

Marx

Marx- From The Preliminary Work For His Ph. D. Dissertation-1839 ff.

"The premise of the ancients is the deed of nature; that of the moderns is is the deed of the spirit.

"The fight of the ancients could only end when the visible heaven, the substantial bond of life in the weight of political and religious existence was destroyed, for nature must be broken into two so that spirit can become one..... but modern philosophy unseals the word, consumes it in the holy fire of the spirit, and as a fighter of spirit with spirit, not as an apostate fallen and particularized by the weight of nature, effects it universally and dissolves the forms which do not allow the universal to break through."

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Marx-"Aus Der Rheinescher Zeitung" - May 1842

ON THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

"From the point of view of the idea, it is self-evident that the freedom of the press has quite another justification than the censorship, for freedom of the press is itself a form of the idea of freedom, is a positive good, while censorship is a form of lack of freedom, the polemic of a philosophy of appearance against the philosophy of essence, a purely negative nature."

"Freedom is so much the essence of man that even its opponents realize it, in that they fight its reality; that they want to appropriate it to themselves as a costly ornament, what they reject as an ornament of human nature."

"As man fights freedom; he fights at most the freedom of others." Every kind of freedom has therefore always existed, only at one time as a special privilege, another time as a universal right."

"The question has now received, for the first time a logical significance. It is not a question as to whether the freedom of the press should exist, for it always exists. It is a question of whether freedom of the press should be

the privilege of some men or the privilege of the human spirit. It is a question of whether what is not the right for one side should be the right of another."

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Marx- July 1842

"First of all the question is posed: 'should philosophy also speak about religious matters in newspaper articles?'"

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"When such questions as newspaper questions interest the public, they have become questions of the time... Then it is not a question whether they should be spoken but where and how they should be spoken of, whether in the secrecy of the family and the hotel, the school and the church but not by the press; by the opponents of philosophy but not by the philosophers, whether in the dim language of private talk, but not in the clear language of the public understanding; then it is a question ~~what~~ whether what lives ~~in actuality~~ belongs in the realm of the press; then it is a general question of whether the press should be a real press, i.e. a free press."

"The second question we separate completely from the first: Is politics to be treated philosophically by the papers in a so-called Christian state? When religion has become a political quality, an object of politics, it seems almost no mention is needed of the fact that the papers not only may speak of political subjects but also must. In advance it seems the wisdom of the world, philosophy, have more right to concern itself with the realm of the world, the state, than the wisdom of the other world, religion. It is not a question of philosophizing about the state it is a question of how well or badly, philosophically or unphilosophically, with prejudices of without, with consciousness or without, with logic or without, wholly rational or half, the state will be philosophized about. When religion is made a theory of the state, then religion itself is made a kind of philosophy."

"Where you presume to stand so high above religion that you are justified in cutting off the general spirit of religion from its positive determination, what have you to reproach in the philosophers when they ~~may~~ want to complete this separation wholly and not half way, when they call the general spirit of

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Marx- July 1842 (con't)

religion not the Christian but the human spirit."

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Debates on the Law Regarding Theivery of Wood - Oct. etc. 1842, by Marx

"Our whole presentation has shown how the Landtag has debased the executive power, the administrative authority, the existence of the defendant, the idea of the state, crime itself and punishment to a material means of private interests. We will find it logical that the judicial judgement is also treated as a mere means and the power of law of judgement as superficial prolixity."

( 191, 500 )  
"The landtag has completely fulfilled its determination. It has, where it was convoked, represented a definite particular interest and treated it as final purpose. That it has thereby stamped on rights is a simple result of its project, for interest is according to its nature more blind, more immoderate, more one-sided, in a word, lawless instinct, and can the lawless give laws?"

