

**political
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special
Marx Centenary
issue



with papers by:

Gus Hall ♦ Timur Timofeev ♦ Moses Mabhida
Hans-Joachim Radde ♦ James Jackson

THE KARL MARX CENTENARY YEAR 1983

Media Presents A Symposium On Cassettes

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100 Years After Marx

EDITORIAL COMMENT

Speaking at the graveside of his lifelong co-worker, Frederick Engels stated that on March 14, 1883, "the greatest living thinker ceased to think." A century of experience has conclusively confirmed this evaluation of the importance of the lifework of Karl Marx.

In the entire history of mankind, no other body of thought has had an influence, either practical or intellectual, even remotely resembling that of Marxism-Leninism. It is a most remarkable fact of our times that the geographical breadth of Marxism is literally worldwide, while at the same time it achieves an integration and unity of various spheres of human thought and activity unknown to any other world view. Indeed, all significant currents in the world today, one hundred years after the death of Marx, are compelled to define themselves in relation to Marxism-Leninism.

To what is this impact due? Undoubtedly, it can be attributed to two twin factors:

First, Marxism is not a dogma propounded by prophets and relying on faith, but a science based on analysis of social reality, developing on the basis of accumulated experience. Science, by its very nature, is universal.

Second, it is inseparably bound up with an unprecedented revolution in social relations—the worldwide transition from capitalist and pre-capitalist society to socialism inaugurated by the October Revolution. In previous epochs, great revolutionary waves were limited by the fact that they could only replace one exploiting minority with another. Today it is a matter of the complete abolition of exploitation of class society and class exploitation. Marxism first demonstrated that it is the working class which is the agent of this revolution and the builder of the new society.

The Political Affairs conference commemorating the Marx centenary, held March 19, 20 and 26 in New York City, reflected this view. Distinguished representatives of the main currents of the revolutionary movement of our time were invited to deliver papers. These papers, and discussion of them, are collected in this special issue of Political Affairs.

The papers discuss the same subject—the trans-

forming role of Marx's ideas in the world today—from three distinct but closely-related perspectives: a) that of the working-class movement in the developed capitalist world; b) that of the working class engaged in the actual construction of socialist society; and c) that of the working class in the developing countries striving for both social and national emancipation. In our view, *only* such an approach conforms with the internationalist spirit of Marxism. The essential *unity of views* expressed, based on such diverse social and national conditions, is striking. That unity embraces not only programmatic points—of action for peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism—but also basic agreement on underlying principles and analyses.

The holding of such a conference in the United States was a new, entirely appropriate and very gratifying development. It occurred, however, only by overcoming the attempted sabotage of the Reagan Administration, including denial of a visa to one member of the Soviet delegation, the delay of a visa to Moses Mabhida, general secretary of the South African Communist Party, and denial of a visa to Hans-Joachim Radde of the German Democratic Republic. The delay in the issuance of a visa to Comrade Mabhida until after his plane had already left necessitated the holding of an extraordinary session of the conference to hear his paper on March 26. The paper by Prof. Radde is being presented here for the first time.

Only a week before the Marx centenary, President Reagan, in a speech in Orlando, Florida, marked the occasion by attempting to enshrine anti-Communism as not only official state ideology, but as state religion. Needless to say, such efforts are hardly likely to help overcome the deep crisis of capitalism or to improve its—or Reagan's—fortunes.

An aroused people's movement can assure that in the not-distant future, this Administration will be only a grim historical footnote. Indeed, one hundred years from now, the entire ugly system of capitalism will be only a memory.

And we can not only ardently wish this to be so,
(Continued on page 17)

Marxism-Leninism: Revolutionary Legacy of Karl Marx

GUS HALL

Comrade Karl Marx would have greatly appreciated and enjoyed this conference. He would have noted that it has all the earmarks and ingredients of a law-governed historic event.

Comrade Marx would have recognized the significance of holding this conference in a capitalist country that more than any other daily proves how correct his theories and conclusions are today.

Comrade Marx would have especially appreciated that we have with us today representatives of the Party from the first land of socialism, the first country to overthrow capitalism and open the path for a new kind of human society that is on this side of history's dividing line, the great Party of Lenin — the Communist Party of the USSR.

Comrade Marx would have been excited and honored that we have as our guest and participant the leader of a truly heroic Communist Party, a Party that is leading the struggles against the most reactionary, racist, bigoted capitalist country in the world — the General Secretary of the Communist Party of South Africa. Tomorrow, when Comrade Moses Mabhida speaks, should be turned into a demonstration against the racist violence in South Africa.

And, Karl Marx would have taken special pride and interest in the fact that also we were going to have a representative of a country building socialism which speaks his mother tongue — the German Democratic Republic. I can only guess what motivates the State Department. It is possible they thought Marx in the original language was too much.

And, of course, tomorrow our own Comrade James Jackson will present his contribution.

If Karl Marx were here today there are some things happening that even he would have a hard time coping with.

For instance, that our country has a dangerous,

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sinister simpleton as president, who proclaims to the world that if you are not for the nuclear arms race you are not only against Reagan, but also against God, and, furthermore, that anyone who opposes this is a business agent for the Devil himself.

And Marx would have been somewhat astonished and puzzled to hear a twentieth century president declare that the capitalist world can meet the present-day challenge "only if it has as much faith in God as the Communists have faith in man."

To this back-handed compliment, Marx would have chuckled and replied, "Yes, nothing that is human is alien to me." To make his point Marx would have told the story about the city dweller who said to the farmer, "We should thank God for all the good vegetables." In response, the farmer agreed, but added that God could never have done it without his hard work.

In a more serious vein, Marx would have given Reagan his life-long credo, "I have faith in human beings generally. But I have special faith and confidence in the working class, the revolutionary class that will bring about a truly humane society" — in which, by the way, fanatics like Reagan would have no place.

When we study, teach, speak and write about the life and work of Karl Marx we tend to concentrate almost exclusively on his intellectual and political side.

We rarely delve into the Karl Marx who was also a devoted husband, a loving family man, a poor, full-time revolutionary who was hounded, persecuted and exiled most of his life.

In fact, the life of Marx and his family was filled with much of the same pain and poverty millions of Americans are suffering today.

Rejecting the comfortable life of a middle-class lawyer, Karl and Jenny took the path of revolution, hardship and self-sacrifice. Often unable to pay their rent, they were evicted from their apart-

ment, forced to sell all their belongings to pay their bills.

Marx had a hard time trying to make a living and a harder one holding down a job. He was fired from jobs as a newspaperman and warehouse clerk because his handwriting was so bad.

And, although he worked hard at it, he could never have made a living as a poet.

In fact, after writing the following verse, Marx wrote to his father that he had come to the sad conclusion that his literary talent was extremely limited.

Not being a poet, I would say it could be worse.

Therefore let us always dare,
Never stopping, never resting,
Never made so dull with care
that we've finished with protesting.

Shall we brood and make a pact
to accept the yoke? No, never.
For to see, demand and act —
These remain with us forever.

We should be grateful that Marx was perceptive and objective enough to recognize where his talents were not.

Throughout their lives the Marx family faced poverty, and were it not for their beloved friend and colleague, Frederick Engels, it is unlikely Marx would have been able to make the monumental contributions he did.

It is important to study Marx as a student, a philosopher, a poet, a scientist, a newspaperman, an organizer and revolutionary as well as a family man, friend and comrade — as a total human being — and in the development process of growth and change.

Marx was a truly universal human being whose greatest passions were people, the working class, and an unquenchable thirst for knowledge and truth. The rich combination produced a world outlook that has shaken the world to its very foundations.

Acutely aware of this — that today Marxism is the foundation of society for over one-third of the world and the guiding light for millions more fighting for a better life, many capitalist ideologues have given up trying to prove Marx outdated and irrelevant.

But they have not given up. On March 14, the

centenary of Marx's death, *The New York Times* reached into the very bottom of their anti-Marxist offensive and came up with a four-column editorial diatribe, "What Marx Hid." It is a piece of garbage slandering Marx's private life. It is proof of the total ideological bankruptcy of the ruling class in its war against Marxism. It is the ultimate failure of an attempt to destroy the indestructible. For Marxism has become a great, powerful material force that is living and breathing and revolutionizing the world through the working class.

Marxism-Leninism is the theory and method of socialist revolution. And revolution is the "locomotive of history."

It has become a law of social development that the further humanity progresses from the age of Marx, the closer it moves toward Marxism-Leninism.

Today there is not a country in the world that does not have an active Marxism-Leninist movement. And there is nothing the *New York Times* fears more than this.

Yes, the "spectre" hangs ever heavier over the capitalist world.

Remarkable Man for All Times

As the sun was setting on the day Karl Marx died, Frederick Engels, his closest co-worker and dearest friend, penned a most perceptive epitaph:

Mankind is shorter by a head and the greatest head of our times, at that. (Philip S. Foner, *When Karl Marx Died*, International Publishers, New York, 1973, p. 28.)

And with keen dialectical insight he reflected on the effects Marx's passing would have on the class struggle:

The final victory is certain, but circuitous paths, temporary and local errors — things which even now are so unavoidable — will become more common than wever. (Ibid.)

Engels' premonition was right on target. As we know, there have been "deviations and aberrations," both "temporary and local."

To illustrate the profound impact of Marx's death in 1883, let me quote some typical reactions:

On his passing, the New York Central Labor Council passed a resolution:

The world of workers has lost one of its greatest teachers, one of its warmest friends. Karl Marx was the one who over 30 years ago called upon all working men of all countries to unite and organize for the purpose of establishing justice upon this earth. Let us all unite in honoring his memory. (Ibid., p. 90.)

the present leaders of the New York Central Labor Council would do well to take a new look at what its "greatest teacher and warmest friend" advocated.

A leading Boston daily newspaper editorialized:

Karl Marx was one of the most remarkable men of our times — a great student and a remarkable organizer. (Ibid., p. 74.)

After one-hundred years we should add "remarkable for all times."

A week after Marx's death, Jose Marti, the great Cuban revolutionary, wrote:

Marx showed great insight into the causes of human misery. He was a man driven by a burning desire to do good. He saw in everyone what he carried in himself—rebellion, highest ideals and struggle. (Ibid., p. 108.)

And, fifty years later, in Ohio, the Episcopalian Bishop, Montgomery Brown, observed:

Marx, though dead, yet speaketh. He is speaking even more widely and more persuasively in death than in life. (Montgomery Brown, *Materialism and Religion*, Montgomery Publishing House, Ohio, 1925, p. 46.)

Of course, another fifty years later, we can add, "Marx still speaketh ever more widely and persuasively."

So it has been down through the years—eulogies and tributes in every part of the world. They could fill volumes.

Who would argue today that Karl Marx has not earned these honors, tributes and bouquets to his life and work?

Well, the one person who would have objected to all the praise and honors is Karl Marx himself. Marx would have expressed caution and reserva-

tion about such personalized praise—even from his colleague and co-thinker, Frederick Engels.

He would have said, self-consciously, something like, "Thank you, my dear comrades, I certainly appreciate your expressions of appreciation and praise. But you must remember that we have to place the contributions of individuals, including myself, in the framework of the dynamics of real life. We must place the individual's contributions within the context of their relationship with the real makers of history—the people."

He would have thoughtfully added, "I may have influenced history, but I did not create it. I did not invent the class struggle. I simply explained its role as the prime mover of history."

For more reasons than just his personal modesty, Marx would have been concerned that the honors and bouquets heaped on individuals may give the wrong lead, and would, in fact, appear in contradiction with one of his greatest contributions to human thought—the role of the individual and ideas in history.

The Materialist Conception of History

Marx revealed that in the past the accepted view was that the primary cause for all historic changes was to be found in changing ideas:

From this followed the view that individuals—monarchs, feudal lords, statesmen, philosophers, thinkers, politicians—somehow create ideas and then put them into practice.

In other words, motivated by personal ambition or desire, love of god and country, etc., great men perform great deeds and, thereby, make and change history.

Marx, of course, was the first to scientifically disprove the concept that history is the product of the whims of individuals. He viewed ideas and thoughts as reflections of the real world—the substance of life's realities—and not the other way around. He said:

With me, on the contrary, the idea is nothing else than the material world relected by the human mind and translated into forms of thought. (J.D. Bernal, *Marx and Science*, International Publishers, New York, p. 15.)

This most important new premise became the

foundation stone of Marx's philosophical studies.

Marx observed that the material world was a reality long before the human brain appeared on the scene to reflect that world.

Historical Materialism

Before Marx, all of life, the world and the history of the world were viewed as a big mish-mash of events—incidents and happenings without rhyme or reason. Things happened, events occurred, but there was no sensible explanation for them.

Marx made sense out of human society and history. He revealed the orderly, working principles of change. He revealed the inner laws of motion of society and history, that objective laws and order operate in social life. And, people can understand and utilize these laws of social development in their own interests. And, most important, Marx proved that there is a direction in which history is irrevocably moving and that by knowing the laws of its motion people can act to advance, influence and accelerate the direction.

This was Marx's great contribution to the working class. Marxism is the theoretical-scientific expression of the vital interests of the working class. Armed with Marxism-Leninism, the working class influences, advances and accelerates the direction of history. Marxism is a guide to action; it charts the course of the working class and peoples of the world.

Applying Marx's conception of society and history, Lenin wrote:

The chaos and arbitrariness that had previously reigned in views on history and politics were replaced by a strikingly integral and harmonious scientific theory, which shows how, in consequence of the growth of forces of production, out of one system of social life, another and higher system develops—how capitalism, for instance, grows out of feudalism. (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 25.)

Of course, the capitalist class rejects all concepts of law-governed processes because they expose the brutal, anti-human nature of capitalism and show that just as "capitalism grew out of feudalism," capitalism is now on its way off the

stage of history to make way for "another, higher system"—socialism.

So you see, Marx's caution about praising individuals would have come directly from his own work.

Marx would have argued that no matter how brilliant his thoughts and contributions, they were not byproducts of his instincts, insights, intuitions or revelations. They were solid, scientific conclusions based on an intense, exhaustive study of accurate, in-depth observations of reality, society and the accumulated knowledge of all humanity. His theories, concepts and conclusions were based on the study of the laws—the inner, objective workings present in all things.

Appearance and Essence

In the process of his exhaustive studies Marx created a new way of studying, a new approach to probing questions, a new method of observing all things.

He showed why it was always necessary to penetrate, to get beneath the surface or veneer and not to accept the appearance of a thing as the real thing.

Just as you really can not tell a book by its cover, so you can not know social and economic processes by how they appear to the naked eye. Marx observed on many occasions the importance of scientific investigation and held that sciences would be unnecessary if the outward appearances and inner essence of things directly coincided.

In other words, if the inner essence and the appearance were in harmony, then all one would have to do is look at it, or take a picture. This is important because the appearances, in most cases, are not only different from the essence but they can be very misleading.

For instance, to many it appears that the A&P supermarket is in business because they want to feed the people; that General Motors wants all the people to have new cars; that Reagan and the Pentagon really want to help the people of El Salvador. But the essence of what they are really after does not correspond to the appearance.

To find the essence in society one must look for the class and economic interests behind all actions, politics, principles, institutions and policies.

Laws of Motion

Here Marxism comes to a very fundamental question. In order to study the essence of things—in depth and in general—it is necessary to know the laws of motion. This simply means to study the laws of the essence of things. And, since everything in reality is in constant motion, continually changing in law-governed ways, therefore it is not a study of something that may or may not happen, not something that is accidental, but a constantly developing process.

A study of the essence, the substance, the essential qualities of things is a study of the laws—a study of how and why all processes develop and change.

This is necessary because one can not really comprehend the essence of anything without some knowledge of its inner laws.

To know the laws is to know the present. But even more important is that the only way one can gain knowledge about what is coming in the future is to know about the laws that bring about all change. This enables one to predict scientifically.

Over one hundred years ago, based on his knowledge of the laws of capitalist development, Marx saw the inevitable development of big monopolies.

And, if you know in advance what's coming—including what your opponent is going to do—you have a big advantage.

Today, for instance, based on the inner laws of imperialism and monopolies (as revealed by Lenin) we know how U.S. capitalism *must* operate, *must* fall into and out of constant crises, *must* maximize profits, and *must* ultimately be replaced by socialism. Thus, we also know the role of the class that will bring about revolutionary change to socialism and we have the tools to develop tactics toward this inevitable change.

All this knowledge is based on our understanding of the objective laws of motion and social development.

Now, there are also some laws about how laws themselves operate. They can also help us in our understanding.

For instance,

—A law operates without any exception to the rule.

—A law operates objectively, that is regardless of

what people think or want.

For example, all bodies possessing a mass (matter) are subject to the laws of gravity. The pull of the fingers of gravity makes no exceptions. Gravity tugs at the coattails of everything, no matter what people think or do.

Or, another example. No matter how classes and class relations may change in the capitalist system, as long as there exist exploiters and exploited there will always be the class struggle between them. That is a law. Why and how this law operates is important for the working class to understand.

Or, another. So long as there are imperialist powers, imperialist exploitation and plunder—as in Africa, Asia, Central and South America—there will be anti-imperialist struggles against them. That is a law.

One of Marx's outstanding contributions was that he not only advocated getting to the essence of things, but stressed that this knowledge should be used to change things. Not simply knowledge for the sake of knowledge, as many before him had advocated.

In his explanations of the role of the working class, of class struggle, of the laws of social development, Marx revealed to the workers of the world their own philosophy and science—an all-powerful weapon that is guiding our class to victories worldwide. Marxism-Leninism is the material force that is the essence of the world revolutionary process.

As Marx would say today, Engels, Lenin and he were able to influence history because they were able to uncover the objective laws of social and economic processes. They were able to reveal what makes all societies tick.

Theory of Capitalism and Guide to Action

“Driven by a burning desire to do good,” to struggle against injustice and exploitation, Marx, Engels and Lenin focused their penetrating studies, energies and organizing skills on the human society on the stage of history—capitalism.

The three volumes of *Capital* by Marx and Engels and the volumes by Lenin lay bare the inner, inherent laws—the ugly essence—of capitalism.

Capital is a burning expose of an anti-human, brutal social system based on exploitation of the

working class. It is a seering indictment of the law of the drive for maximum private corporate profits.

The three volumes of *Capital* make up a comprehensive handbook on how to fight the inhumanity and injustices of a system motivated solely by the greed of a small capitalist minority. It is Marx's and Engels' great gift and legacy to the workers of the world.

Law of Surplus Value

Because it is absolutely indispensable to the working class, the law of surplus value or the law of corporate profits is worth taking a close look at.

Because it exposes the source of corporate profits, thousands of volumes have been written in an attempt to complicate, to distort, to cover up this law.

When Marx proved that nothing is added in the process of buying and selling products and, therefore, that can not be the source of profits, the question sharply emerged—what then is the source of corporate profits?

The exploiting ruling class has never forgiven Marx for exposing forever their most guarded and sacred secret—the source of their ill-begotten wealth.

Marx pointed out and scientifically proved that the profits of the capitalists can come only directly from the labor power of the workers they hire to work in their plants and factories.

The law of surplus value operates very simply. The corporation pays the workers just enough so they can continue living and working. The workers never get rich. Their savings are very small. But the workers produce much more than the value of the wages they get. This is the source of all profits. That is how the rich get richer and the workers get poorer. The workers produce all the wealth and the capitalists get wealthy.

Well, let us say it requires 4 hours of labor power for the worker to produce what he needs to live and work. However, in most cases the worker works an 8-hour day. Thus, the capitalist gets the worker's labor power for the full 8-hours, which means he gets 4 hours clear profit from the labor of the worker.

We can see how important this law is when we translate hours into dollars to measure surplus

value or profit.

If a worker produces \$24 worth of goods in an hour, the value of an hour of labor is \$24. If the worker is paid only \$8 per hour, the extra going to the boss is \$16 and the rate of surplus value or profit is 200 per cent.

In terms of hours, if the worker is working 9 hours, he/she is working 3 hours for himself/herself and 6 hours for the boss.

Surplus value is, therefore, the gross profit of the capitalist class. It is profit before dividing it up among the stockholders, the banks, landlords and corporate brass.

Understanding this key law of where corporate profits come from is critical because U.S. monopoly capitalists have surpassed all other exploiting classes in history in raising the rate of surplus value—in increasing brutally the rate of exploitation of labor.

Today, out of a working day of 8 hours, the average worker works 2 hours and 9 minutes for himself and 5 hours and 51 minutes for the boss. Or, to put it in another way, for the rest of this year the working class—those who are working, that is—will work only for the profits of the corporation and to pay taxes.

As Marx said, labor power is a commodity that is "a source not only of value, but of more value than it has itself." (*Capital*, International Publishers, Vol. 1, p. 193.)

Among themselves, the capitalists are very conscious of surplus value as the key to their profits. In fact, this is emphasized in the publicity material put out to lure industries to their areas.

For example, New York State boasts, "New York's manufacturing workers produce \$4.25 in value over every dollar in wages." In other words, four times more than the wages. The state which beat New York was Texas, with \$5 in value over every dollar of wages—for a surplus value of 400 per cent.

And to uncover superexploitation—superprofits from racism—an ad by Puerto Rico boasts, "In Puerto Rico, USA, the value added over each dollar of production payroll averages \$5.58, compared with the U.S. average of \$3.72. Your payroll dollars are 50 per cent more productive in Puerto Rico than the total U.S. average."

The soaring rate of surplus value in the U.S. and

in the countries where U.S. imperialism is plundering is the basic cause of declining real wages, declining living standards of the masses of U.S. workers as well as workers laboring under the heel of U.S. imperialism.

As you saw in this morning's *New York Times* the great promise of high-tech is going down the drain of surplus value (profit—i. e., high-tech and high profits at a wage of 50¢ an hour in Taiwan, Malaysia and South Korea.

For every 3,000 high-tech jobs, 50,000 other jobs are lost.

They are the living proof of the correctness of Marx's statement of the irreconcilability of the interests of capital and labor and the law that "profits rise in the same degree in which wages fall; profits fall in the same degree in which wages rise."

All the bourgeois arguments that capital and labor are one big happy family, that "what's good for GM is good for America," that labor and capital form a natural partnership based on class cooperation, are so much coverup for the truth that Marx uncovered 130 years ago.

And, in uncovering the law of surplus value Marx helped also to reveal the law of class struggle between the capitalists and the workers, which gives the ultimate lie to all class collaboration concepts.

And, the ultimate truth inherent in these laws made it possible for Marx and Engels to develop the theory of scientific socialism. They proved that far from being utopian or a fantasy, socialism is the natural outcome of the development of capitalist society. They showed that as capitalism develops it digs its own grave. And with this they brought to light the epoch-making role of the working class and drew the logical conclusion that the road to the new society lies in overthrowing capitalism.

Much is known and written about the laws of economic and social development, as well as scientific socialism. Much less is known and appreciated about how much Marx and Engels added to our understanding of the laws of nature—to natural science.

Dialectical Laws of Nature

However, natural scientists are discovering that the more they probe the ways of nature the more

they are learning about the dialectical laws that determine and explain all phenomena—nature, society and consciousness.

As Engels often noted, the process of discovering the laws of motion is itself proof of one of the laws of dialectics. That is: There is an evolutionary process of probing and gathering scientific evidence. Then there are periods of explosive revolutionary leaps in scientific discoveries.

In many ways, we are in one of those explosive periods in science. We call it the technological revolution, which is the result of great leaps in scientific discoveries.

For example, scientists now have enough knowledge of the laws of living organisms, including genes, to proceed with the splitting of genes in order to create new forms and essence of matter.

Also, the new atom-smashing machines are now powerful enough to reveal new kinds of sub-atomic particles, including a particle with a single magnetic pole of attraction.

This would seem to contradict the dialectical law of unity of opposites. But, on the other hand, it would tell the scientist to look for a particle with the opposite magnetic pole.

And, natural science may now be close to revealing possibly the most basic of all laws—the law of unity between the basic forces of nature—gravity, electromagnetism and nuclear forces.

These are ever deeper insights into the essence of nature. But the dialectical laws hold up.

Why Marx Still Lives

It becomes clear why for over 100 years the ruling-class rage against Marx has never subsided. They are angry, puzzled and frustrated because they can not comprehend why after so many years and so many resources poured into the ideological war, Marxism still lives. Why, after decades of campaigns and crusades to destroy it, Marxism grows in influence, prestige and popularity?

— Why is Marxism timeless?

— Why does Marx, dead over 100 years, "still speaketh?"

— Why are more than one-half of the world's peoples either building socialism or moving in the direction of socialism—guided and inspired by the science of Marxism—

Leninism, or members of political parties and movements who use this science?

— Why is Marxism-Leninism the main ideological current influencing the direction of human society?

These are very pertinent questions. Certainly the answer is not because Marx called for the workers of the world to unite, although this slogan still expresses proletarian internationalism.

The answer does not lie in Marx's credo: "If one chooses to be an ox one can of course turn one's back on agonies of mankind and only look after one's own skin," although this is still a viable, humane concept.

As we know, history's archives are chock full of social and economic theories, concepts, ideas and philosophies. But they all gather dust, except for the great body of thought and action—Marxism-Leninism.

To really answer the question as to why Marx is still vitally alive *today*, we must go back to the fundamental idea that Marxism-Leninism is a science that deals with the laws of all processes in life—social and economic processes, the laws of nature.

The inner laws of capitalism that Karl Marx revealed so long ago have not basically changed today.

In fact, as the contradictions in the capitalist system become sharper, as its parts wear out, as it becomes increasingly obsolete, many of the inner laws operate more openly, more directly. Therefore, they are much easier to see and understand.

Laws of Capitalist Economics

For instance, today 30 million Americans who are either partially or totally jobless, hungry and homeless are the direct victims of some of the laws of capitalist economics.

One hundred and twenty years ago, on the basis of the laws of capitalist economics, Marx concluded:

The ultimate reason for all real crises always remains the poverty and restricted consumption of the masses as opposed to the drive of capitalist production to develop the productive forces as though only the absolute consuming power of society constituted

their limit. (*Capital*, Vol. III, International Publishers, New York, 1967, p. 484.)

The law of the drive for maximum profits leads to a contradiction and to recurring economic crises. It relentlessly drives corporations to constantly expand production, without limits, without planning, in total anarchy, without any knowledge of the market, while simultaneously paying the workers less and less of the value of the products they produce.

Basically, the demand for consumer goods can only be as great as the sum total of wages paid to the workers. Workers are the consumers and consumer demand is not determined by workers' whims and taste and fads, but by their buying power—their wages.

Therefore, if corporations keep producing more while actually restricting the market by cutting wages, it is logical the economy will go off balance, into crisis, another crisis and gridlock crisis.

The wage cuts suffered by steel and auto workers will show up in the show rooms of the car dealers—the workers will not be able to show up to buy the cars. It is as simple as that.

The corporation ideologues like to call this "over-production." And it does *appear* as if just too much was produced for the market. This is a case where appearance is misleading. In other words, they claim that products are produced over and above what the people need or can consume when, in truth, it is simply a matter of a pile-up of unsold goods because workers are not paid enough wages to buy them.

This basic law of capitalist economics has not changed. In addition, steel, auto, electrical workers, miners and most workers are up against a number of laws of capitalist exploitation.

Laws of Capitalist Exploitation

They are up against the hidden law of surplus value. They are up against the law that the interests of the working class and the capitalist class will remain irreconcilable, antagonistic, in opposition to the very end of capitalism.

Karl Marx proved over a century ago,

The capitalist always strives to obtain maximum profits. That is, he wants to reduce wages down to their physical minimum

and extend the working day to its physical maximum. Actually, however, both are established by the continuous struggle between capital and labor . . . the matter resolves itself into a question of the respective power of the combatants. (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, P. 400.)

The giveback concessions of the auto and steel workers not only add surplus value (profits) for the bosses, but also restrict and reduce the fighting power of the working class against capitalist exploitation.

It was also over 100 years ago that Marx made a very keen observation that "labor can not emancipate itself in the white skin, where in the Black it is branded." (*Capital*, Vol. I, p. 301.)

Today this has all the force of a law in the struggle against racist oppression. This truth remains a prime prerequisite for both class unity and for building an all people's front.

Ronald Reagan: Witness to Genius of Marx

As ironic as it may seem, Ronald Reagan is the most effective witness to the genius of Karl Marx. Reagan's actions and policies are day-by-day proof of the correctness of Marx's concepts.

One hundred and twenty years ago, Marx came to the conclusion that in time the capitalist economy would approach the limit beyond which the production process could not go without increasing the participation and intervention of the state (government).

In other words, increasingly the government apparatus and institutions (basically controlled by the monopolies) must play a more direct role in order to guarantee that the corporations can pursue their drive for maximum profits.

The tax laws and loopholes, the capital depreciation allowances, the government strikebreaking actions, are all prime examples of the role of the state-government. This is state monopoly capitalism.

Some call this Reaganomics. Others call it the military-industrial complex. Engels wrote in *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*:

The official representative of capitalist society, the state, will ultimately have to undertake the direction of production.

Lenin said, "monopoly capitalism is developing into state monopoly capitalism."

Each day, with every move, Reagan proves they were all right.

As a science and a study of the laws of capitalist development, Marxism made it possible to foresee the growth of monopolies, the increased role of the government, which eventually developed into the state of state monopoly capitalism.

The Reagan policies of shifting the tax burden onto the backs of the workers and non-monopoly sectors of the population, the policy of letting corporations write off the cost of new equipment and plants in five years, is exactly what Marx had in mind when he said: "Capital foists expenses onto the people by way of the state."

The trillion-dollar military budget is also "foisted" onto the backs of the people. The militarization of the economy not only adds to the economic growth gridlock, but seriously increases the danger of nuclear war.

The Handwriting on The Wall of Capitalism

Perhaps more than anything else, what sticks in the craw of the defenders of capitalism is Marx's discovery of the objective laws of the march of history.

For capitalism, it is like the funeral march, the handwriting on the wall that tells them their days are numbered. The law-governed march of history clearly proclaims: "You are the next to go—your ugly system is outmoded, outdated and out-of-step."

