(NS) No. MX.

KARL MARX'S

INTRODUCTORY NOTES TO " POLITICAL ECONOMY AND PHILOSOPHY".

The term Political Economy (whichis the English for Nationalökonomie) meant very different things at different times. When this MS was written its accepted connotation was fairly close to its present meaning of a scien dealing with political phenomena. But since the middle of the 18th century it successively designated ~~what we would nnnnnnnnn describe today as~~ (1) social philosophy ; (2) the actual orgainsation of the finances of acountry together with all government ativities designed to impo improve thematerial welfare of the community; (3) a science concerning the wealth of nations .

Marx's own definition of political economy is, of course, the main subject of this essay,and cannot be summarised beforehand. As a first approximation , it meant to him the science of economics in the light of the claim raised by some of its classical representatives that the new science comprised the laws of human society itself. Indeed, Marx was the first thinker to realise that the philosophy oflife underlying a capitali society was the outcome of its ~~political~~ economy. In this connection the term political economy clearly covered not only the science of a bourgeois ecnomic orgainsation, but also the actual orgainsationitself. For the philosophy of life of a nnnnnnnn society ~~obviously~~ cannot be the outcome merely of a scinece , however important it be; it must be the result of the facts ~~in~~ with which this science deals. Accordingly, political economy means both the science of, and the actual fact of, a historically market-economy. Such an economy could never have come into existence without the tenets and principles of ~~nnnnnnnnnnnnnnnn~~ the science; the science , on the other hand , would have been meaningless without its basis in actual fact.

Now, the characteristic feature of a market-economy is this: The division of labour in society is established through the exchange of goods in the market. ~~This is the essential feature of political economy as an orgainsation of economic life.~~ Such an orgainsation implies the use of money; human wants and needs ; prices; ~~demand and supply;~~ and, last not least, the institution of private property .

~~Plan of the Essay.~~

The plan of the essay is simple. Marx attempts to define the philosophic implications ~~content~~ of the main terms of political economy such as (a) private property; (b) ~~human~~ wants and needs; (c) saving and spending; (d) effecti demand; (e) capital and labour; (f) capital and land~~lord~~.

His starting ~~point is~~ the determination of the human activity embodie in private property. This activity is labour. The whole of political economy being centred on the institution of private property , human effort or labour ~~activity~~ must enter ~~in some manner or other~~ into all its terms and and propositions. It follows, that the nnnnn philosophic ~~content~~ implications of political economy can be deduced from its main propositions by simply inquiring into their human significance. And it is precisely this that Marx ~~proposes~~ proceeds to do.

Marx begins with a presentation of the history of political economy in modern times and shows in what manner the consciousness of the presence of a human element in wealth arises. The mercantile system is still lacking in this consciousness, but the French phyiocrats already more than suspect the role of labour in producing wealth. Their emphasis on agriculture as contrasted to the mercantilist fetish of gold ~~and silver~~ proves this. But only in the industrial system of Adam Smith is human effort represented as the essence of private property, and private property itself as the essence of all human industry.

At this point the fundamental paradox of bourgeois society is revealed. For, the more clearly human labour is recognised as the essenc of private property, the more self-contradictory must appear the inhumanity of the conditions of a society based on private property. It is this contradiction which reaches its height in the existence of capital and labour. Although capital is labour, the capitalist can hardly live at all. live without labouring, while the labourer ~~is deprit of the means of existence~~. The resolution of this conflict in communism represents the next step that mankind must take in order to restore its humanity. For man is a gemeric being. ~~Isolated man is an abstraction~~. He fulfills himself in society; only in his social activities is he fully man. That is why in a society based on private property man is in a stat of self-estrangement. Neither his wants and needs nor their possible fulfilment is truly human. His senses are not human - they would become so only if their objects were related to him in a human fashion. But this, as everything else relating to the human world, depends on the conditions in which man carries on the job of producing his material existence. And these conditions are, to-day, in contradiction to his humanity.

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Political Economy and Philosophy.

I don't think Engels that this is much use.

From themercantile system through Physiocracy to classical economics- these are the three stages of the development of political economy . Each of them mirrors a definite place of development of societyitself . In Classical economics this movment is completed-, for the principle of labour appears here as the embodied in private property , andprivate property appears as the personifiaciation of all human industry.
An analysis ofthe concepts of classical economics must reveal therefore the secrets of our society.

