

TROTZKYISM.

EARLIER WORKS OF MARI.

Summary of discussions and a Draft Statement
by a Christian Left Group,
December 4th and 5th 1937 and May, 1938.

BULLETIN: I.

Although a miracle may transform our fate
Fools alone pray for one: those with clear eyes
Have but one prayer: To suffer without hate,
To endure to the end, by agony made wise.
This in our day is to be truly great:
To know what will befall and yet be brave,
To realise man sought the truth too late,
Accept the taunt: "Himself he cannot save".
Our causes sicken: hope is an insane
Indulgence, shadowed by a certain doom;
For many death-certificates will lie.
Civilization's light begins to wane.
Come Night, come Death: but yet although we die,
The kingdom is prepared, and it must come.

THE TROTSKYITE PROBLEM.

1. THE CRISIS IN THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT.

This crisis, of which Trotskyism is an expression, is due to the fact that we have a partial achievement of Socialism in the world through the successful establishment of socialism in the U.S.S.R. - not yet a socialist society, but a socialist economic order.

This fact brings the socialist working class movement up against a new situation. It is faced with the necessity of conserving the socialist achievement in part of the world while remaining revolutionary in the rest of the world. The ordinary Marxian outlook contains no solution to this problem.

a. The Trotskyite answer to the dilemma is the denial of the socialist character of the achievement in the U.S.S.R. and the consequent readiness to sacrifice that which has been achieved to the abstraction of a socialist utopia.

b. The usual Communist answer is the denial of the existence of such a crisis as the result of the socialist achievement in the U.S.S.R. Yet the Russian working class is forced by the Fascist pressure - itself a result of the achievement of socialism in that country - to put the exigencies of the military safety of the U.S.S.R. before the support of the revolutionary working-class movements in other countries.

The right approach must start from the recognition that the establishment of socialism in the U.S.S.R., while only partial is a real achievement and must be defended and conserved at almost any cost by the working-class movement of the West, yet without the sacrifice of their socialist class consciousness in the process.

Hence the Popular Front issue can be reduced to this: anti-Fascism is not a sufficient slogan. If the defence of socialism in the U.S.S.R. is left unmentioned in the propaganda for the Popular Front the socialist class-consciousness of the workers will be dimmed.

In Fascist countries like Germany and Austria the Popular Front is the right policy, because anti-Fascism in such conditions is necessarily a revolutionary attitude. In Spain, for instance, anti-Fascism implies active participation in the civil war. In capitalist democracies these conditions do not obtain. In these countries the propaganda for the Popular Front must put foreign policy and the defence of the U.S.S.R. in the forefront.

2. THE SITUATION IN THE FACE OF AN ADVANCING FASCISM.

Although the defence of the Soviet Union calls for an anti-Fascist concentration in all countries, it remains open to doubt whether the Popular Front is the most effective way of achieving this end.

The affirmative answer is mainly based on an interpretation of the German experiences which implies that National Socialism won through by virtue of numbers.

Such an interpretation of German events is, however, superficial. The strength of Fascism in a country cannot be gauged according to numerical standards. A country can go Fascist although the Fascists are few. Experience shows that lack of determination on the part of the working-class to oppose the progress of Fascism has at least as much to do with its success as the numbers of its adherents. Fascism is the only alternative to Socialism in a definite situation which is typical of the capitalist development in our period. This situation is that of a deadlock between democratic institutions and the capitalist system, a deadlock which may actually threaten to paralyse the working both of the political and the economic system of a country. Unless the working-class is prepared and able to put a socialist economic order in the place of the capitalist, the Fascist "solution" is inevitable. The only chance of the working class movement to oppose Fascism successfully lies therefore in its readiness to stand for a full solution of the deadlock through the establishment of Socialism.

The so-called Fascist solution is brought about under the leadership of a capitalist oligarchy. Nationally, it consists of the destruction of the political and industrial influence of the working class while retaining capitalist economics in a non-liberal form, so as to make it more resistant against the attacks of the proletariat; internationally, in the Empire that is, the solution of the problem of international economic organisation by the means of conquest.

The socialist solution of the deadlock lies nationally, in the extension of democracy to the whole of society, involving a transformation of the property system, i.e. the end of the private ownership of the means of production and the establishment of their communal ownership; internationally, in the institutional co-operation of socialist countries.

In the clash of Fascist and Socialist forces clarity and purpose count for more than numbers. The latter are, indeed, ultimately dependent upon the former. When and where therefore the Popular Front is established at the price of this clarity and purpose, it tends to increase and not to diminish the chances of a Fascist victory.

TROTSKY'S POSITION (Submitted by K. P.)

Neither Trotsky nor his opponents provide us with a full statement of the facts of the Trotskyite crisis. Trotsky's method implies secrecy of his actual plans and even of his programme; mainly on account of this, his opponents refuse to accept Trotskyism as a tendency in the working class movement. The communists disdain to conceal their ideals and aims - says the Communist Manifesto.

Trotsky claims to base his policy on the world revolution which he expects as the result of world war. The activities of the P.O.U.M. in Spain; the sabotage of economic construction in the U.S.S.R.; the bargaining with Fascist powers - Germany and Japan - for the partition of the U.S.S.R. and for the accomplishment of a "retreat" from the advanced socialist position in it are parts of this policy. In this Trotsky is not inconsistent; indeed his theory of the "permanent revolution" almost constrains him to follow such a line under the given circumstances. But this theory itself has been proved false for it implied the dogmatic assumptions: a) that socialism could not be established in the U.S.S.R.; b) that in capitalist countries today war or civil war must result in the victory of the socialist revolution. The first supposition was refuted by the success of the Five Year Plans including collectivisation; the second by the success of Fascism in a number of leading countries.

By ignoring these two facts Trotsky can uphold his theory of the permanent revolution and deny 1) that the working class has built in the U.S.S.R. something worth defending; 2) that Fascism is a new development which the working class movement has to face.

The theory of the permanent revolution implied "that backward Russia would begin the socialist revolution and be saved from the consequences of its own backwardness by the Socialist revolution in Europe". Trotsky had rightly foreseen since 1905 that no purely middle-class revolution was possible in Russia and that a revolution in Russia would necessarily be socialist. But he was mistaken both in the assumption 1) that Russia could not overcome her backwardness and 2) that the Russian Revolution would be followed by a successful socialist revolution in the West of Europe. He was refuted by the facts. But these two great mistakes led to a series of misconceptions, every one of which would have been fatal if acted upon, e.g., that the Russian peasantry should be exploited in favour of the industrial proletariat; that we were on the brink of world war on account of the inevitable military clash between England and the U.S.A., that armed risings of the German workers in 1924 had any chance of success. Trotsky's greatest mistake however was not that he made these assumptions, (they were more or less implicit in the position of all majority Social Democrats, i.e., Bolsheviks at

the time) but that he adhered to them in a dogmatic fashion in a situation in which new decisions had become inevitable.

Up to the time of Lenin's death nobody in the Bolshevik Party believed that Socialism could be established in Russia alone and world revolution was an essential part of the Bolshevik perspective. But after Lenin's death the economic "retreat" represented by the NEP ** began to become unworkable. It was never meant to be permanent; the world revolution, it was hoped, would save Russia from her isolation before economic collapse forced her to capitulate to the Kulak's counter revolution. But the world revolution did not come and the pressing needs of the towns and of the socialist sector of industry compelled the Soviet Government to interfere with the peasant households to a degree that was incompatible with the working of the NEP. Fundamentally, the question was whether a new interim programme should be set up or whether the Bolsheviks should give up waiting for the world revolution and settle down to a long term policy. Trotsky who had never wholeheartedly accepted Lenin's theory of the necessity of an alliance of the workers and the poorer peasantry in an agricultural country, and had never disowned the theory of permanent revolution, was logically led to stand for a new interim policy until world revolution should materialize and to suggest the ruthless exploitation of the peasantry by the workers as the means of tiding over all difficulties. For a long term policy only two roads were open. The one was suggested by the rightwing opposition of Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky; it consisted in a further retreat on the lines of the NEP, even at the price of liquidating socialism altogether (this opportunist policy could obviously be combined with a "waiting for world revolution" line). The other was Stalin's policy of trying to build socialism in Russia, to "catch up and overtake" Western capitalism; in fact the policy of the Five Year Plan and collectivisation. Stalin's line did not imply that Russia could remain permanently the only Socialist country in the world; but it did imply that in the new situation Russia must take the risks of an attempt that had hardly been envisaged by anybody before. The striking success of this attempt and the subsequent emergence of Fascism in Italy and Germany as a powerful anti-Socialist force, both in the national and the international sphere, determines the line of the U.S.S.R.

**NEP - New Economic Policy, introduced by Lenin in 1921.

This is an attempt to summarize Trotsky's book "The Revolution Betrayed". If there is any apparent discrepancy between what is set out in this summary and matter referring to the same subject elsewhere in these notes, then the reason lies with Trotsky himself; that is to say, this is a summary of what Trotsky himself says in his own work; the other is an objective review and statement of Trotskyism in relation to the world situation.

The centre of the Trotskyite criticism of the Communist International, and therefore of the U.S.S.R. and Stalin, lies in the fact that it has not sponsored revolution in other countries; that it has thrown over the idea of world revolution. The reasons for Trotsky's attack could take one of two main lines, viz: a) that it was economically impossible to build socialism in one country, in a country like Russia alone, or b) that it was due to the reactionary bourgeois nature of those in power in Russia, i.e. Stalin and co., who did not wish to risk their own power and position by helping or fostering revolution in other countries. The former implies a judgment on theory, or at the least a difference of opinion between Trotsky and Stalin on matters of tactic and theory; the latter implies a personal judgment, a human judgment. Throughout his book Trotsky does not specifically attack Stalin as a bad Marxist, but as a reactionary and, because of that, as an opportunist.

