

Course 8-16 The social question as a cultural question

Location

8. Courses from 1996 to 2000

- 8.1. Elements of Logic, 1996-1997 (EL1-EL92, 115p.)
- 8.2. Elements of methodology, 1996-1997 (EM1-EM71, 101p.)
- 8.3. Elements of Philosophy of Religion 96-97, ERF1-ERF335, 396p.)
- 8.4. Introduction to New Age, 1998-1999, (NA1-NA151, 80 p.)
- 8.5. Elements of Logic, 1997-1998, (EL1-EL99, 133p.)
- 8.6. Elements of Ontology, 1997-1998 (HM1-HM24, 30 p.)
- 8.7. Cosmology, 1997-1998 (K1-K52, 62p.)
- 8.8. Theology, 1997-1998 (TH1-TH42, 50p.)
- 8.9. Man as a biological being, 1997-1998 (BW1-BW42, 52p.)
- 8.10. Man as an Immortal Soul, 1997-1998 (OZ1-OZ37, 37p.)
- 8.11. Elements of Philosophy of Culture, 1998-1999 (CF1-F58, 70p.)
- 8.12. Elements of Cognitivism I, 1999-2000 (COGN1-COGN52, 68p.)
- 8.13. Elem. of Cognitivism II, 1999-2000 (COGN2.1-COGN.2.130, 157p.)
- 8.14. Elements of Cognitivism III, 1999-2000 (COG3.1-COG3.58, 82p.)
- 8.15. Elements of Logistics, 1999-2000 (LOG1-LOG39, 49p.)

8.16. The social question as a cultural quality, 99-00 (SK1-SK100, 141p.)

Remark: This course has been provided with larger spacing than the text of the original course. References in the older version of this text therefore do not correspond to the current pagination of 'Word'. For this reason, the original pagination is displayed each time with the letters 'SK'. They stand for 'Social question', (in Dutch: 'Sociale Kwestie') and are derived from the old page number.

Introduction : Somewhere deep down, humanity has a high idea of what social justice could be, but the course of history shows that people fail to realize it in a sustainable way in life.

Content : Click on the text you wish to read.

Course 8-16 The social question as a cultural question (100 p.)	1
1. Economy (3/14)	4
1.1. Economics (4)	5
1.2. The sectors of economic activity (6)	8
1.3. The family tree of economic science (7)	9
2. The social question viewed from a modern perspective (15/19)	20
2.1. Sexism(s.) (16)	21

2.2. Devout Catholic and yet emancipated (17)	23
3. Liberalisms (20/28)	27
3.1. The medieval guilds (20)	27
3.2. Colbertismca. French mercantilism (21)	28
3.3. Physiocratism: French liberalism (22/23)	29
3.4. The total labor of the people (24)	32
3.5. John Stuart Mill: Social Liberalism (25/26))	33
3.6. Two views on freedom (27)	36
4. Collectivisms (29/53)	38
4.1. Communism and socialism: collectivism (29/31)	39
4.2. Anarchism (libertarianism) (32/36)	42
4.3. Marxism(n- (37/53)	49
5. Social Criticism (54/60)	76
5.1. Ecological movement (55)	78
5.2. 'Underground' (56)	79
5.3. Beat generation (57)	80
5.4. Openness of inclusion of the hippies/yippies (58)	81
5.5. Right: the silent majority (59)	83
5.6. Critique of Marxist and Capitalist Reason (60)	84
6. Populisms (61/63)	85
6.1. "The new judges" (62)	87
7. Nationalisms (64/74)	89
7.1. Communitarian (community) identity (65)	90
7.2. Chinese triads, a type of mafia's (66)	92
8. Communitarianism (75/87)	103
8.1. Chares Taylor (75/77)	103
8.2. Sect culture (78)	107
8.3. The concept of 'pluralism' (79)	108
8.4. Separation of church and state ('secularism') (80)	110
8.5. Multicultural Liberalism (81/82)	111
8.6. Aristotle communitarian? (83)	113
8.7. Community tolerance (84/85)	115
8.8. The secret services (86)	117
8.9. International law (87)	118
9. Comprehensive social theories (88/100)	120
9.1. Charles Gide's Solidarism (88/89)	120
9.2. Political democracy according to M. Walzer (90)	123
9.3. Pluralistic Social Democracy (91/93)	124
9.4. Christian Political Economy (94/100)	128

SK1

Social reason.

By that term, one understands reason insofar as it concerns itself with the social question; “Social question” signifies the fact that since the very beginning, humanity has indeed upheld the idea of “social justice” in the sociological sphere as an axiom of coexistence—and indeed employs or even enforces it in the struggle for the benefit of its own rights and interests—but on the other hand, in fact, never manages to create truly just conditions.

Note: With Plato of Athens, we observe that in the realm of social justice, too, people grasp the idea—the high, indefinable idea—somewhere as a light that illuminates, but never manage to make it a reality in brutal facts, because it is not reason (the little man, as Plato says) but the passions (the great monster (implantation, sexuality, economic prosperity) and the lesser lion (sense of honor)), as Plato puts it) that obscure the idea.

Samples (cards)

The texts that follow do not constitute a system of propositions regarding social well-being and prosperity. Rather, they are a set of index cards representing samples, since no one—not even the most encyclopedic sociologist—can treat the subject exhaustively and encyclopedically.

Following Plato (and his teacher of logic, Socrates), we therefore proceed reductively: starting from samples, we attempt to generalize based on common properties (in order to classify) and to generalize based on collective characteristics.

Without falling into a system that aims to be encyclopedic in any way. In doing so, however, we gain insight into the system of the social question, and general characteristics are immediately revealed.

Note: With K. Marx, though not so exclusively, we maintain that the economy is the quintessential meeting point of the social question—a kind of foundation that threatens to be the subject time and again.

Therefore, we propose a few samples regarding economic reason—reason insofar as it concerns itself with economics—but in such a way that only a general education (no economics specialization) is required.

SK2

Elements of social theory.

A social theory is a set of concepts, judgments, and reasoning that attempts to capture the idea of “social justice” in human terms. They are also referred to as “social ideologies” to emphasize their axiomatic (to the detriment of the factual). -- We list the elements of the principal ones.

Behold what “modern reason” has devised regarding social justice. -
- All theorists prioritize the elusive but highly decisive idea of “social justice,” whether explicitly (such as social Platonism) or reluctantly (such as social nominalists).

They articulate their 'sample' of that one idea encompassing all possible justice. As a result, they all represent logical value, yet a one-sided, gap-filled, correct value. Whoever gives them all a voice nevertheless arrives at a globalizing insight that has utility value on a daily basis—if only to better understand the (social) politics coming at us via the news.

SK3

1. Economy (3/14)

Library st.: *R.Kühn, Leben als Bedürfen (Eine lebensphänomenologische Analyse zu Kultur and Wirtschaft),* Heidelberg, 1996.

In this work, 'life' is interpreted as the all-encompassing axiom that governs all cultural phenomena: it is present in all cultural elements but extends beyond them. Thus, life encompasses needs. Yes, life is a need (given). Phenomena such as labor, exchange, and consumption are the solution—need satisfaction (demanded).

Three capital cities.

With *Alvin Toffler*, **La troisième vague **, Paris, 1980, we can distinguish three phases more or less in the satisfaction of needs. First, there is the agrarian phase, encompassing agriculture (crop farming and livestock farming). Then comes the industrial phase, as described, for example, in **La révolution industrielle (1780/1880)**, Paris, 1971.

Agriculture and modern industry constitute the first two 'waves'. Since around 1950, we have been living in the informational phase, the third wave. The criterion is primarily the mode of production for the satisfaction of needs. -- Family and school, social conditions, politics, indeed, the entire culture evolves through the 'waves'.

Definition.

A simple definition of the economy as a form of need satisfaction, serving as an entry, reads: given the available wealth (however small); demanded or sought: 'rational' satisfaction of needs.

Note: In an economic context, 'rational' primarily means applying the axiom of economics or frugality. Since Petrus Aureolus (+1322), this principle has been stated as: "Achieving a maximum result with a minimum of data".

Paul A. Samuelson/ W.D. Nordham, **Economics**, McGraw Hill, 1985-12, 4, defines: "Economics is the study of the manner in which individuals and society decide how to utilize scarce resources that could otherwise be used, with a view to producing all kinds of useful things and distributing them among all kinds of individuals and groups in society for consumption now or in the future."

One sees that this definition describes the economy as life in terms of process—a process or course that encompasses production, exchange (selling and buying), and distribution for consumption. This is the reason why the definition seems so complicated.

SK4

1.1. Economics (4)

Library st. : *Al. Guénette, Maurice Lagueux et la méthodologie* in : *Journ. d. Geneva / Gaz.d. Laus.* 01.12.1994, 8.

Lagueux is a professor of philosophy and economics at the University of Montreal (Canada). He is interested in the type of rationality in economics. He distinguishes two tendencies.

1. The physical implication.

Here, modern physics is the epitome. Milton Friedman (Chicago School), for example, stands for this: a true economic science must be able to predict, as he sets out in his * *Essays in Positive Economics* *, *Univ. of Chicago Press*, 1953.

a. Economists can endlessly debate the axiom of 'rationality';

b. It comes down to prediction, because that is what makes science. Central to this is the idea that actors in economics make decisions as perfectly rational people who maximize an economic given (such as their profit). Friedman is convinced that economists can handle “interesting predictions” with their primarily mathematical methods.

Note-- Alexander Rosenberg , *Economics (*Mathematical Politics or Science of Diminishing Returns?* *, University of Chicago Press, 1992), states that, in physics, predictions demonstrate impressive accuracy (think of predicting a solar eclipse)—that, however, in economics, such precision is absent, such that one can claim that an entrepreneur with 'flair' does just as well without economic science. He does not believe in the 'positive' (mathematically justified) economics of a Friedman. He does, however, accept the possibility of “qualitative predictions” (gambling).

He believes that, if rationality is required, it must be expected from the cognitive sciences ('philosophy of the mind') as well as from neurobiology (which, in his opinion, are still insufficiently advanced).

2. The humanistic nature.

Here, one speaks of “social science”: advocated by, for example, Friedrich Hayek (the Austrian School). Human behavior is central here, encompassing presuppositions ('beliefs') and objectives, influenced by certain events (take a series of strikes). Strict predictions are impossible here, unless “ex post” (in hindsight, one sees the rationality of the

economic fact). Just as historians do with past facts. A disadvantage is that presuppositions and objectives can be so vague and stand in the way of strict science.

SK5

“Economist's Flight from Metaphysic”.

This is the title of a work that Lagueux is preparing. Here is what he says about it in the interview.

1. Economists—especially the neoclassical ones—founded the currently prevailing theory by relying on an overly complex mathematical analysis (who does not think of Benoît Mandelbrot and his search for over thirty years for a mathematical representation of stocks and options?). But—as Rosenberg rightly says—that achievement is, above all, a new branch of mathematics.

2. What Lagueux adds to Rosenberg's opinion is that the economists have established a science without ontological foundations.

That means without regard for the actual reality of the economic given. Specifically: what concrete given does the economist study? The market. But what is the truly real market? The place where traders meet each other. But what is a trader?

Jevons and the Neoclassicists initially prioritized psychological data only to abandon them. Pareto prioritized utility value, the basis of preference-based economic choices (the more useful, the more profitable, the more 'economical'), -- something that—if abstracted, or conceived apart from the actual reality of every utility—seemed easily mathematically treatable.

In other words: the will of such theories to rid themselves of ontology and flee into the world of mathematical formulas is manifest. What could have been developed into a very concrete—understand: reality-close-to-reality—science is a set of mathematical theories.

“That economic theory helps us in discovering and understanding the real world is a falsehood.” That is what Lagueux explicitly states-

a. Admittedly, without such economic theories it is not possible to 'understand' (note: to articulate mathematically) the functioning of things like the market, the monetary system, the effects of credit lending, crises, etc.

b. However, such theories that provide clarity after the fact (“ex post”) do not allow them to be predicted exactly.

Conclusion. -- However beautiful in their mathematical structures, regarding the truly real economy they resemble the historical-scientific explanations that 'explain' the facts retrospectively.

SK6

1.2. The sectors of economic activity (6)

With a view to the treatment of the social question, we will briefly consider the 'sectors'. The general population can be divided into just under forty sectors. But the economists themselves summarize this mass into three major sectors.

1.-- The primary sector.

Fishing, agriculture (arable farming and livestock farming), mines and quarries.

2.-- The secondary sector.

Twenty-two subsectors. Summarized as the manufacturing industry and the construction sector.

Applicable model . -- The textile sector processes raw materials (from the primary sector) into, for example, clothing (manufacturing industry).

3.-- The tertiary sector.

Eleven subsectors comprising trade and services. –

Applicable model . -- Education, public services, and the medical and health sector are subsectors. Goods are not produced; however, services are provided.

Note-- Tourism . -- Tourism is a part of the tertiary sector that is steadily increasing. This 'industry' creates many jobs ('jobs'). After energy production and car manufacturing, tourism ranks third in terms of jobs.

Economic sectors . -- Let us briefly review them. -- With a view to addressing the social question.

a.-- the families .

'Family' in an economic sense is anything that works together in the same building. Thus, a person living alone is a 'family'.

b.-- the enterprises .

A collective that produces goods and services. To sell them on “the market”, -- Depending on the sector in which the Enterprise is active, it is primary (a mine, a farm), secondary (industry), or tertiary (a shop, a bank, an insurance company, a hotel).

Note: From a legal perspective, it is striking that companies—especially since recent globalization (the entire planet as one economic space)—exhibit concentration (mergers of companies) and multinationalization (rooting in many countries). Which actually erodes 'anchoring'.

c.-- the administrations.

Non-saleable goods or services are traded. The national income is distributed.

d.-- the financial institutions.

Savings banks, banks, stock exchanges, etc.

SK7

1.3. The family tree of economic science (7)

Library st.: PA Samuelson/ P. Temin, *Economics* , Tokyo, 1978-10, 921.

The Bible (-800/+99):

Artistic philosophers (-600/+600)

Practitioners,

Aristotle of Stagira (-384/-322)	Businessmen;
pamphleteers	
Middle Ages scholasticism (800/1450)	
Saint Thomas Aquinas (1225/1274)	
Physiocracy	Mercantilism (Colbertism, Cameralism) (XII-th / XVIIIth e.)
Francois Quesnay (1694/1774)	
La physiocracy (1768)	Classical ('liberal') school
Thomas R.1 Malthus (1766/1834)	Adam Smith (1723/1790)
An Essay on the Principles of Population (1798)	Wealth of Nations (1776)
	David Ricardo (1772/1823)
	On The Principles of Political Economy (1817)
	John Stuart Mill (1806/1873)
	The Principles of Political Economy
Socialism (1848) Karl Marx (1818/1883) Das kapital (1867)	
Neoclassical (Neo-liberal) school Vladimir Ulyanov (Lenin (1870/1924))	
Leon Walras (1834/1910)	
Alfred Marshall (1842/1924)	
John Maynard Keynes (1883/1946)	Russian Communism
Theory of Employment, Interest and Money (1936)	
	Chinese communism
Post-Keynesian economics	New Left (The radicals)

Note: An addition is necessary. Especially regarding post-Keynesian theories.

1. The 'monetarism,'

Milton Friedman and the Chicago School partially reject Keynes, where he makes the economy dependent on demand and, consequently, on state intervention. According to monetarism, the money supply controls the economy rather than the quantity of money in circulation.

2. The cyclical theory (Real Business Cycle Theory). - This asserts that “random shocks”—wars (e.g. the Gulf War), strikes, embargoes, technological innovations, political decisions—control the economy, primarily because the confidence of economic actors (investors, consumers, banks, etc.) evolves along with them.

Note-- J. Lajugie, *Les doctrines économiques*, Paris, 1982-13 105pp., gives a list of economists who belong to no school (J.G.G. Galbraith, for example).

SK8

The recent triumph of liberalism.

Library st. : P. Garcin, *Economy (Le bon marché)*, in: *Journal de Genève* 29.06.1989. Garcin is an economist.

1. The facts.

Where once, in our West, the church determined the axiomatics, it is the market, the economy, that determines everything as a premise “in the essence of all issues of our Western society.”

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, a multitude of experiments have been set up in the (former) communist countries—Russia, China, Hungary, Poland—to replace the state-controlled economy.

In the Third World, although hampered by outdated structures, liberalization is advancing in the industrial, commercial, and monetary spheres.

Note-- Even the Socialist International.

More than eighty socialist parties from across the planet were represented in Stockholm on June 19/24, 1989, to celebrate the centenary: the judgments on the market economy were unanimously positive; the role of the state—particularly the nationalizations—received adequate criticism. The French Socialist Party, as well as a number of socialist parties from the Third World, were rather reserved—as an undertone.

2. The value judgment.

a. Insofar as the triumph of the market economy represents reason, it deserves our approval.

b. To the extent that it represents a monopoly position that is no longer open to dispute, it is a cause for concern. This is based on the very rules of the market economy, which are anti-monopolistic.

Historical model.

The risk is less imaginary than one thinks.

Let us recall the reverse situation of the decades after World War II (1939/1945). The success of the social democratic model—of which the guided economy is the core—was thunderous at the time. So thunderous, in fact, that it influenced all political power holders: intoxicated by a general consensus, one role after another was assigned to the state. The result was the inflation (general, sustained, cumulative price increases) of the sixties and seventies. Well, recently, the market economy, typical of the liberal system, has an analogous consensus.

Consequence: having learned from history, our appreciation of the market economy must be tempered by serious reservations.

SK9

Institutionalism.

Library st.: GMHodgson, *Economics and Institutions (A Manifesto for a Modern Institutional Economics)*, Oxford, 1988.

Given: the current (neo-)liberal system (think of *F.A. Hayek, *Individualism and Economic Order**, Chicago, 1948, for example), which posits as a hypothesis: within the free market space, the economically active person—a patron, a housewife, for instance—possesses not only necessary but also sufficient information so that he/she can make the right rational decisions.

The question asked : is this hypothesis correct when tested against the factual information available to the economically active person?

1.-- No.

The economically active person is not omniscient! Knight states that regarding risks (an entrepreneur ventures to bring a product to market as if there is sufficient demand for it) and other uncertainties, it rarely happens that the information is sufficient. It regularly becomes an adventure.

However, if there is a serious information gap, the economy cannot be an 'autonomous', merely rule-free, possibly deregulated market.

2 -- *The need for institutions.*

The hypothesis states: there is a need for information-supplementing bodies, for gap correctors, for 'institutions'. These market correctors of an informational nature justify, to begin with, regulation, i.e., the imposition of rules from outside the mere market. 'Regulation' is not merely to be interpreted pejoratively but also melioratively. -- Some models.

1.-- *Ethics.*

"They will not deceive you there." -- A firm led by conscientious leaders is in itself already the fundamental information regarding the product or service it brings to market. It is extra-economic but economically extremely valuable.

2.1.- *Private institutions.*

Private companies can vet a product or service and make the information available.

2.2. -- *The State.*

A government can control "wild price increases" thanks to regulatory measures that are informative in themselves, "We know that they will not (be allowed to, dare to) charge us excessive prices" through government measures.

2.3.-- *Supranational institutions*

Organizations like the World Bank and the IMF possess information that can be made available.

Economic revolutions.

We will briefly mention the main features.

At the forefront of the Middle Ages Industrial Revolution.

Bible st . : J. Gimbel, La révolution industrielle du Moyen Age , Paris, 1975.

From the 11th to the 13th century, Western Europe experienced an era of intense technological activity. An era of the most fruitful inventions. “The First Industrial Revolution” should be the proper name. Between the Seine and the Rhine and in Northern Italy, the bourgeoisie emerged, typical precursors of today's business people.

1.-- The First Industrial Revolution.

Library st. : WW Rostow, Les étapes de la croissance économique , Paris, 1962.

The voyages of discovery and the scientific revolution (Coppernicus, Tycho Brahe, Kepler, Galileo)—the modern natural sciences taking root—with modern technological achievements in their wake, play a leading role not so much in Holland, the first capitalist country, but in England.

A new economic growth process emerges between 1780 and 1800.

According to *J. Peperstraete, *Employment in the Information Society* *, in: **Onze Alma Mater** 1987: 2, 67/79, the characteristic is the share of automated labor in raw material processing and energy consumption:

1. In pre-modern times, animal and human muscle power—the farmer with the horse, for example—was central.

2. Since, for example, the steam engine, it has been mechanized labor. Products and services become possible and affordable on a larger scale for the masses.

2.-- The second industrial revolution (the post-industrial era, the information society).

Muscle power and machines primarily supply energy. The mechanization of human knowledge and information centers on the

control of data. Communication or information theory centers on the transmission of a message. Information processing comprises three disciplines: microelectronics, telecommunications, and computer science. The latter deals with the technically mechanized processing of 'data' in massive quantities.

Well, the machine of the first industrial-revolutionary era (1780+), combined with these information techniques, gives rise to a new economic growth process.

Incidentally: “economic growth” is an increase in intake, production, and service provision that is sustainable.

SK11

The concept of 'purchasing power'

Let us begin with a definition: “The ability, or the possibility, to acquire goods or services through an act of purchase based on the availability of means of payment is purchasing power.” Means of payment are usually natural money, but the purchasing power of a sack of wheat or a gold bar also exists.

Incidentally : the purchasing power theory of J.M. Keynes (1883/1946) states that—incidentally, following the Great Depression of 1929—wage increases are strengthened by putting money into circulation. This is because investments are made and consumption rises (thanks to the atmosphere of confidence).

In other words: the state is granted a firm place in his thoroughly liberal theory. This theory had a major influence until around 1970.

Note: What money actually means in terms of purchasing power is evident from the accompanying comparative table: it shows that 100 Swiss francs is decreasing in purchasing value. Why is this? Because we all—not just the Swiss—live 'richly': paper is a token of goods and services (which have been declining from 1957 to the present (1998)).

***With 100 French francs one bought:
In 1957:***

185.2 liters of milk
181.8 liters of premium gasoline
166.6 kilos of bread
100 packs of cigarettes

In 1976:

89.3 liters of milk
86.2 liters of gasoline
41.6 kilos of bread
52.6 packs of cigarettes

In 1998:

65.8 liters of milk
79.4 liters of gasoline
29.8 kilos of bread
24.4 packs of cigarettes

SK12

The economic crisis of the seventies.

Library st. : *R.Colonna d'Istria, Initiation à l'économie* , Allieur, 1989, 73/88 (*Les crises et leurs solutions*).

Let us begin with the definition of inflation. It is not the fact that a few prices rise, but rather the fact that the general price level rises, that creates 'inflation': that sustained and even accumulating rise in prices. The measure by which this is measured is the index, calculated from the perspective of the average household paying for the totality of goods and services. The index is a summary of a number of macroeconomic (large-scale) mechanisms that can generate inflation, such as every wage increase (which is, after all, factored in), a currency that appreciates too quickly or circulates too easily, the state appropriating wealth without reciprocal services and thus resorting to budget deficits, the permissive lifestyle that involves excessive spending, and foreign countries (think of rising oil prices).

Note -- Deflation. -- That is the sum of countermeasures (deflationary policy): reduction of government spending, fiscal pressure (to limit the revenue available for expenditure), control of interest rates on credit,

wage restraint, price freeze. In other words: anything that curbs the demand for goods and services.

The crisis of the seventies.

'Crisis' is anything that jeopardizes economic growth. The crisis of the 1970s exhibits two phases.

1. 1973/1980,

High inflation; increasing unemployment; decline in international trade; public finance deficit.

2. 1980+.

Slowing of inflation; resumption of international exchanges; sustained unemployment. This crisis of the Western economies presents economists and governments with hitherto unresolved problems. For it links unemployment and inflation.

They are looking for the reasons:

1/ in the oil crisis (autumn 1973: price increase brutally implemented by the oil-producing countries) which causes stagflation (a standstill of the economy with inflation),

2/ in the international monetary system (the coins become unstable),

3/ the excessive prosperity of the fifties and sixties with overinvestment and demand saturation

4/ the numerous new industrialized countries (Southeast Asia (the tigers), Brazil) etc.

Note: We are still experiencing the after-effects of this today within globalization.

SK13

Interaction between stock markets and the economy.

By 'exchange' is understood "the public building where commercial matters are discussed and carried out". Metonymically: "the trade that is conducted there" ("the market").

It is not our intention to set out the detailed structure. Rather, we aim to provide insight into a main mechanism: the interaction between “financial markets and the economy”.

Introduction.

Library st. : *R.Etwareea/InfoSud, Malaisie (Le tigre malade qui défie le docteur FMI), in: Le Temps 21.09.1998, 25.*

Malaysia is one of the “Asian Tigers” that experienced an unparalleled economic rise for a decade. Along with Indonesia, South Korea, Thailand, and Hong Kong. Recently, however, a severe recession has set in, the 'elements' of which have reversed for Malaysia: economic growth (the collective sustainable increase of the economy) is falling from 7.8% to -2%. The currency (ringgit) is depreciating by 40%. Stock market values are experiencing a 70% drop. Dozens of banks and companies are going bankrupt.