"The Rhinelanders must conquer the landed class, ~~the~~ must conquer the owners of the forest. To them must be assigned legally not only the representation of particular interest but also the representation of the interests of the province and both projects are contradictory, in a case of collision, we must not stop a moment from sacrificing the representation of particular interests to the interests of the province. The meaning for right and law is the most meaningful provincialism of the Rhineland, but it is self-evident that special interests do not know any fatherland, any province, any general or secret spirit."

"Wood remains in Siberia as in France; Forest property remains forest property in Kamtschatka as in the Rhine province. If wood and wood owners as such give laws, these laws are distinguished only as to the geographical location and the language in which they are given. Thus rejects materialism, this sin against the holy spirit of the people and humanity is a direct consequence of that doctrine which the "Preussische Staatszeitung" preaches to the lawgivers, to think in a law about wood only of wood and forest and not to solve the individual material problems politically, i.e. not in connection with the whole reason and ethics of the state." ( 303-4 )

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The "Liberal Opposition" in Hanover- Nov. 1842

"We note in passing that in our view, true liberalism must in the future advocate neither the fundamental state law of 1833 nor return to the law of 1819 but has to strive for a completely new, form of state corresponding to a deeper and more penetrating freer popular consciousness."

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Marx - Letters to Ruge  
May 1848

" I am not at all speaking of the incapacity of the rulers and of the merits of the servants and the subjects who allow everything to happen as God makes it; and nevertheless both are together already enough to bring about a catastrophe. I bring to your attention that the enemies of Philistinism, in a world all thinking and all suffering men have reached an agreement, for which the means were earlier absent, and that even the system of passive propagation of the old subjects gains recruits every day for the service of the new new humanity. The system of gain and trade of possession and of the exploitation of men is leading much faster than the increase in the population to a breach with the present society, which cannot sanctify the old system because in general it does not sanctify and create, but only exists and enjoys. The existence of suffering humanity which thinks and of thinking humanity which is oppressed must become of necessity unenjoyable and undignified for the passive and thoughtlessly enjoying animal world of the Philistines.

" For our part the old world must be completely exposed to the light of day and the new one positively elaborated. The longer the events of thinking humanity allow time to think and of suffering humanity to collect themselves, the more completely will the product step into the world, the product which the present bears in its loins."

September 1848

In brackets / / the quotes are from Mehring's

- Marx p. 68

"Much greater than the external obstacles appear the inner difficulties. For if there is no doubt about the 'whence', there is more confusion about the 'withers'. General anarchy has broken out amongst the reformers, and all of them would be compelled to admit that they have the advantage of the new movement that we do not seek to anticipate the new world dogmatically but rather to discover it in the criticism of the old. Up to now the philistines have always had the solution of the riddle lying ready in their writing desks, and all the stupid external world had to do was to close its eyes and open its mouth to receive the ready-baked pie of absolute science. Philosophy has been as settled and most striking proof of this is that the philistine consciousness mess itself has been drawn into the heat of the fray not only superficially but thoroughly. It is certainly not our task to build up the future in advance and to settle all problems for all time but it is just as certainly our task to criticize the existing world thoroughly ruthlessly. I mean ruthlessly in the sense that we must not be afraid of our own conclusions and equally unafraid of coming into conflict with the prevailing powers."

Marx had no desire to unfurl any dogmatic standards, and communism as preached by Cabot, Dezamy and Weitling he regarded as a dogmatic abstraction. Whether one liked it or not, the chief interest of contemporary Germany was in religion and only secondarily in politics. It was no use presenting them with a ready-made system such as was contained in the Journey To Icaria, one must begin with them just as they are.

On the other hand I am not for planting a dogmatic banner in opposition. We must help the dogmatists to make their own theses clear. Communism is a dogmatic abstraction, by which I mean not some imagined and possible communism but the actually existing communism of Cabot, Dezamy, Weitling etc. These communisms are themselves only a partial appearance of the humanist principle, infected by its opposite, private essence. Transcendence of private property and communism are therefore in no way identical and communism has seen of necessity and not accidentally other socialist teachings, like those of Fourier, Proudhon etc. because it is only a special one-sided actualization of the socialist principle.