What especially scares the bourgeois ideologists is that Marx proved how socio-economic systems throughout human history have made their appearance on the stage of history and, in due time, have been pushed aside to make way for the new. It frightens them that there is a law-governed process of history pushing capitalism aside, that capitalism is now on the slippery skids of history. They try to hide all this especially from the people. They want the people to believe capitalism is here to stay forever.

They also don't like what they see as the future. They do not like the new system, the new society, that has made its appearance. And that is understandable, because the new system cuts off their special privileges, their source of personal wealth.

As Marx said, when the socialist revolution takes place, "the expropriators become expropriated," and the laws of capitalism become null and void.

The Gravediggers of Capitalism

The laws of socio-economic systems, and specifically the laws of capitalist development, are of great political significance today, because when we become aware of these laws then we come to understand the pivotal role of the class struggle in an exploitive society.

And when we are conscious of the economic laws we then inevitably conclude that the working class is the only truly revolutionary class.

And then we come to see that the laws of capitalist exploitation mold and compel the working class to be the main gravediggers of capitalism.

By the law-governed process the working class has become the main force for social change. Not to see the leading role of the working class is not to see the direction of history, the direction of progress and social change.

Quite understandably, the ruling class rejects all concepts of laws because all objective laws are proof that they are the force holding back social progress, that history is leaving them behind, that capitalism is the old and socialism is replacing it with the new—including a whole new set of social and economic laws.

The High Cost of Violating the Laws

Many Communists and revolutionary parties have at times "deviated from the path of class struggle," as Engels pointed out.

In each case, they have either ignored or "revised" the basic laws of capitalist development.

The two big mistakes (as Bill Foster called them, "the big ones") were also related to ignoring and distorting the laws of capitalist development.

In earlier years, some of our Party leaders decided that the laws Karl Marx discovered applied to capitalism in general, but that U.S. capitalism was the exception to the rule. They developed the concept that U.S. capitalism was too powerful and resourceful to be influenced by the internal contradictions based on the laws of their development. And, specifically, they said that U.S. capitalism could avoid the cyclical economic crisis inherent in other capitalist countries.

In 1929, when the stock market came tumbling down, so did the theories of "American exceptionalism." The law of economic crises, as Marx said, "works with iron necessity towards inevitable results."

Later, Earl Browder also decided that U.S. capitalism was different. Therefore, he said, the laws of surplus value and the class struggle did not apply and could be discarded and forgotten.

He theorized that the world had changed because of the anti-fascist alliance and, therefore, U.S. monopoly capitalism had learned a lesson.

He argued that in the interest of world cooperation and peace, as well as its own national interest, the United States would give up some of its greedy capitalist class interests.

Every opportunist policy is always proclaimed in the name of applying Marxism-Leninism to the "new, unique" situation. Browder argued that his opportunism was a further development of the science of Marxism-Leninism within the "new realities" in the United States.

He tried to overcome the laws of capitalist development and bypass Marxism-Leninism by declaring:

It does not apply. For the first time we are meeting and solving problems for which there are no precedents in history, no formulas [or laws] from the classics which give us the answer. (*The Communist*, Feb. 1944.)

Hitting the bottom of the barrel, Browder finally renounced the class struggle:

Here we are, in the United States—we who are proud to consider ourselves disciples of Lenin, are, in practice, collaborating with capital, and firmly denouncing those who advocate a class war against capital in the U.S. (*Political Affairs*, Jan. 1945, p. 3.)

The Law Prevails

But Truman's declaration of cold war quickly punctured that illusion. As was to be expected, the law of maximum corporate profits and the class struggle prevailed.

All serious movements, including the working-class political parties, must work within the reality of the day, taking into account the levels

of mass thought patterns that are reflections of the law-governed processes.

Policies, tactics, strategic concepts, to have any real meaning and effect, can not be subjective reactions. They must be geared to using the laws and their effects to influence and affect mass thought patterns.

Opportunism Is No-Win, Dead-End Road

Opportunism, both the Left and Right varieties, is in fact a negation of the Marxist concept of law-governed processes.

Opportunism is a negative of the objective laws that sustain the class struggle on center stage—where it will remain as long as capitalism exists.

And, all opportunism is a negation of the advanced role of the working class.

It is a negation of the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism.

It is a negation of working-class partisanship to replace it with concepts of class collaboration and class partnership.

As we know, Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma. It is a growing, developing science. However, there are objective truths which are revealed by applying the science. These truths are reflections of the laws of the real world. And they are not negotiable. They can not be changed or molded to fit anyone's subjective ideas or concepts of reality.

There are objective truths of the capitalist system based on the objective laws which are constant, stable and unalterable.

Attempting to bypass, ignore or retreat from the objective truth that the class struggle is the inner nature, the primary essence of capitalism is, therefore, to take the path of opportunism. And opportunism, in its essence, is nothing but an attempt to in one way or another do away with the class struggle. It is a no-win, dead-end road. It is a violation of the objective laws. But it is also betrayal of the working class.

To attempt in any way to even water down or push into the background the special role that the laws of social and economic development have assigned to the working class is to ignore reality and to move along the path of opportunism, of class betrayal.

And it follows that not to see and approach

workers as a single class, determined by their place in the system of production, is to be blind to the concept of the existence of classes in general.

It is an objective truth that the working class is the only revolutionary class. And it is the decisive force in all fields of struggle. Because of its critical position in the production process it is the key element in the struggle for democracy and against monopoly oppression.

And, as it increasingly becomes conscious of its status and role as a class—class consciousness—it becomes a critical force in the struggle against all bourgeois ideological currents.

In the United States, and in all countries where racism is an instrument of superprofits, the working class is a key force.

Because as Marxist-Leninists we have confidence in the working class, we have confidence, therefore, that we can win against racism. Our confidence in the working class is not fatalistic or romantic. It is determined by our basic understanding of the laws and processes of capitalism.

There is a clear dialectical relationship between the struggle against class exploitation and the struggles against exploitation and oppression based on and fed by racism—directed in the first place against the Afro-American community.

Therefore, for us in the United States the alliance between the working class—which is itself multiracial and multinational—and the some 50 million racially and nationally oppressed peoples, is a key ingredient in all fields of struggle—economic, political and ideological.

The developing, growing, working-class consciousness is therefore a critical ingredient for plowing under all ideological currents that are designed to support every type of exploitation and oppression. Because this class consciousness is based on real class interests it tends to overcome all alien class ideological influences.

Therefore, any underestimation or undermining of the critical role assigned to the working class is not only opportunistic, but weakens every area of struggle.

These are objective truths. They are not only for ceremonial purposes, for speeches, articles or resolutions. They are the solid, indestructible Marxist-Leninist framework into which all questions, tactics, policies and strategic concepts must

be placed and dealt with.

There are some who opportunistically retreat from these objective truths by eliminating the word Leninism; others by discarding both Marxism and Leninism. But there are also some who discard these basic truths in the name of Marxism-Leninism, class struggle and the working class.

And this brings us back to the concept and laws of appearance and essence. For instance, one can appear to uphold the laws, but in essence betray them or ignore them.

Maoism for years repeated high-sounded phrases and cliches about the class struggle and the working class while in practice it was following the most consistently non-working class, petty bourgeois, nationalistic, class-collaborationist policies, both internally and in foreign affairs.

In the world arena generally opportunism leads to concepts of the so-called "two superpowers," a big lie campaign which was led by Maoism. Placing the blame for the danger of war or nuclear disaster equally on the "two superpowers" is a coverup for imperialism and a slanderous big lie about the Soviet Union.

It is a coverup of the basic law of the inherent drive for maximum corporate profits that leads to victories of imperialist aggression and war.

And, it is a vicious slander against the opposite, opposing set of inherent laws that motivate the socialist system toward policies of peace, support for movements of national liberation and social progress.

There are no non-Marxist-Leninist short cuts to victory. Opportunism may appear as if it is realistic, as if it corresponds to reality. But in fact, it denies and gives up the class struggle and with it reality itself.

Marxism-Leninism is the philosophy and world outlook of the working class because it is a

philosophy of social progress. Therefore, of necessity it is integrated with the force that is the main propellant of social progress—the working class.

The working class is the only sector of society that can—in fact is compelled—to ignite, organize and carry out the social revolution and the transition to socialism which will end exploitation forever.

The process of revolutionary change is inevitable and never-ending. But the speed of the progress is determined by the people, by the working class, by their consciousness and their will to act.

And the actions of the people are determined by how they understand what the laws of the process are all about.

And how well they understand is determined by what help they can get, what leadership is available.

And, of course, this brings us back to the working-class science of Marxism-Leninism.

And Marxism-Leninism, in turn, brings us to the fact that the Communist Party has become a historic necessity, an indispensable factor in this whole process.

These are precisely the conclusions that Karl Marx came to during his lifetime, conclusions he did not just ponder and write about, but acted on.

So, we can say, the final law of Marxism-Leninism is that you study, you learn, you become knowledgeable in order to become a more effective fighter, a better leader. The transition from thought to action does not take place without effort. To learn, to study, to know many things without putting them into practice, into action, is wasted effort.

To know, to be like Karl Marx, is to be a human being who thinks and acts and (as Karl Marx liked to say) to "work for the world."

Discussion of 'Revolutionary Legacy of Karl Marx' (I)

LEE DLUGIN

Gus Hall's task, if we want to call it a task, was to deal with the writings and teachings of Karl Marx in terms of their meaning for today.

My task here is to comment on those comments. And that is a task, but a most pleasant one.

Judging by your applause for Gus Hall's paper, we have some basic agreements between us about that contribution.

It is profound in that it gets to the very essence of what Karl Marx was uncovering and speaking about to the workers and people of the world.

It is deep, covering all the fundamental aspects of Marx' studies, and makes clear for us their interconnections and impact on each other, thus stirring our dialectical thought processes to better understand the nature of the U.S. and capitalist world economic and political crisis.

It is scientific in that all the frames of reference are derived from Marx' scientific contribution and then explained in very basic terms.

It is penetrating in so far as it clears the cobwebs from our minds so that we may more fully understand the ideological rot pouring out of the corporate-military think-tank operations which are aimed at disarming, confusing, misleading and diverting the class struggle.

It is challenging. It stirs us, calls on us to put to practical use in the class struggle, in the mass movement, the very tools needed to advance that struggle, to stay the hand of the war-minded corporate profiteers, to arm the working class with the ideas needed to guide that struggle.

In every sense, the presentation was basic. But those who know Gus Hall, who work with him or who read his works, know that he is a very basic political person, an organizer of millions in that regard. His column on basic Marxist approaches to mass struggle, which appears regularly in the *Daily World*, is a key weapon in the class struggle of

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ideas today. In fact, the column is entitled *Basics* — i.e., basics in Marxism-Leninism.

What is Karl Marx's lesson for today? What is Gus Hall's message for today? What is it that we should leave here with? What is the message for the period?

—that the basic and irreconcilable difference between labor and capital remains;

—that the contradiction between social production and a system of private ownership remains;

—that the contradictions arising out of those relationships grows sharper and deeper;

—that the struggle to resolve those contradictions by doing away with private ownership of the means of production is an ongoing process.

As Gus Hall pointed out, Marxism-Leninism is the theory and method of socialist revolution. That revolution is the "Locomotive of History," that it has become a law of social development, that the further humanity progresses from the age of Marx, the closer it moves toward Marxism-Leninism.

It is these concepts, these scientific tenets, these conclusions, which put to rest any abstractly drawn notions that U.S. and/or world capitalism are immovable or invincible.

It is with that understanding that we must view the struggle today, most particularly the struggles of the working class to preserve and improve its living standards — and, in this period of growing chronic unemployment, for actual survival.

While the workers seems to move willy-nilly in these struggles, in fact, they grow ever more aware of themselves as members of a class — one which is systematically oppressed and which must remain in constant struggle to achieve any of its goals.

But the process of development of class consciousness is speeded up and advanced through the Leninist style of revolutionary struggle. For Gus Hall points out, "Marxism is the theoretical-

scientific expression of the vital interests of the working class."

Hall pointed out further that "Marx made sense out of human society and history. He revealed the orderly, working principles of change. He revealed the inner laws of motion of society and history, that objective laws and order operate in social life."

And most important, as Hall pointed out, "People can understand and utilize these laws of social development in their own interests," and that then, "By knowing the laws of motion people can act to advance, influence and accelerate the direction."

It is precisely these laws of human development which dictate the necessity of the emergence of a party of a new type, a revolutionary party, a party which consciously and militantly brings into the class struggle the ideas of Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, of Lenin.

It is precisely the task of Communists, the Communist Party and all those who share its ideas and convictions, on whatever level, to wage the most intensive ideological struggle in this period to combat the massive infusion of lies, distortions and fraudulent propaganda of the capitalist class and its ideological itinerants who roam the countryside spreading the propaganda of the ruling class. That is the logical thrust which emanates the whole of Gus Hall's presentation.

The class struggle is developing unevenly. But its main direction is forward.

As Gus Hall has pointed out many times in other forums, this has been a period of defensive struggle for the working class, a period with setbacks, but also one in which the class is turning around into a path of forward struggle — on to the offensive.

While the class has absorbed punishing blows from its enemy, it should be clear to us that they have in fact been absorbed — and not proven to be fatal. This is true of the setbacks in General Motors, Ford, Teamster and other contract struggles. While employers have imposed wage- and benefit-cutting contracts on workers, in the guise of helping the company overcome the effects of the capitalist crisis and to save jobs, the fact is, workers have come to realize that while the cuts

were taking place, the only result has been to fatten corporate profits while jobs were destroyed by the tens of thousands.

It was these experiences and, in addition, class-struggle type leadership, which moved workers in the electrical, meatpacking, coal, steel and even auto industries to rebel and carry out militant struggles against wage cutting and for economic gains. That turnaround motion is still in process and not yet complete. But the illusion that wage cuts make jobs has, in the main, been dispelled.

Mass working-class struggle and massive class battles have been part and parcel of U.S. capitalist life from its very inception. Karl Marx, Marxist ideas and socialist consciousness have been part of the struggle through the years and are present today.

It is that condition which gave rise to the outpouring of thousands of coal miners in 1981 in Washington, D.C., against attempts by the government to cut out their Black Lung Law protections. That was a strike aimed squarely at the seat of state power of U.S. state monopoly capitalism. That action was victorious. It was such miner militancy and strikes which compelled passage of the Black Lung Law in the first place, strikes aimed precisely against state authority.

That action was followed by a myriad of mass demonstrations against the capitalist fortresses in state after state and city after city. They are going on still today.

These local battles culminated in the mass demonstration for jobs and justice — for jobs, not bombs — on September 19, 1981. The composition, class character and militancy of that rally served to revitalize the working class, to instill into it new confidence in its inherent power and historic role.

This rising tide laid the basis for the massive outpouring for peace of a million people on June 12, 1982, throughout the country.

These massive, uniting actions laid the basis for the major stride forward in the development of the all-people's electoral front victory on Nov. 2, 1982. This action was another notice served on U.S. state monopoly capitalism that the working class is on the move.

It is significant and important to take note that in all these actions the trade union movement has played an ever-increasing and more advanced role. The rising consciousness and the rising militancy are moving the trade union leadership into new and more advanced positions. That is how Marxists interpret the incessant forward motion of the class struggle.

This growth in working-class consciousness is the motivating force pushing otherwise reluctant union leaders to support a nuclear freeze, to call for an end to aid to the fascist junta in El Salvador, for support of affirmative action, as in the Weber case, for the support of the national action August 27 commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the Martin Luther King Jr. march on Washington. It is worker consciousness which is moving the whole of the trade union movement to call demonstrations to be held in all 50 states this Labor Day, to demand jobs and justice — to build support for labor's demand for a \$68.5 billion jobs program.

It is the growing militancy of the unemployed for jobs and for their survival needs which impels labor to these demands. It is the struggle to win these demands which lays the basis for winning more basic demands, such as the shorter work week and nationalization. Winning those de-

mands will require very basic class unity — unity of Black and white workers, of men and women, of young and old and all workers. It is that very process of unification in the struggle which will open the way to even more decisive class battles. That is the dialectical nature of struggle as we have heard today. That is the road to the decisive final battle led by the working class.

We will all agree, I am sure, that Karl Marx was the best spokesman and representative of the world working class. No matter how well written, or allegedly poorly written, Karl Marx was correct. Even in writing poetry, Marx put the key question — organized struggle. Let me then requote part of Marx' poem and view it in this context.

Therefore let us always dare,
Never stopping, never resting,
Never made so dull with care
that we've finished with protesting.

Gus Hall often uses the expression "the bottom line." Let me close with a "bottom line" quote from his magnificent presentation today: "The process of revolutionary change is inevitable and never ending. But the speed of the process is determined by the people, by the working class, by their consciousness and their will to act."

(Continued from page 2)

as passionate partisans and fighters for a new and better socialist future. As the greatest revolutionary of our century, Vladimir Lenin, said, Karl Marx made socialism a science, and thereby taught us how to fight for it. We can know the

future of society and speed its arrival with the certainty that any scientist can analyze and influence a natural process.

This legacy of Karl Marx grows more potent with every passing year.

Discussion of 'Revolutionary Legacy of Karl Marx' (II)

JARVIS TYNER

Gus Hall has presented a popular theoretical discussion of real Marxism, of the real Marx, his personality and his mammoth contribution to the progress of the sciences, both social and physical, to human thought, and, most of all, to the struggle of humanity to reach a higher level of existence: socialism.

Throughout history, humankind has suffered exploitation, scarcity, oppression, squalor, poverty, hunger, colonialism, slavery and war, and the byproducts of racial and national chauvinism, male supremacy, bourgeois nationalism. Humankind has paid an enormous price and suffered great setbacks and detours on its road toward progress because it has not always been able to identify, define and defeat the source of its oppression.

An essential theme in nearly all bourgeois interpretations of history is the assumption that these evils have their origin in the basic makeup of human beings. Volumes have been written to further this self-defeating, anti-human idea, an idea that has only served reaction and is a huge block on the road to human progress. Marx's contribution has considerably cleared away this ideological debris. What we have heard this morning is an example of the essence of Marxism. Marx helped humankind identify and define, and therefore defeat, the source, the bourgeois source, of the systemically-based human suffering under capitalism.

The advent of Marxism-Leninism and the founding of the Communist movement gave birth to a new day in the class struggle. Now the working class could accurately and consciously carry out its struggle for emancipation and in doing so accelerate the pace of all human progress.

Today, millions are asking why: Why mass unemployment? Why am I losing my hard-earned

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possessions? Why am I heatless, homeless and hungry? Why a trillion dollar military budget, while social programs are cut back and human problems ignored? Why racism, why injustice? To feel injustice is one thing, but to challenge it correctly and effectively requires a deeper understanding of the *why*.

Basic Marxism tells it like it is: The source of value is labor; the source of profit is the exploitation of labor. The capitalist few own the means of production and exploit others; the working-class many do not own the means of production and must sell their ability to work in order to survive, and they are exploited. The plight of the workers is the real plight of society. Despite the great wealth of a few exploiters, if the people are impoverished society becomes crisis-ridden. Today the very rich are richer than ever, but the quality of life in our nation is impoverished. This system does not spread the wealth to the many, it is accumulated by the few. This system does not trickle down its wealth. Through exploitation it concentrates it in the hands of the few.

Today every effort is being made to tell the workers and their families that this economic crisis is their own fault. "Your wages are too high, your demands too great." "You didn't work hard enough and long enough." Besides, say the propagandists, those on welfare, who live in officially-sanctioned starvation, receive "too much." But these lies are not enough for the ruling class. To further confuse and divide they throw in a huge dose of poison on racism and anti-Communism. They use extreme individualism to isolate each worker and repression to frighten. All of this is to convince society that the workers and not the system are responsible for the crisis. Blaming the victim is the capitalist class' main ideological attack.

But people are rejecting this in large numbers. They are learning the whys, who is responsible,

and increasingly they are learning the answer, the way out. Because Marxism clarifies the whys and whos of exploitation, it is a mighty force for unity. Marxism breaks the back of racism, which divides the exploited and by so doing helps enrich the exploiters.

Marxism breaks the back of male supremacy and shows how men and women can relate in dignity and harmony. Marxism and Leninism unite workers of all countries, opening the prospect of peace, prosperity, and real freedom for all. No wonder it has lasted for over one hundred years since the death of its creator. As they wallow in their loot on Wall Street, they say, "Thank you, Paine Webber," but as we march toward real human progress, we say, "Thank you, Karl Marx!"

Marxism uplifts and inspires the demoralized and the downtrodden. Marxism humanizes, it energizes, the greatest force for change and revolution in the world, the working class. This is why, in our country, when no bourgeois economist, not even the laughable Laffer with his curve, has the inkling of a solution to the crisis — millions of working people are seeking the science of Marxism-Leninism. They are looking for answers to the daily pressures and pain of capitalism in crisis.

The value of Gus Hall's paper is that it can be read and understood by the average working person. This was not an attempt to over-intellectualize or to mystify Marxism, but rather to bring out the down-to-earth natural essence of the science and the scientist. The revolutionary thing to do, as Gus Hall is doing, is to increasingly bring that science to masses of U.S. working people.

Marx's intent was not that Marxism become the sole property of the "theoretically erudite," middle-class, activist intellectual. While the revolution must and will have a base among the middle classes, they alone will never bring about socialism. The main force of the revolution, including its leadership, must and will be the working class. The main purpose of Marxism is to liberate the working class; it is for the working class in the first place. Marxism is a guide to action. It can be understood by the average worker. Out of the trade union movement in our country have

emerged great Marxist-Leninists. Out of today's trade union movement will emerge many more. Out of the mass movements in the working-class communities, in the ghettos and barrios, have come and will come great Marxist-Leninist thinkers and leaders.

Gus Hall's paper is a fine example of how to bring this magnificent science to our working class. Once a more substantial portion of the working class in the United States understands this science, there will be an acceleration in the revolutionary process. Today our working class is on the move. An all-peoples anti-Reagan front has developed. There is a new level of working-class radicalization in the country. During the upsurge of the sixties, which was largely middle-class and student-led, though the working class was a decisive part, there were many radical slogans, radical anti-capitalist forms and ideas that came forward, but that movement as a whole never adopted anything as advanced in its rejection of anti-Sovietism, for example, as the freeze resolutions which are now being voted on by millions of working people in hundreds of communities throughout this country. The radicalization of the sixties still carried a strong anti-Soviet bias. That is increasingly being rejected by working people. Solidarity Day predated June 12. The upsurge of the eighties has much stronger working-class leadership. Therefore it hits more directly at the heart of capitalist class exploitation in both domestic and international matters.

Just think of the popular majority that is for a slash in the military budget. Just think of that in terms of where we have come from. U.S. workers today are not afraid of concepts like nationalization of abandoned basic industries and utilities, and they have shown so in opinion polls and votes across the country. The acceptance of advanced concepts is growing, coming out of the experience of the working class itself. Gus Hall's paper strongly reflects the optimism of the Communist movement. We believe in our class' ability to understand, to unite, to organize and to carry out its historic mission.

Out of the experience of the working class in our country there emerges spontaneously an understanding of what is wrong and of what to do. It

needs to be tempered by theory. But I am reminded of a wonderful slogan that has come out of the unemployed movement in the recent period: "If you think this system is working talk to somebody who's not." This is the working class examining the heart of the matter and beginning to draw new conclusions. There are many more such slogans. "What we can not do alone we can do together" is a slogan out of the unemployed movement in Los Angeles. What a marvelous way to put the need for unity, organization and struggle.

The Marxist interpretation of the economic crisis must be brought in greater volume to the working class of our country, to help to bring that new kind of thinking to a new level. If we organize we can wrest major gains in this period. Big steps toward fundamental change are possible today.

(Continued on page 20)

preme Court ruling on integration be implemented with a series of laws and governmental regulations backed by enforceable quotas. The struggle against racist ideas must be fought out around a program of action.

Many years ago Frederick Engels compared the future of the U.S. class struggle to a promisory note whose due date would soon arrive. The speed with which the crisis in our country is deepening indicates that the due date is approaching with increasing rapidity. As it does, the old concepts which have had great sway over the working people of our country are being pushed to the side. At this political and ideological crossroads, the working class is being called upon, as Marx predicted, to take center stage in the conflict. To do so it must be ideologically as well as organizationally prepared to play its independent role.

The 10-point program contained in the Eco-

Socialism will come to the U.S. The objective laws of history, as Gus Hall mentioned, show us why it will come. For over ninety per cent of its existence, humankind lived in hunting and gathering societies. The *Communist Manifesto* was written in 1848. In 1917 the first socialist country emerged. After the Second World War a system of socialist states was established. The national liberation upsurge took off then also. In Asia, Africa and Latin America new and powerful socialist and anti-imperialist forces, new countries and new leaders have emerged.

Marxism-Leninism is getting stronger every day, and bourgeois theory and the position of the bourgeoisie is getting weaker. To be with the ever-strengthening ideas of Marxism, of Marx, Engels and Lenin, is to be at the frontline of humanity's march forward.

conomic Bill of Rights and the 10-point program for equality issued by the Communist Party's conference in Milwaukee is an important contribution to that preparation. It is in the tradition of the 17-point program of the Communist League, issued in 1848 in Germany under Marx's leadership.

As then, the independent program of the working class must be fought for in shops and communities across our country.

Is it any wonder that the recent session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party gave so much emphasis to expanding the mass ideological work of the Party, particularly in the area of building the working-class press?

In learning how to do this, the working class of the United States has in Karl Marx a great teacher. His writings and mass experiences in the area of mass education remain a powerful guide to our work.

Karl Marx and the Progress of Socialism

TIMUR TIMOFEEV

A number of memorable dates are being celebrated this year — dates that represent important milestones in the development of the world working-class movement, in the struggle of the broad masses of working people against exploitation, militarism and national oppression and for true social progress and peace.

The most notable of these dates is the centenary of the death of Karl Marx, the great founder of scientific socialism.

This summer we will also observe the 80th anniversary of Bolshevism, which has existed since the 1903 Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party.

There is a continuity between these memorable dates, which are organically linked. By creatively developing and applying revolutionary theory in the conditions of the twentieth century, Lenin and Leninists have translated the ideas of Marx into reality.

It is not surprising that questions concerning the historic destiny of Marx's teaching, the prospects for the development of socialism, proved to be in the center of attention of the broad public everywhere, including the United States. "No matter what one thinks or Bolshevism," John Reed wrote after the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917, "it is undeniable that the Russian Revolution is one of the great events of human history, and the rise of Bolsheviki — a phenomenon of world-wide importance."¹ When summarizing his main impressions after numerous meetings with workers and peasants in the young Soviet republic, he noted in his last articles: "I found that the Soviet order had bitten deep into the life of the people, that the new society was already an old-established and accustomed thing."² These prophetic words later became an

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obvious reality for the entire world.



The world "socialism" began to appear in the press of various countries one and a half centuries ago. This term was used for the first time in February 1832 by the Saint-Simonese newspaper *Le Globe*, published in Paris.³ Beginning with 1833 the terms "socialist movement," "struggle for socialism" began to appear in Owenite publications in Britain.⁴ They also appeared in the publications of labor organizations in the USA.

Marx's great historical merit was the transformation of socialism from an utopia, from a general idea and abstract dream, into a science.

The great scientific discoveries, the revolutionary ideas which have gripped the minds of hundreds of millions of people in different continents and have become a colossal material force, are linked with the name of Karl Marx.

The fundamental tenets of Marx's teaching are:

—the inevitability of the replacement of the capitalist mode of production by a new social system which knows no exploitation of man by man;

—the historic mission of the working class as the builder of socialist society;

—scientific substantiation of the dialectical principle of development applied to the new society (including its various stages of gradual development into full communism).

Ever since Marx there has been sharp controversy over the meaning of the conception of socialism. Ever since Lenin and the October Revolution of 1917 this debate has also included the question of the character of the society born in this revolution.

Some people in this debate remain caught in a sterile opposition:

—either "pure" democracy (in the bourgeois-liberal, "pluralistic" sense), or in fact "freedom" as a means of fighting socialism;

—either the Euro-centric view that socialism can

only emerge from a highly developed industrial Western society, or the marginalist conceptions and ideas (developed by authors like Samir Amin and Paul M. Sweezy)⁵ — conceptions that the real revolutionary challenge must come only from the periphery of the contemporary capitalist system. All such views overlook the international significance of existing socialism, the deep changes in the correlation of social forces in the world, the aggravation of internal contradictions of imperialism, the role of the international working-class movement, and the essential unity and mutual support of all the main trends and forces of the world revolutionary process.

Already 140 years ago, at the dawn of Marxism, its founders forecast that socialism, both as a progressive social movement and as a new social system, would inevitably follow from the existing general conditions of modern civilization, rather than as a consequence of specific national conditions. They also emphasized that increasingly large numbers of working people in different countries would inevitably come to the conclusion that a radical revolution in the social structure, to a system based on collective property, had become an urgent necessity.⁶ In this connection it was pointed out that there was an imperative need for the supporters of social transformation in various countries to get to know each other better; if that was achieved they would all sincerely wish their brothers-communists in other countries every success.⁷

Marx and Engels already began to use the term "scientific socialism" in their first joint articles, as well as in other publications.⁸ The understanding of the principles of socialism was deepened and developed in many works of classical Marxism.

They always considered the coming socialist society as a dynamic, developing social system. For example, Otto Boenigck, a German who lectured on social problems and socialist teachings at the University of Breslau at the end of the last century, posed the question: are socialist transformations in a society where considerable differences between classes exist in education, in consciousness, etc., possible and expedient? The founders of scientific communism answered this question in the affirmative. Above all they were convinced that

the emergence and development of socialist society should be approached *realistically*, analyzing its dynamics from scientific, dialectical positions. Explaining his views on this point in a letter to Boenigck, Engels pointed out that socialist society was by no means something established once and for all, but, like any other social system, it should be considered as being susceptible to constant changes and transformations.⁹ Discussing questions related to the practical implementation of socialism, Marx and Engels resolutely opposed all doubts and arguments of those who, like Boenigck, referred to the "ignorance of the masses,"¹⁰ the "insufficient maturity" of the working people, and so on.

