

Communism - Not, doctrinaire utopian Communism
 that political movement. We understand it
 Marxism and Christianity. Roots - Marxist socialism. Examples
 in USSR.

- 1/. The definition of Socialism in Marx.
 Marx defined it as a society, which comes as near to
 our definition of community as possible.
 Not as an economic system, but as a society.
 No other definition existing: "Die menschliche Gesellschaft"
 "The human community" -
 "The definition of society is found in the Kapital. It
 is that of a relationship of human individuals."
 In our language: In Marxism society is conceived of as the
 fulfilment of community.

- 2/. The nature of necessity;
 The necessity with which things happen is not that of
 causality. The problem of determinism. It is the
 necessity of freedom. The consciousness of necessity
 is freedom. But this freedom on the other hand, is
 also a necessity.

Freedom
 is knowledge
 of necessity

- 3/. The kind of laws governing human things: neither natural laws
 nor moral laws, but laws of the true human nature.
 This is the essence of dialectics. The laws of human
 consciousness are the necessity behind dialectics.
 The nature of man is that he is able to act against
 his nature. He is able to deny his nature. He is
 able to remain in a state of self-alienation.

- 4/. The oneness of human existence (no dualism of material and ideal)
 is another feature of Marxism which is Christian.

- 5/. The difference lies in the restriction of human life to life in
 society. Human community transcends society. It is
 realised in an infinity of fields. ~~Human~~ Personal life
 is unsocial. But it is not personal unless it ~~is~~ is
 redeemed from society. Our relationships with individuals
 cannot be personal to-day except by lack of sensitivity.
 We trespass on other people's lives without as much as
 being conscious of it. Beyond society lies the field of
 personal life today. Except for the religious community
 - the community of those whose community is about the

(Fascist)



Utopian optimism - "All in the garden will be lovely"
 For the sake of the problems of birth & death, of love & personal
 perfected community remain. Indeed the achievement of
 a socialist framework will be the beginning of human
 history proper.

Reflections

Fabian vs. Marx

Communist State will turn around

The Test to Action

... of ...

... of ...

The rejection of this alternative. *rather a traditional interpretation*
The acceptance of Marxian sociology only in the light of Xtian
understanding. The Xtian content of Marxism ~~is~~ the ~~essential~~
truth of Marxism.

a Xty is distinct from the religious situation of man - ~~irreducibly~~
ant .

a Self-alienation not accepted without qualification.
is restricted to where it belongs : to a capitalist
society . Man's freedom cannot be secured in and by society.

*the relevance of
social
religion to
man's
freedom.*

b Society about man's freedom . This is the recognized
Christian recognition. The religious relevance of social
organization limited to definite periods , as the one we are
now in. This is the point where the prophetic element
enters: the interpretation of the nature of our time.

Russia. The concrete ~~nature~~ *nature* of history. The obje
ctive nature of society . The utopian ~~and~~ residue in
Niebuhr's position.

Our socialism thus based on the Xtian understanding
of the Marxian analysis . The socialist economy relevant as
the objective condition of human relationships in an indust
rial society. *Human i.e. personal* *(Completed)*

*supplementally
before ?*

This recognition of the reality of society, i.e.
the invitability of the alternatives implied in it, is
~~an addition~~ to the New Testament. We do not hesitate to
understand man's religious ~~Situation~~ *Situation* in the light of the
basic factors that form his consciousness. The teaching
of Jesus the starting point of the existential effectiveness
the recognition of man's true nature.

~~On this~~ religious tasks can be understood only in the
light of this position.

but a

+ + +

Mobility fares are a great hindrance to mobility.

It is usual to make special arrangements for guests who stay so putting a burden on house wife. Special meals are usually provided for guests.

If capital is sterile without human labour, there is a sense in which capitalism is similarly sterile. There can be no inevitable transition to socialism unless capitalism goes on, i.e. unless human labour is harnessed to capital within the present system. Why doom any more humans to this fate? Why not change now?