The number of unemployed rose from 230,000 in 1997 to 600,000 in 1998 (6.7% of the population), while 500,000 foreign workers were sent home. Income per capita fell from 5,000 dollars in 1997 to 3,000 this year.

Add to that the fact that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) admits that its recovery plans in Southeast Asia are failing,

We are now seeing how the fall of the Asian tigers is reflected, along with other factors, on the stock markets.

Library st. : *Th. Meyer, Des marchés égarés , in: Le Temps 18.09.1998, 1/2*

Steller refers to the shock that European stock markets in particular experienced the day before (17.09.1998). They react vehemently to “a few signs of economic slowdown that give rise to distrust”.

1. The speech by Alan Greenspan, President of the US Federal Reserve, to the US Congress: “No collective decline in interest rates—expected by the stock markets—is on the agenda of the most industrialized countries.” A first cold shower!

2. The announcement by Michel Camdessus, Executive Director of the IMF, namely a reduction in global economic growth. Instead of 3.75% (forecast in the spring of this year), only 2% is expected.

SK14

3. The report by Serge Tchuruk, CEO of the Alcatel Group (the fourth largest company in the world in terms of telecom equipment): on the one hand, he projects a record semi-annual profit, but on the other hand, he expected a decline—contrary to the expectations of stock market experts—for the second semester.

Primarily due to the Asian crisis (the aforementioned Tigers and Japan, which is experiencing a severe recession)”).

The distrust that followed caused Alcatel's stock value to drop by 38% and immediately dragged all leading European telephony firms down with it.

Note-- Which amounts to reasoning as follows: “If Alcatel already expects a reduction, then this also applies to the other firms in that sector”:

The verdict.

Steller speaks of “a hysterical stock market reaction” with severe – potential – consequences. His value judgment can be structured as follows.

a. *The economic recessions* in Southeast Asia (Tigers + Japan), in Russia (where a 'liberal' economy is turning into a disaster), and in Latin America (which is feeling the impact) cannot be blamed on the stock markets. According to the author, these economies have “lived beyond their means”.

b. However, ***the unbalanced reaction*** on the stock markets will trigger profound changes in the economies. 'Anecdotally' (understand: small-scale): a boss who was highly regarded at the head of a firm is forced to resign. 'Dramatically' (understand: large-scale): the pressure

on enterprises to implement cost reductions and increase 'productivity' will lead to massive job losses.

Then the markets will not reflect the state of the economy, but the opposite: the chaos of the global economy will be the result of “the deviations of the financial markets”.

Note: Among other things, because distrust inhibits investment.

Note: All this demonstrates that cyclical theory (Real Business Theory), which claims that “random shocks” determine the economy, at least partially, is not wrong.

When, for example, banks, investors, and consumers lose confidence, at least a part of the entire economy grinds to a halt (which is logically a 'generalization').

SK15

2. The social question viewed from a modern perspective (15/19)

Library st.: J. Aengenent, *Leerboek der sociologie*, Leiden, 1919-4, 14/22 (*The Social Question*). Aengenent's definition is still valid. We summarize it. A 'question' is called “a difficult-to-solve problem”. This is due to the excessive complexity of the data.

Social issue

Some understand this to mean only the labor question (manorialism). However, the social question includes a farming, middle-class, and even a women's aspect. In other words: all workers are involved, because society is a system.

More than economics.

Some define the social question solely in terms of “economic interests” (economism). But there is a social dimension to it (it involves an interpretation of society). Without political intervention, it is insurmountable.

From a Christian-solidarist perspective—whether one thinks Catholic, Protestant, or Orthodox—there is a moral (ethical) side to it. An aspect that many a non-believer certainly sees.

From a Christian-solidarist perspective, there is also a religious side to it (for instance, the Bible has an idea regarding labor and wages). This side is, of course, usually bracketed in modern rationalism, indeed, radically eliminated: “Religion is the opium of the people.”

Historicity of the social question.

Aengenent expresses this aspect with the question: “Is the social question a new issue?”. Incidentally: 'historicity' here means the fact that something reflects successive historical cultural periods.

In the Bible (Israel) as well as, for example, in ancient Greece or Rome, or in the Middle Ages, abuses for those classes came into conflict with one another.

Nevertheless, the social question shows new aspects, especially since the French Revolution.

1. Pauperism.

In the 19th century, we see a multitude suffering from a continuous lack of the bare necessities, against which charity stands powerless. That is pauperism. Let us think of the “fourth world”.

2. The social unrest.

Strikes and even revolts are turning from temporary into an “uninterrupted war” (oc, 17).

3. The culture crisis.

The very foundations of traditional cultures were undermined by modern rationalism: family, property, authority, morality, etc., were subjected to radical criticism.

SK16

2.1. Sexism(s.) (16)

Library st.: G. Walther, *Zum others Ufer (Vom Marxismus and Atheismus zum Christentum)*, Remagen, 1960, 216f..

Gerda Walther (raised Marxist, atheist, converted to Catholicism, major figure in New Age, occultly gifted, saw auras) was a student of Edm. Husserl, the phenomenologist. -- Here is what she writes.

At one point, she discussed a possible habilitation (admission to teach at a university) with Husserl. He responded somewhat shyly: "I am simply of the opinion that the task of a woman is fundamentally the family, marriage."

That is why he had also not admitted Edith Stein, a student of Husserl, to his habilitation program. Husserl: "Other professors could certainly habilitate women. If necessary, he was willing to recommend his female students under certain conditions. But he himself had not yet reached that stage."

G. Walther. -- "Did "Frau Malwine" (Husserl's wife) possibly speak through his mouth here as well? -- It seems very possible to me. Husserl apparently did not arrive at the idea that married women could be university lecturers, as was subsequently the case on several occasions. After all, in these matters he was still confined within Old Testament -patriarchal interpretations (*note*: Husserl was Jewish). This, although he had by then—as he always emphasized—converted to evangelical Christianity out of conviction, not for "external reasons."

Meanwhile, Husserl was already more progressive than the founders of that Freiburg Philosophical Society, in whose activities women were simply not allowed to participate! It was only through the revolution of 1918 that it became fully possible for women in our country to embark on a scientific career.

Note: As a phenomenologist, Husserl reveals himself at his narrowest here. After all, confronted with a phenomenon, something that reveals itself to consciousness—in this case: the woman as a human being at the university level—every relevant tradition is, for example, 'clashed in' (placed in parentheses)—here the traditional second-class role of women in various fields.

This suggests that Husserl's consciousness lacked the necessary openness to a phenomenon that had already been 'thematized' (made

into a theme) in his time, in the wake of women's emancipation (part of the social question).

Listen to my phenomenological words, but do not look at my 'phenomenologically' unacceptable actions.

SK17

2.2. Devout Catholic and yet emancipated (17)

Bible st. : D.Campbell, *Une mère universelle catholique* (*Dorothy Day et le pouvoir des femmes dans l'Eglise*), in: N. Auer Falk/ R.Gross, *La religion par les femmes* , Geneva, 1993, 65/79.

Along with P. Maurin, Dorothy Day (1898/1980) is the founder of the Catholic Workers' Movement in the USA in 1933. The objectives included the dissemination of Church social teaching through **The Catholic Worker** , the opening of hospitable homes for the poor and outcast, and the establishment of non-capitalist farms. Dorothy Day viewed the Catholic Church as a center of movements for social justice.

Incidentally: when she died in '80, *The Catholic Worker* still had more than 80,000 subscribers.

Chicago.

There, day in and day out, D. Day came to know the poor neighborhoods “with their endless gray streets” up close, yet not without the beautiful little gardens as signs of hope.

At sixteen, she begins studies at the University of Illinois (in Urbana). Reads for Dostoevsky, Gorky, and Tolstoy. Becomes a member of the Socialist Party.

In 1916, the family moved to New York. There, she developed into a 'radical' journalist. -- In 1927, she became Catholic and was baptized.

Don't tackle authority. Address the problems.

D. Campbell: “D. Day’s method illustrates in all taciturnity that it is wiser and more efficient to tackle the problems rather than the authorities.” “To the matter itself,” one might say!

When the sailors went on strike in New York in 1936, she gave them shelter. When the pallbearers went on strike in New York in 1949, she sided with them while Cardinal Spellman was openly opposed. -- In 1963 in Los Angeles, she urged the members of the movement:

Following the inspiration of the Holy Spirit is a duty. In other words: persevere (...). Seek neither support nor approval. (...). Please: save your strength rather to tackle the screaming forms of injustice in our time than the Church in the person of its Cardinal-Archbishop”.

G. Wills characterizes her as the universal Catholic mother by reason of her authority.

In 1970, Doris Greenbach characterized her as “the most liberated woman in the world” alongside Betty Freedan. And yet, she was a radically traditionalist and authority-abiding Catholic who supported her church unconditionally!

SK18

Feminist antipsychiatry.

Let us pause for a moment at *Martine Delvaux, Femmes psychiatisées femmes rebelles*, Synthélabo, 1998.

'Antipsychiatry' means: psychiatry from a non-established scientific standpoint.

Axiomatics.

A psy (psychiatrist, psychoanalyst, etc.) possesses, by virtue of his 'training' at high institutions, “a certain number of types” (understand: commonplaces). Of these, he discovers—as is supposed to be done 'scientifically'—the concrete applications—in this case, “insane women.” Women who are believed by those around them to be 'disturbed,' or who believe it of themselves.

The requested

“How to disinfect the concept of 'insanity' (when it concerns women) in such a situation?” (oc, 15). For “one does not become insane just any way: culture has foreseen everything” (Fr. Laplantine). For, furthermore:

“In the 19th century, the asylum exists to restore the woman to the role whose harshness she had been unable to process. (...). Submissiveness and passivity thereby become synonymous with 'healing'”. (Yannick Ripa).

In other words: since culture—established culture—was primarily in the hands of men, the concept of 'madness' regarding women is strongly male-colored. That is typically feminist. An anarchism immediately resonates: anything that even remotely smacks of subjugation and passivity is unbearable.

Peculiar.

Great pioneers among psychiatrists all had at their disposal a 'sick', a 'mad' patient who, as if she became their muse, led them to discoveries. Thus: Charcot/ Augustine, Breuer/ Anna O., Freud/ Dora, Janet/ Madeleine, Lacap/ Aimée, Laing/ Mary Barnes.

In other words: for the writer, it is as if precisely those women 'begot' the correct interpretation in a masculine sense! As subordinates! In service!

Based on texts, the book attempts to prove that the concept of “female madness” is a construct, at home within psychiatric, psychoanalytic, as well as literary institutions. It further examines how the patient, by recounting her life to the psychiatrist (autobiography), expresses her (un)conscious or subconscious resistance to the established order.

However anarchic and even postmodernist it may be: the book prompts serious reflection.

SK19

The social question today: international and massive.

Library st. : P. de Senarciens, *Les sottises du neo-liberalisme* , in : *Journ. d.Genève / Gaz.d.Lausanne* 07.11.1995.

Steller, a professor at the University of Lausanne, outlines it as follows.

1.-- *Neoliberal market economy.*

a. The 'market', structured along neoliberal lines, effectively organizes the production and consumption of goods and services. It creates profits and, at the same time, many rich people.

b. But where they are given free rein, and are not regulated, one suffers from forms of injustice ('inegalites'), violence, and is subject to the law of the strongest. In the wake of this come urban crime, uprisings, and fanatical movements (e.g., USA, Mexico).

2. *The aspect of globalization.*

A key aspect of the neoliberal world order. Nationally limited states lose a portion of their rights of self-determination because their inflation rates, debt burdens, and currency fluctuations, for example, are partly determined by international multinational powers.

Thus, transnational corporations largely control production and trade across the entire planet, while performing very poorly in terms of job creation.

The regulation of the capitalist market.

The organization of the market economy surrendered to (wild) capitalism is regulated by the national governments in a number of states, subjecting it to as just an ordering as possible.

Such regulation hardly exists, if at all, in a serious and just manner on the international-transnational level. For the weakening of state sovereignty by, for example, globalization—that is, the creation of a market space not limited to a state or a group of states, but rather one dominating the entire planet—is not remedied by new transnational institutions unless initially.

The author calls this “the transnational social question”.

Social tensions, financial crises, debt burdens, forms of exchange, environmental problems, population shifts, massive poverty, unsafe conditions, and polarizations between centers and peripheries therefore run their course without an authority-distributive justice being able to enforce it.

3. Liberalisms (20/28)

3.1. The medieval guilds (20)

The guilds originated before the 13th century, but it was only with *Le Livre des metiers* (c. 1250) that they acquired a firm status. It is Christian solidarism cast in texts. Here is how they can be summarized.

“In the old guilds we find a fortunate union of individual and social views (...). Absolutely free exchange was unknown. Nor was entirely free production. The guilds curbed all excesses of individual freedom.

No one other than the examined guild masters was allowed to practice a trade independently. Working on Sundays and holidays was prohibited, as was night work. The number of working hours was determined, varying according to profession and season. The number of apprentices was limited and the wage fixed.

Raw materials were supplied by and under the control of the guild. Prices were set by the government, as were the place, time, and manner of sale. Quality was monitored.” (*J. Aengenent, Leerboek der sociologie* , Leiden, 1919-4, 20).

Translated into 20th-century terms:

Diploma, apprenticeship system, prohibition of Sunday and night work, maximum working hours, minimum wage, joint purchasing, inspection, price regulation, mandatory public trade union organization.

In their main features, regarding structure, role, and purpose, the guilds displayed virtually the same character everywhere. “In the Christian Middle Ages, among all peoples of similar civilization, one can observe a striking similarity in the regulation and organization of labor. Thus, the book of guilds of Polish Krakow in the 14th century appears to be a reproduction of *le Livre des métiers* of the Parisian guilds.” (*De-la-tour du Pin la Charce, Vers un ordre social chrétien* , Paris, 1882/1907-

2, 127). The main purpose was apparently: to provide every worker—master or journeyman—with a decent income.

Degeneration.

Just like everything on this earth, here too. The guilds became conservative over time. For instance, they opposed the introduction of new machines. They engaged in nepotism (preferential treatment of family members and friends). They became monopolistic in the 18th century.

Consequence: a liberal reaction! The French Revolution, in March and then in June 1791, abolished them, indeed, banned them. The revolutionaries confused the economic role with the social role of the guilds.

SK21

3.2. Colbertismca. French mercantilism (21)

Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619/1683) was for a long time (except towards the end) the principal minister of King Louis XIV (1643/1715). He was a hardworking and methodical man who eventually came to control the entire French state administration. He was of particular interest to the economy. To mention just one detail: he founded manufactures, the precursors of later large-scale industry.

Mercantilism.

Colbert was a mercantilist in economics.

This is an economic theory that favored industry, and especially trade, as a source of wealth at the expense of agriculture. In the wake of the discovery of precious metals in America—gold and silver—mercantilism held that precious metals constituted the state's wealth par excellence.

For instance, Colbert was convinced that sound economic policy should aim to bring in as much gold and silver as possible.

The balance of trade system.

The trade balance benefits from export trade exceeding import trade as much as possible. Therefore, Colbert favored the production of exportable goods.

Protectionism

The economy that prioritizes national production and eliminates foreign competition as much as possible—through customs measures—is called 'protectionism' (protection of the national economy). That system stands in direct opposition to any free trade. Colbert was a supporter of it.

Note: The state absolutism that prevailed in Europe during the 17th and 18th centuries strongly encouraged Colbertism (mercantilism, balance of trade system).

Louis XIV “le Grand” or “le Roi-Soleil” (Sun King) was a supporter of absolutism. This is a political system in which a single head of state controls as many powers of state as possible. In Louis XIV’s case, this was based on the axiom that the (absolute) monarch could and was allowed to rule “by divine right.”

Frederick the Great (1740/1786) in Prussia and Oliver Cromwell (1599/1658) also tried to push through mercantilism as much as possible.

To this end, mercantilists employed the most restrictive regulations to such an extent that they provoked a reaction advocating deregulation, the liberal reaction.

SK22

3.3. Physiocracy: French liberalism (22/23)

“Criticism was frequently leveled against mercantilism as early as the 17th century, but especially in the 18th. The writers of the Enlightenment (*note*: rationalism) played a role in this. (...); they invoked natural law in doing so.” (*Fr. Van Oirschot, Beknopte geschiedenis der sociale vraag* , Roermond/Maaseik, 1950, 105).

Natural law.

Natural law was grounded solely in human nature. It was 'formed' and known by reason, and indeed as universal law valid for all ages. The former theological basis had thus been reasoned away.

'Fysio.cratie' literally means "rule of nature:

Fr. de Quesnay (1694/1774; personal physician to Louis XV), in his **Tableau économique**, defended as his main thesis: human nature is good. Consequently, the natural inclinations of man are also good. Allowing them to run free on an individual level is also immediately good.

Incidentally: whatever J.J. Rousseau would later advocate. -- Behold the basic axiom.

Deregulation.

The restrictive regulations of mercantilism must be abolished—as they are not good. Moreover: any restriction by the state authorities is anathema. —“Laissez faire, laissez passer”.

“The productive class”.

While trade was the central economic factor in mercantilism, it is now agriculture. Although trade and industry should not be deemed totally useless, according to the physiocrats, only agriculture yielded “un produit net” (a purely created product). Only the farming class could be called “la classe productive”.

Merchants and industrialists even form “la classe sterile” (the sterile trade and industry are “dépendance de l'agriculture” (a dependency on agriculture). In other words: the farmer feeds and sustains the other classes.

When Turgot (1707/1781) became Minister of Finance in 1774/1776, this was the opportunity for physiocracy: in 1776, the guilds and their regulations were dissolved. However, this radical liberal decision provoked fierce resistance, particularly from the guilds.

Turgot was dismissed and the decision reversed. But a few years later, the revolutionaries of the French Revolution would push through Turgot's deregulation.

Note: It is a mistake to assume that only agriculture constitutes “pure profit,” because other forms of labor also ‘produce’ such profit.

SK23

The ‘orthodox’ school of liberalism.

In the same year that Turgot was dismissed—1776— the work that founded the classical school by the Scotsman *Adam Smith (1723/ 1790)* appeared: *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* .

The movement is sometimes called the “Franco-English school” because it has counted its most famous adherents in France and England. The term “Orthodox school” expresses the adherents’ fidelity to axiomatics. The school testifies to a strong orthodoxy.

1.-- As an English deist, Smith maintained that God does not intervene in cosmic and human events, but only through natural laws.

2.-- As a follower of Scottish moral philosophy, Smith predominantly denied the role of reason in human behavior: only natural inclinations are the moral rule.

3.-- As a liberal thinker, he viewed society as primarily a collection of individuals. In that sense, he was an individualist (nominalist).

Human, regarding economic behavior.

Just as one must not obstruct the movement of the gears in a timepiece—a machine (mechanical conception), so too must one not disturb the following of natural inclinations in mankind—created for its happiness by a deistic, otherworldly god.

Note: The modern natural sciences emerge here.

Self-interest.

That is the strongest natural tendency. Even state laws may not, in principle, oppose that tendency. -- Although Smith emphasizes its limits.

a.-- Moderation is a necessity; otherwise, one damages health and property. Justice is likewise a necessity: to conduct oneself in such a way that one does not assault the life, property, or honor of one's fellow man. Benevolence is not the foundation of society, but its adornment.

b. State intervention is also necessary in various domains: combating usury, tariff regulation, national defense, and retaliation measures (against other states).

The underprivileged.

“Is it not more than just that those who provide the whole people with food, as well as clothing and housing, should receive such a share of the proceeds of their own labor that they themselves are properly fed, clothed, and housed?” Thus literally the great liberal that Smith was.

SK24

3.4. The total labor of the people (24)

Wealth – the term for 'prosperity' at the time – is primarily a “favorable balance of trade” (mercantilism), invested in precious metals, – agriculture (physiocracy).

Smith's system is sometimes called "the industrial system".

1. His book was published before the Industrial Revolution.

2. He is critical of industry. In that sense, he repeatedly approaches physiocracy.

The term 'industrial system' is apparently “a widespread but incorrect view”.

For Smith, the source of prosperity lies in the total labor of the people, particularly in a correct—preferably scientific—understanding of the labor process. Hence his emphasis on the division of labor.

Note: Labor immediately emerges as the principal factor of the economy. It transforms natural products into cultural products that constitute the nation's 'wealth'. It is tragic that today, ...so many years after Smith, labor is being jeopardized by scientific and technological progress. Today there are still two kinds of people: those who can still perform labor; and those who can no longer find work.

School formation

Smith's followers include, among others: *Malthus* (*Essay on the Principles of Population* (1803)); *Ricardo* (*Principles of Political Economy* (1807)); *Say* (*Cours complet d'economie politique* (1828)); *Stuart Mill* (*John* (1806/1873; the utilitarian who advocated a moderate liberalism, in his *Principles of Political Economy* (1848)), etc. Much work has been done in the field of economic science by all such proponents. The school is rightly called “the School of Classical Economics”.

Note: The writings of David Ricardo (1772/1832), the evil genius who steered the economy astray by distorting it into a harsh, barren, and inhumane system, have exerted a particularly great influence. His wage theory, in particular, has had disastrous consequences.

Thus *Fl. Van Oirschot, Concise History of the Social Question* , Roermond/Maaseik, 1950, 111. He was a convinced Malthusian.

According to him, the wage must be commensurate with the means to maintain To put it bluntly: the minimum wage, necessary for the maintenance of the worker, his wife, and at most two children.

This wage theory severely depressed actual wages for a long time and paralyzed social action. Until workers' organizations dealt with it.

SK25

3.5. John Stuart Mill: Social Liberalism (25/26)

The British pessimistic liberals and the French optimistic liberals find their synthesis in the liberalism of J. Stuart Mill (1806/1870), who articulates individualism—perfectly—as perfectly as possible (*J. Lajugie, Les doctrines économiques* , Paris, 1982–13, 20).

Man.

James, his father, a utilitarian thinker (friend of Jer. Bentham), friend of Ricardo, posits above all that upbringing determines individual destiny.

At the age of three, John learns Greek. By the age of eight, he has already read Herodotus, Plato, Aristotle, and Ovid. He receives no toys or recreation. The evenings are for arithmetic. Philosophy and economics are literally spoon-fed to him. At twelve, he studies the logic of Th. Hobbes (1588/1679: mathematical thinking) and reads D. Ricardo, who drills his work on economics into him when he is thirteen.

Traveling perfects education.

At the age of fourteen, John spends a year on the European continent. There he is influenced by J.-B. Say (1767/1832), a French liberal known for his *Traité d'économie politique* (1803), which, in the spirit of the time, deals with “the manner in which wealth is created, distributed, and consumed”.

It is the first treatise on political economy, whose subtitle will determine the schema of all subsequent works for a century: “production/ circulation/ consumption”.

Incidentally: Say imparts to him the knowledge of a 'softer' adolescence.

Jer. Bentham (1748/1832)

John is introduced to Bentham at the age of fifteen. Reading his treatise on the Law of Legislation converts him to utilitarianism. From then on, he views man as a pleasure-seeking machine driven by self-interest, in such a way that all burdens are minimized and all pleasures maximized.

Th. R. Malthus (1766/1834),

Malthus, of whom his father was a fervent supporter, defended birth control in the name of the danger of overpopulation due to insufficient economic goods and services. John becomes a Malthusian.

At the age of twenty, after these optimal achievements, John becomes depressed and, during this crisis, questions his father's model of thought. But the influence of a woman, Mrs. Taylor, pulls him out of it and opens his mind to the social question. John will indeed interpret liberalism in a reformist-social way.

The theorist.

In his *System of Logic* (1843), his sense of method comes to the fore.
 -- The breviary of liberalism appears in *On Liberty* (1859), in which the rights of the individual are discussed: the right to nonconformism, that is, to go against customs and opinions.

In 1848—the year in which *the Communist Manifesto* appeared and von Ketteler delivered his speeches in Mainz—his classic * *Principles of Political Economy** was published, a book that was not superseded until 1890 by A. Marshall (1842/1924) with his * *Principles of Political Economy** (mathematical-empirical).

Reformism

Member of Parliament 1865/1868. As a politician, he defends women's suffrage, advocates trade unionism and the redistributive tax system. He opposes slavery.

True democracy must prevent “a class—even if it were the largest in number—from being able to reduce everything it dislikes to the political zero point and to control legislation and administration according to its exclusive class interest” (*Consideration on Representative Government*).

Mill is a moderate liberal in the sense that he posits that the individual is not the sole judge of his own interests. That sounds, of course, unorthodox! The influence of the state—which, according to him, does not equal the game of liberty—must not replace individual initiative: it ought to be educational and stimulating. Once again: education of both the propertied class and the masses is the key to progress.

Freedom takes precedence over equality.

That upbringing which, together with social institutions, would steer individuals towards exchanging their free disposal of their actions (*note*: their freedom) for a dose of prosperity or abundance, sells freedom for 'equality' and robs those individuals of the principal characteristics of human nature.

Incidentally : that theme is discussed in *J. Rawls* , professor at Harvard University, in his *A Theory of Justice* , Oxford, 1971-1, 1990-2, repr. -

Mill reproaches the socialists for failing to take into account the natural laziness of people. If a person achieves a manageable situation, it is to be feared that he or she will fall into inertia, whereby all faculties begin to rust, so that he or she no longer even has the necessary energy to avoid falling behind.

