common good, of the state and the state's welfare, by no means for the strengthening of mine. Hereditary serfdom, for example, was abolished only so that a single lord of the manor, the lord of the people, the monarchical power, would be strengthened; serfdom under the one became even stricter thereby. Only in favor of the monarch, whether he is called "prince" or "law," have privileges ever fallen. In France, the citizens are indeed not the serfs of the king, but rather the serfs of the "law" (the Charter). Subordination was maintained, only the Christian state recognized that a person cannot serve two masters (the landlords and the princes, etc.); therefore, one received all the privileges; now he can again *place* one above another, he can make "highly placed" people.

But what do I care for the common good? The common good is not my good, but merely outermost extremity of *self-denial*. The common good can loudly cheer while I must "knuckle under"; the state gleaming, while I starve. In what lies the stupidity of political liberals, if not in their opposing the people to the government and talking about people's rights? So there the people should come of age, etc. As if one who has no mouth could be of age! Only the individual is able to be of age. Thus, the whole question of freedom of the press is turned on its head when it is taken up as a "people's right." It is only a right, or better the power, of *individuals*. If a people has freedom of the press, then, even in the midst of this people, *I* do not; a freedom of the people is not *my* freedom, and freedom of the press as a freedom of the people must have at its side a press law directed against *me*.

This must ever be asserted against the present-day efforts for freedom:

Freedom of *the people* is not *my* freedom!

Let's allow these categories: freedom of the people and right of the people: for example, the right of the people that everyone may bear arms. Doesn't one forfeit such a right? One cannot forfeit one's own right, but I may well forfeit a right that that does not belong to me but to the people. I can be locked up for the sake of the freedom of the people, and as prisoner lose the right to bear arms.

Liberalism appears to be the last attempt of the creation of the freedom of the people, a freedom of the community, of "society," of the universal, of humanity, the dream of a humanity, a people, a community, a "society," that has come of age.

A people cannot be free except at the expense of the individual; because the individual is not the main point of this frekedom, but rather the people. The freer the people, the more bound the individual; the people of Athens, precisely at its freest time, created ostracism, banished atheists, poisoned the most honest thinker.

Everything sacred is a tie, a fetter.

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FERAL DISTRO

HUMANISM

EXCERPTS FROM THE UNIQUE AND ITS PROPERTY BY MAX STIRNER

I have based my affair on nothing

What is not supposed to be my affair! Above all, the good cause, then God's cause, the cause of humanity, of truth, of freedom, of humaneness, of justice; furthermore, the cause of my people, my prince, my fatherland; finally even the cause of mind and a thousand other causes. Only my own cause is never supposed to be my affair. "Down with the egoist who only thinks of himself!"

Let's see then how they deal with their cause, those for whose cause we are supposed to work, sacrifice ourselves, and be filled with enthusiasm.

You are able to report thoroughly on God, since you have investigated "the depths of divinity" for thousands of years, and have seen into its heart, so that you can probably tell us how God himself deals with "God's cause," which we are called to serve. Nor do you conceal the Lord's activities. Now what is his cause? Does he make an alien cause, the cause of truth or love, his own, as he expects us to do? You are outraged at this misunderstanding, and you inform us that God's cause is indeed the cause of truth and love, but this cause cannot be called alien to him, because God himself is truth and love; you are outraged at the assumption that God might resemble us poor worms by promoting an alien cause as his own. "Should God promote the cause of truth, if he is not himself truth?" He cares only for his own cause, but since he is all in all, therefore all is his affair! But we, we are not all in all, and our affair is utterly small and contemptible; therefore, we must "serve a higher cause." —Now it is clear, God cares only for what is his, deals only with himself, thinks only of himself and looks out only for himself; woe to all that is not well-pleasing to him. He serves nothing higher and satisfies only himself. His cause is—a purely egoistic affair.

How does it stand with humanity, whose cause we should make ours? Is its cause perhaps that of another, and does humanity serve a higher cause? No, humanity sees only itself, humanity wants to promote only humanity, humanity itself is its own cause. So that it develops, it lets people struggle away in its service, and when they have accomplished what humanity needs, it throws them on the dung-heap of history in its gratitude. Isn't humanity's cause—a purely egoistic affair?

I don't at all need to show that everything that tries to push its cause over on us is concerned only with itself, and not with us, only with its well-being, and not with ours. Just have a look for yourselves at the rest. Do truth, freedom, humaneness, justice want anything else than that you get enthusiastic about them and serve them?

They all do exceptionally well when they are zealously revered. Take a look at the nation, which is defended by devoted patriots. The patriots fall in bloody battle or in the fight against hunger and need; what does the nation say about that? With the manure of these corpses, the nation becomes a "blossoming nation." Individuals have died for "the great cause of the nation," and the nation sends some words of thanks after them—and profits from it. I would call this lucrative egoism.

But just look at the Sultan who so lovingly cares for "his own." Isn't he pure selflessness itself, and doesn't he sacrifice himself hour after hour for his own? Yes, of course, for "his own." Try just once to show yourself not as his own, but as your

been the people, hence also the two extremes could be named, namely either "humanity" or the "family," the two "most natural units." We choose the word "people" because its origin has been brought together with the Greek *polloi*, the "many" or the "mass," but more so because "national aspirations" are at present the order of the day, and also because even the latest rebel has not yet shaken off this deceptive person, although, on the other hand, the latter consideration would have to give the advantage to the term "humanity," because on all sides people are starting to rave over "humanity."

So the people—humanity or the family—have up to now, as it seems, played at history: no *egoistic* interest was supposed to arise in these societies, but only universal, national or popular interests, class interests, family interests, and "universal human interests." But who has brought the peoples, whose ruin history relates, to their downfall? Who else but the egoist, who sought *his own* satisfaction! Once an egoistic interest crept in, the society was "spoiled" and headed towards its disintegration, as, for example, the Roman world proves with its highly developed system of private rights, or Christianity with the inexorably gushing "rational self-determination," "self-consciousness," the "autonomy of the spirit," etc.

The Christian people have produced two societies, whose duration will keep equal measure with the continuing existence of those people; these are the societies: *state* and *church*. Can they be called a union of egoists? Do we pursue in them an egoistic, personal, own interest, or do we pursue a popular (traditional, i.e., in the Christian *people*), namely a state and church interest? Can and may I be myself in them? May I think and act as I will, may I reveal, realize, act as myself? Aren't I supposed to leave the majesty of the state, the sanctity of the church, untouched?

Well, I am not permitted to do as I will. But will I find in any society such an unmeasured freedom of permissions? Of course not! Consequently, we could maybe be satisfied? Not at all! It is a different thing whether I bounce off an *I* or off a people, a universal. In the former I am the evenly matched enemy of my enemy, in the latter a despised, controlled enemy, treated like a child; in the former I stand man against man, in the latter I'm a schoolboy who can't do anything against his schoolmate, because the latter called his father and mother to help and hid under the apron, while I am scolded as a naughty boy, and am not permitted to "grumble"; in the former I fight against a bodily enemy, in the latter against humanity, against a universal, against a "majesty," against a phantasm. But to me, no majesty, nothing sacred, is a limit, nothing that I know how to overcome. Only that which I can't overcome still limits my power, and I of limited power am temporarily a limited I, not limited by the power *outside* me, but limited by my *own* still inadequate power, by my *own powerlessness*. Only, "the guard dies, but doesn't surrender!" Above all, only a bodily enemy!

I brave each combatant,
Whom I can look on, fixing eye to eye,
Who, full himself of courage, kindles courage
In me too.—etc.

Many privileges have indeed been destroyed over time, but only for the sake of the

relation has undergone a transformation. For now, first of all, we hold *our power* as a fief from all-powerful humanity, and because this power comes from a higher being, it is not called power or force, but rather “right”: “human rights”; we further hold our position in the world as a fief from it, because it, the mediator mediates our *intercourse*, which therefore may not be other than “human”; finally, we hold *ourselves* as a fief from it, that is, our own value, or all that we are worth, for we are worth exactly nothing when *it* does not dwell in us, and when or where we are not “human.” The power is humanity’s, the world is humanity’s, I am humanity’s.

But am I not at liberty to declare *myself* the entitler, the mediator and my own self? Then it goes like this:

My power *is* my property.

My power *gives* me property.

My power *am* I myself, and through it I am my property.

My Intercourse

In society, in the social group, at most the human requirement can be satisfied, while the egoistic must always come up short.

Because it can hardly escape anyone that the present shows such a living interest for no other question as for the “social” question, so a person has to direct his attention particularly upon society. Indeed, if the interest taken in it were less passionate and blind, then when dealing with society, people would not so often lose sight of the individuals in it, and would recognize that a society cannot become new so long as those who form and constitute it remain old. If there should arise, for example, in the Jewish people a society that spread a new faith over the earth, these apostles would really have to not remain Pharisees.

As you are, so you present yourself, so you behave toward people: a hypocrite as a hypocrite, a Christian as a Christian. Therefore, the character of a society is determined by the character of its members: they are its creators. You would have to recognize this much at least even if you did not want to examine the concept “society” itself.

Always far from letting *themselves* come to their full development and value, human beings have not yet been able to base their societies on *themselves*; or rather, they have only been able to found “societies” and to live in societies. These societies were always persons, powerful persons, so-called moral persons, i.e., ghosts, before which the individual had the appropriate bat in his belfry, the fear of ghosts. As such ghosts, they can most properly be called by the respective names “people” and “tribe”: the people of the patriarchs, the people of the Hellenes, etc., finally, the human people, humanity (Anacharsis Cloots raved about the “nation” of humanity), then every subdivision of this “people,” which could and must have its particular societies, the Spanish, the French people, etc.; within these as well, the estates, the cities, in short all kinds of corporations; last, at the extreme point the small tribe of the—*family*. Instead of saying that the Person haunting all societies up to now has own; for escaping his egoism, you will take a trip to his jail. The sultan has based his affair on nothing but himself; he is for himself the all in all and the only one, and tolerates no one who dares not to be his own.

