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Christianity in the Post-Marxist Context

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SUMMARY

The Marxist ideology in former Eastern Europe is not so completely dead as some would us to believe. Marxist attitudes lurk under various disguises and they tend to

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surface especially in discussions with Christian missionaries from the West. The argument of this article is that a Christian worker in Eastern Europe still needs to know the basic philosophical theses of Marxism if he/she is to get the message across to the hearers.

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ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die marxistische Ideologie im früheren Osteuropa ist nicht so vollständig tot wie einige uns glauben machen wollen. Marxistische Haltungen lauern hinter verschiedenen Verkleidungen und sie tendieren dazu, besonders

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in Diskussionen mit Missionaren aus dem Westen ans Tageslicht zu kommen. Der Artikel argumentiert, dass jemand im christlichen Dienst in Osteuropa immer noch die grundlegenden Thesen des Marxismus kennen muss, wenn er oder sie die Botschaft den Hörern erfolgreich kommunizieren will.

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RÉSUMÉ

Contrairement à ce que certains voudraient nous faire croire, l'idéologie marxiste n'a pas totalement disparu dans l'ancienne Europe de l'Est. Des attitudes marxistes se cachent sous diverses apparences et tendent à refaire

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surface, tout particulièrement dans le cadre de discussions avec les missionnaires chrétiens de l'Occident. L'auteur souligne la nécessité, pour les chrétiens à l'œuvre en Europe de l'Est, d'une bonne connaissance des thèses philosophiques de base du marxisme, comme préalable à la communication du message de l'Évangile.

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*Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it.*¹

Introduction

It is nearly two decades now since revolutions occurred in what was formerly known as 'the Eastern Bloc' or 'Eastern Europe'. It may seem strange after such a long time to talk about the impact of Marxism in these countries but in the experience of this author many of the problems Christian workers and especially western missionaries encounter are caused by the unstudied interaction between Christian presuppositions² and 'residual Marxism', the (often implicit) opinions and attitudes that are the remains of many years of Marxist propaganda from the times before revolution.

There is no question that Christian workers in these countries rightly concentrate on the new

threats that the open society has brought with itself – unemployment, poverty, drug abuse, exotic religions, the occult, nationalism etc. But to forget that for more than 40 years (and in the case of some of the former Soviet countries more than 70 years) these people were subjected to the powerful Marxist propaganda, of which residues still survive in people's minds means 'to ignore the elephant in the living room'.

Of course, the problem of 'residual Marxism' could be overstated – the young people of the new generation have never heard even one Marxist lecture or read a newspaper article written with Marxist terminology. No one (except, maybe, the Communists party members) is using orthodox

Marxist notions to explain the political or economic situation anymore, Even the leftist parties generally are not proclaiming full-scale return to the pre-revolutionary political and economic conditions.

But to understate or to overlook the problem is probably as much a danger as to overstate it. It is important to realize, that even if the young generation has had no experience of the propaganda, they unconsciously imbibe the results of it through the attitudes of those whose minds had been influenced by it – usually their parents. That *attitudes are deeper than words* is the first important truth to keep in mind when dealing with residual Marxism in post-communist Europe. Also it is important to remember that *society has a longer memory than individuals*. The structures, institutions and relationships may be rebuilt and renamed but lurking in disguise under the new words are the old ways of doing things. Another crucial fact to keep in mind is that *Marxism was/is much more than just an economic and political theory*. It was (and is) a comprehensive, all-encompassing worldview which could not be discarded just with an exchange of the government. It is a philosophical system answering every question under (and above) the sun. Marx was one of the last philosophers who attempted to show how all things in the universe relate to each other. Of this complicated system only Marxist totalitarian politics and centrally planned economy have fallen into disrepute but many of its parts resonate with ideas still in vogue in western democracies (philosophical naturalism, Darwinism or even Maslow's hierarchy of psychological needs...)