Trotsky attempts to show that the revolution has not been a success and that the reversal of the idea of world revolution is a carefully calculated step on the part of Stalin to help consolidate his own power in the Soviet Union and to "introduce into the social consciousness of the people the idea that the revolution has been completed". He suggests that the policy of the leaders has been one of zigzag, completely lacking in consistency and method: from headlong collectivisation to a milder form, from legalizing abortion to prohibiting it, the change in the policy of the Comintern itself, and so on. Trotsky admits that new conditions have arisen, but declares that this is no excuse/reversals and changes of policy. Adequate leadership should have foreseen such new conditions and taken steps to overcome them! In fact, all the examples of "zigzagging" which he takes have been fully admitted by Soviet leaders. Trotsky seems to rely almost entirely for his material on speeches of self-criticism and admission of incomplete success in one direction or another by leaders in the Soviet Union.

Considerable controversy has existed between orthodox Communists and Trotskyists as to whether Lenin believed in the possibility of Socialism being achieved in one country. Trotsky attempts to dispose of this by quoting Stalin in 1924 (after Lenin's death) as declaring that socialism could not be achieved in one country. Trotsky declares that NEP was not an indication that Lenin had given up the idea of world revolution, but that it was a "necessary retreat" dictated by the conditions then existent.

Trotsky admits that great headway has been made in the Soviet Union in terms of industrial production, but complains that it is still along way behind other capitalist countries like the U.S.A. and Great Britain. He declares that Russia is actually attempting to tackle pre-socialist conditions with socialist methods (page 61). This and succeeding statements are tantamount to saying the revolution should never have happened.

Trotsky's most fruitful source of material for an attack on Stalin and the other leaders in the Soviet Union, lies in their statements to the effect that "socialism has been finally and irrevocably established in the Soviet Union", and that "the last elements of Capitalism have been liquidated". Trotsky declares this to be sheer hypocrisy in view of the social inequalities which he says exist in the U.S.S.R. at the present time. It is deliberately calculated to lead the mass of the people to the belief that now the struggle is over and matters can be safely left in the hands of the leaders; in other words, an attempt to further strengthen the power of the state.

Stalin had said that the "dictatorship of the proletariat has been strengthened". In view of the fact that "socialism has been finally and

irrevocably established in the Soviet Union" and that "the last elements of capitalism have been liquidated" this, Trotsky says, is illogical and indicates only that the state is strengthening itself, consolidating the inequalities that exist and creating a new caste system.

The Red Army is not immune from criticism. In the Red Army we have the caste system in its most blatant form. A huge mass of trained fighters carefully insulated against any discontent and ready to defend the State against attack from without - or within. At the time of intervention the Soviet Union relied on the people, on a volunteer army. The fact that Stalin cannot now rely on a volunteer army is a further indication in Trotsky's opinion that Stalin is fearful of the discontent which he is stirring up in the masses. "He dare not give them rifles".

On the new constitution Trotsky has a word to say: there is no need for secrecy of the ballot if the country is really socialist. Secrecy of voting is a method adopted in capitalist countries, in countries where class systems exist and where protection is necessary for the workers in registering their votes. The adoption by the Soviet Union of a capitalistic method of voting is a further indication, in Trotsky's opinion, of the relatively reactionary nature of the Soviet Regime.

The main part of this book was written before the "big group" of trials took place. His only reference to them is in his speech "I Stake my Life" reprinted at the end of the book. In that speech he attempts to show that most of the old guard have now been shot or imprisoned and that most of the leading representatives of the Soviet Union now were reactionaries at the time of intervention or at the time of the revolution.

Trotsky's book is not convincing. He sets out to prove that Stalin and co. have betrayed the Socialist cause, but he really succeeds in proving the opposite. His book serves mainly to emphasise the enormous difficulties entailed in building up a Socialist state in a country like Russia which was backward in every sense and, by implication, helps one to more fully appreciate the advances in Russia. Most of these advances Trotsky himself admits. The book is, for the most part, confused, illogical and self-contradictory. It is only when Trotsky has the speeches of self-criticism of the Soviet leaders as his material that he approaches lucidity.

In the present crisis of the working-class movement, the study of the earlier works of Karl Marx is of great importance. The letter to his father (10th November, 1837) reveals that his earliest work was a dialogue of 364 pages, entitled Eleanthes: "or the starting point and necessary evolution of philosophy". Marx described this work as "a philosophico-dialectical development of the godhead, as it manifests itself in its idea, in religion, nature, history" According to Marx himself, he spared no mental energy to make this work what he called a new logic. The fact of his having destroyed the MS because in his dismay it appeared to land him where Hegel began, no more proves that he discarded his original starting-point as unsound, than his subsequent decision to leave unpublished the MS of Nationalökonomie und Philosophie detracts from the merits of that essay - which, since its comparatively recent publication, has been widely recognised as the key to Marx's later thought. In the following notes we discuss what light is thrown by the Earlier works of Marx.

- 1). on the essential meaning of Socialism, and
- 2). on the significance of class-consciousness in the struggle to achieve it.

1. What is Socialism?

If more and more frequently we encounter the assertion that "there is no essential difference between Fascism and Communism" the reference to the earlier works of Marx should supply us with the true answer.

According to the Theses on Feuerbach, 10, "the outlook of the old materialism was that of 'Civil Society' (*); the outlook of the new is that of human society, of humanity in terms of society". This is the basic definition of socialism in Marx. A human society is one in which the relationships of human beings are distinctively human, i.e., direct, unmediated, "for their own sake", personal.

Historical Materialism is based on the conviction that man cannot overcome the state of self-estrangement except by superseding the existing forms of production in our society. This is because self-estrangement is simply the result of division of labour in a non-primitive society. In a market-society, there is no immediate relationship between producers, since the goods they produce are exchanged through the medium of the market. This market-barrier, causing an estrangement between man, is what Marx means by the self-estrangement of Man. (**).

Socialism is therefore that change in the forms of the organisation of production, which, under the conditions of the machine age, would put an end to self-estrangement. Accordingly a socialist economic order is defined as an order of production and distribution (and the juristic forms appropriate to such an order) under which a socialist society can alone be brought into existence. For an analysis of capitalist society will easily show that communal ownership of the means of production must be the distinctive characteristic of a socialist economic order.

* Translation of bürgerliche Gesellschaft, which literally means civil society, but actually signifies industrial life.

** It should be noted that division of labour does not refer to that characteristic of modern production, by which, for example, one pair of shoes is made by a number of workers, each individual worker being responsible for one small process. Since a man identifies himself with the thing he makes, to produce only a fragment of a thing (in itself meaningless) robs his life of its full significance. But this is not what Marx meant by self-estrangement.

In a socialist society the freedom of man is fulfilled. Once the state of self-estrangement is overcome, human individuality is free to develop in accordance with its own nature, while society as a whole is released from the shackles of the quasi-natural laws which constrain it under capitalism. Mankind gains an insight into the nature of its own capabilities and activities and achieves its freedom.

The criticism of socialism, which affects to see no essential difference between fascism and socialism, starts out by disregarding the fact that socialism is primarily a type of society, and only secondarily an economic order. It can easily be shown that Capital* at the heart of which we find the fetish theory of commodity values, is but an application of the principle of self-estrangement to economic phenomena under capitalism. From this point of view, Historical Materialism is a method by which we can discover in the structure of economic life both the contradictions resulting from human estrangement and the elements which point the way to their resolution. Social classes are the actors in this drama: the class struggle is the process in which the contradictions are both constituted and resolved. In this view, the overcoming of self-estrangement cannot be merely subjective and ideal - it must involve a real change in the social fabric; but this change on the other hand cannot be merely material - it is the consciousness of the class involved which is the decisive factor, enabling it to fulfil its historic destiny.

2. Class, Class Struggle and Class Consciousness.

Marx assumed that the improvement of the productive apparatus and its organisation must be generally recognised as in the interests of society as a whole. It is the function of the different classes to ensure the best use of actual or virtual instruments of production linking their own interests to the social conditions which ensure such use. When the actual or virtual means of production are changed, that class of society whose interests suffer from the existing order will become the protagonist of progress by standing for the establishment of conditions which will allow productive forces to be used to the full. Its position in society singles out such a class as progressive; it alone will be in a position to voice the general interests of mankind in that age. Its mission is to achieve the next step in human development. By virtue of this mission it is the natural and real leader in the period of change; other groups and strata in society will follow its lead and support its effort to bring about this change.

The first condition to be fulfilled if a group or stratum of the population is to be enabled to fulfill its mission as a class is that it constitutes itself as such, by recognising its position in society. The workers constitute themselves into a class by developing a consciousness of their position in the process of capitalist production. From this aspect socialism is the outlook of the class conscious modern proletarian, because for him the general interest of society is summed up in the final overcoming of self-estrangement and the establishment of a human society (in the Marxian sense of the term) by the abolition of class society. But for the existence of such a class, the inevitable disintegration of capitalism would be the end of our civilization, and, indeed, unless the working class is true to its mission, mankind must sink back into barbarism.

Socialist class-consciousness is the one thing needed, lacking which the workers cannot be an effective factor in history. They are a class by virtue of their consciousness of their position in society, and the acceptance of their historical mission arising therefrom.

Class leadership implies some degree of subordination of the material interests of the leading class to the interests of those whom they are required to lead. But the cultural and intellectual interests cannot be sacrificed even temporarily by the working-class, without dimming its socialist class-consciousness and thereby losing that very quality by virtue of which it is the leading class. Only through this quality is the working-class enabled to develop the tactics adequate to its task.