And won’t you learn from these shining examples that the egoist gets on best? I, for my part, take a lesson from them, and instead of serving those great egoists unselfishly anymore, I would prefer to be the egoist myself.

God and humanity have based their affair on nothing, on nothing but themselves. I likewise base my affair on myself, this I who just like God am the nothing of all others, this I who am my all, this I who am the Unique.

If God, if humanity, as you affirm, have enough content in themselves to be all in all to themselves, then I feel that I would lack it even less, and that I would have no complaint to make about my “emptiness.” I am not nothing in the sense of emptiness, but am the creative nothing, the nothing out of which I myself create everything as creator.

Away, then, with every cause that is not completely my affair. You think that at least the “good cause” must be my affair? Which good, which bad? I am myself my own affair, and I am neither good nor bad. Neither makes any sense to me.

The divine is God’s affair; the human cause is “humanity’s.” My affair is neither the divine nor the human; it is not the good, the true, the just, the free, etc., but only my own, and it is not general, but is—unique, as I am unique.

For me, there is nothing greater than me!

The Possessed

If you are bound to your last hour, if you must babble today because you babbled yesterday, if you can’t transform yourself in every instant, you feel yourself in slave’s shackles and frozen. This is why, beyond each moment of your existence, a fresh moment of the future beckons to you, and developing yourself, you get away “from yourself,” i.e., from your current self. As you are in each moment, you are your own creation, and now in this “creation,” you don’t want to lose yourself, the creator. You are yourself a higher essence than you are, and you outdo yourself. But that *you* are the one who is higher than you, i.e., that you are not mere creation, but likewise your own creator, this you fail to recognize as an involuntary egoist; and so the “higher essence” is for you—an alien thing. Every higher essence, like truth, humanity, etc., is an essence *over* us.

Alienation is a hallmark of the “sacred.” In everything sacred, there is something “eerie,” i.e., alien, in which we are not quite familiar and at home. What is sacred to me is *not my own*, and if the property of others, for example, were not sacred to me, I would look upon it as *mine* and would take it for myself when a good opportunity arose; or, on the other hand, if the Chinese emperor’s face were sacred to me, it would remain alien to my eyes, and I would close them at its appearance.

Why is an irrefutable mathematical truth, which might even be called eternal in the ordinary sense of the word, not—sacred? Because it is not revealed, or it is not the revelation of a higher essence. When one only understands so-called religious truths as revealed, one goes very wrong, and completely underestimates the

breadth of the concept “higher essence.” The atheists carry on their mockery of the higher essence, which also gets worshiped under the name of the “highest” or *être suprême*, and trample one “proof of its existence” after another into the dust, without noticing that, out of a need for a higher essence, they only destroy the old one to make room for a new one. Isn’t “the human being” a higher essence than an individual human being, and aren’t the truths, rights, and ideas that arise from the concept of it supposed to be revered as revelations of this concept and—held as sacred? Because if one were to again abolish some truth that seemed to be manifested by this concept, this would only give evidence of a misunderstanding on our part, without in the least doing harm to the sacred concept itself or taking its sacredness from the truths that must rightly be seen as revelations of the same. *The* human being reaches beyond each individual human being, and though it is “his essence,” it is in fact not *his* essence, which would instead be as unique as he, the individual himself, but rather a universal and “higher,” indeed, for the atheists, “the highest essence.” And as divine revelations were not written down by God’s own hand, but were revealed through “the Lord’s tools,” so also the new highest essence doesn’t write out its revelations itself, but lets the news reach us through “true human beings.” Only the new essence in fact betrays itself as a more spiritual conception than the old God, because the latter was still pictured with a kind of full-bodiedness or form, whereas the new has retained an unclouded spirituality, and no special material body is attributed to it. Still, it does not lack embodiment, which even becomes still more seductive, because it looks more natural and worldly, and consists in nothing less than every bodily human being or simply in “humanity” or “all people.” Thus, the phantasmicality of the spirit in an apparent-body has become quite solid and popular once again.

So the highest essence is holy, along with everything in which this highest essence reveals or will reveal itself; but those who recognize this highest essence together with its own, i.e., with the revelations of itself, are sanctified. The sacred in turn sanctifies its worshiper, who through worship becomes a sacred being himself, as likewise what he does is sacred: a sacred transformation, sacred thoughts and actions, writings and aspirations, etc.

The conflict over what is worshiped as the highest essence can only be understood as meaningful, so long as the most embittered opponents concede to each other the main point, that there is a highest essence to which worship or service is due. If one smiles compassionately at the whole struggle over a highest essence, like a Christian, for example, at the war of words between a Shiite and a Sunni or a Brahman and a Buddhist, then the hypothesis of a highest essence is empty for him, and the conflict over it an idle game. So whether the one or the triune God, whether the Lutheran God or the *être suprême* or no God at all, but rather “the human being” may signify the highest essence, this makes no difference at all to the one who denies the highest essence itself, because in his eyes those servants of the highest essence are all together—pious people, the fiercest atheist no less than the most devout Christian.

So in the foremost place in the sacred stands the highest essence and the belief in this essence, our “holy faith.”

The Owner

One seeks for *my essence*. If it isn’t the Jew, the German, etc., then, at any rate, the human being. “The human being is my essence.”

I am abhorrent or repugnant to myself; I am horrified and disgusted with myself, I am an abomination to myself, or, I am never enough for myself and never do enough for myself. From such feelings springs self-dissolution or self-criticism. Religiousness begins with self-denial and ends with completed criticism.

I am possessed and want to get rid of the “evil spirit.” How do I get started? I confidently commit the sin that to the Christian seems the worst, the sin and blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. “He who blasphemes against the Holy Spirit has no forgiveness forever, but is guilty before the eternal judgment!” I want no forgiveness and have no fear of the judgment.

The human being is the last evil *spirit* or phantasm, the most deceptive and the most intimate, the craftiest liar with the honest face, the father of lies.

Since the egoist turns against the impositions and concepts of the present, he relentlessly carries out the most unbridled—*desecration*. Nothing is sacred to him.

It would be foolish to maintain that there is no power above mine. Only the attitude that I take toward it will be quite different than that of the religious age: I will be the *enemy* of every higher power, whereas religion teaches us to make it our friend and to humble ourselves before it.

The *desecrater* tenses his strength against any *fear of God*, because fear of God would determine him in everything that he kept as sacred. Whether in the God-man the God or the man exercises sanctifying power, whether anything is thus held sacred for God’s or for the human being’s (humanity’s) sake, this doesn’t change the fear of God, because the human being is revered as the “supreme being” as much as from the specifically religious standpoint God as “supreme being” requires our fear and reverence, and both make an impression on us.

The fear of God, as such, suffered a shock long ago, and a more or less conscious “atheism,” externally recognizable in a widespread “unchurchliness,” has involuntarily become the tone. But what was taken from God has been added to the human being, and the power of humanity increased to the same degree as that of piety lost weight, the “human being” is the God of today, and fear of humanity has taken the place of the old fear of God.

But since the human being only signifies another supreme being, in fact, nothing has occurred but a metamorphosis in the supreme being, and the fear of humanity is merely a modified form of the fear of God.

Our atheists are pious people.

If in the so-called feudal time we held everything as a fief from God, we find in the liberal period the same feudal relationship occurring with humanity. God was the lord, now the human being is the lord; God was the mediator, now the human being is; God was the spirit, now the human being is. In this three-fold way, the feudal

familiar, more accessible.

Wouldn't you think that now everybody could possess the Holy Spirit, take the idea of humanity up into himself, bring humanness to form and existence in himself?

No, the spirit is not stripped of its sacredness and robbed of its inaccessibility; it is not within our reach, not our property; because the spirit of humanity is not *my* spirit. It can be my *ideal*, and as a thought I call it mine; the *thought* of humanity is my property, and I prove this well enough by putting it forward completely according to my viewpoint, and laying it out this way today, and tomorrow differently; we imagine it in the most varied ways. But it is at the same time a restricted inheritance, which I can neither sell off nor get rid of.

Under many transformations, in time the Holy Spirit became the "*absolute* idea," which again, in various mutations, broke apart into the different ideas of love of humanity, rationality, civic virtue, etc.

But can I call the idea my property if it is the idea of humanity, and can I consider the spirit to be overcome if I am supposed to serve it, to "sacrifice myself" to it? Antiquity, when it came to an end, had gained its ownership over the world only when it had broken the world's supremacy and "divinity," recognized its powerlessness and vanity.

The situation with the *spirit* corresponds. When I have degraded it to a *phantasm* and its power over me to *bats in the belfry*, then I can view it as profaned, desecrated, godless, and then I can use it as one uses nature at his pleasure without scruples.

The "nature of the matter," the "concept of the relationship," is supposed to guide me in my treatment of the matter or consummation of the relationship. As if a concept of the matter existed in itself, and was not rather the concept one forms of the matter! As if a relationship which we enter into was not itself unique, because of the uniqueness of those who enter into it! As if it depended on how others categorize it! But as people separated the "essence of the human being" from actual human beings, and judged the latter according to the former, so they also separate his action from him, and assess it according to "human value." *Concepts* are to decide everywhere, concepts are to regulate life, concepts are to *rule*. This is the religious world, to which Hegel gave a systematic expression, by bringing method into the nonsense, and by perfecting the conceptual rules into a rounded, firmly-established dogmatic theology. Everything is cranked out according to concepts, and the actual human being, i.e., I, am forced to live according to these conceptual rules. Could there be a more terrible rule of law, and didn't Christianity admit right from the start that it intended only to apply the rule of law of Judaism more strictly? ("Not one letter of the law shall be lost!")

