

Karl Marx
AND
Marxism



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NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY
NEW YORK CITY

KARL MARX AND MARXISM

By Arnold Petersen

Two Essays:

- I. Karl Marx and Marxism.
- II. Vivisection of an Anti-Marxist.

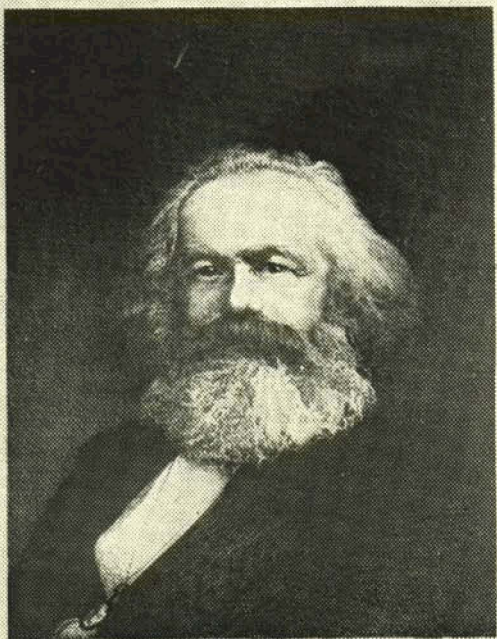
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In the first of these two essays the work and discoveries of the greatest social scientist of all time are briefly discussed. The importance of Marx's great discoveries in the fields of economics and sociology is traced, and their relation to the proletariat is revealed. In the second essay a particularly representative specimen of anti-Marxism is "vivisectioned." Professor Harold J. Laski of the London University is the traducer of Marx whose ignorance and misrepresentations of Marx and Marxism are thoroughly exposed.

64 pages—Price 15 cents

New York Labor News Company
45 Rose St., New York City

First printing, March 1933
Second printing, October 1934



1848

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx and Marxism

A UNIVERSAL GENIUS:
HIS DISCOVERIES
HIS TRADUCERS

By Arnold Petersen

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY
45 Rose Street, New York City

1934

The law of value is no idle abstraction, leading nowhere. From the law flow, and constitute integral parts of it, a number of corollaries economic and social. The leading ones are:

1. Concentration of productive powers increases the volume of wealth, lowers the value of goods, and clears the field of petty and competitive elements;

2. Under capitalism labor power, being a commodity like all others, must decline in value;

3. Concentration of productive powers is an irresistible economic force;

4. The irresistible force congests wealth in the hands of the few and pauperizes the masses;

5. Labor alone produces all [social] wealth; the wealth in the hands of the capitalist class is plunder.

In the cards of the law of value is, accordingly, Revolution—the adjustment of society to the unbearably changed conditions. The plumb line of the readjusted social structure is the economic interests of the working class. Another expression for the Socialist or Industrial Republic.

Hence the fierceness of the capitalist onslaught upon the Marxian law of value.

DANIEL DE LEON.

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Events refute anti-Marxism, and demonstrate it the opposite of Science. From each recurring refutation of anti-Marxism, and demonstration of its unscientific foundation and spirit, Marxism itself rises re-confirmed; its scientific merits re-demonstrated; taller in inches, stronger of voice; with ever more ears catching its vibrant, clear note; ever more hearts warming and minds rescued from the Slough of Despond by the lofty sentiments its truths inspire; ever larger masses marshalling under its banner.

In the meantime, official economists, and other pensionaries of capitalism, writhing with the cold steel of Marxian science in the vitals of their theories, hide their rage in the wrinkle of a sneer at Marx.

DANIEL DE LEON.

KARL MARX AND MARXISM.

Not even so great a man as Franklin understood the real nature of the Social Revolution in which he was engaged and figured as a hero. Conditions drove them on, they moved forward blindly. Not so with our, the Socialist Revolution. We knew whence the trouble came, we knew with all necessary accuracy whither we were going. That was the boon of Marx to our generation. By the light of the towering and brilliant beacon that he raised we could pick our way as over a chart.—DANIEL DE LEON.

I.

There has never been a greater name to conjure with than that of Marx. This statement is made with deliberation, and in full realization of the charges it will provoke—charges of blind hero-worship, of adulation, of disregard for the claims of the rest of the admittedly great in history, etc., etc. Yet, the statement stands. For consider the circumstances: During practically the entire period of recorded history mankind accepted events as being either the will or caprice of some deity, or as the result of immutable laws of nature. At no time prior to the nineteenth century did it occur to anyone to conform consciously (in the sense of knowing what it all portended, and the why and the whence of it all) to the great changes which took place or were about to take place. When man, in keeping with his gregarious nature, banded together into organized communities, he, at the same time, sundered those

cords which directly bound him to nature, and which made him the helpless slave of nature. While instinctively mankind instituted social forms in keeping with the basic economic changes in society, there was no conscious realization that these social forms and governments sprang directly out of the given *man-made* historical conditions. Whether a deity or nature was worshipped, it was accepted as a matter of course that these social forms and governments were the result of the grace or whim of the deity or of nature (or "the god of nature" to use a frequent expression). In short, there was no realization on the part of man that he was no longer the slave of nature (in the immediate and direct sense) and that he had become the "slave" of his *social* (as contrasted to *natural*) environment. He did not understand, nor could he have understood, that he would remain a slave to that environment until he discovered the economic laws underlying the social systems under which he lived, and which wrought the changes which he observed dimly, yet never fully until through violent upheavals, and at a tremendous cost in human lives and wealth, the new conditions had been placed in full view. These laws were discovered and scientifically formulated by Marx, thus revolutionizing human thought, and for the first time opening up vistas of consciously directed means of social changes.

The discoveries which set aside Marx as the foremost thinker of all time, and which entitle him to immortality's crown of crowns, are threefold.

1. The complete analysis of the value form and the scientific demonstration of the extraction of surplus value.

2. The materialist conception of history.
3. Establishing the fact of the class struggle and the program for its termination through the emancipation of the working class.

For the sake of convenience the three will be dealt with here as one, with particular stress on the first mentioned. For the law of value forms the rock upon which rests all that is essential in Marxian science. Unless that is understood, and its scientific correctness proved, the rest is incomprehensible and vulnerable. Hence, the crux of the entire question is the revelation of the motive power which transforms the economic basis and brings about social changes.

The secret of the source of that motive power lies in the value form. "The value form," says Marx, "is elementary and simple. Nevertheless, the human mind has for more than 2,000 years sought in vain to get to the bottom of it. . . ." The substance of value is congealed labor. That labor, in its general abstract sense, is identical in all commodities. Two hours of labor in one bale of cotton is, of course, equal to two hours of labor in another bale of cotton. Nevertheless, it is impossible to effect an exchange between the two. Though identical in substance, labor (or more correctly labor power) must be expressed in different forms in order to be exchangeable. Hence two hours of labor crystallized in one concrete product of labor (e.g., a hat) is exchangeable for two hours of labor in any other concrete product of labor (e.g., a pair of shoes). This *exchange form* is the only one in which the value of commodities can be expressed, hence the designation *exchange value of commodities*. Exchange value is a

definite social form of expressing the amount of labor embodied in an object.

“The exchange of commodities constitutes the social metabolic process, i.e., the process in which the exchange of the special products of private individuals is the result of certain social relations of productions into which the individuals enter in this interchange of matter.” (Marx)

The value of a commodity is determined by the amount of socially necessary labor, “or the labor time socially necessary for its production.” The law, then, is that commodities exchange, one with the other, in proportion to the amount of *socially necessary* labor time incorporated in them. This law, though not a natural law such as the law of gravity, nevertheless is as immutable within the sphere of its operation, the capitalist system of commodity production, and will assert itself, as Marx puts it, “like an overriding law of nature.” The exchange relation between commodities is, then, essentially a social relation. “The real value of a commodity is not its individual value, but its social value.” (Marx)

What is true of commodities, in general, is, of course, true of labor power, which is itself a commodity, bought and sold in its particular market (the labor market) like any other commodity. But labor power (the ability to work) is inseparable from the laborer. Hence, although theoretically a freeman, the worker is essentially a slave—not in the metaphysical sense of man being a slave to nature, or a slave to his passions, but in the very real and social sense of being

a slave to the master who buys him. That buyer of the worker, or accurately speaking, of his labor power, is the owner of the socially operated, but privately owned means of production, that is, the capitalist. Concretely and definitely it is the individual capitalist who buys the labor power of the individual worker. Viewing the process of production as a social process, it becomes clear, however, that it is the *capitalist class* which buys the labor power of the *working class*. When the capitalist class enters the labor market to purchase the labor power of the working class it does so solely for one purpose, namely, for the sake of its use value. If the amount of the social necessities required to feed, clothe and shelter the average member of the working class averages two hours of labor time, two hours then constitute the *exchange value* of the commodity labor power. But the *use value* (the capacity of the worker to labor) is limited only by his physical endurance, or, basing itself upon recognition of the worker's physical limitations, by social laws or usages regulating the length of the working day. Assuming the latter to be ten hours, it is clear that while the *capitalist class* pays the *working class* for two hours of labor per worker, it actually gets out of the workers ten hours of labor. In short, the capitalist class gets eight hours of surplus labor for which it pays nothing. The value produced in these eight hours (or whatever may be the particular length of the surplus labor time) is called, appropriately, surplus value.

