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INTRODUCTORY.

The articles in this number of the REVIEW have been contributed by young men in the Church. All of the contributors are alumni of Union Seminary in Virginia. Rev. O. E. Buchholz graduated in 1914 and has since been pastor of the Overbrook Presbyterian church in Richmond. He has continued to study in the Seminary along post-graduate lines. It is refreshing to look at the General Assembly through the clear eyes of this young man.

Rev. Wm. T. Hanzsche belonged to the class of 1916. After leaving Union Seminary he did special work in Princeton University and Princeton Seminary. He then pursued post-graduate work at the University of Chicago.

Rev. J. J. Murray graduated in 1913 and then spent a year in post-graduate work in Glasgow under such men as Dr. James Denny, Principal T. M. Lindsay and Dr. W. M. Clow. Mr. Murray is just now entering upon his work as chaplain in the United States Army.

Rev. S. K. Phillips graduated at Union in 1910. He is a son of the late Dr. A. L. Phillips, who was superintendent of Sunday-school and Young People's Work in the Southern Presbyterian Church for so many years. Mr. Phillips is now engaged in religious work among our soldiers.

Rev. Herbert S. Turner graduated in 1917 and has done post-graduate work in Union Seminary as Hoge Fellow and in the University of Chicago. Mr. Turner is now supplying the First Presbyterian church, Durham, N. C.

MARXIAN SOCIALISM—ITS THEORY, ITS FEATURES, ITS CONTACT WITH THE BIBLE.

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The force of the "Bolsheviki" movement in Russia, the significance of the revival of the "International," and the gigantic wave of Socialism sweeping throughout the world today necessitates a new study and new interest on the part of the Church. There are many brands of Socialism. This article deals with that radical type of Socialism which gave to the world the "Bolsheviki" and the "International."

I. ITS THEORY.

Marxian Socialism is socialism in its classical, undiluted form—a socialism broader perhaps than some more modern schemes, narrower perhaps than others, differing from them in such a way that critics classify it under a distinct head, yet the basic theory of all the schools. Without the warmth of enthusiasm, the effervescence of buoyancy so often seen in socialistic writers, Mark clearly, calmly, and coolly analyzes the great class struggles and gives to the world his socialistic solution.

The theory which characterizes the greatness of his scheme is the theory of the determining part which economic conditions play in the historical process. Behind all class struggles is traced a constant economic motive and each economic class rises and falls as a part of the evolutionary law, each class enlarging the bounds of man's kingdom, only to be overthrown in its turn.

The objective of all the class struggle is economic gain, the surplus product of labor. In the capitalistic system there is no

open surrender of surplus labor, yet the workers continually yield to the dominant class a surplus. To discover this exploitation of workers is the purpose of "Das Kapital." The equivalent to the surplus labor received by the slave owner is that amount that the employee today produces for his employer over and above the salary of wage paid him. Without this surplus value as an objective, the capitalist mode of production could not exist.

But surplus value is not only the life, it is also the developer of capitalistic society, the cause of all its ills, driving the development of the system to its fullest extreme. A point is finally reached in the struggle, when the proletariat classes, to save themselves, must expropriate the capitalists, the monopolizers of the means of life, and production will cease to be carried on for the sake of surplus value rendered by the lower to the upper class, but will be carried on in a truly co-operative manner.

Three distinct, but correlated discoveries form the body of Marxian philosophy: (1) The materialistic conception of history. (2) The role of class struggles in social evolution. (3) Surplus values as the causes of the present class struggle and expansion of capitalism which must lead to a new social organization.

The logical deductions made on the premises of the first principles of political economy lead Marx to clear conclusions. From the dogma that labor is the source of all wealth, comes the conclusion that all appropriation of wealth by those not working is malappropriation. He lays down with mechanical exactness the theory that growth of capital is all due to insufficient remuneration of labor, and the difference between the amount of work done and the amount of wages paid is the gain falsely made by the employer. All the product of men's labor should be evenly divided in a society that abolishes capitalists. "Society must be destroyed." He does not want a reconciliation between labor and capital; he wants war until labor completely triumphs. There must come a cosmopolitan-

ism, a universal communion that oversteps all mere national and State socialism.