* CAPITAL I.i.4.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE EARLIER WORKS OF MARX.

In 1932 S. Landshut and J.F. Meyer edited what turned out to be a most important (even if not complete) publication of the earlier works of Marx under the title "Der Historische Materialismus. Die Frühschriften." 2 vols, Alfred Kroner Verlag, Leipzig. Some of Marx's writings were published here for the first time, amongst them "Nationalökonomie und Philosophie," others were published after having been available only in more or less inaccessible periodicals, as, e.g., the Anti-Stirner; others again were made available to the German public after having been published only in Russian, as, e.g., Marx's doctorate thesis.

The term Earlier Writings covers the period 1837-1848, i.e., from Marx's letter to his father (10th Nov. 1837) to the publication of the Communist Manifesto (1848). In the following we outline the contents of the Landshut-Meyer edition. The bulk of these writings has not been published in English. We understand that Lawrence and Wishart are preparing the publication of some of these writings.

Contents of the Landshut-Meyer edition of the
Earlier Writings of Marx.

Volume I.

Marx's letter to his father. (1837).	Complete. Not available in English.
Doctorate Thesis. (1840).	2 chapters only. Not available in English.
Critique of Hegel's 'Philosophy of State'. (1841-42).	Complete. Not available in English. 168 pp.
"Rheinische Zeitung". Three articles. (1842-43).	Dealing with the State; Communism; Forestry Laws. Not available in English.
"Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher". (1843-44).	
a. Correspondence with Arnold Ruge.	Complete. Not available in English.
b. On Jewry.	Complete. Published by Martin Lawrence, 1935.
aa. Review of B. Bauer's Book.	
bb. On the emancipation of Jews and Christians.	
c. A Critique of Hegel's 'Philosophy of Law' (Introduction).	Complete. Not available in English.
Paris "Vorwärts". (1844)	Socialism in Germany (from a review of Weitling's book). Not available in English.
"Nationalökonomie und Philosophie" Political Economy and the State, Law, Ethics, Industrial Life. (1844).	Published for the first time 87 pp. Not available in English.
The Holy Family. (Anti-Bruno Bauer) (1844-45).	Out of print; 6 chapters only. Not Available in English.

Volume II.

The bulk of this volume is taken up by four publications from the MS. of "Deutsche Ideologie", a voluminous work written by Marx, Engels and Hess in 1845-46 but left unpublished on account of censorship. Its purpose was to offer an all-round criticism of post-Hegelian philosophy.

Theses on Feuerbach. (1845). Published in English in "A Handbook of Marxism", V. Gollancz, 1935.

From: "Deutsche Ideologie"

- A. Introduction. Feuerbach. Materialism and Idealism. Complete. A sample published in the "Handbook", pp.210-213, under the title "German Ideology".
- B. "Sankt Max" (Anti-Stirner). First complete publication. 400 pp. Not available in English.
- C. On "True Socialism", A criticism of several articles about socialism which appeared in the "Rheinische Jahrbuecher". Some of this is published for the first time. Not available in English.
- D. "Dr. Kuhlmann", or the prophet of True Socialism. Published for the first time. Not available in English.

Appendix.

- a. Weitling's report on his meeting with Marx.
- b. Annenkow's letter on this meeting. (31st March 1846).
- Poverty of Philosophy. (Anti-Fruehchen). (1847). Published by Martin Lawrence as well as in the "Handbook", p.348.
- The Communist Manifesto. (1848). Various English editions. Also "Handbook", p.22.

Readers are referred to:

- J. Macmurry: Dialectical Materialism. An essay on the relationship of theory and practice. In: "Marxism", V. Gollancz.
- The Early Development of Marx's Thought. In: "Christianity and the Social Revolution". V. Gollancz, 1935, p.209.
- K. Polanyi: The Essence of Fascism. Chapt. V.: Sparr, Hegel and Marx; Chapt. VI: Klages, Nietzsche and Marx. In: "Christianity and the Social Revolution", p.359.

Draft Statement
by a Christian Left Group.

The structure of man's consciousness is being re-founded in our epoch. Out of the knowledge of death man's consciousness was born. It was re-formed by the discovery of the inner freedom of the person. In our time it is being formed again by the knowledge of the inevitability of society. As man learned to know death so does he now learn to know society.

The freedom lost by this knowledge is illusory, the freedom gained is valid. In the recognition of his loss of freedom, which he yet must vindicate in and through society, and in the certainty of ultimate attainment man's consciousness is re-grounded in reality.

To the new consciousness the self-estrangement of man under capitalism becomes apparent, and the socialist transformation recognized as the only means by which self-estrangement can be overcome, and personal life reclaimed in a complex society.

In the cataclysm of our time it is Christianity which is destroying this civilization and bringing in a new one. The Christian force in history is asserting its creative nature by annihilating an order of things which is attempting to negate it. We find ourselves sure of Christianity and not anxious for its future, our sole concern is for the future of the working-class movement, the chief instrument of the transformation.

Our existence as a group springs from the nature of our tasks.

Members of the group belong to one or the other of the socialist working class parties.

The activities of the group are:

- a. Prophetic: To proclaim our message by pointing to the signs of the times and to the true nature of the present world crisis; by denouncing the apostasy of the churches; by preparing the minds of man for the inevitability of the transformation of society; by showing the certainty of the significance of a life committed to the services of the working class movement and to the truth of socialism.
 - b. Practical: The creation, through individuals and groups, of a new tissue within the working class, springing from such changes in the forms and techniques of everyday existence as are appropriate to the actual life and Socialist mission of the working class in this country.
 - c. Theoretical: To contribute to the re-grounding of the Socialist working class movement in a period defined by the establishment of a socialist system in the USSR.
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Travel
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Am. Soc. Assoc. 1250

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for Mrs. G. L. Smith
year from 1959 to 1960

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(12.10.48)

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- c. Theoretical: To contribute to the re-grounding of the Socialist working class movement in a period defined by the establishment of a socialist system in the USSR.

P.T.O

Draft Statement
by a Christian Left Group.

The structure of man's consciousness is being re-founded (1936) in our epoch. Out of the knowledge of death man's consciousness was born. It was re-formed by the discovery of the inner freedom of the person. In our time it is being formed again by the knowledge of the inevitability of society. As man learned to know death so does he now learn to know society.

The freedom lost by this knowledge is illusory, the freedom gained is valid. In the recognition of his loss of freedom, which he yet must vindicate in an through society, and in the certainty of ultimate attainment man's consciousness is re-gained in reality.

To the new consciousness the self-estrangement of man under capitalism becomes apparent, and the socialist transformation is recognized as the only means by which self-estrangement can be overcome, and personal life reclaimed in a complex society.

In the cataclysm of our time it is Christianity which is destroying this civilization and bringing in a new one. The Christian force in history is asserting its creative nature by annihilating an order of things which is attempting to negate it. We find ourselves sure of Christianity and not anxious for its future; our sole concern is for the future of the working-class movement, the chief instrument of the transformation.

Our existence as a group springs from the nature of our tasks.

Members of the group belong to one or the other of the socialist working class parties.

The activities of the group are:

- a. Prophetic: To proclaim our message by pointing to the signs of the times and to the true nature of the present world crisis: by denouncing the apostasy of the churches; by preparing the minds of man for the inevitability of the transformation of society; by showing the certainty of the significance of a life committed to the service of the working class movement and to the truth of socialism.
- b. Practical: The creation, through individuals and groups, of a new tissue within the working class, springing from such changes in the forms and techniques of everyday existence as are appropriate to the actual life and Socialist mission of the working class in this country.
- c. Theoretical: To contribute to the re-grounding of the Socialist working class movement in a period defined by the establishment of a socialist system in the USSR.

Dupe.

52

38

Draft Statement
by a Christian Left Group.

The structure of man's consciousness is being re-founded in our epoch. Out of the knowledge of death man's consciousness was born. It was re-formed by the discovery of the inner freedom of the person. In our time it is being formed again by the knowledge of the inevitability of society. As man learned to know death so does he now learn to know society.

The freedom lost by this knowledge is illusory, the freedom gained is valid. In the recognition of his loss of freedom, which he yet must vindicate in and through society, and in the certainty of ultimate attainment, man's consciousness is re-gained in reality.

To the new consciousness the self-estrangement of man under capitalism becomes apparent, and the socialist transformation is recognized as the only means by which self-estrangement can be overcome, and personal life reclaimed in a complex society.

In the cataclysm of our time it is Christianity which is destroying this civilization and bringing in a new one. The Christian force in history is asserting its creative nature by annihilating an order of things which is attempting to negate it. We find ourselves sure of Christianity and not anxious for its future; our sole concern is for the future of the working-class movement, the chief instrument of the transformation.

Our existence as a group springs from the nature of our tasks.

Members of the group belong to one or the other of the socialist working class parties.

The activities of the group are:

- a. Prophetic: To proclaim our message by pointing to the signs of the times and to the ~~true~~ nature of the present world crisis: by denouncing the apostasy of the churches; by preparing the minds of man for the inevitability of the transformation of society; by showing the certainty of the significance of a life committed to the service of the working class movement and to the truth of socialism.
- b. Practical: The creation, through individuals and groups, of a new tissue within the working class, springing from such changes in the forms and techniques of everyday existence as are appropriate to the actual life and Socialist mission of the working class in this country.
- c. Theoretical: To contribute to the re-grounding of the Socialist working class movement in a period defined by the establishment of a socialist system in the USSR.

8/5/38.

Draft Statement
by a Christian Left Group.

~~(The socialist convictions and activities of this group are rooted in religious experience.)~~

structure - more
basic than
"forms":
these all think
the alternatives
that are condemned
obscure
"in spite of" seems
to deny other
acceptance of party.