Capitalists do not appear as the result of a process akin to the virgin birth through immaculate conception. Nor did the capitalist system appear suddenly, full-fledged, but it came as the result of a long process of

social changes. "Epochs in the history of society are no more separated from each other [says Marx] by hard and fast lines of demarcation, than are geological epochs." Roughly speaking, however, capitalism dates its inception from the middle of the fifteenth century. The first and second periods, the period of "simple cooperation" and the manufacturing period so-called, lasted until about the third period of the eighteenth century. They were superseded by modern industry, or machine production. During the period of so-called "simple cooperation," the workers (using the primitive tools of the handicraft and guild period which preceded capitalism proper) worked for the capitalist master, a number of them working side by side under one roof, but each working on the entire product from beginning to end. *There was cooperation, but no subdivision of labor.* During the manufacturing period (which arose about the middle of the sixteenth century) the workers no longer finish the entire product, but each worker always works on certain parts, the workshop as a whole turning out the complete product. *There was cooperation and division of labor.* During the period of machine production the workers operate the machine (still cooperatively and with still greater division of labor), which is to say that they become mere cogs in the machine. Operating his simple tool, man furnished his own motive power; as a cog in the machine he is driven by the same motive power which drives the machine, i.e., steam, electricity, etc.

The source of all social values is labor. The aim of capitalist production is to reduce the value of all commodities (including, of course, labor power). Not whim, wickedness nor even necessarily personal selfish-

ness drives the capitalist to do this.* The introduction of machinery means a displacement of labor. More commodities with the same quantity of labor power, or the same amount of commodities with less labor power, result from the use of improved machinery. There being less labor power required to produce the same quantity of commodities, and seeing that the amount of socially necessary labor time requisite for their production determines the value of commodities, it follows that the commodities will suffer a fall in value. Price being but the "accidental" or momentary expression of value—its monetary expression, i.e., as expressed in dollars and cents—it follows that the fall of value in commodities will be followed by a fall in prices, other things being equal.

Let us visualize a situation where two capitalists are operating under the identical conditions, producing, let us say, shoes wherein are incorporated four hours of socially necessary labor time, which we may suppose is expressed in the money form of \$10. Competition implies the eventual elimination of competitors, and if competition is the "life of trade" it follows that it is also the death of the individual "trader," or capitalist, to stick to the point. ("Monopoly produces competition, competition produces monopoly. The monopolists are made by competition, the [remaining] competitors become monopolists." — Marx). If, by whatever fortuitous circumstance (one of the many included in the "secret of original accumulation") one

*"But looking at things as a whole, all this does not, indeed, depend on the good or ill will of the individual capitalist. Free competition brings out the inherent laws of capitalist production, in the shape of external coercive laws having power over every individual capitalist."—MARX.

capitalist is able to purchase machinery by which the labor time socially necessary to produce shoes is reduced to two hours, it follows that the value of the shoes will be one half of what it was. Consequently, the price eventually, *ceteris paribus*, will be \$5 instead of \$10. But the other capitalist is still producing with his now obsolete machinery; he must still, in order to make a profit, sell his shoes for \$10. But no one will pay \$10 for something which he can get for \$5. The result is that the less fortunate exploiter or capitalist is forced out of business. Unless he commits suicide, he joins the ranks of labor—perhaps he goes to work in the shoe factory of his successful competitor. The further result is that the successful capitalist secures a larger market for his shoes. The competition goes on; again the same process is repeated until the field is fairly cleared, and shoes are produced by a few mammoth plants, with ever fewer workers, or with ever more shoes produced by the same workers, which spells a constantly decreasing value and (again, other things being equal) a constantly declining price.* *As a result of the operation of the law of value a concentration in industry has taken place.*

As a result of this there has been a vast increase in the constant part of capital (machinery, etc.), and (relatively speaking) an ever diminishing quantity of the variable part of capital (labor) is employed — a change which naturally has altered the quantitative relations between the two, though by no means its essen-

*No account is here taken of the part played by the increased production in gold which, of course, would tend to offset the decline in price.

tial character.* The vastly increased magnitude in constant capital (capital invested in plants, machinery, etc.) requires, therefore, a constantly increasing quantity of variable capital (capital invested in labor power), speaking absolutely, though infinitely less, relatively speaking.** And since labor is the sole source of value, and since value is produced only by constantly employing labor, the result is a vast increase in the product of labor. This, in turn, compels a search for foreign markets in order to dispose of the wealth steadily piling up. The same process, in greater or less ratio, takes place in all capitalist countries, the capitalists in these countries constantly invading, and eventually establishing and building up, the capitalist mode of production in these foreign markets, which thus cease to be markets, in the sense of being undeveloped and largely consuming markets. The final result is the establishment of capitalism definitely on a world-wide basis. The circulation of commodities is stopped, or nearly so. There is a crisis, so-called. When the "crisis" reaches the point where the technique of production collides, on a world-wide scale, with the technique of exchange, there is the equivalent of an explosion. This process is summarized in the well-known passage from Marx's immortal work "Capital":

"This expropriation is accomplished by the action

*"The growing extent of the means of production, as compared with the labor power incorporated with them, is an expression of the growing productiveness of labor."—MARX.

**"Centralization, by thus accelerating and intensifying the effects of accumulation, extends and hastens at the same time the revolutions in the technical composition of capital, which increase its constant part at the expense of its variable part and thereby reduce the relative demand for labor."—MARX.

of the immanent laws of capitalist production itself, by the centralization of capital. One capitalist always 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 capitalist 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 it, 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."

The logical and inevitable working out of the law of value, accordingly, spells, first, elimination of in-

dividual capitalists, concentration of capital, the proletarianizing of the mass of the population, and eventually social cataclysm, or *social revolution*. The one or the other depends entirely upon the necessary human agency, the wage working class.

To have laid bare this law of social motive power, to have revealed for the first time in human history the real springs of social and economic changes, to have been able to foretell, not like a prophetic Jeremiah, but like the true man of science, the probable, nay, inevitable termination of man's property career, entitles Marx to the distinction of being the foremost of all geniuses produced to date.

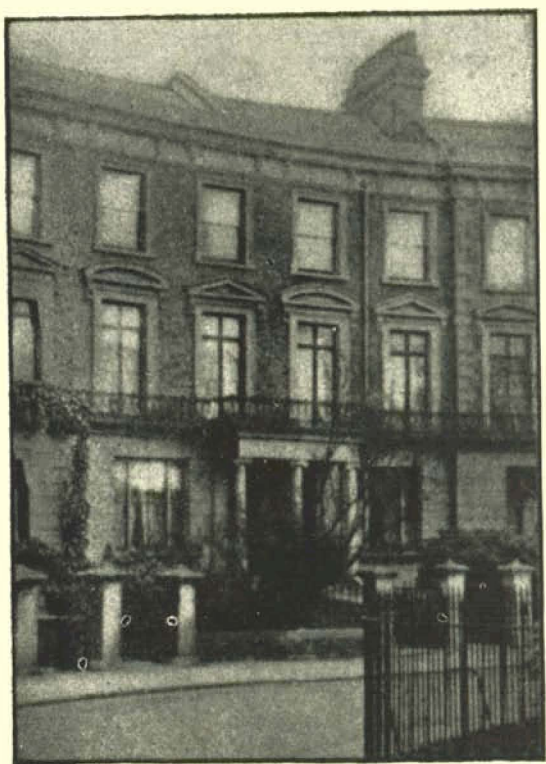
II.

The question may be asked: Have Marx's predictions been fulfilled? One need only look around to find the answer in the affirmative. But there are those who still cling to the idea of "accidents" in social relations, who still believe that capitalism will continue to go on from crisis to recovery, and from recovery to crisis, world without end. They had better familiarize themselves with the statistical revelations of recent times. Two massive volumes have just been published entitled "Recent Social Trends in the U.S. — Report of the President's [Hoover's] Research Committee on Social Trends." This conservative work carries with it revolutionary implications. A few quotations will show to what extent Marx's predictions have come true. Is wealth concentrating into fewer hands? Let us see:

"The domination of American business by the large

corporation and the growth in the scale of industrial operations, exemplified in the development of methods of mass production . . . has long been an observed tendency in American economic organization." Again: "The record of over 1200 mergers in manufacturing and mining between 1919 and 1928, involving a net disappearance of over 6000 independent enterprises by the end of 1928 and some 2000 more by the end of 1930, *is far from a complete record of mergers in all fields.*" (Emphasis mine.) The report continues: "Advances in the application of science and engineering to industry have radically transformed our conceptions of the inevitable scarcity of material goods and of the niggardliness of nature by expanding, apparently without limit, the possibilities of increased production. Through their dependence on capital accumulation, they have effected equally fundamental changes in business and industrial organization. Consequently, the growth in machine industry has been continuously associated with modification in business organization reflected *in the rise of the corporation and the concomitant concentration of ownership and centralization in management. This process, amounting in fact to the displacement of small by large scale enterprise, has completely altered the conditions under which the bulk of American labor works.*" (Emphasis mine.)

It were idle to set about to prove the Marxian contention that machinery has displaced labor and caused unprecedented unemployment. Or, as Marx put it, "In the progress of industry the demand for labor keeps, therefore, not pace with the accumulation of capital. It will still increase, but increase in a constantly dimin-



Maitland Park Road, London,
where Marx died.

ishing ratio as compared with the increase of capital." The truth of this contention is now generally admitted. Still, it is of interest to note the comments of Mr. Hoover's committee:

"Human labor in all modern industry is confronted with the continual necessity of adjusting itself to rapid and revolutionary changes. The most serious of those adjustments is to the mechanization of industry. It is the belief of many students that the widespread introduction of machinery is having the general effect of replacing skilled with semi-skilled and unskilled labor and is thus reducing the status of the trained and skilled worker, if, in fact, it is not tending to eliminate him from many industries . . . More important than the need for adjustment to new conditions [which is a way of saying that increasing millions of workers must adjust themselves to live without food, shelter and clothing!—A.P.] is the disturbing fact that technological changes in industries lead often to the total displacement of labor for varying periods of time. In the railroad industry the decline in employment from all causes from 1920 to 1930 amounted to the displacement of some 535,000 workers. . . ." And so on.

