEBER ON CHARISMATIC POWER

Charismatic power and the leadership principle form an important element of right-wing authoritarianism. Neumann characterised

charismatic leadership in the following way: 'The justification of this [leadership] principle is charismatic: it rests on the assertion that the Leader is endowed with qualities lacking in ordinary mortals. Superhuman qualities emanate from him and pervade the state, party, and people' (Neumann 1944/2009, 99). In authoritarian ideologies and systems, the 'principle of leadership [...] dominates all social and political organizations' (Neumann 1944/2009, 83). The concept of charismatic leadership does not mean an individualistic analysis that just focuses on the role of single persons as leaders. It rather stresses that citizens follow, legitimate, enable and support authoritarian rule and in specific societal and organisational contexts enact the leadership principle and act as small leaders. Max Weber (1978, 243) therefore speaks of the connection of a charismatic leader to a charismatic community that is 'based on an emotional form of communal relationship'.

ADORNO ON AUTHORITARIAN LEADERS

Adorno (1951a) points out the importance of the leadership principle in right-wing authoritarianism. The leader presents himself as a 'threatening authority' (137). Psychology is an important element for making individuals follow authoritarian rule and collectively projecting themselves into the leader. 'It is precisely this idealization of himself which the fascist leader tries to promote in his followers, and which is helped by the *Führer* ideology' (140). Collective narcissism is a psychological dimension of authoritarianism. The image of the strong leader creates the psychological 'enlargement of the subject: by making the leader his ideal he loves himself, as it were, but gets rid of the stains of frustration and discontent which mar his picture of his own empirical self' (140). 'The narcissistic *gain* provided by fascist propaganda is obvious' (145). An authoritarian leader presents himself as superman and ordinary, as a 'great little man' (142). This 'unity trick' (146) tries to construct a feeling of union within the national community in order to advance hatred against out-groups.

IAN KERSHAW AND NEUMANN ON HITLER'S CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP

Hierarchic leadership is a necessary, but not sufficient element of right-wing authoritarianism. Historically speaking it formed an

important feature of all fascist systems. Ian Kershaw (2008) wrote a widely acclaimed biography of Hitler. He does not consider Hitler's personality to be the key feature of Nazi-fascism, but a specific form of charismatic rule. Kershaw (2004) argues that Nazi-fascism combined 'Hitler's "charismatic authority"', the cult and myth of the Führer, 'and its promise of national salvation' (Kershaw 2004, 246). Nazi-fascism aimed at 'racial cleansing and imperialism' (249), the Shoah and a world war, and used a modern military and state for putting its ideology into political practice. Nazi-fascism's ideology featured the "removal of the Jews" [...]; attaining "living space" to secure Germany's future (a notion vague enough to encompass different strands of expansionism); race as the explanation of world history, and eternal struggle as the basic law of human existence' (Kershaw 2004, 252). Neumann (1944/2009, 83–97) agrees with the analysis that Hitler was a charismatic leader, whom the Germans saw as possessing '[s]uperhuman qualities' (85). But he stresses that hierarchic leadership was not confined to the Nazi state and its political groups, but extended to all realms of Nazi society. The 'principle of leadership [...] dominates all social and political organizations' (83). Hitler was 'the leader of the party, the army, and the people' (84).

Nationalism

Nationalism is a key feature of right-wing authoritarianism, and we discussed it in more detail in Chapter 2. It forms the part of right-wing ideology that constructs the inner logic of society, whereas the friend/enemy scheme constructs the other logic of society (see 'The Friend/Enemy Scheme' section below).

MYTHIC COLLECTIVES

Right-wing authoritarianism appeals to a mythic collective such as the nation, ethnicity and race. It thereby diverts attention from class conflicts. '[R]acism and Anti-Semitism are substitutes for the class struggle' (Neumann 1994/2009, 125). '[B]lood, community, folk, are devices for hiding the real constellation of power' (Neumann 1994/2009, 464). Right-wing authoritarianism uses reactionary collectivism as an ideology for claiming that it can overcome the social problems of capitalism, modernity and globalisation.

Right-wing authoritarian language centres on “irrational” ideas such as folk, race, blood and soil, Reich’ (Marcuse 1998, 150). It often employs the ‘verbalization of nouns, a shrinking of the syntactical structure of the sentence, and a transformation of personal relations into impersonal things and events’ (150). Right-wing authoritarianism is irrational because concepts such as race, ethnicity and nation do not have reasonable foundations (Marcuse 1934). But this political irrationality is rationalised and put into political practice by rational means, especially state power.

The Friend/Enemy Scheme

CARL SCHMITT

The friend/enemy scheme is an important element of right-wing authoritarianism. It is an ideology that constructs scapegoats who are presented as enemies of the nation in order to deflect attention from the real conflicts and contradictions in society. Carl Schmitt was a German legal scholar who sympathised with the Nazis. He became a member of the Nazi Party in 1933 and was editor of the judicial journal *Deutsche Juristen-Zeitung*.