Karl Marx was both a theoretician of genius and a great political revolutionary.

Unlike utopian authors, including various kinds of petty bourgeois ideologists, Marx had no intention of guessing what the future society would be like. In 1844 he wrote that he was not attempting to dogmatically anticipate the future, but simply wanted to find the new world through criticism of the old one.¹¹ According to Lenin, Marx made no attempt to invent Utopias, to idly guess about something which was impossible to know. Marx raised the question of communism as a naturalist raises, say, the question of the development of a new biological species. It is known that it emerges in a certain way and develops in a certain direction.¹²

Marxism studies the laws of social progress in strict conformity with the main premises of the materialist conception of history. The basis of history, according to this conception, is social production, the production of the means of subsistence, of the material wealth necessary for supporting human existence. From the multitude of all social relations Marx singled out *relations of production*. He saw in them the basis on which political institutions and the spiritual life of society are shaped.

Lenin, in his work "Karl Marx," set forth in concentrated form some of the main conclusions of Marx's teaching: "Marx deduces the inevitability of the transformation of capitalist society into socialist society wholly and exclusively from the economic law of the development of contempo-

rary society. The socialization of labor, which is advancing ever more rapidly in thousands of forms and has manifested itself very strikingly . . . in the growth of large-scale production, capitalist cartels, syndicates and trusts, as well as in a gigantic increase in the dimensions and power of finance capital, provides the principal material foundation for the inevitable advent of socialism. *The intellectual and moral motive force and the physical executor of this transformation is the proletariat, which has been trained by capitalism itself.*"¹³

In Marx's epoch the working class was still not numerically strong enough and sufficiently solid and organized to be able to turn the course of history in its favor, and in favor of the broadest popular masses. But Marx, together with Engels, did much to save the proletariat from the negative influence of all kinds of primitive utopian theories. They imparted to the working class a clear understanding of the intolerable position of the proletariat in bourgeois society, thereby arming the working class with confidence in its forces, and preparing them for the coming revolutionary battles.¹⁴ They saluted the heroes of the Paris Commune of 1871, who "stormed the heavens."

The great founder of the theory of scientific socialism did not live to see the construction of real socialist society. The first victorious socialist revolution took place a third of a century after his death. Another three decades later socialism became a world commonwealth of states. At present socialist countries occupy over a quarter of the inhabited land area of the earth with *one-third* of the world's population. The countries of socialism already account for *two-fifths* of the world's industrial output.¹⁵

Marx characterized socialism as a system based, first and foremost, on "collectivism, on the common ownership of the means of production."¹⁶

Speaking about the theoretical and methodological fundamentals of Marx's teaching, Lenin emphasized, in particular, that Marx's entire theory was the application of the theory of development—in its most consistent, fullest form—to modern capitalism, and that it was only natural for Marx to apply this theory also to the *future* development of *future* communism. Lenin further wrote that what was usually called socialism Marx called

the "first" or lower phase of communist society. "The great significance of Marx's explanations is that here, too, he consistently applies materialist dialectics, the theory of development, regards communism as something which develops out of capitalism. Instead of scholastically-invented, 'concocted' definitions and fruitless disputes about words (what is socialism? what is communism?), Marx gives an analysis of what might be called the stages of the economic maturity of communism."¹⁷

Marx not only showed the perspective of social progress but also indicated the chief force that would effect this restructuring—the class of "contemporary workers."¹⁸

The conditions which emerged after the victory of the October Revolution contributed to preparing the working class of Russia to create a new type of social relations. In the course of socialist construction the creative potential of the working class becomes increasingly evident, its influence upon social processes grows still stronger.

Under socialism its role of *intellectual motive force* of all social progress multiplies; in addition, revolutionary theory is systematically enriched by new conclusions and provisions. "It is socialism," Y. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU, notes, "that removes the age-old barriers separating labor and culture and creates a highly durable alliance of the workers, peasants, intelligentsia, of all workers by hand and by brain, in which the leading role is played by the working class. It brings the achievements of science, technology, literature and art within the reach of the working masses."¹⁹

At the same time the principles of collective morality of the working class, based on the age-old aspirations of the working people for social equality and social justice, are becoming more widespread in the new society than ever before. Under socialism they are being assimilated by ever larger numbers of working people, are being translated into the practice of socialist construction, and many of them are acquiring the force of law. Naturally, this strengthens the position of the working class as the *moral motive force* of the process of revolutionary remaking of society.

Under socialism, opportunities for the working

class to be the "physical executor" of such renovation are greatly increased: it is the *main productive force* and at the same time the *leading socio-political force* of society.

The growth of such opportunities is determined, first and foremost, by the accelerated economic development of countries which embark on the road of socialist transformation and by the corresponding increase in the number of workers and their share in the population. The industrialization of these countries makes for a greater role of the working class in the economy, while the concentration of a considerable part of workers at large industrial enterprises makes for further consolidation of their organization and collectivism.

But industrialization and then the transition to the stage of scientific-industrial production not only multiply the ranks of the working class. This direction of socio-economic development also ensures the consolidation of the leading position of the working class in socialist society, makes it possible to implement vast programs aimed at restructuring the entire way of life of the masses on the basis of genuine collectivism.

It should be emphasized, however, that the creative abilities of the working class are determined not only by the *objective* course of historical progress. The *subjective preparedness* of the working class for this role is of the utmost importance. This idea was formulated in an aphorism by Marx, who wrote that the number of workers was a decisive factor only when the masses were embraced by organization and organization was guided by knowledge.²⁰

The activity of the most conscious part of the working class—its vanguard—is of great importance for the strengthening of this subjective factor. It raises the consciousness of workers to the level enabling them to grasp Marxism, thus contributing to the realization by the majority of the working people of their vital interests and goals.

On the basis of a scientific analysis of the correlation of class forces in a given country and in the international arena, of the state of the economy, of the level of its socio-political and cultural development, Communists determine the means for the construction of the new society, corresponding to the internal and external conditions, enlist

the participation of ever broader strata of the population in carrying out the planned objectives. In this process the strengthening of the *links between the Communist Parties* in power and the working masses is of great importance. The weakening of these links or an incorrect understanding of the existing situation can be fraught with grave mistakes injurious to the cause of socialists.

It should be borne in mind that the revolution in property relations does not in itself eliminate all negative features human society accumulated over the centuries.

It is obvious that full social equality does not spring up overnight in finished form. Society develops toward it gradually, overcoming difficulties, at the cost of great efforts. The movement toward full social equality, toward communist forms of distribution of material wealth, is a long and multifaceted process consisting of a number of stages. Each of these stages is distinguished by different opportunities to put forward and practically implement programs aimed at creating the most favorable conditions for the comprehensive development of all members of society.

The founders of Marxism forecast that socialist society would be subject to constant changes.²¹

The historical approach to the analysis of the socialist future of mankind enabled Marx and Engels to discover the necessity of a *transitional period* from the old society to the new one, to determine the class nature of the state corresponding to this period and, proceeding from the same assumption, to evolve the premise about two phases in the development of the new communist society: socialism and communism. Lenin not only generalized the teaching of Marx and Engels on the two phases of the communist formation, but also developed it further.

Proceeding from Marx's teaching, Lenin, creatively developing and enriching revolutionary theory, considered the differences between the initial and the higher stages of the new society. Of course it was a question of tackling the problem in a concise form. In its entirety it was revealed only as the socialist society consolidated itself and developed, and as its potentialities were more fully realized. At the same time Lenin emphasized that the most difficult task in large-scale transforma-

tion and change in social life is taking into account the specificity of every transition.²²

Lenin conceived the new society as a dynamic one. He criticized the usual "bourgeois conception of socialism as something lifeless, rigid, fixed once and for all."²³

Like Marx, Lenin regarded the birth of the new society from the old one to be a natural historical process which, after the socialist revolution, ceased to have a spontaneous character and to an increasingly greater degree began to be determined by the scientifically-organized, purposeful activities of the masses.

Not long before the October Revolution, Lenin wrote: "We do not claim that Marx knew or Marxists know the road to socialism down to the last detail. It would be nonsense to claim anything of the kind. What we know is the direction to this road, and the class forces that follow it; the specific, practical details will come to light only through the experience of the millions when they take things into their own hands."²⁴

During Lenin's life the main attention of the Bolshevik Party was concentrated on the analysis and solution of the problems of the *transitional period* and on the *initial* stage of the struggle for the construction of a socialist society.

The entire road traversed by the USSR and the other socialist countries proves the fact that socialism, even at later stages of its development, needs precise and comprehensive self-knowledge. Its most important element is the realization of the concrete stages of the new society's further development after the construction and consolidation of its foundation.

Great interest in these problems is also due to the fact that today one can say with greater reason than before that socialism as such (after the end of the transitional period) represents a relatively prolonged stage of the development of the new society in its process of final transformation into communism.

Marxists-Leninists proceed from the assumption that "strictly differentiating between stages that are essentially different, soberly examining the conditions under which they manifest themselves, does not at all mean indefinitely postponing one's ultimate aim or slowing down one's

progress in advance."²⁵ Lenin clearly realized that after the construction of the foundations of socialism the new system would achieve increasing maturity and arrive at the state which Lenin termed as "developed socialist society," "mature socialism," etc.

Developed socialism is a stage of maturity of the new society at which it already develops on its own foundation and when, correspondingly, the refashioning of the whole complex of social relations on collectivist lines, which are intrinsic to the new society, is nearing completion.

The concept of developed socialism shows the dialectical unity of the real successes in socialist construction and the growing shoots of the communist future as well as the still outstanding problems of the previous phases of historical development. Andropov noted in this connection: "We must have a sober idea of where we are. To run ahead means to put forward unfeasible tasks. To rest content with what has been achieved means failure to utilize everything we have. What is required now is to see our society in real dynamics, with all its potentialities and needs."²⁶

What are the main guidelines and objectives of Soviet Communists, of the broadest masses of the working people in the Soviet Union, which taken in complex, make for the further strengthening of the USSR and consequently the perfection of developed socialism?

To begin with, mature socialist society relies on considerably greater *developed productive forces*. Soviet industry, both in scale and degree of technical equipment, is today radically different from what it was several decades ago. One should also bear in mind that socialist construction began in incredibly difficult international and domestic conditions, in the conditions of economic dislocation, the aftermath of World War I, of military intervention by 14 foreign states and the Civil War, that the economic foundation of the new socialist system was laid in the years of the first Five-Year Plan periods. As a result, by 1940 the national income of the USSR was 5.4 times greater than in 1913; the gross industrial output had increased 7.7 times, while the output of heavy industry (production of the means of production) had grown by 13.4 times.²⁷

This rapid industrialization of the USSR made it possible for the Soviet people to emerge victorious in the war against fascism in 1941-45. Despite the fact that the country's economy suffered greatly during the war years, by 1950 the national income considerably exceeded that of 1940 (and this notwithstanding the fact that the consequences of the war continued to be felt for a long period of time, and in some respects are still felt, through their effects on the dynamics of labor resources. The pre-war level of population — approximately 200 million — was achieved by 1956).

The following data testify to the scope of the development of Soviet economy during the post-war decades: in comparison with 1940 the volume of the 1982 gross social product grew 15 times. In the last three decades (1951-81) the annual rate of growth of the national income in the USSR was 7.3 per cent (while in the USA — 3.4 per cent).²⁸

It has become possible to more fully satisfy the material and cultural needs of the people under developed socialism through utilization of the scientific and technological revolution, and on the basis of the dynamic growth of the country's economy.

Let us compare some of the important indices of development of the national economy in the USSR

and other CMEA countries, on the one hand, and of some leading capitalist countries, on the other (see table).

Of great importance for the development of the Soviet economy were such major achievements as the extensive development of nuclear power stations,²⁹ the creation of a new fuel-and-power base in Western Siberia, the more intensive economic development of the North, the construction of the Baikal-Amur railway and the beginning of economic development of its vast territory (1.5 million square kilometers, that is, three times the size of France) which is rich in natural deposits. Incidentally, a number of U.S. scientists and journalists, when speaking of the vast scale of the creative efforts of the Soviet working people, note the great importance and new enormous opportunities which are opened up by the colossal exploration of Siberian resources³⁰ for the development of international economic relations, including American-Soviet economic relations, in the next few years.

Let us dwell on some indicators characteristic of the rate of development of powerful petroleum and gas industries in the North of the Soviet Union. In 1965, during the initial stage of the exploration of petroleum and gas deposits in the northern areas of the country, 6 million tons of oil

RATE OF ECONOMIC GROWTH IN 1951-1981 (%)

	USSR	Bulgaria	Hungary	Czecho- slovakia	GDR	USA	FRG	Great Britain
Rate of Growth of National Income in 1951-1981	888	1200	486	500	669	282	449	203
including 1971-1981	168	203	162	157	167	139	132	117
Rate of growth of industrial output in 1951-1981	1300	2500	860	860	980	340	500	190
including 1971-1981	184	218	165	177	183	140	122	106
Rate of growth of labour productivity in industry in 1951-1981	543	680	439	512	654	254	404*	253**
including 1971-1981	161	175	177	166	170	132	141**	130**
Rate of growth of capital investments in 1951-1981	1100	2000	664	759	1400	239	474	277
including 1971-1981	172	193	148	165	152	126	119	100

* 1980 — in % to 1950; ** 1980 — in % to 1970.

Source: "USSR Economy: 1922-1982." (Statistical Year-Book). M., 1982, pp. 93, 95, 98, 115. (In Russian).

and 1 billion cubic meters of natural gas were produced. In 1970 42 million tons of oil and 18 billion cubic meters of gas were extracted in the area, in 1975 — 161 million tons of oil and 58 billion cubic meters of gas, and in 1981 — 358 million tons of oil and 217 billion cubic meters of gas.³¹ This is much more than half of the oil and almost a half of the natural gas produced in the entire country.

A great number of people, mostly young people, have moved to these areas from other parts of the country. Entire "constellations" of new towns and settlements have sprung up in a number of places there. "Young towns" — this term more and more often appears on the pages of Soviet newspapers. New railroads, highways and high-voltage transmission lines have been laid, a system of high-pressure oil- and gas-pipelines built. In short, despite difficult conditions, a powerful industrial infrastructure is being created.

A wider application of intensive methods of economic development is characteristic of developed socialism. It is all the more necessary because of such factors during the 1980s as a smaller increase of labor resources, growing expenditures for protection of the environment, increasing cost of exploration of the country's northern and eastern areas, etc.³²

A number of comprehensive economic programs are oriented towards increasing the intensity of this work.

A stable rate of economic growth and planned development are characteristic of the USSR and of other socialist countries.

Under socialism one can judge the character of the country's economy and its efficiency, taking into account not only purely economic but also *social* criteria, because the ultimate goal of social production here is to ensure the well-being of the working people, the all-round development of the individual.

Already during the initial stage of developed socialism a great deal has been done to raise the material and cultural standards of the working people, particularly evident in the 1960s and 1970s.³³

Under socialism the development of the economy is not an end in itself. It is subordinated, first and foremost, to the task of raising the living

standards of the people. The decisions of the Twenty-Sixth Congress of the CPSU emphasize in this respect: "During the 1980s the Communist Party will continue consistently to implement its economic strategy, the supreme objective of which is steady improvement of the material and cultural standards of the people's life and the creation of better conditions for the all-round development of the individual based on further growth of the efficiency of all social production, higher labor productivity and greater social and labor activity of the Soviet people".³⁴

Three-quarters of the national income is set aside for the consumption fund, and taking into account housing costs, four-fifths of the national income is allocated for the well-being of the people.

The people receive the form of wages, which are constantly increasing. The average monthly pay of workers and office employees more than doubled between 1960 and 1981.³⁵ Payments and benefits received by the population from social consumption funds are increasing even more rapidly. Compared with 1940 payments and benefits from social consumption funds (per capita) grew more than 18 times.³⁶

In the sphere of wages and social consumption funds, the Soviet state aimed at *drawing closer together* income levels. The incomes of the less well-to-do families therefore grew more rapidly. A significant increase in incomes resulted in sharp changes in the expenditure structure. For instance, in 1940 54 per cent of the income in the family of an industrial worker was spent on food, while in 1981 this item accounted only for 31 per cent, with a corresponding increase of expenditures on cultural and other needs.³⁷

At the same time the diet improved: the share of more nutritious food, such as meat, milk, eggs and fish sharply increased, while the share of bread and potatoes dropped. From 1950 to 1981 the per capita consumption of meat increased twofold, that of fish—2.5 times, eggs and sugar—many times.³⁸

Important positive shifts in housing conditions for the working people have taken place. A rapid increase in the number of urban dwellers, on the one hand, and considerable losses in housing suf-

ferred during the war of 1941-45, on the other, complicated the solution of the housing problem for a certain period. A big turning point in housing construction was achieved during the last few decades. By the beginning of the 1980s there was almost twice as much living space for each urban dweller as in 1940.³⁹ The radical improvement in housing conditions is all the more significant since rent is nominal (less than 3 per cent of the joint income of a working family).

Mention should also be made of the shifts in the *structure of social labor* as a result of the development of the national economy. The main feature of these changes is a very significant growth of the share of workers in skilled professions, primarily in the industrial branches of material production, in science and in the service sphere.

At the same time, the preservation of a considerable number of professions requiring manual, routine, monotonous labor prevents the economic law of working time, inherent in collective production, from operating with full force. Hence the great attention paid in the USSR to the problems of the further *automation* of production and more extensive introduction of computer technology. This is required not only for more intensive management of the economy. It should be borne in mind that the elimination of arduous, tiring manual work will enable the individual to more actively enjoy culture and to participate more fully in socio-political life.

Socialization of the economy significantly increases at the stage of developed socialism. The drawing together of the state (public) and cooperative forms of socialist property contributes to this. This process of socialization of labor and production is developing at present under the impact of profound shifts in the structure and character of productive forces (for instance, transition to scientific-industrial production). But this process develops—in contrast to capitalism (and this is very significant!)—on the basis of the *socialist socialization* of property.⁴⁰ This socialization, Lenin wrote, strengthens the organic links among all groups of working people, not only within the framework of the enterprise but also in a region, industrial branch, the entire economy. There takes place an organizational-technological combina-

tion of personnel in the given enterprise which is engendered not simply by the conditions of production. (Let us recall Marx's thesis of the collective laborer, i.e., "a combination of workmen, each of whom takes only a part, greater or less, in the manipulation of the subject of this labor," one workman works more by hand, the other—by brain).⁴¹ Under socialism such a combination is filled to an ever greater extent with a rich *social* content, strengthening the dialectical (including social) interaction of all categories of production personnel in the framework of the labor collective.

Over the last few decades the general *socio-cultural situation* has also undergone major change, of great importance for the further development of the entire system of social relations. The advance of the Soviet people from semi-literacy (and sometimes, particularly in the former backward, outlying areas of czarist Russia, total illiteracy) to the initial stages of education, and from there to a considerably higher level of education was exceptionally rapid. For instance, of the gainfully employed population of the USSR, in 1939 13.6 per cent had an education of 7-8 classes of secondary school and higher; by 1959 this indicator grew to 43.4 per cent. At present (the data for the beginning of 1982) over 85 per cent have such an education. Worthy of note is the fact that in each consecutive generation of Soviet people the share of those whose activity in life is based on a full secondary education and higher increased: among the people who were born in the 1910s, 16 per cent had such an education; in the next ten-year age stratum this share was 24 per cent; in the 1930s generation 33 per cent, among those born in the 1940s this share already reached 66 per cent, while in the generation born during the 1950s (and constituting the bulk of the contemporary young people) this category reached 90 per cent. In the next generation, born in the 1960s and at present joining the ranks of people involved in social production, practically all will have a secondary higher or secondary specialized education.⁴²

Today the overwhelming majority of Soviet people have real opportunities for bringing within their reach the values of progressive spiritual culture. A steady rise in the circulation of books and magazines, the expanding network of public li-

braries, etc., also contribute to this. In the last two decades the number of books annually published in the USSR increased by 50 per cent. In the sphere of intellectual consumption the USSR holds one of the first places in the world. Soviet people are by right considered the most reading people.

In conditions of mature socialism an important role is played by the intelligentsia, which is replenished mostly by workers and peasants. This is a very rapidly growing group of Soviet working people. In the last four decades the number of specialists with a higher and secondary specialized education increased in industry by 23 times and in agriculture by 29 times. At present the intelligentsia accounts for about 30 per cent of the gainfully population of USSR.⁴³ Mental labor professions have acquired a mass character. Besides, an increasingly large share of the intelligentsia are united with workers within the framework of common production collectives, where the labor of specialists and other workers involved in mental labor objectively acquires an industrial, collectivist character. It is indicative that in 1980 over 52 per cent of all Soviet specialists with high qualifications were employed in the sphere of material production.⁴⁴

By the beginning of the 1980s the number of people graduating from universities and other higher educational establishments grew dramatically in comparison with four decades ago. It is noteworthy that among those graduating from institutions of higher learning and secondary specialized schools the share of women is significantly greater; out of every ten specialists six are women.⁴⁵

This phenomenon is indicative of the *prominent position of women in socialist society*. In the USSR the equality of women was established by law immediately after the Great October Socialist Revolution. A great deal has been done to ensure not only legal, but also actual equality of the sexes, and real socialism is rightly proud of it. The subordination of women and discrimination in wages have long since become things of the past. The majority of them actively participate in social production. Here are some pertinent data. In 1922 the share of women among workers and office employees was only 25 per cent. This means that less

than one-third of the women living in urban areas were engaged in social production (taking into account the fact that at that time not all men had jobs, due to unemployment, which was eliminated by 1929). In the 1970s and 1980s women accounted for over half of all workers and office employees, while in a number of branches of the national economy their share was considerably higher. For instance, in 1981 the share of women among personnel employed in the spheres of public health and social security was 82 per cent, in education — 74 per cent, in culture — 73 per cent, while in trade it was 83 per cent.⁴⁶

The experience of socialism in the *solution of the national question* is also of great importance. Marx in his time pointed out the organic link between the social system and its approach to national problems. He wrote that in order to make the interests of various nations common interests it was necessary to destroy the existing property relations, for the relations of property existing under capitalism made for the exploitation of some peoples by others.⁴⁷

The experience of Soviet nations, accumulated during the period following the Great October Socialist Revolution and the development of the USSR — the first multinational socialist state in world history — convincingly proves the correctness of Marx's thesis. In a comparatively short historical period not only political equality among peoples was established, but also the economic and cultural backwardness of the national outlying areas comprising the former czarist empire was eliminated. For instance, the output of industrial goods in a number of the Union republics of the USSR increased hundreds of times during that period.⁴⁸

In the conditions of developed socialism workers have become the most numerous group of the population in all the republics of the Soviet Union.⁴⁹

All the Union republics have their own national intelligentsia now. Thus, the real facts of Soviet history demonstrate, again and again, that under socialism national strife, all kinds of racial and national inequality and oppression, have become a thing of the past together with social and class antagonisms.⁵⁰

On the whole, as a result of the drawing together of various forms of socialist property, of the rising level of socialization of labor and production, of the gradual elimination of the basic distinctions between mental and physical labor, the transition to the ideological-political positions of the working class, to the scientific, Marxist-Leninist outlook by all working people, the real interests and goals, social ideals and psychology of different strata of the Soviet population have drawn closer together. This process corresponds with the preservation of the specific features of national cultures, with their true flourishing.

One of the most graphic manifestations of the advance of Soviet society towards ever greater social equality of all its members is the growing consolidation of *collectivism* as the most characteristic feature of real socialism, expressing the essence of its social relations and the moral principles of the behavior of people. Collectivism means unity and community of interests; the subordination of personal and group interests to those of society; comradeship and mutual assistance in all spheres of human activity.

Of course collectivism is characteristic not only of developed socialist society. The principles of new, collectivist morals began to take root and develop soon after the victory of the socialist revolution. With the elimination of private property the working class creates the socio-economic and socio-political prerequisites for the consolidation of this collectivism in which, as Marx and Engels wrote, the working people take control over both "their conditions of existence and those of all members of society . . . it is as individuals that the individuals participate in it."⁵¹

But socialism is only the first stage of the consolidation of true collectivism. Its flourishing is connected with the construction of communism, where "the community of interests has become the basic principle" and "the public interest is no longer distinct from that of each individual"⁵². As emphasized in the documents of the Twenty-Sixth Congress of the CPSU, in the period of developed socialism "the restructuring of all social relations along the collectivist lines implicit in the new system is consummated. This restructuring encompasses the material and intellectual

spheres, the entire way of our life."⁵³

Emulation as the main form of interaction of people in a collectivist society, as the basis of their attitude to labor and organization of labor, on the one hand, and participation of all working people in the management of production and society, on the other — these are the features of collectivism that guarantee the further perfection of social relations in developed socialism. The leading form of this aspect of the consolidation of true collectivism is the broad development of various forms of socialist emulation. It is very indicative that over 90 per cent of all workers, peasants and office employees in the Soviet Union participate in socialist emulation. Among them are already tens of millions of working people who take part in the movement for a *communist* attitude to work.

It would be incorrect to compare socialist emulation with competition under capitalism. Mutual assistance, comradesly support—these are organic elements of socialist emulation.

It is also important to emphasize that collectivism occupies an important place in the hierarchy of the working people's values; Soviet workers value it as such. From the data of sociological studies it is evident that among various aspects of their production activity workers attach great importance to relations inside the labor collective, relations with their workmates.

Broad participation of the working people in the management of production and society is an integral part of collectivism in developed socialist society. It is the working class that plays the leading role here. This reflects its leading place in society.

Participation in management includes a wide range of activities: personal participation of workers in ensuring effective operation of the production process, participation in managing production and society at all levels, etc.

Wide representation of working people in the legislative and executive organs of power, the ramified network of various public organizations, the big role played by the meetings of working people in adopting important decisions, the development of *new forms* of management discovered by the working masses themselves demonstrate that collectivism is an essential feature of real socialism.

The participation of workers in the management of the labor collective occupies a special place. Moreover, self-government in the labor collective mirrors the most significant aspect of the socialist nature of management. Broad involvement of the working people in the management of production is a condition of increasing the efficiency of the operation of the economic mechanism. At the same time it meets the already existing social requirements and the increasing cultural potential of the working people. Studies, conducted in various parts of the USSR and in labor collectives of different composition, show that the overwhelming majority of the working people consider their participation in the management of production and society to be not only their right but also their duty.

At the same time, "an interpretation of self-government as leaning to anarcho-syndicalism, to splitting society into rival corporations independent of each other, to democracy without discipline, to the notion of rights dissociated from duties is deeply alien"⁵⁴ to the working class, to its vanguard, Soviet Communists.

Naturally, at the present level of development of socialist society, when social relations of the communist type have still not fully taken shape, the development of public self-government may encounter contradictions, the overcoming of which underlies the social policy of the Soviet state. One aspect of such contradictions, for instance, is connected with the perfection of the forms and procedures of workers' participation in management, mutual coordination of the organization of workers' production activities and the functioning of the institutions of management. The process of elimination of this contradiction is of a positive character. (Naturally, the inevitable losses in individual productivity of the worker who has to devote his time to participation in management, thus diverting from professional activities, have to be compensated by the overall increase in the level of collectivism.) The other aspect of this contradiction is the fact that the level of the workers' preparedness for realizing the developed form of public self-government is not always sufficient as yet. Lenin emphasized that apart from the law of the working people's partici-

pation in management, "there is still the level of culture, which you can not subject to any law."⁵⁵

When we speak about the preparedness of workers for participation in management, what is meant, primarily, is their ability:

- to professionally and scientifically assess a concrete social situation;
- to directly and sufficiently professionally participate in the collective process of arriving at managerial decisions;
- to correctly balance common and personal interests, to solve possible conflicts and disagreements between individuals for the common benefit.⁵⁶

This means that the development of collectivism is also linked with the process of the *harmonious development of the individual*. Social and cultural policy in the Soviet Union aims at ensuring the conditions for this development. One of them is a high level of dissemination and assimilation of information on the basis of the rising level of education. It is determined, first and foremost, by multifaceted activity in society, including conscious, active participation in management as a developed form of conscious creativity in the sphere of social relations and in intellectual production, creative (and not only consumer) participation in culture.⁵⁸ It is participation in comprehensive social activity that is the chief criterion of the all-round development of the individual as a typical feature of the social system of developed socialism.

Of course not all problems have been solved as yet in the Soviet Union and not all possibilities for the acceleration of social progress have been realized. This was noted at the Twenty-Sixth Congress of the CPSU and the subsequent Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, as well as in a number of statements by the CPSU General Secretary Y. V. Andropov. An in-depth analysis of these difficulties and shortcomings and their elimination are an important prerequisite for reaching a still higher level of social progress by Soviet society.

Today, when a developed socialist society has been built in the Soviet Union, its further perfection constitutes "the main content of the activity of the Party and the people at the present stage."⁵⁸

The possibilities of accomplishing the tasks related to this are determined, primarily, by the high level of the Soviet working class' development, its objective and subjective preparedness for active and efficient activity in all spheres of public life.



In our epoch socialism has become firmly established not only in the USSR but also in a number of other countries in Europe and Asia as well as on other continents. The world socialist system has turned into a solid socio-economic formation opposing the imperialist system.

The struggle between these two systems, which has become the axis of world history, requires of Communists further development of Marxist theory.

Already in the first years of Soviet power Lenin advanced the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. Thus socialism, which had just come into being, proposed excluding war as a means of international politics, and shifting the struggle between socialism and capitalism into peaceful channels.

The consolidation of the international positions of real socialism has long since turned the competition between the two systems into one of the focal issues linked with world social development. Such competition also touches upon the question of the ways of mankind's further development.