SK27

3.6. Two views on freedom (27)

Library st.:

-- I. Berlin, *Two Concepts of Freedom* , Meppel/Amsterdam 1996,
-- D. Diels, *The tragic choices of Isaiah Berlin* , in: *Streven* 1997: May, 419/428.

I. Berlin (1909/1997), born in Riga (Latvia), emigrated to England with his parents. He was an ardent admirer of Aleksandr Herzen (1812/1870; militant revolutionary socialist), who denies as radically as possible everything universal and argues that all (*note*: nevertheless universal) people have a minimal scope for free action as a moral need. Something that must not be suppressed in the name of “big words” (such as “history”, “humanity”, “the church”, “progress”, “the state”).

1958.-- The Oxfordian that Berlin has become in England puts forward a twofold concept of 'freedom', -- in *Two Concepts of Liberty*.

1.-- Negative freedom.

This is situated in that sphere of my and your life within which you and I can go our own way unhindered by fellow human beings. Let us call this “the private sphere”. This is the collection of possibilities open to you and me: freedom in itself, independent of singular, concrete circumstances that may occasionally entail limitations on my and your freedom. The state may not interfere with this.

It is not surprising that Berlin is ranked as a liberal by some. Here, big words have no rights.

2.-- Positive freedom .

Also called 'autonomy'. Positive freedom for you and me consists in the fact that I and you independently determine what we want to be or do, relying on our own ideas and values. Berlin: "I want to be someone. Not no one. A doer, deciding and not someone who is decided over. Self-directing (...). That is: formulating and realizing my own goals and strategies."

Note: -- That sounds anarchic, if not anarchist.

And yet: positive freedom pays attention to the conditions under which freedom manifests itself.

H. Blokland.

1. Can people make their choices undisturbed by others?

2. Do those same people also have actual alternative choices?

1 is negative freedom; **2** is positive freedom. This is how Blokland translates Berlin's unclear terms and considers them extraordinarily important for cultural criticism.

SK28

Liberal market as seen by M. Walzer.

Bibl. st.: M. Walzer , *The idea of a civic society* , in: *Streven* 60 (1993): June, 483/497.

Walzer, a pluralistic social democrat, views the 'market' as follows.

Production.

Like Marx, the classical liberal views the economy as the true sphere of life. -- But very differently.

The entrepreneurs play the leading role in the sense that they indulge in exploiting the opportunities offered by the free market economy. 'Conquering' a part of that market so that what the consumer desires is provided, and in abundance. "We can only choose if there is much to choose from" (ac, 488).

Second aspect: the consumer. Not helping to govern the state as the political democrat desires. Nor producing valuable products as Marx's future state aims for. Rather, "making individual choices".

Both the producer—pre-eminently the head of the enterprise—and the consumer—at least those with purchasing power—do as much as possible without the state, which is minimally necessary nonetheless. Police, yes.

Walzer's criticism.

"Unfortunately, in reality we can only choose from the abundance of goods and services if we have the necessary purchasing power." (ibid.).

In our 'dual' society, with its wealthy and its poor, purchasing power differs from person to person. A mass of people even lead a marginal existence, often able to rely only on friends and smaller communities.

The state, after all.

Indeed: as the organizer of the police force that prevents theft, for example. As the governing body of justice that regulates contractual fairness, for example. Also, and not insignificantly, as a planning authority (planned economy). Not least as a guarantee system for a minimum income for all.

The civil servants.

The state, with its administration, is necessary. But entrepreneurs circumvent the norms of that same state (by moving to other countries; by operating multinationally).

True citizenship does not emerge within the market context. The free 'citizen' easily becomes selfish and detaches himself (nominally) from natural solidarity. Conquering and improving a market position predominates too much.

SK29

4. Collectivisms (29/53)

4.1. Communism and socialism: collectivism (29/31)

The solutions of socialism and communism, respectively, put forward the same rationalist axiomatics that also founded liberalism. We limit ourselves here to the economic aspect thereof.

1.-- *Dirigisme (controlled economy).*

All forms of collectivism, whether communism or socialism, react against the excesses of the market economy within which the individual (individualism) is, as it were, 'sacred' and inviolable. The entire economic system (production, distribution, and eventual consumption) must be regulated by a community.

2.1. *Right of ownership.*

All collectivisms react against the excesses of capitalism, within which the ownership of the goods of production and services is private.

1. In communism, all goods are indiscriminately held in common (socialized). Means of production as well as means of consumption are withdrawn from the individual: not only land, factories, etc., but also, for example, clothing, food, etc., belong to the community.

2. In socialism, however, not all goods and services are common property: only the means of production (**a.** land, **b.** factories, **c.** raw materials and semi-finished products, etc.) become the property of the community.

Consumer goods remain a private matter. "In a socialist state, the individual cannot own land, factories, etc., but he/she can freely dispose of the proceeds of his/her labor and use them to buy or exchange goods as he/she wishes." (*Fl. Van Oirschot, Beknopte geschiedenis der sociale vraag* , Roermond/Maaseik, 1950, 146).

Note: -- In agrarian socialism, only private land ownership is abolished, not the rest. Thus in *H. George, Progress and Poverty* (1679).

2.2.-- *Community.*

Collectivisms diverge widely when it comes to the concept of community.

1. Marxism prioritizes a bourgeois society with a democratically elected government (parliamentarism), assuming that the (liberal) state will disappear of its own accord.

2. State socialism (statist socialism) preserves the state.

3. Anarchism (libertarianism), however, rejects everything that is not the local community (the municipality, the trade union): groups of workers represent “the community”.

SK30

Saint-Simonism: an industrial socialism.

K. Marx and Fr. Engels looked down with contempt on—what they dismissed as—'utopian' socialists. So around Saint-Simon (1760/1825).

Eventful life.

As a freethinker, this count refused to celebrate his first communion at the age of thirteen. At nineteen, he participated in the American War of Independence. He was active during the French Revolution.

He does business with a Swiss banker and becomes rich, but squanders everything. In 1797, he starts a transport company (with a deceitful partner) and fails. Once he has reached this point, he begins his theoretical work, which revolves around a technocratic planning socialism.

Industrialists

His socialism does not merely mean a just distribution of goods and services: above all, it activates productive forces. For if the supply of produced goods is large, this also benefits the broad segments of the population. – That is industrialism.

An industrialist is a worker who either produces or makes available one or more means by which the various members of society satisfy their needs or can satisfy natural preferences.

For example, a farmer who sows grain, raises poultry and livestock is an 'industrialist' (...). A businessman, a carter who transports goods

on his wagon, a sailor on a merchant ship are 'industrialists'. (...). Industrialists make up three major classes: farmers, manufacturers, and businessmen.”

what constitutes wealth in his **Le Catéchisme des industriels ** (1823/1824).

Profitariat

If France were to lose noblemen, including princes, ministers, judges, the ten thousand wealthiest landowners, etc., this would be no loss, provided it retains its gifted individuals in the sciences, arts, technology, and crafts. It is clear: Saint-Simon identifies the economically active person—the worker—as the desired person. In this, he is not far removed from P. Smith.

Influence.

He exerted great influence on some major industrialists (in the ordinary sense). His many works were less widely read, but his followers gave great resonance to industrialism, though they emphasized the social aspect more. They even grew into a kind of adherents of a 'religion' of brotherhood and utopia.

SK31

State Socialism.

Karl von Rodbertus-Jagetzow (1805/1875) is considered the father of State Socialism.

The reform of society takes place with the aid of the de facto state, not by means of the revolutionary movement of a class. Rodbertus even wants to bring the entire production and distribution of goods and services under state control. Also the regulation of, for example, working hours, wages, and sales prices. This comes close to state absolutism. Thus Fl. Van Oirschot, ** Beknopte geschiedenis der sociale vraag** , Roermond / Maaseik, 1950, 147.

State Socialism distinguishes itself first and foremost from Marxism (Social Democracy) in that it seeks to preserve the state and does not wish to dissolve all of social life into a realm of purely economic relations.

1. The coup against the hollow economic system should not be brutally pushed through, but state power must regulate the economy over time through strict regulations (dirigisme).

2. The coup d'état over all that is property of the means of production and distribution must not take place in one fell swoop, but very gradually: in the foreseeable future private property will have to continue to prevail, yet the state must introduce state exploitation piece by piece.

Points 1 and 2 demonstrate that this is true socialism.

Academic Socialism.

After Rodbertus came a whole line of state socialists who are called 'Catheder Socialists' because in many cases they were professors.

“The identification of academic socialists with state socialists is not entirely correct. A state socialist is only he who, at least in principle, upholds the omnipotence of the state in the economic sphere. An academic socialist is also someone who advocates extensive state intervention without, precisely, upholding state omnipotence.” (*J. Aengenent, Leerboek der sociologie* , Leiden, 1919, 97).

Note: -- In 1892, the ultra-Marxist Kautsky succeeded in having the following resolution adopted at a congress: “Social democracy (Marxism) has nothing in common with so-called state socialism”.

This suggests that, for the orthodox Marxist, the state must eventually be abolished and replaced by the entire society conceived as “a gigantic industrial enterprise” (with an elected board, of course).

SK32

4.2. Anarchism (libertarianism) (32/36)

Max Stirner (Kaspar Schmidt; 1806/1856), in *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum* (1842), describes the radical individualism typical of the libertarian as follows:

“Every education must become something that focuses on the person (...). Knowledge should not be instilled. Rather, the personality must come to its own development. The primary aim of educational science should not be to civilize, but rather to form free personalities (assertive), sovereign characters. (...)”.

This axiom also applies to morals, society, and the economy (M. Baslé et al., *Histoire des pensées économiques*, Paris, 1988, 221).

A socialism after all.

a. Dirigisme that regulates the entire economic system (production, distribution) from within a community;

b . ownership of the means of production (land, raw materials, factories, etc.) in the hands of a community.

Behold the two characteristics that make libertarianism a true socialism.

As for the concept of 'property', this is crystal clear from the words of the father of anarchism, *P.J. Proudhon* (1809/1865), in his work **Qu'est ce que la propriété? **. His answer: “Property is theft.”

In France, Proudhon influenced the working masses perhaps more than Marx.

Community interpretation.

Not society as a whole, but groups, whether territorial (the municipalities, communes) or economic (the branches of economics), constitute 'communities'.

These can unite with one another in a federative manner at will. Anarchists reject a central administration of the entire society, which is why they differ fundamentally from Marxism.

In France, anarchists are called 'syndicalists' as proponents of revolutionary trade unions. Also in Italy.

Mutual societies and cooperatives, for example, are typical anarchist creations.

Decisiveness.

Strikes (general or otherwise) are the means, preferably as many as possible. Direct action, consultation not through union leaders but by the workers themselves, is the desired rule.

The extreme anarchists do not shy away from acts of terror (Ravachol, Vaillant) or even banditry (la Bande à Bonnot (1911/1913)). This gradually distances the working masses from anarchism to that degree. That is what the men of “Neither Master Nor God” want.

SK33

Belgian anarchism.

Bibl. st.: J. De Mare, *Anarchism* , in: *Streven* 62 (1995): 10 (Nov.), 937/940.

Steller takes a very brief but incisive look at J. Moulaert , **Rood en Zwart* (De anarchistische beweging in België 1880/1914)*, Davidsfonds, 1995, whose sources are either fanatically anarchist papers and pamphlets or hostile police reports. Neither is 'objective'.

Attitude of resistance.

Belgium was a liberal state.

On the one hand, a number of old-fashioned 'authoritarian' situations characteristic of the Ancien Régime, such as arbitrary justice or the influence of local prominent figures, had been abolished. From this, the state of that time derives its *raison d'être* (sufficient reason) as a liberal-founded institution.

On the other hand, particularly in the economic and social sphere, new, typically liberal forms of (unlimited or not) authority and authoritarianism had been introduced. -- Conclusion.

“Our answer must be a tenacious and implacable struggle that cannot end except with the total destruction of the filthy gang, namely, throne, purse, and altar.” Thus the Belgian anarchists in 1887 (oc, 105).

Is anarchism definable?

P. Proudhon (1809/1865), a pioneer, defined “Anarchism is something like the absence of all authority or government”. Based on this axiom, anarchists reject any organization that prioritizes coercion: state, bureaucracy, party, parliament, church.

The radically autonomous individual takes precedence. So that anarchism (seen positively) is “the voluntary association of articulate individuals”. A kind of contract system, therefore.

But note: in anarchist eyes, defining is also a form of withdrawing from the radically free individual and is therefore 'authoritarian'. Every anarchist defines his anarchism freely, anti-authoritarian.

Contemporary anarchism.

De Maere states that anarchism lives without its name.

1. In the minds of many modern young people, the axiom is “Neither master nor God” (a motto of the anarchists).

2. The postmodern thinkers who unilaterally engage in 'deconstruction' (dismantling) of traditions are another subtle form of anarchism, for rationally speaking, there is no foundation that can justify authority and rules.

SK34

Michael Bakounin, the Russian anarchist.

M. Bakounin (1814/1876) took on two cultural-historical factors—two fictions, according to him—: God and the state.

“Bakounin was a Russian. He introduced the Slavic element into socialism.” (*Fl. Van Oirschot, *Beknopte geschiedenis der sociale vraag** , Roermond/Maaseik, 1950, 197). Another Russian, also an anarchist, was Kropotkin (1842/1921).

Bakounin was born in the village of Pryamukhino (between Moscow and St. Petersburg) into a very old but not very wealthy noble family. In 1840, he studied at the University of Berlin. Even then, he often debated with I. Turgenev (1818/1883), a Russian writer who rebelled against

serfdom (*The Hunter's Tales* (1852)), regarding the emancipation of the serfs. But soon he was an anarchist. From then on, he had to flee, becoming embroiled in uprisings.

1868: Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste.

With this association, founded in Geneva, Bakunin penetrates the First International, where Marx, however, wishes to retain leadership. This results in struggle and the dissolution of the Socialist International.

The radical anarchist program.

Van Oirschot, oc, 199, characterizes as follows.

The Alliance's program was radical: anarchy. Thus, state bankruptcy, non-payment of national debts, refusal to pay taxes, -- dissolution of the army, the judiciary, the police, the clergy, -- no official administration of justice, burning of all titles of ownership, all deeds of purchase and sale, all legal documents, -- confiscation of all productive capital and instruments of labor for the benefit of the workers' association which must collectively set them in motion; confiscation of all property of state and church.

A commune will be established to provide all individuals with what is necessary.

Like the Paris Commune in 1871.

Premonition of the bureaucracy of state communism.

Marx's Social Democracy did not trust Bakunin at all. - Marx and Lassalle prove that the pseudo-people's state will be nothing other than the despotic system of government of the proletarian masses under the leadership of a new and very closed 'upper class' (...).

Magnificent 'liberation' of the people. This is how Bakunin writes about statist communism.

SK35

The West is practicing anarchism.

Bible st. : JGandini, *Chine (La dette idéologique du communisme chinois envers l'anarchisme)*, in : *Le monde libertaire (Hebdo. dl Fédération Anarchiste)* 835 (1991 : été), 10.

1. *The beginning.*

On May 4, 1919, an anti-Japanese demonstration degenerated into the rebellious “Science and Democracy” movement, which resonated across all social classes in China.

Note: -- Science and democracy was still the slogan in Beijing in 1989 (Tiananmen) during the student revolt, which took place in a rather anarchist atmosphere.

2. *The elaboration.*

Note: -- Bertrand Russell (1872/1970) arrived in Beijing via Moscow, where his anarchism emerged strengthened: more than any other thinker, he exerted influence on young Chinese intellectuals. In the wake of May Fourth, at the instigation of the anarchist Wang Guangqi, the Groups for Mutual Aid between Students and Workers emerged. A member was “a certain Mao Zedong” (= Mao Tse Tung), the later Great Helmsman (1893/1976), the father of Maoism.

Other approaches.

In 1912, the Movement for Work and Study had already been set in motion by the anarchists Li Shizeng and Wu Zihui. In Paris, in conjunction with this, the Association of Students-Workers was founded, which united up to two thousand students in 1920.

Its goal: primarily to study science and technology while partly working and partly studying.

From this emerged the Group of Chinese Socialist Youth in 1921, which became the French section of the Chinese Communist Party in 1922.

Among the members: Zhou Enlai (1898/1976; Prime Minister 1949/1976) and Deng Xiaoping (1904/1997), both later comrades-in-arms of Mao Zedong.

July 1, 1921. First Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in Shanghai, among whose delegates was Mao Zedong (assistant librarian at Beijing University).

The leadership consisted of revolutionary intellectuals who were both anarchist and Marxist.

Communist negationism.

This historically undeniable anarchist streak within nascent Chinese communism is methodically ignored in official historiography. Just as, incidentally, the student revolt in Tiananmen Square was suppressed.

SK36

Anarcho-capitalism.

Bible st. : P. Lemieux , *L'anarcho-capitalisme* , Paris, 1988.

This movement is considered the pinnacle of libertarianism. Gustave de Molinari (1819/1912), a Belgian economist, is the pioneer. Main axiom: a society without a state is economically viable and morally desirable.

1.-- Capitalism.

Anarcho-capitalism is an extreme form of capitalist liberalism: the 'anarchy'—let individuals pursue their own self-interest and the community will benefit nothing but from it—is extended from the mere economy to all cultural domains. Even administrations of public interest—police, judiciary, army—must be handed over by the state, “the arch-bandit,” into the hands of enterprises and free, private, competitive associations.

2.-- Anarchism.

Socialist anarchism is adapted in two ways.

a. As capitalists, anarcho-capitalists do not abolish private property. On the contrary: it is the axiom par excellence.

b. While they prioritize the radical equality of all people, they consider inequality regarding property and the associated material and other benefits to be 'natural' and therefore 'good'.

Forerunners.

The classical liberals from B. de Mandeville (1670/1733) – with his *The Bee Fable* (1714): “private vices are public benefits” – and, for example, Adam Smith (1723/1790), in his *Wealth of Nations* (1776) –

the invisible hand ensures that, if every individual pursues his own self-interest, social welfare immediately arises – pave the way for anarcho-capitalism.

The individualist anarchists from Will. Godwin (1756/1836), M. Stirner (1806/1856; * *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum* *), P.-J. Proudhon (1809/1864) and others prepare anarcho-capitalism by asserting that “the best government is the one that governs the least” and that “the government that governs the least does not exist”.

Maw: if a government is necessary at all, then it must tolerate competition in its own sphere. De Molinari: “The people know how to govern at least as well as the governments”.

For orthodox liberals, the state is justified by the public safety demanded by police, tribunals, prisons, and national defense, so that the 'wild' freedom of J. Locke (1632/1704) does not degenerate into the ' *Leviathan*' of Th. Hobbes (1588/1679). Which the anarcho-capitalists deny.

SK37

4.3. Marxism(n- (37/53)

K. Marx (1818/1883), together with Fr. Engels (1820/1895), his collaborator who disseminated Marx's ideas and founded "Marxism", can be seen as the critic of established liberalism following the First Industrial Revolution, -- from the perspective of the working class.

Scientific socialism.

Marx and Engels distanced themselves from predecessors, whom they called 'utopians'. They did not accept immutable axiomatics (freedom, equality, justice, etc.) as products of reason, but prioritized the actual evolution of culture. Actual capitalist culture inevitably evolves towards collectivism.

Marx and Engels do not fantasize about a future state but trace the historical process. They do not venture into the experiments intended to

visualize socialism, but regarded socialism as a self-evident reality, given the necessity of the process.

German dialectics, English economics, French socialism.

The method of thinking is dialectics, that is, paying attention to the course of cultural history through contradictions of all kinds (Hegel), but limited to the materialistic aspect (Feuerbach) and convinced of a limited determinism (Epicurus). So much for the philosophical part.

D. Ricardo (1772/1823), regarding the value of labor, and Sismondi (1773/1842), regarding the substandard consumption of the people and crises, are the 'classical' (English) economists who inspired Marx and Engels.

P. Proudhon (1809/1865), regarding mutualism, R. Owen (1771/1858), regarding cooperatives, and L. Blanc (1811/1882) regarding “ateliers nationaux”—all 'utopian' socialists—introduced the concept of 'socialism'.

Solutions.

R. Hilferding (1877/1941), regarding the theory of financial capitalism and imperialism, -- Vl. Lenin (1870/1924), regarding the theory of the seizure of power (Russian communism),--

N. Bucharin (1888/1938), regarding the theory of the transition to socialism, -- R. Luxemburg (1870/1949), regarding the theory of world capitalism, Mass spontaneity and imperialism, --

E. Bernstein (1850/1932), regarding reformism (rejection of materialism and determinism) which advocates gradual reforms, K. Kautsky (1854/1938), regarding the rejection of violence and the theory of social democracy, --- they all elaborate aspects of Marxism.

SK38

Marxism and the death of metaphysics.

In 1844 (1845), *Fr. Engels* and *K. Marx* published *Die heilige Familie* (*Kritik der kritischen Kritik*). In Chapter VI, they discuss the death of metaphysics, one of the main conditions of true Marxism.

1. In the 17th century (one need only think of Descartes, Leibniz, etc.), metaphysics was still intertwined with positive, profane content. It made discoveries in mathematics, physics, and other sciences that appeared to belong to its domain.

2. Already at the beginning of the 18th century, this illusion had been destroyed. The positive (definite) sciences had separated themselves from it and became independent sciences.

The entire metaphysical richness consisted only of ideas and heavenly things,—precisely when the 'real' (*note*: earthly) beings and earthly things attracted all attention. Metaphysics had become stale. In the same year that Malebranche and Arnauld, the last great French metaphysicians, died—1715—Helvetius and Condillac were born.

Note: Others—historians—also establish that a cultural revolution can be discerned in France between 1660 and 1725, which is interpreted here in Marxist terms.

Pierre Bayle (1647/1706).

Known for his *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (1695/1697), which served as a model for the encyclopedists D. Diderot (1713/1784) and J. d'Alembert (1717/1783). The Encyclopedia was published 1751/1772. It was radically materialistic.

Engels/Marx on it: “The man who stripped 17th-century metaphysics, and indeed all metaphysics in the theoretical realm, of all credibility was P. Bayle!”

His weapon: skepticism, but to such an extent that he employed metaphysical magic formulas. Bayle was a Cartesian to begin with. But he lost his faith. His doubt—skepticism—regarding religion drove him to doubt the metaphysics that founded that faith. He subjected the entire history of metaphysics to 'criticism'.

Moreover—and Engels/Marx emphasize: he proclaimed the atheist society that would soon begin to exist, by proving that a purely atheist society is possible, that an atheist can be an honorable human being,

and that man loses his dignity through superstition and idolatry, and not through atheism.

SK39

Understanding historical dialectics from a Marxist perspective.

Fr. Engels, in his *Ludwig Feuerbach und der Ausgang der klassischen deutschen Philosophie*, Stuttgart, 1888, initially talks about the Hegelian concept of 'wirklich'.

1. No statement of Hegel has so aroused “narrow-minded governments and narrow-minded liberals” as approval (governments) or anger (liberals) as “Was vernünftig ist, das ist wirklich und was wirklich ist, das vernünftig” (Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts, Vorrede).

The liberals thought: such a ruling is the canonization of everything that actually exists, the blessing of despotism, of the police state, of the cabinet court, of censorship. The liberals were not alone in this interpretation.

2. In Hegel, however—according to Engels—all that actually exists is by no means also 'real'. For Hegel, 'real' is all that is simultaneously 'necessary', that is, justifiable by reason. Reality is a process, an unfolding movement of all that was, now is, and will be.

In other words: reality is dialectical. And specifically in the form of history(is). Hence the term “historical dialectics,” which refers to that type of philosophy that grasps the self-unfolding of all that is.

Tax system.

A government measure—according to Hegel—is not valid, 'real', or 'necessary' without condition. For what is necessary proves, upon analysis, to be 'rational' ('vernünftig'). Insofar as the measure is rationally justifiable, Hegel calls it 'wirklich'.

History).

Thus something is real now, only to become unreal later. -- Thus the Roman Republic was once real, but the Roman Emperor displacing that republic was real from then on or so. -- The French monarchy was once

real, corresponding to the circumstances and therefore rational (justified), but in 1798 it had become unreal. It had to be replaced by the great revolution.

Generalization.

Thus, in the course of development, everything that formerly existed becomes unreal. It loses its necessity, its reason for existence, its rationality.

Engels concludes: nothing is so sacred that it does not become unreal over time. Dialectical philosophy therefore states: “Alles was besteht, ist wert dasz es zugrunde geht” (Everything that exists is worth perishing).

SK40

Lenin.

Let us transport ourselves for a moment to 1900, the golden age of Marxism, in which a multitude of encyclopedically oriented thinkers further developed Marx's system in various specialized sciences.

The social democracy that translates Marx's work into party practice will gradually split into reformist socialists (Second International) and revolutionary Marxists who will follow Lenin in the Third International. “In Lenin (1871/1924), an existence directed towards the goal of the revolution displaces the economy (*M. Baslé et al., Histoire des pensees économiques* , Paris, 1988, 280).