Schmitt formulated the logic of the friend/enemy scheme in the following way:

The specific political distinction to which political actions and motives can be reduced is that between friend and enemy [...]. Insofar as it is not derived from other criteria, the antithesis of friend and enemy corresponds to the relatively independent criteria of other antitheses: good and evil in the moral sphere, beautiful and ugly in the aesthetic sphere, and so on. [...] The distinction of friend and enemy denotes the utmost degree of intensity of a union or separation, of an association or dissociation. [...] Emotionally the enemy is easily treated as being evil and ugly, because every distinction, most of all the political, as the strongest and most intense of the distinctions and categorizations, draws upon other distinctions for support. [...] The enemy is solely the public enemy, because everything that has a relationship to such a collectivity of men, particularly to a whole nation, becomes public by virtue of such a relationship. [...] War follows from enmity. War is the existential negation of the enemy. It is the most extreme consequence

of enmity. It does not have to be common, normal, something ideal, or desirable. But it must nevertheless remain a real possibility for as long as the concept of the enemy remains valid (Schmitt 1932/1996, 26, 27, 28, 33).

REFUGEES AND IMMIGRANTS AS NEW ENEMIES IN FAR-RIGHT IDEOLOGY

In far-right and white supremacist ideologies, Muslims and Eastern and Southern immigrants are often defined as the enemy. On the one hand, biologicistic forms of racism are still prevalent. But on the other hand a culturalised form of racism and xenophobia has emerged, in which foreigners are said to have a culture different from and incompatible with the majority culture. The political conclusion is that cultures should never mix and borders be shut to immigrants and refugees. The notion of the enemy also plays a geopolitical role today: Western military interventions in Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya and Syria have not helped to stabilise the political situation in the Middle East, but have further destabilised the region.

Wars and destabilisation are the causes of refugees in the Middle East leaving their home countries. Europe and other parts of the world have not responded in a coordinated manner, but have in many respects violated the human right to asylum. Refugees and immigrants have been constructed as new enemies flooding Europe and bringing terror and non-European values and lifestyles to the continent. Even those who at first seemed to be welcoming, like Germany, finally used the friend/enemy scheme because of the fear of losing elections when being perceived as too refugee-friendly. European countries have blamed each other. The results are the erection of borders and quotas, and the spread of nationalism, racism and xenophobia. The EU has made a dodgy political deal with Turkey about the return of refugees to a country whose political climate means high insecurity and risks for refugees. The economic crisis of capitalism has turned into a highly dangerous political crisis in Europe and the world system, in which nationalism and the friend/enemy logic are rapidly spreading and expanding.

ANTI-SEMITISM

Nazi-fascism is anti-Semitic, but the question arises as to whether all fascism and right-wing authoritarianism has to be anti-Semitic.

Mussolini took on anti-Semitism from Hitler in 1938 (Hobsbawm 1994, 116), but Italian fascism largely dispensed with anti-Semitism before Italy entered into an alliance with Nazi Germany. It is clear that the construction of a national collective needs to define itself against an enemy which is considered to threaten the unity of the imagined national community. It is, however, relatively open which group far-right ideology chooses as its main scapegoat. Fascism is an annihilationist and exterminatory ideology, but the choice of its enemies is not strictly determined. The imagined Other is presented as being powerful and depriving the national community of opportunities.

Nazi-fascism uses racism and anti-Semitism for justifying 'unequal citizen rights' (Neumann 1944/2009, 99). According to Neumann (1944/2009, 110–11), Nazi anti-Semitism blamed the Jews for economic problems, identified capitalism with Judaism, claimed that the Jews were 'the leaders of Marxist socialism' (111) and was based on the conspiracy that they have set out to destroy 'Aryanism'. Neumann argues that anti-Semitism was 'the sole ideology that can possibly cement the Nazi Party. [...] Anti-Semitism is [...] the spearhead of terror' (Neumann, Marcuse and Kirchheimer 2013, 27).

Fascism is a form of repressive, exterminatory dualism. Fascist anti-Semitism builds on the ideology and politics of exterminatory dualism. The Nazis opposed a productive industrial Aryan capitalism with a parasitic, unproductive financial Jewish capitalism. They did not criticise capitalism, but biologised and racialised the sphere of circulation and finance.

