

INTRODUCTION.

This subject bears a special reference to the question raised last night: *of the general outlook* of a revolutionary socialist in ~~the~~ British democracy.

To this purpose general ~~descriptions~~ like "Decay of Capitalism" are insufficient.

We need a much fuller and closer understanding of the main aspects of this crisis, something to explain the great measure of inevitability in this process and the great measure in which actual solutions continue to depend upon deliberate human activity, upon individual sacrifice.

here again it is not enough *freedom necessity and freedom*
 And ~~we need~~ to have some general definition of these two aspects as contained in a philosophy of history, but we need ~~an~~ application to the actual process in our time.

a definition of
 By "The Nature of the present world crisis" we mean such an analysis of this process ~~in our time~~, as will allow ~~us~~ a final orientation of our individual life as a Socialist in England to-day.

The definition of the "present world crisis".

I. Where?

Geographical extent: In one way or another the political and economic system under which the populations live (or rather the ~~relationship~~ relationship of the political system to the economic) has ~~undergone~~ undergone a change in

	the USA	130	300	Japan	100	Germ	60	Poland	35
<u>political-economic unitizes</u>	USSR	170				Italy	40	100 France	45
								Austria	7 + 7
								Turkey	15

two system draws closer
 300 + 100 + 100 + 100 = 600 Million.

Inevitability of adaptation for Great Britain, even if peace maintained. Soft skinned animal amongst pachyderms.

II. When?

Extension in time: In one way or another all the essential changes coming about during the course of the last 10 years or less. It is important to *realise* that the Great War and the Peace treaties together with the commotions immediately following upon them were parts of a ~~closed~~ *closed* period of history, in fact the closing stage of the XIX century, probably the ~~close end~~ *close end* of the liberal national state era which emerged from the religious wars of the ~~XX~~ XVII century.

2. The Great War the same type of meaningless conflict of *groups of* Great Powers as

2. (The Nature of the present world crisis).

Powers as is common under the system of liberal national states. Their alignment as such means nothing or not much more than nothing.

b. The Peace Treaties ^{hit} the usual treaties.

c. The Post War revolutions the usual disintegration of governments following upon defeat.

d. The Post War counterrevolutions the usual back-swing of the balance, when traumatic changes are ~~momentarily~~ partly abolished again by the conservative forces asserting themselves. i.e. by reaction.

Insofar as ^{positive} ~~achievements~~ achievements are the outcome (^{permanent} establishment of national states and constitutional governments) this is no new development but the necessary spreading towards the East of the process started by the French Revolution i.e. the establishment of national states and the ~~abolishment of~~ ~~feudalism~~ destruction of feudalism.

BUT THIS PROCESS WAS IN THE MAIN AT AN END BY THE MIDDLE OF THE TWENTIES.

a. Russia. The NEP meant the end of the revolution. "Enrichissez-vous" (Bucharin.) The directorie phase. The Thermidore. The revolution had spent itself.

The Five Years plan not only a new departure in theory and practice, but certainly a ~~completely~~ new departure as a process. No mechanical causation, no cause and effect or dialectical relationship between the End of the Russian Revolution and the infinitely more important development called the Five Years Plans. (Trotzky paid dearly for this disjunction). 1928.

b. Italy. Psychologically, Italy belongs to the group of defeated countries. Occupation of the Factories; Fascism only a name without a content (certainly not its specific content). Politically, it starts with January 1925, when the Aventine makes compromise impossible after the murder of Matteotti („normalisation," Mussolini's watchword). Economically, it is only after 1931 that the idea of the corporative state becomes a programme in the specific sense.

c. New Deal in USA. 1933. Nothing to do with War and Treaties.

d. Hitler in Germany. 1933 Only superficially determined by War and economic reasons. "Revisionsism" ~~not~~ of G. optimistic illusion. Let's go New Statesman?

(This does not mean that the same reasons which brought about the Great War are not ~~the same~~ which are at work in this period. But if this is so, then the twenties are not a result of the Great War and Treaty period but of a set of forces at work behind both. The question is not when exactly the new period starts, but that it is a new era of history).