" And the whole socialist principle is again only the one-sided which concerns the reality of the human essence. We have equally to concern ourselves with the other side, with the theoretical existence of man, religion science etc. to make these objects of our criticism," (p. 573)

" Our motto must thus be: Reform of consciousness not through dogma but through the analysis of the mystical, in itself unclear consciousness, appearing now as religious now as political. It will then be shown that the world has long had the dream of something and must only possess the consciousness of it in order to possess it actually. It will then be shown that it is not a question of a great break between past and future but of the completion of the thought of the past. It will finally be shown that humanity does not begin a new labor but consciously brings its old labor to existence." (p. 575)

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First of all concerning the "logical pantheistic mysticism" of Hegel:  
"Reality (with Hegel) becomes a phenomenon, but the idea has no other content apart from this phenomenon. It has also no other purpose but the logical one 'of being the eternal real spirit in itself'. This paragraph contains the whole mystery of the Hegelian philosophy of law and of the Hegelian philosophy in general." (p.408)

"It is important that everywhere Hegel makes the idea the subject and the actual real subject, for instance, 'political opinions', the predicate." (p.416)

"The only aim of Hegel is to find 'the idea' in itself, the 'logical idea' in each element, whether it is the State or nature whilst real subjects, in this case the 'political constitution' becomes merely their names, so that only the appearance of a real recognition is present. They are and remain unconceived because they are not conditions conceived in their specific essence." (p.412)

"He (Hegel) does not develop his thought from the things but from the thing according to a completed thought at one with itself in the abstract sphere of logic. The aim is not to develop the definite idea of the political constitution but to arrange it as a link in its own history (as an idea), an obvious mystification." (p.418)

"Just because Hegel proceeds from the predicates of the general definition instead of from the real and nevertheless a basis for those definitions must exist, the mystic idea becomes this basis. (This is Hegel's dualism, he does not regard the general as the real essence of the real finite, the existing definite, or the real End (being) as the real subject of infinity." (p. 426-7)

Thus, Marx critically dissolves the mysticism of the Hegelian idealist dialectic lays bare its process in all its details and demands a dialectic based on reality, that is to say a materialist dialectic. This represents a tremendous and fundamental advance not only on Hegelian idealism, but on all idealism whilst still retaining the 'rational' that is to say material nucleus of the Hegelian dialectic. Thus an advance beyond Feuerbach also.

The State and bourgeois society: "What is therefore the power of the (proletarian) state over private property? The special power of private property itself, its essence brought into existence. What remains to the political State in contradiction to this essence? The illusion that it determines where it is itself determined." (p.519)

"Private property is the general category, the general State bond." (p. 530)

The contradiction of the representative constitution of formal democracy: "The representative constitution (compared with the corporative) represents a certain progress because it is the frank, unfalsified and logical expression of modern State conditions. It is the unhidden contradiction." (p.492)

The contradiction as it is expressed in the deputy: They are formerly deputized, but immediately they are really seen they are no longer deputies. They are supposed to be deputies, but they are not." (p.542)

Marx was able for the time being, to give solution of the contradiction only in general outlines: "The political republic is a democracy within the abstract State form, the abstract State form of democracy is therefore the republic. However, here it ceases to be the merely political constitution." (p.436)

Hegel proceeds generally from the separation of the State and 'bourgeois society' from the 'particular interests' and from 'being in itself', and the bureaucracy is certainly based on this separation." (p.454)

"The liquidation of the bureaucracy can only be that the general interest really becomes the particular interest and not merely, as with Hegel, in the idea in the abstraction, and this is possible only if the particular interest becomes the general interest." (pp.457-8)

"Governmental power is the most difficult to develop. It belongs to the whole people to a far greater degree than the legislative power." (p.484)

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*These are not just  
matters which will  
be solved by the  
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