October 6th, 1935.

Annandale,

"Aux"Conference for younger menand women inindustry and commerce.

The question: "What is our social and political philosphy in the light of which we interpret events and situations?"

thought , I havedecided that I would nottry to state After some this philosophy. Abstract. Anditsreal meaning could be after all by the manner we applied it to interpret events and only storn situations of our present time.

- of course, have of our present have a Sp whynot start on the se events and situations straight away? Incidentally, the will revealour interpretatation of them , and thus the philosophy underlying this interpretatation.

Indeed, thereismore to it: THERE IS A CONVICTION ON THE ESSENCE OF THESE EVENTSANDSITUATIONS IMPLIELD IN OUR DECISION.

- The centre of happening inthese days isnot inourselves. it is a/ outseideus, inthe world. WE MUST UNDERSTANDOUR TIMES, WE must learn to read the signs of the times. It would be useless to tryto get clarityabout ourselves, is we failed tounderstand tuatwhich was happening to beendwith the world .THIS IS NOT A GENERAL ANXIN. IT IS A STATEMENTABOUT <u>OUR TIME</u>; MISTRUE TO -DAY. We have ceased tobe them tive contra of happening. It isnot we primarily, who changetheworld at meeent. It is the world
- b/ which is overtaking and affecting us. It is not we who invade. history, it ishisotry breaking into our lives. It is essenati tially a passive role, to which we are called, not a n active one. But a passivity not 1 of inaction, but of themost instens Farist is doing to the world? happening participation
- c/ We mustitrytounderstand what Where is he ? We must not be found usleeping ". How can we live and be so as not to resist, the will of God but the to fulfi it?

I. What is the situation like to which we what / Add th Potthe past findourselves?

111

at a time when every hole expected the Directoring"

arting was and Weating unreto it wit This

anywhere de, yet lake centures in south it I tak, will alle of the

st get away from the concept that the war and the peace treaties were the greatevents of our generation. These are a mail of I. WE must get away from the Thisonly obsures our vison for thereal 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 his issue. The essential thing is this: The epotchalchangebegins in 1925 in Itlay, and o line when humsting hum of a start of the surface of

in 1928 inRussia, in 1933 inGermany

in 1933 in USA.

to this you might add 1931 Japan, 1934 Austria and perhaps 1936 France.

The change costists in the emergence of an entirely new politice-econom mic entity, a new typeofistate. New Dictatorshops are as old as history. But these happeningsin modern industrial communities as unparalleled. Also they are different, in different countries: a/ Fascist communities - new

- b/ Socialist states-new
 - c/ the new Deal USA ,- the least in new too

or rolles : words

- d/ disappearance of the old international organis sation of credit, currency, and therefore, of trac for ever.
- e/ to which we must add the new est and little short of miraculous development: the establish ment, even if only tentatively, and perhaps for opportunist reasons, of a new organisational centre of Intenational Life: the League of Nations, which, letus be clear about that, (if it ever will exist), has been founded for all practical purposes week.

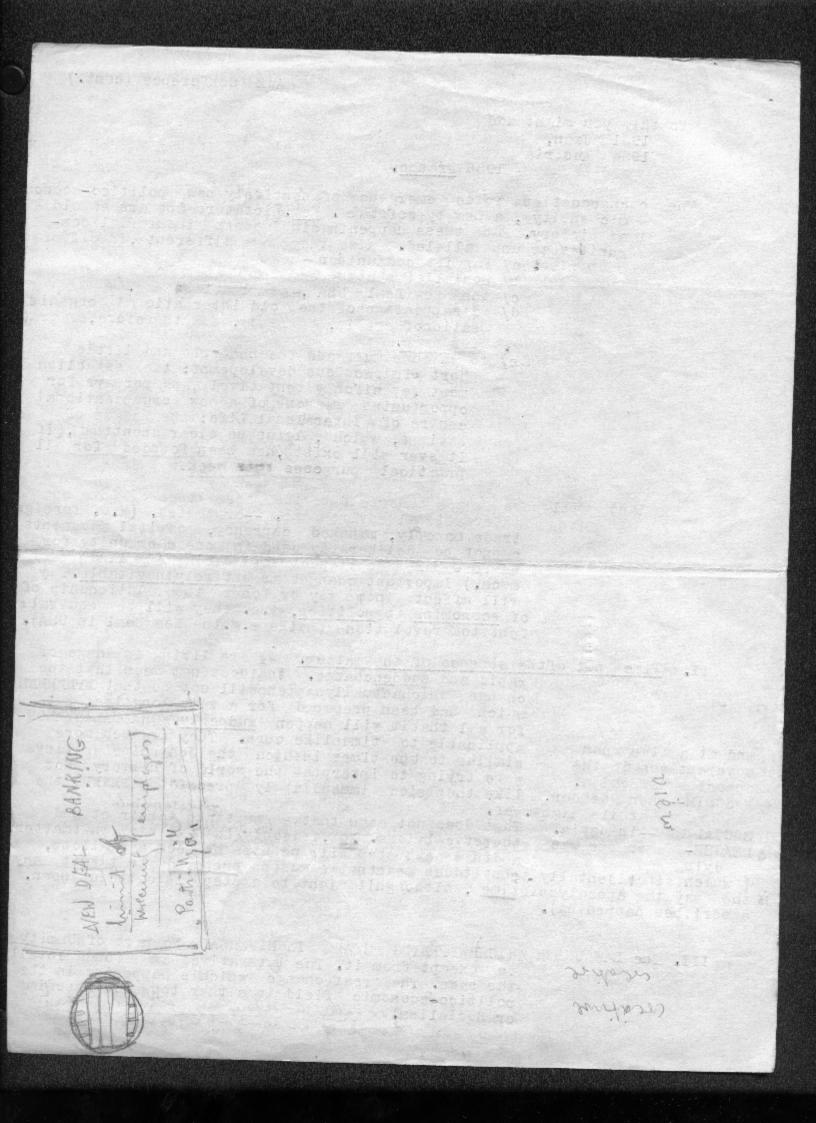
England will have to adapt herself to the necessities of this new international environment. --or perish. (E.G. foreign trade monophy, managed currency, capital movements cannot be deliberately used in one c-ommunity for national purpages without endagnering England, very much.) Important changes as <u>entirelyinevitable</u>. They will affect inome way or toher the relationship of of <u>economics</u> to <u>politics</u>, i.e. they will be equival: .ent to a revolution (like e.g. the New Deal in USA).