*In fact, the twenties
is a cycle of the Great
War.*

B.

(The Nature of the present world crisis).

III. IV. Characteristics of ~~the~~ ^{the} crisis; the transition to it, lying behind us

We are in this new ~~epoch~~ ^{era} of history; the transition to it, lying behind us we have passed the water-shed. Its characteristics are the following:

- 1/ Sudden, swift, vast changes become the rule. Gradualism, as a method of change disappears completely.
- 2/ ^{Change} is not ~~the~~ ^{the} result of deliberate human will, efforts aimed at change. This is the characteristic of a period of disintegration. The biggest changes come about almost imperceptibly, over night. They happen between the worlds, between the realms, in the no man's lands of social stratification. It is the rivetting that comes loose; the slightest stress is sometimes sufficient to bring about this effect, because the rivetting was not intended to resist strain.
- 3/ Change happens in the world; the sense of happening is not foremost the individual. The individual is faced with a changing world. The old formula of "Whether we wish to change the world and in what direction we ~~wish it changed~~" becomes inapplicable". (The person who recently explained that a discussion on social philology ought to be carried on in the old type fashion: "What kind of a world do ~~we~~ we want? What kind of a society do we wish to bring into existence?" - completely out of touch with reality.). effort.
- 4/ ^{MEASURE} Degree of change ~~is~~ ^{is} not commensurate with ^{total} degree of ~~effort~~ ^{effort}. Small efforts bringing about very little change. (While in the War terrific sacrifice brought about very little change).

lawlike

Two instances:
a. Industrial economic system
b. Relation of public to economic

(The ^{old} theory of the ~~substance~~ ^{substance} of time in society was middle class. Neither non-changing societies, nor ~~swiftly~~ ^{swiftly} changing ones explained. The idea of the inevitable deterioration of human institutions age function of time, a bourgeois preconception). Atomism. Entropy.

F in the same fashion

In such a world the passing away of the old is inevitable, but the coming on of the new is not. Because the latter depends upon us. Upon our measure of preparedness. Upon the forces we contribute to the solution. THE LEVEL OF THE SOLUTION DEPENDING UPON THE INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTION.

But - the

IV. III. Crisis of what?

A crisis of our present social system, nationally and internationally.

A) The characteristics of the crisis prove that the forces at work are of an objective nature i.e. the process of history is everywhere working up towards a complete deadlock, which endangers the working of the economic and the political system under which we live to such a degree as to threaten to stop it altogether, suddenly and completely. This is the situation out of which Fascism arises. Unless a complete change occurs Socialism is impracticable, Fascism is inevitable. Political

B.) Capitalist nations incapable to solve the problem of international economic cooperation and therefore leading to acute tension between the nations which destroys the possibility of an international old.

Capitalism v. Democracy

(The Nature of the present world crisis).

(which presupposes peace)
tional economic order). No new ^{economic} order can be put into its place, for the basic lack of unity in a class society makes this impossible. Economic adjustment ~~is~~ causing dislocations which mean unemployment to the workers engaged. The working class cannot take ~~the~~ ^{any} responsibility for a loss in economic standards under a system under which it has no responsibility in the economic system itself. In other words: The lack of unity in society makes it impossible to ~~proceed~~ proceed to those massive sacrifices which would be needed to adjust economic conditions and equalize them internationally.

In both respects the working class destined to lead society to a real solution.

α. The conflict between Capitalism and Democracy can be resolved only under the leadership of the working class in the direction of Democracy i.e. economic socialism.

β. The economic international community will be set up only by working class lead because only the working class capable of the massive sacrifice which is needed to this purpose. Raw materials and working hours.

V. The dynamic of action of a revolutionary Socialist ~~movement~~ under British democracy.

PREPAREDNESS TO FACE THE INEVITABLE CRISIS .

Activities must be related to ~~the~~ ^{fitting} ~~him~~ ⁱⁿ ~~for~~ ^{the} this task.

1/ Not to do about things), ^(at all costs) ~~what~~ ^(fitting in) ever things are. Such being possible only in activity, but activity ^{what} related to the idea of such being. In this sense this Centre ~~is~~ seems to me to be a true expression of the situation.