Liberalism only brought up other concepts; human instead of divine, governmental instead of ecclesiastical, "scientific" instead of religious, or more generally, actual concepts and eternal laws instead of "crude propositions" and rules.

Bats in the Belfry

Man, your head is haunted; you have bats in your belfry! You're imagining big things and painting for yourself a whole world of gods that is there for you, a haunted realm to which you are called, an ideal that beckons to you. You have a fixed idea! Do not think that I am joking or speaking figuratively when I look upon those who cling to something higher, and, since this includes the vast majority, almost the whole human world, as veritable fools, fools in a madhouse. What, then, is called a "fixed idea"? An idea that has subjected people to itself. When you recognize such a fixed idea as folly, you lock its slave up in an asylum. And the truth of the faith, which one is not to doubt; the majesty of the people, which one must not question (whoever does so is a—traitor to the crown); virtue, against which the censor must not let a word pass, so that morality will remain pure; aren't these "fixed ideas"? Isn't all the foolish chatter, for example, in most of our newspapers, the babble of fools, who suffer from the fixed ideas of morality, legality, Christianity, etc., and only appear to walk about freely because the madhouse in which they wander covers such a vast space? If you touch the fixed idea of such a fool, you will immediately have to guard your back against the lunatic's treachery. In this as well, these great lunatics are like the little so-called lunatics, in that they treacherously attack anyone who touches their fixed idea. First they steal his weapon, steal his free speech from him, and then they fall upon him with their nails. Every day now reveals the cowardice and vindictiveness of these madmen, and the stupid populace cheers on their great measures. One only has to read the daily papers of this period, and hear the philistines speak, to get the terrible conviction that one is locked in a house of fools. "You shall not call your brother a fool; if you do, etc...." But I do not fear the curse, and I say my brothers are arch-fools. Whether a poor fool in the madhouse is possessed by the delusion that he is God the Father, Emperor of Japan, the Holy Spirit, etc., or whether a comfortable bourgeois imagines that it is his purpose to be a good Christian, a faithful Protestant, a loyal citizen, a virtuous person, etc.—in both cases, these are one and the same "fixed idea." Anyone who has never tried and dared not to be a good Christian, a faithful Protestant, a virtuous person, etc., is imprisoned and entangled by faith, virtue, etc. Just as the scholastics only philosophized *within* the faith of the Church; just as Pope Benedict XIV wrote huge tomes *within* the papist superstition, without ever calling this belief into question; just as authors fill whole volumes on the state without questioning the fixed idea of the state itself; just as our newspapers are filled with politics because they are bewitched with the delusion that the human being was created to be a *zoon politicon*, so also subjects vegetate in subjection, virtuous people in virtue, liberals in humanity, etc., without ever having put the sharp knife of critique to these fixed ideas of theirs. Unshakable, like a madman's delusion, those thoughts are on firm footing, and anyone who doubts them—attacks the *sacred*! Yes, the "fixed idea": this is truly the sacred.

Do we only ever encounter those possessed by the devil, or do we just as often encounter those possessed by the opposite, possessed by the good, by virtue, by morality, by the law, or by any other "principle"? Possessions by the devil are not the only ones. God acts in us, and so does the devil; the former, "acts of grace," the

latter, “acts of the devil.” Possessed people are *set* in their opinions.

If you don’t like the word “possession,” then call it prepossession; indeed, since the spirit possesses, and all “inspirations” come from it, call it—exaltation and enthusiasm. I add that complete enthusiasm—since one can’t stop with the lazy and halfway sort—is called fanaticism.

Fanaticism is at home precisely among refined people; because the human being is refined to the extent to which he is interested in spiritual things, and an interest in spiritual things, when it is lively, is and must be *fanaticism*; it is a fanatical interest in the sacred (*fanum*). Observe our liberals, look into *Die Sächsischen Vaterlandsblätter*, hear what Schlosser says:

> Holbach’s company constituted a literal plot against doctrine and the existing system, and the members were just as fanatical on behalf of their unbelief as monks and priests, Jesuits and Pietists, missionary and Bible societies are for mechanical worship and orthodoxy.

Pay attention to how a moral person behaves, who today often thinks that he is done with God and throws off Christianity as something spent. If you ask him whether he’s ever doubted that copulation between siblings is incest, that monogamy is the truth of marriage, that filial piety is a sacred duty, etc., a moral shudder would come over him at the idea that one may touch his own sister also as a wife, etc. And whence this shudder? Because he *believes* in those moral commandments. This moral *faith* is deeply rooted in his chest. As much as he rails against *pious* Christians, he himself still remains as much a Christian, namely a *moral* Christian. In the form of morality, Christianity holds him captive, and indeed a captive under *faith*. Monogamy is supposed to be something sacred, and whoever lives in bigamy gets punished as a *criminal*; whoever commits incest suffers as a criminal. Those who are always shouting that religion should not be seen in the state, and that the Jew should be a citizen equally with the Christian, show themselves to be in agreement with this. Isn’t this perspective on monogamy and incest a *dogma*? Touch it, and you will find out how this moral hero is also a *hero of faith*, despite a Krummacher, despite a Philip II. These fight for the faith of the church, he for the faith of the state, or the state’s moral laws; for articles of faith, both condemn anyone who acts differently than what *their faith* will allow. The stigma of “crime” is stamped upon him, and he may languish in houses of correction, in prisons. Moral faith is as fanatical as religious faith! It is called “freedom of belief” then, when a brother and sister are thrown into prison for a relationship that they had settled with their own “conscience.” “But they set a pernicious example.” Yes, indeed, others could also come to think that the state does not have to interfere in their relationship, and from this “moral purity” would collapse. So the religious heroes of faith crusade for the “sacred God,” the moral ones for the “sacred good.”

The zealots for some sacred thing often don’t look very much like each other. How the strict Orthodox or Old Believers differ from the fighters for “truth, light and justice,” from the Philalethes, the Friends of Light, the Rationalists, etc. And yet how utterly unessential this difference is! If one calls single traditional truths (for

The Heirarchy

The thief and the human being are in my mind irreconcilable opposites; because one is not truly human when one is a thief; one degrades the human being or “humanity” in himself when he steals. Falling outside of personal concern, one gets into *philanthropy*, human kindness, which is usually misunderstood, as if it were a love for human beings, for each individual, whereas it is nothing but a love for *the* human being, the fictitious concept, the phantasm. It is not τους ανθρωπους, human beings, but *τον ανθρωπον*, the human being, that the philanthropist carries in his heart. Of course, he is concerned about every individual, but only because he wants to see his beloved ideal actualized everywhere.

So there’s no question here of concern for me, you, us; that would be personal interest, and belongs under the heading of “worldly love.” Philanthropy is a heavenly, spiritual, a—priestly love. The *human* must be established in us, and even if we poor devils were to come to ruin because of it. It is the same priestly principle as that famous *fiat iustitia, pereat mundus*; human being and justice are ideas, ghosts, for the love of which everything is sacrificed; therefore, the priestly spirits are the “self-sacrificing” ones.

Whoever goes into raptures over *the human* leaves persons out of consideration so far as that rapture extends, and floats in an ideal, sacred interest. The human is indeed not a person, but an ideal, a phantasm.

Now, a whole variety of things can belong to and be reckoned as the human. If one finds the human being’s main requirement in piety, religious priestliness arises; if one sees it in morality, then moral priestliness raises its head. The priestly spirits of our times would therefore like to make everything a “religion”; a “religion of liberty,” a “religion of equality,” etc., and for them all ideas become a “sacred thing,” for example, even citizenship, politics, the public, freedom of the press, trial by jury, and so on.

Now what does “altruism” mean in this sense? To have only an ideal interest, in which no respect of persons is allowed!

For nearly two thousand years we’ve been working to subjugate the Holy Spirit to ourselves, and bit by bit we have torn off many pieces of sacredness and trampled them underfoot; but the enormous enemy always rises anew under a changed form and name. The spirit is not yet godless, desecrated, profaned. True enough, it no longer flutters as a dove over our heads; true enough, it no longer only blesses the saints, but also lets itself be captured by the laity; but as the spirit of humanity, as the human spirit, as the spirit of *the human*, it still remains an *alien* spirit to me, to you, still a long way from becoming our unrestricted *property*, which we deal with at our pleasure. However, one thing certainly happened, and obviously guided the course of post-Christian history: and this one thing was the endeavor to make the Holy Spirit *more human*, and bring it closer to human beings, or human beings closer to it. Thus, it came about that it could finally be understood as the “spirit of humanity” and under various expressions, like “idea of humanity, humanness, humanitarianism, universal love of humanity,” etc., appeared more appealing, more

no part of our property become stable, and to feel happy only in—*dissolving* it.

So if criticism says: You are only human when you are restlessly criticizing and dissolving! Then we say: I am human in any case, and I am I as well; therefore I only want to take care to secure my property to myself, and to secure it, I continually take it back into myself, destroy in it every movement toward independence, and consume it before it can fix itself and become a “fixed idea” or an “obsession.”

But I don’t do it for the sake of my “human calling,” but because I call myself to it. I don’t strut about dissolving everything that it’s possible for a human being to dissolve, and, for example, while not yet ten years old, I don’t criticize the nonsense of the commandments, but I am nevertheless a human being, and act humanly precisely in this, that I still leave them uncriticized. In short, I have no calling, and follow none, not even the calling to be human.

Do I now reject what liberalism has gained in its various efforts? May it never be that anything gained should be lost! Only, after “the human being” has become free through liberalism, I turn my look back at myself and and tell myself frankly: What the human being seems to have gained, only *I* have gained.