But, when speaking about the competition between the two systems, it would be incorrect to identify it with permanent, to say nothing of military-political, competition, so close to the heart of some "neo" conservative politicians in the United States. It goes without saying that the military parity between the USSR and the USA, existing for a number of years already, is an important factor in international relations, as it seriously hinders military intervention by imperialist forces in the social transformation processes taking place in various regions of the world.

But the main battle of the competition between the two systems is the struggle for the minds of people.

Communists are striving to prove the superiority of a better socio-economic formation, and, first of all, in the *social* sphere, in the sphere of relations *among people*, embracing various aspects: produc-

tions, culture, etc.

It is axiomatic for Marxists-Leninists that socio-economic, scientific and cultural development in the countries of real socialism is of paramount, decisive importance in the creation of a new society, in the struggle against imperialism. The fundamental tenet was developed by Lenin and it has become the program of action for the working people of the USSR and of other socialist countries.

Lenin saw the key to the accomplishment of the tasks of the victorious revolution in internal construction. He pointed out that, in contrast to bourgeois revolutions, the main task of the proletariat and the poorest peasant masses led by it in the revolution "is the positive or constructive work of setting up an extremely intricate and delicate system of new organizational relations extending to the planned production and distribution of goods."⁵⁹ Time and again he emphasized that after political power was in the hands of the working people, practical work in building up and developing the socialist economy, questions of its organization and management of production, acquired "primary importance."⁶⁰

The historical experience of more than six decades of existence of the world's first state of real socialism has fully confirmed this position. If it were not for the successes in socialist construction and the consolidation of the new social system in the Soviet Union, if the first state of the working class and peasantry had not turned into a world power, the world would be entirely different from what it is today.

When analyzing the socio-economic competition between different social systems, some authors in the West tend to liken it to the competition aiming at achieving the highest quantitative indicators in all parameters, in all branches of the economy. This is a naive, *incorrect interpretation*. In this case it often stems from the incorrect assumption that, first, the model of social production and, consequently, consumption, existing under capitalism (for instance, in the United States and Western Europe) is the "optimal" one, and second, that it is almost "the only possible" one, and, third, that the level of economic development is allegedly determined only by quantitative indi-

cators in the framework of this model.

Of course, there is no denying that the growth of production, characterized also by quantitative parameters, embodies the creation of the necessary prerequisites of economic and social progress. But this is true only up to certain limits. Beyond them begins *squandering* which has little to do with normal human requirements. This squandering is engendered by creating artificial requirements, speeded up by capital's interest in selling the growing mass of goods produced by it. Such squandering is only possible when the privileged minority can afford it or when it is done at the expense of artificially lowering the living standards of other peoples as a result of plundering their non-renewable natural resources and unequal trade.

Obviously, the "globalization" of this model of consumption would be fraught with an ecological catastrophe. For socialist countries it is totally unacceptable, for it runs counter to the goals and principles of socialist organization of society.

Therefore, when speaking about the economic sphere of human activities as the main area for competition between the two opposing social systems, one should bear in mind that it is not just a matter of a simple comparison of the volumes of production and consumption of various goods (though in some branches and to a certain degree such comparison is inevitable and necessary), but rather a comparison of entire models of production and consumption assessed from the point of view of their conformity with the individual and social needs of man.

From our point of view, such a model presupposes:

- the production and consumption, in the first place, of those goods that ensure the healthy and harmonious development of the individual;

- fair distribution of goods produced, so that the differences in the consumption structure, determined by the natural difference of people, their unequal contribution to social production and the level of their intellectual development, should not extend beyond the limits where social inequality begins;

- the organization of economic relations in such a way as to make it possible for every able-

bodied individual to be involved in the production process and thus to ensure him the opportunity for the optimal utilization of his abilities and the necessary level of consumption;

- the development of the sphere of public consumption, guaranteeing equal opportunities for all citizens in society irrespective of their concrete labor contribution, and thus ensuring persons who are in need of social support conditions of existence worthy of man;

- growing attention to environmental protection as a most important condition of mankind's survival.

In a number of the above parameters real socialism has left capitalist countries far behind, while in some of them socialist countries still have to catch up with the most industrially developed capitalist countries.

When comparing—in a number of parameters—the trends in the development of the two social systems, some Western sociologists advocating the theory of the "post-industrial society" (for instance, Daniel Bell) propose to discount, as the main principle in the analysis of processes developing under capitalism and socialism, "sequence of conceptual schemes, in the Marxist framework, along the axis of property relations."⁶¹ They maintain that another "axial principle" is now becoming "dominant," which recognizes the primacy of theoretical knowledge, intellectual technology," which brings to the forefront of socio-political life—instead of the working class—a certain "new class" of specialists (according to the terminology of some of them) or "new petty bourgeoisie" (according to the terminology of others). But both the former and the latter are united in their desire to interpret notions like "equality," "democracy" in general, the correlation between the basis and the superstructure, from abstract—in point of fact, idealistic—positions in the traditions of old bourgeois ideologues, like Tocqueville, for instance. But these concepts can not stand the test of reality. How, indeed, can one maintain that today the criterion of ownership is losing its role (becoming "simply a legal fiction"⁶², and leave out of accounts the fundamental, essential distinctions between bourgeois and socialist democracies? Under

capitalism the working people have no guaranteed important economic and socio-political rights (such, for instance, as the right to work and to security in the morrow, the right to free medical care, etc.), if racial and other forms of discrimination still exist and the exploitation of hired labor continues to intensify? At the same time, under socialism—precisely on the basis of the elimination of the private-property system of exploitation of man by man—there have been created real conditions for the free, creative development of the individual.

Socialist society, having concentrated its resources and immense efforts on the realization of large-scale, long-term *creative* plans, is not interested in either wars or the whipping up of military hysteria or a burdensome arms race. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries consistently come out in favor of lessening international tensions and *peaceful* competition with capitalism.

At present the competition between the two systems has entered a very important phase.

On the one hand, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, striving to solve problems connected with switching the national economies to the road of intensive development on the basis of contemporary technology, have real opportunities for a new, significant leap forward.

On the other hand, the capitalist world has entered a period of a new and evidently prolonged crisis. What are its main characteristic features? First, there have emerged more clearly defined boundaries of domestic and international solvent demand. Correspondingly there is a tendency toward the shrinking of commodity markets and new economic difficulties of not only a cyclic but also of a structural, long-term character. This has resulted in the aggravation of the competitive struggle particularly in international markets: this competition has been further aggravated by the collision of the interests of the USA, the West European countries and Japan. Second, the mechanisms of state monopoly regulation, based on old Keynesian principles, have broken down. The orientation towards inflationary stimulation of demand (and correspondingly production) intensified inflation which, after exceeding certain limits, ceased to stimulate the economy to further

development. Artificial, inflated international indebtedness reached a level threatening the entire system of international settlements. Third, capitalism has proved unable to prevent the social consequences of the restructuring of production on the new technology, based on the achievement of the current scientific and technological revolution. This results in a considerable part of the working people who are no longer needed by the capitalist society being thrown out of the production process.

Of course, it would be incorrect to underestimate the reserves still at the disposal of imperialism, but it is obvious that in the 1980s it has entered a period of extremely difficult conditions for itself, maybe the most difficult in the whole period since the end of World War II. Many supporters of the capitalist system, including those from among the "new liberals," have begun speaking about the necessity of looking for "acceptable alternatives."

Marx proved that there was historically only one real alternative to capitalism—transition to socialism. But Marxists are in favor of settling this historical dispute in conditions of peace.

Lenin's approach to the solution of the problems of competition between the two systems—on the basis of observing the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems—has become particularly topical at present, in connection with the buildup of nuclear missiles and other weapons of mass destruction, with the unprecedented growth of military budgets and the whipping up of militarist hysteria by Washington. This jeopardizes the very existence of human civilization, puts in the forefront the struggle for peace, and the elimination of the danger of war.

Proposing to exclude war from the life of peoples, to implement first a significant reduction in nuclear weapons and later their total elimination, the Soviet Union and other countries of socialism advance slogans the significance of which goes far beyond the framework of the interests of the socialist society alone—Communists are defending what Marx called the interests of all humankind. This demonstrates the profoundly humane, truly democratic essence of the position

of the socialist countries opposing the dangerous Pentagon doctrines of preparing for military, nuclear confrontation.

Again, in this case Communist are in the van of all progressive, peace-loving forces. The CPSU is convinced that difficulties and tensions characterizing the present international situation can and must be overcome, said Y. V. Andropov at the Plenum of the CC of the CPSU on Nov. 22, 1982. "Mankind can not endlessly accept the arms race and wars without imperilling its future. The CPSU is against turning ideological dispute into a confrontation between states and peoples, is against

making weapons and readiness to resort to them a measure of the potentialities of social systems. The USSR rejects the view of those who would have people believe that force, that arms, decide and always will decide all. Today, as never before, the peoples are entering the arena of history. They are making their voice heard and nobody can silence it. They are able to eliminate the danger of nuclear war, to safeguard peace and consequently life on our planet, by their active and purposeful actions. And the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet state, will do everything to achieve these objectives."⁶³

1. John Reed, *Ten Days That Shook the World*, Introduction, International Publishers, New York.
2. The last two articles written by John Reed appeared in the December 1920 and January 1921 issues of *Liberator* under the title "Soviet Russia Now."
3. *Le Globe*, Paris, 11-13-1832.
4. *Poor Man's Guardian*, London, 8-24-1883; *The Crisis*, 8-31-1883.
5. This conception was reflected, for instance, in the recent article, "Marxism and Revolution 100 Years After Marx," by Paul M. Sweezy, *Monthly Review*, March 1983.
6. *The New Moral World and Gazette of the Rational Society*, Nov. 4, 18, 1843. In these issues of the weekly of the British socialists—adherents of Robert Owen—was published Engels' article on the successes of the movement for social transformation in various countries, which was reprinted, also in November, by the Chartist newspaper *The Northern Star* (Nov. 11, 25, 1843).
7. *Marx-Engels Works* (Russian), Vol. 1, pp. 525-526.
8. *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, pp. 497, 507. See also Vol. 18, p. 617; Vol. 19, pp. 241, 245; Vol. 34, p. 378.
9. This letter, written in German, was first published in the magazine *Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, Berlin, 1964, No. 2.
10. *Marx-Engels Works*, Vol. 37, p. 380.
11. *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 379.
12. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works* (Russian), Vol. 33., p. 85.
13. *Ibid.*, Vol. 21, p. 71. (Emphasis added.)
14. Marx spared no effort to bring his ideas within the reach of the American people. This is demonstrated, for instance, by his correspondence with F. Sorge, in which Marx advised him on how better to prepare the edition of *Capital* for readers in the United States. (Op. cit., Vol. 23, pp. 31, 790.)
15. See *USSR Economy 1922-1982*, Moscow, 1982, p. 89. For more details see Y.V. Andropov, "Sixty Years of the USSR," 1982. See also B.N. Ponomarev, *Real Socialism and Its International Significance*, 1979; R. Kosolapov, ed., *Developed Socialism: Problems of Theory and Practice*, 1981; L. Tolkunov, *Chief Revolutionary Force of Our Time: Emergence, Development, Growing Influence*, 1979; O. Bogomolov, ed., *World Socialist Economy: Questions of Political Economy*, 1982.
16. "Critique of the Gotha Program," *Works*, op. cit., Vol. 19, p. 18.
17. Lenin, op. cit., Vol. 25, p. 471.
18. *Marx-Engels Works*, Vol. 4, p. 430.
19. Y.V. Andropov, "The Teaching of Karl Marx and Some Questions of Building Socialism in the USSR," *Kommunist*, March 1983.
20. Op. cit., Vol. 16, p. 10.
21. *Ibid.*, Vol. 37, p. 380.
22. Op. cit., Vol. 36, pp. 301-302.
23. *Ibid.*, Vol. 25, p. 472.
24. *Ibid.*, Vol. 25, p. 281.
25. *Ibid.*, Vol. 8, p. 24.
26. Andropov, op. cit.
27. See *USSR Economy in 1967, 1969*, p. 55.
28. *USSR Economy 1922-1982*, pp. 55, 133, 138, 90.
29. For more details, see, for instance, the books by Academician A.P. Aleksandrov, *Nuclear Power and Scientific and Technological Progress*, Nauka Publ., 1968, *Science for the Country*, 1983.
30. See, for instance, *Gateway to Siberian Resources*, Victor L. Mote (University of Houston) and T. Shabad (Columbia University), N.Y., 1977.
31. *RSFSR Economy in 1981, 1982*, p. 34.
32. *Materials of the XXVI Congress of the CPSU*, 1981, p. 38.
33. For more details, see the monograph prepared by the Institute of the International Working-Class Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences, "The Development of the Working Class in Socialist Society," 1982, pp. 237-247, 478. See also *Social Development of the Working Class of the USSR. The Growth of the Number, Qualification and Well-Being of Workers in Developed Socialist Society*, 1977, pp. 135-136 (in Russian).
34. *Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period Ending in 1990*, 1981, p. 7.
35. *USSR Economy 1922-1982*, p. 405.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 418-419.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 423.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 447.
39. *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 421.
40. See R.I. Kosolapov, *Some Questions of Theory*, 1979; "Socialism: Organic Unity of Social System," *Pravda*, 3-4-79.
41. Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 476.
42. See *Results of the All-Union Census of 1970*, Vol. 3, 1972, pp. 6-7; *USSR Economy 1922-1982*, pp. 499, 502, 513.
43. *USSR Economy in 1980*, pp. 40, 369; *Vestnik Statistiki*, 1981, No. 5, p. 74.
44. *USSR Economy in 1980*, pp. 369-370.

45. *USSR Economy 1922-1982*, p. 408.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 403.
47. *Op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 371.
48. For more details see, for instance, T. Timofeev, "On the Marxist Approach to Problems of Overcoming Backardness," 1982.
49. See: *Development of the Working Class in Socialist Society*, 1982; also in publications on the growth of the working class in the Union republics, e.g., *The Working Class and the Contemporary World*, No. 6, 1982, pp. 44-57.
50. Andropov, "Sixty Years of the USSR."
51. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The German Ideology*.
52. *Marx-Engels Works*, International Publishers, New York, Vol. 4, p. 249.
53. *Documents of the XXVI Congress of the CPSU*, 1981, p. 74.
54. *Documents of the XXVI Congress of the CPSU*, p. 74.
55. Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 29, p. 183.
56. See *Sociology of Socialist Production Collective*, 1982.
57. For more details see *Development of the Working Class in Socialist Society*, 1982.
58. "Sixty Years of the USSR," 1982, p. 11.
59. Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 27, p. 241.
60. *Ibid.*, Vol. 42, pp. 29, 161; Vol. 36, p. 130.
61. Daniel Bell, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society, A Venture in Social Forecasting*, New York, 1973, pp. 10-11.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 294.
63. Y.V. Andropov, *Kommunist*, No. 17, 1982.

Discussion of 'Karl Marx and the Progress of Socialism' (I)

ERWIN MARQUIT

Professor Timofeev, citing Lenin, placed important stress on the fact that Marx made no attempt to invent utopias, to idly guess about something which was impossible to know, that Marx saw the development of socialism as a law-governed process of development, the details of which must be worked out in the laboratory of practical life with the aid of the theory of scientific socialism.

While Marx, Engels and Lenin, and we who are guided by the science of social development elaborated by them, are not utopians, we must make a distinction between the first principal goal of the utopian socialists to establish a society free from exploitation and the scientific path to the realization of this goal. After all, the concept of utopia implies a desirable, but unachievable state of society. We Communists are invariably, though incorrectly, regarded in a positive sense as utopians by many of our fellow citizens.

It is quite usual for students to ask us: "Are the Soviet Union and other socialist countries 'Marxist' countries?" When phrasing the question in this imprecise way the students are usually asking two questions: "Have the socialist countries really freed their citizens from all forms of exploitation?" and "Have the socialist countries really solved all their social problems?" The first question can properly be answered: "Yes! Capitalist and feudal relations of production have, in the main, been abolished in these lands." The answer to the second question is obviously, "No, but socialism has created the possibility of attacking all problems facing human society on the basis of the best scientific methods available, and the success achieved depends, in large measure, on the extent to which the Marxist-Leninist theoretical methods of scientific socialism have been mastered."

By abolishing the private appropriation of the means of production and the private appropriation of the product of social production, the

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peoples of the socialist countries have created the basic conditions for the solution of all problems. But creation of this condition is not equivalent to solution. This is because the development of a socialist economy is not a spontaneous process as in the case of the capitalist society that preceded it.

The "boom and bust" character of capitalist economies is the product of the spontaneous nature of investments arising from the private ownership of capital. The only motivation for investment is profit. If products sell, production expands, and if products do not sell, production contracts. The employment of a labor force is necessary, but nevertheless secondary, to the possibility of a profit from investment.

In socialist economies, except for special situations, investments are made for need. The products resulting from the investments are regarded as necessary. They are produced because they are necessary and not because of the profit that can be made from their production and sale. In capitalism, there is a difference between the motivation of the producer and the consumer: the produced product can be sold because it is needed, but it is produced because it can be sold. In socialism, the product is produced because it is needed and the sale of the product for money is not an end in itself, but a method of distribution.

Thus, without the mechanism of the marketplace and profit motive, socialist economic activity must be a planned activity and the entire political economy of the social system must be understood. Not only political economy, but the entire socioeconomic life of socialist society must be theoretically understood if the social and economic sides of the society are to develop in a harmonious way.

Socialist societies, because of the social ownership of the means of production, are by their nature participatory democracies. On every level of social organization there is a heavy reliance on initiative and voluntary acceptance of responsibility.

ity by broad sections of the population. Mastery of the theory of social development could not be left to a "managing elite," but had to be acquired by broad segments of the population who employ this theory in the day-to-day practical life of the society in which they live.

It has not been a simple task to master the entire socioeconomic theory of what Marxists call scientific socialism. Where shortcomings arise, crises are possible, and almost all socialist countries have passed through at least one such crisis. But such crises are aberrations, and not the normal, unavoidable, recurrent feature of the socioeconomic system. It is for this reason that Marxists in socialist countries place constant stress on the theoretical study of socialist society, on the popularization of the theory, and on the importance of extending this theoretical grasp to broad sections of the population.

In making available the fullest use of the material and cultural resources of the country to the solution of problems that still face them, the socialist countries, guided by the principles of scientific socialism, have achieved in practice the second principal goal of the utopians, the rational use of the productive resources of the country for the satisfaction of the needs of the people.

In his work *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, Engels did not criticize the Utopians for having these goals, but for their inability to show how to connect the present with the future in a scientific way. This lack of connection is what gives utopianism the connotation of unrealistic dreams.

The realism that is required, however, must go deeper than just a superficial acquaintance with the theory of scientific socialism of Marx, Engels and Lenin. The nonutopian character of scientific socialism was the result of Marx' and Engels' study of the changing material conditions of human life in capitalist and precapitalist societies. Using scientific methods of analysis, they succeeded in embracing these changing material conditions in a theory of social development. Only then did it become possible to analyze theoretically the process of transformation from capitalism to socialism as a law-governed process. Socialism was transformed from a utopian dream to a law-governed process of social transformation arising out of the concrete conditions of capitalist society.

The socialist goal was thus connected logically and historically with the capitalist society from which it was to emerge.

Fundamental to the Marxist-Leninist theory of knowledge is the recognition that no scientific theory is ever complete. Marx and Engels and Lenin recognized the impossibility of producing a detailed recipe for the construction of socialist society. The living practice of socialist society is an integral part of the process of further elaborating our knowledge of the law-governed processes of social development under conditions of socialism. Tendencies toward utopian solutions are bound to appear when theoretical understanding is not yet firmly rooted. In a self-critical analysis at the First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, Fidel Castro noted:

Revolutions usually have their utopian periods, in which their protagonists, dedicated to the noble task of turning their dreams into reality and putting their ideals into practice, assume that the historical goals are much nearer, and that men's will, desires and intentions, towering over the objective facts, can accomplish anything. It is not that revolutionaries should have neither dreams nor indomitable will. Without a bit of dream and utopia there would have been no revolutionaries . . . But the revolutionary also has to be a realist, to act in keeping with historical and social laws . . .

Now and again, the utopian attitude likewise goes hand in hand with a certain contempt for the experience of other processes.

The germ of chauvinism and of the petty-bourgeois spirit infecting those of us who entered upon the ways of revolution by merely intellectual means tends to develop, sometimes unconsciously, some attitudes that may be regarded as self-conceit and excessive self-esteem. The Cuban Revolution has certainly made some important contributions to the world revolutionary movement. . . . From the outset, however, the Cuban Revolution failed to take advantage of the rich experience of other peoples who had undertaken the construction of socialism long before we had. (*First Congress of the Communist party of Cuba*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, pp. 123 f.)

Those who have had a chance to visit Cuba recently can see how socialism can flower when the principles of scientific socialism have been correctly applied.

Professor Timofeev gave a brief account of the tremendous accomplishments in the Soviet Union, consequences of the creative application of the scientific theories of Marx, Engels and Lenin to the conditions of Soviet society. The record of the socialist countries in building real socialism would make an indelible impression on the aspirations of the founders of utopian socialism were they alive to see them today: Elimination of poverty, guarantee of full employment, abolition of national and racial oppression and of discrimination based on sex, universal free education, complete social security, and steadily rising standards of living — these are the common features of all countries of real socialism.

In contrast, an analysis by Horace W. Brock, president of an economic consulting firm, Strategic Economic Designs, Inc., that was summarized by him in the *New York Times* of March 18, 1983, disclosed that the median real income of the

average married male in the United States in 1982 was 17 per cent lower than the level of 1972.

It is important for an understanding of how socialism was transformed from a utopian dream to a science to recognize that utopian socialism did not simply arise from anyone's head. The utopian socialists were already living through the first cyclical crises of capitalism and were witnessing the devastating effects of these crises on the working class. Their image of socialism was precisely that of a society which directly reversed the concrete material and spiritual suffering they were witnessing: employment instead of unemployment, social well-being instead of social desolation, dignity for the worker in place of degradation of the worker, restoration of the product of labor to the laborer instead of appropriation of this labor by the capitalist, social equality instead of social inequality, and so on. The lack of a scientific theory for the realization of these desires is what gave the movement its utopian character. The desires themselves were not utopian, but a legitimate expression of the needs of the proletariat. Real, existing socialism today is demonstrating the scientific path to the realization of these goals.

Discussion of 'Karl Marx and the Progress of Socialism' (II)

VICTOR PERLO

There are many excellent statistics about the development of the Soviet economy in Comrade Timofeev's paper, which he did not have time to report to us. I'll mention just two.

In 1921, after the Civil War and War of Intervention against the Soviet Union, its industrial production was 1 per cent of the U.S. level. Now it is 80 per cent of the U.S. level, and more than 100 per cent of the U.S. level in steel and other basic industries, which the U.S. capitalists are busy destroying. Who was it that said the bourgeoisie would be their own gravediggers?

Just one other. It's a very rare thing for the CIA and the Central Statistical Administration of the USSR to agree on anything. But here's one thing on which they do not differ too much. The CIA says that real per capita income has increased 3.5 per cent per year in the last 30 years. The Central Statistical Administration says 4.5 per cent per year. Lets split the difference and say 4 per cent per year. Just contrast this figure with the decline of 2 per cent per year in real wages in the United States, indicated by the figures cited for the last decade by Professor Marquit.

Professor Timofeev has creatively applied basic Marxist teachings to a central problem which all humanity is evaluating — the reality of socialist society, what it has accomplished, where it is going, whether and how to choose it for themselves.

He uses an especially relevant quotation from Lenin, concerning the dynamic nature of socialist society, in contrast to the bourgeois picture of a gray, drab, regimented life. This is not only the hostile propaganda of our class enemies. It also reflects fundamental differences in class viewpoints and morality.

Dynamism to the working class means radical positive transformations in the quality of life — material, cultural and political — realized not only in the course of an individual's lifetime, but during the course of his active working life. This real

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dynamism of Soviet society is what the *New York Times*, the belittling professors, the carping petty bourgeois leftists, all try to hide.

Dynamism to the bourgeoisie means new methods of super-fast accumulation of capital, of tax cheating, "radical" innovations in culture and life-style — the more abstracted from the realities faced by the people, the more decadent and kinky, the better, so long as the "in things" are sufficiently expensive to be monopolies of the capitalists and their sycophants.

Dynamism in socialism is the splendid young people I saw extracting Siberian oil and building modern new cities in formerly barren lands.

Socialist economic success, on the foundation of working-class power and public ownership of the means of production, is built on a tripod of principles, which are profoundly explained by Comrade Timofeev.

One leg is collectivism, embracing such themes as a communist attitude towards work, subordination of individual interests to those of the group, emulation and comradely mutual aid.

A second leg is worker participation in management, requisite for the flourishing of initiative and flexibility of operations leading to rapid progress. At the same time, Professor Timofeev, quoting Comrade Andropov, warns against localism, anarcho-syndicalism, democracy without discipline, emergence of rival corporations in a socialist society, features which have had negative consequences, for example, in Yugoslavia, but which are idealized by petty bourgeois radicals.

The guarantee against such distortions is provided by the third leg of the tripod — central planning. Planned, balanced, proportionate development of the economy is vitally important for socialist construction. Indeed, the Five-Year Plan, that great Soviet invention, has become the world model for all countries which seek substantial, well-founded, steady social and economic progress. The dramatic growth of the Soviet economy, so well illustrated by Professor Timofeev, started precisely with the Five-Year Plans at the end of the

1920s.

The drawing up and execution of five-year plans, as laws of the land, with participation of all sectors of the population, is a unique accomplishment of socialism. The capitalists at first laughed at socialist planning as impossible. Then they shifted to alarmed surprise, as Soviet output leaped forward while world capitalism dived into its deepest crisis. Then they made vain attempts to adapt it to their own, fundamentally anarchic, exploitative societies. Indeed, never has this been more evident than now, when capitalism is mired in a gridlock of contradictions, and no two experts agree on what will happen next month, no less next year or decade, and none have confidence in their own predictions.

Planning under advanced socialism makes possible the grand complex programs referred to by Professor Timofeev, the fuel and energy complex, the food program, etc. While capitalist pseudo-planning carries out only one program — however corruptly and wastefully — the war program of the military-industrial complex.

The whole structure — foundation and tripod — establish the unalterable superiority of socialism over capitalism.

Comrade Timofeev ably clarifies the principles of socialist equality. This combines equal access to basic necessities for health and all-around individual development with a "fair distribution of goods" which reflects the unequal contribution of individuals to social production. A most difficult problem of socialist management is to combine these two features so as to provide a significant material incentive for superior work and at the same time to — quoting Professor Timofeev — "stay within those limits beyond which begins social inequality."

This historically new problem will only be fully solved by successive approximations, getting closer and closer to the requirements of a continually evolving situation. Sometimes material incentives have become automatic formalities, while additional payments that really reflect markedly better performance are too small to provide significant incentive. On the other hand, in some socialist countries there have been excessive rewards for individuals, which become special privileges, with a negative impact on working-class morale.

But on the whole, basic equality has been achieved, buttressed with a rising sphere of public consumption. Living socialism has essentially eliminated poverty, which still afflicts millions in the richest capitalist countries. It has eliminated racial and ethnic discrimination, so grossly in force in the United States today. It has established a distribution of income a thousand times more fair than in the most benign capitalist country, and excluding all exploitation of man by man.

The concept "state of the whole people" is a major enrichment of Marxist-Leninist theory by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It represents a key transitional stage between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the withering away of the state in the higher stage of communism. The raising of mass educational levels, the bringing together of conditions and forms of remuneration of workers and collective farmers, the access of all to professional and managerial skills and employment, the universality of decent living standards — these features have eliminated antagonistic contradictions between various classes and strata of society. They make possible the harmonious participation of workers, professionals, collective farmers, cultural and political workers, in state organs with unity of fundamental aims.

Professor Timofeev's conclusion on the theme of the peace policies of the Soviet Union poses the most crucial issue facing all of us. Soviet peace policies are winning acknowledgment from the most reluctant personalities, such as Admiral Stanfield Turner, recently retired CIA director, who wrote a week ago: "Nothing I have seen persuades me that the Soviet leaders' intention in building their nuclear war machine is to use it offensively." (*New York Times Magazine*, March 13.)

Against the historically inevitable triumph of socialism, capitalism never had anything to offer but violence, war and repression. Now, in its frenzy and profound decay, it has sunk to preparing a world-destroying nuclear war. We can not overlook the President of the United States paraphrasing the long-discredited phrase, "better dead than red," and threatening to impose it on the whole world. We, the American people, have a grave responsibility before humanity to stay the hands of the nuclear maniacs; and we can be assured of full cooperation on the part of the Soviets in this vital effort.

The Impact of Marx and Marxism on the Developing World

MOSES MABHIDA

Marx Belongs To Everyone

We in Africa are repeatedly told that Marxism is an "imported" ideology, alien to our traditions and life-styles. These accusations naturally come from defenders of private ownership, production for profit, colonialism and the exploitation of the many by the few. Such critics of Marxism confine their attacks to the theory and practice of scientific socialism while shamelessly turning to a blind eye on the ravages inflicted by agents of imperialism: settlers, missionaries, traders and officials who imposed their rapacious system by force and fraud on millions of peasants in Africa, Asia, America, Australia and Oceania.

We dismiss with contempt the charge that Communists preach and practice a foreign system of ideas, either in Africa or any other continent.

In truth, Marxism, Leninism, scientific socialism and communism are different names for an identical body of knowledge that provides the only satisfactory explanation yet produced of social change, the transition from one social formation to another, the conditions that bring about each kind of transition, and the basic laws of social development.

Because of its universality, Marxism belongs to all peoples in no less a degree than the revolutions in science and technology that preceded and accompanied the Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth century.

The political consequences of the related structural changes were manifested in the American Revolution of 1776, the French Revolution of 1789 and the Great October Revolution of 1917.