Time not of the essence of the watter. We are living in anage of rapid and suddenchange. Thatdoes not mean that the II. change which actually happenswill not be that when have which had been prepared for a very long time. But for all that it will happen <u>suddenly</u> GRADUALITY NONapplicable to timeslike ours. They aremuch more and at a time when similar to the times inwhich the Johannine writings movement was in the were trying to interpret the world of history. Not opposite direction. like the pleiod immediately preceding KNOMMM the a FASCSIM -- when democr. at its hight.war. war. That does not mean thatwe must take Aabstract and thereticalviews. No , it is only there is to p that matters and that next step will per haps be seen a smallone, b SOCIALISM --- inRussia. c LEAGUE- when she was dying

(whichisinctidentally tebutitdoes meanthatwe must be prepared to takeit any is the way the Apocalypsistime, althoughit might be a step into the funknown. describes happening).

III. The LAW UNDER WHICHHAPPENING STANDS ISUNIVERSAL. No part of HUmanity is exempt from it. The Dateratives are fundamentall; the same. The great change which is happening in the politico-economic field is either to wards Fascaim or Socialism, or make to befinite related to the for even though of eutony is synthetic Joluthin.

2.



Aux Conference(cont.)

The principle which is involved is <u>IndividualismandDemocracy</u>. <u>Masosimis</u> the kategoro denialoffacese two and of their corollary: universalism, internationalism, common human equality.

Socialismisthe maintenance of the principle of individualism in a complex industrial society; it is the exentsion of <u>behocracyf</u>rom the merely representative to the economic field. Therritorially political

But this process is the derivative vast economic, Emoral and psychological sacrifices. Institutions loss of liberty in the first stages, ; much coercion; force : and violence, even if only to enforce democrafticall ly enacted laws; These sacrififices are indeed so gr great that Mankind may well? These are indeed so gr the narrow path ...-(eventhoughonly for a time.)

> That Fascsim means infitely greater sacrififeces, MA does not enter into account, for Fascismisnever deliberately preferred, it isnot willed:: it means the the negation of resposibility, the MMMMMM volutomar or at aleast deliberate moral 7 disfrances ement of the indivdual. He who choses Fascsimis allowed to pretend MMMMM not to have chosen atall. It is this lowering of the moralistature of man, that makes Fascsim incomparable to Democracy (as an alterative). He who choses Scolalism, Temains responsible for his choice; he who choses Fascsim, is releaved from this responsiblity by the very nature of nischoice.

This makes it all-important that the economic, moral and poli tical sacrifices of the extension of Democracy should be MANMANNAL WEIGHT SOLUTIONS WILL BE FOR FOUND, NOBODY CANKNOW. We know the hature of the probl blem, we donot know the possible type solutions. Infact these possiblities depend upon forces which as yet who will play a BANNAMAN of the souls of the individuals who will play a BANNAMAN OF OURTIR'S SEEMS IMMUTABLY FIXED; IT ISTHE LAW OF SUBDEN CHANGE; BUT THE SOLUTION are unknown. ANYTHINGY, INA SENSEY, is "possible", Everything may depend on us.