The structure of man's consciousness is being re-founded in our epoch. Out of the knowledge of death man's consciousness ~~was~~ born. It was re-formed by the discovery of the inner freedom of the person. In our time it is being formed again by the knowledge of the ~~in~~ inevitability of society. [As man learned to know death so does he now learn to know society.]

The freedom lost by this knowledge is illusory; the freedom gained is valid. In the recognition of his loss of freedom, which he yet must vindicate in and through society, and in the certainty of ultimate attainment man's consciousness is re-grounded in reality. *They will not have self-betrayal.*

To the new consciousness the self-estrangement of man under capitalism becomes apparent, and the socialist transformation is recognised as the only means by which self-estrangement can be overcome, and personal life reclaimed in a complex society.

In the cataclysm of our time it is Christianity which is destroying this civilisation and bringing in a new one. The Christian force in history is asserting its creative nature by annihilating an order of things which is attempting to negate it. We find ourselves sure of Christianity and not anxious for its future; our sole concern is for the future of the working-class movement, the chief instrument of the transformation.

Our existence as a group springs from the nature of our tasks.

Members of the group belong to one or the other of the socialist working class parties.

The activities of the group are :

- a. Prophetic: To proclaim our message by pointing to the signs of the times and to the true nature of the present world crisis; by denouncing the apostasy of the churches; by preparing the minds of men for the inevitability of the transformation of society; by showing the certainty of the significance of a life committed to the service of the working class movement and to the truth of socialism.

Tennant Kenneth
with whom also the
others agree.

(The rest as before down to USSR.)

Draft Statement

by a Christian Left group.

The forms of man's consciousness are being re-cast in our epoch. Out of the knowledge of death human consciousness was born. It was re-formed by the discovery of the inner freedom of the person. In our time it is being formed again by the knowledge of ~~the nature of a complex~~ society, the alternatives of which are inescapable as death itself. In man's recognition of his loss, ^{of freedom} in the necessity of vindicating ^{it} (his freedom) in spite of society, and in the certainty of ultimate attainment his existence touches rock bottom. The freedom he loses is illusory; the freedom he gains is valid. ~~The knowledge of freedom that takes its origin in the life and teaching of Jesus is rescued by Marx.~~

~~The socialist convictions and activities of this group are thus routed in religious experience.~~

To the new consciousness the self-estrangement of man under capitalism becomes apparent and the socialist transformation is recognized as the only means by which self-estrangement can be overcome, and personal life re-claimed *in a complex society.*

In the cataclysm of our time ~~transformation~~ it is Christianity that is destroying this civilization and bringing in a new ^{one.} The Christian force in history is asserting its creative nature by annihilating an order of things which is attempting to ^{it} (negate that force.) We find ourselves sure of Christianity and not anxious for its future; our sole concern is for the future of the working-class movement, the chief instrument of the transformation.

3 *Draft*

Draft Statement (Feb. 4 and 5.)
by a Christian Left Group

reconstituted

The socialist convictions and activities of the members of this group are rooted in religious experience.

The structure of man's consciousness is being re-formed in our epoch. His moral freedom is negated by the ~~material~~ ^{inevitable} alternatives of social existence: a complete society. As man learns to know death, so does he learn now to know society. ~~But~~ the freedom we lose by this recognition is illusory; the freedom we gain is ~~real~~ ^{real}. Consciousness itself is ~~born~~ ^{born}: man achieves security in the recognition of his loss; in the necessity of vindicating his freedom in and through society; in the certainty of ultimate attainment. ~~But~~ this self-estrangement of man under capitalism becomes apparent as a denial of human nature, and the socialist transformation is recognized as the only means by which the self-estrangement can be overcome. The dynamic of freedom which takes its origin in the life and teaching of Jesus, is released in its modern inescapable setting by Marx.

has to the new vision

We find ourselves sure of Christianity and not anxious for its future; in the cataclysm of our time Christianity is destroying this civilization and ~~building~~ ^{building} in the new. ~~The~~ ^{The} sole concern is for the future of the working class movement, the chief instrument of the transformation.

it is

Our existence as a group springs from the ~~necessity of the sign of life~~ ^{necessity of the sign of life} ~~of life committed to the truth of socialism.~~

is found

In proclaiming our message; in denouncing the apostasy of the churches; in pointing to the signs of the times; in preparing the minds of men for the inevitability of the transformation; in putting our lives at the service of the working class movement - we are ~~not~~ ^{not} religious ~~in the~~ ^{in the} socialist

Members of the group belong to one or the other of the working class parties.

The activities of the group are

a. Practical:- The creation, through individuals and groups, of a new tissue within the working class springing from such changes in the form and technique of everyday existence as are appropriate to the actual life and socialist mission of the working class in this country;

b. Propaganda:-

Propaganda:- to proclaim our message of the true nature of the present world crisis, and of the certainty of the significance of life committed to the truth of socialism.

c. Theoretical:- to contribute to the re-grounding of the socialist working class movement in a period defined by the establishment of a socialist system in the year 1961.

~~of life committed to the truth of socialism.~~

4. 5. 38

Statement as filed by the group

Draft Statement
by a Christian Left Group.

The socialist convictions and activities of this group are rooted in religious experience.

*authenticity of religious faith
the mind itself*

The structure of man's consciousness is being re-grounded in our epoch. By the knowledge of death, man's consciousness was first formed; it was re-constituted by the discovery of the ~~God~~ individual; today it is being ~~re-formed~~ ~~re-grounded~~ by the knowledge of the inevitability of society. As man learned to know ~~his~~ death, he now learns to know society.

Beyond

The freedom we lose by this recognition is illusory; the freedom we gain is valid. In man's recognition of his loss, in the necessity of vindicating his freedom ~~in and through~~ society, and in the certainty of ultimate attainment ~~man's~~ consciousness touches rock bottom.

In the new consciousness the self-estrangement of man under capitalism becomes apparent as a denial of human nature, and the socialist transformation is recognized as the only means by which self-estrangement can be overcome.

In the catalysis of our time it is Christianity that is destroying this civilization and bringing in the new. The dynamic of freedom that takes its origin in the life and teaching of Jesus is ~~being~~ released in its modern ~~inaccessible~~ setting by Marx. We find ourselves sure of Christianity and not anxious for its future; our sole concern is for the future of the working class movement, the chief instrument of the transformation.

See (h)

Our existence as a group ~~depends~~ springs from the certainty of the significance of life committed to the truth of socialism, and from the nature of our task.

renewed

Members of the group belong to one or the other of the working class parties.

The activities of the group are:-

A. Practical:- the creation, through individuals and groups ~~of individuals~~ of a new tissue within the working class, springing from such changes in the forms and techniques of everyday existence as are appropriate to the actual life and socialist mission of the working class in this country.

B. Prophetic:- To proclaim our message of the true nature of the present world crisis, and of the certainty of the significance of a

life committed to the truth of socialism.

C. Theoretical:- To contribute to the re-grounding of the socialist working class movement in a period defined by the establishment of a socialist ~~system~~ in the USSR.

In proclaiming our message, in denouncing the opaqueness of the

Draft Statement, (Feb. 4 and 5)

by a Christian Left Group.

*A man learns to
know death is
due by ~~spontaneous~~
cooperating*

[The socialist convictions and activities of the members of this group are rooted in religious experience.

1
2
The structure of man's consciousness is being re-formed in our epoch. His moral freedom is ~~enlightened~~ ^{enlightened} by the inescapable alternatives of ~~social~~ ^{social} existence. ~~A life is ~~bound~~ by death so is freedom in a complex society.~~ But the freedom we lose by this recognition ~~is~~ ^{is} illusory; the freedom we gain is final, and ultimate. Consciousness itself is reborn:— man achieves security in the recognition of his loss; in the necessity of vindicating his freedom in and through society; and in the certainty of ultimate attainment. ~~Now the self-~~ ^{under} ~~estrangement of man ~~in~~ capitalist society becomes apparent as a denial of human nature, and the socialist transformation is recognised as the only means by which this self-estrangement can be overcome.~~ Thus the

3
4
apocalyptic
[The dynamic of freedom which takes its origin in the life and teaching of Jesus is ~~now~~ released in its modern inescapable setting ~~of society~~ by Marx. In the crisis of our time Christianity is destroying this civilisation and bringing in the new. ~~We find ourselves sure of Christianity and not anxious for its future.~~ Our sole concern is ~~for~~ the future of the working class movement, the chief instrument of the transformation. Our existence is rooted in the certainty of the significance of life committed to Socialism.

5
[In proclaiming our message; in denouncing the apostasy of the churches; in pointing to the signs of the times; ~~and~~ in preparing the minds of men for the inevitability of the transformation; in putting our lives at the service of the working class movement we see our religious task.

6
[Members of the group belong to one ~~of the~~ ~~socialist~~ ~~parties~~ or other the Socialist working class parties.

The activities of the group are:

- 7
8
a. Practical:— the creation, ~~or~~ through individuals and groups, of a new tissue within the working class, springing from changes in the forms and techniques of everyday existence, such as are appropriate to the actual life and socialist mission of the working class of this country.
- b. Religious:— to proclaim ~~our message of the true nature of the present world crisis and of the certainty of the significance of life committed to socialism.~~ our message of the true nature of the present world crisis and of the certainty of the significance of life committed to socialism.
- c. Theoretical:— to contribute to the re-grounding of the socialist working class movement in a period defined by the establishment of a socialist system in the USSR.

In Russian America is a weakness to England
but breakdown of working class no national union
Labour
Inds & Peasants are strong

- 1) Letter to New Sheet
- 2) Full Statement
- 3) USA - They must decide about Russia.