The human being is free when “the human being is to the human being the supreme being.” So it is part of the completion of liberalism that every supreme being gets destroyed, theology overturned by anthropology, God and his grace laughed at, “atheism” made universal.

The egoism of property has lost its last thing when even the “my God” has become meaningless; because God only exists when he has the individual’s salvation at heart, as the latter seeks his salvation in him.

Political liberalism abolished the inequality of masters and servants. It made people *masterless*, anarchic. The master was now moved far away from the individual, the “egoist,” to become a ghost: the law or the state. Social liberalism abolishes the inequality of possession, of the rich and the poor, and makes people *possessionless* or propertyless. Property is taken away from the individual and handed over to ghostly society. Humane liberalism makes people *godless*, atheistic. Therefore, the individual’s God, “my God,” must be abolished. Now masterlessness is in fact at the same time freedom from service, possessionlessness is at the same freedom from worry, godlessness is at the same time freedom from prejudice: because with the master, the servant falls away; with possession, the worry about it; with the firmly rooted God, prejudice. But because the master rises again as state, the servant reappears as subject; since possession becomes the property of society, so worry is regenerated as work; and since God as the human being becomes a prejudice, a new faith arises, faith in humanity or liberty. In place of the individual’s God, now the God of all, namely, “the human being,” has been raised up; “it is indeed the highest thing in all of us to be human.” But since no one can quite be what the idea “human being” implies, the human being remains for the individual a lofty beyond, an unattained supreme being, a God. But at the same time, this is the “true God,” because it is fully adequate for us—in other words is our own “*self*”: we ourselves, but separated from us and raised over us.

example, miracles, the absolute princely power, etc.) into question, the Rationalists also call them into question, and only the Old Believers wail. But if one calls truth itself into question, he immediately has both, as *believers*, for opponents. So with moralities: strict believers are severe, clearer heads are more tolerant. But anyone who attacks morality itself gets to deal with both. “Truth, morality, right, light, etc.” are supposed to be and remain “sacred.” What one finds to reproach in Christianity is simply supposed to be “unchristian” in the view of these Rationalists; but Christianity must remain the pillar, and to call it into question is outrageous, it is an “outrage.” To be sure, the heretic against pure faith is no longer exposed to the earlier fury of persecution, but now it is applied all the more to the heretic against pure morals.

For a century, piety has received so many blows, and has had to hear its superhuman essence berated as “inhuman” so often, that one can’t feel tempted to expound against it again. And yet it has almost always only been moral opponents who have appeared in the arena to contest the highest essence in favor of—another highest essence. So Proudhon boldly says: “Humanity is destined to live without religion, but the moral law (*la loi morale*) is eternal and absolute. Who today would dare to attack morality?” The moral people skimmed off the best fat from religion, enjoyed it themselves, and are now having a hard time getting rid of the resulting scrofula. So if we point out that religion is a long way from being hurt at its heart as long as one reproaches it only for its superhuman essence, and that it ultimately appeals to the “spirit” alone (for God is spirit), then we have sufficiently indicated its ultimate harmony with morality, and we can leave its stubborn battle with the latter behind us. It’s a question of a supreme essence for both, and whether this is superhuman or human matters little to me since it is in any case an essence over me, an over-mine one, so to speak. In the end the demeanor of the human essence or “humanity,” as soon as it has shed the snake-skin of the old religion, will yet again wear a religious snake-skin.

So Feuerbach instructs us that, “if one only *reverses* speculative philosophy, i.e., always makes the predicate into the subject, and so makes the subject into the object and principle, one has the undisguised, the pure, naked truth.” With this, indeed, we lose the narrow religious standpoint, lose *God*, who is the subject from this standpoint; but we only exchange it for the other side of the religious standpoint, the *moral* standpoint. For example, we no longer say “God is love,” but rather “love is divine.” If we further replace the predicate “divine” with the synonymous “sacred,” then the matter returns again to all the old ways. According to this, love is supposed to be the *good* in the human being, his divinity, that which does him honor, his true *humanity* (it “makes him human for the first time,” for the first time makes a human being out of him). So it would be said more precisely that love is the *human* in the human being; the inhuman is the loveless egoist. But everything that Christianity, along with speculative philosophy, i.e., theology, offers as the good, as the absolute, is, in self-ownership, simply not the good (or, to say the same thing, is *merely the good*). Therefore, by changing the predicate into the subject, the Christian *essence* (and indeed, the predicate contains the essence) is only more oppressively fixed. God and the divine would thus entwine themselves more inextricably with me. To

expel God from his heaven and rob him of his "*transcendence*" cannot yet establish a claim to complete victory, if with this it is only chased into the human breast and endowed with indelible *immanence*. Now it is said: The divine is truly human!

The same people who oppose Christianity as the foundation of the state, i.e., who oppose the Christian state, don't get tired of repeating that morality is "the cornerstone of social life and of the state." As if the rule of morality were not completely a rule of the sacred, a "hierarchy."

So here one can mention the enlightening movement that, after theologians had long insisted that faith alone was able to grasp religious truths, that God only revealed himself to believers, etc., and therefore that only the heart, the feelings, the believing imagination were religious, burst out with the assertion that the "natural understanding," human reason, was also able to recognize God. What else does this mean but that reason laid claim to being just as much a dreamer as the imagination? In this sense Reimarus wrote his *Noblest Truths of Natural Religion*. It had to happen that the whole human being with all his abilities turned out to be religious; heart and soul, understanding and reason, feeling, knowledge and will, in short, everything in the human being appeared religious. Hegel has shown that philosophy itself is religious. And what today is not called religion? The "religion of love," the "religion of freedom," "political religion"; in short, every enthusiasm. So indeed it is, too.

Even today we use the Latin word "religion," which expresses the concept of *bondage*. Indeed, *we* remain bound, to the extent that religion occupies our inner self; but is the spirit also bound? On the contrary, it is free, it is the sole master, it is not our spirit, but absolute. So the correct affirmative translation of the word religion would be "*spiritual freedom!*" With anyone whose spirit is free, he is religious in the same way as anyone in whom the senses have free rein is called a sensual person. The spirit binds the former, desires the latter. Religion is thus bondage or *religio* in relation to me: I am bound; freedom in relation to the spirit: the spirit is free or has spiritual freedom. Many have experienced how bad it gets for *us* when desires pass through us free and unbridled; but that the free spirit, glorious spirituality, enthusiasm for spiritual pursuits, or whatever one may call this jewel in the most varied phrases, brings us into a still worse jam than even the wildest misbehavior. People don't want to notice this; nor can they notice it without consciously being an egoist.

Reimarus and all who have shown that also our reason, our heart, etc., lead to God, have shown in this way that we are possessed through and through. Certainly, they offended the theologians from whom they took the privilege of religious exaltation, but through this they conquered still more territory for religion and spiritual freedom. Because if the spirit is no longer confined to feeling or belief, but also, as understanding, reason and thought in general, belongs to itself, the spirit, and so also may take part in spiritual and heavenly truths in the form of understanding, etc., then the whole spirit is concerned only with the spiritual, i.e., with itself, and so is free. Now we are so thoroughly religious that sworn-in jurors condemn us to death, and every policeman, as a good Christian, takes us to the slammer by "oath of

themselves and shift the blame for it to the other.

Criticism and the masses pursue the same goal, freedom from egoism, and only quarrel over who most nearly approaches the goal or even achieves it.

The Jews, the Christians, the absolutists, the men of darkness and men of light, politicians, communists, in short, all keep the accusation of egoism away from themselves; and since now criticism makes this accusation against them bluntly and in the broadest sense, they all *justify* themselves against the accusation of egoism, and fight— egoism, the same enemy against which criticism makes war.

Both, criticism and masses, are enemies of egoists, and both seek to free themselves from egoism, as much by purifying or cleansing *themselves* as by attributing it to the opposing party.

The critic is the true "spokesperson of the masses" who gives them the "simple concept and phrase" of egoism, whereas the spokespeople to who the triumph is denied were only bunglers. He is their prince and general in their war of liberation against egoism; what he fights against, they also fight against. But at the same time he is also their enemy, only not the enemy before them, but the friendly enemy who wields the whip behind the timid to force courage into them.

This reduces the opposition of criticism and masses to the following contradiction: "You are egoists!" "No, we're not!" "I'll prove it to you!" "You'll hear our justification!"

Let's take them both for what they claim to be, non-egoists, and for what they take each other for, egoists. They are and are not egoists.

Criticism actually says: You must free your *I* so completely from all limitations that it becomes a *human I*. I say: Free yourself as far as you can, and you have done your part; because it is not given to everyone to break through all limits, or, more eloquently: that is not a limit for everyone which is one to the others. Consequently, don't exhaust yourself on the limits of others; it's enough if you tear down your own. Who has ever been able to break down even one limit *for all people*? Aren't countless people today, as at all times, running around with all the "limitations of humanity"? One who overturns one of *his* limits may have shown others the way and the means; the overturning of *their* limits remains their affair. No one does anything else either. Asking people to become fully human is to call on them to cast down all human limits. That is impossible, because *the* human being has no limits. I certainly have some, but only *mine* are of any concern to me, and only they can be overcome by me. I cannot become a *human I*, because I am simply I, and not a mere human being.

But let's still see whether criticism hasn't taught us something that we can take to heart! Am I not free if I am not without interests, not human if I am not disinterested? Now, even if I'm not much enthused to be free or human, I still don't want to miss any opportunity to put *myself* forward or assert myself. Criticism offers me this opportunity by teaching that, if something takes root in me and becomes indissoluble, I become its prisoner and slave, i.e., a possessed person. An interest, whatever it may be for, has captured a slave in me if I cannot get rid of it, and is no longer my property, but I am its. Let's therefore accept the lesson of criticism to let

me you are only what you are for me, namely *my* object; and because *my* object, therefore my property.