The hidden attitudes of residual Marxism complicate not only Christian work but also the overall transition of these countries. The new science of transitions – transitory³ – studies such subjects as *democratisation, marketisation, state-ness or nation building*,⁴ and some authors rightly complain that insufficient attention is paid to the values and beliefs, that make up the foundations of political culture.⁵ If one were to draw a *plausibility pie-diagram* of beliefs and values for a post-communist country – what would it contain? Certainly it would contain values such as national culture and traditions, freedom (political and individual), humanism, democracy, Christianity, secularism etc. One might then ask how many of these values and beliefs would be informed by 'residual Marxism'? This author does not purport to know or even to say that it is possible to determine an approximate percentage of it. However, ignoring it creates a

serious obstacle to communication.

Without downplaying the other problems, the present article contends that *demarxisation* should be an integral part of transitory, if the transition is to be really successful and lasting.

What is Residual Marxism?

Before one can talk of residual Marxism, it is useful to review Marxism, at least in its basic outlines, as the worldview (*Weltanschauung*) that was 'preached' and taught in Eastern Europe under Communism. When engaging in dialogue on this subject, a summary review of the Marxist worldview may meet with a negative reaction that is understandable if the participants consider Marxism to be outdated and dead.

In taking into account this objection, it is useful to remember that 'Marxism as a concept and a creed has flourished for nearly 150 years, during which its death has been continuously announced. Yet, like Antaeus, the giant wrestler of Greek mythology, Marxism has appeared until now to spring up mightier each time it was cast to the ground.'⁶

Another reservation is caused by a deep resentment toward considering the hated atheistic system that for so long was being force-fed into people's minds without giving them liberty to think for themselves. This objection can be answered by a reminder that that the attraction/appeal of Marxist theory grows in direct proportion to the (time or geographic) distance of its practice. Also it is good to remember that Marxism includes in its doctrines ideas of other philosophers, notably Feuerbach and Hegel. Feuerbach's critique of religion '...continues to excite interest among seekers after a universal humanistic formula, and even among theologians'.⁷ These resentments have to be overcome.

For the purposes of this article, the author has chosen to include only those areas that in his experience and opinion most powerfully influence people's attitudes.

Marxist Critiques

1. Marxist Critique of Religion

Residual Marxism is in great measure responsible for the division between religion and social engagement, between faith and political involvement. Marxist propaganda taught that religion was the 'opium of the people',⁸ a tool to subjugate working

masses by the ruling class and an unscientific explanation of unexplained physical phenomena.

A basic response to religion is either negative (people think immediately of the Inquisition, abuse of wealth or an unjust God) or divisive (tending to separatism or controversy).

To preach 'God loves you' is irrelevant, to say the least, if God is either unjust, or unable to rule the world justly. At the same time, although Marxism may be atheistic, it still has its god: 'Man is the highest being for men (*das höchste Wesen für den Menschen*)'⁹ wrote Marx and this still holds true and agrees very well with modern anthropocentric humanism.

2. Marxist Critique of the Human Condition

Marx and Engels used very explosive words when they spoke about the conditions of workers under capitalism. Words such as *dehumanization*, *alienation*, *exploitation*, and *unearned income* are loaded with emotions of resentment and hatred. Consider the emotional force of this passage:

External labour, labour in which man alienates himself (*sich entäußert*), is a labour of self-sacrifice, of mortification (*Kasteiung*). Finally, the external character of labour for the worker is demonstrated by the fact that it belongs not to him but to another, and that in it he belongs not to himself but to another.¹⁰

If one studies the Marxist critique of the human condition more closely, one inevitably comes to the conclusion, that it is not only capitalism that is criticized here, but the very idea that man was created as a dependent being. The Marxist aim is not just economic or social improvement – the aim is to achieve the final fulfillment of human destiny

3. Marxist Critique of the Notion of Truth

Discussion with persons having a residual Marxist mentality is especially hampered by the Marxist understanding of truth, an understanding that is actually very fashionable in today's post-modern world-view.

(1) There is no absolute truth. The question of whether a statement is true or false simply cannot be answered under monistic presuppositions. (2) Truth is practice in accordance with the historical process of revolutionary progress towards the ideal communist society. (3) Dialectical understanding of truth means that contradicting statements can be equally valid expressions of reality.

Residual Marxist understanding of truth finds

very fertile soil in philosophical pluralism, where 'truth' is actually just an expression of more or less hidden interests – either in money and wealth (Marx), power and control (Nietzsche) or sex (Freud). To believe in truth that comes from revelation is impossible and only leads to ridicule and scorn.