Eng was told of an account of Japan before war but, an anti-Japanese
(See WOTUC)

Nation at St. Louis was anti-war
& Germany has been in pitiful

Neutrality - Impossible - Poss. only if
WPA requires economic system
so that burdens evenly distributed
"Share the burdens"

England - Eng got have aim of war
don't that a dash won't come
on colonies prestige videstrey
in order to have national unity (ie Spohn)
In relg. wars Eng had to come
down in the end -
Halifax an anti-prestige act

Gen outline
In Pacific in 1911
SDC - Japan almost
won - Yet Eng can't
Keep out in China
In 1911 - Philipine
War of Japan

~~Final Draft~~

1938

Nov. 20 - 21 Donald, Doug, Earl, Irene, Mary, Kenneth (Miss.)

The C.L. was born out of the inner necessity of recognizing a religious experience. The content of this experience is in the conviction that socialism in our epoch is the expression of the Christian forces at work in the world. It is the establishment of a socialist society that will release essential personal living. * Such life is possible to-day only by directly relating our lives to the bringing in of ~~socialism~~ socialism.

Thus we find ourselves sure of Christianity and not anxious for its future. Our ~~main~~ ^{sole} concern is with the birth and future of the working class movement, the chief instrument of the transformation.

Our existence is rooted in the certainty of the ~~total~~ significance of life committed to socialism.*

The C.L. is the vehicle of this message.

Through it we commit our time, means, and energy, beyond the necessities of life, to the fulfillment of this message.

Draft Statement
by a Christian Left Group

The structure of human consciousness is being reformed in our epoch.

Man's consciousness of his self was born out of the knowledge of ~~his mortality~~; consciousness is conditioned by this death recognition. ~~Man's consciousness is~~ The new discovery ~~of the true nature of man that life is personal and free reformed his consciousness. In our time consciousness is being modified again by the knowledge of the inevitability of society.~~

the freedom of mind

Society is inescapable as death itself. We cannot help living our lives at the expense of others. Even though unwittingly, man is ~~social~~ *social* generating power and is thereby coercing other men. Public opinion is power, yet nobody can contract out of it. We cannot withdraw from society except in imagination. Freedom from society is gained only at the expense of disowning our debts to other people. In the vain attempt at safeguarding the freedom of personality, we lose its content. In trying to live our personal lives we cease to be persons.

Society is second death; by ~~that~~ *that* knowledge we grow ~~aware~~ *of this* nature. The freedom that we lose ~~is~~ *is* illusory, the freedom ~~we gain~~ *that* we gain ~~is~~ *is* valid. In the ~~acceptance~~ *acceptance* of our loss; in the insistence on the fulfillment of our nature ~~is~~ *is* and through society; in the certainty of ultimate attainment our consciousness is ~~rooted~~ *being* in reality.

1937 - 10 38 (B)

(These formulations were ~~ix~~ as a result of consultations between Doug Jolly, Donald Grant, Karl Lanyi, Irene Grant and Mary Muir.)

I. My first draft in a letter to A. :-

"We ought to make a statement (to the meeting) along the following lines:

1. The inner necessity out of which the Ktn Left took its rise was that of recognising a religious experience.
2. That experience was the consciousness and conviction that the arrival of socialism in our day is the expression of the Ktn force at work in the world.
3. That ~~experience~~ the conviction that religion is concerned with the personal field is the same conviction - for the arrival of socialism is the important happening for the release of essential personal living.
4. That the significance of life for us is to be found in being directly related to this happening. (Salvation.)
5. that we thus become aware of three things-
 - a. we are sure of Xty, and unconcerned for its future or its past.
 - b. we are deeply concerned for the birth and future of socialism.
 - c. the working class movement is in a life and death crisis (having failed in the west to relate itself to the actual establishment in the USSR of a socialist economic basis.
6. That the C.I. has the task of fitting itself to help in the resolution of this crisis.
7. (A section not further formulated dealing with full commitment, and our ideas on organization and democratic method. The ideas were roughly that the Cl should primarily consist of fully committed members, that democratic method was appropriate in running the affairs of an association, but not in the sphere of the birth of a religious community, and that our organization should be the expression of this.)

II. Karl's corrections:

" The Cl was born out of the inner necessity of recognizing a religious experience. The content of this experience is in the conviction that socialism in our epoch is the expression of the Ktn force in history.

This conviction implies that religion is concerned with the personal field, and that socialism will release essential personal living. Such life is possible today only by directly relating our lives to the bringing in of socialism.

Thus we find ourselves sure of Xty and not anxious for its future. Our sole concern is for the birth and future of socialism and for the political working class movement, chief instrument of the transformation.

This implies a separation from those whose concern is with a "Xty" which involves other claims to their loyalty besides that

of being committed to the working class movement.

We are conscious of the fact that the epochal achievement of socialism in Russia necessarily resulted in a crisis of that movement in the rest of the world. We see our task in fitting ourselves to help in the resolution of that crisis.

Our message consists in the certitude of the timeless significance of life committed to socialism.

The C.I. is the vehicle of this message. Through it we commit our time, means, and energy beyond ~~that~~ the necessities of life to the proclamation and fulfillment of that message.

The tendency to force the growth of the C.I. by keeping its membership open to all who feel attracted by its general basis, and of giving it at the same time a statutory organization of the type usual with non-committed organizations ought to be checked. Unless this happens the non-committed members must necessarily prevent the committed from proceeding with the job. The appropriate form in which the C.I. should continue at present is a federation of groups dealing with finance and other common tasks with a minimum of formality so as to provide full scope both to the ~~xx~~ democratic self-determination of groups, and to the load given by the committed members.

Draft of a statement drawn up by a Christian Left group, Feb 5 & 6, 1938.

The socialist convictions and activities of the members of this group are rooted in religious experience:

Overhead

The structure of man's consciousness is being re-formed in our epoch. His moral freedom is negated by the inescapable alternatives of a complex society. As man learnt to know death, so does he now learn to know society. But the freedom we lose by this recognition is illusory; the freedom we gain is valid. ~~Consciousness itself is re-born - man achieves security in the recognition of his loss; in the necessity of vindicating his freedom in and through society; in the certainty of ultimate attainment.~~ The self-estrangement of man under capitalism becomes apparent ^{to the personal consciousness} as a denial of human nature, and the socialist transformation is recognised as the only means by which ~~this~~ self-estrangement can be overcome. In the cataclysm of our time it is Christianity which is destroying this civilisation and bringing in the new. The dynamic of freedom which takes its origin in the life and teaching of Jesus is released in its modern, inescapable setting by Marx. Thus we find ourselves sure of Christianity and not anxious for its future. Our sole concern is for the future of the working class movement, the chief instrument of the transformation.

Members of the group belong to one or the other of the socialist working class parties.

The activities of the group are:-

- a. Practical: The creation, through individuals and groups, of a new tissue within the working class, springing from such changes in the forms and technique of everyday existence as are appropriate to the actual life and socialist mission of the working class in this country.
- b. Prophetic: To proclaim our message of the true nature of the present world crisis, and of the certainty of the significance of life committed to the truth of Socialism.
- c. Theoretical: To contribute to the re-grounding of the socialist working class movement in a period defined by the establishment of a socialist system in the U.S.S.R.

Our existence as a group is founded on the nature of our task. In proclaiming our message; in denouncing the apostasy of the churches; in pointing to the signs of the times; in preparing the minds of men for the inevitability of the transformation; in putting our lives at the service of the working class movement, we fulfil this task.

Draft of a statement drawn up by a Christian Left group, Feb. 5 & 6, 1938

The socialist convictions and activities of the members of this group are rooted in religious experience.

The structure of man's consciousness is being re-formed in our epoch. His moral freedom is negated by the inescapable alternatives of a complex society. As man learnt to know death, so does he now learn to know society. But the freedom we lose by this recognition is illusory; the freedom we gain is valid. Consciousness itself is re-born - man achieves security in the recognition of his loss; in the necessity of vindicating his freedom in and through society; in the certainty of ultimate attainment. The self-estrangement of man under capitalism becomes apparent as a denial of human nature, and the socialist transformation is recognized as the only means by which the self-estrangement can be overcome. In the cataclysm of our time it is Christianity which is destroying this civilization and bringing in the new. The dynamic of freedom which takes its origin in the life and teaching of Jesus is released in its modern inescapable setting by Marx. Thus we find ourselves sure of Christianity and not anxious for its future. Our sole concern is for the future of the working class movement, the chief instrument of the transformation.

Members of the group belong to one or the other of the socialist working class parties.

The activities of the group are:

- a. Practical: The creation, through individuals and groups, of a new tissue within the working class, springing from such changes in the forms and technique of everyday existence as are appropriate to the actual life and socialist mission of the working class in this country.
- b. Prophetic: to proclaim our message of the true nature of the present world crisis, and of the certainty of the significance of life committed to the truth of Socialism.
- c. Theoretical: to contribute to the re-grounding of the socialist working class movement in a period defined by the establishment of a socialist system in the U.S.S.R.

Our existence as a group is founded on the nature of our task. In proclaiming our message; in denouncing the apocatastasis of the churches; in pointing to the signs of the times; in preparing the minds of men for the inevitability of the transformation; in putting our lives at the service of the working class movement, we fulfill this task.

Draft of a statement drawn up by a Christian Left group, Feb. 5 1958

The socialist convictions and activities of ^{The members of} this group are rooted in religious experience.