In humane liberalism pauperism is completed. We first have to come down to the most pauperish, poverty-stricken condition if we want to attain *ownness*, because we have to strip away everything alien. But nothing seems more pauperish than the naked—human being.

It is more than pauperism, however, when I cast off the human being as well, because I feel that it too is alien to me and that I can make no pretensions on it. This is no longer mere pauperism: because even the last rag has fallen off, here stands actual nakedness, the laying bare of everything alien. The pauper has stripped away pauperism itself, and with this has ceased to be what he was, a pauper.

I am no longer a pauper, but I have been one.

So until this time the discord could not erupt, because actually there is only a squabble between modern liberals and outdated liberals, a squabble between those who understand “freedom” on a small scale and those who want the “full measure” of freedom, and so between the *moderates* and the *extremists*. Everything revolves around the question: *how free* must *the human being* be? That the human being must be free, everyone believes in this; therefore all are also liberal. But the inhuman monster that hides inside every individual, how does one repress it? How does one manage not to let the inhuman monster go free at the same time as the human being?

Liberalism as a whole has a mortal enemy, an unconquerable opposition, as God has the devil: by the human being’s side there always stands the inhuman monster, the individual, the egoist. The state, society, humanity, do not overcome this devil.

Humane liberalism has undertaken the task of showing the other liberals that they still don’t want “freedom.”

If the other liberals had only isolated egoism in sight and were for the most part blind, radical liberalism has egoism “in mass” against it, throws all who do not make the cause of freedom their own like it does among the masses, so that now human being and inhuman monster, rigidly separated, stand against each other as enemies, namely the “masses” and “criticism”; more specifically, “free, human criticism,” as it is called, as opposed to crude, for example, religious criticism.

Criticism expresses the hope that it will be victorious over all the masses and “prove their own universal shortcomings to them.” So it wants to finally be in the right, and to represent all squabbles of the “faint-hearted and timid” as an egoistic *dogmatism*, as pettiness, paltriness. All strife loses meaning, and petty disputes are abandoned, because in criticism a common enemy comes onto the field. “You are all egoists, one no better than the other!” Now the egoists stand together against criticism.

Actually the egoists? No, they are fighting against criticism precisely because it accuses them of egoism; they do not confess to egoism. Therefore criticism and the masses stand on the same basis: both fight against egoism, both reject it for office.”

Morality could only come into conflict with piety anyway where thundering hatred of everything that looked like an “order” (ordinances, commandments, etc.) was given vent in revolt, and the personal “absolute lord” was mocked and persecuted; it could therefore achieve independence only through liberalism, whose first form acquired importance in world history as “bourgeois citizenship,” and the actual religious authorities weakened (see “Liberalism” below). Because the principle of the morality that doesn’t just go side-by—side with piety, but rather stands on its own two feet, no longer lies in divine commandments, but rather in the law of reason, from which the former, if they are to remain valid, must first await the authorization of their validity. In the law of reason, the human being determines himself out of himself, because “the human being” is rational, and those laws arise of necessity out of the “human essence.” Piety and morality part company here: that the former makes God, and the latter makes the human being, the lawgiver.

…....
Nero became very unpleasant through being possessed. But a self-owning person would not stupidly oppose the “sacred” to him, so as to whine when the tyrant doesn’t pay attention to the sacred, but rather his will. How often the sacredness of the inalienable rights of man has been help up before their enemies, and some liberty or other proven and demonstrated to be a “sacred human right”! Those who do this deserve to be laughed at, as they actually are, if they did not truly still follow the path that leads to the goal, even if unconsciously. They have guessed that if only the majority is won over to that liberty, it will also will it, and will take what it *wills* to have. The sacredness of the liberty and every possible proof of this sacredness will never obtain it; whining and petition only show beggars.

Social Liberalism

Before the supreme *proprietor* we all become equal—*paupers*. For now, one is still in another’s estimation a “pauper,” a “have-not”; but then this estimation ceases. We are all paupers, and as the overall mass of communist society we could call ourselves “ragged rabble.”

When the proletarian will have actually established his intended “society” where the gap between rich and poor is to be eliminated, then he’ll *be* a pauper, because then he’ll think it’s something to be a pauper, and might raise “pauper” up enough to be an honorable form of address, as the revolution did with the word “citizen.” Pauper is his ideal; we are all to become paupers.

This is the second robbery of the “personal” in the interest of “humanity.” Neither command nor property is left to the individual; the state took the former, society the latter.

Because in society, the most oppressive evils make themselves felt to the oppressed in particular, and so the members of the lower regions of society think they’ve found the fault in society, and make it their task to discover the *right society*. It’s just the old phenomenon, that one first seeks the fault in everything but *oneself* thus, in the state, in the self-seeking of the rich, etc., who, nonetheless, have our fault to thank for their existence.

The reflections and conclusions of communism look very simple. As things lie at this time, under current state relations, some, and they are the majority, stand at a disadvantage to others, the minority. In this *state* of affairs that latter are in a *state of prosperity*, and the former in a *state of need*. Thus, the present *state* of affairs, the state itself, must be done away with. And what in its place? Instead of scattered prosperity—*a general prosperity, a prosperity for all*.

Through the revolution, the bourgeoisie became huralmighty, and all inequality was abolished by raising or lowering everyone to the dignity of a *bourgeois citizen*: the common man—raised, the aristocrat, lowered; the *third* estate became the sole estate, namely, the estate of—*state citizens*. Now communism replies: Our dignity and our essence do not consist in our all being—the *equal children* of our mother, the state, all born with an equal claim to her love and protection, but in all of us being *for each other*. This is our equality or in this we are *the same*, that I as well as you and all of you, are active and working for each other; thus in that each of us is a *worker*. In this, what matters is not what we are *for the state*, namely citizens, thus not our *bourgeois citizenship*, but what we are *for each other*, that each of us only exists through the other, who, since he takes care of my needs, at the same time sees his own satisfied by me. He works, for example, for my clothing (tailor), I for his amusement (comedy-writer, rope-dancer), he for my food (farmer), I for his instruction (scholar, etc.). So our *being of the working class* is our dignity and our—equality.

…

And how highly is our work estimated? As low as possible! But all the same, work is our sole value: the best thing about us is that we are *workers*, that is our meaning in the world; and this is why it must also become our advantage and show itself to advantage. What can you show us as an alternative? Surely only—*work* as well. Only for work or services do we owe you a recompense, not for your mere existence; also not for what you are *for yourselves*, but only for what you are *for us*. How do you have claims on us? Perhaps through your high birth, etc.? No, only by what you do that is desirable or useful to us. So then let it be this way: We are willing to be worth to you only so much as we do for you, but you are to be held likewise by us. *Services* determine worth, those services that are worth something to us, thus, *the work for each other, the work for the common good*. Let each one be in the other's eyes a *worker*. The one who does something useful is second to none, or—all workers (workers, of course, in the sense of workers "for the common good," i.e., communistic workers) are equal. But, since the worker is worthy of his hire, let wages be equal too.

As long as faith was enough for the honor and dignity of human beings, no objection could be made against any work, however strenuous, if it only did not hinder a person in his faith. However, now that everyone is supposed to develop himself into a human being, relegating human beings to machine-like work amounts to the same thing as slavery. If a factory worker has to make himself dead tired for twelve hours and more, he is kept from becoming a human being. All work should have the aim of satisfying the person. Therefore, he must also become a *master* in it, i.e., be able to

equalization, and consequently for *equality*, and wanted to all come under one hat, which means nothing less than that they were seeking for one lord, one tie, one faith ("we all believe in one God"). There can be nothing more communal or equal for human beings than the human being itself, and in this community the love-impulse had found its satisfaction; it didn't rest until it had brought about this last equalization, leveled all inequality, laid human being on the breast of human being. But under this community decay and ruin become most glaring. In a more limited community, the Frenchman still stood against the German, the Christian against the Moslem, etc. Now, in contrast, *the* human being stands against *human beings*, or, since human beings are not the human being, the human being stands against the inhuman monster.

The sentence "God has become the human being" is now followed by "the human being has become I." This is *the human I*. But we turn this upside down and say: I wasn't able to find myself so long as I sought myself as a human being. But now that it appears that the human being is striving to become I and to gain a bodily existence in me, I note well that everything really depends on me, and the human being is lost without me. But I don't want to give myself up to the shrine of this most holy thing and from now on won't ask whether I am a human being or an inhuman monster in my pursuits; let this *spirit* keep off my neck!

Humane liberalism goes to work radically. If on just one point you want to be or have something special, if you want to keep even one prerogative for yourself above other, to lay claim to even one right that is not a "universal human right," you are an *egoist*.

Alright then! I don't want to have or be anything special above others, I don't want to claim any prerogatives against them, but—I also don't measure myself by others, and don't want to have any *right* whatsoever. I want to be and have everything that I can be and have. If others are and have *something similar*, what do I care? Something equal, the same, they can neither be nor have. I do them no *harm*, as I also do the rock no harm by "having the advantage" of motion over it. If they *could* have it, they would have it.

To do other people no *harm*, this is what the demand to possess no prerogative boils down to; to renounce all "having the advantage," the strictest theory of *renunciation*. One is not supposed to think of himself as anything special, for example, a Jew or a Christian. Now I don't think of myself as anything special, but as *unique*. Without a doubt, I am *similar* to others; however, this holds good only for comparison or reflection; in fact, I am incomparable, unique. My flesh is not their flesh, my mind is not their mind. If you bring them under the generalities "flesh, mind," those are your *thoughts*, which have nothing to do with *my* flesh, *my* mind, and can least of all put out a "call" to what is mine.