MOISHE POSTONE: ANTI-SEMITISM AND CAPITALISM

According to Moïshe Postone, Auschwitz was the result of capitalism's logic. The Nazis created Auschwitz as a negative factory for the destruction of Jewishness that they considered to be the abstract cause of modernity's evils:

Auschwitz was a factory to 'destroy value', that is, to destroy the personifications of the abstract. Its organization was that of a fiendishly inverted industrial process, the aim of which was to 'liberate' the concrete from the abstract. The first step was to dehumanize and reveal the Jews for what they 'really are' – ciphers, numbered

abstractions. The second step was to then eradicate that abstractness, trying in the process to wrest away the last remnants of the concrete material 'use-value': clothes, gold, hair [...] Modern anti-Semitism emerged from the fetishistic structure of capitalism. It is 'a particularly pernicious fetish form' [...] The Jews were held responsible for economic crises and identified with the range of social restructuring and dislocation resulting from rapid capitalist industrialization. [...] [The] specific characteristics of the power attributed to the Jews by modern anti-Semitism – abstractness, intangibility, universality, mobility – are all characteristics of the value dimension of the social forms fundamentally characterizing capitalism. (Postone 2003, 95, 89, 91).

Hitler constantly voiced anti-Semitic stereotypes. He for example spoke of the 'despotism of international world finance, Jewry!' (Hitler 1941, 674) and of 'international world finance Judaism's goal of enslaving the world' (875). Anti-Semitic stereotypes are not a necessary element of right-wing authoritarianism because the friend/enemy scheme poses a certain ideological flexibility, but it nonetheless can often be found in far-right thought. Socialism, finance capitalism and Jewry were identical for Hitler: he for example wrote that the 'Marxist shock troops of international Jewish stock exchange capital' want to 'definitely break the spine of the German national state' (905).

Speaking of Jewish finance is a short-circuited, biologicistic assessment of capitalism typical of fascist thought. It discerns between an unproductive, parasitic sphere of circulation and finance on the one side, and a productive sphere of industrial capital on the other. Anti-Semitic fascism biologises this dualism by characterising the first as Jewish and the second as Aryan. Postone argues that modern anti-Semitism is a biologisation and naturalisation of the commodity fetish. It is based on the 'notion that the concrete is "natural"' and that the 'natural' is 'more "essential" and closer to origins' (Postone 1980, 111). 'Industrial capital then appears as the linear descendent of "natural" artisanal labor', 'industrial production' appears as 'a purely material, creative process' (110). Anti-Semitic fascism separates industrial capital and industrial labour from the sphere of circulation, exchange and money that is seen as 'parasitic' (110). In Nazi ideology, the 'manifest abstract dimension is

also biologized – as the Jews. The opposition of the concrete material and the abstract becomes the racial opposition of the Aryans and the Jews' (112). Modern anti-Semitism is a one-sided 'critique' of capitalism that sees the sphere of circulation as the totality of capitalism, biologically inscribing Jewishness into circulation and capitalism. It sees technology and industry that are perceived as productive and Aryan as standing outside of capitalism. In this ideology, capitalism 'appeared to be only its manifest abstract dimension, which was in turn held responsible for the economic social, and cultural changes associated with the rapid development of modern industrial capitalism' (Postone 2003, 93).

THE NAZIS' RACIAL IMPERIALISM

The reason why Jews have historically been somewhat overrepresented in the realms of trade and banking has to do with an anti-Semitic division of labour that banned them from taking on certain occupations. William Brustein (2003) argues in his book *Roots of Hate: Anti-Semitism in Europe before the Holocaust* that in 1925, the year when Hitler published the first volume of *Mein Kampf*, 17.6 per cent of the German banks had Jewish owners. This means that 82.4 per cent of the banks in Germany had non-Jewish owners. Claims about 'Jewish finance' are a pure myth that serves ideological purposes.

Neumann (1944/2009), in his study of Nazi Germany's political economy and ideology, stresses that the Nazis' racial imperialism was a peculiar political form that merged imperialism, anti-Semitism and racism. The ideology of the friend/enemy scheme is connected to violence because it can motivate imperialism and extermination. 'The essence of the theory is extremely simple. Germany and Italy are proletarian races, surrounded by a world of hostile plutocratic capitalistic-Jewish democracies. [The war is thus a war for] [...] the attainment of a better life for the master race through reducing the vanquished states and their satellites to the level of colonial peoples' (Neumann 1944/2009, 187, 193). An important element of Nazi imperialism was the ideology of producing 'Aryan' living space (*Lebensraum*) through military conquest (130). Nazi imperialism postulated that the 'Aryans' are proletarian have-nots who are under threat by Jews, democracy and socialism and therefore must defend themselves (221).

Militarism and Patriarchy

MARCUSE ON INSTRUMENTAL REASON AND CYNICAL MATTER-OF-FACTNESS

In respect to nature, biology and gender, right-wing authoritarianism tends to idealise the body, nature, male supremacy, the population's fitness and health, physical labour and toil, the soldier, the army and the importance of procreation. It tends to define ideologically the sphere of production as a masculine realm and reproduction as a feminine sphere.