The structure of man's consciousness is being re-formed in our epoch. His moral freedom is being negated by the inescapable alternatives of a complex society. As man learnt to know death, so does he now learn to know society. But the freedom we lose by this recognition is illusory; the freedom we gain is valid. Consciousness itself is re-born - man achieves security in the recognition of his loss; in the necessity of vindicating his freedom in and through society; in the certainty of ultimate attainment. The ~~self-estrangement~~ self-estrangement of man under capitalism becomes apparent to this re-formed consciousness as a denial of human nature, and the socialist transformation is recognized as the only means by which the self-estrangement can be overcome. In the cataclysm of our time it is Christianity which is destroying this civilization and bringing in the new. The dynamic of freedom which takes its origin in the life and teaching of Jesus is released in its modern, inescapable setting by Marx. Thus we find ourselves sure of Christianity and not anxious for its future. Our sole concern is for the future of the working class movement, the chief instrument of the transformation.

Members of the group belong to one or another of the socialist working class parties.

The activities of the group are:

- a. Practical: The creation, through individuals and groups, of a new tissue within the working class, springing from such changes in the forms and technique of everyday existence as are appropriate to the actual life and socialist mission of the working class in this country.
- b. Prophetic: To proclaim our message of the true nature of the present world crisis, and of the certainty of the significance of life committed to the truth of Socialism.
- c. Theoretical: To contribute to the re-grounding of the socialist working class movement in a period defined by the establishment of a socialist system in the U.S.S.R.

Our existence as a group is founded on the nature of our task. In proclaiming our message; in denouncing the apostasy of the churches; in pointing to the signs of the times; in preparing the minds of men for the inevitability of transformation; in putting our lives at the service of the working class movement, we fulfil this task.

Draft Statement
by a Christian Left Group.

The socialist convictions and activities of this group are rooted in religious experience.

The structure of man's consciousness is being re-founded in our epoch. By the knowledge of death, man's consciousness was first formed; ~~now~~ it was re-founded by the discovery of the free individual; today it is being re-founded by the knowledge of the inevitability of society. As man learned to know death so does he now learn to know society.

Out of
man's freedom of
the person

Knowledge
of freedom
is re-grounded in
reality.

The freedom ~~lost~~ by this recognition is illusory; the freedom ~~gain~~ is valid. In man's recognition of his loss, in the necessity of vindicating his freedom in and through society, and in the certainty of ultimate attainment man's consciousness touches rock bottom.

which
he yet
must
vindicate

To the new consciousness the self-estrangement of man under capitalism becomes apparent as a denial of human nature, and the socialist transformation is recognized as the only means by which self-estrangement can be overcome.

In the cataclysm of our time it is Christianity that is destroying this civilisation and bringing in the new. The dynamic of freedom that takes its origin in the life and teaching of Jesus is thus released in its modern inescapable setting by Marx. We find ourselves sure of Christianity and not anxious for its future; our sole concern is for the future of the working class movement, the chief instrument of the transformation.

Our existence as a group springs ~~from the conviction~~ ~~the significance of~~ ~~life committed to the truth of socialism,~~ ~~and from the~~ nature of our task

socialist

Members of the group belong to one or the other of the working class parties.

The activities of the group are:-

a. Practical:- the creation, through individuals and groups of a new tissue within the working class, springing from such changes in the forms and techniques of everyday existence as are appropriate to the actual life and socialist mission of the working class in this country.

b. Prophetic:- To proclaim our message of the true nature of the present world crisis, and of the certainty of the significance of a life committed to the truth of socialism.

c. Theoretical:- To contribute to the re-grounding of the socialist working class movement in a period defined by the establishment of a socialist system in the USSR.

In proclaiming our message, in denouncing the apostasy of the

churches, in pointing to the signs of the times, in preparing the mind of men for the inevitability of the transformation, in putting our lives at the service of the working class movement we fulfil our task.

6.5. 38.

Draft Statement
by a Christian Left Group.

The three of man's consciousness are being reformed ^{past} in our epoch. Out of the knowledge of death human consciousness was born. It was re-formed by the discovery of the inner freedom of the person. In our time it is being formed again by the knowledge of society, the alternatives of which are as inescapable as death itself. In man's recognition of his loss, ~~existence~~, in the necessity of vindicating his freedom in spite of society, and in the certainty of ultimate attainment his existence touches rock bottom. The freedom he loses is illusory, the freedom he gains is valid.

To the new consciousness the self-estrangement of man under capitalism becomes apparent, and the socialist transformation is recognised as the only means by which self-estrangement can be overcome, and personal life reclaimed in a complex society.

In the cataclysm of our time it is Christianity that is destroying this civilisation and bringing in a new one. The Christian force in history is asserting its creative nature by annihilating an order of things which is attempting to negate it. To find ourselves etc.

(The rest as in former draft.)

1337

Draft of a statement drawn up by a Christian Left group, Feb 5 & 6, 1938.

The socialist convictions and activities of the members of this group are rooted in religious experience.

The structure of man's consciousness is being re-formed in our epoch. His moral freedom is negated by the inescapable alternatives of a complex society. As man learns to know death, so does he now learn to know society. But the freedom we lose by this recognition is illusory; the freedom we gain is real. Consciousness itself is re-born - man achieves security in the recognition of his loss; in the necessity of vindicating his freedom in and through society; in the certainty of ultimate attainment. The self-estrangement of man under capitalism becomes apparent as a denial of human nature, and the socialist transformation is recognized as the only means by which the self-estrangement can be overcome. In the cataclysm of our time it is Christianity which is destroying this civilization and bringing in the new. The dynamic of Freedom which takes its origin in the life and teaching of Jesus is referred in its modern, inescapable setting by Marx. Thus we find ourselves sure of Christianity and not anxious for its future. Our sole concern is for the future of the working class movement, the chief instrument of the transformation.

Members of the group belong to one or the other of the socialist working class parties.

The activities of the group are:-

- a. Practical: The creation, through individuals and groups, of a new tissue within the working class, carrying from each change in the forms and technique of everyday existence as are appropriate to the actual life and socialist mission of the working class in this country.
- b. Propaganda: To proclaim our message of the true nature of the present world crisis, and of the certainty of the significance of life committed to the truth of Socialism.
- c. Theoretical: To contribute to the re-grounding of the socialist working class movement in a period defined by the establishment of a socialist system in the U.S.A.

Our existence as a group is founded on the nature of our task. In proclaiming our message; in denouncing the apostasy of the churches; in pointing to the sign of the times; in preparing the minds of men for the inevitability of the transformation; in putting our lives at the service of the working class movement, we fulfil this task.

DRAFT STATEMENT

The structure of human consciousness is being re-formed in our epoch.

Man's consciousness of his self was born out of the knowledge of death; consciousness is conditioned by this recognition. The discovery of the true nature of man - that life is personal and free - re-formed his consciousness. In our time the very structure of man's consciousness is again being modified by the knowledge of ~~society~~ society. (In our time consciousness is again being modified by the knowledge of the inevitability of society.)

draft
Society is inescapable as death itself. (Society is "inevitably unshunnable, like death.") We cannot help living our lives at the expense of others. Man in society is, even though unwittingly, generating power, and is thereby coercing other men. Public opinion is power, yet nobody can contract out of it. (for public opinion, to which each man contributes whether he likes it or not, is itself a form of power.) We cannot withdraw from society except in imagination. Freedom from society is gained only at the expense of disowning our debts to other people. In the very attempt to safeguard the freedom of personality, we lose its content. In trying to live our personal lives, we cease to be persons.

Society is rejected daily by the knowledge of it we grow nature. The freedom that we lose is illusory, the freedom that we gain is valid. (That freedom we lose by the rejection of society is illusory.) In the acceptance of our loss; in the insistence on the fulfillment of our nature in art through society; in the certainty of ultimate attainment, our consciousness is being rooted in reality.

The discovery of the personal nature of life and the ultimate freedom of the individual are linked in the New Testament (the Gospels) with the denial of the need for acquisition & coercion. Human beings are regarded as a community of persons needing neither law nor organization; or rather rejecting both for the sake of community; nobody rules; it is a state of ideal anarchy. Society is at best tolerated. Community transcends society.

In a complex society such a position becomes idealist. The Christian who accepts it as it stands overrules society not in reality but merely in imagination. Community to be real must both transcend and transform society.

DRAFT STATEMENT

~~Structure of~~ ^X human consciousness is being re-formed in our epoch.

Man's consciousness of ~~his~~ self was born out of the ^{recognition} knowledge of death: ~~consciousness is essentially this recognition.~~ The discovery of the true nature of man—that life is personal and free—~~re-formed his consciousness.~~ In our time the ~~very~~ ^{structure} structure of man's consciousness is again being ~~modified~~ ^{changed} ~~by the knowledge of society.~~ ^{by the recognition}

*He cannot contract out of it
Kant's
Voluntary*

Society is inescapable, ~~or death itself~~. We cannot help living our lives at the expense of others. Man in society is, ~~even~~ though unwittingly, generating power, and is thereby coercing other men. ~~Public opinion is~~ ^{Public opinion} public opinion, ~~to which each man contributes whether he likes it or not.~~ ^{is itself a form of power.} He cannot withdraw from society ~~except in imagination.~~ Freedom ~~from society is gained only at the expense of discovering our debts to other people.~~ In the very attempt to safeguard the freedom of personality, we lose its content; ~~in~~ trying to live our personal lives, we cease to be persons.

Society is ^{dealing unmercifully, like death} ~~second~~ death; by the knowledge of it we grow mature. The freedom that we lose is illusory, the freedom that we gain is valid. (That freedom we lose by the recognition of society is illusory...) In the acceptance of our loss; in the insistence on the fulfilment of our nature in and through society; in the certainty of ultimate attainment, our consciousness is being rooted in reality.

are?

Christ with Man
The discovery of the personal nature of life and the ultimate freedom of the individual ~~were~~ ^{are} linked in the New Testament with the denial of the need for compulsion & coercion. Human beings are regarded as a community of persons needing neither law nor organization; or rather rejecting both for the sake of community; nobody rules; it is a state of ideal anarchy. ~~Society is at best tolerated.~~ ^{Community transcends society.}

?

