

October 6th, 1935.

Annandale,

"Aux" Conference for  
younger men and women in industry  
and commerce.

The question:

"What is our social and political philosophy in the light of  
which we interpret events and situations?"

After some thought, I have decided that I would not try to state  
this philosophy. Abstract. And its real meaning could be after all  
only ~~shown~~ <sup>revealed</sup> by the manner we applied it to interpret events and  
situations of our present time.

So why not start <sup>with</sup> on these events and situations straight away?  
Incidentally, they will reveal our interpretation of them, and  
thus the philosophy underlying this interpretation.

Indeed, there is ~~more~~ <sup>definite</sup> to it: THERE IS A <sup>definite</sup> ~~conviction~~ <sup>conviction</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>about</sup> THE ESSENCE OF  
THESE EVENTS AND SITUATIONS ~~implied~~ <sup>in</sup> OUR DECISION. THE NATURE

a/ The centre of happening in these days is not in ourselves. it is  
outside us, in the world. WE MUST UNDERSTAND OUR TIMES. WE  
must learn to read the signs of the times. It would be useless to  
try to get clarity about ourselves, if we failed to understand  
that which was happening ~~to~~ <sup>in</sup> the world. THIS IS NOT A  
GENERAL AXIOM. IT IS A STATEMENT ABOUT OUR TIME; IT IS TRUE TO-DAY.

b/ We have ceased to be the active ~~center~~ <sup>center</sup> of happening. It is not we,  
primarily, who change the world at present. It is the world  
which is overtaking and affecting us. It is not we who invade,  
history, it is history breaking into our lives. It is essentially  
a passive role, to which we are called, not an active  
one. But a passivity not of inaction, but of the most intense  
happening ~~in~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~the world~~ <sup>in the world</sup>.

c/ We must try to understand what Christ ~~is doing to the world?~~  
Where is he? We must not be found "sleeping". How can we  
live and be, so as not to resist the will of God but ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> fulfill  
it? ~~obtain~~

I. What is the situation like <sup>in</sup> which we ~~find~~ <sup>find</sup> ourselves?  
of the past

I. WE must get away from the <sup>idea</sup> ~~concept~~ that the war and the peace treaties  
were the great events of our generation. ~~These are a matter of~~  
this only obscures our vision for the real epochal changes. (Whether  
they were a consequence of the war, or the war only a consequence  
of the working of these forces beneath the surface, is another  
matter.) ~~and indifferent to this issue.~~

The essential thing is this: The epochal change begins  
in 1925 in Italy, ~~at a time when Mussolini had already~~ <sup>at a time when Mussolini had already</sup>  
in 1928 in Russia, ~~at a time when everybody expected the "Directorial"~~ <sup>at a time when everybody expected the "Directorial"</sup>  
in 1933 in Germany, ~~phase of the Revolution; it had~~ <sup>phase of the Revolution; it had</sup>  
in 1933 in USA.

... actually war and death were to be felt that  
anywhere else, yet late centuries in most of  
nothing at all, with all of them.





BANKING

ALIEN DEAL

limit of  
warrant (employees)  
Participate



creative  
creative

view

The principle which is involved is Individualism and Democracy.

Fascism is the category denial of these two and of their corollary: universalism, internationalism, common human equality.

Socialism is the maintenance of the principle of individualism in a complex industrial society; it is the extension of Democracy from the merely representative to the economic field. (territorially) (political) (full)

But this process <sup>entails accompanied by</sup> is burdened with vast economic, moral and psychological sacrifices. ~~loss of~~ <sup>loss of</sup> liberty in the first stages; much coercion; force and violence, even if only to enforce democratically enacted laws; These sacrifices are indeed so great that Mankind may well ~~prefer~~ <sup>prefer</sup> the broad way than the narrow path. -- (eventhough only for a time.)

That Fascism means infinitely greater sacrifices, ~~no~~ does not enter into account, for Fascism is never deliberately preferred, it is not willed: it means the negation of responsibility, the ~~voluntary~~ <sup>voluntary</sup> or at least deliberate moral disfranchisement of the individual. He who chooses Fascism allowed to pretend ~~not~~ <sup>not</sup> to have chosen at all. It is this lowering of the moral stature of man, that makes Fascism incomparable to Democracy (as an alternative). He who chooses Socialism, remains responsible for his choice; he who chooses Fascism, is relieved from this responsibility by the very nature of his choice.

*Practically  
T. Abolitionism*

This makes it all-important that the economic, moral and political sacrifices of the extension of Democracy should be ~~known~~ <sup>known</sup>. WHAT KIND OF SOLUTIONS WILL BE FOUND, NOBODY CAN KNOW. We know the nature of the problem, we do not know the possibilities of solutions. In fact these possibilities depend upon forces which are yet ~~so~~ <sup>so</sup> hidden in the depths of the souls of the individuals who will play a ~~part~~ <sup>part</sup> in these changes. THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM OF OUR TIMES SEEMS IMMUTABLY FIXED; IT IS THE LAW OF SUBDEN CHANGE; BUT THE SOLUTIONS ARE UNKNOWN. ANYTHING, IN A SENSE, IS "POSSIBLE"; Everything may depend on us.