In answer to the query, "What causes the constantly increasing canyon between rich and poor?" Marxianism answers, "The systematic appropriation of that surplus value by the capitalist, and the inability of the laborer to help the condition. Capital is the most terrible scourge of humanity." The law of natural evolution makes unavoidable a new communistic society; therefore, all anarchist movements which tend to hasten its coming should not be opposed.

In opposition to the so-called imperialistic socialism Marx developed the International movement, which in its congresses gave victory to the extreme wing. The first congress of the movement reiterated the thoughts of Marx, and the two later continued the same emphasis, until at the last congress a rupture ensued. There were gentlemen and philosophers gathered there, but the gentlemen were not philosophers and the philosophers were not gentlemen. The discussion of abstract theories alienated the more practical delegates and the body ceased to exist.

Two leading ideas were given to the world: (1) The solidarity of interest among laborers all over the world, and (2) the consciousness of strength in their united effort to overthrow the supposed tyrant—capital. The latent powers of Marxianism may thus become at any moment the rallying point of contact of laborers from all over the world, and the dangers of the enforcement of these powers lie not in the mere strength of organization, and the promises of visionaries, but in the sullen dissatisfaction of the thousands ready to listen to its voice and march at its bidding.

The keystone of the system is the supposed truth that labor is the source of all wealth and all culture, and that the capitalistic system, with its false theory of value, is criminally wrong. The Gotha program of the united German socialists specifies the bases of the socialistic State, and the principles demanded. "As labor is only possible through society, hence to society, i. e., to all its members, is the product due, with the universal

duty of work required, according to equal right, to each according to his reasonable wants. The monopoly of the means of labor must be taken from the one, the capitalistic, class."

The bases of the socialistic State are briefly: universal suffrage with compulsory voting on all over twenty; direct legislation by, and free administration of justice for, the people, who are to decide on all questions of war and peace, are all to bear arms and form the national guard; the abolition of all laws interfering with the free expression of opinion; equal, universal, compulsory education for all, free of charge in State institutions; and, finally, religion is declared a mere matter of personal opinion.

The demands on society are: the utmost extension of political rights, privileges and duties; the abolition of indirect taxation, and the use of progressive income tax; freedom of combination; a normal labor day; protection of women and children in factories; sanitary measures for and State supervision of workers in mines, workshops and factories; the legal responsibility of employers for injuries received by workmen in the performance of their duties; the regulation of prison labor; the complete independence in the administration of all funds for the relief and support of laborers.

Such are the demands and the social theories of the best educated association of laborers in modern Europe under the tutelage and leadership of the most scientific of all socialists, the writer and originator, Karl Marx.

Marx himself did not make full application of his thoughts, but we may see their trend from one of his followers. In an able work on "Social Architecture," written by "an exile from France," and containing a painstaking account of the demands of contemporary socialism, the guiding principles upon which the demolition and reconstruction of society is to be brought about are summarized about as follows: (1) Abolition of money, inheritance, and private property. (2) Restriction of the isolated household and the development of the associated home. (3) Freedom of sexual unions. (4) Compulsory and equal sharing of all physical labor. (5) Economical arrange-

ments for the prevention of waste. (6) Organization of labor. (7) Equal division of the means of existence and enjoyment. (8) Universal diffusion of science, arts, and education. While these thoughts do not come directly from the brain of Marx, they are the direct products of the Marxian philosophy and we judge the tree by its fruits.

II. ITS FEATURES.

Tracing Marxianism, real socialism, to its fullest development as seen today, remembering that it has necessarily enlarged since the days of Marx, we may apply it to the leading points of our society. 1. *Individualism*. The individual ceases to be an individual, but becomes simply an infinitesimal part of the social order. 2. *Ethics*. Socialism is opposed to war and to competition. However, all ethics are simply local opinion or class ethics. We have today the ethics of the ruling and moneyed class. The ethics of socialism does away with all class, and seeks the ideal individual only through the ideal society. 3. *Law*. Law always gives special privileges. The man who suffers personal wrong or opposition, the peaceful member of the community, is a demoralizing factor in our social fabric. It is the man who defends his rights who holds his own. It is the litigious person, the revolutionary class, the vigilant nation that keeps the world from stagnation and forces it onward in the path of progress. Conservatism and meekness and pietistic veneration for laws and customs of forefathers are not civic virtues, but vicious manifestations of mental indolence and political reaction. The law should deal mainly with social processes of money production and distribution. A socialistic society is based on a system of public or collective ownership, of material instruments of production, democratic administration of industries, co-operative labor. The guiding principle is the right of existence and enjoyment inherent in the individual. The function of law is to insure the stability of these principles. 4. *The State*. This cannot possibly exist under a socialistic order. The State is an organization of force