Marxist Philosophical System

It was complete, simple and authoritative.

If you teach a residual Marxist about God he may ask you to explain your teaching about something seemingly totally irrelevant, but his point is actually to check your system for its completeness. With all probability this will be a residuum from the Marxist past, when every imaginable thought had to be explained from the Marxist point of view. Everything was lumped together in one grand all-explaining system. The former Czechoslovak chess grand master L. Pachmann wrote:

In the year 1938 under the name of J.V.Stalin a small booklet was published with the title *On Dialectical and Historical Materialism*. The issue I had in hand was the all-encompassing wisdom of Marxist philosophy printed on twenty five pages. The principles of dialectics were explained just on eleven pages out of those twenty five. The rest of the book was 'an expansion of the formulas of dialectical materialism on the research of social life and an application on the phenomena of social life, research of society and study of the history of society...' ...this system is summed up in a few dogmas, it is closed, all-explaining and unchanging.¹¹

It is really difficult, if not impossible, to combat this mindset. If one does not cheat (or does not deceive himself!) at every step one has to admit there are things one does not understand even in matters about which he is conversing. But for residual Marxism this is a proof that one's system has gaps in it and therefore it cannot claim to be 'true'.

The authority of Marxism was derived from its identification with science and making it look fully rational. After the revolution when 'the age of spirituality has dawned' rationality may no longer be in vogue but adjectives like 'scientific' or 'mind enhancing' are still selling the ideas that are labeled by them. Behind this is the old statement of Hegel who said (referring to Plato): *What is rational is real; what is real is rational (Was vernünftig ist, das ist*

wirklich; und was wirklich ist, das ist vernünftig.)¹² 'Logic' for residual Marxism may be very different from the 'real' (mathematical) logic or even from the logic used by Hegel or Marx. The point is that for a thing to be accepted and believed it has to be plausible for the human mind and things that are beyond its comprehension are by that very fact considered untrue. (Of course, plausibility always depends on more than logic and rationality, but to show this requires some hard thinking, and this is what we all need to do.)

This Marxist scientism is a peculiar kind of determinism. Although human consciousness, (culture, values, beliefs etc.) is determined by the economic structure of society,¹³ this does not mean that man is just a passive victim of circumstances. On the contrary, he/she should understand the historical process and actively take part in helping it to progress in the right direction. So man is both part of the process and above the process. A contradiction? Remember Hegelian dialectics!

Marxist Social Practice

Maybe the most problematic part of residual Marxism is the remembrance of the Marxist practice. Understandably, there is strong aversion to any infringement of freedom – censorship, closed borders, secret police, centrally planned economy, etc.

But resenting these attributes of the Marxist system does not mean that the *ideas* that lie behind it have been consciously discarded and replaced by their (democratic) alternatives. For example:

- People with residual Marxist attitudes may resent censorship but still expect journalists to be 'obedient' to the official (government) line.
- Residual Marxism would hardly be nostalgic about the Iron Curtain, but still may be negative and xenophobic towards the West.
- Who would want the secret police back to spy on citizens? However, suggestions to punish ideas by law abound.
- Free market and free enterprise is the very essence of capitalist reality. But there should be no wealthy capitalists to provoke residual Marxist to envy and class hatred!

Behind these contradictory attitudes are important Hegelian/Marxist beliefs: belief in the proletarian revolution and belief in the state.¹⁴

The communist revolution was nothing if it was not radical.¹⁵ Under the influence of residual Marxism, although people may no longer talk of

the proletarian revolution and about killing the class enemy, they may still prefer radical action to discussion and persuasion. And because, according to Marxism, it was always the state that brought about social progress and guaranteed the dignity of an individual, the state is expected to bear down radically (usually issuing new laws) on those who stand in the way. Although the state is defined as '...an organ of class rule, an organ for the oppression of one class by another',¹⁶ nevertheless it is the only hope of improving the human condition. Consequently, great importance is attached to *who* (what party) rules.

All of this creates confusing and contradictory attitudes of passive expectations (the state should take care of my social situation) and deeply entrenched suspicions (politics is a dirty game; laws are there to oppress me; to cheat the state is an expression of freedom). In this relationship to the state and political culture in general, Marxist class struggle continues...