Marx, in referring to the trade unions, pointed out that they were unable to cope with the effects of capitalist concentration and development. Mr. Hoover's committee's report tells us that "during only 9 years of this last third of a century do the available records of the wages and cost of living of 22,000,000 employed workers show a radical improvement in position attributable to a rise in their real earnings." The report

includes a statistical table which reveals the fact that while in 1890 the money earnings (wages) of 22,000,000 workers in relation to "real earnings" (wages as measured by their purchasing power) was as 71 to 96, in 1928 the relation was as 224 to 132.* In other words, in 1890 "real wages" were 25 points above money wages, whereas in 1928 "real wages" were 92 points below money wages. The report also shows how at the same time the trade or craft unions themselves have been reduced to the point of impotency. With a membership in 1920 of 5,100,000 the American Federation of Labor in 1931 showed a total membership of only 3,300,000—and this at a time when not only the total population has increased, but the wage working population particularly so. The report makes it clear that this decline in membership is due, not only to "technological changes and the concentration of industrial management which have weakened the relative power of labor," but also "*to the ineffectiveness of craft organization in dealing with the new situation*," i.e., the fact of ultra capitalist development. Again Marx is vindicated, and particularly do Daniel De Leon's Marxian contentions with respect to the ineffectiveness (to say nothing worse about it) of craft unions to cope with entrenched capitalism, here receive startling confirmation.

Marx predicted the elimination of petty agriculture, and the drift of the farm population to the cities. Despite the numerous fatuous attempts at organizing "back to the land" movements, despite the efforts of the reformers to maintain the struggling farmers "in

*These figures represent index numbers on the basis of 1914 averages.

the idiocy of rural life" (Marx), economic law asserts itself relentlessly. The report tells us: "Between 1880 and 1920, therefore, those at work in agriculture had declined from 50 per cent of the total working population to a little more than 26 per cent. . . ."

Marx says: "The less skill and exertion of strength is implied in manual labor, in other words, the more modern industry becomes developed, the more is the labor of men superseded by that of women." There are two contentions in this statement. First, that skill disappears with the development of modern industry, and secondly, that because of the introduction of mechanical facilities, women supplant men in industry. As to the first, we find this in the report of Mr. Hoover's committee:

"Technological progress is rendering useless much of the traditional skill of the worker in a growing number of occupations. As skill and energy are invested in machinery there is a lessened demand for the skill and brute force of labor."

As to the replacement of men by women workers, while agriculture and manufacturing show a decline in the employment of women, the statistics indicate a constant increase of women in clerical, trade and transportation occupations. In other words, the male "white collar slave" is being crowded out by the woman. "Between 1870 and 1930 . . . the clerical group increased from 0.4 per cent to 19 per cent, while trade and transportation rose from 1 per cent to 12 per cent." There has been a rapid increase in married women workers in the decade 1920 to 1930. "The number of *married*

women working outside the home increased 60 per cent, while the total number of married women increased only 23 per cent. . . . In 1900 there were 769,000 married women at work, in 1910 the number had increased to 1,891,000 and in 1930 it had reached 3,071,000. Between 1900 and 1930 the total number of employed women doubled but the number of employed married women increased four-fold. . . . The diminishing size and increasing instability of the family have contributed to the problem." These facts surely justify Marx's contention that "The bourgeoisie has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation."

Under capitalism, the harder a worker works, the sooner he works himself out of his job. The machine, however, compels the increased productivity of the worker, while at the same time it brings about the elimination of the worker himself. On this head, Marx makes the following observation:

"In general, the greater the productiveness of labor, the less is the labor-time required for the production of an article, the less is the amount of labor crystallized in that article, and the less is its value. The value of a commodity, therefore, varies directly as the quantity, and inversely as the productiveness, of the labor incorporated in it."

In other words, with the introduction of improved machinery, more commodities are produced by the same or even less labor. We have already had demonstrated to us by the Hoover Committee how the real wage of labor has declined despite (or rather, because

of) tremendous increase in its productivity. Let us now see if Marx's contention, just quoted and restated, is confirmed by the Hoover Committee's report. We read:

"Part of the tremendous increase in the total production of industry, illustrated in the 60 per cent rise in the output of manufacturing industries from 1914 to 1927 at the same time that the total number of employes grew only 21 per cent, is plainly attributable to the rising per capita output of labor. . . . While there have been short periods in the history of American industry when the per capita output of labor has failed to grow, the long trend has been steadily upward. From 1899 to 1925 the increase was 53 per cent in agriculture; 99 per cent in mining; 42.5 per cent in manufactures; and 56 per cent in railway transportation."

Considering now the relation of the worker to his employment, his employer, and his dependence upon the owner of the tool (the machinery of production), we note the following from Marx:

"Owing to the extensive use of machinery and to division of labor, the work of the proletarians has lost all individual character, and, consequently, all charm for the workman. He becomes an appendage of the machine, and it is only the most simple, most monotonous, and most easily acquired knack, that is required of him. . . . Not only are they [the workers] slaves of the bourgeois class, and of the bourgeois state, they are daily and hourly enslaved by the machine. . . ."

Turning to the Hoover Committee's report we find this statement confirmed in the following language:

"The vast amount of machinery, power and organization placed at the disposal of labor have been chiefly instrumental in causing radical change in the nature of the work performed by labor and in providing greater reward for effort. [This latter amazing assertion we know to be untrue on the basis of the facts presented by the committee itself!—A.P.] At the same time continued changes in the organization of industry have increased the dependence of labor upon a going concern and an economic system almost entirely [certainly entirely!—A.P.] beyond its control. Both in production and consumption economic progress has lessened the possibility of self-help on the part of the worker."

As if to summarize, as Marx himself might have done, indeed as he did summarize, the committee tells us in effect, somewhat cautiously, but obviously with conviction, that things are going to get worse, and that there is no way of stopping the rapid decline of capitalist society:

"Those who are acquainted with past experience anticipate that, while business will revive and prosperity return [Pious wish, desperate father to happy thought!—A.P.], the new wave of prosperity will be terminated in its turn by a fresh recession which will run into another period of depression, more or less severe. Whether these recurrent episodes of widespread unemployment, huge financial losses and demoralization are an inescapable feature of the form of organiz-

ation which the western world [capitalism] has evolved is a question which can be answered only by further study and experiment. [Brother, can you spare the time? Then study Marx and he will tell you!—A.P.] But even in good times it is clear that we do not make full use of our labor power, our industrial equipment, our natural resources and our technical skill. The reason why we do not produce a larger real income for ourselves is not that we are satisfied with what we have *for even in the best of years millions of families are limited to a meager living*. The effective limit upon production is the limit of what the market will absorb *at profitable prices*, and this limit is set by the purchasing power at the disposal of would-be consumers. Of necessity the business organizer's [i.e., the capitalist's] task is often the unwelcome one of *keeping production down to a profitable level*. There is always danger of glutting the markets—a danger which seems to [seems to?—nay *does*—A.P.] grow greater as our power to produce expands and as the area over which we distribute our products grows wider." (Emphasis mine.)

Reflecting now upon the general effect of capitalist production upon the mind, morals, religion, the family, we are reminded of Marx's dictum:

"The religious world is the reflex of the real world. . . . The religious reflex of the real world can, in any case, only then finally vanish, when the practical everyday life offer to man none but perfectly intelligible and reasonable relations with regard to his fellow men and nature."

It would seem reasonable to suppose, then, that in the measure capitalism reaches its climax, man will recognize the increasing manifestations of "perfectly intelligible and reasonable relations with regard to his fellow men and nature." Even this receives startling confirmation by the Hoover Committee's report. Under the section "Attitudes," we read:

"The heaviest loss has been the disappearance of church interests from the women magazines. Next has been the decline of discussion of the Bible, which during the two years 1930-1932 received just about one-fifth as much magazine attention as from 1905-1909." Speaking of the so-called "intellectual group," we learn that "Jesus has lost instead of gained in this ["intellectual"] group." The point is thereupon made that "The Bible receives less than half the attention it had twenty-five years ago."

Elsewhere in the report emphasis is laid on the fact that various institutions are adapting themselves to the changes in the economic structure. Marx's classical phrase is recalled:

"The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society—the real foundation on which rise legal and political superstructures and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness."

Turning now to the Hoover Committee report, we find the following:

"Scientific discoveries and inventions instigate

changes first in the economic organization and social habits which are most closely associated with them. Thus factories and cities, corporations and labor organizations have grown up in response to technological developments.

“The next great set of changes occurs in organizations one step further removed, namely, in institutions such as the family, the government, the schools, the churches. Somewhat later, as a rule, come changes in social philosophies and codes of behavior. . . .”

The scientific findings of Marx, enunciated from 50 to 85 years ago, are, accordingly, acknowledged as being correct, not merely by the Marxian scientists, but even by those who would resist to the last ditch the final logical application of Marxism to capitalism — that is, to prepare for its speedy termination as the curse and insufferable affliction it has become.

III.