Vladimir Ilyich Oulyanov is the son of a school inspector in the Volga region. As a high school student, he was already a revolutionary. At the age of fifteen, he believed that God does not exist. As an outward manifestation of this, he tore off the small cross that believers wore in Russia at the time, spat on it, and threw it on the ground.

His older brother, Alexander, a fervent revolutionary, attempted an assassination of Tsar Alexander III with a few friends on March 1, 1887. Hardly on the street were they arrested with the bombs in their hands and sentenced to some, partially, to life imprisonment with hard labor. Since then, Vladimir hated the established Tsardom and its society.

He studied Marx's works thoroughly. Became a radical Marxist. Founded a secret society with N. Kroupskaia, whom he would marry. He was imprisoned and exiled to Siberia for three years, where he adopted the name 'Lenin' because the Lenin River flowed through the place of exile.

1903.-- Second Congress of Russian Social Democrats:

Lenin's program and statute are discussed. A rift ensues that becomes definitive in 1912. The Mensheviks 'minority' (but with the largest number) did not consider the time ripe for revolution. Lenin, and with him the Bolsheviks 'majority' (with fewer ranks), relied on the large mass of peasants to eliminate both the bourgeoisie and the nobility in a violent revolution. That is called Leninism.

In 1917, he became head of state of the Soviet Union of Republics. It went through civil war (1917/1921) and the New Economic Policy (1921/1928; NEP), entering an era of five-year plans from 1928 onwards.

SK41

That, too, is Chinese communism.

Bible st.: W. Ellis, China (*Deng's dour successor enjoys the last laugh*), in: The European 30.03.1998, 33.

Just like Deng Xiaoping (Teng Siao-Ong; (1904/1997), economic reformer since 1977 without abolishing strict communism), Zhu Rongji, the great man in China since March 1998, knows what pain and suffering are in communist China.

As early as the 1950s, he viewed industrialization not as the visualization of an ideology, but as an efficient economy.

Consequence: in 1957, Mao Tse-tung (Mao Zedong (1893/1976; founder of Chinese communism)) launched a campaign against 'rightists': Zhu was sentenced to four years of agricultural labor.

1962+. --- Restored to honor, he resumes his rising star but becomes the target of Mao's Culture Revolution (1965, with its terror, deportations, murders, and destruction of heritage): in 1970, he is banished to “the peasant countryside” to look after goats and pigs and clean the toilets of communist bigwigs.

Unlike Deng, Zhu responds to this—to such 'purges' and “ritual humiliations”—by “continuing his work”.

It is striking that Zhu acted in a politically moderate manner and practiced honesty in financial matters, while other communists around him grew rich through corruption and bribes.

The modernization of China was his great concern.

1987.-- As mayor of Shanghai, he left heavy marks on the notorious bureaucracy of that city.

1998.-- Deng Xiaoping introduces economic liberalism while radically maintaining communism and orders the Tiananmen Square massacre as the still highly influential man behind the scenes. With great courage, Zhu ensures that the repression by the government in Beijing does not reach Shanghai: “The army of the people must not act against the people.”

Subsequently, Zhu gradually rises to the highest political sphere. Until, in March 1998, he is voted Deng's successor by an overwhelming majority. The previously technocratically minded communist thus managed to convince all his opponents—with the exception of a small number during the vote—that they should grant him a chance as the highest authority.

SK42

The Black Book of Communism.

Bible st. : St.Courtois et al., *Le livre noir du communisme (Crimes, terror, repression)*, Paris, 1997.

The book came as a bombshell in France. It was written by eleven French historians who—importantly—are all somewhere 'left-wing'. But who do not mince words.

To begin with: what Solzhenitsyn (about Russia), Jean Pasqualini (about China), and Pin Yathay (about Cambodia) have been shouting from the rooftops for decades regarding the killing of people in the name of the dictatorship of the proletariat is more than confirmed in the book in question. For it relies on the archives of the former communist states in such a way that even the figures could be substantiated; Solzhenitsyn, Pin Yathay were at the time branded by the Western intelligentsia as all sorts of ugly things: hence the deep unease in those circles.

Jean-Francois Revel, *Communism (85 millions de morts !)*, in :: *Le Point* 15.11.1997, 64/68, summarizes:

This means that the 20 million (all outside the war) of the USSR, the 65 million of China (Mao Tse-tung, now Mao Zedong (1893/1976; known for his Little Red Book which programmed the Cultural Revolution that began in 1966), the 2 million of Cambodia (out of 7.8 million inhabitants) or of North Korea are all the result of programmed exterminations (Ac, 65).

Roughly eighty-five million.

“With 65 million deaths in China, Mao deserves the medal of the greatest murderer of all time” (Ibid.).

Also racist killings.

Killings intended as such by ethnic groups: Poles, Balts, Moldavians, Ukrainians, Chechens, Tatars were either slaughtered on the spot or deported to Siberia to perish from hunger and cold.

In other words: Hitler and his Nazis are not alone in this matter.

Negationism.

As became apparent on November 7, 1997, in “Bouillon de culture”, a number of leftists, communists first and foremost, attempt to rationalize away this ultra-brutal fact. By claiming that this massive killing does not belong to “the essence” of Marxism, particularly

Communism, but is merely a deviation. But according to Courtois, it is indeed a “crime against humanity”.

Courtois, who was on high terms with Mao at the time—in the turbulent days of May 1968.

SK43

N. Gogol the Evil Antichrist. -.

Fr. Kafka interprets our culture from the perspective of his Old Testament, Jewish axiomatics.

Let us now consider Nikolai Gogol (1809/1852), who also explains our culture - in its Russian form - but from his orthodox background. We briefly reproduce the opinion of L. Kobilinski-Ellis , *Die Macht des Weinens and des Lachens (Zur Seelengeschichte Nikolaus Gogols)*, in: R. von Walter, *Uebertr., N.Gogol, Betrachtungen über die göttliche Liturgie* , Freib.i.Br., 1938, 80/100.

After all, the booklet is a translation of a long commentary by Gogol on the “divine liturgy” (understand: the Holy Mass) of the Orthodox Church. Gogol knew his theology and lived it as well.

To properly understand the following, one must know that in a liturgical text, the Eastern Church labels hell as “utterly ridiculous.” This expression completely dominated Gogol’s tragicomedy: it is theological tragicomedy.

The radically damned black magician.

Even Gogol's first work, **The Evenings at the Manor Farm at Dikanjka**, shows an image of our culture in the persons of the black magician (in **The Terrible Revenge**) and of the beautiful witch (in the story titled **We** (VIi), the Earth Spirit).

Kobilinski depicts the damned magician as follows.

Black magic, that totally unscrupulous magic, is, as an abyss, the perfect counterpart to the heavenly perfection supported by the

mortification of primal urges that the New Testament presents. The Eastern liturgy is a long rendition of that primordial Christian ideal.

The unscrupulous magician—Gogol certainly knew such figures in the flesh—he depicts as the Antichrist, about whom the New Testament writes and who, for example, in the Old Testament, in Psalm 72 (71): 9, is foreshadowed as “the beast.”

This great ruthless one, however, knows himself, on account of the Last Judgment (let us think of *Jude 10* and *14/15*), abandoned to the terrible laughter of all things in the world. In his utter despair, he wants the holy hermit to pray for him. Yet she curses him. Thereupon he cries out: “Father, you laugh at me. I see it in your opening mouth: your white teeth grin.”

Whereupon he throws himself upon the holy man and kills him.

SK44

But, while the abyss—let us think of *Numbers 1-6:31/35* or *Jude 11*—whose blazing glow is one of ever-increasing, never-to-be-quenched vengeance, swallows him up, laughter persists as the ultimate fear of his entire existence.

Even his own horse laughs at him. What is more: he has the impression that the motionless rider on Mount Kriwan also opens his eyes, notices him, and begins to laugh.

The evil antichrist.

Let us note, in the *New Testament*, namely *2 Thess. 2:3b/12*, the bizarre figure of “the godless man”, “the lost being”, “God’s adversary” (these are the three terms with which *2 Thess. characterizes*), who in tradition is called “the evil antichrist”.

This figure, a personal being, will assert itself “at the end of times.” Apparently, Gogol posits that this end of times is underway, -- given its great harbinger, namely the all-encompassing apostasy. --- Kobilinski-Ellis describes further.

The figure of the old, unscrupulous magician is, at heart, for Gogol a model of the greatest unscrupulous figure in history, the evil Antichrist. It is precisely this magician who is a central figure in Gogol's works.

Incidentally – according to Kobilinski-Ellis –: the evil antichrist is someone who occasionally tempts all creatures but cannot be tempted by anyone himself, for he consciously chooses unconditional hostility towards God, who created him and is his judge.

He is, as it were, unscrupulousness itself. Man allows himself to be deceived by him by chance and, as the passively deceived, is still susceptible to salvation, whereas the primal seducer himself, by virtue of his lucid choice, is a “lost – understand: hopelessly lost – being”.

“My countrymen, my soul freezes with fear”

Thus Gogol in his third and final writing period, which begins with Letters to My Friends. The texts of that time contain a series of predictions that were not understood by anyone at the time. If they were not ridiculed outright.

Yet – according to Kobilinski-Ellis time and again – they become understandable “after the period of the great planetary catastrophe that we are experiencing” (referring to our turbulent twentieth century): “My countrymen, my soul freezes with fear when I sense the transcendental majesty as approaching”.

SK45

Gogol writes of the past century as someone who approaches “spiritual death” together with the great day of judgment of the world, and feels it coming.

“Just wait,” he writes, “soon a scream will resound in the seemingly orderly states that will drive the most famous heads of state into confusion.”

Do you remember the darkness in Egypt (*Exodus 10:21/29*): the blind night covered everything at midday. From all sides gruesome

figures looked on (*note: as Wisdom 17:3, 17:15 clearly states*), for ancient sinister creatures with mournful faces suddenly became visible (*note: in faces*);!

In this way, Gogol attempts to make his contemporaries aware of the deeper causes at work in our culture: very realistic and yet also visionary.

Actual humanity is a caricature.

The matter-of-fact, sober descriptions that Gogol displays in his numerous works are a pure microscopy of souls in their everyday 'pettiness'. He describes these with the utmost accuracy.

1. He sometimes caricatures just a tiny bit, so that the silent grinning and giggling of the depicted subjects becomes perceptible.

2. Suddenly, that infinitely petty becomes a clear caricature of God's lofty ideas on the matter. Gogol is a theologian: he perceives from God's ideas, which he 'beholds' in everyday reality but which appear distorted through the caricatures thereof. Perceives accurately.

The weeping laughter.

Gogol laughs at the caricatures he observes in and around him. But in the depths of his deeply Christian soul, he weeps: creation has failed! Instead of being a happy, 'ideal' creation (realizing God's ideas), it has become a caricature that incites weeping. In the course of cultural history, this becomes abundantly clear.

Thus, the text from the Eastern liturgy is proven right: “the utterly ridiculous hell”.

This worsens as the end times approach. Gogol, like many Russians of that time, lived with the impression that the end times were gradually setting in. With its top figure, the evil Antichrist, as 'manager' of our period.

Our period with its all-destructive mentality. With its supreme degree of science and technology. But without God's ideas as a norm. With its erosion of norms of all kinds.

Apocalypticism and gothic.

The occasion: Littleton (Colorado).

-- 21.04.1999.—Eric Harris (17) and Dylan Klebold (18), dressed in black raincoats and bizarrely made up, kill a series of fellow students. First Blacks and Hispanics, also 'athletes'. Then 'whites'. They then commit suicide. —

The USA is—for the umpteenth time—shocked. -- On closer inspection, it turns out that the two belonged to a small group—girls and boys—who were fanatics of 'gothic culture,' because of its music. Immediately, they were openly racists. -- Makeup, uniforms, Nazi uniforms and emblems, -- tattoos, piercings. Slogans like "Long live death!!! Fans of Marilyn Manson's Antichrist Superstar. —

According to Carl Raschke, professor at the University of Denver (Colorado), a vibrant neo-Nazi culture prevails throughout the region—a subculture, that is, with "children keen on satanic rock and gripped by apocalyptic fantasies."—these are the essential facts of interest to us here. Now for the further explanation.

"Marilyn Manson"—

Bibl. st.: V.Monnet, Marilyn Manson, icône trouble, in: Le Temps (Geneva) 22.04.99, 3. -- Brian Warner became notorious under the name "Marilyn Manson" in 1996 with his music album 'Antichrist Superstar' . This became a celebrated album almost immediately: American youths (and also European) made it their idol. Characteristic : bizarrely made up and in SS uniforms, the musicians enter the scene! –

From a moral standpoint, the group is immediately condemned as 'Satanism'. As a result, department store chains refuse distribution, but soon a million copies are in circulation. -- Mechanical Animals, a second album, immediately reaches No. 1 in the charts.

The question arises : "What is meant by 'Antichrist' and 'apocalypticism' ?" After all, many in this country know very little about this.

1. Apocalypticism. —

Writers such as Fr. Kafka and, even more so, N. Gogol, situate themselves, at least partially, within 'apocalypticism'. - The term has two meanings. a. The

broad (and oldest): "Unveiling ('revelation', 'apokalupsis' (ancient Greek)) of mysterious things on the basis of clairvoyance (seeing gift)". (C. Kappler et al., *Apocalypses (Voyages dans l' au-delà)*, Paris, 1987, 31/36). b. "Unveiling on the basis of clairvoyance of end-time events (end of the world - apocalypticism)."

SK45.2

Extranatural and supernatural. —

Revealing has, according to the Bible, two roots.

Dan. 1:20 ("seers and diviners"), 2:2 ("seers , diviners, sorcerers, magicians (astrologers)") clearly distinguishes the extranaturally ('paranormally') gifted from the supernaturally gifted in Dan. 2:20/23, where it reads: "Wisdom and the life-giving power belong to God. He grants wisdom (O pm: natural, extranatural, and especially supernatural insights) to the wise (O note: revealers). He reveals ('apokalupsis'; see also Matt. 11:25 ("The Father reveals hidden things")) what is deeply mysterious and knows what happens in the darkness."

See also Dan. 2:45, 2:47. Supernatural apocalypticism is rooted directly in God. The purely extra -natural springs from men and from spirits of all kinds. It is a harmony of opposites—contains good and evil, truth and falsehood.

Christian end-time doctrine (eschatology). —

Bible st.: MJ Scheeben, *Handbuch der katholischen Dogmatik*, IV, Freib.i.Br., 1898, 898/943 (Die allgemeine Vollendung der gesamten Creatur). Scheeben represents the great tradition of the church.

Although already 'appeared' (theophany as embodied), Jesus will 'appear' again (theophany of the end times, a parousia): he appeared in powerlessness but will appear in power. -- The Bible, the Church Fathers, and the theologians are unanimous.

'Paroesia' is appearance (= showing oneself) in glory. With the aim of the general judgment (over all people) and the general completion of creation. -- This "on the last day" or "the day of the Lord". The date of this is unknown, -- the mystery of the end times. Nevertheless, there are signs: a. the judgment over Jerusalem and Judah (Matth. 23: 32/39; 24:1/3); b, the following phenomena.

The evangelization of the Gentiles ("all peoples of the earth"; with Enoc as messenger (Gen. 5:21/24; Jude 6; Jude 14/15)) and the conversion of Jews; with Elijah (2 Kings 2:1/18) as accompanying figure.

The widespread and radical apostasy ('de-Christianization') due to the 'appearance' of the evil Antichrist ("the man of sin"), -- not merely as a spirit of the times but as an individual, -- a person who is completely atheistic, equating himself with God, seductive

SK45.3

happens. See 2 Thess. 1:3/8. -- Christ will appear precisely "in power" or 'glory' to bring the Antichrist to his knees.

The final omen are comprehensive, profound shocking events in a. the human world (cultural revolution(s)) and in b. nature (cosmic disasters). -- Resulting in general uncertainty and fear.

Note: 'Chiliasm' is ambiguous. The bold interpretation states that Revelation 20:4 ("They lived and reigned with Christ for a thousand years") means "a thousand-year kingdom of sensual pleasure." That is evidently a false notion.

The term exhibits a multitude of meanings. -- Om de ze: the enumerated omens – instead of coinciding – will occur apart in time. The defenders rely on texts which, however, according to Scheeben, do not compellingly show that interpretation and are therefore debatable. –

Note: Be that as it may: A. Hitler launched "ein tausend jähriges Reich" in the Nazi sense. Which is yet another chiliastic interpretation.

Aleister Crowley (1875/1947). —

Bible st.: Ed. Brasey, Enquête sur l'existence des anges rebelles, Paris, 1995, 195/205 (Les Supérieurs inconnus de l'Aube dorée". .—

The Golden Dawn, a secret occult-magical society, was founded in 1887. Unmistakably Luciferian. W. Byeats (Nobel Prize in Literature 1923), Bram Stoker (Dracula), A. Machen, S. Rohmer, G. Blytton, Edita Montès, S. Mathers, W. Wescott (= sister of Henri Bergson) (the latter two, SM and WW, were the founders), and others—especially A. Crowley—worshipped as members "the unknown higher ones," a sport of Übermenschen who are very powerful and terrorizing. Harmony of opposites: wise and cruel!

Crowley—in the context of the apocalypticism of the Golden Dawn—claimed to be "the Antichrist" and "666" (the mark of 'the beast' (Ps. 72:9; Rev. 13:18)). Rivaling Ad. Hitler over time, he said of himself: "Before Hitler was, I am."

The Golden Dawn paved the way for Hitler and the Nazis, but during World War II (1939/1945), Crowley was anti-Nazi, and in that sense, he provided Winston Churchill with a talisman (protective object) "to protect England against the German bomber."

Adolf Hitler (1889/1945).-- During Hitler's time (and before him), Germany featured magicians and secret societies that held apocalyptic views.

SK45.4

They are called "German occult groups" (R. Cavendish/ JB Rhine, Elseviers Encyclopedia of Occultism and Parapsychology, Amsterdam/ Brussels, 1975, 70/74). - Thule. -- In 1918, a very small group was formed in Munich: Thule. "One evening, the members invoked the dark powers that had already taken possession of the body and soul of 'the one who was about to come', the 'beast' of the Apocalypse. (...).

The demons invaded the room to the great shock of the spirit summoners, who fled screaming while their medium (OPM.: an uninhibited woman from the countryside) spouted monstrous things." - On another occasion, their former secretary (she too was murdered by the communists) confirmed that 'the one who was about to come' would be simultaneously the master and the scourge of Germany and Austria. When Hitler joined the group - in the course of 1920 - the Thule members welcomed him as (...) an antichrist (...) who must come before Christ and carry out the destruction that precedes the era of peace and harmony (...). (E. Brasey, Enquête, 251).

"During three years—from 1920 to 1923—Hitler was 'initiated' into the axioms of Thule by three former members (D. Eckardt, A. Rosenberg , K. Haushofer). Eckardt became one of the seven founders of the National Socialist Workers' Party in June 1923. Upon his death, he said: "Follow Hitler. He will dance, but I wrote the music."

Here again, as in The Golden Dawn, 'the unknown higher ones'. So much for Adolf Hitler as an apocalyptic figure.

2. Gothic.—

In short: the Gothic is the art that matches the apocalyptic. -- Bibl. st.: H.Hr., Mystery and Detective Stories, in: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Chicago, 1967, 15: 1125/1129.-- Steller refers to Dorothy Sayers (1893/1957), ed., The Omnibus of Crime (1929).

***Mystery literature.* —**

The unknown (mystery) that simultaneously attracts (fascinatum) and inspires awe (tremendum) – cf. Rud. Otto – is the object of mystery literature. -- Initially, the mysterious consists of wonders, horrors, ghosts, spirits, -- primarily of extranatural (and sometimes supernatural) origin. Alongside that type, more 'rational' unknowns later emerge as objects: riddles, enigmatic things.

SK45.5

Fantastic literature.

-- Another name common for 'mystery literature' is 'fantastic' literature and art.

Forms of disclosure

-- Horror stories. Histories of secret societies. -- Diplomatic intrigues. Detective stories. -- Science fiction. -- These are the types the author lists.

"The Gothic Tale".

-- In the 18th century, the "Gothic tale" emerged. With its demons, whether or not they were Arab vampires, churches and greenhouses reduced to ruins, and underground passages. The Castle of Otranto (1764) was the first work—a horror story—in that genre, -- by Horace Walpole (1717/1797). A whole series of writers and artists developed this type of art. For example, Frankenstein (1818) by Mary G. Shelley: what stands out in it is the pseudo-scientific slant.

Romance.

-- "In the 18th century, Romanticism fell in love with Gothic art: vampires fit perfectly into this formula. Goethe (1749/1832) wrote a few vampire verses. Byron (1788/1824), Sau they, Gautier (1811/1872), and Baudelaire (1821/1867) followed." (W. Koeser, Magie (Science of the Future), Amsterdam, 1976, 122). –

Note-- A part of Romanticism can indeed be characterized in this way.

Note-- H. von Kleist ua, Geister, Gespenster und Vampiere (Die unheimlichsten Grusel- und Spukgeschichten der Weltliteratur), Munich, 1978, offers texts by H. von Kleist, ETAHoffmann, N. Gogol, W. Heuff, Ch. Dickens, E. Allan Poe, I. Turgeniev, M. Twain, O. Wilde.-- Which shows that the Gothic belongs to world literature. -- M. Jarvis et al., Echoes of Terror, London, 1980, offers texts by Dickens, Hali fax, Poe, Stoker, Henry, Mudford, Marryat, Lewis, Thackeray, Jacobs, Saki. The advantage of this work: it offers illustrations by artists who make you 'see' the bizarre world of the Gothic.

Note-- Besides Edg. Allan Poe (1809/1849) and Bram Stoker (Dracula), we also mention H.P. Lovecraft (1890/1937), who engaged with Abdul al-Hazred, *Necronomicon* (a very bizarre text from the 8th century in Syria). Cf. PR Michaud, *Le necronomicon*, Paris, 1979.

Symbols and myths, ballads, mystical texts, although not essentially 'Gothic', nevertheless exhibit Gothic aspects because boundary experiences are discussed.

SK46

The development of (German) social democracy.

“Scientific socialism and the Social Democratic Party rightly recognize K. Marx and Fr. Engels as fathers.” (*J. Aengenent, Leerboek der sociologie* , Leiden, 1919-4, 79).

1848.-- “Proletarians of all countries, unite!” This was the cry in the Communist Manifesto published by both.

In 1864, they founded the International (workers' association), which ceased to exist in 1872 due to disputes, particularly with Bakunin's anarchists.

1869.-- Together with A. Bebel (1840/1913) and Wilh. Liebknecht (1826/1900), they founded the Social Democratic Workers' Party, which merged with the party of F. Lassalle (1825/1864; known for his “iron law of wages”) in 1875. It was not until 1891 that this party became purely Marxist.

Internal division.

After the settlement with the Lassalleans, internal divisions persisted. The right wing favored gradual evolution with parliamentarism. The left wing favored revolution, which the Young Socialists advocated within the party. The latter seceded as early as 1891 to form a new party that was highly anarchist.

Thereupon the dispute resumed within the parliamentary group. The ultra-Marxists (dogmaticians, revolutionaries, principledists) wanted revolution. The revisionists (opportunists, parliamentarians) wanted evolution.

Hence fierce division regarding tactics: "Is it permissible to assist in social legislation? In militarism? Is it permissible to cooperate with 'bourgeois' parties in a ministry? Is a general strike advisable? Do trade unions serve to agitate or to improve the lot of the workers? Is work permissible for a married woman?" Edm.

But the revisionists, having learned from the facts, proceeded: they called into question the theories of Marx and Engels. The accumulation and concentration theory, the theory concerning impoverishment and the industrial reserve army, and the theories regarding crises and the 'Kladderadatsch' proved to be incorrect.

E. Bernstein even called into question two of Marx's main theories: the one-sided materialist view of history and the economic theory of value derived from Ricardo. The party of Neo-Marxists rallied around him, demanding a "revision" of the party-political program. They were accused of no longer being 'socialists'.

SK47

M. Walzer's judgment on Marxism.

Library st.: M. Walzer, *The Idea of a Civic Society* , in: *Streven* 60 (1993): June 483/497.

M. Walzer is a professor at the Institute for Advanced Studies of Princeton University. He advocates a pluralistic social democracy.

K. Marx: humanity as a great industrial whole.

Marx advocates a humanity that constitutes a large industrial whole. Without the traditional state. Walzer calls this the cooperative economy: in it, everyone can be a producer: artists produce, inventors produce, craftsmen produce. "Bandworkers apparently do not fit in very well" (ac, 487).

Walzer attributes this to Marx as a romantic. The global industrial complex consists of creative men and women. They manufacture useful and beautiful objects in which they express themselves as gifted individuals.

Democracy, in the bourgeois sense, is a provisional biotope in which Marxists prepare the ideal humanity. But that type of democracy has no value of its own. Engaging in politics within that framework becomes meaningless over time, namely when in the future state—or rather future humanity—everyone will be an active producer. To quote a famous saying: "The state will disappear."

In other words: the system of the cooperative economy consists—or will consist—of a non-political state (if that word still makes sense) but with a conflict-free form of governance, a sort of purely administrative administration.