Interaction between Christianity and Residual Marxism

What happens when Christian presuppositions encounter residual Marxism? Before we discuss the interaction between the remains of the pre-revolution propaganda and Christian presuppositions, we need to realize some complications.

One is that westernisation (democratisation, marketisation, consumerism etc.) in many ways helps grow what Marxism had been sowing. Naturalism, evolutionism, scientism are understood as just different words for what Marxism taught under the title of 'scientific atheism'. Western consumerism is too close to the Marxist ideal of fulfilment through material possessions and the idea of welfare state continues to build up highly passive expectations from the state and bureaucracy. Democracy and humanism that historically developed from the Christian doctrine of the dignity man (man as the image of God) is easily reinterpreted according to the Marxist 'man is the highest being for man' principle and Marxist class antagonism merges quite smoothly with western Nietzschean *ressentiment* against the more successful and wealthy.¹⁷

Another complication is that Christian workers (even western missionaries) too often are not aware of the Christian foundations of many of their 'natural' views and attitudes. The *grace* of God towards the undeserving sinner is very differ-

ent from 'grace' to the highest being that is entitled to all imaginable privileges. *Faith* in God who, after all apologetic efforts of explanation, cannot be rationally comprehended, has different effects from faith that takes for real only what is rational. *Submission* to worldly authorities (the state, the laws etc.) looks differently if those authorities are there 'for my good' (Rom 13:4), or in reality they are my 'class enemy' or they represent a new form of persecution. *Servanthood* is a great word in Christianity (are we not 'saved to serve?'), but not so if your attitude was modelled by the teaching of residual Marxism asserting that alienation and degradation is an inevitable result of every employer-employee relationship. *Salvation* from sin and God's wrath cannot fulfil residual Marxist hopes to be delivered from the limitations of createdness. *Justice* derived from equality of men before God (all men are sinners) differs radically from justice understood as egalitarianism (all are entitled to equal wealth).

As if this were not enough, a further complication is caused by *residual Christianity*. By this term we can describe the opinions and attitudes that have Christian origin but are detached from their spiritual and doctrinal ancestry. The western ideals of freedom, fairness and equality that are prerequisites of real democracy can be given as a few examples of residual Christianity remaining from the Christian past. But Christians from the West and the East often implicitly and deeply differ on the level of their different presuppositions but they cannot solve the puzzle because, too often, neither have made the effort to study and understand them. One example is the notion of *truth*.

'Natural' (residual) Christian understanding of truth is that 'truth is a testimony confirmed by trustworthy witnesses'. But for residual Marxism the proof of truth depends much more on logical reasoning (Hegelian!) than on eyewitnesses. This often leads to endless discussions and deep disappointments because each side presents 'proofs' that are simply not accepted by the opposite party. Where a Christian from the West will believe in the power of the Word and education, his eastern counterpart will probably believe in the determining power of social and economic relations. So for one social aid is a tool to preach the Word while for the other it is the other way round: preaching the Word is a tool to improve social conditions. Freedom in Christianity is a reason for gratitude and responsible behaviour but in residual Marxism it is an opportunity to escape responsibility and finally release pent-up rebellion against unfavourable circumstances. Hence may come some of the disappointments in Christian workers employed by western missionaries.

In this situation Christian preaching and teaching often leads to confusion. Trying to build Christian understanding of the notions like e.g. love, grace, justice, freedom, salvation etc. on the foundations made of residual Marxism cannot lead to lasting results and especially western missionaries are often estranged from easterners by their suspicions (they are part of western imperialism)

The following table gives a summary of what I have described above. As always, simplifications are dangerous but I think they do not completely caricature reality.

Christian Presuppositions or/ and Residual Christianity	Marxist Principles	Sentiments and Attitudes of Residual Marxism
Knowledge and Truth:		
Thought is a product of immaterial mind (not predetermined).	Thought is a product of material conditions (determined).	Distrust of anyone with different social background and xenophobia.
Truth is attained by analysis and experience.	Truth is attained by social practice of the oppressed.	'Truth' is always an ideological tool of a party. (populism)
The basic method of science is experiment and observation.	The basic method of science is logic and speculation.	What is considered as scientific is what looks logical and free of contradictions.
Privatisation of faith is an expression of pluralism (freedom).	Privatisation of faith is an expression of weakness (fear).	Escapism and ghetto religious mentality.
Man:		
Humanism is an expression of love and care.	Humanism is an expression of man-worship.	Anthropocentrism.