It is the undying glory of Marx that he revealed the laws of social evolution more completely than Darwin revealed the laws that brought about the origin and evolution of the species with its culmination in *genus homo*. To repeat, for the first time in human history it became possible to ask, not merely “Are we going somewhere?” but also “Where do we want to go and why and how?” The difference is enormous and of momentous significance. There may be order and system of some sort, and yet no definite plan. The example of the ant comes readily to mind. Seemingly in possession of a perfect organization, and apparently

working in concert and harmoniously, there is yet neither purpose nor plan other than to sustain ant life on the same level and scale as it has been done for millions of years. An ant will forever remain an ant, and his "society" will forever remain an ant hill. Man, on the contrary, however blindly and stumblingly, always perceives of a "better way"—better tools, better organization, etc. But the time would inevitably arrive when man, refusing to follow the pressure and plain indications of economic law, would forever be repeating the same mental and social processes and become, in effect, nothing more than so many ants, reducing society to the level of a huge ant hill. The time *has*, indeed, arrived where the mass of humanity, that is to say the workers, must decide whether society shall be reduced to such an ant hill, or elevated to a social plateau where not only the present economic inequalities will be absent, but when for the first time the human mind and spirit will be universally liberated, capable of taking wing, and soar to heights hitherto undreamt of. The forces in society that strain toward the ant hill system of society are those that appear clothed in the garb of reaction designated variously Ultramontanism, Fascism, Capitalist political dictatorship, and which may be termed collectively Industrial Feudalism. The forces that strain toward the higher level of society are first, the economic laws of society, driving onward and upward the working class, and, secondly, the conscious agents, the Marxian Socialists who tirelessly point the lessons, and indicate the vehicle and the road, as well as the goal—Socialism or the Cooperative Commonwealth.

Marx's genius perceived that *class interests* have in

the past been the lever of social changes. The interests of a new rising class have always been concurrent with the main line of social progress. So long as these two lines were concurrent—the line of the new ruling class and the line of social evolution—there is social life and general progress. But the line of ruling class interests can only run concurrently and parallel with the main line of social evolution so long as the capacities of the particular system within its political framework have not been exhausted. When the political framework serves merely the interests of a ruling class, and no longer at the same time the general interests of social evolution, it becomes a hindrance and an obstruction and must be changed or removed.

If the general truth of these contentions have been acknowledged, the important question should be: What is the next form of society likely to be and how may we effect the change with as little bloodshed and disorder as possible? It is obvious that if these are not our considerations, we might as well let events take their own haphazard course as was done more or less (and rather more than less) during all previous pre-revolutionary periods. Marx again and again has emphasized the importance of a conscious purpose in effecting the change from capitalism to Socialism, particularly in his profound observation that even when society has discovered the law of motion underlying it—

“It can neither clear by bold leaps, nor remove by legal enactments, the obstacles offered by the successive phases of its normal development. *But it can shorten and lessen the birth pangs.*”

Society can, says Marx, shorten and lessen the birth pangs. But *will* it shorten them? Official society, i.e., capitalist interests, will not. The real society, the useful members of present-day society, can, will and *must* do so at the risk of reducing human society to an everlasting ant hill. And by "useful members of present day society" is meant the *proletariat*, the *wage working* men and women who are exploited as a class by the capitalist class, and that proletariat excludes, *as a matter of course*, the petty bourgeoisie which is made up of business men on the verge of bankruptcy, corner grocers and other petty shopkeepers, petty farmers and all other economically useless groups in society.

Marx makes it clear, however, that it is only in fully developed capitalist countries that the real problem created by capitalism can be perceived and grappled with. "... We [the Germans], like all the rest of continental Western Europe, suffer not only from the development of capitalist production, *but also from the incompleteness of that development*. Alongside of modern evils, a whole series of inherited evils oppress us, arising from the passive survival of antiquated modes of production, with their *inevitable* train of social and political anachronisms. We suffer not only from the living but from the dead. *Le mort saisit le vif!*"* Fully developed capitalist countries, accordingly, furnish the proper field for inquiry, and by the same token they supply the answer to the question: What to do and how? Other countries may find it necessary to adopt expedients or transition measures pending the time when they, too, shall have reached a full develop-

*The dead are an encumbrance on the living.

ment provided, of course, that meanwhile the social revolution has not solved the problem for all. "The country that is more developed industrially only shows, to the less developed, the image of its own future." (Marx) If this principle is sound (and what pretender to being a Marxist would dispute it?) it follows that it applies equally to capitalist development and to the revolutionary movements. A country with a large petty bourgeoisie, and a large peasantry, obviously requires a program which takes cognizance of these manifestations of the incompleteness of the development of capitalist production. During the early pre-revolutionary period it may become necessary to enter into all sorts of compromises in order to secure the necessary support against the remnants of feudalism which might, and undoubtedly would (as has happened in the past) seriously obstruct the process of capitalist development itself.* If these petty bourgeois and peasant elements persist in a country where the political power (through whatever peculiar circumstances) falls into the hands of the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, while the rest of the world remains on the political and economic basis of capitalism, the need for such compromises and "concessions to the past" becomes still more necessary. For, as Lenin so well put it: "To defeat the great, centralized bourgeoisie is a thousand times easier than to 'defeat' millions and millions of small owners who in their daily, imperceptible, inconspicuous but demoralizing activities achieve the

*"The bourgeoisie (the capitalist class) is here conceived as a revolutionary class as the bearer of large industry, in contradistinction to the feudal and the intermediary strata who would retain all social privileges and who are the reflex of the outgrown methods of production."—KARL MARX.

very results desired by the bourgeoisie and restore the bourgeoisie." It is the same thought, with a slightly different application, expressed by Marx when he said:

"The transformation of scattered private property, arising from individual labor, into capitalist private property is, naturally, a process, incomparably more protracted, violent, and difficult, than the transformation of capitalistic private property, already practically resting on socialized production, into socialized property. In the former case, we had the expropriation of the mass of the people by a few usurpers; in the latter, we have the expropriation of a few usurpers by the mass of the people."

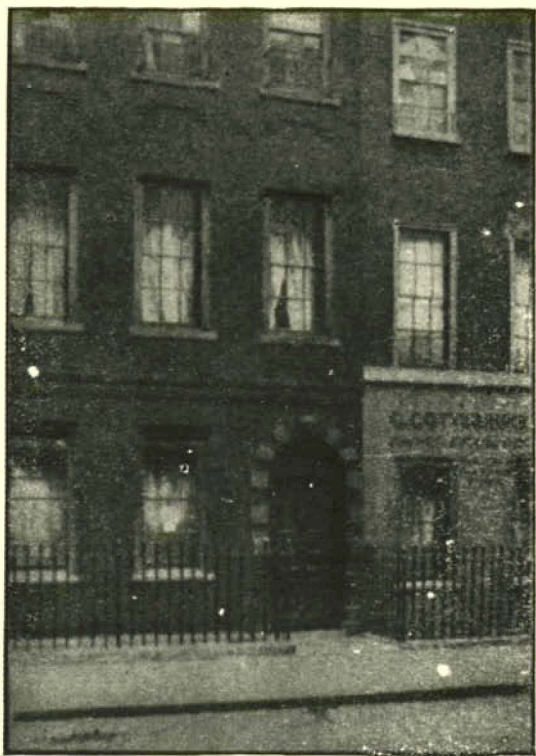
The concern of the Marxist, then, in a fully developed capitalist country is entirely with the program of the revolution. Any compromises entered into with the reactionary elements still surviving (the petty shopkeepers, the petty farmers) constitute a direct betrayal of the revolution, and when done in the name of Marx become a deliberate denial and mockery of Marxism. Were Marx in the United States today, what would he say? It is not difficult to imagine. Looking around and observing the marvelous machines with the unlimited capacity for producing the things needed to satisfy man's material and esthetic wants, he undoubtedly would say:

"Here is the condition which I foretold but which I scarcely thought possible under the capitalist system. I gave more credit to the revolutionary spirit of the

workers, and to the leaders whom I taught and educated than to suppose that they would permit the capitalist system to run the entire gamut, and even to persist in the face of its now too obvious anti-social character. I did think it possible for the workers to have effected the revolution ere this in view of the instruction I imparted as to the nature of capitalism, and the steps that might be taken, to ensure an overthrow of the system. True, if that had happened 40 or 50 years ago, the technological development, though well advanced by capitalism already then, would have to be finished under the Socialist system. The early period of Socialism in such circumstances would, as I have shown, be encumbered by the remnants of capitalism, by the private property sense still clinging to the mass of the people. There would be a transition period, and there would be need of an instrument to keep order at that early stage—an instrument that could be nothing else but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. But all that is past and gone. Capitalist development has proceeded to the highest point possible; the mass of the people are utterly bereft of private property, and the predominant cry is, not for land, not for 'independence,' *but for a job*. The wage slave psychology has extended to all but a small fraction of the people. Furthermore, there are no vast numbers of petty bourgeois or peasants, and most of those who survive as such would be glad to exchange their insecurity for a job, if it could be had. Industry is in the hands of but a few. It remains only for the workers to organize to secure control of the industries. But how?

"I have taught that the emancipation of the workers must be the classconscious work of the workers

themselves. But the workers are industrial workers here—industrial in contradistinction to the, comparatively speaking, undeveloped factory and machine production in my days, and to which the trade union form of organization fairly corresponded. Even then, backward as was the industrial development as compared to what I find in the United States in 1933, and crude as were the trade unions of my day, I still maintained then (in the resolution I drafted in 1866 at the Geneva Congress of the International Workingmen's Association) that the economic organizations should be 'the levers for abolition of the wages system.' Certainly if that were true 67 years ago, there are a thousand and one more reasons for insisting that it is true today. I have also taught that the economic basis is the substance, therefore the permanent thing, while the political body is the reflex, or the transitory thing. There must be a social organization to ensure continuity of production. It cannot be the State, for it is not designed for that purpose, and being a superfluous appendix in a system of society not based on private property, it will inevitably die out. But the industrial organization is the permanent thing—in possession of industry it ceases to be a mere lever for social change, it becomes the new social form itself, the only conceivable substitute for the Political State. The workers, then, in all advanced capitalist countries, must organize that Industrial Union, that new social force, that depository of working class economic power, and without which they certainly will remain helpless before the organized power of the small, but solidly entrenched, capitalist class. And since every class struggle is a social, i.e., a political, struggle it becomes necessary for the workers



Dean St., London, where Marx made his preparatory notes for "Capital."

to organize into a revolutionary political party to make possible the formation of this new union on a nation-wide, and eventually a world-wide, scale."