I don't intend to recognize or respect anything in you, neither the property owner nor the pauper, nor even just the human being, but rather to *use you*. I find that salt makes food delicious to me, so I dissolve it; I recognize fish as food, so I eat it; I discover in you the gift of making my life brighter, so I choose you for a companion. Or I study crystallization in salt, animality in fish, human beings in you, etc. But to

cordiality, all fraternization, everything that is created by the love- or society-principle, to disappear?

As if one is not always looking for the other, because he *needs* him; as if one must not join together with the other when he *needs* him. But the difference is that then the individual actually *joins forces* with the individual, whereas formerly they were *bound together* by a tie; before he comes of age, the son is attached to the father by a tie, after this, they can come together independently; before this, they *belonged* together as family members (they were the “bondsmen” of the family), after this, they join forces as egoists; sonship and fatherhood remain, but son and father no longer bind each other to them.

The last privilege is, in truth, “the human being”; all are privileged or invested with it. Because, as Bruno Bauer himself says, “privilege remains even when it is extended to all.”

So liberalism proceeds in the following changes:

First: the individual *is* not the human being, therefore his individual personality counts for nothing; no personal will, no capriciousness, no orders or decrees!

Second: the individual *has* nothing human, therefore no mine and thine, or property, counts.

Third: since the individual neither is a human being nor has anything human, he is not to be at all, he is, as an egoist with his egoistic things, to get annihilated by criticism, to make room for the human being, “the human being only now discovered.”

But although the individual is not the human being, the human being is still present in the individual, and, like every phantasm and everything divine, has its existence in him. Thus, political liberalism awards to the individual everything that is due to him as a “human being by birth,” as a born human being, among which are included freedom of conscience, possession, etc.—in short, “human rights”; socialism grants the individual what comes to him as an *active* human being, as a “working” human being; finally, humane liberalism gives the individual what he has as a “human being,” i.e., everything that belongs to humanity. Consequently, the unique has nothing at all, humanity everything; and the necessity of “rebirth” preached in Christianity is demanded without ambiguity and to the fullest degree. Become a new creature, become “human”!

One might even feel himself reminded of the close of the Lord’s Prayer. To the human being belongs the *lordship* (the “power” or *dynamis*); therefore no individual is allowed to be lord, but the human being is the lord of individuals;—the human being’s is the *kingdom*, i.e., the world, therefore the individual should not be the property owner, but rather the human being, “all,” have command over the world as property;—from all, the human being deserves praise, *glorification*, or “glory” (*doxa*), because the human being or humanity is the individual’s end, for which he works, thinks, lives, and for whose glorification he must become “human.”

Up to now human beings have always striven to discover a community in which their inequalities in other respects would become “non-essential”; they strove for

create it as a totality. One who only puts on the heads, only draws the wire, etc., in a pin factory, works mechanically, like a machine; he remains a dabbler, doesn’t become a master; his work cannot *satisfy* him, it can only *tire him out*. Taken for itself, his work is nothing, has no purpose *in itself* is nothing complete in itself; he only works into another’s hand, and is *used* (exploited) by this other. For this worker in another’s service there is no *enjoyment of a cultivated spirit*, at most, crude amusements; indeed, culture is closed off to him. To be a good Christian, one needs only to *believe*, and that can be done under the most oppressive conditions. Thus, the Christian-minded are only concerned with the piety of the oppressed workers, their patience, submission, etc. The downtrodden classes could endure all their miseries only so long as they were *Christians*; because Christianity does not let their grumbling and their outrage arise. Now the *pacifying* of desires is no longer enough, but their *satiation* is demanded. The bourgeoisie has proclaimed the gospel of the *enjoyment of the world*, of material enjoyment, and is now surprised that this doctrine finds adherents among us poor people; it has shown that not faith and poverty, but culture and possessions, make one blessed; we proletarians also understand this.

The bourgeoisie liberated us from the command and arbitrariness of individuals. But the arbitrariness that springs from the conjuncture of conditions, and which could be called the contingency of circumstances, remained; favoring *fortune* and those “favored by fortune” still remain.

For example, when a branch of industry goes under and thousands of workers lose their livelihood, people are fair-minded enough to acknowledge that the individual isn’t to blame, but that “the evil lies in the conditions.”

Let’s change the conditions then, but let’s change them thoroughly, and in such a way that their contingency becomes powerless and a *law*! Let us no longer be slaves of chance! Let’s create a new order that puts an end to *fluctuations*. Then let this order be sacred!

Earlier one had to please the *lords* to come to something; after the revolution the word was “grab *fortune*!” Fortune-hunting or games of chance: bourgeois life began in this. Along with that then, the requirement that anyone who gains something doesn’t recklessly put it at stake again.

A strange and yet utterly natural contradiction. Competition, in which bourgeois or political life solely operates, is a game of chance through and through, from stock market speculation all the way down to applications for official positions, the hunt for customers, the job search, the pursuit of promotions and decorations, the rummaging of the haggling junkman, etc. If one succeeds in pushing out and outbidding his rivals, then the “lucky throw” is made; because it must already be taken as a stroke of luck that the winner feels himself gifted with an ability, even if cultivated with the most careful diligence, against which the others don’t know how to rise, so that—none more gifted are found. And now those who pursue their daily lives in the midst of these changing fortunes without doing badly from it are seized with the most moral indignation when their own principle appears in its most naked form and “wreaks misfortune” as—a game of chance. The game of chance is just

too clear, too unveiled a competition, and, like any definite nakedness, offends the honorable sense of shame.

The socialists want to put an end to this activity of chance, and to form a society in which people are not longer dependent on *fortune*, but free.

In the most natural way this aspiration expresses itself first as hatred of the "unfortunate" toward the "fortunate," i.e., of those for whom fortune has done little or nothing toward those for whom it has done everything.

But actually the resentment is not aimed at the fortunate, but at *fortune*, this rotten spot of the bourgeoisie.

Since the communists first declare free activity as the human essence, they, like all work-day ways of thinking, need a Sunday; like all material aspirations, they need a God, an uplifting and edification alongside their mindless "work."

That the communist sees the human being, the brother, in you is only the Sunday side of communism. According to the workday side, he doesn't by any means take you as a human being as such, but as a human worker, as a working person. The liberal principle is there in the first view; illiberality is hidden in the second. If you were a "lazybones," he would certainly not fail to recognize the human being in you, but would strive to cleanse it, as a "lazy human being," from laziness, and to convert you to the *faith* that work is the human being's "destiny and calling."

Therefore he shows a double face: with the one he takes care that the spiritual human being is satisfied; with the other he looks around for means for the material of bodily human being. He gives the human being a twofold job, one task of material and one of spiritual acquisition.

The bourgeoisie had *openly laid out* spiritual and material goods, and left it to each one to reach out for them if he wanted to.

Communism actually provides them to each one, imposes them on him, and forces him to acquire them. It takes seriously the idea that, because only spiritual and material goods make us human beings, we must acquire these goods without protest in order to be a human being. The bourgeoisie made acquisition open; communism forces acquisition, and recognizes only the *acquirer*, the tradesperson. It's not enough that the trade is open, you must *take it up*.

So the only thing left to criticism is to show that the acquisition of these goods by no means makes us human beings.

With the liberal commandment that everyone should make a human being of himself, or make himself a human being, the need was posited that everyone must gain time for this work of humanization, i.e., that it would become possible for every one to work on *himself*.

The bourgeoisie believed it had arranged this if it gave everything human over to competition, but entitled the individual to everything human. "Each may strive after everything!"

Social liberalism finds that the matter isn't settled with the "may"; because may

Well then, I reply: only when you are unique can you have intercourse with each other as what you are.

Precisely the sharpest critic gets hit hardest by the curse of his principle. Shaking off one exclusive thing after another, religiosity, patriotism, etc., he dissolves one tie after another, and separates himself from the religious person, the patriot, etc., until at last, after all the ties have burst apart, he stands—alone. He must indeed exclude all of those who have anything exclusive or private, and in the end what can be more exclusive than the exclusive, unique person itself?

Or does he perhaps mean that it would be better if *all* became human beings and gave up exclusivity? Indeed, precisely because "all" means "every individual," the most glaring contradiction remains, because the "individual" is exclusivity itself. If the humane liberal no longer allows anything private, anything exclusive, any private thoughts, any private follies to the individual; if he criticizes everything in front of his face away, because his hatred of the private is an absolute and fanatical hatred; if he knows no tolerance toward the private, because everything private is *inhuman*: he can still not criticize the private person itself away, because the hardness of the individual person resists his criticism, and he must be satisfied with declaring this person a "private person" and actually let him have everything private again.

What will the society that no longer concerns itself with anything private do? Make the private impossible? No, but "subordinate it to the interests of society, and, for example, leave it to the private will to establish holidays, as many as it wants, so long as it doesn't come into collision with the universal interest." Everything private is *left free*, i.e., it has no interest for society.

> By raising their barrier against science, the church and religiosity have declared that they are what they always were, but what was hidden under another appearance when they were given out as the basis and necessary foundation of the state—a purely private matter. Even when they were connected to the state and made it Christian, they were only the proof that the state had not yet developed its universal political idea, that it was only establishing private rights— they were only the highest expression of the fact that the state was a private matter and only dealt with private matters. When the state will finally have the courage and the force to fulfill its universal purpose and to be free, thus when it is also able to give special interests and private concerns their true position—then religion and the church will be free as they have never been before. As the most purely private matter, and a satisfaction of purely personal needs, they will be left to themselves; and every individual, every congregation and church community, will be able to care for the salvation of the soul as they want and as they deem necessary. Everyone will care for his soul's salvation and will accept and pay as the soul's caretaker the one who seems to him to best guarantee the satisfaction of his need. Science is finally left completely out of the game.