The first of these great political upheavals established the legitimacy of armed struggle by colonized peoples for the right of self-determination and independence from foreign rule. The Declaration of Independence of the Fourth of July, 1776, is

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the common property of all humanity. So is the French Revolution, which brought about a transfer of power from a semifeudal aristocracy to the rising class of capitalists; the owners of banks, factories and joint-stock trading companies.

The third of these great political revolutions opened the way to the creation of a classless socialist society based on public ownership, a planned economy, equality of rights and treatment for all citizens without distinction of race, creed or sex, and fraternal solidarity through equal opportunities for development between persons of different nationalities and ethnic communities.

The Soviet Union's socialist community, as yet only in the first phase of growth towards a fully-fledged communist society, embodies the visions and hopes of enlightened people in all countries and at all times.

Karl Marx was as much a product of the American and French Revolutions as my generation of Africans is an inheritor of the Russian Revolution. He and his life-long associate Frederick Engels contributed the earliest class analysis of the bourgeois revolutions, wrote the *Communist Manifesto* of 1848, and laid the theoretical foundations of the proletarian revolution.

Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, universally known as Lenin, the founder of Bolshevism and of the first socialist state, was a constant and diligent student of Marx and Engels. He carefully examined and absorbed the meaning of every line of their enormous literary output, applied their propositions to the imperialist stage of capitalism, the tactics and strategy of revolution and the construction of a socialist society.

Marx, born in 1818, died at the age of 65 in 1883, a hundred years ago. We have assembled here to pay homage and express our appreciation of a great genius whose unremitting study of the dynamics of the capitalist system of production revealed the secrets of its triumphs, crimes and downfall.

Lenin was born in 1870. He bridged the gap

between Marx and Engels, the first scientific socialists, and the October Revolution, which made possible the realization of their aspirations for a new type of civilization, one that would enable children, women and men to discover and develop their talents without discrimination on the grounds of sex, race, religion or nationality.

Marx, Engels and Lenin shared the premise that the world is one; all things have a common origin and are interrelated; and hence it is possible to develop a universal body of scientifically-established propositions valid for the entire human race. For this reason I claim to be an heir to the legacy of Marxism-Leninism as much as any German, Russian or Chinese. Marx belongs to us all.

Marx's Contribution

Marx and Engels were distinguished scholars as well as active revolutionaries. They received a classical education, common to members of the affluent middle class, studied Hegelian philosophy and made themselves conversant with main political and social trends of their times.

In Lenin's words, Marx was a genius who developed and synthesized the three major ideological currents of the nineteenth century: German classical philosophy, English political economy and French revolutionary socialism.

His overriding search was for a social formation that would enable people to realize their dream of achieving liberty with justice and equality. Unlike the French liberals whose doctrines dominated the intellectual climate of his age, he rejected the notion that such rights and claims could be achieved in a system characterized by private ownership, class division, exploitation of workers, and the sacrifice of the common good to individual profit-making.

Only a planned socialist economy could emancipate people from the fetters of poverty, ignorance, disease, unemployment and exploitation. His aim was to establish a science of society that would lay a solid foundation of principles and concepts for the socialist movement.

Sickness and death prevented him from completing his assignment, but he left a series of blueprints on the theory of knowledge, social change, history, religion and above all capitalism.

That indeed was his main task — to dissect and lay bare the laws of capitalist production, its polarization of poverty and wealth, the causes of class conflict and reasons for social revolution.

Forward-looking Africans, intellectuals, workers and peasants throughout the continent, are hungry for this store of scientific information about their world and how to change it. Like many others, I too turned to Marxism-Leninism for the theory and practice of revolutionary social change.

My Road to Marxism

A good way of assessing the impact of Marxism on poor nations and their countries — usually called developing, underdeveloped or even undeveloped — is to examine its influence on individuals. Forgive me for making myself the subject of a case study; after all, I ought to know myself better than anyone else!

Capitalist crisis and imperialist war were conspicuous in my social environment during formative years and certainly influenced my journey to Marxism.

I was six years old when the great depression of the Hungry Thirties hit South Africa, and 19 years when I joined the Communist Party, in December 1942, at a highly critical stage in the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet peoples against the Nazi invaders.

At that time the Party was trying to organize a popular front against fascist groups in South Africa and for defense of the Soviet Union in its desperate struggle for peace.

I served my apprenticeship in the Party and trade union movement during these stormy years. In study circles and by reading Marxist classics I gained an insight into the nature of capitalist exploitation, the relations between it and national oppression, and the reasons for race discrimination. My most important advance came from acceptance of the alliance between the Party and the African National Congress, between social revolution and national liberation, between socialism and majority rule.

Like other Party members, I grappled with the concepts of historical materialism, dialectics, labor theory of value, the origin and nature of socio-economic classes, the laws regulating transitions from one kind of social formation to another, the

principles of socialism and its history in the Soviet Union. This material was of enormous benefit to young African Marxists; it gave them a historical perspective from which to evaluate the quality of traditional African society and the damage inflicted on it by the agents of colonialism. Africans were able to see themselves as the victims of a great historical process of conquest, dispossession and exploitation, and to acquire understanding of the tasks to be undertaken in the struggle for liberation and social justice.

None of this newly-acquired knowledge came easily. My parents were poor, of peasant stock but deprived of ancestral lands by invading sugar barons who effectively controlled Natal. My mother, a devout Christian, died when I was five years old, leaving seven children to be brought up by my father, a farm laborer and semi-skilled urbanized wage worker. He did his best to educate us, but could provide the means for only four or five years of schooling. I managed to finish primary school and then left school to work as an unskilled laborer at a variety of jobs.

Marx on Primitive Accumulation

My experience corresponded closely to lessons I learned from a study of the founders of scientific socialism. Allow me to dwell for a few minutes on the relevance of Marxist writings to the development of capitalism in South Africa. Marx's account of "primitive accumulation," for instance, could be matched by the history of the Zulu, to which ethnic community I belong. In Natal, as in other provinces, one might observe the effects of expropriation of African land by white settlers and their governments, who herded us into "reserves" (nowadays called Bantustans or, officially, homelands), forced us through taxes and recruiting agents to leave our villages for the labor market and work as migrants under contract for less than subsistence wages.

I can not think of a more striking or accurate description of this process than Marx's brilliant generalization in the first volume of *Capital*, Chapter 26:

In the history of primitive accumulation, all revolutions are epoch-making that act as levers for the capitalist class in course of formation; but, above all, those moments when

great masses of men are suddenly and forcibly torn from their means of subsistence, and hurled as free "unattached" proletarians on the labor-market. The expropriation of the agricultural producer, of the peasant, from the soil, is the basis of the whole process.

My father and his father were victims of this process in Natal after the defeat of the Zulo Empire at the hands of British regular troops in 1879. Zulu regiments, known as Impi, fought bravely with spears and clubs against troops armed with machine guns and long-range rifles, inflicting a notable defeat on the British in a famous battle at Isandhlwana, but succumbed to the enemy's superior fire-power. That battle, however, earned them a mention in Frederick Engels' book on *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, first published in 1884.

In a chapter on the Iroquois, his model of what he called "primitive communism," Engels claimed that the Zulus achieved what no European army could have done.

Armed only with lances and spears, without any fire-arms, they advanced under a hail of bullets from breechloaders up to the bayonets of the English infantry — the best of the world for fighting in closed formation — and threw them into confusion more than once, yes, even forced them to retreat in spite of the immense disparity of weapons, and in spite of the fact they have no military service and don't know anything about drill.

Marx on Colonial Expansion Through Conquest

In passages such as this Africans recognize themselves as victims of colonial conquest and imperialist greed. We learn that the development of the big capitalist powers takes place by means of the underdevelopment of the poor peasant countries, that industrialized countries obtain the capital for industrialization from the extraction of precious metals and tropical products in the colonies. Marx was one of the first scholars to establish links between colonial plunder and the industrial revolution. In *Capital*, Vol. I, Chapter 31, on "The Genesis of the Industrial Capitalist," he spelled out the connection:

The discovery of gold and silver in

America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins, signalized the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production. . . .

The different moments of primitive accumulation distribute themselves now, more or less in chronological order, particularly over Spain, Portugal, Holland, France and England. . . . These methods depend in part on brute force, e.g., the colonial system.

Citing the conclusions of various historians on the "Christian colonial system," Marx noted that, "The history of the colonial administration of Holland" — and Holland was the head capitalist nation of the seventeenth century — "is one of the most extraordinary relations of treachery, bribery, massacre and meanness."

The Dutch East India Company, as is well known, imposed colonialism on South Africa in 1652 when it planted a settlement of Company servants and hangers-on at the Cape, the southernmost extremity of Africa. The Company imported slaves from Africa and the East Indies, seized the land of the indigenous inhabitants, and set off a reign of wars, conquest and expropriation against the independent African states in the interior.

The descendants of the early settlers from Europe cling to the practices of an outmoded colonial system, involving gross racial segregation, discrimination and denial of human rights. It is against this system, known everywhere as apartheid, that the oppressed people have raised the banner of revolt in an armed struggle for independence from colonial rule and the right to self-determination.

At the present time more than 16 million Africans are confined by law to reservations covering only 13 per cent of the country's surface area. The reserves or Bantustans have been divided into 10 separate states with the intention of frustrating the African aim of uniting all national groups into a single people under a democratic constitution that will guarantee equality of rights and opportunities of all.

Loss of land and deprivation of rights are not

peculiar to the colonized people of Africa. Did not the Indians of America, both North and South, suffer the same fate at the hands of foreign invaders? Are the Australian "black-fellows" not victims of the same historical process? Colonialism was a worldwide phenomenon; its consequences continue to plague the liberated colonies. But where else can we find a true explanation of our problems and their solution than in the writings of Marx and those who apply his method of analysis and basic concepts?

Studying the works of Marx, we learned that racism was not just an emotional aberration of white immigrants; it has its roots in the capitalist and imperialist system of exploitation. The events in many parts of post-independent Africa have shown that black capitalists can be just as efficient at exploiting their people as their white neocolonial partners.

The Crises of Capitalism

I referred earlier to the great depression of the Hungry Thirties. In my country, as elsewhere, the Depression gave rise to great unemployment, wage cuts and severe reductions in living standards of working people. The workers of South African industrial centers fought back under the leadership of the Party, only to be met with bullets and batons, deportations and detentions. One of our leaders, Johannes Nkosi, the Party branch secretary in Durban, was assassinated at a mass rally held on December 16, 1930, in protest against wage cuts and pass laws.

We remember our martyred dead both to honor their memories and to remind ourselves that the present suffering of Black workers in South Africa is due to the continuation of the violence perpetrated against them by the ruling class.

Once again capitalism is in the stranglehold of economic depression, one that is even more prolonged and severe than its predecessor of 50 years ago. South Africa, as part of the capitalist world, is also facing unprecedented economic difficulties, but as usual, the main burden is being carried by the oppressed Black mass.

Capitalism is on the verge of economic collapse. As in the 1930s, powerful forces are at work looking for a way out through world war, even at the risk of nuclear annihilation. We have no reason to

suppose that only a totalitarian state of the Nazi type can mobilize a population for such a war. It can be done also by a so-called democracy with absolute control over the mass media and a huge secret service such as the FBI and CIA constitute.

Secondly, for the sake of self-preservation and out of a sense of moral responsibility, the people who want peace must intensify their efforts to stop the arms race, force government to scale down the enormous stocks of weapons, and renounce war as a means of settling international disputes.

Ideological attacks on the socialist world and the Soviet Union are a cover for imperialist greed, the search for markets, raw materials and profits. The movement for peace is necessary in our own interests and to protect socialism against those who wish to destroy it. Capitalist governments and their academic spokesmen may prefer to ignore or deride Marxism as they did a century ago. They can not, however, ignore the socialist world. Its existence and growth are a practical demonstration of the validity of Marxist-Leninist theory. I shall therefore say something about the significance of the 1917 Revolution.

The Marxist word became flesh in the October Revolution. People who call themselves Marxists, neo-Marxists, Trotskyists, Maoists, or Euro-Communists spend more time in abusing the Soviet Union than in attacking their alleged opponent, the capitalist system. That fratricidal war began during the Revolution when Mensheviks, Revisionists and the entire tribe of Social-Democrats repudiated the Bolsheviks in the name of individual liberty and human rights.

The only comment I wish to make is that socialists who reject the achievements of socialism in action can hardly expect to persuade people that their version of the new world will be better!

In global terms the Soviet Union has changed the balance of forces in favor of peace, the colonized, dispossessed and exploited. There is a direct connection between its emergence as a world power and the process of decolonization that set in after the October Revolution and with renewed vigor after the defeat of fascism in the Second World War.

Liberation would have come to colonized people through their own efforts in the natural course of historical development; but it came the

sooner and more readily because of the stand taken by the Soviet Union against foreign domination, the colonial system and national oppression.

This is an area in which Lenin's influence was particularly important. He condemned, long before the October Revolution, all forms of colonial domination, identified it as a species of national oppression, and urged that the colonized, however poor and underdeveloped, had the same legitimate claim to self-determination and secession as any national minority in Europe.

The policy of the Soviet Union towards contemporary liberation movements is firmly rooted in principles formulated in conferences of the Second International during the first decade of this century and in Marx's famous formula: "The victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie is at the same time the signal for liberation for all oppressed nations."

The National Question

The Soviet Union is a multinational, multiracial federation which survived the most severe test imaginable of an unparalled armed invasion that resulted in the death of 20 million Soviet citizens and the destruction of social resources on an appalling scale.

The Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party, meeting in March 1921, acknowledged, "The elimination of actual national inequality is a lengthy process involving a stubborn and persistent struggle against all survivals of national oppression and colonial slavery." The border regions, notably Turkestan, were in the position of colonies supplying raw materials for manufacture at the center. This relationship was the basic cause of economic and national inequality.

It was the task of the Party "to help the toiling masses of the non-Great Russian peoples to catch up with Central Russia, which is ahead of them." Measures required for this purpose were specified and implemented in the course of time. The Twelfth Congress resolved in April 1923 that though the equality of legal status of nations was a great achievement, it did not in itself solve the national problem of inherited inequalities. These could be eliminated "only if real and prolonged assistance is given by the Russian proletariat to the backward people of the Union in the interest of

economic and cultural advancement."

All forms of inequality between nationalities in the Soviet Union have been eliminated in accordance with these and subsequent decisions. Already in 1922, when the Union of Socialist Republics was established, the claim could be made with justification that the integration of the national republics into the Union represented the concluding stage in the formation of a single multinational state on the basis of equality and voluntary consent. In the succeeding sixty years, the equality has become actual and manifest.

As Yuri Andropov remarked last December when celebrating the sixtieth anniversary of the birth of the USSR, "History has fully borne out the theory of Marx and Lenin that the nationalities question can only be settled on a class basis. National discord and all forms of racial and national inequality and oppression receded into the past together with social antagonisms."

Many countries in Africa are still plagued by inequalities and rivalries between ethnic communities. We can learn from Marxism-Leninism how to turn these diversities to good account by giving each community the opportunity to develop its language and culture with a single state system adhering to the principles of "national in form, socialist in content."

To achieve the goal of unity in diversity, however, Africa and other developing countries will have to liberate themselves from class divisions, exploitation and national oppression. This they can not do unless they liberate themselves from the yoke of capitalism and imperialism.

Marxism in Africa

The prospect of achieving workers' power is still some distance away in most parts of Africa. Eighty per cent and more of the population are peasants; the working class is small and concentrated in a few industrial centers and port towns; workers are not organized in political parties; and only a handful of Marxist-Leninist vanguard parties have emerged.

To these objective obstacles must be added the enormous influence of colonial institutions, legislatures, administrative apparatus and economies of developing countries. They have been emancipated from colonialism only in a formal sense.

Political power has been transferred; many of the external features of the culture are traditional; but content continues to be colonial-capitalist.

Parties and governments are often dominated by the middle class of educated and professional people who enrich themselves by manipulating the state apparatus and large public corporations. These have taken the place of expatriate companies of the colonial era but continue to depend on and work with foreign capital represented by governments, international finance and multinational conglomerates. This was the combination of interests that Lenin considered to be the driving force behind imperialist expansion. It persists, in spite of the formal, constitutional withdrawal of old-fashioned colonialism, and works closely in conjunction with an expanding indigenous bourgeoisie.

The emergence of a bourgeois class of collaborators sharpens the conflict of interests within the nation and accentuates the contradictions between workers, peasants and capitalists. Small but important groups of intellectuals have turned to Marxism for a theoretical understanding of class formation and the appropriate forms of struggle in defense of propertyless urban workers and poor peasants.

Twelve Marxist-Leninist parties have taken shape in different countries of Africa. A minority of these are in power, constituting islands of socialism in an underdeveloped and technologically backward continent. But they are Marxist-Leninist in outlook and organization; determined to solve the main problem of bringing about the transition from capitalism to socialism.

Marxism has come to stay in Africa. Its immediate future depends on the determination of the vanguard parties and scattered groups of intellectuals, workers and peasants throughout the continent who recognize that socialism alone provides a satisfactory and lasting solution to the continent's problems of ignorance, illiteracy, disease, poverty, technological backwardness and imperialist exploitation.

For us in Africa the writings of that great genius who died 100 years ago live on. Marx has a relevance which is not only theoretical; he has given us the tools without which we will not be able to construct a life of peace, freedom and socialism.

Discussion of 'The Impact of Marx on the Developing World'

LOU DISKIN

Comrade Mabhida, in his paper, called himself "an heir to the legacy of Marxism-Leninism." Listening to his creative and crystal-clear presentation, I would say he is a most worthy heir. Both his presence and his paper add a large and significant political dimension to this *Political Affairs* symposium on the teachings of Karl Marx.

In their ideological attacks on Marxism-Leninism, imperialist troubadours often sing on both sides of the street. The appearances are different, but the essence is the same.

In Africa, according to these sirens, "Marxism is an imported ideology," European, alien to African traditions and customs. In the United States, we often hear a different tune. Marxism, they croon, might be useful for backward countries in Asia and Africa, but it has no real value for an advanced industrial country like ours.

The truth is that they are out of tune on both sides of the street.

Of course, the struggle demands that the particular history, traditions and customs of each country and people be taken into account, but the same objective laws of social development operate with that same inexorability in Pretoria as they do in Washington.

Sometimes these troubadours feign a sympathetic ballad. Marx, they cry, always talks about liberating the working class, but he is so difficult, what worker can understand him?

The truth is that they do not want workers to read Marx—or Engels or Lenin.

Is Marxism-Leninism too difficult for workers to read and study?

First of all, let us note that on this platform are three world Communist leaders, brilliant Marxist-Leninists—all workers.

Chatting with Paul Lafargue, Marx' son-in-law, Lenin pointed out that there were no parties yet in

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Russia in the West European sense. "Well, what do you do in your workers' circles?" asked Lafargue. Lenin replied, "We hold public lectures and the more capable ones read Karl Marx." Lafargue was astonished! "Russian workers read Karl Marx?" "Yes," said Lenin.

Yes, Russian workers, in suffering, backward, illiterate Russia, read Karl Marx—and V.I. Lenin—and carried through such working-class wonders in 1917 that the world capitalist classes have hardly had a full night's sleep since.

Isn't this what drives the Reagans and Bothas into a frenzy? For what do the "forward-looking" workers of Africa do? Why, they read and study Marx and Lenin! They "are hungry," as Comrade Mabhida has told us, "for this store of scientific information about their world and how to change it."

In 1913 Lenin wrote: "Marxism is omnipotent because it is true!" He predicted that its greatest successes still lay ahead. History has fully confirmed his prophetic words.

Indeed, no social doctrine in all history can compare with the science of Marxism-Leninism in the depth and sweep of its revolutionary impact on world social development. When the birth certificate of scientific socialism, the *Communist Manifesto*, was first written in 1848, there were only 300 known Communists in the world, and these only in Europe. Meanwhile, capitalists and imperialists, chasing markets and profits across the globe, shaped the world in their own ugly image and stirred the flames of inevitable revolt on all continents. Marx' work lit the fires of working-class consciousness and scientifically substantiated its worldwide historic mission to abolish all forms of exploitation and oppression and build a new, free and just communist society for all humanity—a revolutionary process well under way on all continents.

Would you be surprised to learn that UNESCO

figures tell us that the writings of Marx and Lenin outsell every other book in the world, including the Bible? Who reads these hundreds of millions of works? Certainly not only college professors.

Would you be surprised to learn that there are some 80 million organized Communists, spread over all corners of the globe, and those ranks grow larger year by year?

To be a Communist today, to read and study Marx and Lenin, to carry a Party card, and to fight for peace and socialism, is to wear the uniform of our epoch.

In the face of such indisputable facts, how stupid and empty is Reagan's posturing that Communism is "on its last legs." He sounds like a man whose knowledge of history and social development was learned by a deep study of the rear end of one of his horses.

Even though the birth of capitalism—in the strictest scientific sense—represented a gigantic progressive leap in world development over feudalism and other precapitalist formations, its vicious, people-hating features were discernible from the first. As Comrade Mabhida has established, Marx proved the inseparable connection between the process of emerging world capitalism and the brutal effects of early capitalist colonialism. The precious metal treasures captured by undisguised looting and murder "floated back to the mother country and were turned into capital." (Marx.) This organized system of colonial plunder was soon extended to human treasure—the barbaric trans-Atlantic slave trade. This obscenity continued for four centuries and cost Africa, by conservative estimates, 100 million men and women, the youngest and strongest.

The enormity of this crime can not be exaggerated! For Africa, wrote our comrade, the great Dr. DuBois, it signified an "economic, social and political catastrophe over the whole continent the like of which one seeks in vain in the history of mankind."

Today, as one studies the struggles of the working people of the United States and South Africa, it becomes ever more apparent that the racist holocaust about which Dr. DuBois wrote, and its nineteenth and twentieth century imperialist aftermath, left an enormous legacy of problems

which shape and intertwine the historical destinies of our two countries in many special ways.

World imperialism, and in particular U.S. imperialism, through individual and collective neocolonialist policies, wants to keep its bloody grip on this fantastically rich continent. But revolutionary Africa is searching for a way out.

African capitalism is weak and peripheral and can only exist as a tool of multinational monopolies, of foreign state monopoly capitalist powers. Such a weak capitalism can not even hope to overcome underdevelopment but can only aggravate the economic, scientific and technical backwardness. Sooner or later, capitalism will be rejected and since the laws of social development do not permit a multiple choice test, there is no alternative to socialism.

Marx foresaw the possibility of backward countries skipping the capitalist stage of development, and Lenin, in the new historical conditions created by the Great October Socialist Revolution, further elaborated the idea of noncapitalist development. The modern history of the Central Asian republics of the USSR and the People's Republic of Mongolia has brilliantly confirmed Lenin's thesis. Such historical examples hold great promise for many African countries.

For underdeveloped Africa, socialist orientation is not an easy road, as Comrade Mabhida has illustrated, but the only correct one. Already about a dozen African states (the largest number on any continent) follow this path, embracing 25 per cent of the population and 30 per cent of the territory of the continent. The tremendous awakening of the peoples, the leap in the appeal of Marxist Leninist ideas, the significant economic, social and political advancements in Ethiopia, Mozambique, Angola, the Republic of Congo, Algeria and other African states dramatically illustrate that creative scientific socialism has a winning future on African soil.

In the immediate period, nothing would permit socialism in Africa to take a greater leap forward than the destruction of the fascist apartheid regime in South Africa. Racism arose with the profit system of capitalism and the ending of capitalism and the building of socialism will create all the favorable conditions for ending this monstrosity once and for all. The historical experiences of the

multinational, multiracial Soviet Union has given the world an example, a surety: if the correct Marxist-Leninist road is followed, this inhuman ideology and practice will disappear from the face of the earth.

Yet until that happy hour, Marxism demands day-to-day, hour-to-hour unrelenting struggle against every form, expression and act of racism. As Marx and Lenin regularly stressed—without this day-to-day struggle, the workers will not be ready for “the decisive hour.” This means, among other tasks, that Marxists must strive with all their might to rally and unite all workers, all democrats, all decent people to reverse the Reagan Administration’s open racist embrace of this vile South African bastion of fascism. This so-called “realistic strategy,” or as Under Secretary of State for African Affairs Crocker calls it, “shared interests,” are but phony euphemisms for an evil racist alliance against the interests of the working peoples of South Africa and the United States.

South Africa must be quarantined and the fight

(Continued from page 63)

their children.

What greater crime wave is there today than the crime wave of unemployment? Who are the criminals? And what can be done about it? These are the questions really being posed to the contemporary moral conscience and to contemporary humanism.

These are the moral questions which Marx raised over a hundred years ago. And he provided scientific and practical answers to them. The practical answer consists in the fact that the working population must unite in practical struggle to reclaim the basic means of social existence from the exploiting regime in order to establish the *minimum* practical conditions of living a truly human life.

This minimum, but fundamental, human right has been enjoyed by the people of socialist countries for more than fifty years now. For socialism, new practical and moral goals occupy the center of social consciousness. No longer preoccupied with the struggle to gain a living and to keep on earning it, the higher goal of communism becomes a moral force: the goal of creating a society in which work is no longer perceived as a necessary evil—whose fundamental significance is only recognized

for mandatory sanctions in all fields of life against South Africa must proceed deeper and broader than ever before.

The road of revolutionary struggle is arduous and difficult for any people. But for the working people of South Africa, for our embattled Communist comrades in this tortured land, the battle has been and is especially bitter. The number of jailed, tortured and murdered is phenomenal. And there is still no end.

This afternoon we lower our own fighting Marxist-Leninist banner to honor their heroism, their precious memory. For our martyred South African comrades—Communist and non-Communist—we repeat with Marx his passionate sentiments about the Communards of Paris: they are “forever enshrined in the great heart of the working class.” As for their torturers and murderers, we also cry out with Marx that “history has already nailed [them] to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priests will not avail to redeem them.”

against the threat of unemployment—but truly becomes what Marx called in the *Critique of the Gotha Program* “life’s prime want.” The paper by Hans-Joachim Radde describes actual historical conditions in which the German Democratic Republic has proceeded to the stage of a developed socialist society on the way to realizing the goal of communism as forecast by Marx.

By contrast to this direction of social development in socialist societies, our goal in the U.S. might seem pathetically narrow, were it not for the fact that the fate of the peoples of the capitalist and socialist worlds, together with the rest of humanity, are inextricably interlocked. Consequently, the lofty goals of communist society can not be fully realized without the liberation of all humanity from that threat of “social non-existence” which, with the growing threat of nuclear war, poses the danger of actual non-existence or physical annihilation to an extent which Marx could not have divined.

But it is precisely in this connection that we have ample evidence of how fully the socialist countries have been faithful to Marx, who demanded, as the highest standard of communist morality, solidarity of all working people in the struggle for peace and human liberation.

Karl Marx and the Laws and Essence of Socialism

HANS-JOACHIM RADDE

Today's conference is devoted to the life and work of one of the greatest thinkers and revolutionaries in the history of mankind: to the founder of scientific socialism, Karl Marx. He was born 165 years ago and died a century ago. This anniversary is an event of great importance for the international labor movement and all progressive mankind. "His name will endure through the ages, and so also will his work!" These words, uttered by Friedrich Engels in March 1883 at the graveside of his companion and friend, have fully proved their worth throughout the last hundred years.

It was Marx' unforgettable historic achievement that he showed the proletariat, then consolidating itself as a class, the course and goal of its struggle. At a time that the capitalist order of society was still in its formative stage, Marx already realized its historic transitoriness and gave reasons for its unavoidable replacement by socialism. Marx, together with Friedrich Engels, created a self-contained scientific doctrine for the working class, which history appointed as the architect of a new society liberated from exploitation, oppression and war. In its essence Marxism has, from the very beginning, been a philosophy of humanism and peace, and all its policies are governed by these principles.

Dialectical and historical materialism, political economy and scientific socialism, have become the working class' major weapons in the struggle waged for its liberation. Marx' overall revolutionary activity was geared to the establishment of close links between the scientific theory and the organization of the working class, for Marx was at all times scientist plus revolutionary.

Hundreds of millions of people all over the world associate the name of Karl Marx with the bright prospect of a life in peace, material security and the free development of their creative powers.

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Karl Marx' philosophy has retained its undiminished vitality and relevance for the present time. The basic questions of human development raised by him have a determining influence on the social, political and intellectual controversies of the present. A socialist way of thinking, which Marx and Engels turned from a utopia into a science, was in a position in the past, and still is in the present, to provide the correct answers to the fundamental issues of the social development of mankind and its prospects. Marx' statements on the historic role of the working class have been corroborated. The most important proof of this fact is the transformation of scientific socialism into real socialism and its ability to solve fundamental problems of mankind for the good of the people.

For more than a century one's attitude towards Marx and his theory has been a basic factor of the intellectual and political argument. The opponents of the revolutionary labor movement declared Marxism to be wrong, indeed to be hostile to society, and tried to annihilate its proponents.

They were out to avoid its translation into a social reality or to reverse that reality. Others made every effort to revise its teachings in order to paralyze its society-changing effect. Others declared it to be obsolete.

Those taking Marxism seriously as a theory have often tried to interpret it in very different ways and are certainly not in agreement with Communists in all respects. But as things stand now, one thing is crystal clear: in our century no one will be able to get around Marx' work and its social effects.

When fascism established its savage regime in Germany 50 years ago, it made the claim that it would eliminate Marxism as an ideology, as a political movement and as a social reality. The German fascists spared no effort to achieve this objective. They burned the books of Marx, Engels and Lenin and the works of famous writers of international standing. They arrested, terrorized

and murdered Communists and Social Democrats, Jews, bourgeois democrats and pacifists, anti-fascist Catholics and Protestants. The ordeal which the fascists had planned for mankind began in Germany, in Dachau, Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen and other concentration camps. During the course of the Second World War the fascists tried to exterminate entire peoples or to force them into slavery.