These, we know, would be Marx's conclusions in fully developed capitalist America, in line with his own teachings and the principles he established. And these conclusions are accepted, unreservedly by the "executor" of Marx's "will," the Socialist Labor Party, and that Party alone. By the same token, all other parties and groups become definitely anti-Marxian, which is to say, anti-working class.

IV.

Marxism dominates world thought at this supreme crisis in the life of capitalism. Dead fifty years, Marx is a greater force than any living thing. Consciously or unconsciously, the guns of capitalism are trained against Marxian science. The proof of Marx's contentions are too overwhelmingly present to permit of ignoring him. It cannot be done. To use his own phrase, his genius, fifty years after his death, asserts itself like an over-riding law of nature. Yet there probably never was a man who concerned himself less about his future fame than did Marx. He held his contemporaries in contempt—that is, those who pretended to represent political economy and the social sciences in general. He was anything but arrogant, and yet he cared nothing for the applause of the multitude. He could not be bought by the bourgeois money-bags, nor bribed by flattery. Proudly independent, he even refused to place himself in any relation to the labor movement which

would make him a paid employe. Frederick Engels, speaking for himself and Marx, wrote in 1886:

“Neither Marx nor myself have ever committed the least act which might be interpreted into asking any workmen’s organization to do us any personal favor—and this was necessary not only for the sake of our own independence but also on account of the constant bourgeois denunciations of ‘demagogues who coax the workmen out of their hard-earned pennies in order to spend them for their own purposes.’”

And still more bitterly he wrote a year later, and with Marx in mind particularly, the following:

“In the early hole-and-corner stages of the working class movement, when the workmen are still under the influence of traditional prejudices, woe to the man, who, being of bourgeois origin or superior education, goes into the movement and is rash enough to enter into money relations with the working class element. There is sure to be a dispute upon the cash accounts and this is at once charged into an attempt of exploitation. Especially so if the ‘bourgeois’ happens to have views on theoretical or tactical points that disagree with the majority, or even of a minority. This I have constantly seen for forty years. . . . For that reason Marx and I have always tried to avoid having any money dealings with the party, no matter in what country.”

In his proud independence, intellectual and financial, Marx could, as he did in “Capital,” echo the words of “the great Florentine”—

“Segui il tuo corso, e lascia dir le genti.”

That is: Follow your course, and let the people talk. Or as we would say: Hew to the line, and let the chips fall where they may. This proud independence was inevitably misconstrued as arrogance. A typical example is found in the Anarchist Bakunin's comments on Marx:

"Marx, who was already constitutionally inclined toward self-glorification, was definitively corrupted by the idolization of his disciples who have made a sort of doctrinaire pope out of him.— All this has made Marx even more egotistical, so that he is beginning to loathe every one who will not bow the neck before him."

How delightfully familiar this sounds to the ear of the Marxian Socialist! The same yammer is emitted by the modern Anarchists and reformers of various varieties against De Leon and those who insist on adhering to principle and organization procedure.

But the howls emitted against Marx had no effect other than to cause him to persevere the harder. And when he died on the fourteenth of March 1883, the proletariat of the world mourned its great loss. For Marx had become more than a man, even more than a great man. Already then he had become the symbol of working class freedom, even where the full significance of his scientific discoveries were not fully understood.

Marx rendered unreserved tribute to true greatness. He spoke of "the brilliancy of Aristotle's genius" and referred to him as "the great thinker who was the first to analyze so many forms, whether of thought, so-

ciety, or nature, and amongst them also the form of value." What Dante (whom Marx named "the great Florentine") said of Aristotle, we may say of Marx: "Il Maestro di color che sanno." That is, he was in truth,

THE MASTER OF THE WISE.

VIVISECTION OF AN ANTI-MARXIST.

*"Men may construe things after their own fashion,
Clean from the purpose of the things themselves.*

..... Horatio, I am dead!

*Thou livest; report me and my cause aright
To the unsatisfied."*

—SHAKESPEARE.

The fiftieth anniversary of Marx's death has brought forth a veritable harvest of commentators on Marx, and comments on his works, ranging from the intelligently appreciative, through the perversely ignorant though supposedly sympathetic, to the openly hostile, and mendaciously distorted. We have the example of a capitalist editorial scribbler imputing to Marx hostility to the struggle for the termination of slavery in the United States for which event, according to this lying scoundrel, Marx had "only a brief sneer" when, as every intelligent student knows, the exact opposite was the case. We have a lawyer, parading as a Marxist (save the mark!) declaring that "Socialism is not synonymous with Marxism," when, as even a beginner in Socialist science knows, Socialism without Marx ceases to have any meaning whatsoever. And the same shyster claiming (in the name of Marx) that the industrial revolution ushered in the capitalist era when, as every student of Marx and social and economic history knows, it was the reverse that took place,

viz., that the "capitalist era" had commenced long before the "industrial revolution," i.e., the period of machine production, took place. And we have sundry professors and literati identifying Marx with the weirdest sort of things, making him the contender *for* the very things he denounced, *and all in the name of Marx and Marxism*, and most of it in commemoration of his fiftieth anniversary!

As one surveys this assault on Marx and Marxism (whether by supposed friend or avowed enemy) one begins to appreciate the point of view of Caligula, the insane Caesar, who, in one of his bloodthirsty fits, expressed the wish that the entire Roman people had but one neck. *Utinam populus Romanus. . . .*! Would that this tribe of Anti-Marxists had but one accredited and articulate representative, the easier to crush them all, and damn them with their stupid or vicious lies and misrepresentations! As we cannot possibly undertake to deal with each and every one of them, let us pick out one who may represent, as nearly as may be, the entire fraternity of Anti-Marxism. The outstanding example is an unofficial Socialist party edition of "The Communist Manifesto," containing a brief introduction by Norman Thomas, S. P. hero, and an essay entitled "Karl Marx" by Harold J. Laski,* an English professor, and supposedly a sympathetic commentator on Marx. This essay appears to be a reprint of a Fabian tract published a few years ago, and selected for publication, together with "The Communist Manifesto" by Mr. Thomas for the special purpose of commemorating "the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Karl Marx."

*Professor of Political Science, University of London, member Fabian Society Executive, etc.

The essay is given a send-off by Mr. Thomas with his unstinted approval and with the observation that it is a "clear and interesting study of Karl Marx" by a gentleman whose "approach is scientific, not theological," with the added emphasis that it is a "brilliant essay on Marx." Having thus received the imprimatur of the present high priest of S. P. ism, the Laski essay may fairly be regarded as the authoritative appraisal of Marx by the Social Democratic group in the United States. Those who in the past remained sceptical when the S. L. P. designated the S.P. a "huge machine for lying about Socialism," are urged to lend an attentive ear. To all others: Listen, for there is a treat in store for you! And if the recital is a bit disjointed, let it be remembered that we are following a somewhat tortuous trail.

To begin with the beginning, we are told that Marx's parents became converted to Christianity when Karl was six years old. It must be inferred that the six-year-old boy had scarcely formed any religious convictions, for which reason one is amused with the naively expressed statement of Mr. Laski "that it is not easy to measure exactly what influence this change had upon Marx." The charge is then made that Marx "to the end of his life (he) remained something of an Anti-Semite; but this [continues our professor] does not seem traceable to any emotion of apostasy"! The idiotic contention that Marx was an Anti-Semite has its origin in the mental aberrations of psycho-analysts who must somewhere discover suppressed desires, frustrations and inferiority complexes, etc., etc., in order to market their goods. But since Marx apparently

never had any religious faith other than the one adopted by his parents [if he had one at all] it is difficult to understand how there could ever have been a case of apostasy.

According to Marx the Political State is the reflex of the particular economic basis of a given society. Professor Laski, however, has a different idea as to what Marx's conception was. This is what he imputes to Marx: "He [Marx] had seen that the political state was, at any given time, the reflection in structure of the ideas of that epoch." In other words, Marx is here credited with being the exponent of the idealist conception of history!

Mr. Laski says: "There have been Utopian Socialisms in despite of Marx; and we are doubtless not at the end of them." It is perfectly obvious that there have been Utopian Socialisms "in despite of Marx," but what the point is by no means is clear. That the world is still full of Utopian Socialisms (if it is proper at this time to associate the word Socialism with anything at all except Marxian) is so obvious as not to require being stated. For one thing, the so-called Socialist party is certainly a horrible example of such "Utopian Socialism."

Mr. Laski does not like the treatment that Marx and Engels gave the "middle class" in "The Communist Manifesto." "At one point," says Mr. Laski, "it is subject to a vituperation so scathing and relentless, as to make it seem the nurse of all social evil. At another its great historic achievements are exalted beyond all praise." This is simply rubbish. What Mr. Laski evidently has failed to understand is that the term "middle class" is now used loosely in two different con-

nections. The middle class historically is, of course, what is now known as the capitalist class, i.e., the present ruling class in society. That part which is now loosely referred to as the "middle class" is but a substratum of the general property-holding or capitalist class. Moreover, it should be possible for Mr. Laski to distinguish, on the one hand, between the achievement of a great historic class during its period of formation, and while it is fighting the ruling class doomed by economic law to extinction (in this case, the feudal class), and, on the other hand, the obstructionism of the same class, once it has established itself as the ruling power in society, and outlived its usefulness, having thus become a reactionary class.