Human nature can be changed by education.	Human nature is determined by economic relations.	Education and Christian teaching put behind economic interests.
Individualism is an expression of the dignity of an individual and freedom (basically positive).	Individualism is an expression of distrust and separation (basically negative).	Self-centred, little interest in helping others.
Charity is an expression of grace and mercy.	Charity is humiliating. The poor are entitled to be helped by the rich.	No gratitude. Resentment (<i>ressentiment</i>).
History:		
Progress comes by development.	Progress comes by revolutions.	Violence is inevitable.
History will find meaning in the coming Kingdom of God.	History has meaning in itself (historicism).	Great expectations and fatal disappointments in political programs.
Work:		
Work is a creative occupation and a necessity to make a living.	Work is the creator of man and the highest expression of humanity.	Implacable dissatisfaction with working conditions.
Division of labour is an efficient means of producing goods.	Division of labour means alienation and dehumanisation.	Unwillingness to carry out partial or menial tasks.
Society:		
Lex, Rex ¹⁸	'Right' depends on history.	Might is right.
An individual derives his/her dignity from God.	An individual derives his/her dignity from society (collective).	Initiatives or efforts by individuals or small groups are not valued.
Democracy means freedom and responsibility.	Democracy means freedom and opportunity to achieve personal ends.	Unethical practices in politics, business etc.
The state is there for the common good (protection, justice).	The state is there to rule the oppressed class.	To cheat the state and bypass the law is normal.
Political authority (critically) accepted as 'administration'.	Political authority rejected as 'the oppressors' or uncritically followed as 'our leaders'.	Abuse of politics.
Justice is the rule of the law.	Justice is equality.	Egalitarianism.

Some of the attitudes in the third column are not purely Marxist and can be traced to other influences. I can only repeat that Marxism is just one of several mind-modelling forces that is fast becoming subconscious. Also, Marxism was in some measure an eclectic system that combined views of other philosophers. So some of the opinions/attitudes described above can be traced to Feuerbach, Hegel, Darwin or Rousseau, but it was through Marxist propaganda that they got into the public consciousness. At the same time, the Marxist doctrines have given philosophical and ethical dignity and supposedly scientific validity to the vices and attitudes present in some measure in every human being. Whatever the cause, it is advisable not to ignore the possible Marxist theoretical fortification around these attitudes.

Suggestions for Christian Action

In Czechoslovakia (or later in Slovakia, from which the author comes) there has been no general attempt to 'de-marxise' the minds of the public, and to my knowledge the same is the case in the other post-communist countries. The Marxist economic theories proved to be mistaken, no one needed to teach about it, and the Marxist political system of totalitarian control was disgusting enough, certainly no one needed to be told why. But I think it is a mistake to ignore the 'residual Marxism' in the minds of the people and indeed it is still necessary to combat it and to 'de-marxise' the minds and attitudes of those who are willing to listen.

But how? Surely it will require an open mind and a continual and concentrated thinking effort. Before any action is taken a careful analysis must

be done because to suspect and accuse someone of being under the influence of Marxism may only exacerbate the problem. If not done carefully this approach may smack of amateur and unsubstantiated psychoanalysis.

These dangers notwithstanding I think it is necessary to deal with this problem. Especially Christian workers – national or foreign – should make the effort to understand it and find ways how to overcome it. Christian workers (especially evangelical) are often so focused on the practical problems of life and faith that they have but little time to study difficult philosophical problems of epistemology, ethics or ontology. But exactly this, in its simplified form, was fed to the population of each communist country. Again, it is important to remember the fact that residual Marxism mostly does not use and think in the explicitly Marxist *categories* (terms and notions) but goes deeper to the *sentiments, attitudes* and *feelings*. So, although it is crucial to know where these tendencies come from, at the same time, it is certainly not wise to indiscriminately use the Marxist terms in an attempt to uncover and explain them. This would probably only lead to confusion and resentment.