But all these plans failed. It was the historic achievement of the peoples of the USSR, in their alliance with the other powers of the anti-Hitler coalition, to prevent this relapse of humanity into barbarism. Twenty million people of the world's first socialist state laid down their lives for the humanistic goal of sparing other peoples fascist rule. This was an unambiguous demonstration of the close connection between socialism, peace and the preservation of democratic human rights and liberties.

Twelve years after the fascist dictatorship was set up, the ideas of Marx were stronger than ever. Wilhelm Pieck, the German Democratic Republic's first president, said in this connection: "Hitler's gang thought that they were able to destroy Marxism by smashing socialist organizations. What foolishness! To uproot Marxism means annihilating the proletariat. But it is impossible to annihilate the working class, and since the vital strength of Marxism is living within this class, Marxism is and remains invincible." (W. Pieck, *Reden und Aufsätze*, Vol. 3, Berlin 1954, p. 28.)

May all those who today are calling for a crusade against Marxism recall these historic facts.

At present they proclaim that the end of communism has finally come and real socialism is in its last gasp. But at the same time they justify the biggest-ever arms-first program by emphasizing that it is necessary to ward off socialism. The mightily growing world peace movement, they say, is Moscow's work, but at the same time they maintain that the ideas rooted in the October Revolution—including first and foremost that of peace—have once and for all lost all their effectiveness. Imperialist ideologists and economists consider an annual economic growth rate of between one and two per cent in the advanced capitalist countries a much sought-after objective, but declare that a growth of five per cent in the

socialist countries' national income is an indication of a deep crisis.

Day by day they maintain that the Soviet Union continues to develop new and more sophisticated weapons systems, at the same time spreading the lie that the socialist society is not in a position to master advanced technology and to this end is in dire need of Western assistance.

These and other furious attacks on Marxism and real socialism are only one expression of the fact that reaction has not succeeded, and indeed will not succeed, in hemming in Marxism's growing international influence.

II

The vitality of Marx' ideas is today borne out by the triumphal march of socialism throughout the world, the three main revolutionary currents of our epoch, and most especially by real socialism, where the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin are being translated into reality. It has become manifest where the strongest bastion of social progress has been established: in the community of socialist states united round the Soviet Union. Today the economic, political, scientific and military successes of real socialism are the most convincing proof of the strength and effectiveness of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

Real socialism was born out of the deepest process of revolutionary transformation in history, carried out by the popular masses themselves under the leadership of the working class and its party: the socialist revolution whose basic features were first outlined by Marx.

With the Great October Socialist Revolution ushering in a new historical era and with the construction of socialism in the USSR, Marxism experienced its greatest triumph up to that time. Led by the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet people worked hard and made sacrifices in their struggle to lay the foundations for socialism for the first time in the world's history. Thus, the working people of the Soviet Union performed an invaluable pioneering feat for the international working class.

Ever since the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, it has been proved again and again in many other countries, including the German Democratic Republic, that the transition from capitalism to socialism can only be completed

successfully if the general laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction are put into practice and are applied creatively to the specific historical conditions and national characteristics of each particular situation.

The historical experience of all socialist countries, gained in the course of sixty years, illustrate that,

- if society is going to be entirely refashioned, the working class must conquer power, the socialist state must be constantly strengthened and socialist democracy must develop;
- socialist relations of production must prevail in every sphere of the national economy, with the forces of production and the planned socialist economy making rapid progress;
- this requires a firm alliance between the working class and the farming community, intellectuals and other working people;
- the socialist revolution demands consistent application of the principles of proletarian internationalism;
- the transformation of social relations is accompanied by a revolution in the sphere of culture and ideology, in which Marxism-Leninism becomes the dominant ideology;
- just as the historic step into socialism can only be taken in most severe class struggle, so the gains of socialism must then be defended against all counter-revolutionary attacks from within and without.

The development of socialism in the various countries shows that wherever the general laws are adhered to, wherever creative spirit and consistency are shown in putting them into effect in their entirety, there socialism is strong, there the Party and the people are linked together closely and counter-revolution does not have a chance. In the ideological arena, the enemy is directing his arguments especially against the basic principles of socialism. In doing so he tries, by referring to the various new processes and changes taking place throughout the world, to deny the general applicability of the laws of socialist revolution. By referring to national and historical peculiarities in the development of individual countries, to the scientific and technological revolution and many things more, they want to prove that what are now required for building socialism are other, "new

principles" and specific "models." The "replacement" of general laws of the socialist revolution and socialist construction is praised as a "further development of Marxism," the striving for socialism's laws consistent implementation, however, is degraded as "dogmatic adherence to something historically obsolete."

Marxists have never contested or even denied the importance of concrete historical peculiarities and conditions. They have emphasized at all times that a feature distinguishing the general laws of the socialist revolution is that they do not exist as "things in themselves," but acquire prominence only in a concrete revolution, in a special and particular case.

Marx, Engels and Lenin repeatedly noted that the road to socialism would be blazed in different ways, and that the working class should in all cases wage its struggle within the national framework, taking into account the concrete historical conditions. The operation of general laws in a general form abstracted from concrete circumstances is as inconceivable as an exclusively national path to socialism unaffected by the operation of general laws or principles of the socialist revolution and socialist construction. In this context, any socialist revolution, any socialist society, is a unique historical phenomenon.

Socialist transformation in the GDR was inseparably linked with the advance of the overall world revolutionary process in the wake of the victory over Nazism. The theses proposed by the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party (SED) for Karl Marx Year state in this connection: "The revolutionary unity of the working class was the successful basis for a broad alliance with all peace-loving, democratic forces which overcame the rule of the bourgeoisie and feudal aristocracy, who had unleashed two world wars in our century and produced fascism. In bitter conflict with imperialist reaction and its lackeys, and in an integrated revolutionary process, an antifascist, democratic transformation was achieved, the foundations for socialism laid and the creation of advanced socialist society begun. In alliance with the farmers and the other sections of the working population, the working class built the German Democratic Republic, the socialist German workers' and farmers' state, as a form of the dictatorship

of the proletariat.

"This was a fundamental turning-point in the history of the German people."

In the GDR, the past and present provide many characteristic examples of creative application of the basic principle to the concrete, specific national conditions. The transition from capitalism to socialism, for instance, differed in the GDR in many respects from that three decades earlier in the Soviet Union or in most of the other socialist countries.

- Power, well known to be the basic issue of any revolution, was not taken over at once, as a result of a single action, but gradually, because of the specific conditions prevailing after the war when supreme authority was in the hands of the four occupation powers.
- Unlike the Soviet Union, Hungary, Rumania, Cuba and Mongolia, there is no one-party system in the GDR, but a multi-party system headed by the SED.
- In the GDR, neither all capitalists were expropriated across the board nor was there an overall nationalization of landed property, measures which in some countries constituted prerequisites for socialist transformation. Tens of thousands of small and medium-sized capitalist entrepreneurs, craftsmen, traders, as well as well-to-do farmers, were given an opportunity to play an active part in the socialist construction effort.

Notwithstanding all the specific ways, methods and forms of socialist transformation in the GDR, its class content and socio-economic essence were, for all practical purposes, the same as in the Soviet Union and the other countries which have laid the foundations of socialism.

Our Party Program, adopted at the Ninth SED Congress in 1976, therefore states out of theoretical conviction and practical experience: "In its long-term aims and in its practical work the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is guided by the universally applicable laws of socialist revolution and of socialist construction, as confirmed by the world revolutionary process, and applies these laws creatively to the concrete historical conditions prevailing in the German Democratic Republic."

Throughout all the periods of the revolutionary process in the GDR there have been at least three

categories or types of conditions that have had to be taken into account when the Party's relevant strategic concept or general political line were charted, defined or implemented.

The first category may be called *general historical conditions*. It consisted of the fact that the socialist revolution in the GDR took place three decades after the October Revolution and simultaneously with revolutionary transformations in other countries, and that from the very beginning it formed part and parcel of the world revolutionary process and of the worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism. Irrespective of all the difficulties which had to be overcome, especially in the initial years after the war, this proved a great advantage. On account of its military defeat of Hitler Germany, the Soviet army had smashed the state apparatus of the German big bourgeoisie, with its fascist instruments of terror and oppression, and brought about major changes in the international balance of forces in favor of socialism.

The second category may be called *specific national conditions*. These were and are preconditions governed by the course of German history, the objective and subjective national realities as a whole influencing the course of revolutionary transformations in the GDR. Among them were a higher level of industrialization, a more advanced class structure, a more comprehensive working class (in numbers), a somewhat different role played by the peasantry, the intelligentsia and the urban petty bourgeoisie, as well as certain historical traditions, customs, etc. as compared with pre-revolutionary Russia and most of the other socialist countries.

The third category of conditions resulted from the *concrete historical situation*, including the relevant international situation, the national socio-economic situation, the relationship of forces between the classes, the level of consciousness and frame of mind of the mass of the people, etc.

In its strategy, policies and tactics, the SED has invariably taken these three types of factors into account in socialist construction. As was aptly put by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, the Party, as the leading force of socialist society, had "to stand the test of time again and again at every new stage of social development. Its maturity is seen in the extent to which

it is able to analyze with scientific accuracy the relevant conditions of struggle and development, to understand as exactly as possible the objective requirements of social progress, to map out an appropriate strategy and tactics, and to mobilize and lead the popular masses." (E. Honecker, *Reden und Aufsätze*, Vol. 5, 1978, p. 329.)

III

At present, the opponents of scientific socialism are placing the historical role of the working class into the center of their attacks on Marxism. This is no by chance since, as Lenin underlined, "the chief thing in the doctrine of Marx is that it brings out the historic role of the proletariat as the builder of socialist society." (*Collected Works*, Vol 18, p. 582.)

One of the most frequently used lies is to declare this fundamental realization of Karl Marx to be obsolete for the twentieth century. Reality, however, has shown that in all socialist countries the working class, under the leadership of its revolutionary party, is fulfilling its historic mission step-by-step and has already proved to be the architect of a new, socialist society. In firm alliance with the other working classes and strata it is successfully exercising power, and in the historically short period since 1917 it "has done incomparably more for the interests of the people, for peace, work and bread, education and culture, law and freedom, democracy and humanism than any other previous social system." (E. Honecker, speech to first secretaries of district party committees on Feb. 12, 1982, *Neues Deutschland*, Feb. 13 and 14, 1982.)

Under socialism, the working class is simultaneously the producing class and the holder of power, which makes it a class of a truly new historic type without precedent in history. All the previous classes have either exercised power or have been producers, because in an exploitative society those wielding power do not work, while those who work are excluded from running the state. This division, lasting thousands of years, between production, ownership and power has been overcome by the united working class allied with other working people under socialism. Led by its Marxist-Leninist party, it has acquired the ability to combine increasingly well these two

fundamental social functions and to make use of them to satisfy its interests. This is a revolutionary and at the same time contradictory process calling for a thoroughgoing qualitative growth of the working class.

Today's working class in the GDR is the result of more than 35 years of revolutionary development, in the course of which fundamental changes in the conditions of its very existence, in its living conditions, were accompanied by a growth in number, radical changes of the social structure and the social role of the working class—like that of all the other classes and strata in the GDR.

In contrast to most other socialist countries, the GDR's working class was already the largest class in society and largely concentrated in the sphere of industry when the revolution began. Nevertheless, there was a considerable growth in its numbers, especially in the transitional period from capitalism to socialism. Blue- and white-collar workers accounted for some 70 per cent of the total labor force in 1945, the relevant number for 1960 being 81 and for 1980, 89 per cent.

A major prerequisite ensuring the implementation of the working class' leading role was establishment of a political system which made it possible for the working class and its allies to make their interests the policy of the state. This is done *first* by ensuring that large parts of the working class, as members and officials of the Marxist-Leninist party, are directly involved in guiding and running every sphere of social endeavor and explaining and implementing a policy geared to the interests and requirements of the working class and the whole population. Seventy three per cent of the 2.2 million members and candidate members of the SED are of working-class background, and 58 per cent are engaged in the productive sphere.

Second, many of the best representatives of the working class hold leading positions in the state apparatus and the national economy. As early as the 1945-53 period 160,000 former production workers took over responsible managerial jobs, and as things stand now, 75 per cent of the country's senior officials, 74 per cent of all public prosecutors and 67 per cent of all judges and officers in the National People's Army are of working-class origin. Hence, the working class has proved that it is able not only to build up a socialist state

but also to run it successfully.

Third, the working class in the GDR, through trade unions and other public organizations, people's representative bodies and their agencies, as well as through day-to-day work in material production, is directly taking an ever more active part in running the socialist state, its economy and culture. Thus, the workers' and peasants' power, as Lenin pointed out, "is the first in the world . . . to enlist the people . . . in the work of the administration." (Op cit., Vol. 28, p. 247.) Therefore, the people's representative bodies in the GDR, in their social composition, reflect impressively the democratic nature of this power, as 72 per cent of all members of the People's Chamber of the GDR and local assemblies are from the working class. The power of workers and peasants hence relies on a broad social basis, is characterized by living democracy of a kind no bourgeois state will ever approach.

Today's growth of the GDR's working class is almost exclusively of a qualitative nature, that is, its ability to live up to its function as the producing and leading class of socialist society is growing. Increasing importance is attached to the level of education and professional skills.

The *general level of education* has risen considerably in the GDR. As early as 1970, 79 per cent of all young people completed 10 or 12 years of school, and by 1980 the figure had risen to 91 per cent.

Similarly remarkable progress was made in the development of the *pattern of vocational training*, a field in which the socialist state has invested large sums. While some 25 per cent of those engaged in socialist industry were skilled workers in 1955, the proportion had risen to 65 per cent by 1980. Since 1960 the number of technical school graduates working in socialist industry has increased five times and that of university graduates ten times, whereas the number of unskilled and semi-skilled workers fell to less than 20 per cent.

In summary, it can be said that a number of common features have emerged in all socialist countries in the development and social role of the working class in building up socialist society.

1. Led by its Marxist-Leninist party, the working class is the main social force for social progress in socialist society.

2. Under socialism, the working class is both a producing and ruling class and therefore a class of a truly new historic type.

3. In the process of mastering scientific and technological progress, the working class is increasingly fashioning its socialist profile, developing into a class both physically and intellectually active. In the course of this process, education and higher skills are gaining in importance.

4. In ever greater measure and with growing efficiency the working class takes part in managing and planning all social processes.

5. In line with its Marxist-Leninist ideology, the working class gives ever more concrete shape to a socialist way of life and cultural standards, raising its material and cultural standard of living while building advanced socialist society.

IV

In the GDR, the period of transition from capitalism to socialism was completed in the early sixties. We had successfully laid the foundations of socialism. Socialist relations of production had succeeded in industry and agriculture. A stable, socialist state had emerged, and the proletariat exercised its dictatorship in a broadly-based alliance with the other working people. However, this did not mean that the construction of socialism was completed; we began to build an advanced socialist society. The theses proposed by the SED Central Committee for Karl Marx Year state in this connection:

In the concept of advanced socialist society, real socialism today has a social strategy, founded in theory and tested in practice, for solving its present tasks on the road to communism. It is the product of the CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist parties in the socialist countries in their joint creative application of the ideas and teachings of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. The theory of advanced socialist society has fundamental strategic significance. It is one of the most important achievements in the current creative development of Marxism-Leninism. It composes the theoretical foundation for the future formation of socialism in keeping with world historical conditions today and tomorrow.

The Marxist-Leninist parties of the socialist community understand the formation of advanced socialist society as a long-term process within the development towards a communist social formation, in the course of which basic conditions must be created for the gradual transition to communism. This is a historical process involving deep qualitative and quantitative political, economic, social and cultural changes, during which socialism brings its own advantages and dynamic forces into play. This is the stage when history places Lenin's demand squarely on the agenda: "In the last analysis, productivity of labor is the most important, the principal thing for the victory of the new social system. . . Capitalism can be utterly vanquished, and will be utterly vanquished by socialism creating a new and much higher productivity of labor." (Op. cit., Vol. 29, p. 427.)

Building advanced socialism is characterized by:

- an inseparable interrelationship between economic and social policies;
- a comprehensive transition to intensively expanding reproduction;
- an organic link-up between the achievements of the technological revolution and the advantages of socialist society;
- greater social activity, collective methods and awareness on the part of the working people, and the growing leadership role of the Marxist-Leninist party.

One indispensable condition for socialism to consolidate its all-round position in the struggle to preserve world peace is the achievement of a stronger economic potential for socialism by means of a transition to expanding reproduction through intensification. "In our age, the economy has become the principal arena of international class conflict," reads the SED's theses for Karl Marx Year. Despite common approaches to fundamental issues, there are differing preconditions in the socialist countries for fulfilling the tasks of the eighties. Therefore, the individual concepts of the various parties are not identical in every respect. The economic strategy for the eighties adopted by the Tenth Congress has provided the SED with a comprehensive blueprint for the transition to intensively expanded reproduction of the national economy. It is based, in principle, on

fundamental theoretical perceptions originally formulated by Marx, and is an example of creative application of Marx' theory of reproduction under the concrete conditions prevailing in the GDR.

V.

The challenging tasks facing the socialist countries, however, can only be tackled if we succeed in preserving peace. There is a close connection between social progress and the struggle to preserve peace. Karl Marx demonstrated that the social roots of war lie in the system of exploitation, whereas peace is part of the essence of socialism, for in socialist society there are no classes or strata which can make money out of war preparations, extract profit from armaments or gain from expansion abroad. Over a century has passed since Karl Marx argued that, "In contrast to the old society, with its economical miseries and its political delirium, a new society is springing up, whose international rule will be *Peace*, because its national ruler will be everywhere the same—*Labor*," (Karl Marx, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, pp. 193-194.)

While socialism brings peace, capitalism is still the source of conflict, confrontation and war. Even today, imperialism is trying to escape from its internal process of crisis and the limitation of its external positions of power by resorting to more and more aggression and international adventurism. Since the latter half of the seventies, the most aggressive elements of imperialism have been pursuing a strategy based on confrontation and an accelerated arms build-up. They want to alter the existing strategic military balance in favor of the USA and NATO. Their idea is to use military superiority to blackmail the socialist states and all progressive forces and to re-establish the hegemony of imperialism, even at the cost of a nuclear war. These aims are served by the policy of escalated armament, sanctions and economic boycott. Thus imperialism is once more showing itself to be a hotbed of aggression, a threat to peace and a barrier to social progress in the world.

From our own experience, we in the GDR know about the difficulties and dangers arising from a policy of confrontation, blackmail and cold war. For a long time now we have had to live under such conditions and also take great losses, but all this did not halt our development.

We act on the assumption that in our lifetime, more than ever before, the safeguarding of peace forms an integral part of the world-historic mission of the working class, as peace forms the decisive basis for the continued existence of mankind and the prime prerequisite for the resolution of all other social problems. The concrete historic form peace is assuming in the current epoch is the peaceful coexistence between socialist and capitalist countries. Today's struggle for peace is culminating in the striving for agreements on an arms freeze, arms limitation and disarmament on the basis of equality and equal security and, above all, in action against the deployment of U.S.-made medium-range weapons in Western Europe.

The SED attributes major importance to the proposal made by the members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization to conclude a treaty on the non-use of military force and the maintenance of peaceful relations between them and the members of NATO.

The Prague meeting of January 1983 placed special emphasis on the fact that the NATO countries, by deploying new American nuclear medium-range missiles in Western Europe, scheduled for this year, won't gain anything but, in the final analysis, risk much of what has been possible in the course of the process of detente in Europe. The socialist countries are not looking forward to such a course of things. But they have left no doubt with regard to the fact that they will not tolerate a unilateral change in the military equilibrium and, if necessary, will take the appropriate steps towards securing their defense capability.

The GDR attributes special significance to the fashioning of relations with the Federal Republic of Germany on the basis of the treaties concluded. We are not only in favor of a complete normalization of relations, but in addition are striving to establish good-neighborly relations on a long-term basis. In this, we take into consideration that

the GDR and the Federal Republic, on account of their geographical position in the heart of Europe and due to the fact that their joint frontier constitutes the dividing line between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization as well as because of German history, have a special responsibility for the preservation of peace.

Our present and future relationship with the Federal Republic, however, is overshadowed by worries that NATO may turn the Federal Republic into a huge launching pad for missiles targeted on socialism. In the shade of such missiles good neighborliness would hardly be possible. What we are striving for is a situation which would enable us to state that no war or threat to peace could emanate from the Federal Republic too. The GDR, together with the USSR and the other socialist countries, advocates a genuine zero option, a Europe free from all nuclear and chemical weapons. In a reply to a Swedish proposal, the GDR has declared its preparedness—if a nuclear-free zone is formed in Central Europe—to make available for this purpose all its territory, provided equality and equal security are maintained. By rejecting this proposal, the government of the Federal Republic has once again missed an opportunity to make peace more secure in Europe.

To put it in a nutshell: by establishing the power of workers and farmers and carrying out the socialist revolution in the GDR, socialism has also gained a foothold in the homeland of Karl Marx. In the center of Europe, at the dividing line between the two opposing social systems, the GDR is fulfilling its internationalist obligation in close alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. Our policy of building an advanced socialist society is an active peace policy, and the strengthening of the GDR is our most important contribution to the struggle for peace. The pursuit of such a policy makes the SED a worthy trustee of Marx' legacy.

Discussion of 'Marx and the Essence of Socialism' (I)

GERALD HORNE

It is an honor to be chosen to comment on this multifaceted, fascinating paper by Professor Hans-Joachim Radde. It raises so many alluring points that it is difficult not to adopt the smorgasbord approach in responding to it. However, I will try — perhaps vainly — not to do so.

The hostility to Marxism has come from diverse circles in the U.S. There is the cold-war-liberal, end-of-ideology crowd who attempted to turn their bizarre hopes into reality in the 1950s. Nor should we forget V.I. Lenin's stunning article "The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx," printed in Russia on March 1, 1913, in the Bolshevik daily newspaper *Pravda* (approximately 30 years after his death) in considering this question. His words there still ring true: "The dialectics of history were such that the theoretical victory of Marxism compelled its enemies to disguise themselves as Marxists." Thus, such devotees of backwardness as Daniel Bell, Sidney Hook, etc., despite their avid support for escalating military budgets, rancid racism and the detritus of capitalism in its general crisis, still try to parade as "Social Democrats" and "socialists."

But that is not all. One might well wonder why it took so long for an anti-nuclear weapons movement to take shape in the U.S. The Stockholm Peace Appeal, "Ban the Bomb" petition led by W.E.B. Du Bois during the early 1950s is well recalled. Yet the McCarthyite fog and rampant anti-Sovietism of the era stymied the effort to make this a mass movement. The herculean toiling of Women's Strike for Peace and allied groups helped to produce the test ban treaty of the early 1960s. Then the war in Vietnam intervened, absorbing the energy of peace activists. Nevertheless, despite its epoch-making vigor one still must wonder why the worrying about the bomb took such a widespread character only recently. The shorthand answer? In a phrase, anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism.

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Not surprisingly, this emanated first and foremost from the more bellicose ruling-class circles. But strikingly, some who considered themselves Left or even "Marxist" displayed an unseemly hostility to the accomplishments of developed socialism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union in particular. They readily adopted the Maoist fashion in the 1960s and 1970s. Purusing their newspapers and journals of that period, it is quickly noticed that attempts to halt the arms race through Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, Mutual Balanced Force Reduction talks, etc., were denounced as "superpower collaboration" or attempts to disarm national liberation movements; the analysis of "detente" in general was similarly colored by ignorantly purple prose. Marx has taught us that the ruling ideas of any society are those of the ruling class. Those U.S. "Marxists" who dabbled with Maoism during this era consciously or subconsciously felt that the notion of the "Soviet threat" obligated them to garnish their "socialist" ideas with a heavy dosage of anti-Sovietism in order to gain acceptance. That such a posture destabilized any effort to halt the arms race and devote the funds released to social programs apparently did not occur to these advocates of "socialism." Indeed, many of their writings of this era characterize this endeavor, known today as "conversion," as sowing "bourgeois reformist illusions," since we all know that "monopoly capital has an inexorable drive toward war."

This enmity toward the accomplishments of developed socialism was a proposition of more than theoretical interest. This ultra-Leftism led directly to the holocaust in Indonesia of 1965 (presently trivialized in the Hollywood film "The Year of Living Dangerously") and to the catastrophe of the Pol Pot regime in pre-1979 Kampuchea. Today, many who formerly displayed the finery of Maoism now characterize themselves as "democratic socialists" or "independent Marxists," but one factor remains constant: anti-Sovietism.

Hence, they present a distorted picture of events in Poland and Afghanistan and intentionally or unintentionally they provide support for those backed by their government's Central Intelligence Agency. This same anti-Sovietism motivates them to oppose the regime in Ethiopia and give succor to the separatists. This same anti-Sovietism caused them to oppose the ZAPU forces in Zimbabwe and fall for the fool's gold "socialist" rhetoric palmed off on them by a wing of ZANU. And this same phenomenon continues to dog the anti-nuclear weapons movement and hinder its effective operation. For if there is something to the idea of a "Soviet threat," does an arms agreement really make that much sense?

Thus, when Radde speaks of the "effort to revise" Marx's teaching, he strikes a responsive chord in the U.S. And when he speaks of how the Nazis desired to "eliminate Marxism as an ideology," he again raises a point of moment to the U.S. For it is absolutely shocking how many in this country of ours do not recognize that Hitler was allowed so much latitude by the West because they believed that his primary purpose would be to strangle the Soviet Union. Equally shocking is the idea prevalent among quite a few in the U.S. that socialism in the Eastern European countries was implanted at the point of bayonets against the will of the masses. Naturally the ruling class buttresses these absurdities through films, books and other forms of the cultural apparatus and blithely ignores the potentially damning consequences of neglecting the lessons of history.

The "imperialist ideologists and economists," as Radde denotes them, not only perpetuate the aforementioned "Big Lies." These minions of Wall Street, while espousing the "free market of ideas," routinely refuse visas and deny entrance to the U.S. to Communists and democrats. They orchestrate a world-wide campaign to oust Soviet diplomats on the spurious ground of their purloining scientific secrets while hiding from the U.S.

public Soviet accomplishments in fusion technology, eye-surgery and other medical advances, and in outer space. Chief cheerleader is, of course, Ronald Reagan, who more than once has predicted the demise of developed socialism. But just as Hitler's dream of eliminating "Marxism as an ideology" only led to a socialist reality, the dialectics of history are such that the advent of the Right-wing cowboy will only spur growth in progressive ranks — as the flowering of the anti-nuclear weapons movement has demonstrated.

Those U.S. workers who have the opportunity to read Radde's paper will no doubt gape in amazement at the accomplishments of developed socialism in the German Democratic Republic. His comment on the "pattern of vocational training" and the "large sums . . . invested" in this critical area will no doubt be of interest in the centers of unemployment in Western Pennsylvania, Alabama, Michigan and West Virginia. The "chip and robot" revolution, ostensibly a boon to humanity, under the perversities of capitalism's general crisis has become a bane. This affects not only the industrial working class but, as a recent issue of *Business Week* indicated, it has not left middle management untouched either. According to this organ, computers have made it possible for top management to communicate directly with the shop floor without going through intermediaries; moreover, the deepening recession has provided a rationale for the big bosses to ax a number of middle level papershufflers in orders to fatten profits. All this, as the magazine worriedly noted, provides a grand opportunity for progressives to augment their ranks even more.

Marx's concept of developed socialism is alive and well in Eastern Europe, despite the protestations of Reagan, Wall Street and certain so-called leftists. Radde is to be congratulated for providing to us such a varied picture of this historic phenomenon.

Discussion of 'Marx and the Essence of Socialism' (II)

JAMES LAWLER

There are two kinds of arguments against Marxism. There are those which directly reject Marxism, and those which indirectly do so, while seeming on the surface to accept Marxism. During this year of centennial celebration of Marx, we often hear arguments of this second type, which pay respects to the greatness of Marx as a thinker while condemning practical realizations of Marx's theories in existing socialist societies.

A typical line of thought consists in acclaiming Marx as a great *humnaist* with a lofty moral vision for a free humanity, and then regretting the fact that none of his ideals have been realized, especially not in the socialist countries today. And some who say this will allow that capitalist countries at least tolerate, if not positively encourage, expressions of "authentic" humanism—as evidenced by their own humanistic ideas—while this does not happen under socialism. We can find such a line of thought in the writings of Erich Fromm or Herbert Marcuse, and also in the works of Zbigniew Brzezinski, whose ideas regarding humanism were particularly influential under the Carter Administration.

What is Marx's concept of humanism? Do socialist societies abandon the humanism of Marx? Do capitalist societies allow for "humanism"? I would like to briefly suggest one answer to these questions.

In his early writings and throughout his career, Marx insisted that human beings differ essentially from animals by the fact that humans *produce* their means of subsistence as well as their means of production, and they do this in definite relations with other human beings. In the *German Ideology* Marx wrote that "Men can be distinguished from animals by consciousness, by religion or anything else you like. They themselves begin to distinguish themselves from animals as soon as they begin to *produce* their means of subsistence." (In-

ternational Publishers, New York, 1947, p. 6.)

Likewise, a philosophical humanism which consists in recognition of what is essentially human in human beings can take this human essence to consist in consciousness, religion, or anything else you like. It is not difficult to take a concept of humanism out of thin air and use it to denounce socialism.

To avoid arbitrariness in ethics, a scientific theory of moral values and humanism should relate these values to the real practical activities by which human beings produce their own lives. These activities consist, in the first place, of socially organized work individuals engage in to satisfy not only biological needs, but distinctively human needs arising out of distinctively human activity. The most obvious distinctive human need that must be satisfied is the need to be an active, productive member of society.

It is on such a practical basis, according to Marxist historical materialism, that people develop their moral perceptions, values and ideals.

Prior to the division of societies into classes, moral perceptions and values were bound up with the practical life of the social groups which directly cooperated in the practical activities which satisfied their needs. Given the limited character of human productive powers in such societies, the distinctive importance of human labor was overshadowed by the power of nature. No distinctive humanist morality could appear on such a basis however much human life was permeated by basic moral integrity.