It is a fatalistic and irreligious attitude to take to say that socialism will come eventually, if by that we mean "wait, it will come of itself. Wait till it does come by itself". This is a concept on the natural (animal) level, and should not be preached when we are trying to raise men's thinking about society and human life in it, from the animal to the conscious level of comprehension. A socialism that came by itself, would doubtless reflect the level of its coming, the animal level. With the arrival of human consciousness on the globe - in unique centers of life known as separate human beings - all this attitude and method of progress becomes irreligious, for, an alternative has come within man's reach. He can plan society. To refuse to, is to wilfully preserve the animal level, the natural order etc..

Internecine conflict and the clash of internal economic contradictions within capitalism may eventually mean its death. But a far more cogent, and (to religious persons) commanding reason, is that man's consciousness can and therefore shall, dictate the kind of system in which he shall live, rather than the other way about, where (as today) the system determines how much and what kind of consciousness man shall have. God has determined the stature and nature of man's consciousness. Do we subscribe to any ideas of the transformation of society which deny this fact?

I would like to know how many people who reject God have had only a fragmentary experience of life and this universe. I really think those people are sincere in rejecting God, who have had only a fragmentary experience, and have not begun to see the world as it is. If such fragmentary people accept even Marx's teachings as a start, they will begin to learn what the totality of reality in the universe is. Then they can decide whether they want to become religious persons, living in harmony with the greatest reality in the universe.

Marx sometimes forgot his frame of reference, through which he usually looked at the world, that of critically analysing things to see if they were forms of society directed by the dominant processes in the life of the inhabitants. Two cases would seem to be his attitude to religion, and to parliamentary government. He was so obsessed with the rottenness of these things in Europe, that he imagined them to be intrinsically of the devil. It never occurred to him that in the United States a people chose to govern itself by a parliament from the beginning, and in Canada, chose a parliament and threw out executive rule. Marx was a European only, and his frame of reference often gets muddled with the perverted expression of a thing, and the thing itself. It is from the same sort of root cause, that pronouncements of the Comintern sound so utterly fantastic in America. I can understand why he was obsessed, and think he went wrong as a result. He confused Europe with the universe. Would Marxists permit of an educational system which allowed the full development of the type of mind Marx had himself?

This is K.P.
K.P.
② - one for [unclear]

A Christian View of Marxism.
A Critique.

Outline form:-

- (1) What Marx attempted to do. In how far is his "whole view" all inclusive, how far fragmentary.
- (2) Marx's definition of society. (cite references).
- (3) Marx's definition of socialism.
- (4) Marx's interpretation of history: the assessment of the importance of the production factor in determining the structure of a society. (Because of the use of the word "materialistic" in translating a whole idea, those who cannot face Marx objectively, have completely misrepresented his theorem by saying that philosophical materialism was the basis of Marxism).
- (5) The historical fact of the partition of humans on a class basis. Not so much a class-society as a classed society. It could be nothing else under capitalism, so that the reconciliation of classes as a task is illusory.
- (6) The rise of capitalism: (a) the increase of goods in the world, due to rapid technological improvements, diverted people's minds from the distribution of them. Liberal idea that providence had ordained that lots of goods should be produced and not be limited. The more far-sighted joined in the production, which they found to be profitable if scarcity prevailed.
scarcity?
(b) Labour became a commodity. In return for it employers gave just enough to induce people to work in order to buy the novelties of the new age; just as the fur traders gave the indians worthless but intriguing trinkets for valuable furs.
incurred
(c) Capitalism cut loose from all responsible relations with the individuals in society, dropped all concern for living and welfare. The institutions of society underwent a high-pressure transformation, so that in one generation the forms of capitalism ~~XXXX~~ (the (became) recognized forms of human society.
(d) The fetishisation which made the attributes of this colossal racket respectable, and unassailable by professors or by statesmen, on pain of imprisonment for trying to overthrow the constitution. (USA). The growth of the idea that capitalists functioned in a domain far more sacred than that in which humans lived. The church paid hush-money to perpetuate this sanctification of organized brigandry. The creation of the myth of "State" as a "neutral" tool of jungle-minded "leaders". The market as the measure of all values, not just of commodities. The debasing of the social sciences, and the endowment of "safe" fields in the natural sciences.