Walzer responds to this: -- In fact, it is all political interference that will disappear. -- Something like a governing body will always be necessary for the organization of the economy. Not wanting to call this "the state" is "merely Marxist conceit" (ibid.).

Wherever Marxist politics was tested in reality, "the state" in fact came to dominate very quickly.

Consequence: most Marxists—at least in the West—therefore call themselves 'democratic' socialists. That is to say: socialists who cultivate both the economy and the political state. "In this way, they provide a double habitat for the good life." As a pluralistic social democrat, Walzer considers two habitats better than exactly one. He therefore shows a certain understanding for the 'syndicalists' (anarchists) who situate the good life in a workplace managed by the workers: one produces and participates in decision-making.

Religious socialism.

Library st.: *Fl. Van Oirschot, Concise History of the Social Question* , Roermond / Maaseik, 1950, 278/292.

Steller begins by noting that utopian socialism was far surpassed by Marxism, which 'conquered' entire parts of the world. "But from the beginning division (...) is to establish". (Oc, 279). At the same time, various groups saw salvation in more peaceful means and approached an ethical Socialism.

At the same time, religious people evolved regarding the social question and socialism, which in very many cases was non- or even anti-religious: - Especially in 'evangelical' (understand: Protestant) circles, socialism and religion appeared reconcilable:

Thanks to the principle of free inquiry and the absence of an ecclesiastical tradition or hierarchy, nor of a social movement of any significant size of its own, there was more room for those who believed they could reconcile socialism with their own religious convictions. It is there, therefore, that we see the first attempts at religious socialism.

In Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, Belgium, and France, there were religious socialists. However, in Switzerland, at least in the Alemannic part, religious socialism—as one of the offshoots of Calvinism—acquired relatively great significance extending far beyond the borders, thanks primarily to capable leaders.

The pastor from Zurich, Hermann Kutter (+1931), was one such example. In 1904, his **Sie müssen* appeared* , which was translated into many languages (in the Netherlands: **Zij moeten**). An excerpt.

The social democrats are unknowingly the executors of God's irresistible will. – Christianity, the church no longer possess that God. Since they have betrayed Him, He has forsaken them. For they do not protest against the immorality of the existing class antagonisms and leave it to socialism to establish a new order.

The socialists must therefore advance, for the living God drives them forward. They are the men of revolution because God is the great revolutionary (crying sin).

“That God, that absolute God of Calvinism, is once again preparing his great surprises. He is going to pronounce his judgment again in storm and thunder and shame our cowardly Christianity.” This is how Kutter wanted to re-establish the kingdom of God on earth. One hears the biblical language.

SK49

Castrism

The term 'Castroism' ('Fidelism') is derived from Fidel Castro (1921/2016), who, as a resistance fighter, took on the Cuban dictator Batista in 1952, was imprisoned (1953/1955), pardoned and exiled, but landed from Mexico with a guerrilla in 1966 to become Prime Minister in 1959 and Head of State of Cuba in 1976.

Socialism

He nationalizes large landholdings and foreign enterprises, thereby provoking a conflict with the West (the USA in particular). He aligns with the communist countries (Soviet Union, China, among others), and in 1961 Cuba is declared a “socialist republic.” He provides troops to Africa.

Castrism

Definition: providing the Latin American countries with a political system based on the Cuban socialist model. Which provoked tensions with the 'gringos' (Americans).

Note-- Salon - castrists. -- “Towards the end of the 1960s, you could hardly go out in public with the Soviet Union anymore. For quite a few left-wing intellectuals from Western countries, Cuba became “the great alternative: Cuba-goers were Harry Mulisch, Peter Schat, Hugo Claus”. (*M. van Nierop, Nieuwe woorden* , Hasselt, 1975, 37).

This type of castrism has now faded. But for many revolutionaries in Latin America, Castro remained “the great leader”.

Moreover: Latin American liberation theology competed with Castrism (not without the Vatican's approval).

Division.

Castro called upon the Latin American countries to revolution. He actively supported guerrilla movements in Guatemala, Colombia, Venezuela, and Bolivia (where he sent Che Guevara (1928/1967; guerrilla theorist)).

Disagreement.

The conflict was inevitable within Castrism itself: Soviet theory opposed the partisan method (it makes the ruling bourgeoisie more right-wing) but wanted Popular Front governments in which both right-wing and left-wing parties cooperated.

Decision.

The export of Castro-inspired guerrillas has now subsided. Meanwhile, intellectuals no longer travel to Havana to see the great alternative, and the Castro trend has faded. -- This does not prevent Castro from holding his ground in his own country (the Pope visited him in 1997) and Castrism from smoldering in Latin America.

SK50

Liberation theology.

Bibl. st.: K. Vandebos , *From Marxist to Cultural Model (Shift within Liberation Theology)*, in: *Campuskrant* (Leuven) 24.10.1996.

G. De Schrijver, Professor of Dogmatic Theology at KU Leuven, speaks regarding *The Paradigm Shift in Third World Theologies of Liberation* (an international symposium organized by the Center for Liberation Theology (Faculty of Theology)).

The Origin. -- 1965+.

At Latin American universities, “people eagerly study neo-Marxist authors.” The classical Marxist analysis of the social question is

radically prioritized. And in its wake, they seek “a socialism of their own that puts an end to poverty and oppression.”

Note-- Dependency theory. -- The major financial centers—led by the USA—control Latin America. The prevailing capitalism merely extracts cheap raw materials from poorer countries.

Incidentally : Gustavo Gutierrez, the pioneer of liberation theology, meanwhile puts that theory into perspective.

Christian base groups.

At the same time, groups of Christians are emerging who wish to surpass the traditional social doctrine of the church through “genuine social engagement”: no longer charity, but far-reaching structural reforms. In doing so, these groups invoke biblical motifs such as the Book of Exodus, in which the Israelites subjected to Egyptian slavery make an exodus to “the promised land”.

The Latin American Episcopate.

The Conference of Bishops in Medellin (Colombia) in 1968 supports “the new theology”: the poor must become aware of the fact that they are “the authors of their own history.” They also support the grassroots groups.

Note: Behold the first years of liberation theology. Meanwhile, much has changed: the Vatican, fearful of atheism based on a purely Marxist analysis, reacts negatively to a certain extent.

The collapse of the communist systems—the Berlin Wall in the late 1980s—undermines the reality of Marxist analysis. Local populations exhibit an attachment to their cultures (including the pre-Columbian). Consequence: liberation theology evolves along with it.

SK51

Pragmatically minded people.

Bible st. : A.Reszler, Les nouveaux “hommes nouveaux” *de l'Est*, in.: *Journal de Genève / Gaz.d.Laus* . 14.02.1996.

Steller connects with Vilfred Pareto (1848/1923) in his *Treatise on General Sociology* (1916), in which the rise of a new elite in Europe is predicted: the elite of power technicians.

a. Higher values (traditional or recent) are placed in parentheses unless used for embellishment.

b. They uphold pragmatism: power—its conquest, preservation, and, if necessary, reconquest—is their value par excellence.

Before 1993/1994, the countries of the Eastern Bloc went through a short period of post-communism in its democratic form. With strongly liberal politicians in power, who disappointed the population due to transitional measures that were unpleasant.

1. *Red Barons.*

From the ranks of the former communist parties subsequently emerge, starting from 1993/1994, former 'apparatchiks' who reclaim their former dominant position (with the exception of the Czech Republic). These perfectly respect the new rules of the game of political-economic pluralism. Immediately, they learn to reckon with—what they had never known—public opinion. In Pareto's terminology, 'lions'.

2. *Pink technocrats.*

In Pareto's terminology, 'foxes' (they are much more flexible than the previous ones). - These take the place of the lions. They were reformists in 1980+ and are pluralists. But the start of their careers is shrouded in darkness, so that they come across as “new figures”.

For example, Aleksander Kwasniewski, who was elected in 1995 and became President of Poland, says: “I have never been a communist. Since 1971, I have seen very few communists. However, I have met many technocrats, opportunists, reformists, and liberals.”

Reszler. -- These are for the market economy. Based on very diverse political-economic axioms ranging from American-style liberal, through social democratic or French socialist, to Marxist-Leninist.

But their eclecticism—they choose from what is available—makes them flexible figures who manage the transition from a ruthless guided economy to a market economy well. What the populations did not forgive

the first liberals (before 1993/1994), they are much more willing to forgive them.

SK52

Karl Marx reconstructed.

Bible st . : A. Reszler, *Marx, Penseur du XXI^e siècle ?* in: *Journ.d.Genève, Gaz.d.Laus* . 30.10.1995. Steller is a professor at the University of Geneva.

A. The grip of doctrines.

The effect of doctrines on people results relatively little from their practical outcomes. This is because

doctrine with even negative effects is perceived as hopeful or

b. it responds to the aspirations of an era.

Thus, the meager results of “the ideal societies” tried out in the USA by students of Ch. Fourier (1772/1837: 'phalanstères') or Et. Cabet (1788/1856; utopian-socialist) make little impression on utopian-minded people. Similarly, the failures of P.J. Proudhon (1809/1865) or M. Bakunin (1814/1876) come across to anarchists as all the more reason to dedicate themselves in exactly the same vein.

B. Marx's grip.

That Marxism is reviving in the former people's democracies (Eastern Bloc) as merging with all kinds of nationalisms, and in Western Europe as a Marx Renaissance, is not surprising, notwithstanding “the Berlin Wall”.

Marxists, after all, argue that K. Marx was fundamentally poorly understood both in the Eastern Bloc and at Western European universities!

The image of Marx sketched since around 1990 by, for example, J. Derrida (*Spectres de Marx* (1993)), M. Vadée (*Marx penseur du possible* (1994)), D. Bensaïd (*Marx intempestif* (1995)), H. Maier (*Convoiter l'impossible (L'utopie avec Marx)* (1995), etc., shows us Marx as “an open thinker”, who risked to the limits of the conceivable on a skeptical basis.

The challenge, therefore, is to purge the intellectual heritage of the father of scientific socialism (who vehemently rejected the utopian precursors) of one hundred and fifty years of misinterpretations. In this sense, a growing number of authors are searching for a hitherto “unknown Marx”.

Reszler. -- In fact, apart from a few aspects of his closed system, Marx remained strictly dogmatic. It is not because his view of Industrial society and its future evolved somewhat that his dialectical materialism is not the immutable core of his doctrine. To make a relativistic thinker of him disregards the necessity that, according to him, governs “history”.

SK53

Marx, yes, but.

Library st.: *M. Najman/ Ph. Petit, Marx redevient-il capital ?* in: *L'Événement du jeudi* 28.09.1995, 72/75. -- We pause for a moment to consider the atmosphere.

A curious conference.

In Stockholm, in 1989, the united socialist parties—with a few exceptions—concluded that a purely socialist (guided) economy regarding goods and services fell short. The collapses of the communist regimes (“The Berlin Wall”) served to illustrate the fiasco.

Since then, a kind of liberalism has prevailed everywhere, which is summarized in the term “the neoliberal world order”. How can one bring up Marx, now?

Books, treatises, and journals show that Marx is 'in' again. Under the title “Marx International,” a congress opens in Paris on Thursday, September 28, 1995. Some five hundred researchers are expected. Journals or university institutions from the USA, Western and Eastern Europe, Latin America, and Asia are participating under the auspices of the revue “Actual Marx.”

Themes -- The collapse of “Marxist realism” (critical assessment), contemporary capitalism, the new social unrest, and the alternative to capitalism are on the agenda.

J. Bidet, director of Actual Marx, professor at the Université de Nanterre (Paris), and organizer of the congress together with J. Texier, says: “The congress is not Marxist. It is abundantly clear to us that ‘the collective project’ that came into being following Marx is buried forever.”

But Marx’s critical-societal-critical thinking remains a part of our heritage (...). The intention is to analyze the world of today with Marx, as well as with others. This congress does not want to “return to Marx.” Rather, it wants to revisit the problems—the themes—based on a critical assessment that must go back to Marx.”

Note-- Bidet. -- J. Habermas places language use and communication aimed at a collective design of coexistence at the center. This is what Marx wanted to achieve by organizing all people, all of humanity, as a gigantic proletariat. But Habermas neglects the fact that communication is only truly possible among equals.

J. Rawls (Theory of Justice) now argues that true communication is only possible within the social contract, which was rejected by the Marxists. With Rawls, one can now consider a contractual economic world order.

SK54

5. Social Criticism (54/60)

Library st.: *M. van Nierop, Nieuwe woorden* , Hasselt, 1975, 169/171.

Steller first focuses on the sub-term 'criticism'. 'Krinein', in ancient Greek, means 'to sift'. This typically modern term—P. Bayle (1647/1706), for example, made it common—means “primarily seeking out the weak spots in perception and reasoning” (which ancient Greek eristic did as well as contemporary deconstructionists): “In practice, 'criticism' has acquired a predominantly negative application” (oc, 169).

Very popular term.

Politicians and social workers, pop singers and poets, clerics, yes, even “filthy rich publishers” (ibid.) “take a socially critical stance”.

Radicalism.

The term is left-wing. And specifically radical left-wing. The criticism is not directed against the excesses of the “established order”—the establishment, as people like to call it—but against the established order as such.

That establishment does not encompass the entire planetary culture but only the non-socialist countries (Western Europe, the USA, Japan, for example). The Rich Seven are radically and fundamentally rejected. At least, that was the case until the mid-seventies. For until then, the Soviet Union, Mao, China, Cuba, etc., were considered fairly exemplary—'fairly' because they too experienced deviations and aberrations, while being fundamentally sound.

Critical

The term was restricted to 'socially critical' in expressions such as “critical university”; “critical teachers” (think of the Green Booklet for students), and even “critical priests”.

Note-- Prof. Martin Bronfenbrenner, in Harvard Business Review (1973: Sept./Oct.), distinguished in social criticism:

- a.** three anarchist tendencies (radical anarchists (Hoffman and the Yippies (Zippies); moderate anarchists (Hippies), syndicalists (“All power to the workers”),
- b.** neo-Stalinists (in Japan for example),
- c.** Humanist socialists (the young Marx from before 1848).

In Belgium, the social critics were called 'gauchists' (extreme leftists) or “new leftists” (including anarchists, Maoists, and Trotskyists).

Since the collapse of the communist states, people, even in left-wing circles, have viewed the so-called socialist countries differently; they not only deviate but prove to be fundamentally open to criticism.

5.1. Ecological movement (55)

According to *M. Breuil, Dictionnaire de sciences de la vie et de la terre*, Paris, 1997, 168 (Ecology), 'ecology' means the scientific study of living beings (biology) insofar as they interact and communicate with their environment (environment). Plant ecology and animal ecology are aspects.

Social ecology

1950+: the American Barry Commoner is its leading figure. Biology and sociology intertwine here. For man, as a living – biological – being, is in interaction and communication with his environment.

The environmental movement emerges: Commoner considered some results so alarming that in 1953 he came forward to denounce strontium-90, an effect of atomic tests in the atmosphere, as harmful... whereas 'people' deemed it harmless. Consequently, the environmental movement pushed for a halt to nuclear testing.

Environmental hygiene

All this led to “the European Year of Nature Conservation” in 1970. For environmental pollution had received the necessary attention. The destruction of natural landscapes and the increasing clearing of forests, combined with rising industrialization and population growth, not to mention the extinction of plant and animal species or the unrestrained use of pesticides (insecticides, for example), led to the suffocating experience of a polluted environment.

Impact on the economy and economic policy.

Incidentally: the terms 'economy' and 'ecology' share the sub-term 'eco-', derived from the ancient Greek 'oikos', which means **a.** dwelling and **b.** yard, property.

The modern economy stands or falls with “economic growth,” that is, the increase in the total product not so much quantitatively but qualitatively of economic activity. Translated into common sense: material prosperity.

The ecologists distinguished between prosperity (economic) and well-being (human). Holistic, concerning the whole of life.

Consequence: all political parties—led by the ecologists—include welfare in their manifestos. With an enormous impact on car traffic, industrial establishments, road construction, food production, etc. Production, circulation, consumption—the entire economic circuit—is at risk. The counterculture is taking its toll!

SK56

5.2. 'Underground' (56)

The word is Anglo-Saxon, of course: 'underground'.

1.1. *The Underground Railroad.*

In the 1830s+, that metaphorical expression meant “a system of **a.** secret and **b.** unlawful organization of white Americans who helped escaped male and female slaves reach safety in Canada”. Abbreviated: UGRR.

Consequence: through generalization, the term designates anything that operates secretly and is usually illegal.

1.2. *Underground Movement.*

It is 1940/1945, the Second World War, and in territories occupied by the Germans: Allied propaganda directed groups and activities towards resistance against the occupier. Armed or unarmed. -- Hence the Dutch terms 'verzet' and 'verzetsstrijd', respectively 'verzetsstrijder'!

2. *The new Underground.*

Better: 'cultural-critical' or 'social' underground. -- After World War II (1940/1945), countercultural movements emerged, strongly socially conscious, among young people who expressed their aversion to and resistance of the establishment.

Beatniks (think of *Allen Ginsberg* (1927/1997) with his **Howl and Other Poems**, Jack Kerouac and William Burroughs), Yippies (Zippies) and Hippies (cf. social criticism), Provos and Kabouters, etc., adopt a culturally and socially critical stance. Themes such as sex, "Dolle

Mina's" (radical feminists), free drug use, communes (smaller communities of 'alternatives'), anti-Americanism, the liberation of Black people, Hispanics, and women, anti-nuclear campaigns, and ecological tendencies are expressed in country music (American folk music style), blues, rock and pop music, and folk music in protest songs in a rather extrarational manner.

Given the enormous influence of such music, young people are being indoctrinated in a left-wing sense—without fully realizing it.

It immediately becomes clear that 'underground' is neither secret nor illegal except on one point: drug use. The Beatniks of the fifties provoked a vast network of drug use and trafficking, with all the unpleasant consequences that entailed.

Whether Underground is fading, as *van Nierop* claims in **Nieuwe woorden**, **Hasselt**, 1975, 270, is perhaps true at first glance, but is fundamentally, subsurfacely, untrue: its ideas are still causing a sensation.

SK57

5.3. Beat generation (57)

Library st.: *M. van Nierop*, *New words*, Hasselt, 1975, 22/24 (Beat)

In the 1930s, the term 'beat' was at its peak among youth in the USA, specifically in the sense of a “rhythmic center of gravity” and “accentuation of time signatures” in jazz music. At the end of the 19th century, jazz emerged in the southern USA from the influx of folk music and the blues (New Orleans; 1920+: Chicago). Jazz underwent a whole series of transformations and enjoyed such success that by the 1950s+, 'beat' by extension meant: “the musical and rhythm of life of this era”.

Beat Generation.

In 1952, *the New York Times* first spoke of the “Beat Generation”: over time, under the influence of 'spoutnik' and 'beatnik', the term became representative of the beat generation. The term comes from Jack Kerouac (1922/1969), who, together with Allen Ginsberg (1926/1997) and William Burroughs (1914/1997), formed the leading trio.

***On the Road by Kerouac* (1957)**

is a major work: an American, alienated from the America of the fifties with its economic prosperity, is out to escape the sleepy atmosphere of a sleepy city, keen on 'creativity', understand: jazz, art, language.

In *Howl and Other Poems* (1956), the Bible of the beatniks, Ginsberg says : “I have seen the best minds of my generation destroyed by madness, starved, hysterical and naked, wandering in the Negro states at dawn, looking for a frenzied job, like hipsters (note: jazz fans) with an angelic head, inspired by the ancient and heavenly connection with the stellar dynamo in the night mechanics” (*Howl, City Light Books* , 9).

In ***Junkie*** (1953), Burroughs dissects the terrifying experiences of a drug user. The drugs “devour the user without any compensation”.

In other words: beat is synonymous with criticism of society with its profit culture, drive for achievement, and consumption and waste economy.

Way out: individualism (which is typically modern), anarchism (individualistic socialism), but also Eastern mysticism (think of *Gary Snyder* (1930/...), an ethnologist who held Amerindian cultures in high regard and Orientalized (*Myths and Texts* (1960, an ethnopoetic work)) and drug mysticism. Beat is 'to beat', defeated, and 'beatific', blissful.

The beatniks introduce the counterculture, which will sweep along so many young people.

SK58

5.4. Openness of inclusion of the hippies/yippies (58)

Library st. : GJ Demaix, *Les esclaves du diable* , Paris, 1970, 29/30.

Steller quotes Kenneth Keniston, professor of psychology (Yale University).

A.-- Postmodern openness.

'Postmodern' means "anything that settles accounts with modernity on the basis of its factual results".

The generation gap (M. Mead) manifests itself in a kind of inclusivism. As individuals or in groups, the postmodern generation wants to see both its own personality and its movements opened up to all ideas and all contradictions.

Psychologically: accepting those who are different, sometimes against their own reluctance. They want to 'integrate'. With the aspect of this being the abhorrence of any rejection of any aspect of the others as others.-- Behold the axiom.

B. -- *Postmodern practice.*

The desire to identify with the Vietnamese farmer, the poor of the USA, the dispossessed, or the disabled from everywhere propagated through the Hippie/Yippie movement.

Within their own state, they upheld radical democracy (which in the USA also includes Black Africans, Hispanics, women, Native Americans, and the like) up to and including "political correctness." Outside their own state, they upheld a new internationalism that gives space to all peoples with their cultures.

Multiculturalism

What was decisive was not your origin (class, country) but the type of relationship you cultivate towards your fellow man.

American pragmatism

(Ch. Peirce (1839/1914) et al.), French existentialism (J.-P. Sartre (1904/1980) et al.), and South Slavic communism (Josip Broz (Tito) (1892/1980), who toned down communism and introduced self-governing production units without state administration in 1950) were diligently studied.

But Indian mysticism (Kammandu), Japanese Zen Buddhism, and pre-Columbian cultures were also appreciated and embraced. Anti- and anti-racist.

Peculiar: one's own parents, with their views that were 'different', were not accepted; in the USA, the established America was rejected. The exclusivism of modernity was the target! Ethnocentrism was the target of the moderns immediately.

Behold a sketch of the Hippie/Yippie interpretation of “politically correct”, the absolute equality of all people.

SK59

5.5. Right: the silent majority (59)

Library st.: *M. van Nierop, New Words, Hasselt, 1975, 312/313.*

History unfolds dialectically: the thesis, primarily through exaggeration, provokes the contradiction.

1969.

Nixon becomes president of the USA. -- The Republicans he represented stood for unrest of all kinds. Black neighborhoods and universities came into – left-wing – turmoil. With his party, Nixon prioritized the following:

a. only a small but very influential group or layer stood behind the unrest

b . while the silent majority desired only peace and order. So much for the population divide.

The intelligentsia and the mass media.

President Mitterand of France once said that current democracies are governed by the legislative, executive, and judicial branches, but not without the media, and that those who control the media stand outside political responsibility.

According to Nixon and his Vice President Agnew, the people of the silent majority were not featured in the media, or far too little. And the universities ignored them as well.

Minorities.

Historians know that public unrest—riots, uprisings, revolutions—is always led by militant minorities. But their opponents who seek to thwart them, in an active manner, also constitute only a minority. The

masses prefer not to be involved in radical and dramatic events: they watch, they wait.

Elsewhere than in the USA.

In Western European countries, it is the 'right' that acts, or attempts to act, as the voice of the silent majority, which is portrayed as "averse to all those leftist calamities."

Three axioms.

1. The left-wing, especially the new-left (gauchist, anarchist, libertarian) intelligentsia, controls the media all too much in a kind of "media terror".

2. Consequence: a false image of the vast majority is created thanks to manipulation (the leftists speak of raising awareness).

3. Because the majority wants "peace and order," it remains silent and, moreover, has no real mouthpiece.

Behold the dual society in which we live.

SK60

5.6. Critique of Marxist and Capitalist Reason (60)

Bibi. st. : J. Wilke, *La grande dérive* , in: J. Wilke et al., *Les chemins de la raison*, Paris/Montréal, 1997, 103ss.

Steller dissects the latest developments of rationalism.

1. Marxist reason.

November 9, 1989: the Berlin Wall falls. Prepared by the Polish month of June and the Hungarian summer.

For there once existed—for more than seventy years—one of the most radical rationalist systems. This system claimed to be able to manage, from above, the essence of the activities of more than four hundred million people and—with this as the culmination—to determine the fate of the entire planet. It survived the criticism of A. Camus (1913/1960) but came to a dead end.

Notwithstanding its scientific and technical achievement, it did not survive the demands of the moment. It attempted to shed its fat, to rid

itself of superfluous burdens, but the Berlin Wall meant the end nonetheless.

Soviet rationalism had lost its reason, its sufficient and all-justifying reason. It had once begun as the emancipation of the poorest. Its entire reason consisted in that. But it neglected that emancipation and thus lost its sufficient reason.

2. The liberal-capitalist reason.

The Soviet shipwreck was not an isolated case. -- Another enormous complex of a rational nature followed: neoliberalism.

After the fall of the Berlin Wall, the leaders of the neoliberal system were swimming in triumphalism. They presented their theories regarding transformation and their adjustment program all the way to the Kremlin.

F. Fukuyama, in **The End of History**, in ** The National Interest** (Washington), in 1989, spoke of the end of all major problems since and because of the fall of the Soviet system. The free world and its liberal democracy would create global harmony.

