

Russia - the British working Class.

i. (Russia, cause ~~is~~, sign, symbol)

In the world today Russia is the representative of Socialism [~~and its present embodiment~~]. This fact, as the ~~above~~ ^{preceding} articles have shown, is the

the true cause and the meaning of that hardening of the fronts which, since the "appeasement" of Munich, has become clear even to unwilling eyes. [It ^{But} is also the cause of the crisis

within the working class movement in the world, for now the ^{revolutionary} working class has something to preserve or defend ^{at almost any} ~~at all~~ costs.

The ideological struggle ^{in the present world} is not, any more than the class struggle ^{itself}, an invention of propagandists; nor is it something which can be avoided by disliking it. It is a fact. The post-Munich situation has served as a confirmation of the general socialist analysis of the ills of our society.

ii. (Emergency inevitable)

^{Society}
The working class, therefore, faces an

independent emergency which is quite
inevitable — either a war of world scale, or if
that is to be avoided, far-reaching internal
changes within the foreign states. These would
themselves be of a revolutionary nature, &
constitute a major emergency.

III.
The question for the ^{British} working class.

For the working class in Britain, therefore, the
problem of political action in view of the coming
crisis must focus on one overriding question:
how, in such a situation, can the class
~~prepare itself~~ be built up, now, & fitted, now,
for the part it must play in an emergency
which still lies in the future, ^{or} ~~of~~ ^{which} Spain
today, & Central Europe since Munich, are
still but the signs & symbols?

IV.
Immediate influence on fr. policy, no answer.

To affect foreign policy ^{today} in a socialist direction
is of great importance. But to concentrate
primarily on making the working class
effective immediately in this sphere, even though

The foreign policy of these countries which are
 mainly concerned in the crisis brought about
 by the establishment of socialism in the USSR may be
 no answer to the question facing ~~the~~ the
 British working class. Such an immediate
 aim, even though accepted for Soviet Russia's
 sake, may be achieved at the cost of a
 too great sacrifice of ~~the~~ militant socialist working
 class consciousness in the country. ^{without any compensating advantage to Russia} A Marxian
 analysis leads to the conclusion that ~~the~~
 ultimately, Soviet Russia, or Socialism, for the
 sake of which, it must be saved, cannot
 in fact be saved at all at the cost of
 such a sacrifice. A policy which would
 strengthen socialist working class consciousness
 exists, ^{can} ~~must~~ be found, ^{known to} a rebirth, in
 this country, of ~~some~~ militant socialist
 feeling among the workers. If the
 constitution of the western working class, in the

4.

Naziist end, is sacrificed even holier
because Russian foreign policy needs a demand
it, here in the end Soviet Russia itself, & the
socialism for which it stands, will suffer a
terrible weakening. The western working class
can only fulfil its task if it refuses any
path leading to a weakening of socialist
consciousness.

focus of part. ^{society} The long history, a hundred
years more, of the struggle of the workers of
Britain to safeguard themselves against the
devastations of the industrial revolution, and
to establish a secure position within the given
system, gives them, justly, much cause
for pride. It seems a confirmation of the

meliorist programmes of Gradualism. ^{he} ~~fact~~ ^{of that shi reflects safeguard}
 many ways his struggle is a continuation ^{of the}
^{which makes up} the story of the fight for liberty ^{which is} as
 the basic ^{factor} ~~conception~~ ^{is} of English democracy.

~~But he would~~ ~~and~~ The fact that a
 healthy & expanding economy, ^{expanding with} ~~finally~~ a
 world-wide empire, has always been able
 by concessions to the British workers (at
 the cost of the empire proletariat) to
 maintain ~~the~~ the general standard of life
 in this country, & to avoid at critical
 times the collapse which in ^{a less} ~~less~~ wealthy
 communities ^{would inevitably} ~~must~~ have come, has
 only further served to tie the British
 workers to these middle class ^{values} ~~standards~~
 and values ^{from} which, ~~today~~, if they are
 to become ~~an~~ effective socialists in the
 leadership of the socialist transformation they
 must emancipate themselves. ^{today} ~~the last~~

recent
Social factors in European history.