Know the Basics of Marxist Philosophy and Practice

To acquaint oneself with the basics of the Marxist system it is advisable to read books both by Christian and non-Christian authors. The non-Christian expositions can be found in textbooks of philosophy and history. A very thorough treatment of Marxist philosophy and history of its doctrines is the work of Leszek Kolakowski, *Main Currents of Marxism* (although it may be intimidating because of its lengths – about 1400 pages). An example of a shorter work (about 180 pages) could be Robert Freedman's *The Marxist System* published by Chatham House Publishers, New Jersey.

There was quite a number of Christian apologetic works from the times before the 1989 revolution. My recommendation would be the book of Klaus Bockmuehl: *The Challenge of Marxism* published by Inter-Varsity Press. The Marxist practice was different from country to country, one can almost say there were as many Marxisms as there were Soviet-bloc states, so it is important to read some of the books by Christian and non-Christian dissidents from before the revolution (e.g. Solzhenitsyn for Russia or Tson for Romania).

Finally, it is also important to be acquainted with some of the foundational texts by the founders

and important Marxist leaders. They can be found on the Internet at www.marxists.org (English) or www.mlwerke.de (German).

Know Basic Christian Presuppositions

Christian apologetics requires lifelong study and philosophical presuppositions of the Christian message are certainly not easy to articulate. Moreover, theologians are far from agreed on what is 'the Christian philosophy' some question whether it exists at all! Therefore I have to leave it to the reader to decide what depth and what direction his/her study will take. I will only mention areas on which it is important to focus in order to be prepared to detect sources of misunderstanding and causes of 'communication disturbance' in communicating the Christian message in a post-communist country. The examples in the table above touch only on the things that I consider to be typical for Marxism. They do not mention e.g. atheism, naturalism, monism or evolutionism because these views are very common outside of the Marxist philosophy. But because they are also part of it, the Christian worker has to be prepared to answer these views as well. Of course, these will not be hidden as they are enhanced by westernisation.

The logic of the residual Marxist attitudes in the right column of the table may not be immediately clear but I think they will be understood after a deeper study. Clearly, trying to answer the questions of truth, existence and values is like attempting to solve the riddle of the Universe. But although we cannot know all the answers we can at least give reasons for our faith. A classic evangelical treatment of the problem of truth, meaning and language about God is in F. Schaeffer's work *The God Who Is There*. The book was written to answer the prevalent existentialism of the day but in my personal experience it can answer post-Marxist views as well. Similar problems are addressed in C. F. H. Henry's *God, Authority and Scriptures* or D.A. Carson's *The Gagging of God*. Whatever the choice, the point is to understand the problems of secular attitudes to truth, knowledge and language (post-Marxist, postmodernist and others) and Christian alternatives to them. Without this preparation it is really difficult if not impossible to find deep misunderstandings behind deceptively similar or even identical words.

In the area of ontology to understand differences between monism, dualism and Christian dualism; idealism materialism and Christian realism is a prerequisite for tracking down the residual Marxism.

The whole area of values cannot be studied in isolation from Marxist anthropology, philosophy of history and economics. Here are firmly embedded post-Marxist attitudes to the human rights, working ethics and hopes for the future.

It is wise for a Christian worker to know those parts of Marxism especially well that correspond with the biblical critique of exploitation, oppression and greed and the differences between solutions proposed by Marxism and Christianity.

Address the Issue in a Non-threatening Manner (Practice Christian Love)

As I said above it is essential not to offend, threaten or label people with the 'residual Marxist' marker. Not only may there be some not-so-nice residual things in us but also this usually does not help to solve the problem, but only aggravates it by creating resentment.

- Know *both* the positive (if possible) and negative sides of the Marxist position on the issue in question.
- Be humble enough to accept Marxist criticism of Christianity or capitalism where it was/is valid.
- Know the deeper connections between Marxist views as they are related in one coherent worldview.
- When you criticise residual Marxism be sure you are able to present a Christian alternative to what you attack.
- Rely more on the power of God in his word than on strong words and precise definitions. Remember, it is the goodness of God, that leads to repentance.