The reason for existence was now: the liberation of the individual – yet the unfreedom that such a system of red creates for millions of people – those who fall outside the boat of prosperity, for example – deprives the neoliberal system of reason of its reason for existence.

“Left behind without rationalistic defense are both the poorest and the liberal individual. From this void rise ghosts.” (Oc, 105).

SK61

6. Populisms (61/63)

Bible st.: D. Rochebin, *Une interview avec Elie Wiesel*, in: *Journ.d.Genève/ Gaz.d. Lausanne* 16.11.1991.

Wiesel (1928/2015), who escaped the Shoah, received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1986. - “I distrust populism anywhere in the world, for,

even though the populist leader addresses the crowds and manipulates them, he (she) is nevertheless dependent on it and is manipulated by it.”

Definition.

J. Dumas et al., *Maxidico, Ed. dlconnaissance* , 1996, 867 distinguishes.

1.1. Social. -- 1860+ a socialist movement emerges in Russia that incites large masses of the people against the Tsar in the name of a socialism to be introduced.

1.2 . Politics . -- A political tendency that promises large masses – especially “the little man” – the fulfillment of its demands. Such as, for example, some nationalist liberation movements in Latin America.

2. Artistic. -- In literature, film, and the like, a tendency that depicts the life of the masses, the common man in particular. -- One sees: it is a type of communitarianism.

The National Front.

Wiesel sees in tendencies such as those of J.-M. Le Pen (b. 1928), leader of the National Front in France,

- a.** a pure populism (from the right, yes, the far right) and
- b.** an anti- and anti-democratic danger. “Its language, according to Wiesel, lies outside democratic ethics and politics.”

Note -- The program.

The basis is the concept of culture: is culture anything that cultivates “own people first” ? Upbringing is commensurate (e.g., a ban on the Islamic chador in schools; limiting the number of 'foreign' children in schools). The family is a primary value (discouraging abortion; parental income for those who wish to dedicate themselves to their children).

Social: various allowances exclusively or preferentially for own people. Abolition of the anti-racism law (Gayssot Law). Strengthening of the judiciary and police. Return of foreigners. Liberal and nationally limited economy.

Le Pen and his 'lieutenant' Br. Mégret consider themselves the spokespersons of “les petites gens” (the little man). They portray themselves as the victims of a certain—primarily left-wing, but also right-wing—layer of the population. Regarding neo-Nazism, they leave the truth vague: the Shoah is “a little phrase” in history textbooks, for example.

SK62

6.1. “The new judges” (62)

Library: Bernard-Henri Levy (°1948 ; *La barbarie à visage humain* (1977), -- talks about Alain Minc contra les juges in *Le Point* 19.09.1998.

He connects with the Monicagate of Bill Clinton, President of the USA, elements of which involve provoking public opinion with an 'independent' judge. The object: the president's private life, including his sexual fantasies. Active figure: “Kenneth Starr, the pornographic and mad prosecutor”. He argues that France has reached a point where something analogous is occurring. That is why he considers Minc's book on “the judicial revolution” to be relevant for the past two decades.

1: The new judges represent, in principle, progress in terms of democracy. In Italy (“mani polite”) and in France, they have vigorously tackled abuses of privilege. With good reason. -- So much for the 'ideal', -- Platonically: the idea (the principle). But what does this ideal actually become? That is now being explained.

2.1. Every position of power—and that of the new judges is one—suffers from the temptation to become transgressive—'absolute'—and to immediately degenerate. In doing so, the judges become new rulers without any counterweight.

And not without populism: a certain mass is all too happy with the lashings the world's powerful have to endure.

Note: We add to this—BHL strangely remains silent about it—the vile role of the media and journalists (let us think of the 'leaks' that mobilize the general public “by mere coincidence”).

2.2. No one is safe anymore: business leaders, civil servants, ministers, etc. are being held accountable. Good.

But “that judges convict an innocent person in their own name, needlessly imprison a suspect, -- possess the absolute weapon consisting of making a judicial investigation against a citizen public with great clamor and immediately smearing or even destroying him for life so that those judges escape any sanction (given their immunity)” is called by BHL “l’irresponsabilité des juges”. The lack of a sense of responsibility—betraying the erosion of norms—among those who idolize legal texts and other norms. -- Minc is repeatedly supported by BHL.

SK63

2.3. How independent have the new judges been over the past two decades, and in what way? Minc: Judges are human beings! Therefore, subject to influences (passions, whims, interests), and to influences (intimidation by mafias, potentates, 'friends' and ... 'girlfriends').

2.4. The most media-savvy of the new judges summon “the people”—not so much to make public the difficulties of their business or the substandard resources at their disposal! Rather, to present “their longing for God knows what impeccability” or “the desire they feel rising within themselves to, for example, even call the French President to account” to “the people”.

Note: That even a president is subjected to justice is in itself pure democracy. Here, BHL, following in Minc's footsteps, discusses what is exposed as an all-too-human tendency as a result. “All power corrupts”.

What is more: in France, “the political class” looks on in bewilderment. Remains silent. And anyone who dares to denounce the abuse of power by the new judges will be intimidated by “le nouveau maître (juge et opinion mêlés)” – “the new ruler, namely the judge together with public, mobilized opinion.” BHL

Conclusion: in France, the capitulation machine is secretly already there, and so a Monicagate could surface in France any day.

Note-- In the Bible, there is timely fierce criticism of “the judges”. Let us take, for example, *Ps. 58 (57)*. “Is it really so that you, gods, have made righteous judgments? That you have judged the descendants of Adam (humans) according to justice? Surely not: you have put together what is false in a hearty manner. From the womb they have deviated,—the godless—strayed as they are in their unreal judgments, from the womb. (. .)”.

One sees: the sacred text is not gentle and seeks its cradle in the mother's womb, in the uterus! Evil is embedded so early and so deeply.

Note: The fact that they are called 'gods' is because this was their title. Cf. *Exodus 21:6* .

Ps. 62 (81) is equally harsh: “You gods? This is ‘sons of the Most High’? All of you? Surely not! Also: as man you shall enter death.” Not to mention *Luke 18:1/8* , where the cynical judge, for whom God is dead and his neighbor is vanity, deviates not through excess but through negligence toward the powerless.

SK64

7. Nationalisms (64/74)

Library st.: M. Walzer, *The Idea of a Civic Society* , in: *Streven* 60 (1993): June, 489/490 (The Fourth Answer).

In the social sphere, nationalism posits that the best habitat or sphere of life is the nation. We are bound to it not by virtue of free choice or a contract, but by blood ties and descent, as well as a shared past. Being 'fellow countrymen' and 'fellow destiny' with fellow human beings, generation after generation, is “the good life”.

Left, but especially right.

Democrats, for socialists' sake, can be nationalist.

Incidentally: one need only think of the workers who vote for the far right today. -- But usually, nationalism is clearly right-wing.

Disappointments.

Nationalists react against, for example, the decline of traditional popular morality, -- against the abuse of the freedoms inherent in the free market economy (in that sense they are even 'social').

“The fact that citizens (political democracy), workers (Marxism), and consumers (economic liberalism) so easily become nationalists is a sign that the three ideologies are not satisfactory.” (Ac, 480). In other words: nationalism risks coming across as rooted in frustrations.

Incidentally : criticisms of parliamentary democracies and their scandals are commonplace.

Willingness to sacrifice.

When the nation lives under foreign domination, however, the positive root is exposed. Namely in the struggle for freedom. -- The nation shows a sense of sacrifice out of solidarity: “The individual members commit themselves to ‘the good life’ in an autonomous state, - - not for themselves but for their people”. (Ibid.). -- Hence, incidentally, the name 'sovereignism' instead of nationalism. A sovereign state seems to be the natural environment of a nation. “The welfare state has achieved its greatest successes in ethnically homogeneous countries”. (Ibid.).

Decision.

Nationalism goes hand in hand with a multitude of forms of government and a multitude of economic systems. -- But “in the name of one’s own people,” excesses are always possible: one resorts to aggression against domestic others—minorities, migrants—and against foreign others—other nations—as recent history displays almost daily.

SK65

7.1. Communitarian (community) identity (65)

Bible st . : R. Gubert, *Europe Central* (*Le réveil de l'extrême droite*)
in: *Le Point* 07.06.1997, 78/84.-

In recent years, ex-communist countries have seen the “values” of the far right gaining influence: ultranationalist parties—making use of

the new democratic structures, which they make extensive use of—win votes among workers, the unemployed, and farmers, especially to the extent that they fall victim to the economic—liberal, indeed, capitalist—reforms.

Two types.

On the one hand, there have been—since the fall of the Berlin Wall (1989)—dozens of skinhead or neo-Nazi movements that have made their presence felt throughout Central Europe. Seven years later, they are still provoking.

Note: More than seven hundred skinheads from across Europe gathered in complete democratic silence in Le Val-de-Ruz (canton Neuchâtel). They possess a high degree of organization with a “potential for violence that is not an illusion.” The Hammerskins constitute a distinct group. Threats against Jews, asylum seekers, leftists, and foreigners. Molotov cocktails. Swastikas. Cemetery desecrations. Mostly in 'groups'. In Sweden, homosexuals bear the brunt, even with killings “mostly by neo-Nazis.”

The revue Mjöltnir (Neuchâtel) was convicted for inciting racial hatred ((Mjöltnir is Hammerskin).

On the other hand

— parallel — are the party leaders — they provide their democratic outlook and play the “democratic game” — who participate in the elections. Depending on the country, they secure 5 to 10% of the votes. Which is not much. Yet, given the hesitant democratic rise, they play a role that exceeds the numbers.

These far-right extremists refuse accession to the European Union as joining “big capital” (a term we have heard before). NATO: accession is “selling oneself to the Americans”. Privatizations: creating unemployment. The state: must be strong and defend “the weakest”.

Note: The same slogans applied here: workers and the unemployed are captivated by the same 'values'. Let us add to this, in our case, the increasing criminality, including juvenile delinquency, and the growing insecurity (thefts, robberies).

7.2. Chinese triads, a type of mafias (66)

Bible st. : G. Posner, *Triades (La mafia chinoise)*, Tock, 1990.

Steller, oc, 43ss., states that the Chinese triads originated between 1674 and 1674 as secret societies (S. Hutin) that opposed the Manchurian occupation. Nationalist, therefore. But over time, they evolved into mafias.

Definition.

“La Mafia” (Sicily) is a secret society that originated in the early 19th century. It is led by family clans. It is authoritarian. They “take the law into their own hands” (*note*: an anarchist trait) against the established justice system. They do this by “all means” (crime: extortion, corruption of officials).

By extension: any association of people with the same interests (to be pushed through by all means, -- thereby distinguishing them from an ordinary pressure group or lobby).

Model.

The American Newsday: “Slaughtered by a mob”. -- On 19.07.1992: Vinh Than Luong (27), a regular member of the Ghost Shadows in New York, a Chinese triad specializing in business -- drug trafficking, prostitution, clandestine immigration), goes to spend the evening with three comrades at a bowling alley.

3:15 a.m. Upon coming outside, they are ambushed by about twenty Chinese. One of them grabs Luong by the neck, shoots him in the head, and disappears into the crowd without 'witnesses'.

Who is behind this triad killing?

The killing took place in the territory of the White Tigers. But they live in peace with the Ghost Shades. So perhaps the perpetrator, the killers, are members of the Born to Kill, a Chinese-Vietnamese triad, or also of the almighty Flying Dragons.

The difference.

There are, for example, the Italian mafiosi or even the Russian. The latter approach the Chinese in terms of cruelty. But every police force establishes the exceptionally ruthless methods of the Chinese mafias.

Interest.

Now that Hong Kong and Macao are falling into Chinese-communist hands, the triads are moving to America and Europe, around Brussels, the 'capital' of Europe.

It may be important that we get to know the type of communitarianism that constitutes mafias, and in particular triads, a little better.

Incidentally: 'triad' refers to the numbers the members wear, which end in 3.

SK67

7.3. National Socialism (Nazism) (67/74)

Given the fact that the personality of Adolf Hitler (1889/1945) dominates Nazism to a very high degree, first a characteristic of the 'Führer'. -- Son of a customs officer, wants to attend art school but fails.

Very early on, Pan-Germanist (Germanism first) and antisemitic (anti-Jewish) positions attracted him. - In World War I (1914/1918), he served as a soldier in the Bavarian army. Anton Drexler founded the German Workers' Party in 1919; Hitler became a member. He transformed the party into the National Socialist Workers' Party by becoming its leader in May 1921. He enriched it with the SA (Sturmabteilungen).

In 1923, he attempts a putsch (coup d'état) with others, which fails. February/December 1924: prison. There he drafts *Mein Kampf* (1923/1924), the theory of Nazism.

1925+: he re-establishes his party, which he enriches with the SS.

In 1933, he seized power. Until 1945, when Germany lost the war with the Axis powers.

According to L. Cheles/ R. Ferguson M. Vaughan, ed., *Neo-fascism in Europe*, London/ New York, 1991, the factors that explain the rise and success of Nazism are

- a. economic crisis with social injustices (the crisis of 1929 in the first place),
- b. the military defeat of Germany in 1918,
- c. the political and social disorder in post-war Germany,
- d. the fear of German big capital of the rising communism such that it saw in the Nazis “a dam against the communist danger”.

1933.

Since 1930, any majority had been lacking in the German parliament (Reichstag). This aimlessness, amidst a severe economic crisis and social tensions of all kinds, fit the intentions of the German (and international) communists. But even more so, it fit the agenda of the right in Germany, which included conservatives, even monarchists, and above all nationalists, and wanted to clean up “the parliamentary misery.” But Hitler’s populist-nationalist NSDAP eliminated all these rivals.

Incidentally : behind the few notables, military figures, and financiers who brought Hitler to power stood powerful economic and political interests—as H.A. Turner , Jr., **Hitler, Janvier 1933** (* *Les trente jours qui ébranlèrent le monde* *) (Gelman-Levy) et al. explain.

SK68

The National Socialist doctrine.

We characterize briefly.

A.-- Criticism.

Nazis take a stand against both liberalism and Marxism. -- They target parliamentary democracy on account of the powerlessness in very difficult situations (of which there were plenty in the 1920s and 1930s).

B.-- Program .-- Let us emphasize the most important aspects.

1.-- 'Völkisch'.

Nazism wants to be 'Volks'. That is to say: the German people must come to full development amidst the other peoples, who then have to choose: for or against. -- Hence, the defeat in 1918 was perceived and presented in the propaganda as a “humiliation of the people.” Jews and Gypsies are 'foreigners'. Volks also means 'populist': Hitler and his party rely on large masses influenced by clever propaganda. Hence the great party and other 'days'.

The working class certainly belongs to it: when he was still just a simple citizen and even down on poverty, Hitler lived with the “little people” and knew their problems based on his own experiences.

2.-- Police state.

The rule of law of the bourgeois democracies was merely a stepping stone to seize power.

a. One-party state . -- Just like the Soviets, so too the Nazis: a multitude of parties typical of democracies is ruthlessly eliminated.

b. Police system. -- The SS and the Gestapo—notorious enough—are forms of 'police', namely state and party police.

c. Army . -- Just like the communist systems, so too the Nazi state: a good army guided by ideology is an integral part of the police state. Along with the accompanying bellicism—warlike—imperialist ideology—that would lead to World War II (1939/1945). Anti-pacifism.

3.-- Economic ambiguity.

The capitalist economy is retained, although its liberal interpretation is avoided as radically as possible: the state dominates. Both agrarian economies and high industrial systems can be managed according to National Socialist principles. The fear of communism among big capitalists certainly plays a role in this.

In other words: 'Realpolitik' in the sense of N. Machiavelli (1469/1527; humanist) is the summary of Nazism.

'Fascism' is not 'Nazism'.

Italian fascism must be distinguished from Hitler's system.

Library st. : *P. Aygoberry, La question nazie (Essai sur les interprétations du nationalsocialisme (1922/1975), Paris, 1979.*

The fact is that many use the term 'fascism' for both Nazism and Italian fascism. Historically, that usage is incorrect. It was advocated primarily by the communists.

1. -- The Nazis themselves do not want to hear of an equation. Cf. oc, 57/59 (Nazisme et fascisme italien).

2. -- When in the late 1920s some Germans labeled themselves as 'Faschists', they did not belong to the Nazi party. In fact, they were a wing of the Stahlhelmen.

3. -- After the takeover of power. -- Let us examine.

a. 1934. -- After the seizure of power, Dr. Goebbels (1897/1945), Minister of Propaganda, devotes an article to "The practical results of fascism": he praises "the Italian brothers," establishes a "common enthusiasm," and affirms "the common struggle" against Marxism and liberalism, against pacifism, against democracy, etc. The article mentions primarily that against which both tendencies are opposed.

b. 1935. -- Adolf Hitler himself adheres to the same "polite style"—according to Aygoberry—as his minister in the preface to an Italian book. He merely states that "both systems hold related views **1.** regarding the state and **2.** regarding socialism".

Concealed racism.

And both Goebbels and Hitler completely conceal the racism that is, with great certainty, one of the basic tenets of Nazism.

Note-- S. Altink , **De mythe van de minderdoor** , Utr./Antw., 1985, 17ff speaks more or less in the same vein. "The Left itself has in the past contributed greatly to the chaos surrounding the concept of 'fascism':

For many leftists, fascism was a part of capitalism. To which the author responds: “The communist interpretation of 'fascism' as an outgrowth of capitalism was not entirely incorrect: large corporations were important pillars of 'fascist' politics. But (...) no committed Marxist has ever been able to pinpoint exactly that capitalist influence. (...) The 'fascist' parties even worked against the large entrepreneurs at times (...)”. (Oc, 176).

SK70

Nazi upbringing.

Bible st.: M. Danthe, *Comment fabriquer de bons petits nazis*, in: *Journal de Genève* 04.02.1889, draws attention to Erika Mann, *Dix millions d'enfants nazis* (French translation).

E. Mann, the daughter of Thomas Mann (1875/1955) – *Buddenbrooks* (1901) – publishes a sober, informative book in New York: * *School for Barbarians* * (*Education under the Nazis*). Goal: the child becomes one with the will of the Führer. The book, dating from 1938, outlines it as follows.

A. Collectivization of the family

An atmosphere of general denunciation is methodically created. As a result, the parents, in particular, fall into constant fear and even mutual distrust, because the family no longer has any intimacy: the authorities see, as it were, crystal clear what is happening.

B. Racification and militarization of the school.

All school programs are being addressed: catechism, history, literature. Even mathematics. The school cultivates “the values of Aryan culture”.

1. Racification.

Little Erna: “In class, we wrote an essay about the Jews titled ‘The Jews are a disaster’.”

2. Militarization.

Mathematics textbook: “Given. -- An airplane is flying at a speed of 240 km/h. Objective: to drop the bombs at a distance of 210 km... Dropping the bomb load takes 7 min. 30 sec. - Asked. -- When will the airplane land?”

Scale of values. -- Academic ability exhibits a sequence: **1.** genetic inheritance (on a racist basis); **2.** character formation; **3.** physical formation; **4.** traditional academic formation. **Note:** -- This has been called irrationalism (biological vitalism).

C. Nazi youth movement.

E. Mann reflects on this third sphere of life. The family is still “too private”. The school still perpetuates too many pre-Nazi traditions. The National Socialist youth movement enables the complete Nazification of the emerging generation. With the primary goal being **a** . the future soldier and **b** . if favorable, the future leader figure.

Guided information.

The child or adolescent is fed exclusively Nazi information as much as possible. A free market for information, so typical of a democracy, practically no longer exists. As a result, young people know “nothing better.”

SK71

Nazi philosophy of history.

Bible st.: R. Benze , *Die Deutsche Erziehung und ihre Träger* , in: R. Benze/ G. Gräfer , *Erziehungsmächte und Erziehungshoheit im Groszdeutschen Reich* , Leipzig, 1940, Iff.

The text emphasizes upbringing. In doing so, a very clear historical picture is instilled. We outline this somewhat briefly.

A.-- Education.

To guide the young person at his biological core in such a way that he can handle “the life task imposed upon him by the environment.” In other words, what Americans call “problem solving”—grasping the given and the requested as a task or challenge and being able to handle the solution—is also fundamental for the Nazi.

The very fundamental difference lies in its racist interpretation. “For National Socialism, the German people, understood as the greatest natural blood community, stand central to the totality of life and education” (oc, 5).

In other words: we stand for a pure communitarianism. But then “aimed at the racist development of body, soul, and spirit” (ibid.).

B. - Phaseology of cultural history.

The cultivation phases are as follows. There are only three to four of them in the soil.

1.-- Germanic rule.

To develop body, soul, and spirit in such a way that the personalities of boy and girl were “healthy and strong and capable of fulfilling their earthly task ('Diesseitsaufgaben'), sustained by deep religiosity” (oc, 2), was proto-Germanic education. But—and this is decisive—it was thoroughly situated within the Germanic family and clan (*note*: the family outside the household). Family and clan were, as blood kinship, “natural communities.” One sees it: communitarianism, yet biological. “Racial values were perceived as the highest values.” Race, indeed, intertwined with natural selection (“natürliche Auslese”).

Incidentally : over time, the community broadened into a tribe and a nation.

2. -- Southern Eastern Christianity.

About 1,500 years ago, a “culture alienated from nature” penetrated Germanism as a foreign power. Christianity, after all, grew out of racial chaos and, as such, represents a faith that is supra- and anti-people (“ein über und gegenvolkischer Glaube”). With state aid, this type of faith was introduced into the Germanic world. It was immediately the first time that a foreign culture imposed itself.

SK72

Christianity shattered the unity of the personality by designating the body as a “vessel of sin,” deeming the spirit educable beyond the world,

and placing the soul in the service of a “life-hostile ideology.” Moreover, the ideal of the fundamental equality of all people, sealable by a baptism that implied no distinction regarding race or blood ties, was upheld.

“Even the Reformation, which began so hopefully (*note*: Martin Luther (1483/1546), the founder of German Protestantism), was in the long run unable to free itself from the bonds foreign to the people” (oc, 4).

3. -- *Modern rationalism.*

This cultural movement, hostile to ecclesiastical-dogmatic constraints, admittedly liberated the spirit and soul from the grip of the previous narrow-minded culture, but did not penetrate to the liberation of the body. It continued the development initiated by the Church of Rome—with a different foreshadowing—and placed too much emphasis on the theoretically minded spirit, together with the emphasis on the concept of 'humanity', understood as the unity of equal beings.

The Church of Rome had thoroughly influenced only a thin layer (the rest of the people were allowed to pay lip service) – but rationalism as 'Aufklärung' (Enlightenment), with its educational system, increasingly took hold of the entire population. -- Until the 18th century, Church and rationalism remained more or less in balance in terms of influence.

But in the course of the 18th century, rationalism with its 'Enlightenment' prevailed regarding the alienation from the church and the orientation towards this earth with regard to life and education: “objective science”, 'popular education', and 'people's school' were the slogans.

4.-- *Nazism.*

Nazism returns to the unconsciously lived presuppositions of Germanic life. Thus oc, 4f.. Repristination, therefore, to ward off both Rome and enlightened rationalism.

“Two commandments apply to the life and upbringing of every German: ‘Deutschland Uber alles’ and ‘Ich bin nichts, mein Volk ist alles’. (oc, 5). Peaceful cooperation with other peoples, yes, but no racial mixing and no keeping alive of inferiors.

Social Darwinism and occultism.

It is established: Hitler stands within a German academic tradition that was explicitly racist for decades before Hitler's rise. What Mein Kampf says—racial hygiene, racial and blood purity, inferior human races—was “already commonplace at German universities and in scientific publications for years” (H. Jens, *Mein Kampf was not original (Social Darwinism and Nazism)*, in: *Streven* 1983: June, 797/809). It was as if the intelligentsia were waiting for a politician who would turn “the theory” into laws.

Thus, the first chair in racial hygiene was established at the University of Munich as early as 1923.

Let us also not forget that Fr. Engels, immediately after the appearance of Ch. Darwin's * *On the Origin of Species* * in 1859, noted the work to K. Marx as the work that had now finally—scientifically—destroyed teleology (*note*: interpreting nature as teleological and primarily subject to the intention of a higher power). A few months later, K. Marx confirmed in a letter to Engels that Darwin's work indeed contains “the natural-historical foundation for our view.”

Occult racism.

In 1936, Hitler told Hermann Rauschning that the actual name of the NSDAP should have been “Magischer Sozialismus,” but that this was not possible for reasons of mentality.

L. Pauwels/ G. Bergier , **Le matin des magiciens**, Paris, 1960, contains many pages in which the occultism of the Nazi movement is laid bare. And not merely superficially.

But the death blow for all who claim that occultism and racism do not go together in Nazism is N. Goodrick-Clarke, *The Occult Roots of Nazism (The Ariosophists of Austria and Germany 1890/1935)* , The Aquarian Press, 1985.

The author conducted a thorough and rigorous scientific study of the occult movements that prepared and accompanied Nazism and were of decisive influence. Movements with mystical, racist, and Pan-Germanist doctrines are exposed in the work.