The spiritual preparedness of individlas assumes an importance Y a majurnest IIII. unpavalleled dissontially different from any time MMMMMM we have know ledge of -- except , pernaps thefirstcentry of our Western and Mediterranean history, THESE ARE THEFIMES FAITH MOVES MOUNTANIN; Infact theyare IN WHICH already on the move. Faith maydecide whether they will crushus or usher inthe //Kpr. good a new life, perhaps MIM infintely nearer toour destiny, than that of the past. Bit/iffilily//Thehumanchances & certainly are , that we willbecrupshed. But the divine outcome Acpents them out aith. chance.

& reduced as much as mosnile.

Preatly Tabeducation

3.

Aux Conference(cont.)

IIWhat are the tasks facing (a manor woman engaged in the nigher grades of industry (insucha situation?)

Personally: there is the fact of the profit motive. Politically: the fact of contineual state interference in indeustry Socialty: the claims of those manually employed for higher wages and Atom hours shorter

A/ What ought tobe our attitude to the profit motive insofar as this motive is linked up with the Managaraha dispositions concern ing producer's pant?

In thepresent economic system the use made ofproductive plant is determined by the profit motive.

This, in itself is neither moral nor immoral. As long as there is no laternative method of securing the productive use raw materials and machinery thanthis, it maybe morally indiffer ent. The moral questionarises only impedation is a anactual alternative

The moral questionarises only impedation to a anactual atternative The existence of this alternative/again, may be disputed on one of two groundsofa very different nature:

that varies he moved come ; not the other long round.

Mijle allerable

4.

a/ the objective impossibility of organizing an aternative to a market soceity (incl. the superseession of interest, rent etc.) based on prior property.
b/the subjective impossibility of supplanting the profit motive by an other more altruistic or rather more but the subjective by an other more altruistic or rather more but the subjective by an other more altruistic or rather more but the subjective by an other more altruistic or rather more but the subjective by an other more altruistic or rather more but the subjective by an other more altruistic or rather more but the subjective by an other more altruistic or rather more but the subjective by an other more altruistic or rather more but the subjective by an other more altruistic or rather more but the subjective by an other more altruistic or rather more but the subjective by an other more altruistic or rather more but the subjective by an other more altruistic or rather more but the subjective by an other more altruistic or rather more but the subjective by an other more altruistic or rather more but the subjective by an other more altruistic or rather more but the subjective by an other more altruistic or rather more but the subjective by an other more but the subjective by an other more altruistic or rather more but the subjective by an other more by an other more by an other more by an other more by a

human motive. (eventhougythe objective problem of adminstiration of industry could be adequately solve ed).

IT ISTHISSHCOND ASPECT WHICHRAIS S THE QUESTIONOF INDIVIDU DUAL PREPAREDNESS.

> a/ whether intheformof porsonal preparedness t to forgo individual profits out of proportion with exertion and achieveme ment.

b/ or in themore sublteformof professions of faith concerning human nature / ingener general, (obscuring the issue of one's own personal prepare dness). This is really worse than the other the refusa sal to resign material advantages. on one's own account.

1/ sterenenting,

E/ State intervention in industry.

The overwhelming motiveofthe icreasing state intervetnion inindustry is the necessity of a/ invreasing socurity for producers (whether owers or emplees) employees)

1/ by introducing elegantrofpalnning (this also increases ratiogality)

2/ by increasing the security of tenure for the employed;

b/ increasing somewhat the justice of in the distrubtuion of incomes, by legelling them up anddown (somewhat) results in this inevitably

e/ diminishing considerably the freedom of those concerned wwith industry.

b/It isaneconomiclaw that every interferencewith prices (whether of goods, (tariffs,)or capital, (interest or land use (rent) diminishes the sumtotal or Labour oftnegoods produced.

Temptafficn of the liberal Satan: Dostoevski's partigma of the child. The

The Temptation of 1000 the Corporate State :Dostoevskis Great Inquisit: tor.

to accept state intervention . To be aelpful. A FREPAREDNILSS To runind Sutry under it. To pay the price. (Unless you do, adminstirative Socialism im A FREPAHEDNESS to accept democratic control

(Unless you do, adminstrative Socialism , inevi

A"new spririt" canmake theimpossible possible, bytnever without institutional setting. But it canmake institution tions workable which could never work on the basis of the old psychology.

B/ Wages and Hours.

Increased cost of production(usually). Never toside with the <u>calss</u> interest of the employer; but to develop, an independent spir spirit , waich sees the question in Munufisetting. a wider MENGAHNMANHAMMANADARA There isno need for a shifting of one's iwrad position.

recipe for

This not a ######//###### harmonistic solutions. Suchdonotexist in Present. out time. Nor did they can dist, hulp. I have tryied to give aninterpretariationof the events and situation of y Together with the attitudes towards the calef issues you would meet with , it is anystat ementof our social and political philosophy. marnot