Marcuse (1998, 142–3) argues that right-wing authoritarian ideology is highly instrumental. Everything is considered to be an instrument for the rule of the national collective and the leader. Marcuse speaks of cynical matter-of-factness (142), a technological rationality that 'measures all issues in terms of efficiency, success and expediency' (143). The fascist would think 'in quantities: in terms of speed, skill, energy, organization, mass' (143).

Militaristic ideology and practices are the consequence of this high level of instrumental reason. For achieving its goals, right-wing authoritarianism requires, to a certain degree, a militarised and repressive state that uses the law, the police, the military, education, science, etc. – state apparatuses and ideological apparatuses – as instruments of governmental power in order to militarise and control all aspects of everyday life. Right-wing authoritarianism believes in the necessity of the 'statisation' of society. Marcuse (1998, 142) speaks in this context of 'integral politicization': 'Social as well as private existence, work as well as leisure, are political activities. The traditional barrier between the individual and society, and between society and the state has disappeared' (142). Put into political practice, right-wing authoritarianism 'tends to abolish any separation between state and society' (70). In fascist forms of right-wing authoritarianism, the militarisation of society is directed against inner enemies that are intimidated, controlled, repressed and killed. Violence is also directed against outer enemies that are attacked with the machinery of imperialist warfare.

HORKHEIMER AND ADORNO ON MILITARISM

Militarism is a form of violence that not just postulates law and order and the use of arms and guns as responses to social problems and conflicts,

but also operates on the psychological level. Horkheimer and Adorno describe the pleasure and joy of hatred and violence associated with militarism in the following way:

A creature which has fallen attracts predators: humiliation of those already visited by misfortune brings the keenest pleasure. The less the danger to the one on top, the more unhampered the joy in the torments he can now inflict: only through the hopeless despair of the victim can power become pleasure and triumphantly revoke its own principle, discipline. Fear averted from the self bursts out in hearty laughter, the expression of a hardening within the individual which can only be lived out through the collective. (Horkheimer and Adorno 2002, 88)

PATRIARCHY IN RIGHT-WING AUTHORITARIANISM AND FASCISM

In the realm of the family and personal relations, right-wing authoritarianism is radically dualist. This gendered dualism is one of fundamental inequality. It ideologically defines the realms of production and the public as male and those of reproduction and the private as female. Right-wing authoritarianism is based on ideological dualisms between men/women, society/nature, body/mind, rationality/irrationality, production/reproduction, war/peace, public/private, intellectuality/emotionality, aggression/love, activity/passivity, etc. Right-wing authoritarianism's model of society is an extremely hierarchical and militarised form of patriarchy, in which there is a strict gender division of labour and the male soldier is seen as the ideal citizen.

In fascist societies, the private realm becomes militarised, stigmatised and subordinated to nationalism and racism. Procreation is defined as a national duty. The model of the soldier defines images and practices of health, sports, fitness and the body. Also the motive of the competitive, physically strong male soldier can be found in fascist culture. An example is Leni Riefenstahl's movie *Olympia*. Not just the body, but also nature is part of fascist ideology that often presents blood, soil and love of nature as part of the homeland.

Fascism tends to view homosexuality 'as a threat to the integrity of the race-nation' (Woodley 2010, 228). Klaus Theweleit argues that fascism is sexually schizophrenic because it is based on the double bind 'thou

shall love men' (Theweleit 1989, 339) that includes the contradictory principles of 'love for the leader' (Theweleit 1987, 60) and 'thou shall not be homosexual' (Theweleit 1989, 339). Theweleit sees a connection between fascism's 'male bonding and the white terror – a connection that provides the pleasure of power' (325).

In Nazi-fascism, sexism took on a particular form of population politics that fused patriarchy and militarism. There was a double goal: (a) the commandment of women to 'produce children'; (b) the SS's 'commandment to kill those who are not fit to live' (Neumann 1944/2009, 112). The Nazis' militaristic-patriarchal principle was: 'Produce as many children as possible so that the earth can be ruled by the master race; kill the unhealthy so that the masters need not be burdened by the care of the weak' (112).

Jill Stephenson (2001, 18) argues in her book *Women in Nazi Germany*:

The ideal remained the married woman who bore several children and worked contentedly at maintaining a clean and orderly home, shopping thriftily and making limited demands as a consumer, educating her children to be both conscious of their racial identity and eager to engage in a life of service to the 'Aryan' community. The woman who devoted herself unstintingly to these tasks yet still found time to serve her community, through participation in a Nazi women's organization, could be satisfied that she was both 'conscious of her responsibility' (verantwortungsbewusst) to her nation and 'ready to make sacrifices' (opferbereit) to further its interest.

Authoritarian capitalism as a social system combines big capital and the big state. State power is used for enforcing capitalist interests in a repressive and authoritarian manner. For understanding authoritarian capitalism, we therefore need to understand what the state is all about.