Expand

This whole movment ~~however~~ must be conceived as being restricted to the sphere of human self-alienation. Inprivate property human labour is ~~both~~ emobodied ~~and~~ but alienated from itself. ~~As the result ofhuman activity it is human only at the price of being estranged from man.~~ For man does not labour as an isolated individual- he is man only as a member of the human species. This is the ultimate reason of the element of self-estrangment/ inprivate property.

It is in the nature of all human activity, the ground, the source of human life, and the price of being estranged from man.

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Introductory Notes to Karl Marx: "Political Economy & Philosophy."

The term political economy (which is the English for Nationalökonomie) meant very different things at different times. Since the middle of the 18th century, when it became current, it successively signified (a) a ~~[illegible]~~ philosophy; (b) the actual organisation of the finances of a country; (c) a science concerning wealth.

Marx own interpretation of political economy is therefore the main subject of this essay, and cannot be summarised beforehand. ~~In a first approx~~ Prima facie ~~he understood that~~ the science of economics in the light of the claim of its classical representatives that the new ~~science comprised~~ ~~chain discovered~~ the laws of human society ~~itself~~. Indeed Marx was the first ~~thinker~~ to realise that the philosophy of life underlying a capitalist society was, in a unique fashion, the outcome of its economy. But in this ~~correct~~ context ~~however~~ the term economy, ~~clearly, correct~~ not ~~comprised~~ clearly ~~not the science of a bourgeois economic organisation alone, however important and a science may otherwise be~~; it must also be the result of the facts ~~the science~~ to which that science refers. Accordingly, if political economy meant to Marx both the science and the actual fact of an exchange or market economy. Indeed, such an economy could never have historically come into existence without the ~~fanatically precise~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~permanently held~~ tenets of such a science; while on the other hand the science would have been meaningless ~~without apart from~~ its basis in actual fact. The two ~~belong together~~ are inseparable.

~~What is the philosophic significance & content of political economy, that is Marx's question.~~

~~[illegible] not only the science which deals with the [illegible] organisation of economic life but also the organisation itself. For philosophy, as conceived by Marx, the economy is the science of the economic life cannot be the economy.~~

2/

[At this point we must keep in mind that essence of an exchange or market-economy is this:- the division of labour in the market ~~is established~~ through the exchange of goods produced in the market. Such an organization implies various things ~~such as~~ (a) the recognition of needs & wants (b) the use of money; (c) prices; (d) and (not least) the institution of private property. A money-price market economy and the science of it - this ~~is the first approx~~ therefore ~~for all practical purposes the~~ is the first ~~approximation~~ of political economy in this sense. (is the meaning primary)

~~What is the philosophic significance and content of this political economy? - that is Marx's question.~~

The plan of the essay is simple. Marx ~~sets himself the task of~~ sets out to define the philosophical implications of the main terms of political economy, such as (a) private property; (b) wants & needs; (c) saving & spending; (d) capital & labour; (e) landlordism.

His starting point - and this is significant - is in strict concordance with traditional political economy ~~itself~~. Even since John Locke & ~~Adam Smith~~ David Ricardo value has derived from labour and private property has regarded as the result of human labour, ~~activity~~ human effort, human activity.

The whole of political economy being centred in the institution of private property, human effort or labour must enter into its terms and propositions. In order to discover their philosophic implications it is sufficient therefore to inquire into their ~~human~~ significance in terms of human activity.

European Minority Issues, solved and unsolved.

Minority issues in Europe not racial problems in the proper sense of the term. - Differences not biological, but merely of language, religion, cultural tendencies, or historical background between groups of same racial origin, often of same educational level. - Jewish question though technically a minority issue (e.g. Poland, Russia), essentially a genuine racial problem. - Apart from the Jews only Magyars and Turks of non-Aryan origin; yet not regarded as alien races proper.