Yet Jesus himself insisted on
In a complex society such a position is ~~merely~~ ^{merely} idealist. The Christian who accepts it as it stands overcomes society not in reality but merely in imagination. Community to be real must both ~~transcend~~ ^{transcend} and transform society.

Jesus

6.5. 58.

Draft Statement
by a Christian Left Group.

The forms of man's consciousness are being ~~reformed~~^{cast} in our epoch. Out of the knowledge of death human consciousness was born. It was re-formed by the discovery of the inner freedom of the person. In our time it is being formed again by the knowledge of society, the alternatives of which are as inescapable as death itself. In man's recognition of his loss, ~~of his freedom~~, in the necessity of vindicating his freedom in spite of society, and in the certainty of ultimate attainment his existence touches rock bottom. The freedom he loses is illusory, the freedom he gains is valid.

To the new consciousness the self-estrangement of man under capitalism becomes apparent, and the socialist transformation is recognised as the only means by which self-estrangement can be overcome, and personal life reclaimed in a complex society.

In the cataclysm of our time it is Christianity that is destroying this civilisation and bringing in a new one. The Christian force in history is asserting its creative nature by annihilating an order of things which is attempting to negate it. We find ourselves etc.

(The rest as in former draft.)

Draft Statement by a C.I. Group.

Human consciousness is being reformed in our epoch.

Man's consciousness of self was born out of the recognition of death. His consciousness was reformed by the discovery of the true nature of man - that life is personal and free. In our time the form of man's consciousness is being changed by the recognition of society.

Society is inescapable. We cannot help living our lives at the expense of others. Man in society is, though unwittingly, generating power, and is thereby coercing other men. He cannot contract out of it. Even public opinion is itself a form of power to which each man contributes whether he likes it or not. There is no withdrawal from society except in imagination. Freedom from society is gained at the moral expense of disowning our debts to others. In the very attempt to safeguard personality we lose its content.

Like the knowledge of death, so the knowledge of society is final; by it we grow wiser. That freedom which we lose by the recognition of society is illusory; the freedom we gain is valid. In the acceptance of our loss, in the insistence on the fulfillment of our nature in and through society; in the certainty of ultimate attainment, our consciousness is being re-grounded in reality.

The discovery of the personal nature of life and of the ultimate freedom of the individual is linked in the Gospels with the denial of the need for acquisition and coercion. Human beings are there regarded as a community of persons needing neither law nor organization, and rejecting both for the sake of assembly; nobody rules; it is a state of ideal anarchy. Community transcends society, which is at best tolerated.

Still, the Gospels insisted on social and economic justice, on the transformation of social institutions. Anarcho-Community, to be real, must both transform society and transcend it. Even the comparatively society of the times could not be ignored.

Under a complex division of labour, extending greater and greater numbers, society is "destiny unnumberable, like death." That idealist community of the anarchoist does not overcome society in reality but merely in imagination.

From other men, man is estranged from himself. The socialist transformation is recognized

Draft Statement
by a Christian Left Group.

Human consciousness is being re-formed in our epoch.

Man's consciousness of self was born out of the recognition of death. His consciousness was re-formed by the discovery of the true nature of man - that life is personal and free. In our time the form of man's consciousness is being changed by the recognition of society.

Society is inescapable. We cannot help living our lives at the expense of others. Man in society is, though unwittingly, generating power, and is thereby coercing other men. He cannot prevent contact out of it. Even public opinion is itself a form of power to which each man contributes whether he likes it or not. There is no withdrawal from society, except in imagination. Freedom from society is gained at the moral expense of disowning our debts to others. In the very attempt to safeguard individual personality we lose its content.

~~The knowledge of society is not a final knowledge, but a knowledge that is always being re-formed by the discovery of the true nature of man.~~

Like the knowledge of death, so is the knowledge of society final; by it we grow mature. That freedom we lose by the recognition of society is illusory, the freedom that we gain is valid. In the acceptance of our loss, in the insistence on the fulfillment of our nature is and through society; in the certainty of ultimate attainment, our consciousness is being rooted in reality.

The discovery of the personal nature of life and the ultimate freedom of the individual are linked in the Gospels with the denial of the need for compulsion and coercion. Human beings are there regarded as a community of persons needing neither law nor organization, or not rejecting both for the sake of comfort; nobody rules; it is a state of ideal anarchy. Community transcends society, which is at best tolerable.

-ly

Still, even in the comparative simple society of the time could not be ignored. The Gospels insisted on social and economic justice, on the transformation of existing social institutions. Community to be real, must both transcend society and transform it.

Under a complex system of division of labour embracing a greater and greater numbers society is "destiny unchangeable, like death". The idealist community of the anarchist does not overcome society in reality but merely in imagination.

To the new consciousness the condition of man under capitalism appears for what it is - a state of self-estrangement. By being estranged from other men, man is estranged from himself. The socialist.....

Notes on the Early Marx. *Works of* - 1 - *The Marxist Review of Left-Progressive*

In the present crisis of the working class movement the study of the early ~~1844~~ ^{key} works of Marx is ^{of} ~~the~~ greatest importance.

We know by the letter to his father of 10th November 1837 ~~that~~ ^{reveals that} his earliest work was a ~~24~~ ³⁸⁴ sheet Dialog ~~carrying~~ ^{under} the title "Kleanthes or the starting-point and necessary evolution of philosophy." Marx described this work as "aphilosophico-dialectical development of the Godhead as it manifests itself in its idea, in religion, nature, history".. According to Marx himself he spared

no mental energy ~~in trying~~ ^{to} to make this work what he called a new ~~idea~~ ^{idea} ~~which~~ ^{appeared} (to his dismay) to ~~be~~ ^{landed} him ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ Hegel's logic. The fact of his having destroyed them ~~because~~ ^{because} ~~he~~ ^{he} ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~convinced~~ ^{convinced} ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~they~~ ^{they} ~~were~~ ^{were} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~no~~ ^{no} ~~value~~ ^{value} ~~at~~ ^{at} ~~all~~ ^{all} proved

no more that he discarded his original starting point as unsound than ~~his~~ ^{his} ~~subsequent~~ ^{subsequent} ~~decision~~ ^{decision} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~leave~~ ^{leave} ~~it~~ ^{it} ~~unpublished~~ ^{unpublished} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~not~~ ^{not} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~allow~~ ^{allow} the MS of "Nationalökonomie and Philosophie" ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~be~~ ^{be} ~~published~~ ^{published} detracts from the merits of this ~~work~~ ^{essay} which since its comparatively recent publication has been recognised ~~as~~ ^{as} the ~~key~~ ^{key} to Marx's later thought.

~~It was in his early work that Marx laid down the foundations of his philosophy and it is precisely these foundations that are being attacked at present both by Fascist bourgeois and by Trotzkyite and Neo-Beginnen Critics. Some of the questions arising out of the day, the day of the 50's, are the following:~~

I. What is socialism?

More and more often we hear the assertion that there is no

2X 116
144

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The assertion that there
may be answers by referring

This is because

the ~~historical~~ forms of the organisation of ~~material~~ production under ~~capitalist~~ conditions of the ~~modern~~ ~~age~~, ~~which~~, ~~would~~ ~~finally~~ ~~put~~ ~~an~~ ~~end~~ ~~to~~ ~~self-~~ ~~alienation~~. This transformation ~~cannot~~ be brought about ~~in~~ ~~any~~ ~~other~~ ~~way~~ ~~than~~ ~~by~~ ~~society~~ ~~as~~ ~~a~~ ~~whole~~, for ~~when~~ ~~a~~ ~~socialist~~ ~~economic~~ ~~order~~ ~~is~~ ~~in~~ ~~place~~ ~~an~~ ~~order~~ ~~of~~ ~~production~~ ~~and~~ ~~distribution~~ (and the ~~corresponding~~ ~~forms~~ ~~of~~ ~~property~~ ~~appropriate~~ ~~to~~ ~~such~~ ~~an~~ ~~order~~) under which a socialist society can be brought into existence. ~~For~~ ~~an~~ ~~analysis~~ ~~of~~ ~~capitalist~~ ~~society~~ ~~shows~~ ~~conclusively~~ that ~~the~~ ~~communal~~ ~~ownership~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~means~~ ~~of~~ ~~production~~ ~~is~~ ~~the~~ ~~distinctive~~ ~~trait~~ ~~of~~ ~~a~~ ~~socialist~~ ~~economic~~ ~~order~~.

In ~~a~~ ~~socialist~~ ~~society~~ the freedom of man is fulfilled: ~~overcome~~ self-alienation human individuality is free to develop ~~in~~ ~~accordance~~ ~~with~~ ~~its~~ ~~own~~ ~~nature~~ ~~while~~ ~~society~~ ~~as~~ ~~a~~ ~~whole~~ ~~is~~ ~~released~~ ~~from~~ ~~the~~ ~~tyranny~~ ~~of~~ ~~quasi-natural~~ ~~laws~~.

~~Under~~ ~~the~~ ~~sway~~ ~~of~~ ~~which~~ ~~humanity~~ ~~continues~~ ~~to~~ ~~exist~~ ~~under~~ ~~capitalism~~, Mankind ~~is~~ ~~gaining~~ ~~consciousness~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~meaning~~ ~~and~~ ~~significance~~ ~~of~~ ~~its~~ ~~actual~~ ~~activities~~ ~~and~~ ~~is~~ ~~fulfilling~~ ~~its~~ ~~freedom~~.