7. The firm establishment of the master-slave relationship in production once capital, as the parasitic pinchings from pay-checks, began to accumulate. In a society whose frontiers had ceased to expand, the challenge "Go west, young man" came to mean, not take up a plough, but take up a gun to "protect your heritage" i.e. bondage. Children born without access to a machine job, treated as refuse.

v. g.
8. If capitalism in the 19th. century survived only through minimizing the "human" element in the term "human being", it now, in the 20 th. century has come to demand the eradication of any humanity whatever. In fact God is not doing his share unless he provides a pair of hands, two supports, a frame, and a control box with sights, listeners, and tasters, not to mention odour detectors and tactile indicators, all co-ordinated and implicitly obedient, with no mouth to feed, or skin to wash, or life to live. It would appear that God has not correctly understood the messages which the Divine Order Company's executives have been sending him. They are most annoyed that children still arrive in the world with troublesome souls imbedded in their chassis. However, until this "matter has been adjusted" the capitalists must do the next best thing, they must divert the human element of the workers away from their hope of self-realization or of community, by creating dragons and monsters for them to fight. They must paint spectres hovering over their broken-down homes during the night. They must get men to go off to train for combat with the dragons, and some must be allowed to volunteer to fight the demons in strange lands. And after they have crushed the human life out of their pseudo-men, they will have to blot out their competitors across the seas. And the monopolies which 19th. century liberals ~~were~~ hailed as the advent of true internationalism, will dispute the monopoly of the world, and will clash on a truly international scale.

All other things are secondary to the defence of the now sanctified principle of keeping man's soul in its proper place, i.e. in another world than this, while allowing his body to contribute to our great western civilization and its glorious future.

"Kept fit"

9. "Price" and "scarcity value" as the real "dictators" in our economy today. The domination of society by the institutional forms of capitalist production. The endowment of these forms with an intrinsic integrity. The means to living have to pass through the bottle-neck of the system, i.e. the market. The means to living are denied to a large part of the human population, because they are only profitable if scarce. "Science has threatened us with abundance, but in plenty there is no profit". In other words, most people have been denied the practical opportunity to begin living.
10. The nature of "life" within the capitalist system. We can have "education in the elbow room", or "culture in the corner" but no further. If a man decided that because he had a decent home, every man should have an equally good one, he would have to be locked up, as either insane or subversive. To share your produce with your neighbour is to put others out of business and finally yourself.
11. Need has no meaning in this society. This is a fact, not an ethical judgement. And all the angels could not administer capitalism and change that Fact one iota. The "social responsibility" of the community is to provide sufficient police and strike-breakers to protect the present order. The suggestion of "more business in government" if taken literally and seriously would bring the captains of industry to their feet in a hurry.
12. Marx's society of "a relationship of human beings", as contrasted with the present conception of "human tools in equally helpless association".
13. Is Marx's interpretation "religious" or is it philosophically materialistic (economically mechanistic, etc..) ?
14. The reactions of the different bodies in our society today towards any attempted religious interpretation of its realities. A capitalist society is automatically a classed society. The mission of each class is just as definitely defined by the logic of the case, but better understood by the owner-producer class. The reflection of upper class realism in domestic and international affairs. "Collective security" as the policy of the upper class in domestic affairs, and "empire solidarity" in the international jungle.

15. The logic of this system choking itself off. The merciless drive to a more efficient capitalism. The pressure on governments for subsidies, tariffs. No longer "capitalism without tears"; the usefulness of that stage has passed. Capitalism now means cannibalism. Human labour now becomes a commodity with no strings attached, and devoid of all attributes of life. Sacrifices must be made, or profits can't go on increasing. Pseudo-men are demanded in greater quantities. Capitalism is "going nudist". Disguise of "democracy" not only torn, but thrown off. Students "spit on freedom". Voting becomes a travesty. Those vocal in their disagreement declared subversive and imprisoned as soon as elected to parliament. As men become pseudo-men, so community becomes pseudo-community. This is rationalized and welcomed by organizations which always stood for community among pseudo-men. Community for universal community's sake vanishes completely, and personal self-realization in relation to reality is branded as communism and treason to "the state". There is a total frustration of everything above man's breathing center. His cerebral cortex cannot conform and he goes crazy. All who used to be normal, now go crazy. The world takes on the atmosphere of an asylum. But a more advanced neurotic arises to lead the mildly neurotic mass. A pleasant feeling of release suffuses the country as men find their neighbours have gone crazy too. In fact they soon discover that they are not crazy at all. It's the rest of the world that is off. Crusades develop to slay dragons all over the globe. Wotan worship becomes the state religion.
16. The Alternative to this is democracy, organized to be perpetual democracy, i.e. socialism. Marx's theory of revolution. The place of prophecy.
17. Marxists to build perfect society for its own sake. Yet Marx recognized that present society was being destroyed because it denies community.
18. Marx would build a society whose institutional forms would allow men the opportunity to community, but he believed that then the world will have achieved community. He would erect the means to living. Then living would begin. What kind of living ?
19. Consideration of the "system" to be set up. It must make provision for the greatest fulfillment of human community. Any system which does not, will eventually destroy itself. Building a society to rectify present frustrations is in some ways simpler than building one which will not only do that, but will open the nearest door to the richest possible