Incidentally: L. Rasson , *Robert Bresillach (Literature and 'fascism' – Hitler the last of the magicians)*, in: *Streven* 1985: April, 533/541, mentions the occult practices and the “fantastic realism” that Brasillach, a French pro-Nazi writer, also acknowledges. Nazism is both social Darwinist and occultist.

SK74

Neo-Nazi occultism.

Neo-Nazism is diffuse virtually everywhere. That is a known fact. The triggers are different than in the past: migrant issues in the first place. But let us pause for a moment to consider the occult aspect.

Library st.: JLD, *Les neo-Nazis et la reincarnation* , in: *Nostra* 18/24.09.1980, 37.

Steller relies on Guy Playfair, an American journalist specializing in magic in Latin America. He has been at home in Brazil, Argentina, and elsewhere in South America for more than twenty years. He is particularly familiar with the well-known Brazilian spiritualist circles that base both occult practices and cultural activities (extending to universities and clinics) on the summoning of spirits of all kinds.

In August 1978, Playfair received information from his friend, Dr. Andrade, president of the Brazilian Institute of Parapsychology. Some very reclusive groups had contacted him to obtain all reports regarding “artificial reincarnation.”

Brazilian paranormalists are very familiar with this phenomenon: a particularly receptive medium (*note:* a mediating person between this earth and the other world) is manipulated in such a way that an entity (spirit) or multiple entities take possession of it, so that the medium is, in a certain sense, possessed by it. In doing so, the dead are summoned (necromancy).

This practice yields excellent results regarding paranormal phenomena. -- One mixes **a** . spiritualism, **b** . voodoo (vaudou) and macumba summoning of the dead, and **c** . 'reincarnation' (understand: possession by a spirit).

What is a paranormal phenomenon for Brazilian psychics— explainable in any case— is a very serious matter for the neo-Nazis there: in this way, they summon entities that inspired the great leaders of Nazism in the past. Hitler and other occultly gifted individuals who are now dead are thus summoned and placed in the service of neo-Nazism.

A highly mediumistically gifted child, trained according to SS methods in special circles where paranormal abilities are stimulated, is manipulated so that some Nazi spirit enters and inspires it. Just as Hitler was inspired by such a being or beings. Just as other Nazis were inspired. -- At the time—1930+—people laughed at the Thule Group and the Black Order until it was established that there was actually nothing to laugh about.

SK75

8. Communitarianisms (75/87) **(communitarianisms, communalisms).**

8.1. Charles Taylor (75/77)

Bibl. st.: D. Chaerle/ A. Van de Putte, *Liberalism and culture* (*Will Kymlicka on multicultural citizenship*) in: *Tijdschr.v. Filos* . 59 (1997): 2 (June), 215/252.

Incidentally : St. Cuyppers/ W. Lemmens, *ed.*, *Charles Taylor* (*A Mosaic of His Thought*), Kapellen/ Kampen, 1997, draw attention to a key figure of communitarianism, namely the Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor (*The Malaise of Modernity* (1994), *Multiculturalism* (1995), *The Political Culture of Modernity* (1996)).

Taylor, with the human need for some kind of community to be able to be oneself as his axiom, criticizes purely procedural liberalism (limiting itself to merely formal agreements) and seeks a way out of the contradictions inherent in our multicultural and postmodern society. Truly a major problem of our culture.

M. Hunyadi, *Individu ou communautaire ?*, in: *Journal de Genève/Gazette de Lausanne* 17.05.1997, says that in the USA communalism arose in 1980+ as a reaction to the exaggerated American liberal individualism (e.g. expressed in *J. Rawls, Theory of Justice* (1971)). He refers to A. Berten/ P.da Silveira / H. Pourtois, *Libéraux et communautariens* (PUF).

D. Cornu, in **Le livre rose des 'communitariens'**, in ** Journ. d. Gen. / Gaz.dL **, 20.06.1996, discusses the Communitarian Network (founded by the American sociologist Amitai Etzioni) and its international colloquium in Geneva. Central to this—according to Cornu—are the small-scale communities that survive amidst the “large social systems”.

Ch. Taylor (individuals have an identity (understand: personal axiomatics) based on being and remaining fused with a community, an ethnicity, a religion, or the like), M. Sandal (the common well-being of that group is the great rule), and Alasdair MacIntyre (tradition goes hand in hand with a community) are both briefly dissected and criticized by Cornu, who apparently takes a liberal stance.

In particular, virtue activism is targeted—which seeks to impose ethical rules in the name of the common good—meaning: group well-being—“that belong to the domain of the individual conscience” (according to Cornu) . Dissidents are excluded in this way, and “human rights” (meaning: the rights of the individual) are endangered.

Here are a few approaches.

SK76

The given and the requested.

Modern societies are increasingly confronted with the demand for recognition of the particular identity (*note*: axiomatics) of their members. In one way or another, social and political institutions should adapt to the cultural distinctiveness of certain groups.

“This type of intervention presents political practice and political thought with the challenge that is gradually coming to be called multiculturalism.” (Chaerle/ Van de Putte, ac, 215). In other words: the problem of multicultural citizenship.

Communitarianism

Stellers distinguish between strong and weak communitarianism.

1. Strong.

Every human being is born and grows up within a community with its own axioms, its own culture. This thrownness into a community is even 'constitutive' (*note*: cause of) personal identity (understand: axiomatics, mentality, value system). “I myself, therefore, do not have to determine autonomously who I am or how I need to be” (ac, 220). The group to which I belong does that for me. I am carried by that group up to the point of worldview and philosophy of life.

Until the moment I begin to think and act individually and become 'critical', positioning myself as a human being who tests the reality of the group and its culture for its value.

That is the modern, Cartesian awakening of individual consciousness.

Incidentally: proponents call that awakening 'hermeneutics', understood as individual interpretation.

Let it be said right away: in our culture saturated with anarchisms, this is more than obvious. It is the problem of the uprooted.

The strong form of community bonding or solidarity lies in the fact that “the individual can remain within the inherited roles and practices as rules of conduct given to every individual”.

Individual thinking amounts to grounding and justifying the self-evidence of shared axiomatics through individual thought. One remains loyal to the group—even though one thinks individually. Tradition remains the presupposed axiom. One does not become uprooted. To such an extent is the group 'constitutive' for the self or subject in its identity (understand: its mentality).

This is critically referred to as “social determinism” (a c., 246).

SK77

2. Weak.

It would be better to say 'moderate' or even 'liberal'. For, although this type knows that man—take a child raised within a sect or in a primitive tribe or even within an atheist family—is inevitably 'constituted' (determined, partly caused) by the group and its axioms (prejudices, mentality), it nevertheless considers individual judgment, certainly in the modern critical and uprooting sense, equally inevitable: particularly within our current culture where “I think; therefore I am” (Descartes) reigns supreme.

“It must be said, however, that the support and background of the communitarian view is usually situated in the identity-forming bond with small and close groups, -- that this view - even for communitarianism itself - cannot be maintained at the national level; what all individuals of the same nationality still share is not a conception of the meaning of life but merely a language and a history” (ac, 229).

This means that every member of a small-scale community is also situated within a large community with its multitude of axioms.

In other words: a limited-shared culture is, in our current planetary and globalizing stage, contained within a planetary-shared culture. Which inevitably has a relativizing effect on the small group within which one has one's 'roots'.

Finally: only the Rousseuist political democrat situates himself within the national state to the strong degree, because such a person feels himself, above all, a citizen.

Political decisions have cultural effects.

The strong point of the communitarians is the emphasis on the middle ground between the (liberal) individual and the state—a middle ground that is occupied by smaller communities. When Castro, the Cuban dictator, abolished Christmas as a holiday on the basis of state ideology—namely, the communist-atheist one—he did not so much affect the Santeria community in Cuba, but rather the Vatican-Catholic community for which Christmas is considered a prominent cultural event. He turned it into “an ordinary—understand: atheistically founded—working day.”

The communitarian will take a stand against such a decision here in defense of religion as a 'nest' where the individual can find 'nest warmth'.

SK78

8.2. Sect culture (78)

Library st.: J. Hall, *Sangoma*, Utrecht, 1995-1, 1996-2, 121v..

Steller is an American who is being initiated as a 'sangoma'—a healer—in Swaziland. The reason: the famous African singer Miriam Makeba notices that he, who leads a predictable life as a writer in Los Angeles, possesses “rare gifts.” He then visits a healer who sees that he “is in possession of a number of ancestral spirits” and begins a risky life of initiation.

One day, he stumbles upon “a Christian sect”.

They walked singing, led by a tall man with a grey beard and a bronze cross in his powerful hands. They seemed to Hall “as much permeated with pagan rituals as with the Holy Spirit”. The group of about ten people was happy to see him and his companions. They arrive at a rectangular main building where its inhabitants greet him and invite him in.

The 'elder' spoke of a few converted Swazis, his demeanor—with its smooth manner and boisterous joviality—reminiscent of an American television evangelist.

“And you are the American who is becoming a sangoma?” Hall sighs: “You can’t keep anything secret here.” Sits down.

1. Quite a few people had already tried to convert him to one of the many 'churches' that were springing up like mushrooms in Swaziland.

2. Joseph, “servant of the Lord”, the leader, then says: “If all mankind were not saved, then it would go to hell”. By which he naturally meant “member of the sect”.

“These people were obstinate and refused to look beyond their own religion.” (Oc., 122). They told him that if he performed the healing of people in the indumba (*note*: sanctuary)—“the work of Satan,” they said—he would go to hell. To which Hall replied: “The lidlotis (*note*: healing spirits) are not holy and the healer does not worship them.” This unsettled them. Yet one of them said: “But surely you pray to your spirits.” When they took into account the fact that he was also Catholic, he was “doubly sinful” in their eyes. (p. 158)

Hall: “Their heads were full of propaganda, intolerance, and fanaticism.” It was not possible to delve into the real Hall. So self-assured were they in their community culture.

SK79

8.3. The concept of 'pluralism' (79)

'Pluralis' (Lat.) means 'multiple'. Ontologically, 'pluralism' is the antithesis of the doctrine of unity (Spinoza, for example), within which “fundamentally” only a single being exists that, as it were, absorbs the multiplicity that cannot be denied.

Sociologically, 'pluralism' means a society in which the diversity of views of all kinds (political) is provided for in principle (axiomatically).

A pluralistic democracy

is a form of government within which everyone is free to express their views—may express them—can and may organize with like-minded

individuals, and can and may strive for power through lawful and legal means. Which is precisely what is not possible and not permitted in 'people's democracies' or in communism (except for a multitude of variants regarding the single party doctrine). -- Thus J. Van Breda, *Pluralism in: Alternatief* 1975: Nov., 21.

However, Steller also points out the danger of anarchism: if the idea of multiplicity is radically pursued, a situation of fragmentation indeed arises, which the anarchists advocate. This implies that non-anarchic pluralism “must not allow the unity-forming factors necessary for every social structure to come to be undermined”.

An intellectual model.

Library st. : J. Macé-Scaron, *Intellos (Les nouvelles tribus)*, in: *Le Point* 25.10.1997, 62/66.

Steller very briefly lists the multitude of – primarily political – currents in very recent France. He states that people are beginning to think again instead of merely acting. A kind of basic ideology appears to be the republican idea (normal in France since the French Revolution). It is present on both the left and the right.

He distinguishes four left-wing ideologies: Decembrists (= egalitarians) in the footsteps of Gr. Babeuf (1760/1791), the radical left; post-libertarians, in the footsteps of May '68 (leftist); Marxists, who advocate an Italian-style communism; and socialists (Mitterand, Rocard, Delors, Fabius).

Furthermore, there are the liberals, who primarily emphasize a typically French liberalism. The sovereignists are French nationalists (“France first”).

Catholics do not restrict the faith to pious forms of life but actively extend it to all domains.

Behold, pluralism the French way.

SK80

8.4. Separation of church and state ('secularism') (80)

Library st. : *Laot, La laïcité (Un défi mondial)*, Paris, 1998.

The translation “separation of church and state” can be found in dictionaries. It is metonymic; it names a part of the process of secularization, namely the fact that a state, being a political reality, operates without a religious, or ecclesiastical, background or axiomatics. Whereas, in fact, secularism banishes every view of life and the world—including, for example, the atheistic one—from political coexistence.

Oc, 36. -- To define laïcité as political secularization (worldization that only reckons with visible and tangible realities) is to define it as open laïcité. 'Open', indicating several types of political systems as absolute opponents of themselves. Namely: not only the theocratic (*note*: prioritizing a religion as the axiomatics of political life) systems such as, for example, the Christian system (*note*: which was prevalent in the Christian West for centuries) or the Islamic system (such as Iran since the Khomeini revolution in 1979 or Saudi Arabia, etc.), but also all totalitarian systems, whether or not they uphold atheism as an official basis (axiomatics) (let us think of the Soviet system as an atheist model).

In short: all systems of state policy that uphold the prohibition of pluralism as an axiom regarding worldview and philosophy of life.

Note: It will immediately become apparent that the term 'secularization' is not entirely accurate in the sense that 'secularity'—historically speaking—means bracketing religion as axiomatism of the state. Atheism is radically secular, but insofar as it is imposed as a state axiomatism, atheism is incompatible with laïcité. One should therefore avoid taking secularization as a springboard for laïcité, but rather as a “neutral axiomatics regarding the worldview and philosophy of life of a political system.”

Note: This seems to insinuate that a secular state adheres to no axioms whatsoever regarding the life of its citizens. Which is, of course, a logical impossibility.

And this is where the discussions begin: what is the task of the state? Which, in turn, means: “Which axioms must a state uphold to be worldly and philosophically neutral?” For the umpteenth time, an opinion.

SK81

8.5. Multicultural Liberalism (81/82)

Bibl. st.: D. Chaerle/ A. Van de Putte, *Liberalism and culture* (Will Kymlicka on multicultural citizenship), in: *Tijdschr.v.Filos* . 59(1997): 2 (June), 215/252.

Reference is made to W. Kymlicka, *Liberalism, Community and Culture* , Oxford, 1989, as well as to id., *Multicultural Citizenship (A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights)*, Oxford, 1995.

1.-- Basic Axiom.

a. Every man is oriented toward the good life, -- whatever that may in fact be. As a liberal, a Cartesian-modern, he says that “my life will only be a good life if I myself, as a freely deciding individual, lead my life according to my axiomatics”. (Ac 216).

b. likewise Cartesian-modern, he says that critical inquiry, testing based on individual means of knowledge, is 'constitutive' (contributing) to the individual free choice regarding truth and the good life. -- That is the liberal Kymlicka.

2.-- Corrective axiom.

Kymlicka consistently and essentially situates that freedom, not as an incidental matter, within a community culture—'culture' for short—into which individual freedom has always already been cast. That is the communitarian Kymlicka. (Cfr ac, 217).

Incidentally : he himself raises the question whether his axiomatics would not be better called “social democratic theory”. We refer to M. Walzer in this regard.

Political conclusion.

Cultural membership as a “primary good” (an essential characteristic) implies that liberalism and the liberal state ought to recognize, promote, and distribute it fairly.

In reality, liberalism forgot the communal aspect. -- The entire Western tradition on the subject prioritizes the state as a community—including of citizens who only share the official language and culture. That is the nation-state. It is neutral towards smaller communities. He refers to Rawls and Dworkin.

Nevertheless, there have always been liberals who, in addition to citizenship, neutrality of the state towards communities, universal human rights, and civil rights, also paid attention to the communal aspect: J. Stuart Mill, Green, Hobhouse, and Dewey—as liberals—pay attention to community cultures as a condition for individual freedom. They are, immediately, Kymlicka's intellectual predecessors.

SK82

The facts contradict the acommunitarian hypothesis of liberalism.

For nowadays the 'nation-state' framework is being under fire for less: after all, in very few states do all inhabitants, citizens, speak the same language or belong to the same group or group culture.

a. There are a multitude of nations within the same state, which thereby becomes a multinational state. The nations in question may be approximately equal in size (in territory, number of members, for example), or they may involve minorities opposing a majority.

b. There are a multitude of community cultures within the same state, but in such a way that—if we consider integrating migrants—the state becomes poly-ethnic. Ethnic homogeneity no longer exists.

Please note: in Kymlicka usage, ethnic groups are not “national minorities”. In fact, they retain a number of characteristics (customs, ideas) from the original community culture, which are expressed, for example, within family and associational life. However, they integrate:

they speak the language of the host country and participate in public institutions just like other citizens.

One need only think of the Flemings who went to live in France after World War II (1914/1918)—and before—and whose second and third generations have forgotten all contact with Flanders, except in stories about the past.

Note: Kymlicka also sees the fusion of both previously distinct data: a state can be simultaneously poly-ethnic and multinational.

A variant of liberalism.

It is clear: Kymlicka represents an updated liberalism. Updated because it reckons with multinationality and polyethnicity.

Most people do not simply want to belong to 'a' culture: above all, they want to belong to their culture. Such is the strength of the ties to it. To detach them from it in any way (manipulatively, with violence through oppression) is impossible. In this respect, Kymlicka is a communitarian, just like Ch. Taylor et al.

But with one major difference: the formation of cultural identity rests not so much on the content—its axioms—but rests on “societal culture,” because Kymlicka remains fundamentally liberal.

Incidentally: 'multiculturalism' is ambiguous. Gays and lesbians use it to denounce heterosexuality (as the dominant one). Feminists use it to denounce sexism, by which I mean masculinity.

SK83

8.6. Aristotle communitarian? (83)

Bible st.: Otrf. Höffe, *Der Meister aller Wissenden (Warum heute (nor) Aristotle lesen ?)*, in: *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* 08.11.1997, 6.

Steller addresses the thesis of a number of communitarians who claim that Aristotle of Stageira (-384/-322), the great ontologist of antiquity,

a. skeptically accepted generally applicable axioms regarding justice and conscience and

b. thus fell back on the private rules of law and conscience of “small communities”.

Höffe.

Even when one learns universal rules of conduct—virtues—within a “small community,” one learns them as particular applications of universal rules. Moreover, according to Aristotle, one learns something universal first and foremost: one reacts to danger neither cowardly nor arrogantly, but bravely (“the golden mean”); one handles money neither wastefully nor greedily, but generously; one responds to pain or pleasure in a prudent manner.—And such rules more characteristic of common sense.

State-free communitarians.

Other communitarians advocate for a society that is as state-free as possible. Once again, they invoke Aristotle in this regard.

Indeed—according to Höffe—the ‘polis’, the state, conceived in the ancient Greek sense of course, is dependent on kinship, sexual ties, sacrificial associations, and other forms of community. Now, all these bonds are forms of ‘friendship’, for it amounts to the decision to enter life together.

In other words: on the one hand, Aristotle certainly holds these “small associations” within the polis in high regard, but on the other hand, in his view, they do not replace state offices, a universal legal order, or the like.

Aristotle is thoroughly skeptical of a society without government. In his characteristic manner, he attributes axioms of conscience and law to it. He does not provide a list of human rights. Indeed, in a typically ancient manner, he attempts to justify slavery, unequal rights for women, and ‘barbarians’ (understand: strangers). But things like theft, assault, manslaughter, and even insult, he considers their prohibition justified by what he calls “basic rights.”

In other words: Life, a good name, some form of property, and an inviolable body are of high value to him and enforceable by a government through its laws.

8.7. Community tolerance (84/85)

Political theory regarding communities.

Bible st. : M. Hunyadi, *Michael Walzer (Tolérer, dit-il au pluriel)*, in: *Le Temps* (Geneva) 13.06.1998, 14.

Regarding the French translation “Traité sur la tolérance” (Gallimard), Hunyadi says the following.

John Rawls and Jürgen Habermas attempt to articulate the axiomatics of contemporary democracies in universally valid concepts. M. Walzer, however, is a historically oriented thinker: he is familiar with the general concept of 'tolerance' (limited in the work to tolerance between communities) but emphasizes the quasi-boundless variety of its interpretations within political systems: as in other texts, Walzer prioritizes social justice and expresses it in terms of goods to be distributed, such as health, education, wealth, nationality ('identity'), and the like. The one communal tolerance in its many realizations.

Walzer identifies five principal conceptions regarding Communal tolerance and five principal political achievements thereof.

1.-- Interpretations.

A differential comes out on top.

a. *Resigned acceptance* . -- “I resign myself to the different nature of the 'others' (understand: communities); otherwise, there is no minimal basis for peaceful coexistence.” -- A pragmatic argument.

b. *Benevolent indifference* . -- “To have a whole world, there must be all kinds of things.” -- A sort of fatalism.

c. *Stoic acceptance* . -- “I resign myself to the rights of the 'others', even though the way they interpret them disappoints me”.

d. *Open curiosity* . -- “I want to learn from the 'others'”.

e. *Enthusiastic applause*. -- “ Diversity is the richness of the world in which we all belong”.

That is how Hunyadi summarizes it.

2.-- Achievements.

A kind of overview, -- a typology.

a. *Multinational empires* ('imperia'), such as ancient Rome, Austria-Hungary, and Russia, exhibit a government that encourages the peaceful coexistence of communities with a large degree of autonomy.

b. *The UN as an international community* is weak as a political entity but compels diplomatic tolerance. The UN itself must proceed very 'diplomatically' given its political impotence.

SK85

c. *Federal states* such as Switzerland, with two or three communities, adhere to mutual tolerance.

d. *National states* realize the least degree of tolerance towards communities, but tend most to grant civil rights to individuals insofar as they are citizens.

e. *The USA, as an 'immigrant state'*, achieves the greatest openness to individual and group diversity but is perhaps the least capable of giving a fixed form to the 'identities' (communities) given the mobility—unstable foundation—on which these communities rest.

Walzer's historical combinatorics.

This consists in multiplying the five interpretations and its five realizations among themselves, as it were. Which leads to an astonishing number of very complex factual situations.

Criticism.

A sense of diversity. Good. But by minimizing the universality of axiomatics, Walzer deprives himself of a reason or basis for solving practical problems.

Hunyadi.

Questioner: -- "Should modern politics favor individual or group emancipation?" "There is no decisive argument in favor of either alternative. Conflict situations in this regard must be dealt with on a case-by-case basis, i.e., in different ways depending on the different groups and the different political systems."

Hunyadi.

Walzer is very precise regarding the indeed very diverse interpretations and systems in which those interpretations are realized.

Note: The nominalism that thoroughly dominates American philosophy in the sense that the singular and at most the particular receive great emphasis (individualism, particularism), also manifests itself in the American who is Walzer. American thinkers fear nothing so much as "philosophical idealizations" which, although general (universalism), are insufficiently ascertainable in a positive way.

If there is any classification at all, it is based solely on positive studies. This results in the inability to arrive at standards that can serve as a practical guideline for solving singular or particular problems.

SK86

8.8. The secret services (86)

Bible st. : J. Bergier, *Je ne suis pas une légende* , Paris, 1977, 233/240 (*Le plus tard possible*).

Bergier is known for the role he played in the bombing (the night of July 17/18, 1943) of the Peenemünde base (research base and manufacturing site for German rockets). He has been kept silent because he is aware of military and diplomatic secrets.

Nevertheless, he spoke and also wrote about le Grand Jeu (literally: the Great Game (of powers)), i.e., the struggle for control of the entire planet. Thus, his *Agents secrets contre armes secrètes* was about espionage.

Cryptocracy

In **Le matin des magiciens** (1961), written with L. Pauwels, he states that the era of “the secret exercise of power” is dawning. The “Russia/USA” relationship, the fragmentation of China, and the formation of a new empire in Africa are already being prepared within the secret services in those years, “and not by the governments,” for—so he says (and this is of particular interest to us here)—“these governments are becoming less and less important.”

“Yes, the puppets that—so they claim—lead them are no longer taken seriously by anyone” (oc, 235). The “invisible governments”: these are the secret services (oc, 236).

Bergier wrote about this in ** Secret Archives **, *New York*, 1976, as well as ** L'espionnage politique** and **La troisième guerre mondiale est commencée** (Paris, Albin Michel). Others also wrote about it—W. Stevenson (** A Man Called Intrepid** , *Sphere Books*, 1977) and the Russian Bogomolov.

Literally. -- Oc, 239. -- “The secret struggle spans the entire world (...). The classical war that has raged for several centuries between Croats and Serbs continues at this moment (1977) between an old generation of Serbs who participated in the Second World War (1939/1945) and a new generation of Croats who live mainly in Australia”. (Oc, 239).

The secret speech.

Modern reason finds here one of its most remarkable expressions—almost never discussed in philosophical books. The most scientific discoveries of reason play a leading role within the secret services. Whether this form of modern reason thereby serves “progress” (its grand narrative) is highly questionable.

SK87

8.9. International law (87)

as a limitation of communitarianism.

Bible st .: B. Ferencz, *Nürnberg soll kein Einzelfall bleiben* , in: *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* 11.07.1998, 81F...

Everyone still remembers the International Court of War in Nuremberg that dealt with Nazi war crimes after World War II (1940/1945).

Currently, an international conference is taking place in Rome under UN protection to turn what was temporary in Nuremberg into a permanent tribunal. It is striking how countries like China, India, but especially the USA, are offering resistance!

The resisters.

According to Prof. P. Guggenheim (Geneva), “the dogma of national sovereignty” (the principal axiom of nationalism and imperialism) is the major stumbling block.