for the maintenance of existing relations of property and social rule, but the relations of master and servant disappear with the abolition of the present system of society. By actually becoming the representative of the whole society, the State becomes superfluous. The first act in which the State appears as the representative of the entire society—the seizure of instruments and of production in the name of society—is its last act as State. It is not abolished, it dies off. It depends on the definition of State whether it disappears entirely or not. The socialistic definition of State is: The State is an organization of the ruling classes for the maintenance of exploited classes in a condition of dependence. Yet it will be in some sense a State even if it represents all, for coercion for taxation, etc., will be necessary. A collective ownership and a co-operative production is wanted, and there will be a consequent radical change in the relation of men, and the remodeling of the entire social and political structure. The State becomes a public-owned trust for all production—a system of more or less equal and secured incomes, and thus there will be a change in the incentive from a native wholly pecuniary to one more ideal. 5. *Political parties.* Each class and group tries to make the State subservient to its economic interests—hence the class struggle. At present, the Socialist party represents the working class—the immediate and ultimate interests of the working class as a whole, but it really desires doing away with all political parties, with all class, and having a universal, identical platform. It wants universal, direct suffrage and no combination with any political party. 6. *Industrial reform.* The aim is to strengthen the working class economically and politically, and to pave the way for the introduction of the socialistic State. All the social evils are but disease symptoms of one deep-rooted disease—the unhealthy organization of our industries based upon private ownership of the means of production and distribution. Poverty is the direct result of capitalistic exploitation and ignorance, vice, crime, are poverty's legitimate children. The ultimate aim of the socialistic theory is to convert material means of production and distribution. Common property is the only radical and effective cure for so-

cial ills. 7. *Political reform*—universal suffrage, proportional representation, referendum, initiative and recall, and equal rights for man and woman are demanded. 8. *Administrative reform*. Government ownership is not the desire, but public ownership. There should be a tax reform—direct tax, progressive tax, progressive inheritance tax, progressive income tax should be used. Socialism does not agree with Henry George's single tax, for that presupposes a system of industry mainly agricultural, or of small factories, and does not agree with the present system. It is the private ownership of the machine even more than of the land that holds the working class in bondage. Socialism does not believe in competition as it now exists. 9. *Social reform*. Every crime is the product of the peculiarities of the individual and of the social environment—of only one individual factor, and of countless social factors. If capitalism has not created crime and vice, it has created conditions for their wholesale development and ever-increasing extension. Intemperance, for example, is one of the heaviest scourges of the working classes, and one of the greatest obstacles to all progressive labor movements and to socialism—"it is not the cause, but the result of misery." It is due to (a) the dwelling conditions of the poor; (b) mental exhaustion from overwork; (c) conditions of work creating abnormal thirst; (d) insufficient and unwholesome nourishment. It can be gotten rid of only by better housing conditions resulting from abolition of capitalism.

This, then, is Socialism in its classical form, developed, it is true, far more than the philosophy of Marx, yet, with it all, the full grown product of that born of Marx years ago.

III. ITS CONFLICT WITH THE BIBLE.

And now what does the word of God say about Socialism? How does the sociology of the Bible come in contact with socialism? First of all, let us clearly distinguish between socialism and sociology. Sociology is a systematic method of studying the past, in order to better the brotherhood condition

of the present and future, a study to find a cure for present social ills. Socialism, on the other hand, is not a method, but a theory, a political and economic theory of social reorganization with the essential features of public ownership, no private ownership, no amassed property, no wealth, no competition. Above all let us note that socialism is but a small department of sociology—and the Bible teaches sociology, which in itself is the only cure for socialism.