THE STATE AND AUTHORITARIAN CAPITALISM

Bob Jessop: What is the State?

State theorist Bob Jessop (2016, 49) argues that there are four elements of the state: the state system/apparatus, the state territory, the state population and state ideas.¹ He defines the state in the following way:

1. Acknowledgement: the fourth section of this chapter, "The State and Authoritarian

The core of the state apparatus comprises a relatively united ensemble of socially embedded, socially regularized, and strategically selective institutions and organizations [*Staatsgewalt*] whose socially accepted function is to define and enforce collectively binding decisions on the members of a society [*Staatsvolk*] in a given territorial area [*Staatsgebiet*] in the name of the common interest or general will of an imagined political community identified with that territory [*Staatsidee*]. (Jessop 2016, 49)

In comparison to Jessop's (1990, 341) earlier definition of the state, his newer understanding adds a cultural dimension (the nation as imagined political community). This reflects Jessop's insight that French regulation theory, an approach that he used earlier (see Jessop 1990) and completely dropped in his 2016 book, does not adequately take into account culture and ideology, and that a cultural political economy approach is needed (Sum and Jessop 2013; for a critique of this approach see Fuchs 2017a; Fuchs 2015, chapter 2). By using the concept of the imagined political community, Jessop refers to Benedict Anderson's (1991) understanding of the nation. Eric Hobsbawm, in contrast to Anderson, argues that nations and nationalism are *invented* traditions (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). To say that the nation and nationalism are invented differs from the claim that the nation is an *imagined* political community that is so large that its citizens cannot all know each other personally and therefore have to imagine shared characteristics.

Imagination has to do with creativity, which implies a positive concept of the nation, whereas critical theories of nationalism stress the nation and nationalism's ideological character. Invention resonates with fabrication, falsity and ideology (Özkirimli 2010, 107). One must certainly take into account that Jessop here provides a general definition of the state, but the question is whether in a democratic-socialist society a form of 'civic nationalism' can exist, and if not whether any form of nationalism always has within itself the threat of genocide so that a free society must strive to overcome all national borders and all forms of national identity.

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Doubts arise as to whether the ideological concept of the imagined community should be included in the definition of the state.

Jessop's general definition of the state leaves out the relationship of the state to the economy. Any state relies for its existence on material inputs from the economy. Any state's collective decisions regulate the economy and society at large. In a capitalist state, these collective decisions reflect capitalist interests to a significant degree. But given that a state is not necessarily a capitalist and class state, the relationship of the state to capitalism and class should not be part of the definition of the state in general, but only of the capitalist state and the class state. Jessop's definition, however, lacks a focus on the relationship between economic and political systems.

Defining the State

If we assume that society is made up of dialectical relations between the economic, the political and the cultural realms (Fuchs 2008b, 2015, 2016b), where each realm is a realm of production and has relative autonomy, then the implication is that we need a definition of the state that focuses on the relationships of the state to the economy, politics (including self-referential relations within the state system as well as relationships to other states) and culture.

In modern society, the state regulates working conditions (labour time, wage levels, holiday entitlements, safety, etc.); ownership (monopolies, intellectual property rights, competition policies, legal defence of property against theft, etc.); monetary policies (interest rates, monetary supply); trade (protectionist vs free market); the level and rights of the immigrant workforce, fiscal policy (taxation, government spending) in respect to (a) taxation (capital, labour) and (b) state spending, borrowing and investments in infrastructure; the private, public or hybrid ownership character of infrastructures (science and technology, schools, universities, roads, railways, bridges, hospitals, communications, housing, waste disposal, energy supply, water supply, pension system, etc.); inheritance policies; population policies (financial support for families, etc.); and external and internal defence (military, police, secret services, prison system).

The officials, members and supporters of political parties to specific degrees represent the capitalist class, the working class and different

class fractions. The state is a political site, where these interests meet and contradict each other in the collective decision-making process. Collective decision making in parliaments or other political institutions is a site where different political interests relate to each other. In capitalism, the state regulates class conflict. For example, it has positive or negative effects on profits and wages through taxation, minimum wage policies and decisions on the public or private provision of basic services. The state's economic policies influence the rate of profit and the rate of surplus value. Its innovation and infrastructure policies also shape the organic composition of capital. This also means that the capitalist class, the working class, ideological struggles and the state influence class struggles. Crises of capitalism are often triggers for the restructuring of the state and its policies that regulate capitalism. Politicians are also producers of collective decisions who earn a wage paid for by taxation.

Taking these reflections into account, we can define the state as an ensemble of institutions and organisations that produce and practice collective decisions that are binding for all members of society and that thereby regulate economic, political and cultural life within the territorial boundaries of society. State power involves certain relations between the economy and the state, intra-state relations between the state's institutions, inter-state relations that define the relationship between states, semiotic representations by the state (discourses by the state) and semiotic representations of the state (discourses on the state). Table 3.1 present a systematic model of the state.