Questions to Ponder

The following questions may help those who are engaged in the process of transformation of a post-communist Eastern European country.

- Where do I see concrete residues of the Communist past in Eastern Europe?
- Do I understand the attractiveness of the Marxist system?
- What is the best course of action to uncover implicit Marxist attitudes?
- What can I offer as a better alternative to a post-Marxist mindset?

Vocabulary

Marxism in this article is defined as the sum of

Marxism and Leninism and Stalinism plus its application in a former communist country.

Using the expression *Residual Marxism* we mean what has been left in the minds, attitudes, feelings, implicit reactions, and word connotations of the societies formerly subjected to Marxist indoctrination by propaganda.

The term *Demarxisation* (like 'denazification') is used for the process of removing the results of Marxist propaganda; the opposite of Marxist indoctrination

Notes

- 1 Often repeated but seldom heeded quotation. (San-tayana, G. *Life of Reason* 1/12. <http://www.gutenberg.org/etext/15000>, Accessed: 13th Feb. 2005.)
- 2 By using the word 'presuppositions' I do not take stand for the so called 'Presuppositional Apologetics' against 'Evidentialism' (or, for that matter, the other way round). Presuppositions in this article are simply 'things presupposed in the communication of Christian message'.
- 3 In political science, transitology is the name for the area that studies the process of change from a political regime to another, mainly from authoritarian regimes to democracies.
- 4 Kuzio, T. *Transition in Post-Communist States: Triple or Quadruple?* *Politics* 21 (3), 2001, 168-177.
- 5 The relationship between values and democracy is one of the themes of the following Internet site: <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org>
- 6 Freedman, R. *The Marxist System*, New Jersey: Chatham House Publishers, 1989, 2.
- 7 Kolakowski, L. *Main Currents of Marxism I*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981, 119.
- 8 This expression comes not from MARX but the German poet Heine ('Für Menschen, denen die Erde nichts mehr bietet, ward der Himmel erfunden... Heil dieser Erfindung! Heil einer Religion, die dem leidenden Menschengeschlecht in den bitteren Kelch einige süße, einschläfernde Tropfen goß, geistiges Opium, einige Tropfen Liebe, Hoffnung und Glauben!') Heine, H. Ludwig Börne. Eine Denkschrift. www.heinrich-heine.net/boerne/boernd4.htm, Accessed: 29th Sept. 2002.)
- 9 Marx, K. *Zur Kritik der Hegelschen Rechtsphilosophie. Einleitung*. www.mlwerke.de/me/me01/me01_378.htm. Accessed: 16th June 2007.
- 10 Marx, K. *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844 - Estranged Labour*. www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1844/manuscripts/labour.htm, Accessed: 10th Nov. 2002.
- 11 Pachman, L. *Boha nelze vyhnat. (It is impossible to expel God, subtitled: From Marxism back to Christianity)*, Praha: Vyšehrad, 1990, 19-20.
- 12 Hegel, G.W.F. *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*,

- www.hegel-system.de/de/recht1.htm. Accessed: 16th Aug. 2007
- 13 eg. "...consciousness must be explained from the contradictions of material life..." MARX, K. Preface to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1859/critique-pol-economy/preface.htm, Accessed: 10th Nov. 2002.
- 14 Hegel said: '*The state is the march of God in the world*' (...es ist der Gang Gottes in der Welt, daß der Staat ist. Hegel, G.W.F. *Philosophy of Right*, http://www.hegel-system.de/de/recht5.htm § 258 Accessed: 16th Aug. 2007). Here are the roots of the Marxist understanding of the state.
- 15 'The communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas.' (Marx, K. & Engels, F. *The Communist Manifesto*. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1985, 33.)
- 16 Lenin, V. I. *The State and Revolution*, ch. 1. www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1917/staterev/ch01.htm, Accessed: 25th March 2006.
- 17 Nietzsche *Zur Genealogie der Moral 10*. www.mala.bc.ca/~johnstoi/Nietzsche/zurgenealogie1.htm, Accessed: 28th Nov. 2002.
- 18 *The Law, the King* by Samuel Rutherford (1644). He argued that even monarchs, are subject to the *rule of law*.

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