*I reduced as much as possible.*

*L.A. DOWN*

III. The spiritual preparedness of individuals <sup>individuals</sup> assumes an importance <sup>of a magnitude</sup> ~~unparalleled~~ <sup>unparalleled</sup> ~~essentially different~~ <sup>essentially different</sup> from any time ~~we have knowledge of~~ <sup>we have knowledge of</sup> -- except, perhaps the first century of our Western and Mediterranean history. THESE ARE THE TIMES IN WHICH FAITH MOVES MOUNTAINS; In fact they are already on the move. Faith may decide whether they will crush us or usher in ~~a new life~~ <sup>a new life</sup>, perhaps ~~more~~ <sup>more</sup> infinitely nearer to our destiny than that of the past.

~~But~~ <sup>But</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~divine~~ <sup>divine</sup> ~~chances~~ <sup>chances</sup> ~~are~~ <sup>are</sup> ~~certainly~~ <sup>certainly</sup> ~~are~~ <sup>are</sup>, that we will be crushed. <sup>seen</sup> ~~But~~ <sup>But</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~divine~~ <sup>divine</sup> ~~chances~~ <sup>chances</sup> ~~are~~ <sup>are</sup> ~~certainly~~ <sup>certainly</sup> ~~are~~ <sup>are</sup>, that we will be crushed. <sup>to be</sup> ~~But~~ <sup>But</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~divine~~ <sup>divine</sup> ~~chances~~ <sup>chances</sup> ~~are~~ <sup>are</sup> ~~certainly~~ <sup>certainly</sup> ~~are~~ <sup>are</sup>, that we will be crushed. <sup>upon our faith.</sup>



What are the tasks facing a man or woman engaged in the higher grades of industry in such a situation?

Personally: there is the fact of the profit motive.

Politically: the fact of continual state interference in industry

Socially: the claims of those manually employed for higher wages and ~~longer~~ shorter hours

A/ What ought to be our attitude to the profit motive insofar as this motive is linked up with the ~~materialistic~~ dispositions concerning producer's plant?

In the present economic system the use made of productive plant is determined by the profit motive.

This, in itself is neither moral nor immoral. As long as there is no alternative method of securing the productive use of raw materials and machinery than this, it may be morally indifferent.

*It is the alternative that makes the moral issue; not the other way round.*

The moral question arises only <sup>on condition of</sup> ~~implication~~ to a real alternative. The existence of this alternative, again, may be disputed on one of two grounds of a very different nature:

- a/ the objective impossibility of organizing an alternative to a market society (incl. the supersession of interest, rent etc.) <sup>based on private property.</sup>
- b/ the subjective impossibility of supplanting the profit motive by an other more altruistic or rather more human motive. (even though the objective problem of administration of industry could be adequately solved).

IT IS THIS SECOND ASPECT WHICH RAISES THE QUESTION OF INDIVIDUAL PREPAREDNESS.

a/ whether in the form of personal preparedness to forgo individual profits out of proportion with exertion and achievement.

b/ or in the more subtle form of <sup>belief</sup> professions of faith concerning human nature in general, (obscuring the issue of one's own personal preparedness). This is really worse than the other <sup>often</sup> the refusal to resign material advantages on one's own account.

B/ State intervention

6/ State intervention in industry.

The overwhelming motive of the increasing state intervention in industry is the necessity of

- a/ increasing security for producers (whether owners or employees) employees)
  - 1/ by introducing elements of planning (this also increases rationality)
  - 2/ by increasing the security of tenure for the employed;

b/ increasing somewhat the justice of in the distribution of incomes, by legelling them up and down (somewhat) this inevitably results in

a/ diminishing considerably the freedom of those concerned with industry.

b/ It is an economic law that every interference with prices (whether of goods, (tariffs,) or capital, (interest or Labour or land use (rent) diminishes the sum total of the goods produced.

The Temptation of the liberal Satan: Dostoevski's paragon of the child.

The Temptation of ~~the~~ the Corporate State: Dostoevski's Great Inquisitor.

A PREPAREDNESS to accept state intervention. To be helpful. To run industry under it. To pay the price. ( Unless you do, administrative Socialism is )

A PREPAREDNESS to accept democratic control ( Unless you do, administrative Socialism is inevitable )

A "new spirit" can make the impossible possible, but never without institutional setting. But it can make institutions workable which could never work on the basis of the old psychology.

8/ Wages and Hours.

Increased cost of production (usually). Never to side with the calcs interest of the employer; but to develop an independent spirit which sees the question in ~~the~~ a wider position. There is no need for a shifting of one's irrad position.

recipe for This not a ~~recipe~~ harmonistic solutions. Such do not exist in our time. ~~They are not~~ I have tried to give an interpretation of the events and ~~present~~ Together with the attitudes towards the chief issues you would meet with, it is an statement of "our social and political philosophy."