human community. This cannot be done by forms of organization alone, be they ever so perfect. But, they are the pre-requisites for the ultimate fulfillment of universal community.

Opposition to the creation of these forms is opposition to the eventual fulfillment of community on this earth. Willingness to determine the nature of those forms, while their composition is still being considered, is the test of one's sincerity about human community.

To refuse to set up these forms as a minimum, because they would not automatically guarantee human community, is to take a non-religious view of man. That view implies that there ought to be forms which would guarantee (if not compel) community. This is an extension of the pagan and perverted view about man, taken today by all those who want all men changed before society can be changed. That is one of the most diabolical forms of irreligion parading today in the cloak of orthodoxy. It not only debases man as a potential personality, or person-in-community, but it implies that a "changed" populace would cure the world's troubles within the present structure of society. "A flock of angels" could not administer capitalism in such a way as to bring human justice and community to this earth. The proponents of this view ("change" man and you "change" society) are again the emissaries of the devil - perhaps unconsciously, but none the less perfectly. Surely they know by now the falsity of their statement, as well as their inability to change all men. Perhaps that is why they propound the formula they do, because they realize its impossibility, and therefore its insipidness. If they really value life why do they not work for a system which will safeguard its sacred character, not for us alone, but for generations to come? Or do they wish to perpetuate capitalism by attacking it with cotton wool, and thereby ~~per~~ secure the continuance of their present luxuried ease? No religious person goes out to attack the devil in this world with a prayer book.

MARX TO RUGE

I am travelling to Holland. As far as I can see from the French papers here, Germany has sunk deep into the filth and continues to sink deeper and deeper. I assure you that, though one's feelings are merely of national pride, one still does feel national shame too—even in Holland. The most insignificant Dutchman is a real citizen compared with the greatest German. And oh! the views of foreigners about the Prussian government! There is a terrifying unanimity; no one is any longer deceived about this system and its simple character. So the new 'school' has done some good after all. Liberalism has dropped its ~~cleak~~ gorgeous cloak, and the most disgusting despotism stands in all its nakedness before the eyes of the whole world. This also is a revelation—if a topsy-turvey one. It is a truth which at least shows us the hollowness of our patriotism, the unnaturalness of our state, and lays bare our real countenance.

You look at me with a smile and ask what is gained by this. One can't make a revolution out of shame, you say. I answer: "Shame is already a revolution; it is the real victory of the French Revolution over German patriotism, by which it had been conquered in 1813. Shame is a sort of indignation turned in upon itself; and if a whole nation were really ashamed of itself, it would be like a lion drawing back pour mieux sauter. I admit that shame is not as yet present in Germany; on the contrary, the poor devils are still patriots. But what system is going to drive that patriotism out of them, if not this laughable new knight's? The comedy that despotism is playing on us is as dangerous to itself as their tragedy was to the Stuarts and the Bourbons. And even if this comedy were not for a long time what one believes it to be, it would still be a revolution. The state is too serious an affair to be turned into a harlequinade. One might perhaps allow a boat full of idiots to be driven for a time before the wind; but it would be driven towards its doom precisely because the idiots didn't believe that to be the case. The revolution is that doom—it lies ahead of us.