In the case of France the social and the national factor were mutually ~~opposit~~ contradictory. They paralyzed one another. This was the ~~essence of the~~ ~~hiss~~ in 1940.

background of the Fall of France. ~~Some~~ thing vaguely similar was the case in all democratic countries, some of which succumbed, Britain being almost ~~them~~ exception. But cannot social and national factors also reinforce one another? Certainly they did in the France of the French Revolution, when the middle class revolution carried ~~France's~~ power all over Europe from Madrid to Moscow.

Or ~~it had been not many differences~~ when, under the Commonwealth, England and swept the Low Countries off the seas. ~~she had been~~ emerged as a great ~~power~~ wealthy power. Cromwell had established her a very much ~~stronger~~ wealthy power than under Elisabeth or Charles I with the help of the Puritan subsidies of the wealthy merchants of the City of London and ^{of} the rising gentry of East Anglia. Protestantism was making England a world power. and the middle classes

Similarly Soviet Russia, in our time, is showing the tremendous strength of a social and a national cause mutually reinforcing another. ~~There is~~ ^{social} is a great ^{is} revolution on while at the same time Russia is ^{nationally} regaining her frontiers which she lost to the German imperialist in the First World War at the time of their extreme weakness. And what was the cause of that extreme weakness? Precisely the unresolved antagonism of classes which finally burst forth in the Great Russian Revolution. Turkey and China and Mexico are other examples.

In Germany and Italy it was not ~~but~~ ^{2 Japan} revolution from the Left, but from the Right which combined with national forces to make ^{inherent} history. Both ~~are~~ ^{inherent} tendencies of our industrial civilization. This is another case of hitch-hiking between nations and social movements -- one making use of the other to further its own ascendancy.

That is the explanation of ~~much~~ ^{are trying to} of recent history. Germany, Italy and Japan (even more recently the Argentine) making use of Fascism to gain their national ends.

Outlines of policy on Jewish & questions arising during the emergency period in Central and Middle Eastern Europe.

Subjects for discussion:

1. Reintegration of the Jews & in the community

a. ~~economically~~ ^① finance and ^② business ^①

Measures of rehabilitation of the Jews still living in the country .

No absentee ownership and no preferential treatment of Jews in respect to reinstatement in property ~~as~~ compared with non-Jews.

b. ~~juridically~~ legal status

restoration of ~~the~~ the equality of legal status of Jews ^{da.} institutional ~~and~~ measures against anti-Jewish propaganda

c. ~~religiously~~ religious

restoration of ~~the~~ the Jewish religious community in its rights and property .

2. Jewish contribution to the fight against anti-Semitism

Recognition of the existence of a Jewish problem and of the necessity for all those who were the victims of Hitlerism to take up a definite attitude towards that problem .

Jews should decide for themselves whether they wish to regard themselves as Jews primarily on religious grounds (orthodoxy) or on political grounds (Zionists); those belonging to neither of these groups should declare whether they believe in a separate Jewish contribution to the community of which they are members , or in ^{their} ~~the~~ assimilation to that community. as the ultimate solution of the Jewish problem. (assimilants) Obviously a number of nominal Christians will belong to ~~the latter groups.~~ the latter groups.

4383
Oct 66
Vandenberg
Langer Park Road

430
Jew

Xty and Economic life.

On the German situation .

1/ Why did Fascism come in Germany?

Democracy leading to working class influence .
Capitalism/ unworkable , but unless workers proceed to set up their
rendered own system , this influence must go.

2/ Therefore Capitalist bound to follow the Fascist line . They cannot
have it bothways: Socialism can be prevented from going only
by a complete change in the basis of society. without affect
ing the economic system. Indeed it is an effort to reform capitali
ism in order to save it. This reform only possible under Capital
ist leadership.

3/ War the solution to the economic problems of capitalism.

4/ German economic policy : Credits,
Gold reserves
Active trade balance.

4/ Rearmament means impoverishment. From a definite point onward
it means a weakening of the army .

5/ War inevitable, but its date not wholly in the hand of the leaders.
Raw materials substitutes and their economics.