Socialism and the Bible both aim at the same goal—a new society. They both start from the same premise, viz: "There is something wrong with the present social order." Socialism adds to this premise, its second premise—"Capitalism causes all the trouble," and hastens to its conclusion—"Get rid of capitalism, and society will be all right." The Bible, on the other hand, starting with the same premise, "There is something wrong with the present social order," gives as its other premise, "sin causes the wrong," and hastens to its conclusion—"Get rid of sin and society will be all right." Socialism says that the whole trouble is on the surface—it is a mere skin disease—cleanse the spot, graft on some new skin, and the patient will be well. The Bible says that the scars are on the surface, but that the trouble cannot be cured from the surface—something is wrong down inside—go to the source of the trouble, renew the heart. Socialism says to rebuild society start from the outside and work in—change the conditions for all, and thus the individual units will be changed. The Bible says that you cannot change men that way—change men's hearts, change the individual units of society first, then working from the inside out, you will change society. In the words of the inimitable Sam Jones: "You cannot change the nature of a filthy hog by taking him out of a hog pen and placing him in a beautiful parlor—the parlor won't uplift the hog, but the hog will surely make the parlor look sick." You cannot change the character of sinful man by merely placing him in a new environment.

Let us investigate a little more closely the points of contact between socialism and the Bible.

1. *The source of wealth.* Socialism says that the only source

of wealth is labor and that the only means of developing wealth truly is by means of labor. The Bible tells us that the ultimate source of wealth is God (1 Cor. 16:2), and that the gift may be made to man by other avenues than labor. A man's brain is the gift of God—that may thus produce wealth as well as physical labor. Nor are other means of wealth production condemned by the Bible—"thou oughtest therefore to have put my money to the bankers, and at my coming I should have received back mine own with interest." Matt. 25:27.

2. *The rule of equal distribution.* This principle of socialism, ideal as it may seem, and most unpractical as it will surely prove, is in conflict with the Bible. Out in the grain fields of North Dakota you are startled when lazy, drunken, shifting workmen, men who have done nothing all the year, come up to you as the temporary pastor of the community and demand by the brotherhood of socialism an equal share of the income of the crops of the farmer who has borne the heat and toil of the full summer, as well as the worry and risk of the loss of the thousand acre wheat crop. The Bible does not have a rule of equal distribution. The rule of the Kingdom, it is true, shall be "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need" (Matt. 20:9), but the man who best knows how to serve is the man who is to get the most. "Take ye away therefore the talent from him" who had only one and did not know how to use it, said our Lord, "and give it unto him that hath the ten talents" and knows how to use them.

3. *The Family.* The tendency of socialism, as stated above, is to do away with the private family group and to substitute in its stead the associated home. The Bible emphasizes the family, and holds it up as a great, vital institution. "The entire theology of Jesus may be described as a transfiguration of the family. God is a father, man is His child; and from the Father to the child there is conveyed the precious message of paternal love." Jesus was constantly lending the support of his favor to family life, and showed his approval of home life and love, while in Israel the home was the centre of life. (Matt. 19:56.)

4. *The Individual.* In socialism, the individual ceases to be an individual, but becomes simply an infinitesimal part of the social order. The Bible elevates the individual, delivers him, and emphasizes him. The worth of the individual is one of the foundation truths of the kingdom of God, as preached by Jesus. The individual is more than a mere social protoplasmic unit, he is the centre of the social order. (Luke 15:3-7.)

5. *The Law.* Socialism teaches that the function of the law is merely to insure the stability of the principles dealing with the social processes of money distribution and collection. The Bible, especially Jesus, speaks no word of disrespect or contempt for established legal procedure, but rather of respect for truth and justice, and laws that attempt to uplift the morality of men. (Rom. 13:4; Matt. 23:23.)

6. *The State.* Such a thing as a legal State, apart from the power to enforce collection of taxes and kindred duties, practically does not exist in socialism. It opposes the State. The Bible recognizes not only the need but the duty of the State—it is an instrument and agency for God. (Rom. 13:1; Matt. 22:21.)

7. *Private Property.* Socialism would abolish all private property and substitute therefor not government, but public ownership. On the other hand, the Bible nowhere condemns private property, and repeatedly recognizes the rights of private property. One of the features of the full Messianic age will be "every man under his own vine and fig tree." Yet the Bible goes on to a higher plane. In the realm of Christianity every owner of private property must realize that he is not the true owner, but only a trustee for God. All property belongs to God, by virtue of creation, of redemption, and of sovereignty, and God's plan is to make all private property established His kingdom on earth; all private property must then be used for this purpose. How much higher is this than the weak gropings of socialism! My property is mine, yet it is not mine, it is God's, and I am to act merely as His trustee. (1 Cor. 16:2; Matt. 24:45; Luke 16:11.)