Your letter, my dear friend, is a fine elegy, a breathtaking dirge. But politically it is just nothing. No people despairs; and if it goes on for a long time in hope, simply out of stupidity, finally, perhaps after many years, out of political acumen it suddenly fulfills all its pious wishes. And yet—you have infected me. You have not exhausted your theme. I will add the finale. And when it's all finished, then give me your hand, and let us begin again from the beginning. Let the dead bury and mourn their dead. As a contrast, now happy are they who enter alive into the new existence. Such shall be our lot.

*? It is quite true that the old world belongs to the Philistines. But we dare not treat them as a tyrant from which men turn anxiously away. Rather we must look him straight in the face. It will be worth while to study this lord of the earth. He is lord of the earth only so long as he (like the worms with a corpse) fills it with his own retinue, his society. That society need not be more than just a crowd of slaves; and the property of the slaves need not be free either. When men are appointed "Lords" in the superior sense of the word, on account of their possessions or their serfs, they are not for that less philistine than their followers.

Men, MEN would be spiritual beings, and free men would be republicans; but the big bourgeois don't want to be either. What is left them then, to be and to desire? What they desire is simply to live and reproduce their kind (and more than that as Goethe says, none can do!) But the animal desires the same. A German politician would have to add at most that man knows that is what he desires, and that the German is sensible enough to desire nothing further.

* Man's feeling for his own being—freedom—must be re-
aroused in the breasts of these men. Only that feeling... can turn society into a community of men existing for their highest ends, only that can make a democratic state. But men who do not feel like men, simply adapt themselves to their overlords, like a race of horses or slaves. The overlords are the purpose of the whole society. The world belongs to them. They accept it as it is and its consciousness. They accept themselves as they find themselves; they stand where they find their feet are—on the necks of those political animals that ~~he~~ know no other condition than to be their good and obedient subjects.

* The world of the Philistines is the political animal's world. If we are bound to recognise it, then we can do no other than simply accept the status quo. Barbarian centuries (the Dark Ages?) have gone to fashioning and building it. And now there it stands—a logical system, whose principle is a dehumanised world. The most perfectly Philistine world (nation?) of all—our own Germany—naturally got stuck far behind the French Revolution, which set man up again; and a German Aristotle, drawing his political principles from our conditions, might write over our world "Man is a social, but completely unpolitical animal." He could not better describe such a state than did Herr Zöffl, the author of Constitutional State Law in Germany. According to him it is an "association of families," which—so we might continue—belongs, as property and inheritance, to one, all-highest of the families, called the Dynasty. The more fruitful the families, the happier the people, the greater the State, and—the mightier the Dynasty. That is why in the normal despotism of Prussia, a premium of fifty Reichs-talen is put upon the head of each seventh child.

The Germans are such sober realists, that all their desires and high-falutin' thinking never reach beyond mere living. And those who govern them accept this reality—and nothing further. These folk are realists, far removed from

any thought and from all human greatness. They are ordinary officers and landowners. But they make no mistake here. They are quite right; they know that they, just as they are, are quite sufficient to use and to command this animal kingdom-- for to use and to command are one and the same conception, here as everywhere. And when they have their own praises sung, or look out over that moving mass of brainless heads, what is more likely than that they should share Napoleon's thought on Beresina? It is said of him that he looked down on the drowning, writhing multitude and cried to his companion: "Look at the toads!" The story is probably untrue; but it is true nevertheless in spirit. The one and only idea of despotism is to hold men in contempt; it is the idea of the de-humanised human. And this idea has an advantage over most others-- that it is also a fact. The despot always sees men stripped of their dignity. ~~They-drown-before-his-eyes~~ To him they drown before his eyes in the mud of a mean existence, out of which like the frogs, ever and again they seem to arise. If such a view was impressed on men capable of great aims, as Napoleon was before his dynastic madness came upon him, how should a very ordinary sort of king succeed in being an idealist in the midst of such a reality?

The principle of monarchy is the despised, despicable, de-humanised man; and Montesquieu is quite wrong in declaring that it is "honour". He wriggles out of the difficulty by distinguishing between Monarchy, despotism, and tyranny. But these are all different names for one conception--at the very most they indicate ~~varieties~~ varieties of custom about one and the same principle. Wherever the monarchical principle has a majority--there men, human beings

Once arrived at this political animal world, there is no other reaction except further into it, and no way forward except to quit that basis altogether and to pass over into the world of human beings and democracy.