I) Racial antagonisms vary in intensity;

a) Mere revival of old cultures and languages, (Cornish, Welsh, Breton);
b) Claim to educational and administrative equality; so called "Minority Rights" (Magyar minorities in the Succession States; Germans in Poland, and Poles in Germany; etc.,)
c) Demand for cultural and political autonomy on a regional basis (Croats and Slovenes in Jugoslavia; Catalans in Spain; Alsatian Autonomists in France; Scots Nationalism, etc.,)
d) Demand for regional autonomy conceals separatist aims (Bulgarian Macedonians in Jugoslavia);

II) Solutions vary in completeness and adequacy;

a) Federal Solution satisfying all reasonable claims without endangering unity of commonwealth (Switzerland, Russia);
b) Bilingualism, often accompanying a) or supplementing c);
c) Regional preferences for one or the other language on a bilingual basis (Belgium, Alsace);
d) Cultural autonomy (Croatia and Slovenia before the forced unification of the Jugoslav state in 1929; Catalan autonomy;

III) Special aspects;

a) Jig-saw puzzle area (e.g. Banat in Jugoslavia);
b) Enclaves (Szeklers in Transylvania);
c) Minority a political, not a numerical term?

IV) International guarantees for Minority Rights:

a) In the Peace Treaties;

b) In Special Treaties.
c) Some Powers not bound by either.

The method of Liberalism and Tolerance effective only in absence of any danger of political disruption. - The claim to treaty revision sometimes a hindrance to a solution of minority issues.

Short outline on

National, Economic and Social crisis in our time

The nature of the conflict which threatens to lead to war:

1.) National wars: nation states 1618–1648

2.) Religious wars: crusades, islam, 30 y war, intermingling of national & religious

3.) Social wars: 1. War of independence: 1776–83
2. civil war 1861–65

analogy: with ~~Co~~ religious war in our time.

I. National wars: Versailles treaty system:

(1. Postwar period) (1919 – 1933)

Defeated and victorious countries

I) taking away: territory, arms;

II) ~~Safeguarding~~ the new status quo.

U.S.A. & England refused.

a) alignment of b) L. of N. inner contradictions. Art. 16 etc.

Disarmament.

Anderson's tiny

II.

(2. Postwar period.) (1933 –)

No system in existence. ~~two~~

Power policy or new worldwide inevitable.

II. Social wars

Fascism & Democracy

a) Autarky: Intern. trade (above) Have share-outs.

b) How to organise at home:

Germany basic in WW. Rome

III. Great Powers grouped according France, England

Trade Unions in Central Europe - after the Catastrophe.

Trade Union movement in Central Europe linked up with Labour Parties. - These disappear in Italy, Germany. Austria, several less important countries. - In the Authoritarian or Fascist States no room for parties. Party-monopoly; opposition parties illegal. - Genuine Trade Unions impossible in Totalitarian State.

1). In Corporative State (Italian type) Trade Unions transformed into compulsory associations of employees. - Co-ordinated with Employers' Unions; Constitute together Industrial Corporation.

2). In National Socialist State (German type) at first attempt made to set up all-inclusive Trade Unions of the Italian type (i.e. compulsory); this plan discarded later. Hitler discontinues the establishment of a "Corporative State". At present Trade Unions forbidden; "Works Committee" set up; expected to co-operate with employer as "Leader".

3). In the Catholic Authoritarian State founded on a Corporative Basis (Austrian type)only the official Trade Union allowed, but membership not compulsory; Employers' Unions expected to co-operate with official Trade Unions; the two, however, not bound together into an Industrial Corporation.

Transformation of Trade Unionism still in progress in Central Europe. - The fate of the Fascist State dependent upon the solution of the Trade Union problem.

The Balance Sheet of Treaty Revision.

Can the Treaties be revised without creating more injustice than they inflict in present form? - The Peace Treaties a substantial improvement on the Europe of 1914. - Breaking-up of the Hapsburg Empire; passing of the absolutist monarchies; proclamation of League principles; etc. - The main post-War controversies not revision issues in the proper sense of the term: 1) Reparations; 2) Minorities; 3) Austro-German Customs Union; 4) Disarmament. - These nonrevision issues more difficult to solve, however, on account of demand for revision of territorial clauses lurking in the background. - Revision issues are practically all territorial issues.

a) Alsace-Lorraine - no live issue any more.
b) The Saar - A Critical Plebiscite; but not a Revision issue.
c) The Polish Corridor - is it German today? Have we heard the last of it?
d) Danzig - an absurd consequence of the Corridor. Ruined as a port. The Hinterland problem and Gdinia.
e) Upper Silesia - its partition a mistake but irremediable.
f) Eastern Prussia withering away. But reactionary Prussian landowners refuse to recondition its agricultural population (settling peasants on the land.
g) Memel - its present status a compensation to Lithuania for the seizure of her capital Vilna by the poles.
h) Hungary deprived of a substantial strip of territory by unjust delimitation of her new frontiers.
i) Austria loses the Southern Tryol which is annexed by Italy "on strategic grounds". Italy alone not bound by Minority Treaties.