But what is supposed to happen? Is social life supposed to come to an end, and all

But you will reply that you reveal quite another human being, a worthier, higher, greater human being, a human being that is more human than that other. I will assume that you perform the humanly possible, that you bring to pass what no one else succeeds in. In what then does your greatness consist? Precisely in this, that you are more than other human beings (the “masses”), than *human beings* ordinarily are, more than “ordinary human beings”; precisely in your elevation above human beings. You distinguish yourself before other human beings not by being a human being, but because you are a “unique” human being. You show very well what a human being can achieve; but because you, a human being, achieve it, therefore others, also human beings, are in no way able to achieve it; you have carried it out only as a *unique* human being, and are unique in it.

The human being doesn’t determine your greatness, but rather *you* create it, because you are more than the human being, and more powerful than other—human beings.

People believe that one cannot be more than human. Rather, one cannot be less!

People also believe that whatever one achieves is good for the human being. Insofar as I remain at all times a human being, or like Schiller, a Swabian, like Kant, a Prussian, like Gustavus Adolphus, a short-sighted person, through my merits I certainly become an outstanding human being, Swabian, Prussian, or short-sighted person. But it isn’t much better with that than with Frederick the Great’s cane, which became famous for Frederick’s sake.

To “Give God the glory” corresponds the modern “Give the human being the glory.” But I intend to keep it for myself.

Criticism, in issuing the demand to human beings to be human, declares the necessary condition for sociability; because only as a human being among human beings is one *companionable*. With this it makes its *social* aim known, the establishment of “human society.”

Among social theories, criticism is indisputably the most complete, because it removes and undermines everything that *separates* human being from human being: all prerogatives down to the prerogative of faith. In it, the love-principle of Christianity, the true social principle, comes to its purest implementation, and the last possible experiment is made to take away exclusivity and repugnance from human beings: a struggle against egoism in its simplest, and therefore hardest form, in the form of uniqueness, exclusivity, itself.

“How can you truly live socially so long as even just one exclusivity still exists between you?”

I ask the opposite: How can you be truly unique so long as one connection still exists between you? If you are connected, then you can’t leave each other; if a “tie” encompasses you, then you are only something *with another*, and twelve of you make a dozen, thousands of you a people, millions of you humanity.

“Only when you are human can you treat each other as human beings, just as you can understand each other as patriots only when you are patriotic.”

means only that it is forbidden to no one, but not that it is made possible for every one. It, therefore, claims that the bourgeoisie is liberal only with the mouth and in words, highly illiberal in deed. On its part, it wants to give all of the *means* to be able to work on ourselves.

The principle of fortune or competition is certainly outdone by the principle of work. But at the same time the worker, in his awareness that the essential thing about him is “the worker,” keeps himself away from egoism and submits to the supremacy of a workers’ society, as the bourgeois citizen clung with devotion to the competition-state. The lovely dream of “social duty” is still being dreamed. People think again that society *gives* what we need, and we are therefore *obligated* to it, owe it everything. They still remain at the point of wanting to *serve* a “supreme giver of all good.” That society is no *I* at all, which could give, lend, or grant, but an instrument or means from which we might draw benefit; that we have no social obligations, but merely interests in pursuit of which society has to serve us; that we owe society no sacrifice, but if we sacrifice anything, sacrifice it to ourselves: the socialists don’t think about this, because they—as liberals—are trapped in the religious principle and zealously strive after—a sacred society, as the state was up to now.

Society, from which we have everything, is a new master, a new phantasm, a new “supreme being,” which “takes us into its service and duty”!

Communism rightly rebels against the pressure that I experience from individual property owners; but still more horrifying is the power that it puts in the hands of the collectivity.

Egoism takes a different route for eradicating the propertyless rabble. It doesn’t say: Wait and see what the board of equity will—give you in the name of the collectivity (because such a gift has always taken place in “states,” each receiving “according to desert,” and so according to the measure to which each was able to *deserve* it, to earn it by *service*), but rather: Seize and take what you need! Thus, the war of all against all is declared. *I* alone decide what I will have.

If people reach the point where they lose respect for property, then everyone will have property, as all slaves become free people as soon as they no longer respect the master as master. *Associations* will then, in this matter as well, multiply the individual’s means and secure his contested property.

In the opinion of the communists the community should be the property owner. On the contrary, *I* am the property owner, and I only come to an agreement with others about my property. If the community doesn’t do what suits me, I rise up against it and defend my property. I am the property owner, but property *is not sacred*. Am I merely to be the possessor? No, up to now one was only a possessor, secured in the possession of a parcel of land by leaving others in possession of a parcel of land; but now *everything* belongs to me, I am the owner of *everything that I need* and can get hold of. If one socialistically says, society gives me what I need,—then the egoist says, I take what I need.

Humane Liberalism

Since liberalism completes itself in self-criticizing, “critical” liberalism, in which the critic remains a liberal and doesn’t go beyond the principle of liberalism, the human being, this liberalism may preferably be named after the human being and called “humane.”

The worker is counted as the most materialistic and egoistic human being. He does nothing at all *for humanity*; he does everything *for himself* for his welfare.

The bourgeoisie, because it passed the *human being* off as free only by birth, had to leave him in the claws of the inhuman monster (the egoist) for the rest of his life. Therefore, under the regime of political liberalism egoism is an immense field for free utilization.

The worker will *use* society for his *egoistic* aims as the bourgeois uses the state. You still only have an egoistic aim, your welfare! So the humane liberal accuses the socialist. Take up a *purely human interest*—then I will be your companion. “But to this belongs a stronger, more comprehensive consciousness than a *worker’s consciousness*.”

“The worker makes nothing, therefore he has nothing; but he makes nothing, because his work is always one that remains individual, calculated according to his very own wants, day by day.” In opposition to this one might consider the following: Gutenberg’s work did not remain individual, but brought forth numberless children, and still lives today; it was calculated for the wants of humanity and was an eternal, imperishable work.

Humane consciousness despises both the bourgeois and the worker’s consciousness; because the bourgeois is only outraged at vagabonds (at all who have “no definite employment”) and their “immorality”; the worker is “disgusted” by the idler (“lazybones”) and his “immoral,” because mooching and unsocial, principles. To this the humane liberal replies: The unsettled life of many is only your product, philistine! But that you, proletarian, demand the *grind* for all, and want to make *drudgery* universal, is a part of the pack mule life you’ve lived up to now still clinging to you. Certainly you want to ease the drudgery itself by *all* having to drudge equally hard, but only for this reason, that all may gain *leisure* to an equal extent. But what are they supposed to do with their leisure? What does your “society” do so that they’ll spend this leisure *humanly*? It must again leave the leisure gained to egoistic taste, and the very gain that your society promotes falls to the egoist, as the gain of the bourgeoisie, the *masterlessness of human beings*, could not be filled with human content by the state, and was therefore left to arbitrary choice.

It is certainly necessary that the human being be masterless; but therefore the egoist should not become master over the human being again, but rather the human being master over the egoist. Certainly the human being must find leisure, but if the egoist takes advantage of it, it will be lost to the human being; therefore you would have to give leisure a human meaning. But you workers also undertake your work from an egoistic impulse, because you want to eat, drink, live; how are human, self-conscious work, only the work that has no “egoistic” intention, but only the human being for its goal, and is the self-revelation of the human being, so that it must say: *laboro, ergo sum*: I work, therefore I’m a human being. The humane liberal wants that work of the *mind* which *works over* all matter, the mind that leaves no thing at rest or in its existing condition, that reassures in nothing, that clears away everything, criticizes anew every result that has been won. This restless mind is the true worker, it polishes off prejudices, blasts barriers and boundedness, and raises the human being above all that would want to rule over him, whereas the communist only works for himself, and not even freely, but from necessity; in short, he signifies one condemned to hard labor.

The worker of such a type is not “egoistic,” because he doesn’t work for individuals, neither for himself not for other individuals, and so not for *private* human beings, but for humanity and its advance; he doesn’t ease individual pains, doesn’t provide for individual needs, but clears away barriers which press in on humanity, dispels prejudices that rule a whole era, overcomes obstacles that obstruct the path of all, eliminates errors in which people entangle themselves, discovers truths which are found through him for all and for all time; in short—he lives and works for humanity.

Now, in the first place, the discoverer of a great truth doubtless knows that it could be useful to other human beings, and since a jealous withholding brings him no enjoyment, he informs them of it; but even though he has the consciousness that his message is highly valuable to the others, still he has in no way sought and found his truth for the sake of the others, but for his own sake, because he himself yearned for it, because darkness and delusion left him no peace until he had gained light and enlightenment for himself to the best of his powers.

So he works for his own sake and for the satisfaction of *his* need. That in this he was also useful to others, indeed, to future generations, does not take the *egoistic* character from his work.

In the next place, if he still also only worked for his own sake, why would his act be human, those of the others inhuman, i.e., egoistic? Perhaps because this book, painting, symphony, etc., is the work of his whole being, because he has done his best in it, he has laid himself out completely and is to be completely known in it, while the work of a craftsperson reflects only the craftsperson, i.e., the skill in the craft, not “the human being”? In his poems we have the whole Schiller; in so many hundred stoves, on the other hand, we have before us only the stove-maker, not “the human being.”

But does this mean any more than: in the one work you see *me* as completely as possible, in the other only my skill? Am I not again what the act expresses? And isn’t it more egoistic to present *oneself* to the world in a work, to work out and shape *oneself* than to remain hidden behind one’s work? Of course, you say that you are revealing the human being. But the human being that you reveal is you; you reveal only yourself, but with this distinction from the craftsperson, that he doesn’t understand how to compress himself into a single work, but to be recognized as himself, must be visited in his other life relationships, and that your need, through whose satisfaction this work came into being, was a—theoretical need.

the content of your activity is only human, and you live and work only for humanity. But this is not the case so long as the goal of your striving is only your *welfare* and that of all; what you do for the society of paupers is not yet anything done for "human society."