Table 3.1 Dimensions of the state

Dimension

- (1) Relationship of the state to the economy
 - (2) Relationship of the state to the citizens
 - (3) Intra-state relations
 - (4) Inter-state relations
 - (5) Semiotic representations by the state (discourses by the state)
 - (6) Semiotic representation of the state (discourses on the state)
-

The Capitalist State

The capitalist economy is a regime of monetary capital accumulation that is based on class relations that define and enable the private ownership

of the means of production, the exploitation of labour and the dominant class's dispossession of the products and value that labour produces. The logic of accumulation can extend beyond the economy. As a consequence, modern politics and the state are systems for the accumulation of influence and decision-power. Further, modern culture is an ideological system for the accumulation of reputation, meaning-making-power and definition-power (Fuchs 2017d, chapter 3).

Modern society therefore not just entails a capitalist economy, but is a capitalist society. A state is capitalist to the extent that its role is to support, enable, defend and legitimise the accumulation of economic capital, the accumulation of political power (at the internal level of the state via mechanisms that allow elite control of politics, and at the international level of the state via imperialist mechanisms that allow control of the international economy, international politics and international ideological hegemony) and the accumulation of cultural power.

Culture, worldviews and ideologies matter for the state in several respects:

- The state is a site for the formulation of political positions, government programmes and opposition programmes that express particular worldviews.
- In political institutions, different worldviews collide, contradict each other and may also temporarily align with each other.
- Policies and political values influence and are influenced by everyday worldviews and ideologies, and by intellectuals and lobbies that try to shape political programmes and positions.

Economic reductionism sees the state as the instrument for the rule of the capitalist class. It overlooks the fact that the working class can have influence on state power. Political reductionism sees the state as an autonomous and neutral institution that, depending on who controls it, determines the economy in particular ways. A dialectical view sees the modern state and the modern economy as identical and non-identical. They are both based on the logic of accumulation (of political power and capital). The state is always a system of political domination; class society is always a system of exploitation. The state as the site of political accumulation and domination stands in a contradictory relation to the capitalist economy as the site of economic accumulation and exploitation.

State and Economy

The state regulates and depends on the capitalist economy, and at the same time has relative autonomy from it. The tightness or looseness of the coupling between the capitalist economy and the state depends on specific political, cultural and ideological conditions and the temporary results of social conflicts and struggles. '[S]tate power is capitalist to the extent that it creates, maintains or restores the conditions required for capital accumulation in given circumstances and is non-capitalist to the extent that these conditions are not realized' (Jessop 1990, 117). The political elite can at certain times operate relatively autonomously from the capitalist class's influence and shape the development of the capitalist economy, especially if there is a socialist government.

Jessop (1990, 150) assumes that there is an 'institutional separation of the economic and political' so that one 'cannot reduce state power to questions of the class background, affiliation or sympathies of the state elite'. 'The separation of the economic and the political orders excludes an immediate isomorphism between economic class relations and relations among political categories. Indeed the legitimacy of the modern state would disappear if the state unequivocally served the immediate economic interests of the dominant class(es)' (102). The question is whether this relation is changing under Trump.

The Theory of State Monopoly Capitalism

The tradition of state theory that Jessop represents assumes that the economy and politics are relatively separate and autonomous. The theory of state monopoly capitalism (Stamocap) in contrast takes a more traditional approach, in which the economy largely determines the political system. It defines the state as a foundational structure and the mode of functioning of modern capitalist society. Key characteristics of state monopoly capitalism are:

- a high degree of concentration, centralisation and monopolisation of private capital;
- the bourgeois state's steady and extensive presence and intervention into the economic reproduction process;

- significant influence of the leading monopolies on state policies regulating the economy and other realms of society. (Huffs Schmid 1990, 758)

‘By the interlocking of and relations between the state and corporations and influences by the latter on the first, the leading corporations’ interests influence and shape state politics to a great degree’ (Huffs Schmid 2010, 148). This influence can take the form of corporate lobbying; the strategic role of corporations in cities, regions and countries; and the exchange of personnel between the state and corporations, i.e. between political and economic elites. Stamocap theories assume that the state acts on behalf of capitalist monopolies’ interests and that the class affiliations of the state’s officials are key. State officials would be the political representatives of monopoly capital’s interests. In state monopoly capitalism, there would be heavy state intervention (including nationalisation) to support monopolies because the profit rate would tend to fall.