For a distinctive humanist perspective to arise, human productive activity had to distinguish itself from the powers of nature. This distinctiveness became evident with the production of more goods than was necessary for subsistence. The irony of the history of humanism consists in the fact that human labor came to produce a regular surplus, over and above what was necessary for subsistence, only as a result of the breakdown of

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kin-organized society and as a result of the appearance of private property. The social relations still inevitably binding all members of society receded to the background of consciousness and were lost sight of. Privatized individuals became prey to other individuals. And acknowledgement of the value of human labor took the form of slavery.

The history of class societies is the history of the separation, the "alienation" of the majority of humanity from their own productive powers, from their own human essence, as a result of the appropriation of surplus labor by the ruling minority. And it is the history of mankind's struggle to reappropriate for itself its essential conditions of practical life.

The following remarkable passage from Marx's 1844 Manuscripts describes the consequences of this condition under contemporary capitalism:

What then constitutes the alienation of labor? First, the fact that labor is *external* to the worker, i.e., it does not belong to his essential being; that in his work, therefore, he does not affirm himself but denies himself, does not feel content but unhappy, does not develop freely his physical and mental energy but mortifies his body and ruins his mind. The worker therefore only feels himself outside his work, and in his work feels outside himself. He is at home when he is not working, and when he is working he is not at home. His labor is therefore not voluntary, but coerced; it is *forced labor*. It is therefore not the satisfaction of a need; it is merely a *means* to satisfy needs external to it. Its alien character emerges clearly in the fact that as soon as no physical or other compulsion exists, labor is shunned like the plague. External labor, labor in which man alienates himself, is a labor of self-sacrifice, of mortification. Lastly, the external character of labor for the worker appears in the fact that it is not his own, but someone else's, that it does not belong to him, that in it he belongs, not to himself, but to another. . . . As a result, therefore, man (the worker) only feels freely active in his animal functions—eating, drinking, procreating, or at most in his dwelling and in dressing-up, etc.; and in his human functions he no longer feels himself to be anything but an animal. What is animal be-

comes human and what is human becomes animal. (*Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*, International Publishers, New York, 1964, pp. 110-111.)

Under conditions of alienation, the individual no longer appears on the surface and in a practical way to live in definite connection with others and in definite connection with the means of production. Relations with others and relations with the necessary means of existence appear haphazard, accidental, external. The individual, stripped of practical relation to the means of transforming nature and deprived of cooperative ways of relating to other workers, appears to be a detached, isolated individual, a biological organism housing an inner spirit. The spirit, the mind, consciousness, stripped of connection with practical activity, is all that appears to remain of what is distinctively human and of what can be called one's own.

Hence acknowledgement of that inner consciousness and expressions of private opinion become the hallmark of the humanism of alienation. Moreover, since a natural exercise of that consciousness, recognizing itself for what it practically is, consists in acknowledgement of its utter practical impotence and dependence, and since religion is a reflection of that impotence and dependence, a second feature of the humanism of alienation consists in an enshrining of the individual's religious beliefs. And because the alienated individual attempts to achieve happiness and a sense of self-worth primarily in private life, a further feature of the humanism of alienation consists in a hallowing of personal morality.

In his early, so-called humanist writings, therefore, Marx proposed a profound criticism of what I have called the humanism of alienation. This does not mean that he rejected freedom of opinion or religious freedom, or that he did not respect private morality. But what he condemned was the presentation of such values as a *substitution* for and a *concealment* of the real essence of human existence hidden in alienated labor.

Furthermore, Marx exposed the precariousness and basic vulnerability of the rights claimed within the spheres of alienation in arguing that the underlying separation of the individual from the means of production and practical membership in society

inevitably tended to be realized in a concrete form when the worker is faced with unemployment:

To the man who is nothing more than a worker—and to him as a worker—his human qualities only exist in so far as they exist for capital *alien* to him. Because man and capital are foreign to each other, however, and thus stand in an indifferent, external and accidental relationship to each other, it is inevitable that this foreignness should also appear as something *real*. As soon, therefore, as it occurs to capital (whether from necessity or caprice) no longer to be for the worker, he himself is no longer for himself: he has *no* work, hence *no* wages, and as he has no existence as a *human being* but only as a *worker*, he can go bury himself, starve to death, etc. (Ibid., p. 120.)

Unemployment as a reality and as a continual threat reveals the unreality, the nothingness of the rights of the abstract individual—the individual who is really abstracted from practical social life and then reconnected with practical social activity only when this serves the profit requirements of Capital. Marx describes “the *abstract* existence of the mere *workman* who may therefore daily fall from his filled void into his absolute void—into social, and therefore actual non-existence.” (Ibid., p. 122.)

This threat of “social non-existence” hangs over the heads of all workers, signifying to the worker his or her underlying social worthlessness in capitalist society. This is the secret source of the power of social branding which capitalist society aims at its enemies and uses to divide workers from each other. Capitalism threatens each working person with this social banishment or excommunication which is bound up with essential features of a form of life in which most human beings have no control over the practical conditions by which they become really human. Anti-Communism and racism and other forms of vilifying individuals derive their psychological force from this source.

It is in opposing the consequences of capitalist alienation that working people form social organizations and a political movement of *their own*. Such expressions of working-class struggle are both the means of conquering real acknowledge-

ment of their essential position in society and to some degree an anticipation of this. In this connection Marx wrote:

When communist *artisans* associate with one another, theory, propaganda, etc., is their first end. But at the same time, as a result of this association, they acquire a new need—the need for society—and what appears as a means becomes an end. In this practical process the most splendid results are to be observed whenever French socialist workers are seen together. Such things as smoking, drinking, eating, etc., are no longer means of contact or means that bring together. Company, association, and conversation, which again has society as its end, are enough for them; the brotherhood of man is no mere phrase with them, but a fact of life, and the nobility of man shines upon us from their work-hardened bodies. (Ibid., pp. 154-155.)

It is in this connection that the significance of *socialist humanism* becomes evident. Against the humanism of alienation, socialist humanism establishes the human right to work, the right to be a productive member of society, as a practical reality. This is not the sort of “high ideal” which is usually suggested when it is said that Marx’s thought has not been realized in existing socialist regimes. But its significance becomes increasingly evident in the face of a mounting tide of unemployment in the capitalist world.

In the face of this crime wave of unemployment, which dooms millions to a kind of social non-existence which threatens to turn into physical non-existence, the immense moral, human significance of the human right to work is revealed. The human right to socially useful employment begins to loom in the forefront of contemporary moral consciousness, of humanism, in the capitalist world. Without employment, all the rights proclaimed by the abstract humanism and moralism of alienation are jeopardized. So, for example, family morality, which was recently defended by President Reagan in the context of marshalling support for a war for the extermination of mankind, appears in a radically new light to the parents who have lost the means to provide for

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From the Teachings of Karl Marx for the United States

JAMES JACKSON

Karl Marx was born in Trier, Germany, on May 5, 1818. He died March 14, 1883, in London, England. He disclosed the role of the working class in history and pointed the way to its final emancipation, in the process of the struggle for which all humanity will be liberated from want and war, and freedom will reign in the lives of all peoples.

What Marx wrote of Abraham Lincoln is best said of Marx himself, for Marx was indeed "one of the rare men who succeed in becoming great without ceasing to be good."

Karl Marx fathered scientific socialism. In partnership with his dear friend and lifetime collaborator — Frederick Engels — he laid the ideological foundation for the science of social revolution, of the social emancipation of the working people from economic exploitation, political repression, racist persecution and the agony and blood-letting of war. Marxism, which had its birth and early development with the living Marx and his associates, was further developed and extended into the age of imperialism and the epoch of socialist revolutions by his most brilliant continuer, V.I. Lenin. Lenin's historic achievements further developed the doctrines of Marxism, in building the Party and leading it, at the head of the Russian proletariat and toiling masses, to the conquest of political power by the proletariat in a vast country, where socialism was built first in the world.

The Great October Revolution of 1917 and the consequent creation of a socialist society that continues to rise in all its splendor, like a morning sun into the heavens, is inspiring the toilers of the world by the magnificence of its example and the radiance of its optimism for all humanity. It attests that the way of historic development, under the impulse of the class struggle of the proletariat, will yet put an end to war with its modern awesomeness, banish hunger, and open the way to an abundant life for the peoples of the earth. Indeed,

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it is the materialization of Marx's vision of a new society, truly of, by, and for the working class and allied productive masses of the people that exists today — (*real* socialism, as distinct from utopian fancies) — in a number of countries of all continents, which validates and affirms the truth of the laws of social development, which he brought forth during his labors from a hundred forty to a hundred years ago. Marx's science is above all else affirmed by the flourishing new world of the socialist community of states — of the Soviet Union, of the German Democratic Republic, of Cuba, and of all the others — in being and becoming.

"His name will endure through the ages, and so also will his work!" Engels said at the graveside of Karl Marx at Highgate Cemetery, in London, on March 17, 1883, in his tribute to his dearest friend and partner in long years of collaboration and sharing of life's work and joys and tribulations.

The Rise of the New-Fangled Forces

Karl Marx gave expression to the following thoughts in the middle of the last century. They have a freshness about them most pertinent to this last quarter of our own century. Speaking at the English Chartist paper's anniversary celebration in April 1856, he said:

In our days everything seems pregnant with its contrary; machinery gifted with the wonderful power of shortening and fructifying human labor, we behold starving and overworking it. The new-fangled sources of wealth, by some strange weird spell, are turned into sources of want. . . . At the same pace that mankind masters nature, man seems to become enslaved to other men or to his own infamy. Even the pure light of science seems unable to shine but on the background of ignorance. All our invention and progress seem to result in endowing material forces with intellectual life [had he a prevision of robots, chips and computers?— J.J.], and in stultifying human life into a ma-

terial force.

This antagonism between modern industry and science on the one hand, modern misery and dissolution on the other hand; this antagonism between the productive powers, and the social relations of our epoch is a fact, palpable, overwhelming, and not to be controverted. Some parties may wail over it; others may wish to get rid of modern arts in order to get rid of modern conflicts. Or they may imagine that so signal progress in industry wants to be completed by as signal a regress in politics. On our part, we do not mistake the shape of the shrewd spirit that continues to mark all these contradictions. We know that to work well *the new-fangled forces of society*, they only want to be mastered by *new-fangled men* — and such are the working men. They are as much the invention of modern times as the machinery itself. (*Marx-Engels Collected Works*, Vol. 14, International Publishers, New York, pp. 655-656. Emphasis added.)

He concluded that such phenomena as the scientific-technical explosion in industry would inevitably give further impulse to the "social revolution produced by that industry, a revolution which means the emancipation of their own class all over the world, which is as universal as capital-rule and wage-slavery."

Not Dogma but the Method of Science

Karl Marx's collaborator and comrade, Frederick Engels, scorned those who sought to convert the integral complex of Marx's teachings into some set of dogmas. *Its very essence is development and renewal, manifested in the pulse beat of the dialectical process.* Characterizing Marxist theory in a letter to W. Sombarth, Engels wrote:

The whole of Marx's world outlook is not a doctrine but a method. It does not yield any ready-made dogmas, but shows the starting points for further inquiry and a method for this inquiry.

He perceived the basic principle of the future communist society to be that of the *free and full development of each individual.*

Historical science, Marxism holds, assumes the continuous development of production technique and with it development of society in successive forms; incessant revolutionizing of tools and with

them not only the pattern of society, but the form of the state. Historical science then proceeds to investigate the foundation of society, its origin, its changes and its transformations. There is no historical event that does not in the last analysis owe its origin to economics.

Marxism is the systematic completion of experience. It is the scientific instrument for the interpretation of the events unfolding before us.



Frederick Engels, writing a profile of the great man in 1877, opened with the now universally acknowledged fact that "Karl Marx was the first to give socialism, and thereby the whole labor movement, a scientific foundation."

"Of the many important discoveries through which Marx has inscribed his name in the annals of science," Engels noted, the production of *Capital, a Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production*, Volume I, was and remains "the greatest missile ever fired at the head of the bourgeoisie." This crowning work of Marx expounds "the foundations of his economic-socialist conceptions and the main features of his criticism of existing society, the capitalist mode of production and its consequences," Engels wrote.

Marx brought about a revolutionary change in the whole conception of world history. In so doing, he brought into being the means for the working class to march forward in the van of all human progress. Marx proved that the whole of previous history is a history of class struggles; that in all the manifold and complicated political struggles, the only thing at issue has been the social and political rule of social classes, the maintenance of domination by classes and the conquest of domination by newly-arising classes.

The Secret of History Revealed

Marx singled out and brought into focus the elementary but most profound truth, heretofore totally overlooked, "that men must first of all eat, drink, have shelter and clothing, therefore must work, before they can fight for domination, pursue politics, religion, philosophy, etc." (Engels' speech at Marx' grave.) Thereby Marx discovered *the law of development of human history.*

Marx also discovered the special law of motion governing the present-day capitalist mode of production and the bourgeois society that this mode

of production has created. Marx proved that "The pivot on which the exploitation of the worker turns is the sale of his labor power to the capitalist and the use which the capitalist makes of this transaction, the fact that he compels the worker to produce far more than the paid value of his labor power amounts to. It is this transaction between capitalist and worker which produces all the surplus value afterwards divided in the form of ground rent, commercial profit, interest on capital, taxes, etc. among the diverse varieties of capitalists and their servitors." (Engels, *The Housing Question*.) The discovery of surplus value suddenly threw light on the problem, in trying to solve which all previous investigations, of both bourgeois economists and socialist critics, had been groping in the dark.

Marx was before all else a revolutionist. His real mission in life was to contribute, in one way or another, to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the state institutions which it had brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the modern proletariat, which he was the first to make conscious of its own position and its needs, conscious of the conditions of its emancipation. Fighting was his element. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity and a success few could equal.

Marx proved that neither supernatural forces, nor "heroes" make history. It is the working masses alone who move society forward through their labor and their political struggle. The people are the real creators of history. "Ideas," Marx wrote, "can never carry a new order forward; it can only carry forward the ideas of the new world order. Ideas can in general accomplish nothing. To implement the ideas, people are needed who possess practical power."

In opposition to the utopian socialists, who saw only a helpless, suffering mass in the working class, Marx showed that the proletariat, through its economic and social position in capitalist society, is called upon to free itself. "It cannot, however, free itself without abolishing its own living conditions. It cannot abolish its own living conditions without abolishing all the inhuman living conditions found in our contemporary society. Not for nothing does it go through the difficult but hardening school of labor. It is not a question of what this or that proleta-

rian, or even the whole proletariat, at times imagines its goal to be. It is a question of what it is, and what, in accordance with this, it will be forced to do. Its goal and its historical action is clearly, irrevocably forecast, in its own living conditions and in the whole organization of contemporary bourgeois society.

In these views the thesis of the world historical liberating mission of the proletariat as a class was basically elaborated. The course of history has since then confirmed it.

Capital Came Bearing Chains

A previous accumulation of wealth, money, capital was on hand when capitalism made the scene in its swaddling clothes. It was in the hands of the very few. "The great majority had nothing to sell but their own skins" and "despite all its labor, has up to now, nothing to sell but itself; and, the wealth of the few increases constantly although they have long ceased to work." (*Capital*, Vol. I, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1954, p. 667.)

At the Peace of Utrecht, England gained from Spain "the right of supplying Spanish America until 1743 with 4,800 Negroes. . . . *Liverpool waxed fat on the slave-trade. This was its method of primitive accumulation.*" Furthermore, Marx tells:

Whilst the cotton industry introduced child-slavery in England it gave the United States stimulus to the transformation of the earlier, more or less patriarchal slavery, into a system of commercial exploitation. In fact, the veiled slavery of the wage-workers in Europe needed for its pedestal, slavery pure and simple in the new world.

. . . To establish the capitalist mode of production completes the process of separation between laborers and conditions of labor. It transforms at one pole the social means of production and subsistence into capital and, at the opposite pole, the mass of the population into wage-laborers and the "free laboring poor."

Onto the stage of history, Marx proved, capital came drenched with blood and dirt. "The treasures captured outside Europe by undisguised looting, enslavement, and murder, floated back to the mother-country and were there turned into capital. (*Capital*, Vol. I, International Publishers,

New York, 1967, pp. 753-754.)

Indeed, born in sin, the essence of the acquisition of the initial capital stake for the industrial capitalists to start the business of the system going were barbarous devices of most primitive looting of the resources, the labor and liberty of others. This brutal *primitive accumulation* of primary capital was written about by Marx as follows:

The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins, this signalized the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production. These idyllic proceedings are the chief momenta of primitive accumulation. . . . Wherever they [foraging capitalist accumulators] set foot, devastation and depopulation followed. (Ibid., p. 752)

And so it goes; under capitalism — from its birth to its death —

The transformation of the individualized and scattered means of production into socially concentrated ones, . . . into the huge property of the few, the expropriation of the great mass of the people from the soil, from the means of subsistence, and from the means of labor; this painful and fearful expropriation of the mass of the people forms the prelude to the history of capital. The primitive accumulation of capital. . . . The expropriation of the immediate producers, was accomplished with merciless Vandalism, and under the stimulus of passions the most infamous, the most meanly odious. Self-earned private property of the laboring-individual . . . is supplanted by capitalistic private property, which rests on exploitation of the nominally free labor of others, i.e., on wage-labor.

That which is now to be expropriated is no longer the laborer working for himself, but the capitalist exploiting many laborers. This expropriation is accomplished by the action of the immanent laws of capitalistic production itself, by the centralization of capital. One capitalist kills many.

Hand in hand with this centralization, or this expropriation of many capitalists by few, develop, on an ever extending scale, the

cooperative form of the labor-process, the conscious technical application of science, the methodical cultivation of the soil, the transformation of the instruments of labor into instruments of labor only usable in common, the economizing of all means of production by their use as the means of production of combined socialized labor, the entanglement of all peoples in the net of the world market, and with this, the international character of the capitalistic regime. Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolize all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working-class, a class always increasing in numbers, and, disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with and under it. Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated. . . .

This does not re-establish private property for the producer, but gives him individual property based on the acquisitions of the capitalist era: i.e., on cooperation and the possession in common of the land and of the means of production . . . *we had the expropriation of the mass of the people by a few usurpers; . . . we have the expropriation of a few usurpers by the mass of the people.* (Ibid., chapter XXXII.)

Exploitation and Class Struggle

As long as capitalism exists, the capitalists attempt with violence, corruption and a thousand different tricks to keep wages as low as possible, while the workers, in the interests of their living standard, fight for the highest possible wages. When Marx wrote *Capital*, the workers had to work about half of their working day to fill the pockets of the capitalists, and since then this unpaid portion of the working day has lengthened. As Lenin wrote of Marx' teaching:

The outcome of the struggle between

workers and capitalists over wage rates depends primarily on the fighting strength of the working class. That is why *Capital* teaches the working class to fight ceaselessly for the improvement of their living conditions and to unite their strength in powerful organizations. On the basis of the law of surplus value, however, Marx showed with irrefutable logic that the proletariat could never change the essence of exploitation and abolish exploitation itself through economic struggle alone, no matter how great and useful the particular successes may be. Exploitation could only be abolished when its basis, capitalist ownership of the means of production, is abolished.

In these views, the thesis of the world historical liberating mission of the proletariat as a class was basically elaborated.

In the preface to the English edition of *Capital*, Engels notes that *Capital* is often called "the Bible of the working-class." He wrote that "the conclusions arrived at in this work are daily more and more recognized, in these conclusions, the most adequate expression of its condition and of its aspirations."

Engels' Century-Old Prevision

A passage that Engels wrote some 103 years ago in the preface to the English edition of *Capital* reads as a preview of the economic scene today. This lamp which he lit a century ago casts light on an aspect of our contemporary economic reality. He wrote:

The time is rapidly approaching when a thorough examination of England's ["the USA's"—J.J.] economic position will impose itself as an irresistible national necessity. The working of the industrial system of this country, impossible without a constant and rapid extension of production, and therefore of markets, is coming to a dead stop. . . . while the productive power increases in a geometric ratio, the extension of markets proceeds at best in an arithmetic ratio. The decennial cycle of stagnation, prosperity, over-production and crisis, ever recurrent . . . seems indeed to have run its course; but only to land us in the slough of despond of a permanent and chronic depression. The sighed-for period of prosperity will not come; as often as we seem to perceive its heralding symptoms, so often do they again

vanish into air. Meanwhile, each succeeding winter brings up afresh the great question, "what to do with the unemployed"; but while *the number of the unemployed keeps swelling from year to year*, there is *nobody to answer that question*; and we can also calculate the moment when the unemployed, losing patience, will take their own fate into their own hands. Surely, at such a moment the voice of Marx ought to be heard.

Yes, the voice of Karl Marx and of those working-class leaders of perception and vision, who stand on the granite foundation of Marxist-Leninist scientific principles, needs to be heard.

Engels addressed his rhetorical question to the ruling classes of the capitalist nations and there was "nobody to answer." But there is an answer, of course, to Engels' wry question. It is given with utmost precision by the contemporary adherents and continuers of the true science of working-class emancipation from the bondage of capitalism — the Communists.

Gus Hall addressed this question of the deepening crisis in the U.S. and how to end it in his address opening our conference yesterday, and you have all availed yourselves of copies of the "Economic Bill of Rights" folder and other programs of our Party on this urgent subject, I am sure.

By addressing the issues of massive unemployment, of the hungry and masses without shelter in this crisis, the working class is inescapably deepening and expanding their grasp of the necessity for independent anti-Reagan, anti-monopoly mass militant political action.

During the deep depression of 1871, Karl Marx, in a letter to Bolte, pointedly noted:

Out of the separate economic movements of the workers there grows up everywhere a *political* movement, that is to say, a movement of the *class*, with the object of achieving its interests in a general form, in a form possessing a general social force of compulsion. If these movements presuppose a certain degree of previous organization they are themselves equally a means for the development of this organization. (Karl Marx, *Selected Works*, Vol. 11, Cooperative Publishing Society, Moscow, 1936, p. 618.)

Crisis and Class Confrontation

Elaborating on Marx's tactical concepts of link-

ing daily struggles on urgent needs to strategic goals, Engels wrote the following in a letter to Turati, Jan. 26, 1894: "This situation is pressing towards a crisis. Everywhere the producing masses are in ferment. Where will this crisis lead? . . . what should and must be the attitude of the . . . Party in face of this situation?" Engels answers:

The tactics which, since 1848, have brought Socialists the greatest success are those recommended by the *Communist Manifesto*. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working-class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, the Socialists always represent the interest of the movement as a whole . . . they fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working-class, but in the movement of the present they also represent and take care of the future of that movement.

Consequently they take an active part in all the phases of the development of the struggle between the two classes without, in so doing, losing sight of the fact that these phases are only just so many preliminary steps to the first great aim: the conquest of political power by the proletariat as the means towards a new organization of society. Their place is by the side of those who are fighting for the immediate achievement of an advance which is at the same time in the interests of the working-class.

Summing up the reflections of Marx and himself on the process and prospects of the development of the American working class, Engels expressed the view that —

The causes which brought into existence the abyss between the working class and the capitalist class are the same in America as in Europe; the means of filling up that abyss are equally the same everywhere. Consequently, the platform of the American proletariat will in the long run coincide as to the ultimate end to be attained, with . . . the adopted platform of the great mass of the European militant proletariat. It will proclaim, as the ultimate end, the conquest of political supremacy by the working-class, in order to effect the direct appropriation of all the means of production — land, railways, mines, machinery, etc. — by society at large, to be worked in common by all, for the ac-

count and benefit of all. (Preface to the American edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England*.)

Marx Fought for Emancipation and the Union

Marx understood the Civil War in the United States as an occurrence of great historic moment and he held out the highest expectation for its aftermath.

"The events over there are a world upheaval" he remarked in a letter to Engels (October 29, 1862). Frederick Engels followed the course of the battle maps of the Civil War intensively, eyeing and interpreting the course of the fighting and preparations from the vantage point of a profound student of military affairs and history. Marx appraised the course of the struggle in its relationship to the main lines of historical political development. If an occasion of blunder or treachery or ineptitude on the part of the North obscured the wide view for Engels, Marx always retained in mind the sweep of the whole forest: "As for the Yankees," he wrote, "I am certain as ever in my opinion that the North will win in the end."

When Lincoln delayed acting to abolish slavery and asserting the citizenship rights of the Afro-American freedmen, Marx warned, "The North has turned the slaves into a military force on the side of the Southerners, instead of against them." He hoped the instant emancipation of the slaves and observed that "a single Negro regiment would have a remarkable effect on Southern nerves." "In the end, the North will make a war seriously, adopt revolutionary methods and throw over the domination of the border slaves statesmen," he predicted with prophetic accuracy.

Marx had a remarkable comprehension of the complexity of the scene in the United States of the Civil War period and he manifested keen appreciation for the tactical skills which Lincoln exhibited in coping with the terrible and stressful times. As always, he relied on the basic tool of class analysis in making his appraisal of Lincoln. He wrote, "The fury with which the Southerners have received Lincoln's Acts proves their importance. All Lincoln's Acts appear like mean pettifogging conditions which one lawyer puts to his opposing lawyer. But this does not alter their historic content."

On the occasion of Abraham Lincoln's re-

election as president, Karl Marx wrote to him on behalf of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association (the First International). He said: "If resistance to the slave Power was the reserved watchword of your first election, the triumphant war-cry of your re-election is 'Death to Slavery!!' "

He wrote:

The working classes of Europe understood . . . that the slaveholders' rebellion was to sound the tocsin for a general holy crusade of property against labor, and that for the men of labor, with their hopes for the future, even their past conquests were at stake in that tremendous conflict on the other side of the Atlantic. Everywhere they bore, therefore, patiently, the hardships imposed upon them by the cotton crisis, opposed enthusiastically the pro-slavery intervention, importunities of their 'betters' and from most parts of Europe contributed their quota of blood to the good cause.

While the workingmen, the true political power of the North, allowed slavery to defile their own republic, while before the Negro, mastered and sold without his concurrence, they boasted it the highest prerogative of the white-skinned laborer to sell himself and choose his own master; they were unable to attain the true freedom of labor or to support their European brethren in their struggle for emancipation, but this barrier to progress has been swept off by the red sea of civil war.

The workingmen of Europe feel sure that as the American War of Independence initiated a new era of ascendancy for the middle class, so the American antislavery war will do for the working classes. They consider it an earnest of the epoch to come that it fell to the lot of Abraham Lincoln, the single-minded son of the working class, to lead his country through the matchless struggle for the rescue of an enchained race and the reconstruction of a social world. (*Letters to Americans*, International Publishers, pp. 65-66.)

In a letter to President Andrew Johnson, Marx wrote of the martyred Lincoln:

He was a man neither to be browbeaten by adversity nor intoxicated by success, inflexibly pressing on to his great goal, never compromising it by blind haste, slowly mastering

his steps, never retracing them, carried away by no surge of popular favor, disheartened by no slackening of the popular pulse, tempering stern acts by the smile of humor, doing his titanic work as humbly and homely as heaven-born rulers do little things with the grandiloquence of pomp and state; in one word, one of the rare men who succeed in becoming great without ceasing to be good. Such indeed was the modesty of this great and good man that the world only discovered him a hero after he had fallen a martyr. (Ibid.)

"A foreboding is dawning . . ."

In a preface to *Capital*, Marx wrote of his post-Civil War hopes for the U.S. "On the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, Mr. Wade, vice president of the United States, declared in public meetings that, after the abolition of slavery, a radical change of the relations of capital and of property in land is next upon the order of the day. These are signs of the times, not to be hidden by purple mantles or black cassocks. They do not signify that tomorrow a miracle will happen. They show that within the ruling classes themselves, a foreboding is dawning, that the present society is no solid crystal, but an organism capable of change, and is constantly changing."

Karl Marx's conception of the struggle for socialism was that it is global in its scope and its strategy and tactics should not be narrowly national but worldwide. "The whole course of Marx's revolutionary activity is interwoven with international politics and is quite inseparable from it." (John Lewis, *The Life and Teachings of Karl Marx*, International Publishers, New York, p. 349.)

It was natural, therefore, that Marx and Engels followed events in America with the closest attention throughout their lives. They had many friends who joined the big German migration to the USA following the defeat of the 1848 German revolution.

Marx and Engels wrote nearly 500 articles for the *New York Daily Tribune* between 1851 and 1861 and some 35 articles on the Civil War for the *Vienna Presse* between 1861 and 1865. The long relations that Marx had as correspondent for the *New York Daily Tribune* came to a halt in 1861 as a consequence of the demands of war reportage and the domestic U.S. scene, according to the editor,

Charles Dana.



It is to be noted well by us in the United States that Karl Marx, Frederick Engels and Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, men of massive genius, who shouldered the problems of the working classes of the whole world in their times, and carried the cause of human progress forward to a new era, gave much time and attention to the question of the nationally oppressed and racially abused peoples in general, and that of the Afro-Americans in particular.

Marx commented that the history of the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century of the United States is the history of the struggle for the emancipation from enslavement as chattel of Black labor. "Labor in the white skin can never be free so long as labor in a black skin is branded," he declared. And in America and in Europe he occupied himself in many aspects of the abolitionist cause. More than any other force, it was the working class of England and Ireland which held great demonstrations in London, Manchester, Edinburgh and other places, and turned the tide of public opinion against the policies of Lord Palmerstone and the pro-Confederate British ruling circles. When the slaveocracy unsheathed its sword against the Union and carried out its counter-revolutionary act of secession, many followers of Marx and members of the International Workingmen's Association joined the Union Army. With the volunteers who came from all over Europe to lend the Republic a hand against the counter-revolution of the slaveholders, Communists, the followers of Karl Marx, marched in the vanguard.