Work alone doesn't make you a human being, because it is something formal and its object is contingent; but it depends on who you, the one working, are. After all, you can work from an egoistic (material) impulse, merely to provide yourself with nourishment and the like; it must be a work that promotes humanity, calculated for the good of humanity, serving historical, i.e., human, development, in short, a *humane* work. This includes two things: one, that it does good for humanity; the other, that it comes from a "human being." The first alone could be the case with any work, as even the work of nature, for example, of animals, is used by humanity for the advancement of science, etc.; the second requires that the person working knows the human aim of his work; and he can have this consciousness only when he *knows himself as a human being*; so the crucial condition is—*self-consciousness*.

Certainly much is already achieved when you stop being "fragment-workers," but with this, you only get a view of the whole of your work, and gain a consciousness about it, which is still far removed from a self-consciousness, a consciousness about your true "self" or "essence," the human being. The worker continues to have the desire for a "higher consciousness," which he satisfies in a time of revelry, because work activity is unable to quench it. Therefore, revelry stands by the side of his work, and he feels compelled to proclaim work and idleness human in one breath, indeed, to attribute true elevation to the idler, the reveler. He works only to get away from work; he wants to make labor free, only so that he can be free from labor.

Enough, his work has no satisfying content, because it is only assigned by society, is only a stint, a task, an occupation; and, conversely, his society doesn't satisfy him, because it gives only work.

Work ought to satisfy him as a human being; instead it satisfies society; society ought to treat him as a human being, and it treats him as—a paltry worker, or a working pauper.

Work and society are only of use to him, not as he needs them as a human being, but as an "egoist."

This is the attitude of criticism toward labor. It points to the "mind," leads the battle of the "mind with the masses," and declares communist work to be mindless mass-labor. Work-shy as they are, the masses love to make work easy for themselves. In literature, which is furnished in mass nowadays, this aversion to work produces the universally known *superficiality*, which spurns "the effort of research."

Therefore, humane liberalism says: you want work; well then, we want it as well, but we want it in the fullest measure. We don't want it to gain leisure, but to find all satisfaction in the work itself. We want work because it is our self-development.

But then work must also be adapted to that! The human being is honored only by you supposed to be less egoistic in your leisure? You only work, because after a day's work is done, revelry (loafing about) is good, and how you while away your leisure time is left to *chance*.

But if every door is to be locked to egoism, one must strive for completely disinterested action, *total* disinterestedness. This alone is human, because only the human being is disinterested; the egoist is always interested.

If we let disinterestedness stand for the time being, we ask: Will you take no interest in anything, not get enthusiastic for anything, not for freedom, for humanity, etc.? "Oh, yes, but that is no egoistic interest, no *interestedness*, but a human, i.e., a—*theoretical* interest, namely, an interest not for an individual or individuals ("all"), but for the *idea*, for *the* human being!"

And you don't notice that you are also only enthusiastic for *your* idea, *your* idea of freedom?

And further, don't you notice that your disinterestedness is again, like religious disinterestedness, a heavenly interestedness? The benefit of the individual certainly leaves you cold, and abstractly you could cry *fiat libertas, pereat mundus*. You don't worry about the coming day either, and have no serious concerns at all for the individual's desires, neither for your own good living nor that of others; but you just make nothing from all of this, because you are a—dreamer.

Would the humane liberal perhaps be so liberal as to pass everything possible to human beings off as *human*? On the contrary! Indeed he doesn't share the philistine's moral prejudice about the whore, but "that this woman makes her body into a money-making machine" makes her despicable to him as a "human being." He judges: the whore is not a human being, or, so far as a woman is a whore, that far she is inhuman, dehumanized. Further: the Jew, the Christian, the privileged person, the theologian, etc., is not a human being; so far as you are a Jew, etc., you are not a human being. Again the imperious postulate: cast everything distinctive away from you, criticize it away! Don't be a Jew, a Christian, etc., but be a human being, nothing but a human being! Assert your *humanity* against every limiting designation; by means of it, make yourself a human being, and *free* from those limitations; make yourself a "free human being", i.e., recognize humanity as your all-determining *essence*.

I say: You are certainly more than a Jew, more than a Christian, etc., but you are also more than a human being. Those are all ideas, but you exist in the flesh. Do you then think that you can ever become a "human being as such"? Do you think that our descendants will not find any prejudices and limits to get rid of for which our forces were not enough? Or do you perhaps believe that in your fortieth or fiftieth year you'll have come so far that the following days would have nothing more to clear away in you, and that you would be a human being? The people of the future will yet win many freedoms that we don't even miss. What do you need these later freedoms for? If you want to regard yourself as nothing before you've become a human being, you would have to wait until the "last judgment," until the day that the human being, or humanity, will have attained perfection. But since you'll surely die

before that, where is your victory prize?

So rather, turn the matter around, and tell yourself: *I am a human being!* I don't need to first produce the human being in me, because it already belongs to me, like all my qualities.

But, the critic asks, how can one be a Jew and a human being at the same time? In the first place, I answer, one cannot be either a Jew or a human being at all, if "one" and Jew or human being are to mean the same thing; "one" always reaches beyond those designations, and let Isaacs be ever so Jewish, a Jew, nothing but a Jew, he can never be, simply because he is *this* Jew. In the second place, as a Jew, one certainly can't be a human being, if being a human being means not being anything special. But in the third place—and this is what matters—as a Jew, I can be entirely what I—*can* be. From Samuel or Moses and others, you hardly expect that they were supposed to have raised themselves above Judaism, although you must say that they were not yet "human beings." They simply were what they could be. Is it different with present day Jews? Because you have discovered the idea of humanity, does it follow from this that every Jew can become a convert to it? If he can, he doesn't fail to do so, and if he fails to, then—he can't. What does your unreasonable demand, what does the *call* to be a human being which you issue to him, concern him?

…….

In the "human society" that the humane liberal promises, nothing "special" which one or the other has should ever find recognition, nothing that has the character of "private" should ever have value. In this way the circle of liberalism, which has its good principle in the human being and human freedom, and its evil principle in egoism and everything private, its God in the former, its devil in the latter, rounds itself out completely; and if the special or private person lost his value in the "state" (no personal prerogative), if special (private) property ceased to be recognized in the "workers' or paupers' society," so in the "human society" everything special or private will be taken out of consideration; and when "pure criticism" will have completed its hard work, then one will know what everything private is, and what one "pierced with the sense of his nothingness" will—have to let stand.

Because state and society are not enough for humane liberalism, it negates them both and at the same time keeps them both. So at one time it says that the task of the day is "not a political, but a social task," and then again, the "free state" is promised for the future. In truth, "human society" is both the most universal state and the most universal society. Only against the limited state is it claimed that it makes too much fuss about spiritual private interests (for example, people's religious beliefs), and against limited society that it makes too much of material private interests. Both are supposed to leave private interests to private people, and, as human society, concern themselves solely with universal human interests.

The politicians, intending to abolish *personal will*, self-will or arbitrariness, didn't notice that through *property* our *self-will* maintained a safe place of refuge.

The socialists, also taking away *property*, fail to observe that this assures itself a continued existence in *ownness*. Are only money and goods a property then, or is every view my thing, a thing of my own?

So every view must be abolished or made impersonal. The person is entitled to no view, but as self-will was transferred to the state, property to society, so the view must also be transferred to something *universal*, "the human being," and thus become a universal human view.

If the view goes on existing, then I have *my* God (indeed God only exists as "my God"; he is a view or my "faith); and so *my* faith, my religion, my thoughts, my ideals. Therefore, a universal human faith must arise, the "*fanaticism for freedom*." This would indeed be a faith that corresponded to the "human essence," and because only the human being is reasonable (you and I can be very unreasonable!), a reasonable faith.

As self-will and property become *powerless*, so must ownness or egoism in general.

In this supreme development of "the free human being," egoism, ownness, is fought on principle, and such subordinate aims as the social "welfare" of the socialists, etc., vanish before the sublime "idea of humanity." Everything that is not a "universal human thing" is something distinct, satisfies only some or one; or if it satisfies all, it does this to them only as individuals, not as human beings, and is therefore called an "egoistic thing."

For the socialists, *welfare* is still the highest goal, as free *contention* was the agreeable thing to the political liberals; now welfare is also free, and whoever wants to have it may get it, just as whoever wanted to enter into contention (competition) could choose to do so.

But to take part in contention you need only be *bourgeois*; to take part in welfare you need only be *workers*. Neither is synonymous with "human being." It is only "truly well" with the human being when he is also "intellectually free!" Because the human being is mind, therefore all powers that are alien to him, the mind—all superhuman, heavenly, inhuman powers—must be overthrown, and the name "human" must be above every name.

So at this end of the modern age (the age of the moderns), there returns as the main point, what had been the main point at its beginning: "intellectual freedom."

To the communist in particular the humane liberal says: If society prescribes your activity to you, this is indeed free from the influence of the individual, i.e., the egoist, but it doesn't therefore need to be a *purely human* activity, nor do you need to be a complete organ of humanity. What sort of activity society demands of you indeed still remains *contingent*; it could hire you to work on a temple and the like, or, even if not this, you might still be active on your own impulse for some foolishness, and so inhumanity; even more, you actually only work to nourish yourself, in general to live, for dear life's sake, not for the glorification of humanity. Consequently, free activity is achieved only when you make yourself free from all stupidity, from everything non-human, i.e., egoistic (belonging to the individual, not to the human being in the individual), eliminate all untrue thoughts that darken the human or the idea of humanity—in short, when you are not merely unhampered in your activity, but also