8. *Social Reform.* As has been mentioned above, socialism

puts most of the blame for sin and crime, not on the person, but on the environment in which that person dwells. Socialism does not consider that fact that even Machiavelli, the father of materialistic, unmoral, international diplomacy, admitted—that man tends to sin. The Bible, however, teaches that man sinned in the beginning in an ideal environment, Paradise, and that he will continue naturally to sin, despite his surroundings. The Socialist says, “change the environment of the home, of the workshop, of the whole of capitalistic civilization, and each man will be changed.” Jesus said even to a moral, highly educated, exemplary man in a university city—“ye must be born again” (John 3:7) to enter into a new social state, and then born anew you will change your environment, you will be “the salt of the earth.” “Jesus teaches that men must be free, not so much that they must be free from other men’s control, as from the slavery in which they entangle themselves.” “With his unflinching moderation of mind he does not denounce the organization of society that allows men to buy things and possess things. Buying and selling, laboring and employing labor, civil and even military duty, fidelity in secular trust—all these are recognized by Jesus and received not one word of blame. Christianity, in Jesus’ view, consisted not in abolishing all the secular intercourse and occupations of life, but in filling them all with religion, and doing all things, not as unto men, but as unto God.” It is true also, plainly true, that society is not yet what Jesus wants it to be. (Matt. 5:48, 5:13-14; John 3:17.)

9. *The General View of Life.* Socialism, though it may not be anti-religious, is nevertheless, grossly materialistic. The whole of life is measured with an economic standard, and man is judged by his horse power to labor and produce. The position of Socialism may be readily seen when a modern writer in a book entitled “Marxianism and Christianity,” gives his whole time and energy to prove that Socialism is not anti-Christian—it simply has nothing to do with Christianity. The very effort of the author is a sad admission. Socialism counts God out. The Bible, on the other hand, does not judge man by

a mere economic standard, but views life from the highest viewpoint, seeing the spiritual man, dealing with values that are eternal.

Finally, as Prof. Greene, of Princeton, suggests, we must realize that the Bible Sociology assumes the present social order of things—with the family—the nation—the Church as the permanent pillars of a permanent society; true, society needs to be corrected, society needs to be purified, society needs to be reformed—but the structure of society is not to be changed. Socialism has no need of the home, of the nation, of the Church—the Bible assumes each of these to be fundamental and necessary. Socialism, thus assuming that the whole structure of society must be changed, seeks not a reformation, but a revolution—a doctrine contrary to the Bible, which seeks nothing but a perfecting of that present order which it assumes to be correct, but unpurified. It has well been said that Romanism interposes the Church between God and the individual; socialism interposes society between God and the individual; whereas the true scheme allows undisturbed access between God and the individual, allowing and desiring the individual to be directly under the control of God.

Through this brief review of Socialism and the Biblical standard we thus find that Socialism, despite its many strong points, is attempting to solve a great problem in a superficial and an inadequate way. Though its goal is high, its methods are wrong, so wrong, indeed, that its work can be very limited in results. Says Prof. Peabody: "If any revolution in the industrial order is to overthrow the existing economic condition the new order must depend for its eminence on the principles of the teaching of Jesus. But if the principles of the teaching of Jesus should come to control the existing economic system, a revolution in the industrial order would seem to be unnecessary."

Socialism has arisen and attained its force because the Church of Jesus Christ has failed to emphasize the great social teachings of the Bible. In teaching men to love God, it has thought that it was teaching the whole of religion, when as a matter of

fact, in Jesus' own definition that is only one-half of religion; the Church needs to go out and emphasize the other half also, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Let us preach in the thought of a new society that is to be born, and emphasizing the social gospel with its proper force, we too shall see the fulfilment of the poet's vision:

"For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw the vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be;
Till the war drum throbb'd no longer, and the battle flags were
furl'd,
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the World."

For Jesus came not only to save man, but to save society, to save and regenerate society. And so let us strive in his principles as we daily pray "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven." Let us make earth more like heaven.