Stamocap Theories’ Problems

One problem of many Stamocap theories is that they assume that state monopoly capitalism results in the breakdown of capitalism and the transition to socialism. Paul Boccara (1982) stresses in this context the role of state intervention, the nationalisation of industries, new transport and communication technologies, intellectual labour, cybernetics and automation. He argues that in the state monopoly stage, capitalism reaches the ‘utmost limit’ of its decay. ‘Collective ownership and the socialist plan become immediately necessary for economic practice’ (103, translation from German). We of course know today that state capitalism and the information economy have not given rise to a post-capitalist society. Rather, state monopoly capitalism was followed by yet another stage of capitalist development, namely neoliberal capitalism.

Jörg Huffs Schmid (2010, 149–1), who in the 1960s and 1970s was one of West Germany’s leading Stamocap theorists, argues that Stamocap theories overlook the fact that small and medium-sized companies can also play an important role in capitalism’s development, that capital’s interests and the state are contradictory, that the internationalisation of capital poses challenges for Stamocap theories and that the environmen-

tal crisis and patriarchy cannot be reduced to the role of monopolies in capitalism.

Stamocap theories have been criticised for reducing the state to an instrument of the monopoly bourgeoisie and for thereby advancing an economic-reductionist and monolithic approach that overlooks the fact that the state is itself a realm, in which conflicts between classes and class factions are politically fought out and condensed into temporary, fragile unity and alliances (Hirsch, Kannankulam and Wissel 2015).

The approaches of Antonio Gramsci, Nicos Poulantzas and other materialist theories of the state assume, in contrast, a relative autonomy of the state and capitalism. The question, however, arises in this context as to how the phenomenon of Donald Trump can be explained based on the assumption of relative autonomy, as his victory in the US presidential election seems to be indicative for a temporary close coupling and overlap of the US's economic and the political system. Whereas state monopoly capitalism cannot explain the state's relative autonomy from capital in other situations, relative autonomy theories have trouble explaining Donald Trump.

Stamocap theories tend to assume that the capitalist economy and the capitalist state interlock and interact functionally, institutionally and in respect to personnel. However, it tends to stress that both realms remain separate because otherwise the orthodox assumption that the economic base determines the political and ideological superstructure cannot be upheld (see IMSF 1981, 226–44). Interlocking and interaction would take place in the form of committees, boards, lobbying organisations, industry associations, consultancies, bourgeois academia and science, bourgeois media, research groups, working groups, etc. (IMSF 1981, 257–76). The state's leading group of career politicians would have specific career paths separate from the ones of the capitalist class. The contact between the two would take on the form of 'working groups, contact groups, research groups' and institutions (IMSF 1981, 274).

The Dynamic Relationship of Political and Economic Systems

Relative autonomy theories and Stamocap theories cannot adequately explain the fact that Donald Trump is both a capitalist (among the richest Americans) and US president. There is a direct overlap between monopoly capital and the state in the form of one person, who is among

the most powerful capitalists and has become the world's most powerful politician. Trump is not a career politician, but a capitalist-turned-politician, who fuses economic and political interests into one person. Trump says in this context: 'I am the richest presidential candidate in history. I'm the only billionaire ever to run' (Trump 2015a, 148).

There is always a dialectic of the state and the economy in capitalism, but this relationship involves a specific power distribution that is dynamic and can shift historically. Neumann (1957, 12) argues in this context that politics and the economy are always dialectically interconnected: 'Economics is as much an instrument of politics as politics is a tool of economics.' The specific relation between the two realms depends on society's historical context (14). So for example in Nazi Germany, there was the primacy of the state over the economy. In the Keynesian state, there is an interaction of two poles of power. In the neoliberal state, there is a primacy of the economy over the state via structural mechanisms. In the Trump state, there may be a primacy of the economy over the state via a capitalist-turned-politician.

Transformations of Capitalism

Keynesian capitalism as a democratic form of state monopoly capitalism ruled in Western capitalist societies until the 1970s, and was then gradually supplanted by neoliberal capitalism that privatised state-owned industries and reduced the level of state intervention in specific parts of the economy. The rise of neoliberal capitalism stood in the context of the crisis of Fordism and the crisis of the Keynesian state. Two important changes that the emergence of neoliberal capitalism brought about were the privatisation of state-owned industries and the internationalisation of capitalism that brought about competition states. The role of finance capital and new technological capital increased. The role of classical industry in capitalism was reduced. The role of the capitalist state shifted in light of these transformations. States compete for deregulating the welfare state and social protection in order to attract capital. This does, however, not mean that state power has been weakened. It has merely been transformed and changed its role. Capital's structural and indirect influence as a collective political actor on the state has been strengthened. In neoliberal capitalism, state politics primarily focus on (a) the politics of privatisation, deregulation, market liberalisation, low tax

and free trade policies in order to enable commodification; and (b) the politics of militarisation and securitisation in order to exert international and national control that protects the overall political-economic system.