2/ But the ^{second} ~~first~~ precondition of usefulness is to possess the confidence of the working class in a crisis. This means keeping in touch ~~with~~ ^(with) the activities of the working class as they are. ^{And this at all costs.}

G. M. R.

The religious nature of the crisis.

What do we mean by our present society being under judgment?

Our present order of society is being destroyed in a series of wars and civil wars. This process has already begun. It can end only in the establishment of ~~an~~ an international socialist Commonwealth.

What that is achieved, the power of superior must capture
An international socialist community can be established only if every class

national and every ~~class~~ brings great sacrifices. The present class societies lack the unity needed to go onto such a step. ~~But~~ In the last resort capitalism must go because it destroys the unity of the

nation, and it is only by great national sacrifices that ^{an} international society can be set up. First of all, the capitalists who would have to

Adjustment = Dislocation = Loss of employment

carry the loss, but even if they were inclined to do so, the working class could not take its share under capitalism, because it has no responsibility for the carrying on of industry. *Socialism comes from*

subside from the international sphere.
(Under capitalism industry is a separate autonomous sphere ~~of~~ within

society. It is governed by its own laws. There are markets for everything.

holding human labor. Man is only a ~~commodity~~ ^{accessory} to a commodity that is bought and sold on the market.)

The struggle is an ~~unending~~ ^{unending} The
between capitalist nations solution, and the ~~all part of it~~
The tension has become so great that the international economic structure

has broken down: The gold standard, capital markets and so on.

(Warning: Crucial cases Some measure of planning is inevitable.
The nations are putting on armour. They become self-sufficient units. The

political and the economic system must be unified: It is impossible to continue

with loosely knit ~~national~~ societies. Everywhere in the world in

one form or another such a unification is going on. But ~~the two ways in~~

~~which it happens~~ there is a world of difference between the two ways in

which it happens:

Political democracy is extended to include the economic system: that is socialism; or capitalism is maintained and the political system of democracy

democracy destroyed. In this form Fascism is maintaining capitalism and preparing for international anarchy.

Socialism is the precondition of a democratic state. in our time. The ~~success~~ ^{success} depends on the strength of the ~~working~~ ^{working} class movement.

Here it is that we come in. We have to supply that element ^{of} ~~finality~~ of conviction that nothing but religion can give.

The existence of Russia has precipitated the clash. Socialism is possible. it has been done.

The working classes will have to shoulder the burden of leadership and we must be there to imbue them with the strength.

We must teach the inevitability of the conflict.

The inevitability of the sacrifice.

The certainty of ultimate victory.

The ~~certainty~~ meaning of sacrifice, of defeat, of

We must have the confidence of working people

Express our ~~belief~~ ^{belief} faith in the mission of

1) the working class and make it clear

that we are not concerned with the

future of the church.

The task of the church is not to save itself; but to save the world.

2) We must leave no doubt that

we accept the justice of the struggle of our time, that we stand in his struggle. That we

take upon ourselves the risk of the battle, including the moral

risks. That there is no compromise out for us. That our currency is not

for currency's sake.

The destruction of democracy accepted as final in order to eliminate the influence of the actual producers who can have no say in the productive process under capitalism.

A new religion introduced in order to transform the nature of man, or at least the laws of his consciousness in accordance with the needs of this state affairs.

Christianity fought by consistent Fascists. A subhuman community needed. The higher type of community is the Christian community.

To-day it means internationalism and socialism.

The integration of society by socialism the task of Christianity today. If it is left to Fascism, the false integration comes about at the cost of the ~~MM~~ elements in man which are the true life.

It is the way out at the cost of degeneration and destruction in war and famine. It is unacceptable to the Christian. It is the denail of all the values his civilisation is built upon.

Christianity must supply our generation with the force which looks beyond self interest. The time will come when the seed will grow and the birds of the ~~heaven~~ heaven will ~~take over~~ take over under it.

[to a tree]

00000000(0000000000000000)L0000000(0000000000000000)00000000