5/ War against Russia inevitable. Hitler's class war line.
The other states lack ~~confidence~~ confidence in Germany.

6/ Russia has changed her line completely. Imperialist antagonism
overriding class line. But that does not mean that the class
line can be disregarded. a/ Hitlers cards still in the game
b/ At a later stage class fronts
may develop.
c/ Inside the different states new
alignments necessary.

7/ Democracy and Socialism . The importance of preparing the minds
for the great crisis.

Christianity and the modern forms of State.

1/ Many people would doubt whether Xty had anything to do with forms of State.

2/ The Jewish inheritance makes that clear. *The way*
Jewry : related to society ; In every minute detail.

3/ Jesus did not doubt this: it was self evident to him .
But his vision of human society unique. Personal relationships of human individuals. SOCIETY CONSISTING OF INDIVIDUALS.

4/ Two correlated terms : individual and mankind.

CHRISTIAN individualism.
unmediated,

5/ a/ personal, ~~immediate~~ direct, a personal response to a personal demand.

b/ universal, encompassing the whole of mankind.

6/ Communion of persons. The Good Samaritan."

a/ material sharing (Jewish)

b/ permanent, continuous.

THIS MAKES COMMUNION outside society impossible.

Law of Love
7/ Christianity as a force works either
a/ making ~~more~~ brotherhood more intensive;
b/ or making community more universal.

8/ What about the Crusades? The Puritans? The Calvinist?

The Roman Church? The Pilgrim Fathers?

The greatest realms established by Christians, orthodox or heretic.

9/ The present works crisis ; *MODERN FORMS OF STATE* while 500 Million people have changed their social form COMPLETELY.

The relationship between politics and economics has changed in one way or another.

*France Italy
Spain*

130 }
170 } 300
100 }
60 }
20 } 500

*Ireland, Austria
Czechoslovakia*

2. (Xty and the modern forms of State)
cont.

10./ The two main forms of change-
Democracy extended or capitalism made to
rule. becomes the whole of society.

Italy } 1.
Germany }
Russia } 2.
New Deal } 3.

11/ In ~~order~~ to deny democracy, Fascism must
radically anti-individualist. (in the Xtian
sense)

this is the reason why the idea of mankind (humanity)
must be renounced.

12/ The anti-Xtian tendency of Fascism essential.

" The anti-Xtian tendency of Socialism unessential.

13/ World outlook: Whether democratic States will
cooperate with socialist states. or
whether democracy goes Fascist.

14/ The end will have come. But dont let us
say that Xtianity ~~was~~ wrong failed.

, mmmmmmm

mmmmmmmm,

I

Secular civilisation .

Last night from the point of view of the Churches.

The present world situation from the point of view of Christianity.

The Churches are the sum total of the empirical individuals .
who form organised religion. They are fallible , they are part
of ~~the present~~ their times, they are under the judgment .

They represent a diversity of creeds , and of orders. The
unity ~~is~~ is one of faith , and that faith is faith in Christianity .
FAITH IN THAT FORCE

It is that force which entered the history of mankind in the
life, teachings and death of Jesus ; which was revealed to us in this
this way and has transformed the life of mankind to an inconceivable
degree. *written condition - it means* | *value of which*

What we have heard last night is the judgment on the Church
What we want to talk about today, is the judgment of God about
this world.

1. There is a world crisis .
2. What is the essence of this crisis from the point of view of
3. What is the task of the Xtian in it? Xty?

PART I.

There is a world crisis.

- a. The break down of the international system of currency, credit and capital investment. WAR .
- b. The complete transformation of the political and economic system of almost all countries (economic-political units).
- c. This starting in the twenties , not simply post War .
Vast , swift change happening everywhere.
 - aa. Sudden , effortless,
 - bb. Unexpected direction (USSR , Fascism
 - cc. The change is in the world , not in us.
How are we ~~going~~ going to face it
 - dd. apocalyptic , cataclysmic.

PART II.

What is the nature of this crisis from the Xtian point of view?

~~There is one thing which is certain, it is this that the~~
crisis concerns

- a. economic system (Capitalism)
- b. political system (Democracy) ;

*in some countries he was poor,
in some countries he was rich.
What is the root of the trouble?*

Conflicting philosophies in Europe.