Second resistance: the “Cold War” (USA/Soviet Union), which fortunately ended in 1987 (M. Gorbachev introduced glasnost and perestroika).

Legal norms.

1. Human rights contain rules of conduct that regulate the “individual/state” relationship in peacetime.

2. Humanitarian law, particularly since 1949 (Geneva: the treatment of victims of war crimes) and later in 1977, prescribes rules of conduct in wartime as part of international law.

Since the Nazi crimes—genocide in the first place—such things, along with massive violations of human rights, were tacitly designated as to be tolerated “never again.” However, the idea of a permanent “international court,” although it was mooted, never took shape in an institution. The political will to prioritize international interventions in national states was lacking. In other words: the national state, dominant since the Renaissance, was and is considered a 'taboo'.

Two temporary achievements.

Shocked international public opinion forced the national states to establish a temporary court following two massive incidents.

1. 1991. -- Yugoslavia falls apart with massive violence, murder, torture, and imprisonment reminiscent of Nazi concentration camps. The Hague: a war tribunal is established.

2. 1992, Rwanda witnesses the massacre and maiming of half a million people in tribal wars. A war tribunal is established in Arusha (Tanzania).

In Rome, they now want to bring the 'communities' (states, tribes) to the prioritization of universal rules of conduct.

SK88

9. Comprehensive social theories (88/100)

9.1. Charles Gide's Solidarism (88/89)

Bible st. : M. Basle et al., *Histoire des pensées économiques* , Paris, 1988, 91/93.

Ch. Gide (1847/1932) pursued the unifying science of economics. In that sense, in 1887, together with Jourdan and Villey, he founded *Faure la Revue d'economie politique*.

The 19th century exhibited a diverse economic theory: liberals, ultra-liberals, socialists, marginalists, mathematicians, social reformers, protectionists, engineers—all defended their positions. Gide wanted to unify and transcend this multitude.

Method .

Economics as a science exhibits the following phases:

- 1.** Observation of data (phenomenological starting point) and this without prejudice;
- 2.** Hypothesis formation (devising an explanation that discovers relationships, -- especially causal relationships);
- 3.** Assessment based on new data (Principes d'economie politique (1917)).

Definition.

The economy operates through phases: from production, circulation, and distribution to consumption. Its goal is the satisfaction of needs, for

the needs of humanity are the activating force in the economy. -- Utility value.

What is meant in economics is the utility of a product or a service, - utility that has to do with rarity. Which does not lead Gide to underestimate labor: "Utility and labor," he says (id.).

Solidarism (cooperativeism).

Gide distinguishes five schools of his time.

1. *Liberalism* (individualism, -- optimistic, conservative).
2. *Scientific socialism* (Marxism: deterministic).
3. *State Socialism* (struggle for legislation that benefits the working class)
4. *Christian Democracy* (to a certain extent anti-liberal; founded on threefold: church doctrine, family, patron).
5. *Solidarism* : the will to make human society into a great society characterized by mutual assistance, such that natural solidarity—when enhanced by the willingness of everyone or, failing that, by legal coercion—grows into justice.

Gide's preference goes to the latter (also called l'Ecole de Nîmes).

Conclusion.-- Gide apparently does not belong to those who stick to pure economics: the social dimension merges with economics.

SK89

Personalism

Bibl. st.: Fl. Van Oirschot , *Concise History of the Social Question* , Roermond/Maaseik, 1950, 292/318.

To begin with, 'personalism' must absolutely not be confused with 'individualism'. Quite the contrary.

Denis de Rougemont (1906/1985).

This Calvinist thinker is, along with Emmanuel Mounier (1905/1950; Catholic personalist; founder of the magazine *Esprit*), one of the leading figures of personalism.

Existentialism.

In * *Politique de la personne* *, *Paris*, 1934-1, 1946-2, de Rougemont writes: “The success of existentialist doctrine seems to indicate that minds are waking up (...). Personalism originated in the philosophical atmosphere defined by names such as S. Kierkegaard (1813/1855; father of existential thought), Nic. Berdiaev (1874/1948), Gabriel Marcel (1898/1973; * *Etre et Avoir** (1935); Karl Jaspers (1883/1969), M. Heidegger (1889/1976)”.

Indeed: to exist is to be thrown into this world as an individual and to create one's own life plan. Not nature, as in materialism, for example; nor a community, as in socialism. Rather, the individual human being amidst society and the cosmos—with his ethical mandate.

Personalism

The personalist places the human person at the center, in their individuality and with a personality. But situated within society. Through this latter characteristic, personalism integrates all that is community.

That is why a personalist socialism also emerged.

Rougemont states: “The concepts of ‘person, individual, personality’ must be disentangled and clarified in order to subsequently base a renewed social order upon them. Philosophers such as J. Maritain (1882/1973; Catholic), N. Berdiaev (Orthodox), a number of young Protestants, as well as many agnostics (*note*: who put religion in parentheses) have attempted to demonstrate the direct importance of a definition of 'person' for all social action.”

“If man is not a person, even if in a suffocated and oppressed manner, in a sickly manner, in a possible manner, or in disposition, then he/she would resemble all other things in the world.” Thus Nikolai Berdiaev, who, as an Orthodox, adds that man as a person resembles God.

Starting from the “person/world” pairing, personalists have thought through in all directions.

SK90

9.2. Political democracy according to M. Walzer (90)

Bibl. st.: M. Walzer, *The idea of a civic society*, in: *Streven* 60 (1993): June, 483/497.

Walzer, a professor at Princeton University, is known for his * *Spheres of Justice* *, New York, 1983, in which he situates man not in a single 'sphere' ('biotope') but in a multitude of spheres in which he can "live well" (pluralistic social democracy).

Classical and neoclassical political democracy.

For a layer of the ancient Greeks, citizenship was the ideal. To contribute and make decisions in complete freedom. To help bring about the 'polis' or state. -- Behold the classical thesis.

Neoclassical

J.J. Rousseau (1712/1778), at least in a common left-wing interpretation, -- John Stuart Mill (1806/1873; social liberal), -- the democratic radicals in the 19th and 20th centuries, -- up to and including the New Left (gauchism of the sixties), -- they all re-establish citizenship as an 'atmosphere' of the good life.

When women, workers, people of color, and migrants ask for their 'rights,' they prioritize, consciously or unconsciously, the ability to participate in decision-making within the state.

Communitarians in the USA are also advocating for a renewed civic spirit as an antidote to the fragmentation of contemporary society. After all, like Rousseau, they fail to see the smaller subgroups situated between the individual citizen and the state—in the 'civil society'. The state dominates, and in a unilateral manner.

Walzer has two remarks.

1. The interventions of the current state have "increased enormously" (ac, 486). Partly under pressure from politically active citizens. Yet it cannot be said that "the citizens the city administrations". The stronger the state becomes, the more it swallows up small-scale communities (neighborhoods, families, churches, nations, etc.). Participating in decision-making is not an option.

2. The ordinary citizen is primarily concerned with how he will earn his living. “He/she is more involved in the economic community (*note*: in which he/she earns a living) than in the political one” (ibid.).

That entails a danger to genuine involvement, which is true civic sense.

What is more : a number of citizens make economic activity the ideal—for example, in the form of a career in the business world. Which overshadows civic spirit (to put it mildly).

SK91

9.3. Pluralistic social democracy (91/93)

Bibl. st.: Michael Walzer, *The idea of a civil society* in: *Streven* 60 (1993): June, 490/497.

Walzer is an American Jew and a defender of democratic socialism. Main axiom: man lives, at least in a true democracy, simultaneously in different spheres of life! Hence his * *Spheres of Justice* *, New York, 1983.

One-sidedness.

The political democracy sometimes called 'republican,' based on the classical (Greek) or neoclassical (Rousseau) model, places the citizen at the center as a co-decisive being regarding state affairs. State affairs are, in fact, a single sphere of life.

Marxism places the worker—homo faber—at the center of a large industrial enterprise that, over time, becomes humanity. That is precisely a single sphere of life.

Liberalism places the abundant supply of goods and services, produced by entrepreneurs and valued by consumers—both situated in a free-market economy—at the center. This precisely reveals a way of life.

The nationalist or sovereignist places the nation as a system based on blood kinship and shared destiny at the center. That, too, is precisely a sphere of life.

Pluralism.

Walzer considers these four solutions to the social question one-sided. And therefore insufficient, though not to be underestimated—Walzer situates man—at least in a true democracy—simultaneously in the four previous spheres of life, supplemented by many others. He calls this civil society with its multiplicity ('fragmentation') and with its solidarity.

Think of people who spontaneously seek one another out, forming and reforming all kinds of groups—associations (biotopes, spheres of life)—not for the benefit of a particular institution (family, tribe, nation, religion, commune, interest group, ideology, brotherhood, and the like), but purely for the sake of being connected. For we are, above all, social beings. Cf. ac, 490v.

Among the associations, he lists: trade unions, parties, movements of all kinds, interest groups, families, churches, family businesses, state or municipal institutions, workers' communes (collectives), purchasing cooperatives, non-profit associations.

Throughout all those years of life, Walzer situates the single citizen within civil society. It is precisely through this that it is defined.

SK92

State and society.

Being a citizen—and thus, as Rousseau preached—participating in politics (political democracy) is only one of the many roles the citizen plays. And yet the state plays a role that differs from the other spheres of life. The state frames civil society, although it seems to be only one element of it. "It delineates the scope, outlines the rules for all the activities of associations. Including political activity." Ac, 494).

"In practice, therefore, citizenship takes precedence to some extent over all our other commitments. That is why we do not need to be citizens (*note*: political decision-makers) "all the time" and, according to Rousseau's wish, seek our happiness primarily in politics." (Ac, 495).

Just as we ought not to be continuously active in associations (ac, ibid.). Civil society is sufficiently democratic if we only act responsibly together in a few of its subgroups.

Examples.

Even the failed totalitarianism of, for example, the Polish communist state could still “dictate the law” to the Solidarnosc trade union: it became a Polish trade union that had to determine the economy and labor policy “within Polish borders”.

Note: 'Solidarnosc' means 'solidarity'. Founded in Gdansk in 1980 as an independent association with its own leadership, Solidarnosc was outlawed by the communist state and became clandestine in 1982. In 1989, the trade union became legal again to play an important role in the new institutions and even the state government.

Walzer cites a second example.

In the USA, families with two parents working outside the home need help from the state (subsidized childcare). National minorities rely on state aid to maintain their own education systems. Capitalist entrepreneurs and companies count on the state.

Trade unions cannot function without legal recognition and protection against “unfair labor practices”. The individual must be protected against the power of, for example, civil servants, employers, experts, and patrons. Lobbies must be curbed.

Reason: a stateless civil society leads to power relations that create inequality – injustice – and only the state can remedy this.

SK93

Bringing them together, yes, but that amounts to nothing grand.

One might say that one-sidedness “makes an impression”. Giving up systems that have been pushed through unilaterally—democratic citizenship (Rousseau’s political democracy), Marxist cooperation, the liberal concept of individual autonomy, national identity—is giving up

something great: “a concentrated energy, a clear choice, a sharp distinction between proponent and opponent” (ac, 496).

Civil society, with its multitude of spheres of life, “does not give this impression” (ibid.). Its great merit lies in bringing together—let us call it generalization—but that is of no greatness. Thus, literally, Walzer.

In other words: militantly minded people are not attracted to something like that.

Increasing decay.

Is society ripe for Walzer's project? Walzer thinks not. Violence, homelessness, divorces, the neglected, and addicts point to increasing decay. The actual citizen and their society is no cozy reality. Except for the privileged, it never has been.

Usually, people are in some subordinate role or other such that they learn subservience. Not, or not so much, autonomy. As a result, it was precisely the movements advocating political assertiveness (Rousseau), the Marxist utopia, the liberal free market, and nationalism that grew. All liberation movements” (ac, 497).

But none of them actually brought total, real, and lasting liberation: “Their fiercest champions—who extolled the state, the cooperative, the market, or the nation—are probably partly responsible for the disorder of today” (ac, ibid.).

Communitarianism (communitarism, communalism) – Alasdair McIntyre, Charles Taylor, Michael Sandel – which rejects liberalism and sees true justice only in situating oneself within a community, a tradition with which one feels solidary, is also rejected by Walzer as one-sided: man – the citizen – is solidary with others not in a single community, but in a multitude of communities.

The model regarding the social question is, as in the Frankfurt School, Biblical prophecy, as Walzer specifies in * *Interpretation and Social Criticism* *, Harvard University Press, 1987.

9.4. Christian Political Economy (94/100)

Bibl. st.: Fl. Van Oirschot, *Beknopte geschiedenis der sociale vraag*, Roermond/ Maaseik, 1950, 322/324.

Whatever it may be called—“Christian economy,” “solidarism,” “social Catholicism”—it got off the ground in the 19th century. Slowly, because it was taken by surprise by secularization (especially since the French Revolution). But certainly.

1834.-- *Economie politique chrétienne* appears,

by Count Alban de Villeneuve-Bargemont. He begins with a critique: the clergy was confined within the church building and the sacristy; Catholics do well to give alms, but they must learn to prioritize social theory, derived from Christian axioms, as the foundation of culture.

The task of the state.

The State – according to Villeneuve-Bargemont – must ensure that workplaces meet hygiene standards. That child labor – still a global problem in 1998 – is prohibited for those under the age of fourteen. That savings and provident funds are established for workers.

Typical of his time: that men and women work separately.

The rights of workers.

Workers have – in certain circumstances – the right to deliberate on their common interests, to establish trade unions. The latter may be granted legal capacity. The establishment of these unions must be guaranteed on new foundations and thus promoted. These syndicates would then concern themselves with the establishment of support and provident funds, temperance societies, schools, and public courses.

Note: The overwhelming influence of the liberal system of that time is still felt where he—distrustful of the medieval guilds—does not want to see the guilds restored, to such an extent that the new trade unions are not allowed to concern themselves with determining wages.

This does not prevent this count, relying on his faith, from summoning the courage to brand the abuses of the liberal system without hesitation. Nor could he do so without offending the ruling

bourgeoisie—including the Catholics—or without being suspected of 'socialism'. In any case, he was a trailblazer.

SK95

Von Ketteler, “our great predecessor” (Pope Leo XIII).

Bibl. st.: Fl. Van Oirschot, *Beknopte geschiedenis der sociale vraag*, Roermond / Maaseik, 1950, 332/337.

Let us not forget: it was in 1848 of all years that Marx and Engels published their *Communist Manifesto*. In that year, the First Meeting of the Catholic Association of Germany was held. About twenty members of the Frankfurt Parliament were present, including... a pastor from the village of Hopsten, von Ketteler.

From the very first evening, pressure came from all sides for him to speak, and on that very first evening he delivered the famous speech on * *Die Freiheit der Kirche* *. In it, he placed the social question at the forefront—“the most weighty question that (...) has not yet been resolved.” That was in Mainz.

Some time later, von Ketteler kept the people of Mainz in breathless suspense with his six sermons in Mainz Cathedral on “ *die groszen sozialen Fragen der Gegenwart* ” (concerning property rights, liberty, the family, the destiny of man, and the authority of the church).

The bishop of the workers.

Von Ketteler became a bishop. Tirelessly, he consulted socially minded leaders and experienced labor leaders by reading German and foreign writings. As a result of this long study, * *Die Arbeiterfrage und das Christentum* * appeared in 1864. The book was received with enthusiasm, even in non-Catholic circles. The book became a starting point long thereafter.

His judgment of the then all-powerful liberal party ruling in Germany was sharp. It consisted (according to him) primarily of Freemasonry, the great representatives of big capital, the rationalistic 'Professorenthum', and the banal 'Literatethum' that dines at the table of the

aforementioned high-ranking gentlemen and must speak and write daily in their service.

Von Ketteler reproaches them for acting as if the working class will escape its deplorable state—"most workers are physically exhausted"—through some self-help, a few concessions, and appreciation of the worker merely in fine speeches. Even education, lectures, public libraries, excursions, magazines, etc., will not grant the worker true joy of life or existential security unless all of this presupposes Christianity as an axiomatic.

The deepest cause of the social question lies in the great apostasy of the last centuries, which was more a facade than a true Christianity.

SK96

Christian solidarism (Christian democracy).

Bibl. st.: J. Aengenent, *Leerboek der sociologie*, Leiden, 1919-4, 102, 456 (Solidarism).

The work is a very comprehensive and well-founded exposition of Christian social doctrine.

Organicism

The model is the biological organism that consists of many heterogeneous elements and parts but constitutes a highly cohesive unity. Analogous to this, but non-biological, is the organism we call 'society', which develops a comprehensive state entity from individuals (the truth of liberalism) and from groups (the truth of socialism). In particular, the problem of occupational estates—an actualization of the medieval guilds (which to a certain extent again served as a model)—became one of the frequently discussed themes. They largely occupy the middle ground between individuals and the state.

Centre thinking.

Christian solidarism strikes a balance between liberalism and socialism, for it rejects extreme individualism and emphasizes the solidarity of interests, though not to an extreme degree. It rejects the absorption of the individual into a community (state, industrial society,

municipality, economic profession), for it calls for autonomy. Thus Aengenent, oc, 105

“The Catholic school teaches that three factors must work together to improve the social situation: the individual, the community, and the Church.” The latter with its Biblical axiomatics, -- Aldus oc, 115.

Christian democracy.

In the second half of the 19th century, the term “Christian democracy” came into circulation.

The definition read: “Charitable action for the benefit of the people, based on natural law and the Gospel”.

With this last modality, the metaphysical foundation is expressed. The social question, namely, is the outward sign of the fact that the essence or nature of humanity, not only of working humanity, is an objective given that can indeed be perceived by reason, whether modern or not, but is in any case not created by it. Humanity, insofar as it is justly organized, is in other words an objective idea.

Moreover: this objective idea is rooted in God's spirit and is therefore a divine idea.

Thus, traditional metaphysics is the basis of the benevolent action for the people.

SK97

Mondragon (Arrasate), a social-Catholic experiment.

D. Villey/ C. Nâme , *Petite histoire des grandes doctrines économiques* , Paris, 1992-2, 395, says that “most great economists are atheists, except Malthus.

Theologians are rarely knowledgeable about economic theory. Some episcopal mandates even bear witness to an equally baffling ignorance regarding elementary economic laws when they claim that overtime creates unemployment or that the employer should not seek his own profit. That may be true, of course.

However, this is no reason to minimize the social doctrine of the Church, for it is conceivable that economists do not know everything

either. Therefore, we turn our attention to L. Bouckaert, **Mondragon** (*An experiment in enterprise participation*), in: *Streven* 65 (1998): 3 (March), 221/229, which we summarize.

Workers' self-management.

In ex-Yugoslavia, the experiments failed. But a rare experiment in the Spanish Basque Country seems to prove that employee self-management succeeds: in Mondragon (the Basque Arrasate), a business complex is active that currently—1998—counts 160 cooperatives with 23,000 member co-owners.

The danger of succeeding.

In the event of success, either the workers retain their share in the company and hire new staff on a payroll (so that they do not co-manage) or they convert the share by selling it to wealthy capital owners. This is how things threaten to go within our capitalist, rivalry-based system.

Mondragon.

Mondragon, however, avoids both abolitions: the growth curves for turnover, profit, and employment continue to rise. The model is so attractive that adapted cooperatives are being established in the USA and Great Britain.

The origin.

In 1941, a young priest, José Maria Arizmendiarrietta (+1979) – shortened to Arizmendi – was appointed by the diocese to the village (southeast of Bilbao), which at the time had 8,000 inhabitants and suffered from a very high rate of unemployment and poverty. Only a steel factory provided industrialization and employment. However, militant workers caused bitter conflicts.

Arizmendi initially wanted to study sociology in Leuven, but the bishop refused: his social pragmatism would have to take the plunge and learn in the field.

SK98

No militancy. Well, pragmatism.

Not an axiomatics. Rather, the practically feasible. But from a Christian-social perspective, in which, as the church states, labor as a creative capacity takes precedence over capital.-- Immediately, Arizmendi adheres to the role of advisor.

1.-- *Formation.*

Arizmendi gathers the young people in discussion, sports, and educational groups. Moreover, in 1943 he founded a technical school for boys aged 14-16, which became the quintessential starting point for the rest.

He concluded an agreement with the University of Saragossa to allow creative students who could not afford it to obtain an engineering degree through self-study. A business school was established in neighboring Onati in 1960.

In 1968, he founded a Research Center for Applied Industry (electronics, robotics, information technology).

2.-- *Cooperatives.*

A 'cooperative' is an association whose purpose is to meet needs more economically (e.g. regarding foodstuffs).

1955: Five engineering students, together with Don José Maria, using their own savings, and a few residents, start a cooperative (ULGOR). They act cautiously so as not to defy the Franco regime, which was not favorably disposed toward workers' self-management. Even after Spain's admission to Europe, the cooperative continues to flourish; indeed, it exports (stoves, stoves, washing machines, and dishwashers).

1960+. -- One cooperative after another is established. So that there are now 160, -- caja laboral popular (people's savings bank).

The financing and technical and social assistance for those cooperatives came from a bank that Don José himself founded, without the co-workers, with two members of the founding group. The bank was successful because it paid out a higher interest rate and invested in the region itself. The people knew that.

Hybrid cooperatives.

The stakeholders (managers) share the decision-making power. Workers and consumers, producers and suppliers, and workers and farmers act together as cooperative members in this process.

Social security.

Its own social security cooperative was established because this was otherwise not possible. As part of the Caja. In 1967, it became independent.

Conclusion. -- Although very independent, these cooperatives and such form a single coherent whole. Thanks to a common association contract that establishes rules, and mutual purchases and sales among the cooperatives.

SK99

Axiomatics.

The fundamental premises are twofold. The democratic principle, which governs decisions, and the principle of property, which governs claims to the assets and results of the enterprise.

1.-- Democratic.

Here, this term means: those who are governed have power over the decisions. The governed—directly or through delegation—govern themselves.

The difference.

In a classic company, it is the shareholders who—albeit absent—manage (appointing directors, for example)—not the employees, i.e., the managed, who thereby do not manage themselves. That is typically capitalist (the capital holders are the dominant force).

The 'management' (board) in Mondragom manages the company on behalf of, and in the interest of, all co-owners—members of the cooperative—without shareholders. It manages the membership in the cooperative, not the shares (financial investments).

2.-- Private property.

In workers' self-management, the administrative law of the enterprise is in principle decoupled from property rights. -- However,

this does not imply the abolition of private property, -- nor does it mean that there is no connection between democratic control and efficient (effective, results-oriented) management of property.

In contrast to the experiment in ex-Yugoslavia (communist), Mondragon integrates private property rights into self-management. Each member of a cooperative is entitled to a portion of the company's net book value by means of an "individualized internal capital account". Bouckaert considers this the most original invention of Don Jose's church-inspired system.

However, it is not workers' capitalism.

The number of shares one owns does not matter. What matters is the personal membership. The shares are a personal loan to the company, which is repaid when someone leaves the company (e.g., retires).

One should therefore not say too lightly that Church doctrine 'knows' little or not at all the laws of economics in the case of Don Jose's experiment. We consider it more than worthwhile to draw attention to this now that even believers are minimizing Church social doctrine.

SK100

Resistance to the neoliberal world system.

Bible st. : R.Petrella and others, *Guerre économique (L'heure de la résistance)*, Geneva, Cotomec, 1997.

Cotomec, Boulevard du Pont'Arve, Geneva, stands for "Commission Tiers Monde de l'Eglise Catholique". Eight specialists treat the neoliberal world system, primarily understood as globalization, with rare vehemence (J.-J. Arnaud).

1. System as a task.

The authors define it as follows: "Cancellation of thousands of jobs, deepening of inequalities, wild speculation. Such a multifaceted threat creates across the globe "a true apartheid (*note*: social divide) in the social sphere, both in the north and in the south of the planet". With a Matthew effect: the poor of each hemisphere become poorer while the rich become richer."

2. Resistance as a solution.

“The hour of resistance is approaching” (according to the proponents). “That resistance can achieve results,” they say. – How to resist?

1. Theoretically. -- They reject any form of consent to the system such that “the idol of the almighty market” is brought down from its pedestal.

2. Practical. -- They exert as much pressure as possible towards an economy that respects the human being as a human being. For example, by making every investment—take: in a pension fund or similar—subordinate to the fact that the financial institution puts strict rules of conscience into practice.

Note: These Catholics are clearly not alone in such resistance: non-believers—for their own reasons or grounds—do this too. The difference lies in the axiomatics of the Catholic Church and its social doctrine.

A judgment.

J.-J. Arnaud, *Guerre économique : la résistance* , in: *Journal de Genève, Gazette de Laus* . 10.04.1997, speaking about the book, says: “A book that addresses the problems of our time, since globalization (*note:* of the neoliberal system) frightens almost everyone.”

Note: Let us not forget that John Paul II, already in **Reconciliatio et poenitentia** , raised the concept of “social sins”: social groups of a certain size, such as entire nations or blocs of nations, create—alone or with other actors—situations that must be interpreted as Biblically understood 'sin' (unscrupulousness). Our planet is, according to **Guerre économique**, ready for this.