That criticism of socialism which ~~is~~ ~~based~~ ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~fact~~ ~~that~~ ~~socialism~~ ~~is~~ ~~not~~ ~~an~~ ~~economic~~ ~~order~~ ~~which~~ ~~is~~ ~~distinguished~~ ~~from~~ ~~fascism~~ ~~in~~ ~~a~~ ~~mere~~ ~~superficial~~ ~~way~~, ~~takes~~ ~~no~~ ~~account~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~fact~~ ~~that~~ ~~socialism~~ ~~is~~ ~~not~~ ~~an~~ ~~economic~~ ~~order~~ ~~which~~ ~~is~~ ~~distinguished~~ ~~from~~ ~~fascism~~ ~~in~~ ~~a~~ ~~mere~~ ~~superficial~~ ~~way~~.

socialist society and of the fact that socialism is primarily a type of human society and only secondarily an economic order.

That criticism of socialism which affects to see no difference between Fascism and Socialism takes no account of the fact that socialism is primarily a type of society and only secondarily an economic order. In the early works of Marx the ~~fact~~ religious ~~idea~~ of the socialist society in stages ~~is~~ revealed.

It can easily be shown that the ~~Marxist~~ Kapital at the heart of which we find the fetish theory of commodities/values, is but an application of the ~~Marxist~~ principle of self-alienation to phenomena.

The economic ~~Marxist~~ under capitalism. Historical materialism is a method by which the contradictions resulting from human self-alienation can be shown up in the structure of economic ~~life~~ and the elements can be discovered ~~within~~

within economic life itself which ~~show~~ the way ~~to their~~ solution of these contradictions. ~~The~~ classes are actors in this drama; class war is the process in which the contradictions are ~~both~~ both constituted and resolved.

It is essential to this conception that the overcoming of self-alienation cannot be a purely/ideal ~~process~~ - it must involve a real change in the social fabric; (this change on the other hand cannot be purely material - it is the consciousness of the classes involved which ~~is~~ the decisive factor which ~~enables~~ enabled them to fulfil their historic mission.

6. constitute themselves into a class by developing a consciousness of their position in the process of production, ~~the~~ From this aspect, socialism is the outlook of the class conscious modern proletariat, ~~for to him the general interest of society is summed up in the~~ ~~abolition of the~~ ~~class society~~ ~~the final overcoming of self-alienation and the establishment of a human society in the Marxian sense of the term. But for the existence of such a class, the disintegration of capitalism would be the end of our civilisation. And, indeed, unless the working class is true to its mission, mankind must sink back into barbarism.~~

one thing needed
The Socialist class consciousness is the ~~young necessarium~~ ~~lacking~~ which ~~the workers are not an~~ ~~effective factor in history. They are a class only~~ ~~by their consciousness of their position in society and their~~ ~~historical mission which follows~~ ~~therefrom.~~ *acceptance*

~~Class leadership developed the idea of class leadership~~ ~~logical consequences.~~ ~~Class leadership means~~ ~~of the interests of the leading class to those whom~~ ~~they are destined to lead, except for these cultural and~~ ~~intellectual "interests" which the working class cannot even~~ ~~temporarily sacrifice without dimming its social~~ *implies some degree of* *subordination* *the interests of* *the*

losing its very
 ist class consciousness and thereby ~~becoming a~~
 leading class. ~~It~~ ^{is}
~~very~~ quality of ~~the~~ ~~class~~ is by virtue of ~~this~~ this quality
 that the working class is enabled to ~~develop~~ develop the tac-
 tics deriving from ~~this~~ ^{the} task. No sacrifice of ~~the~~ socialist
~~element~~ element of ~~this~~ ^{the} consciousness impossible without
 directing the
~~the~~ the working ~~class~~ class of its character as a
 class
 as a class. ~~the~~ ~~working~~ ~~class~~ ~~of~~ ~~its~~ ~~character~~ ~~as~~ ~~a~~ ~~class~~
~~the~~ ~~working~~ ~~class~~ ~~of~~ ~~its~~ ~~character~~ ~~as~~ ~~a~~ ~~class~~

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K.P. - MARX ON SELF-ESTRANGEMENT

In the present crisis of the working-class movement, the study of the earlier works of Karl Marx is of great importance. The letter to his father (10th November, 1837) reveals that his earliest work was a dialogue of 384 pages, entitled Eleanthes: "or the starting point and necessary evolution of philosophy". Marx described this work as a "philosophico-dialectical development of the godhead, as it manifests in its idea, in religion, nature, history..." According to Marx himself, he spared no mental energy to make this work what he called a new logic. The fact of his having destroyed the MS because in his dismay it appeared to land him where Hegel began, no more proves that he discarded his original starting-point as unsound, that his subsequent decision to leave unpublished the MS of Nationalokonomie and Philosophie detracts from the merits of that essay - which, since its comparatively recent publication, has been widely recognised as the key to Marx's later thought. In the following notes we discuss what light is thrown by the Earlier works of Marx.

- 1) on the essential meaning of Socialism, and
- 2) on the significance of class-consciousness in the struggle to achieve it.

1. What is Socialism?

If more and more frequently we encounter the assertion that "there is no essential difference between Fascism and Communism" the reference to the earlier works of Marx should supply us with the true answer.

According to the Theses on Feuerbach, 10, "the outlook of the old materialism was that of 'Civil Society' (#); the outlook of the new is that of human society, of humanity in terms of society". This is the

Translation of bürgerliche Gesellschaft, which literally means civil society, but actually signifies industrial life.

MARK ON SELF-ESTRANGEMENT - Cont'd

basic definition of socialism in Marx. A human society is one in which the relationships of human beings are distinctively human, i.e., direct, unmediated, "for their own sake", personal.

Historical Materialism is based on the conviction that man cannot overcome the state of self-estrangement except by superseding the existing forms of production in our society. This is because self-estrangement is simply the result of division of labour in a non-primitive society. In a market-society, there is no immediate relationship between producers, since the goods they produce are exchanged through the medium of the market. This market-barrier, causing an estrangement between men, is what Marx means by the self-estrangement of Man (#)

Socialism is therefore that change in the forms of the organisation of production, which, under the conditions of the machine age, would put an end to self-estrangement. Accordingly a socialist economic order is defined as an order of production and distribution (and the juristic forms appropriate to such an order) under which a socialist society can alone be brought into existence. For an analysis of capitalist society will easily shew that communal ownership of the means of production must be the distinctive characteristic of a socialist economic order.

In a socialist society the freedom of man is fulfilled. Once the state of self-estrangement is overcome, human individuality is free to develop in accordance with its own nature, while society as a whole is released from the shackles of the quasi-natural laws which constrain it under capitalism. Mankind gains an insight into the nature of its own capabilities and activities and achieves its freedom.

It should be noted that division of labour does not refer to that characteristic of modern production, by which, for example, one pair of shoes is made by a number of workers, each individual worker being responsible for one small process. Since a man identifies himself with

- Footnote cont'd from previous page.
the thing he makes, to produce only a fragment of a thing (in itself meaningless) robs his life of its full significance. But this is not what Marx meant by self-estrangement.

The criticism of socialism, which affects to see no essential difference between facism and socialism, starts out by disregarding the fact that socialism is primarily a type of society, and only secondarily an economic order. It can easily be shown that Capital (#), at the heart of which we find the fetish theory of commodity values, is but an application of the principle of self-estrangement to economic phenomena under capitalism. From this point of view, Historical Materialism is a method by which we can discover in the structure of economic life both the contradictions resulting from human estrangement and the elements which point the way to their resolution. Social classes are the actors in this drama: the class struggle is the process in which the contradictions are both constituted and resolved. In this view, the overcoming of self-estrangement cannot be merely subjective and ideal - it must involve a real change in the social fabric; but this change on the other hand cannot be merely material - it is the consciousness of the class involved which is the decisive factor, enabling it to fulfil its historic destiny.

2. Class, Class Struggle and Class Consciousness.

Marx assumed that the improvement of the productive apparatus and its organisation must be generally recognised as in the interests of society as a whole. It is the function of the different classes to ensure the best use of actual or virtual instruments of production linking their own interests to the social conditions which ensure such use. When the actual or virtual means of production are changed, that

- CAPITAL I.i.4.

MARX ON SELF-ESTRANGEMENT - cont'd.

class of society whose interests suffer from the existing order will become the protagonist of progress by standing for the establishment of conditions which will allow productive forces to be used to the full. Its position in society singles out such a class as progressive; it alone will be in a position to voice the general interests of mankind in that age. Its mission is to achieve the next step in human development. By virtue of this mission it is the natural and real leader in the period of change; other groups and strata in society will follow its lead and support its effort to bring about this change.

The first condition to be fulfilled if a group or stratum of the population is to be enabled to fulfill its mission as a class is that it constitutes itself as such, by recognizing its position in society. The workers constitute themselves into a class by developing a consciousness of their position in the process of capitalist production. From this aspect socialism is the outlook of the class conscious modern proletariat, because for him the general interest of society is summed up in the final overcoming of self-estrangement and the establishment of a human society (in the Marxian sense of the term) by the abolition of class society. But for the existence of such a class, the inevitable disintegration of capitalism would be the end of our civilization, and, indeed, unless the working class is true to its mission, mankind must sink back into barbarism.

Socialist class-consciousness is the one thing needful, lacking which the workers cannot be an effective factor in history. They are a class by virtue of their consciousness of their position in society, and the acceptance of their historical mission arising therefrom.

MARX ON SELF ESTRANGEMENT - (cont'd)

Class leadership implies some degree of subordination of the material interests of the leading class to the interests of those whom they are required to lead. But the cultural and intellectual interests cannot be sacrificed even temporarily by the working-class, without dimming its socialist class-consciousness, and thereby losing that very quality by virtue of which it is the leading class. Only ~~by~~ through this quality is the working-class enabled to develop the tactics adequate to its task.