The world over under this title one would expect to hear discussed Challenge of Fascism & Communism, to Democracy.

Taking a Continental point of view. Touch of reality about it.

First, preliminary

Defining our terms:

Fascism the political philosophy ruling in Italy, Austria, Germany to-day.

Communism the philosophy of the ruling people in Russia.

the rest of Europe insofar as it is not addicted to one or the other of the ~~mentioned~~ se creeds.

a/ Poland, Yugoslavia, Greece, Portugal, Lithuania etc

b/ France, Belgium, Holland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia are democratic countries.

BESIDES THE FASCIST COUNTRIES CONTAIN AN IMPORTANT DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION (and vice versa).

Democracy.

? English democracy is peculiar in its development. Military ~~NNNN~~ safety and economic security have allowed it to centre on liberty as its basic ideal, more than any other democracy. *Developed under abnormal conditions*

a/ freedom of the individual or group from state interference (limitation of the powers of governments);

b/ a method of cooperating in deliberation so as to secure for every relevant trend of opinion a chance of articulation in order to make sure that the true issues be discovered, that no decisions be taken unless necessary and that the decisions should not go beyond what is needed. (Not the method of decision but the method of deliberation is the great characteristic of English democracy).

c/ safeguards to minorities (non-conforming) minorities whether regionally, locally, or otherwise non-conforming.

Continental democracy is based on the idea of equality.

Freedom of individuals or groups from the domination of other individuals or groups. The state is thus ~~the~~ a safeguard of freedom. It safeguards the equal rights and opportunities of the citizens.

The state representing the will of all citizens to equality should be all powerful.

Restricting the powers of the state in favor of the liberty of private citizens is undemocratic.

to
The power of the state is limited ~~by~~ its capacity of taking decisions. Methods of deliberation which would make it impossible for the state to take a decision would be regarded as undemocratic. Majority rule is important as a method of decision

Accordingly, England hardly knows the two basic continental institutions of democracy: universal suffrage and educational equality. (The one, new in England, the other ~~nonexistent~~ nonexistent in the continental sense). Obligatory elementary schooling in public schools, i.e. state schools.

Political philosophy and social philosophy.

Democracy is a political philosophy in the narrower sense of the term. Ultimately it refers only to the political sphere: the state and the citizen. Especially in England it does include more than that (Church, trade unions, etc), ~~but~~ still, it does not include the economic system of the country. Automatic, unconscious process!!
The challenging philosophies include the whole of society, including the economic system. They are broader.

Nations becoming more closely integrated

How does this challenge arise? A world wide development. Many different causes, perhaps interconnected units. the break down of international organisation of economic life (currency, capital trade) gold.

the increasing rigidity of the national economic systems.

The consequence: the relationship of the economic and the political system changing all over the world swiftly. New Deal Russia, Japan, Germany, Italy, Austria and even England, in its silent and unspectacular way pretending all the time that nothing had ~~been~~ happened!.....

*English cause: a
liberal economy
an abstract
more complex
industrial system
self-protection
state*

The two main solutions.

The one is the continuation of Western European development: Democracy extended to economic life: this is commonly called socialism.

To arrest this tendency and to integrate society on the basis of the property system as it is. In that case democratic institutions must disappear. The corresponding philosophy is the Fascist. Reasons: On account of the dangers and costs of such a transformation. Communism?

Russian experiment

The second definition

The alternatives are : democratic society involving a socialist economic system. Possibility of international cooper.
Intern. anarchy. fascist society including a reformed capitalist system. i.e. the corporative state.

Philosophy of Fascism. in industry. Planning

A basic attack ~~on~~ ~~MEMORANDUM~~ equalitarian democracy:
an attack on the ideas of equality. ~~and~~ i.e. individualism and
universalism.

The two philosophies contending everywhere .

The rational organization of industry under capitalism is a Fascist move.

The extension of Democracy to make it more effective and efficient is a socialist move..

Both happening ~~in~~, to some degree: It depends which of the two is predominant, which overweighs the other.