At this point it is just as well to inject a little humor as Mr. Laski, indeed, himself does, though apparently unconscious of the fact. We are treated to this description of Marx: "A chosen band of helpers, all fellow-exiles, used to accompany him [Marx to the British Museum] and aid in the researches he conducted; though it should perhaps be added that they were not admitted as assistants until they had shown their agreement with Marx and passed certain craniological tests. Phrenology was not typical merely of the Utopian period of Socialism."! Try to visualize Marx searching for the proper bumps on the craniums of prospective assistants, very much as a barber shampoos the hair of his customer!*

Mr. Laski serves up the oft warmed-over dish of

*The elder Liebknecht appears to be the source of this legend. Liebknecht humorously describes how Marx had his skull "inspected" before accepting him! Mr. Laski, like a true-born Englishman, must have his little joke!

intolerance and arrogance on the part of Marx. We are told that "Marx never welcomed opposition or rivalry; and he was too prone to assume that a doubt of his rightness was a doubt also of his opponent's integrity." We are so familiar with this silly whine that a sketch of Marx from any one of the Anti-Marxians seems positively incomplete without it. These noble and impartial liberals who, of course, never assume that they are right on anything, and who, therefore, never charge that their opponents are wrong, have probably never read Goethe's observation on tolerance. "Tolerance," said Goethe, "ought in reality be a transitory mood. It must lead to recognition. To tolerate is to affront." Our Anti-Marxians would reverse the order of this and insist that *not* to tolerate is to affront.

There are numerous similar references scattered throughout Mr. Laski's essay.

That Mr. Laski should have fallen foul of Marx's style is quite understandable, although there is no definite indication that he himself is familiar with the German original. However this may be, this is what Mr. Laski said of "Capital" and its style: "Written, of course, as it was in a German particularly cumbrous and involved in structure, it was necessarily caviare to the multitude." Mr. Laski is here simply repeating what bourgeois Philistines have charged ever since the book was first published. Marx himself has answered the criticism of his style, not by a defense in his own words, but by quoting respectable publications of high literary standard. *The Saturday Review*, for example, is quoted as follows: "The presentation of the subject invests the driest economic questions with a certain

peculiar charm." And *The St. Petersburg Journal* is quoted as having said in its issue of April 20, 1872, "The presentation of the subject, with the exception of one or two exceptionally special parts, is distinguished by its comprehensibility by the general reader, its clearness, and, in spite of the scientific intricacy of the subject, by an unusual liveliness. In this respect the author in no way resembles the majority of German scholars who write their books in a language so dry and obscure that the heads of ordinary mortals are cracked by it." Anyone who has seriously undertaken a study of Marx's "Capital" will subscribe to these observations on the literary style of Marx as employed in his great work, "Capital." Mr. Laski's patronizing comment that "Capital" was "necessarily caviare to the multitude," is simply his snobbish way of insinuating that a subject of that nature could not possibly be understood by workingmen, however intelligent, for did they ever go through the dreary hours of studying the hash served up as political economy in the universities maintained and supported by capitalist interests?

Few students of "Capital" have failed to comment on the painstaking care which Marx took in weighing the evidence he brought to bear in his "critical analysis of capitalist production," whether the evidence was favorable or unfavorable. In fact, as has been correctly observed, he anticipated almost every objection which might conceivably be directed against his analysis and conclusions, dispassionately disposing of every one of them. It is this fact which makes Marx's "Capital" so impregnable, and it is also this fact which has so enraged the Philistines of capitalist society. For nothing

exasperates an antagonist so much as to find his opponent practically invulnerable. Notwithstanding this, Mr. Laski finds it possible to state, "He [Marx] never realized how partial and incomplete were the views upon which he based his conclusions; and vast and patient as were the researches he undertook, he was not always exact in his measurement of evidence."

Professor Harold J. Laski hath spoken!

Moving in capitalist and reform circles, the Thomases and the Laskis naturally cannot understand how anyone can take an uncompromising position in conformity with revolutionary premises. Even many among those who do not actually believe that political compromises or reforms will accomplish the actual things claimed for them, nevertheless will insist upon including such compromises and reform measures in their program, on the ground, among many others, that it will at least serve as a "spring board." These individuals talk in terms, not of revolution and the impending fundamental change in society, but in terms of reform and a continuation of the system. And they do so as if it were not only a perfectly honorable, but also an entirely sane and sensible thing to do to pull the wool over the eyes of their followers, or prospective followers. Mr. Laski expresses his disagreement with Marx's revolutionary and uncompromising attitude as follows: "Nor could Marx accustom himself to the necessary compromises of political life." The alleged necessity of such compromises is a wholly gratuitous assumption on the part of Mr. Laski—an assumption induced solely by reason of his complete lack of understanding of what Marx had set out to accomplish.

We now come to one of the gems of Mr. Laski's

essay. It was, of course, a foregone conclusion that Mr. Laski would disagree violently with the theory of value and its corollary. This is how the professor disposes of the "theory of value": "Upon Marx's theory of value it is not necessary to spend much time. It has not stood the test of criticism; it is out of harmony with the facts, and it is far from self-consistent." Mr. Laski then proceeds to give expression to his conception of what is understood by the law of value and its corollaries, and it is needless to say that his understanding is about as perfect as would be the Choctaw Indians' understanding of the theory of relativity. Value, wages and price are hopelessly shuffled together, of which the following is a sample: "Wages, as it clearly follows, are the value of the workers' necessaries of life." Wages, as we know, and as Marx proves, is the price of labor power. Price, then, according to Mr. Laski, is the same as value. Again, Mr. Laski tells us, "Nor did he [Marx] mention that in addition to labor, all commodities to have value must have this at least in common, that they satisfy some need. Utility, in other words, is a necessary factor in value; it would be impossible to produce aeroplanes except upon the assumption that some people wanted to fly in them." Now, who would ever have thought that commodities must have use value? Mr. Laski is certainly quite sure that Marx never thought of it, because he insists that he never mentioned that it was necessary for a commodity to have use value. I would respectfully refer the professor to what undoubtedly is a closed book to him. But even by following my suggestion that book may still remain practically closed to him if the professor so desires. For all he needs to do is to turn to "Capi-

tal," the very first chapter and the second paragraph of that chapter on page one. We read here: "A commodity is, in the first place, an object outside us, a thing that by its properties satisfies human wants of some sort or another. The nature of such wants, whether, for instance, they spring from the stomach or from fancy, makes no difference." Marx thereupon devotes a great deal of space and time to an elucidation of the use value as well as the exchange value of commodities. In what is generally regarded as the first, incomplete draft of "Capital," Marx makes this very definite, and, for Mr. Laski's false contention, utterly crushing observation: "At first sight the wealth of society under the capitalist system presents itself as an immense accumulation of commodities, its unit being the single commodity. But every commodity has a twofold aspect, that of *use value* and *exchange value*." (Marx: "A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.")

At this point Marx refers to a footnote wherein he quotes the celebrated passage from Aristotle's "Politics" in which is anticipated the analysis of a commodity — a mere suggestion, and incomplete analysis to be sure, but the more remarkable in that it was made almost 2,000 years before the advent of the system of commodity production. The Aristotelian observation, as quoted by Marx, follows: "Of everything which we possess there are two uses:—one is the proper, and the other the improper or secondary use of it. For example, a shoe is used for wear, and is used for exchange; both are uses of the shoe. He who gives a shoe in exchange for money or food to him who wants one, does indeed use the shoe as a shoe, but this is not its proper or primary purpose, for a shoe is not made to be an ob-

ject of barter. The same may be said of all possessions."

Marx thereupon continues his discourse on the use value and exchange value of commodities: "A commodity is first of all, in the language of English economists, 'any thing necessary, useful or pleasant in life,' an object of human wants, a means of existence in the broadest sense of the word. This property of commodities to serve as use-values coincides with their natural palpable existence. Wheat e.g. is a distinct use-value differing from the use-values cotton, glass, paper, etc. Use-value has a value only in use and is realized only in the process of consumption. The same use-value may be utilized in various ways. But the extent of its possible applications is circumscribed by its distinct properties. Furthermore, it is thus limited not only qualitatively but also quantitatively. According to their natural properties the various use-values have different measures, such as a bushel of wheat, a quire of paper, a yard of linen, etc." ("A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.")

In spite of these clear and indisputable facts, in spite of Marx's careful and precise demonstration of the twofold character of commodities, their *use value* as well as their *exchange value* aspects, the professor asserts that Marx never mentioned that commodities must have a use value!

At this point it is impossible not to reflect for a moment upon the astounding performance of this particular falsifier of Marx. Is he falsifying Marx because he does not understand him, or is it because he has a special reason for doing so? In the first instance he

would be merely a charlatan, for only a charlatan would venture to discuss a genius and his work if he had not read him or understood him. On the second supposition we would be compelled to conclude that such a one was a scoundrel, for only a scoundrel would purposely misrepresent a great man and his work. It is unnecessary to do more than just state the two alternatives here. Each one, including Professor Laski himself, will draw his own conclusions.

But if Professor Laski sinned in denying that Marx had specifically mentioned an important point which, in fact, he dealt with extensively, he has sinned a thousand times when subsequently he imputes to Marx a theory which the great founder of scientific Socialism took particular and considerable pains to refute and denounce. Professor Laski says in his essay: "If a state, even if it be a capitalistic state, chose to adopt a policy of a minimum basis of civilized life, in which a wage-standard was fixed, *the Iron Law of Wages*, which Marx deduced from his theory of value, would immediately be obsolete." It is common knowledge among students of Marx that the formulator of this so-called "Iron Law of Wages" was Ferdinand Lassalle and it is equally common knowledge that Marx exposed this theory as false and utterly absurd. I refer Professor Laski specifically to "The Gotha Program" by Karl Marx wherein Marx, after quoting from one of the Lassallean planks proposed for "The Gotha Program," states: "So the German Labor Party must henceforth believe in Lassalle's 'Iron Law of Wages'!" And he adds: "It is well known that of the 'Iron Law of Wages' nothing belongs to Lassalle but the word 'Iron,' borrowed from Goethe's 'Eternal, Iron, Great



Grafton St., London, where Marx lived
for several years, up to 1872-73.