Only two central revision issues: Hungary and the Polish Corridor. - Is Hitler now resigning himself to the Corridor, and trying to win Poland as an ally in Eastern conquests?

If so, the rectification of Hungarian frontiers alone a live issue. - The Balance of Treaty Revision becoming less and less favourable.

ON THE BRINK OF A NEW ERA OF RELIGIOUS WARS.

Hitler's discovery. Preparing for a new Thirty Years' War. Fascism versus Democracy. Soviet Communism a side-issue. Atheist and religious individualism. "If there is no God, I am God". Pagan Super-man and "Christian Sub-man". German Christians and non-Christian Germans. The Jewish origins of Christianity and the Christian background of the early Marx. Tolstoi and the Russian Reformation. Bakunin and political Protestantism in Spain. The true dividing line.

GREAT BRITAIN'S WEAKNESS —TEMPORARY OR PERMANENT?

Losing grip in the Mediterranean. Planes and ships in narrow seas seas. Great Britain's weakness - military or political? Feeling cramped on a shrinking globe. The storm centers of the Amur and the Rhine sort-circuited by Soviet Russia. England's dilemma, Italy's chance. Rediscovering the Covenant. Who spilt the oil? Laval's blunder. Spain, an other Ethiopia. The Russian bogus revived. Mussolini gets wway with it. Tories who failed to to be imperialist. Labourites who failed to be anti-imperialist. Germany leading in the national and the social front. France and Russia drawn together. The Comintern in the melting-pot. German-Japanese agreement making for Anglo-French cooperation. The Far East still holds the key.

IS NEUTRALITY A SAFEGUARD AGAINST WAR?

It's heads or tails on which side the USA come down in a war. The blessed word neutrality. Fighting it out in my back-garden. The paradox of impartiality. "When I am behaving in the same fashion towards both belligerants, I am actually helping the one to crush the other. If I want to avoid this I must discriminate between them..." Neutrality, a status under international law. Protecting my neutrality by force. The elusive term contraband. The sheriff's posse. Either world rule of law or unconditional neutrality. The common sense thing.- neutrality as a policy. Spreading the economic burden of the neutrality over the nation. The danger of taking no risks.

THE ENGLISH WONDERLAND, THROUGH A CONTINENTAL LOOKING-GLASS.

Understating one's climate. "Afine day". Benefits of impeded light. Excrescence of Spartan ideals. A draughty island nursery. The consumer put in his place. The incomparable luxury of security. The producer's paradise. The personal touch. The smaller the better. The village of London. A lower middle class world. Pretending to live in the country. Pretending to live. Pretending. Posters and puns. The beauty of living things: dogs, babies, boat-crews, trees, parliaments, and empires. Developir traditions over-night. Training for indecision. A pageantry of muddle. The speech-bar. The ruling Scots. Their Welsh rivals. The English, a retired nation. But they know more about statesmanship than anybody else.

EDUCATION AND SOCIETY - IN CENTRAL EUROPE, ENGLAND AND THE U.S.A.

Feudal aristocracy in old Dual Monarchy comparatively harmless. No younger sons. The Hapsburgs distrustful of Magyar and German Lords. Racial minorities preferred. Bishops, generals, higher civil servants predominantly peasants' sons. Rich and poor obliged to send their children to the public elementary school. School Law of the Realm (1867). No private secondary schools. Education practically free for the underprivileged including highest type of universities. One speech, one people. Segregation of social classes in England. Scholarships emphasising the social gulf. The human substance of the working-classes damaged. A socially degrading form of aphasia. Upper class realism, lower class idealism. The USA founded as a sociatyy, not a state. Classless education. One speech, one manners, one outlook. America and Russia in the lead.

THE THEORY OF FASCISM: THE DEADLOCK OF POLITICS AND ECONOMICS.

The nature of the present world crisis. Representative democracy and unlimited competition. Capitalism, a successful experiment of limited application. An autonomous economic system a danger to society. Factory legislation, social insurance, municipal socialism, income tax and death duties are society's self-defence.