Communists Fought 'To set men free'

Among Lincoln's generals who distinguished themselves was Major General Joseph Weydemeyer. This close friend of Marx and his best correspondent in America had been a Prussian military officer. He brought his advanced military knowledge and experience to the Union armed forces. Also, there was General August Willich, who had had experience and training as an officer in the Prussian Army, and like Weydemeyer had first become acquainted with Marx in the Communist League in Brussels. These men, and many others who served in the Civil War against the slavemasters' Confederacy, were

all veterans of the 1848 Revolution in Germany (and other European countries). An outstanding political leader among them was Frederick Sorge, who played a major role in the early organizational activity of the nascent U.S. labor movement. He headed the First International when it moved its headquarters to New York in 1872.

In a letter to Engels of January 11, 1860, Marx had written: "In my opinion, the biggest things that are happening in the world today are on the one hand the movement of the slaves in America, started by the death of John Brown, and on the other the movement of the serfs in Russia. . . . Thus the 'social' movement has started in the West and in the East."

In the conception of the founder of Marxism, there never was a Chinese wall between the national democratic liberation struggle and the class struggle. Victories of national liberation opened still wider gates to the arena of the class struggle.

Not only the cause of the abolition of slavery in the USA engaged his concern actively, but the national liberation cause everywhere. He conceived this struggle as highly relevant and indeed a vital accompaniment of the class struggle.

Marxism-Leninism is Proletarian Internationalism

Marx and Engels threw themselves most energetically into the Irish national struggle and he counseled the British workers that "the national emancipation of Ireland is not a question of abstract justice or humanitarian sentiment, but the first condition of their own social emancipation." And he wrote:

. . . the only question is to bring the conviction home to the English working class — that it can never do anything decisive here in England until it separates its policy with regard to Ireland in the most definite way from the policy of the ruling classes. . . . And, indeed, this must be done, not as a matter of sympathy with Ireland, but as a demand made in the interest of the English proletariat. If not, the English people will remain tied to the leading-strings of the ruling classes, because it must join with them in a common front against Ireland. Every one of its movements in England itself is crippled by the disunion with the Irish, who form a very important section of the working class

in England. (*Selected Works*, op. cit., p. 643.)

"The policy of Marx and Engels in the Irish question," Lenin wrote, "serves as a splendid example, which retains immense *practical* importance to the present time, of the attitude the proletariat of the oppressing nations should adopt towards national movements." Lenin took this policy as the starting point in elaborating the national-colonial question in the epoch of imperialism. (See Y. Stepanova, *Frederick Engels*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, pp. 157-159.)

Marx and Engels studied the Irish question. He and his daughters were very much involved in all aspects of the cause of Ireland. On December 1, 1869, the General Council issued a confidential circular written by Karl Marx, "On the relation of the Irish national question and struggle to the emancipation of the working class and on the attitude which the International Workingmen's Association should take towards the Irish question." In it is graphically portrayed the nature and consequences, both materially and psychologically, of the practice of national hatred and prejudice. He showed how the British worker makes of himself a tool of the capitalist when he cherishes and manifests religious, social and national prejudices and hatred against the Irish and he aids the "strengthening of their domination over himself." Marx pointed out that such antagonism "is artificially kept alive by the press, the pulpit, the comic papers, in short by all the means at the disposal of the ruling classes. It is the secret of the impotence of the English working class despite their organization. It is the secret by which the capitalist class maintains its power. And of this, that class is well aware." (*Letters to Americans*, op. cit, p. 66.)

"Remove every shackle from freedom's limb . . ."

Once again, under the impact of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the General Council of the First International sent the following address — (written by Marx):

To The People of the United States of America
Citizens of the Great Republic!

Again we take the liberty of addressing you. Not this time in sympathy and sadness, but in words of congratulation.

We have first to congratulate you that the

war is ended, and the Union preserved. The Stars and Stripes once rudely torn down by your sons, again flutter in the breeze, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, never again, we hope, to be insulted by your own children, or again to wave over fields of carnage, either by civil commotion or foreign war.

And may those misguided citizens who have displayed courage on the battlefield for an unhallowed cause, show equal avidity to aid in healing the breaches they have made, and in restoring peace to their common country.

We have next to congratulate you that the cause of these years of suffering is now removed — Slavery is no more. That dark spot on your otherwise fair escutcheon is blotted out forever. No more shall the salesman's hammer barter human flesh and blood in your market places, causing humanity to shudder at its cold barbarity. Your noblest blood has been shed to wipe out these stains: desolation has shed its awful pall over your land in atonement for its past history.

Today you are free, purified by past suffering. A brighter future dawns upon your glorious Republic, teaching this lesson to the old world — That a Government of the People and by the People, is for the People; and not for a privileged few.

Since we have had the honor of expressing sympathy with your sufferings, a word of encouragement for your efforts, and of congratulations for the results, permit us also to add a word of counsel for the future.

An injustice to a section of your people has produced such direful results, let that cease. Let your citizens of today be declared free and equal, without reserve.

If you fail to give them citizen's rights, while you demand citizens' duties, there will yet remain a struggle for the future which may again stain your country with your people's blood.

The eyes of Europe and of the world are fixed upon your efforts at reconstruction, and enemies are ever ready to sound the knell of the downfall of republican institutions when the slightest chance is given.

We warn you then, as brothers in the

common cause, to remove every shackle from freedom's limb, and your victory will be complete. (*The General Council of the First International*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, pp. 310-312.)

Marx could see that the development of the North American workers' movement would depend in a decisive manner on the stand of the class conscious workers towards the Afro-American people's demand for full equality in economic, political and social life.

Karl Marx viewed the abolition of slavery in America as a strategic imperative for the social progress of free labor everywhere.

The Jefferson Davis of our day is South Africa's Botha, and his bloody apartheid regime has its historical antecedent in their Confederacy. The labor movement of our country, and indeed, the working class of the whole world, is challenged to follow Karl Marx's militant example in mobilizing world public opinion to enlist in the struggle to banish the regime of racist tyranny and to liberate its victims.

U.S. policy operates to sustain the abominable Pretorian racist regime. It is aimed at harnessing the labor and mining the wealth of the African continent as a strategic reserve for world imperialism to hold on to power, against the rising tides of people's struggles for national freedom and social progress.

Labor Can Impose Peace

When war threatened to break out between England and the USA, Marx, on behalf of the General Council of the First International, wrote a message to the National Labor Union of the United States calling upon the American workers to resist the war-bent plantation owners and lords of finance. A war unleashed by the ruling classes of England and the USA could only "Forge chains for the free workers, instead of shattering those of the slaves." Marx continued:

On you, then, falls the honorable task of showing the world that the working-class now at last steps onto the showplace of history, no longer as dependent subjects, but as an independent power conscious of its own responsibility and capable of imposing peace where those who wish to be their lords, cry

war. (H. Gemkow, *Karl Marx*, Dietz Verlag, Dresden, 1968, p. 297.)

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels lived in an age of unending wars. War was practically a taken-for-granted instrument of national policy. There were wars of aggression and territorial aggrandizement, and unprincipled conflicts of all kinds. Then there were just wars of national defense, of national liberation, and of national unification. But the ever-deferred dream of the peoples and most particularly of the working classes, was for an end to war. War brought to the toilers only death, maiming and the wanton destruction of their meager possessions and the constructions of their labor.

When a war broke out between France and Prussia on July 19, 1870, the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association responded within four days with a call which Marx wrote; it was addressed to the workers of all countries. He pointed out that the German and French workers did not want war and had no cause to be fighting each other. Marx highly valued the appeals issued in a spirit of proletarian internationalism by the advanced organizations of French and German working people. Here was an international action of national working classes, to stop a specific war. He wrote that "This great fact, unparalleled in the history of the past, opens the vista of a brighter future. It proves that in contrast to the old society, with its economical miseries and its political delirium, a new society is springing up, whose international rule will be PEACE, because its national ruler will be everywhere the same—LABOR! The pioneer of that new society is the International Workingmen's Association."

This historically significant moment in the people's struggle for peace attests to the truth that communism in theory and practice is a commitment to peace. Indeed, when the Russian proletariat took state power into its own hands as a consequence of the Great October (1917) Revolution, the first legislative enactment of the Soviet Government was the unanimous adoption of a decree on peace. Socialism was born as a champion of peace, bread and freedom. So it was in Marx's theory and Lenin's initial decrees. So it is today, the hope of humanity, and guardian against war, for lasting peace on earth.

Masses Move into the Struggle

For us the moment calls for a primary emphasis on activity among the masses. The decisive thing is the movement of organized masses into the line of struggle with the obvious and clearly-revealed class foe. Not philosophical reflections but critical adjustment of tactical patterns and alignment in the advancement of the struggles unfolding, is where the stress must lie now. Nevertheless, at such a time we must never forget Lenin's earnest advice spoken at a meeting of the Young Communists in the heady activist days of October 1920: "You would be committing a great mistake, if you attempted to draw the conclusion that one can become a communist without acquiring what human knowledge has accumulated. It would be a mistake to believe that it is sufficient to learn communist slogans, the conclusions of communist science, and that it is not necessary to acquire the sum of knowledge of which communism itself is a consequence."

There can be no better lamps of learning to light the way of our daily struggle than the books that carry the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

The Legacy of his Genius Works for Humanity

"Work for mankind"—this epigram, this aphorism which became Marx's guiding motto, is a living part of his legacy.

"Experience acclaims as happiest the person who has made the greatest number of people happy," the school boy wrote in summing up his "Reflections of a Young Man on the Choice of a Profession." In this theme of a school paper which he wrote at the age of 17, Karl Marx penned the motto that marked the course of his whole life; that is, to "work for mankind." He wrote: "If we have chosen the position in life in which we can most of all work for mankind, no burdens can bow us down, because they are sacrifices for the benefit of all." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 8.)

Four days after Karl Marx died, there gathered on March 19, 1883, at the great hall of the Cooper Institute (Cooper Union) an estimated crowd of some ten thousand people, assembled for an eight o'clock memorial rally in tribute to the memory of "the great teacher"—Karl Marx. They applauded

a rostrum of speakers and messages read from America and abroad.

Among the messages was one from Henry George, the popular author of *Progress and Poverty*, who had come near being elected mayor of New York on an anti-establishment, pro-labor ticket. In his remarks of tribute, George wrote:

He was the founder of the International—the first attempt to unite in a 'holy alliance of the people' the workingmen of all countries; he taught the solidarity of labor, the brotherhood of man, and wherever his influence has reached it has tended to destroy those prejudices of nation and race which have been in all ages the most efficient means by which tyranny has been established and maintained. For this I honor Karl Marx. (Foner, *When Karl Marx Died*, International Publishers, New York, 1973, p. 101.)

Taking the floor in the name of the toilers of Cuba, Jose Marti said:

Karl Marx studied the methods of setting the world on new foundations, and wakened those who were asleep, and showed them how to cast down the broken props. (Ibid., p. 107.)

In Brussels, where he and Engels wrote the *Communist Manifesto* in 1847, Marx also penned his indictment of the notion that theory may be separated from practice: "The philosophers only interpreted the world in different ways, while the real point is to change it," he wrote. When Marx died, his old friend Friedrich Lessner, a long-time veteran of the working class struggle, wrote:

Marx laid the foundation for the edifice of the new society, and if everyone who belongs to his party will fulfill his duty, the whole edifice should be completed in the near future. The architect is dead, but he has left us his plans and works and it is our duty to study and disseminate them.

Yes, we, in harmony with the workers and oppressed peoples of the whole world, are saying through our deeds: "So be it; so it will be!"

Discussion of 'From the Teachings of Karl Marx' (I)

JAMES STEELE

Philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point, however, is to change it, wrote Karl Marx in his famous theses on Feuerbach. That was in the spring of 1845.

Marx was then but 27 years old. Three years later, together with his life-long coworker and closest friend and associate, Frederick Engels, Marx proceeded to elaborate the political, theoretical, ideological foundations of the world Communist movement. The *Communist Manifesto* and subsequently the manifest revolutionary initiatives and activities of the Communists have, indeed, changed the world.

Beginning with the Great October Socialist Revolution in 1917, which under the leadership of Vladimir Lenin established the first socialist state of the victorious Russian working class, to contemporary times when nearly half of the world's people live under or are questing in the direction of socialism, the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin continually make the point. On the basis of a scientific analysis of the obtaining conditions in a given country, on the basis of working out a scientific strategy and tactics, on the basis of raising the level of its unity, consciousness and fighting capacity, the world's working class is changing the world.

The question arises—and it is continually put by cynics, arm chair philosophers, people of narrow vision, reformists of tiny heart, and not least, by the monopoly capitalist ruling class—that that may be so in other countries, but in the U.S., never. The obscurantist Ronald Reagan even summons God to justify the eternity of the free enterprise system. The President puts forward an equally idiotic concept to reinforce the vain idea that the domination of U.S.-based multinational corporations, of U.S. imperialist diktat and aggression and of military superiority is somehow reinforced, upheld, by right of the spiritual (I as-

sume he means the Almighty Dollar). He holds that this is the way things were in the "good ole days" and this is the way they are always supposed to be.

The thesis that the U.S. is the exception to the rule of the class struggle, and its inevitable outcome, that is, the revolutionary transition to socialism, poses *the* question for this country's young generation. For, today's is a new kind of young generation, facing new conditions of struggle that require new kinds of solutions, especially to long-term problems. Today's is the first young generation of the permanent economic decline and contraction of U.S. capitalism.

It is the young generation of the daily danger of nuclear annihilation. It is the young generation of intensified, parasitic racism, national oppression and discrimination. It is the young generation whose even most immediate economic and political needs require at least radical reforms, reforms that relate to resolving the structural crisis of capitalism in the people's interest through nationalization, through a shorter work week with no cut in pay, through substantial curbs on monopoly profits, through drastic cuts in military spending, indeed, through a reversal of U.S. foreign and military policy as a whole.

Such measures also relate to the socialist alternative. For today's U.S. young generation, it is either the alternative of building an all youth front, as integral component of the burgeoning all people's front against the corporate-Reagan offensive, or it is common ruin under the repeated blows of Reaganism. Therefore, in the field of ideas, and consequently, in the widening field of mass political action, the young generation is being called upon, not to interpret the capitalist world of capitalist exploitation, oppression, racism, chauvinism, anti-Communism, discrimination and warmongering into which they were born, but to change it.

But change it in what direction? For what pur-

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poses? And for whom? Today's young generation of necessity, because the momentum of the anti-Reagan, anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist, anti-war movement demands it, have come to the decisive question of the relevance of the ideas of Karl Marx, of Marxism-Leninism, for our country and our times.

I submit that the relevance and impact of Karl Marx on the U.S. has already been proven in history. Comrade Jackson's paper was a brilliant documentation of such. One can say that Marxist internationalism is an integral part of U.S. history. Indeed, Karl Marx is as American as apple pie. His ideas are part of the revolutionary, democratic heritage of the U.S. working class and young generation.

Today millions of youth extend the legacy of militant internationalist solidarity of Karl Marx in their defiance of U.S. imperialist aggression, in their movements of anti-imperialist solidarity and friendship with the peoples of Southern Africa, of Central America, of the Middle East, with the peoples and youth of the socialist countries.

As Comrade Jackson pointed out, Marx and Engels played a tremendous practical as well as political role in the abolitionist movement of our country.

Marx, in particular, took a leading part in the mobilization of the English industrial workers against British intervention in the Civil War on the side of the slaveholders. Marx's theoretical and practical activity on the Irish question and in respect to Reconstruction in the USA, on what we today call affirmative action, laid the groundwork for an understanding of the role of the national question in the class struggle. Marx's dictum, repeated several times in this conference, that labor in the white skin can not be free so long as labor in the black is branded, is even more relevant today and for the young generation of our nation's working class. It is a precondition for the unity of our multiracial, multinational working class and young generation.

Unity is the key to victory, now in 1983 and in the future.

In our times, when state monopoly capitalism, in the person of the Reagan Administration, is on the offensive, redefining the role of the state on all

questions, the ideas of Karl Marx give the youth another view and, therefore, the underpinnings of the need for independent political action to begin the process which only socialist revolution can conclude—to transform the state or government into an instrumentality of the people's will and into an instrumentality of working-class political power.

And the aims of working-class political power? To consolidate revolutionary achievements, to institute a regime of true equality and genuine democracy through the abolition of private property in the means production. To overcome historic inequality and discrimination, to put into effect an update of the political program envisioned in the *Communist Manifesto*. All of this for the purpose of setting into motion truly human history, developing on the economic, political, cultural and moral foundations of the great Marxist thesis, from each according to his or her abilities, to each according to his or her needs.

In this great principle and aim of Communism, today's young generation can see at last the fulfillment of the Declaration of Independence, the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

By his life's work, Karl Marx set this most important of revolutionary examples for all young generations of all countries, of all times. In this struggle for the achievement of socialism youth can "be all you can be," not in the Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines, but in service to peace, democracy, progress and the people's needs.

From his youth, Marx dedicated mind and body, intellect and initiative to the revolutionary cause of the working class. This is to be seen in the fact that Marx and Engels wrote the *Communist Manifesto* when only in their 20s. Lenin, too, in his youth made the same commitment and contribution.

If revolution and socialism is for anybody, it is for the youth. The youth of the U.S. today look for and need revolutionary transformation. Capitalism has not only become the obstacle to a better future, but its nuclear buildup threatens any kind of future. The road to a future is freedom road. And in our time freedom road is the road to socialism. The salvation of the young generation, therefore, rests on its taking this high road of

history.

Karl Marx is gone now for 100 years, but his ideas live on. There is no Marx, Engels or Lenin today, but the youth of the U.S. need not despair. There are Marxist-Leninists. There is the ever-developing, ever more influential, ever more powerful theory and practice of Marxism and Leninism.

There is a world Communist movement at the epicenter of a growing world revolutionary process. The U.S. is not exempt or excluded from that process. There is in our country a Marxist-Leninist party, the Communist Party, USA, headed by outstanding proletarian practitioners and developers of the ideas of Karl Marx, of Marxism-Leninism.

Inspired by the example of the CPUSA, compelled by the historic necessity of responding to the new conditions that demand immediate and ultimate solutions, an effort is now under way to found a new kind of youth organization, a new Communist youth organization that will organize and mobilize, that will participate, prepare and educate the young generation to help bring about socialism within U.S. borders. The founding of the new Communist youth organization on May Day weekend of this year, the year of the centenary of the death of Karl Marx, symbolizes the coming together of the youth movement of Marxism-Leninism with the program of the Communist Party, USA.

Under the guidance of that party, the new Communist youth organization will accept the challenge of popularizing the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the achievements and essence of real and existing socialism, first of all in the Soviet Union, of popularizing all that Marxism-Leninism

has brought forth among the youth of our country.

The new Communist youth organization accepts the challenge of using Marxism-Leninism to build an all inclusive united front of the young generation and of preparing that generation for struggle for socialism.

And this prodigious initiative signals the unfolding of a new lane of struggle, of youth participation in the class struggle of the U.S. The road of youth to Cleveland, Ohio, is the road of youth for socialism. It a road that must bridge Reaganism, it is a road that must surmount difficult terrain, but it is a road of thousands of youth, about whom Marx's comments in a preface to *Capital* is applicable: "I presume a reader who can think for himself and therefore is willing to learn something new." The broad masses of working youth, among whom, as Lenin said, "there is to be observed an impassioned, uncontrollable desire for the ideas of democracy and socialism," proved that they're willing to learn and build something new.

They're helping to build a new youth organization capable of making the difficult prevail. Inspired by noble Communist ideals, the youth are taking the road of revolutionary struggle. As Marx and Engels wrote in the *Communist Manifesto*, making what I feel is the most relevant remark for the U.S. and all countries, the youth are undertaking that path of struggle because they have the world to gain and nothing to lose but their chains.

Uncontent and unimpressed with interpretation in various ways of a world not of their making, the point of the new Communist youth organization will be to change it for peace and socialism, thereby bringing to life in ever more vivid detail the noble ideas of Karl Marx.

Discussion of 'From the Teachings of Karl Marx' (II)

MICHAEL ZAGARELL

One hundred years ago Karl Marx, the working class' great revolutionary teacher and leader, was laid to rest at his grave in London. Yet the ideas that he espoused, the discoveries about human development he made, have gone on to become the ideological banner for the most massive, sweeping movement of the oppressed and exploited the world has ever known. Never has a ruling class paid so many so much to try to rebut, distort, subvert, censor and outright ban a body of ideas.

A keystone in the anti-Marxist propaganda drive in our country has been the claim that Marxism has had little to do with our history, and less to do with our future. Today, Comrade Jim Jackson has presented to us an inciteful, well-researched paper showing the fallacy of this claim. In that paper he has summarized many of Marx's great contributions and outlined their meaning for the U.S.

In response to his work, I would like to take one of Marx's contributions, his concept of the role of ideas and the ideological struggle in revolution, and expand on it in light of the U.S. situation.

In our country today, there is a profound crisis in all aspects of life. As Marx predicted over 100 years ago, contradiction upon contradiction is now piling up to a crisis in every aspect of life. As the crisis deepens, many old bourgeois ideas that have had sway among millions of workers are being pushed to the side. Keynesism, class collaboration, the most extreme forms of racism and militarism, traditional liberalism and conservatism are all losing their grip on the minds of millions of people. In their place new ideas of struggle and protest are on the rise. What is the role of this ideological struggle today? How does the working class most effectively wage the battle of ideas? Karl Marx made critical contributions in this area.

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In addition to all his many other contributions, Marx was a brilliant publicist and propagandist for the working class. In his life he edited four different newspapers and journals and wrote volumes of books, pamphlets and articles. Among them were 500 articles written for U.S. readers of the *New York Herald Tribune*.

Marx was also the organizer of an international correspondence movement. Through it, he learned from and contributed to the work of many of the world's most advanced social thinkers and working-class activists—including some who lived and worked in the United States.

It is one of the great absurdities that with all that Marx wrote, with all that he did to influence the ideas of working people, he is often referred to by bourgeois critics in our country as an economic determinist, a man who discounted the role of individuals and their ideas in world history. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Woven through Marx's work and life is the basic concept that economic factors are the *ultimate* determinant in history. But in most cases *this ultimate determinant of history is precisely expressed through the battle of institutions and ideas*. For Marx, in fact, without ideological struggle, class consciousness would be impossible.

Engels summarized this basic view of Marx in a letter to the German Social Democrat, Joseph Block. He said, "According to the materialist conception of history the determining element in history is *ultimately* (emphasis Engels') the production and reproduction in real life. More than this neither Marx nor I have ever asserted. If, therefore, somebody twists this into the statement that the economic element is the only determining one, he transforms it into a meaningless, abstract and absurd statement." (*Reader in Marxist Philosophy, From the Writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin*, edited by Howard Selsam and Harry Martel, International Publishers, 1963, p. 204.)

Engels went on to point out that Marx did not

write anything in which this concept of the role of ideas and institutions did not play a part. From the earliest days of his political life Marx began to wrestle with the question of the role of ideas and ideological struggle in Germany.

At the age of 24 he was appointed editor of the bourgeois-democratic German paper *Rheinische Zeitung* and began to use his publicist talents in the fight for democracy. But no sooner did he begin his work than a conflict arose with his old friends, the Hegelians, who hoped to make the paper an organ of abstract thought and debate. For the Hegelians, who saw the world as the reflection of ideas, the struggle for democracy was the struggle of ideas only. Marx, who yearned to change the world and not just philosophize about it, could not accept this. In rebutting these Hegelian concepts, Marx took the materialist view of ideas and wrote, "True history must be developed and made clear in concrete circumstances." (Heinrich Gemkow, et. al., *Karl Marx, a Biography*, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1967, p. 43.)

Applying this yardstick, he used the pages of the *Rheinische Zeitung* to expose specific actions of the ruling aristocracy in Germany and show their class meaning. So effective was this method of mass education that the aristocracy quickly became alarmed. The bourgeois sponsors of the paper also became frightened of its consistent, very effective propaganda for democracy. Thus, on March 17, 1843, he was forced to resign from the paper, concluding that the "first freedom of the press is to be free of commerce." (Ibid, p. 43.)

Marx went to Paris, where he became the editor of the *French-German Yearbook*. There he continued to fight for the concept that the struggle of ideas must be linked to the struggle to change the realities of the world. There he wrote, "Material force must be overthrown by material force. Theory can become a material force only when it seizes the masses." (Ibid., p. 62.) And it was to seize the masses with the concept of class consciousness that Marx devoted so much of his life and work. Continuing his battle for materialism in ideology, Marx also criticized the utopian socialists, who thought they could propagandize their way to socialism.

Applying his revolutionary materialist concepts

of the role of ideas, Marx laid the basis for the formation of a new newspaper in Germany, destined to affect working-class journalism for over a hundred years. That paper was the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, the first revolutionary paper of the proletariat. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* would later be called a model for Communist papers by Lenin, himself a founder of *Iskra*, another paper which played a historic role in the class struggle. Like the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, *Iskra* became not only a mass propagandist, but a mass organizer and fighter for class consciousness.

Marx pointed out that once the working class appears as a historical force the capitalists shrink from the very revolutionary democratic demands that marked them at an earlier period of history. For this reason, he argued, it fell to the working class and its allies in Germany to fight for the completion of the democratic revolution of 1848. For this to happen, the working class had to be organized independently of the capitalists, organizationally and ideologically.

In order to play an independent role in the revolution, Marx saw that it was necessary for the working class and its revolutionary allies to have their own program, and that this program had to be one that was widely publicized. And so, with the agreement of the Communist League, he drafted a 17-point program that included the demands for unification of all of Germany, universal suffrage for all men, salaries for members of parliament so workers could hold office, arming of the population, separation of church and state, free public education, confiscation of landed feudal estates and establishment of large-scale farming on nationalized lands.

These demands, once drawn up, were carried into the shops and communities of Germany. It was the special task of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, under Marx's leadership, to fight for that program through daily exposes and ideological debates and mass poetry. Within three months the paper grew to a readership of 5,000, a very significant following for Germany at that time. Its offices became a center for the working class and democratic revolutionaries—and its pages became a voice advocating the formation of a new mass working-class party, the first such effort in history. Marx

saw the role of the paper as so crucial to the working class that even though he and his family lived in abject poverty, they contributed much of their small income to its support.

Like the first *Rheinische Zeitung*, the new paper immediately enraged the ruling classes and soon fell under sharp attack—only this time, Marx himself would be put on trial for his role as editor of the world's first working-class paper. Though the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was eventually forced to cease publication by the victory of counterrevolution, it became a shining example for workers around the world. The experiences of the mass ideological struggle of that period showed what Lenin came to later argue in his famous work, *What Is to Be Done*, that the masses can play an independent role in the struggle only when mass action is combined with Communist agitation and propaganda. And to do this on the highest possible level, it is necessary to have a working-class paper which can be a collective organizer and propagandist.

This concept is today reflected in the constitution of the Communist Party, USA, which states that all Party members have the right and responsibility to "read, circulate and help improve Party publications. All members shall circulate the press and make work with the press central to their mass activity."

While the great bulk of Marx's ideological work was centered on the struggle in Europe, this great thinker also made important direct contributions to the development of the revolutionary movement in the U.S. As in Europe, ideological work directed towards the U.S. people played an important role here. Many of the important lessons of the 1848 revolutions in Europe were summarized by Marx in his famous work, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, which was written expressly for a U.S. audience in 1852.

Though Marx was never in the U.S., his pamphlets and books were read here, and a series of pamphlets by Marx himself were eventually published in the U.S. shortly after his death. In addition, several socialist papers existed here, and they published his views.

Not only did Marx use the concrete conditions to argue general ideological concepts to workers,

he also urged socialists, especially those in the U.S., to study the concrete conditions of struggle and to orient their work accordingly.

Marx considered the Civil War in the U.S. a critical development for the world working class, and struggled to help it play a greater role, not only as a supporter of the Union, but as an independent force pressing to carry this democratic struggle through to its fullest possibilities. As in the German democratic revolution, Marx immediately saw and raised the programmatic points that would help do this. These included full emancipation of the slaves along with a radical land reform program, the forming of Afro-American regiments in the war, and an appeal to white workers for unity against slavery, based on mutual self interest of all labor.

To promote this outlook, Marx wrote some 40 articles on the Civil War, including the famous letter to Abraham Lincoln which he signed along with other leaders of the First International.

Today the Communist Party of the United States, like Marx during the Civil War, calls upon the working class to play an independent role in the struggle for equality, for the rise of imperialism and state monopoly capitalism has multiplied the reactionary role of the bourgeoisie many times.

For this reason it falls to the working class to fight for the completion of many of the democratic reforms once advanced in the U.S. by the bourgeoisie, but now openly and directly opposed by them. The sabotage of the 1954 Supreme Court ruling on integration, the Clark election campaign in Mississippi, the Bradley campaign in California, the Brooks campaign in Massachusetts, and the attempt to sabotage the Washington campaign in Chicago, shows that the capitalists have no intention of fulfilling the promise made during the Civil War.

Like many progressives, Communists see that to fulfill the goal of equality there is a crying need for mass education. But like Marx, we Communists reject any concept that the struggle against racism, or any ruling class idea, can be limited to a war of words. The struggle against racism is a struggle to change practice, to eliminate a system of oppression that exists in the material world. For this reason we insist that the 1954 Su-

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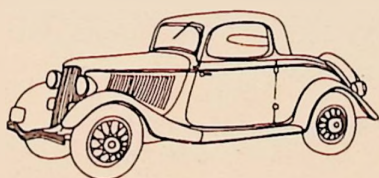
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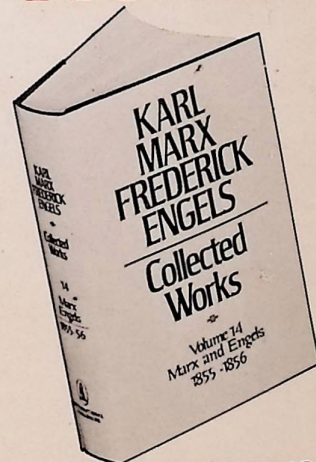
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