Laws.' The word *iron* is the shibboleth by which the faithful recognize one another." Finally, Marx says: "But all this is not the main thing. *Disregarding entirely the false Lassallean conception of the law. . . .*" (Emphasis by Marx.)

It is almost incredible that any self-respecting person, not to speak of a professor with, presumably, a reputation to uphold, would stoop to such a deliberate and obvious falsification of Marx's economic theories. It would, indeed, be pertinent to ask the professor how he accounts for this shameless performance, though it is, perhaps, not quite so necessary to ask why Mr. Thomas and his party should accept this falsification of Marx and, in fact, give it its endorsement by the general approval of Mr. Laski's essay as "scientific" and "brilliant." For, as is now commonly known, the so-called Socialist party has during its entire existence done nothing but falsify and misrepresent Marx and Marxism, and its acceptance and endorsement of Professor Laski's shameless falsification of Marx is but one more instance of the many that preceded it.

Patronizingly, Professor Laski says: "Wherever there is a type of production the phenomena of which result in rent, the measurement of value is not the mean cost of production but the marginal cost of production. Marx failed to note this limitation, with the result that he cannot understand the nature of rent and was led into obvious contradictions." At this point reference is made to a footnote on the same page, which reads as follows: "See *Das Kapital*, Vol. III, pp. 180-1 and 192, for an example of two quite different theories of rent within a dozen pages." It is most unfortunate, indeed, that the professor did not explain in

detail the "different theories of rent," for it is quite apparent that the statement is based upon his peculiar manner of reading Marx. It is obvious, therefore, that one who reads Marx as he should be read, is not likely to draw the same conclusions drawn by our professor. Suffice it to say that neither the German text nor the corresponding English text (Kerr edition, pages 749-51 and 764) bear out the allegation of Professor Laski.* Continuing, Mr. Laski says: "It must not be forgotten, moreover, that in the Marxian analysis whatever does not appear as wages, is always regarded as unearned profit. Of rent and interest this is, perhaps, no unfair account, but it is outside the evidence of facts to argue that the task of directing business, the work of the entrepreneur, is not to count as labor and does not create value. Even when a suspicion of this impossibility dawned upon Marx, he dismissed the earnings of direction simply as cunning, and argued that all profits contain an element of surplus value which differs from interest, wages and payment to the entrepreneur."

There are several remarkable and suspicious statements made in this passage which require a bit of careful analysis. Let us take first Mr. Laski's assertion that Marx dismisses "the earnings of direction" as cunning. Immediately after the word cunning, he refers the reader to Volume III of "Capital," German edition, Part I, page 343. Looking up the reference (and

*Marx, on the contrary, warns against the confusion arising from the fact that there are various forms of rent which correspond to different stages of development of the process of social production. Instead of avoiding the errors, Laski evidently fell headlong into them, either because he read Marx carelessly, or simply because he took some one else's word for Marx's alleged inability to grasp the nature of rent.

its corresponding passage in the English translation, Kerr edition, page 421), we find that neither in the original nor in the translation does the text reveal anything of the sort charged by Mr. Laski. The chapter deals with the Division of Profit, Rate of Interest, and Natural Rate of Interest, and the reference to what Mr. Laski calls "earnings of direction," but which Marx designates "wages of superintendence" (in German, "Aufsichtslohn"), is purely a casual one. The part of this passage which concerns us here reads as follows: "Aside from exceptional cases, in which interest might be actually larger than profit and could not be paid out of profit, one might consider as the maximum limit of interest the entire profit minus that portion (to be subsequently analyzed) which resolves itself into wages of superintendence. The minimum limit of interest is wholly undefinable. It may fall to any depth. But counteracting circumstances will always appear and lift it again above this relative minimum." It is evident that the professor, if he read the original in the German, misunderstood a German word and possibly thought it meant cunning. It is, of course, a matter of speculation as to what that German word may have been. But it is not unlikely that the German word for depth, which is "Tiefe," was misunderstood by Laski as being "thief"! However, apart from that, the professor recklessly jumps from one section of "Capital," Vol. III, to another, discussing the matters dealt with in these respective sections as if they were dealt with in some other section, all of which makes analysis extremely difficult, if not impossible. Thus, for example, when he speaks of cunning and refers to page 343, Vol. III, and begins to talk of what Marx

argued about profit and surplus value, he actually has in mind what Marx had stated on pages 181 and 192, Vol. III, 2nd Section. Moreover, the professor says that Marx "dismissed the earnings of direction simply as cunning," whereas in his reference just quoted above Marx specifically stated that that question would be subsequently analyzed, and he did so subsequently analyze it on pages 750-51 of Vol. III. (German edition pages 180-1 and 192.)* Mr. Laski charges Marx with having argued that "the task of directing business, the work of the entrepreneur, is not to count as labor and does not create value." The fact is that Marx makes no such contention anywhere. What he does argue is that when the work of superintendence or direction is done by the capitalist, to that extent the capitalist is performing a function of labor, and Marx adds: "He creates surplus value, not because he performs *the work of a capitalist*, but because he *also* works aside from his capacity as a capitalist. This portion of surplus value is thus no longer surplus value, but its opposite, an equivalent for labor performed." The meaning of this is as plain as it can be. So long as a capitalist enterprise is small, so long is the capitalist owner himself a worker in the shop. It is obvious, however, that anyone who works for himself cannot be said to be exploiting himself and, consequently cannot

*"Just as at first the capitalist is relieved from actual labor so soon as his capital has reached that minimum amount with which capitalist production, as such, begins, so now, he hands over the work of direct and constant supervision of the individual workmen, and groups of workmen, to a special kind of wage laborer. . . . It is not because he is a leader of industry that a man is a capitalist; on the contrary, he is a leader of industry because he is a capitalist. The leadership of industry is an attribute of capital, just as in feudal times the functions of general and judge were attributes of landed property."—MARX.

therefore be said to extract surplus value from himself. If the particular capitalist chose not to perform this function, he would have to hire a wage laborer to do this particular work (in this case, of managing or overseeing the workshop), and pay him the standard wage for that kind of work. This kind of work is work that creates value and Marx so specifically states despite the false assertion of Professor Laski. Says Marx: "On one side, all labors, in which many individuals cooperate, necessarily require for the connection and unity of the process one commanding will, and this performs a function, which does not refer to fragmentary operations, but to the combined labor of the workshop, *in the same way as does that of a director of an orchestra.* THIS IS A KIND OF PRODUCTIVE LABOR, which must be performed in every mode of production requiring a combination of labors."* Again, Professor Laski stands convicted as a falsifier of Marx.

When Professor Laski charges Marx with arguing "that all profits contain an element of surplus value. . . .," he is guilty in this case of a stupid misrepresentation of Marx's analysis of surplus value and profits. Marx very clearly showed that profit is but an element of surplus value and not, as Professor Laski has it, that surplus value is an element of profit. A little later the professor says: "Assume, as Marx as-

*Reference made here to "Volumes II and III" of "Capital" is not to be interpreted as an acceptance, by the present writer, of the imputation that these volumes are the acknowledged works of Marx. These "Volumes II and III" are the results of notes and fragments left by Marx in unfinished form, and often, to quote Engels, in "the [Marx's] well-known handwriting which Marx himself was sometimes unable to decipher." Some parts, however, were fully treated, according to Engels, and may therefore safely be accepted as the writings of Marx.

sumed, that the surplus theory of value is true. . . .” This is delicious! “The surplus theory of value” is evidently Professor Laski’s version of Marx’s “Theory of surplus value”!

Having thus falsified, misrepresented and misinterpreted Marx with respect to value, surplus value, profits, wages, etc., etc., it is an unparalleled piece of effrontery on the part of the professor to make the following statement: “In such a general background, the Marxian theory of value seems clearly untenable not less on theoretic grounds than from an analysis of the facts of business.” Language quite fails one in attempting to describe properly the conduct of this unscrupulous or utterly incompetent and reckless commentator on Marx and Marxism.

Professor Laski struggles valiantly in order to disprove, or at least weaken, the Marxian conclusion that the constant concentration in capital eventually leads to the point where “the expropriators are expropriated.” Perceiving the inevitable tendency as pointed out by Marx, his bourgeois liberal mind rebels at the final logical conclusion. Says he: “If the expropriators are not actually expropriated, there comes, as with mines and railways, a demand for some form of nationalization. . . . So regarded [continues Professor Laski] this view does not involve the theory of revolution which Marx regarded as the inevitable corollary of capitalistic concentration. It need not, indeed, involve a transition towards a socialistic state at all. All that would seem to be implied would be the removal of industries essential to the welfare of the community from the danger of exploitation by private interests.” In-

deed, that is all that would be implied, but acting upon that implication the revolution would be inescapable, and there would, of course, be nothing left for so-called "private enterprise," as logic should teach Professor Laski, even if his knowledge of economics fails him.