Yet another shift of the role of the state was indicated by the bailout of banks and corporations in the course of the capitalist crisis that started in 2008. Nation states strongly intervened in the economy by saving crisis-struck finance capital and capital in the car industry with taxpayers' money. Results of this interventionist move were hyper-neoliberal austerity politics that hit the poorest and weakest in society and further advanced inequalities.

There is certainly always an institutional separation of the capitalist state and the capitalist economy, which means that both systems have different organisations, logics, rules and structures. However, at times there can be a direct overlap of personnel so that capitalists become part of the ruling political elite, and Donald Trump as US president constitutes an important transition in this regard. With the rise of Donald Trump to becoming the USA's head of state, there is now a much more direct influence of the capitalist class on political power because there is an overlap of personnel in the form of the president, who is also a billionaire capitalist.

Monopoly-Finance Capitalism

John Bellamy Foster and Robert W. McChesney (2012) explain the rise of multinational corporations as part of capital's attempt to overcome long-term economic stagnation and to attain global monopoly profits. Multinationals aim to drive down the wage share globally and increase their profits by installing a system of global competition among workers. The consequence is a worldwide increase in the rate of exploitation that Foster and McChesney, drawing on Stephen Hymer's work, call a 'strategy of divide and rule' (Foster and McChesney 2012, 114–15, 119). Foster (2006, 11) argues that monopoly-finance capitalism is a 'new phase' of capitalist development. He explains its genesis:

At the brink of the twentieth century, capitalism underwent a major transformation, marked by the rise of the giant corporation. The early decades that followed were dominated by world wars and a depression associated with this great transformation. Following the Second

World War the new stage of capitalism was fully consolidated, particularly within the United States, the most advanced capitalist economy. The result was a situation in which a handful of giant corporations controlled most industries. (Foster 2006, 2)

Financialization can be defined as the shift in the center of gravity of the capitalist economy, from production to finance. [...] Growth of finance relative to the real economy also meant the appearance of financial bubbles that threatened to burst. [...] Economic power was shifting from corporate boardrooms to financial institutions and markets, affecting the entire capitalist world economy in complex ways, through a process of financial globalization. [...] The growing role of finance was evident not just in the expansion of financial corporations but also in the growth of the financial subsidiaries and activities of non-financial corporations, so that the distinction between the financial and non-financial corporations, while still significant, became increasingly blurred. Financialization in the 1980s and '90s was the main new force in the much longer-term globalization process, and was the defining element in the whole era of neoliberal economic policy. (Foster 2010, 5–6).

This ballooning of finance produced new outlets for surplus in the finance, insurance and real estate sector of gross domestic product (GDP) in the form of new investment in buildings, office equipment, etc. Nevertheless, the great bulk of the money capital devoted to finance was used for speculation in securities, real estate and commodities markets rather than for investment in capital goods, and thus did not feed into the growth of GDP, which continued to stagnate (Foster 2006, 4–5).

CONCLUSION

The Critical Theory of Authoritarianism

Frankfurt School scholars such as Erich Fromm, Theodor W. Adorno, Franz L. Neumann, Leo Löwenthal and Otto Kirchheimer stress that capitalism has inherently authoritarian tendencies that in situations of crisis can be activated when authoritarian populists gain voice, visibility and large support. They show that the authoritarian personality could

take on both the form of authoritarian leaders and authoritarian followers. If both coincide, then democracy can come under attack and the danger of authoritarian capitalism becomes very real. Authoritarianism has economic, political, ideological and psychological dimensions. It is a way of organising society and the economy and therefore can take on the form of authoritarian capitalism, a specific type of capitalism and social formation.

Authoritarianism can also take on the form of authoritarian political movements, leaders, groups or parties in the political system. Authoritarianism is also an ideology that propagates itself in order to manage societal contradictions through leadership, nationalism, law and order, militarism and violence. Often it takes on the ideological role of deflecting attention from the real causes of social problems and from class conflicts, by constructing and blaming scapegoats and presenting workers and capital as unified in a national community whose existence is under threat by dark forces. Finally, for authoritarianism to work, there must also be a psychological basis, a structure of feeling, experience and thought that makes individuals believe in authoritarianism. This psychological structure is also termed the authoritarian personality.

Authoritarian Capitalism

The state involves relationships between the political and the economic systems, relations to citizens, intra-state relations, inter-state relations, discourses by the state and discourses on the state. In the capitalist state, all levels are organised in ways that advance capitalist interests. The relationship between the state and capitalism is shaped by a specific distribution of power. In authoritarian capitalism, state power and the power of the political leader play a powerful role in society and the economy, and authoritarian state power is used for enforcing capitalist interests. Authoritarian capitalism is a type of capitalist society that embodies the four principles of right-wing authoritarianism: authoritarian leadership, nationalism, the friend/enemy scheme and patriarchy/militarism.

Given these theoretical foundations, in Chapters 4 and 5 we will analyse how US capitalism is changing under Donald Trump's rule.

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