It goes without saying that the professor could not accept the theory that wars are caused by conflicting economic interests between capitalists of different nations. Indeed, the professor finds such an insistence "radically false." Says he: "But it is equally clear that the insistence upon an economic background as the whole explanation is radically false. No economic conditions can explain the suicidal nationalism of the Balkans. The war of 1914 may have been largely due to conflicting commercial imperialisms; but there was also a competition of national ideas which was at no point economic." Marx, of course, never insisted that every individual act ever committed by human beings is directly traceable to some particular economic cause. The Marxian contention is that wars (as well as other social phenomena) are, in the *final analysis*, traceable to the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange "from which alone can be explained the political and intellectual history of that epoch." To say, therefore, that in the war of 1914 there was also "a competition of national ideas which was at no point economic," is as pointless as it would be to say that in a horse race there is also a competition of horses which at no point is a race. The "competition of national ideas" was a mere phase of the basic capitalist competitive struggle for existence, just as the struggle between smaller capitalist units within each country is a phase of the gen-

eral capitalist tendency toward trustification. When Professor Laski further says: "Engels, indeed, seems to have realized the narrowness of the orthodox view, for in the later years of his life he insisted that the dominant part ascribed by Marx to the economic system was due mainly to its neglect by his opponents," he is imputing a conception and an "orthodoxy" which at no time was part of the contentions made by either Marx or by Engels. Indeed, there is no such thing as orthodoxy in Marxian science. It is the Laskis who, with their theological approach to economic questions, must necessarily assume an orthodoxy which they pretend to combat in other fields, despite the obvious absence of such orthodoxy in the writings and views expressed by Marx.

At this point Professor Laski commences a discussion on the question of whether or not violence, dictatorships, etc., etc., are inseparable features of the change from capitalism to Socialism. Having imagined a certain condition developing under capitalism, he says: "That means, of course, that only by conscious violent intervention can communism be realized." It is quite evident, however, that Professor Laski's concern was much less with Marx than it was with the ideas projected by the Russian Revolution. For the entire argument that he is making in this connection ties up directly with the tactics and even slogans of the 3rd International and the so-called Communist parties in the different parts of the world. The references here are so confused that it is impossible to expose them except at very great length. It is enough here to say that such a conception as a Dictatorship of the Proletariat, for

example, is not to be considered merely on the basis of a brief utterance by Marx. The historical setting and the degree of development in capitalist society are important factors. The essence of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is supreme working class power, with complete absence of, or suppression of all non-working class elements in so far as the transfer of power and the maintenance of the new form of government are concerned. The form of that working class supremacy depends entirely upon the particular conditions prevailing at a given period. At the time of Marx the form of that working class supremacy was bound to be partly political, though not in the sense of maintaining the capitalist Political State.

Since Professor Laski refers to "The Paris Commune," it is pertinent here to quote a passage from Marx on his famous work on that subject. Said Marx: "The commune was to be a working, *not a parliamentary*, body, executive and legislative at the same time." In other words, by contrasting "working" with "parliamentary," Marx argues that an entirely new governmental machine had to be evolved, one suited to the new conditions, in short, an administration of things, or an Industrial Administration.* Dictatorship inevitably implies groups to be dictated to. There were such groups in the time of Marx, groups which inevitably would exert a powerful or determining influence on the Proletarian Revolution, particularly the vast number

*"As soon as the goal of the proletarian movement, the abolition of classes, shall have been reached, the power of the State, whose function it is to keep the great majority of the producers beneath the yoke of a small minority of exploiters, will disappear, and governmental functions will be transformed into simple administrative functions." — **KARL MARX**,

of peasants and millions upon millions of the petty bourgeoisie, all of whom, in the then undeveloped state of capitalism, were still necessary and on the whole essential factors in production. These elements are largely absent today, and to the extent that they survive they have ceased absolutely to be factors, essential or otherwise, in social production. The social revolution today, therefore, would proceed (in so far as economic sufficiency is concerned), entirely in disregard of any factor in society except that of the industrially organized working class. Under such conditions there is obviously nothing or nobody to be dictated to, except in the ordinary sense of maintaining order exactly as must be done in any form of society, however much it may be lauded as the ultimate in pure democracy.

It seems impossible for Professor Laski to proceed very long before he resorts to direct misrepresentation of Marx. We have another example of this in the following: "Throughout Marx's writings there is the assumption that reliance must be placed upon a class-conscious minority." The fact is, of course, that precisely the very opposite was the contention of Marx. There is nothing anywhere implicit in Marx's writings that a minority must or will achieve the revolution. There are, on the contrary, repeatedly explicit contentions to the very opposite. In "The Communist Manifesto," for example, we read the following: "All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up,

without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air." In view of this very explicit statement, how can Professor Laski, or anyone, honestly contend that Marx assumed or urged "that reliance must be placed upon a class-conscious minority," as charged by the professor?

It was, therefore, a case of wasted effort when Mr. Laski, at such great lengths, argued that violent overthrow of capitalism by an armed minority, and the institution of a so-called Proletarian Dictatorship, were impossible in modern conditions. It is a falsification and distortion of Marx's own contentions to say, as Professor Laski does, that the Marxian view is that "of a secretly armed minority assuming power at a single stroke," and Marxists certainly agree that such an assumption of power in the manner described is "unthinkable in the modern state." The question of whether the assumption of such power is possible at a single or double or any number of strokes, is another subject. I commend to Professor Laski the works of Daniel De Leon upon this important subject for a full and complete exposition in the light of Twentieth Century conditions.

But even assuming that the working class had secured power (though in the assumed premises of "Proletarian Dictatorship") Professor Laski is quite certain that there will be no improvement over the conditions prevailing under capitalism. At this point Professor Laski again identifies Marx's contentions with the contentions of the 3rd International or of the Anarcho-Communist groups in different parts of the world. For he says: "Marx . . . contemplated a con-

dition which reproduces exactly the chief vices of capitalism without offering any solid proof of their ultimate extinction." Apparently this is advanced as an argument against changing from capitalism to Socialism. Even supposing that what Professor Laski says is true (and, of course, it is a caricature of the Marxian conception), it would still not follow that such a condition would not be an improvement over the present. It would be as sensible to argue that because the lot of the wage slave is no improvement, and indeed is often a depreciation of the condition of the chattel slave, that therefore chattel slavery is to be preferred to wage slavery. Or it would be as sensible to say that because capitalism creates classes in conflict with each other exactly as was the case under feudalism, that therefore, in the new condition is reproduced exactly the chief vices of feudalism without offering any solid proof of their ultimate extinction. The fact is that by removing the basic cause of the existence of classes, by removing the possibility of one class enslaving economically the other, by removing the political basis, and the private ownership in the socially needed means of production, it becomes an utter impossibility to reproduce the condition of the previous social system, capitalism, despite the fact that during a brief initial period there might be inherited vices from the old system which, sooner or later (and in America, rather sooner than later), would inevitably become completely eradicated.

Professor Laski tells us that "the special vice of every historic system of government has been its inevitable tendency to identify its own private good with the public welfare." The "special vice" which Professor Laski refers to is not necessarily a vice at all. It may

be quite the logical thing under certain circumstances. If we assume that political government faithfully reflects the interests of a given ruling class, and if we further assume that we are at a period in social development in a given social system where the interests of the ruling class (i.e., the class recently emancipated from the trammels of the previous social system) runs parallel with the general line of social evolution, it would be the most logical thing for such a ruling class to identify itself, and hence its government, with what Mr. Laski calls the "public welfare," i.e., with general social progress. It is only in the measure that the ruling class of a given society is fulfilling its mission, and becoming socially reactionary, that its interests cease to be identical with general social progressive interests.

Mr. Laski becomes a veritable Professor Dryasdust when he argues that because the barbarian invasion of Rome did not produce a great art and a great culture, and because "The Thirty Years' War impeded constructive effort in Germany until the threshold of the nineteenth century," that therefore the transformation from capitalist private ownership to that of social ownership in the means of life, if incidentally or accidentally accompanied by violent convulsions and a temporary "Dictatorship" of the working class, would necessarily also produce a condition where the arts and the culture, etc., would be conspicuous by their absence. The view of Professor Laski is a shallow one, and it ignores completely the fact that whatever travail may accompany the transformation from capitalism to Socialism, the very fact of the change having been made, and the very fact of the disappearance of private property in the socially needed means of production, with

the consequent abolition of classes and class struggles, would render absolutely impossible, and for all time, a condition which is conceivable only under class rule and where the means of production are still so undeveloped as to make it impossible to satisfy the needs of all and with plenty for all. Mr. Laski, like all the rest of the liberals and Social Democrats, cannot conceive of a class-less social system which does not take with it the features of capitalist society—features which are the product solely of class rule and class struggles.

Marx has so fully and so often laid bare the cause of revolution that it would seem absolutely impossible for anyone not to know what he conceived that cause to be. In "Revolution and Counter-Revolution" Marx makes what may be regarded as the classic statement on the cause of revolution: "Everyone knows nowadays [said Marx] that wherever there is a revolutionary convulsion, there must be some want in the background, which is prevented, by outworn institutions, from satisfying itself." Notwithstanding this and similar very clear statements on this point, Professor Laski finds it possible to impute to Marx the following: "The real cause of revolution is the unworthiness of those who controlled the destinies of a people," and this bourgeois Philistine explanation of revolution is offered by a liberal professor through the channels of the Social Democratic Socialist party of America, as a suitable tribute on the occasion of the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of Marx's death!

Professor Laski concludes this unparalleled piece of charlatanism, or brazen effrontery, or deliberate falsification of Marx, with this note: "He [Marx] was

often wrong, he was rarely generous, he was always bitter; yet when the roll of those to whom the emancipation of the people is due comes to be called, few will have a more honorable, and none a more eminent place." Having convinced himself that Marx was wrong on all that is essential in his work, having accused him of almost every crime on the social calendar, having misquoted, misrepresented and distorted his scientific findings, Professor Laski produces the perfect non sequitur by pronouncing him entitled to the most eminent place in the history of the "emancipation of the people"!

It is doubtful that any writer with any regard for his own reputation for honest and straight thinking and reporting has ever been guilty of such an atrocity as committed by Professor Laski in this essay on Karl Marx. And it is well to remind ourselves once again that this atrocity, this falsification of Marx and Marxism, this libel on the memory of the great Emancipator of the Proletariat, is offered with complete approval by the official representative of the so-called Socialist party of America. It should furnish final and conclusive proof to those honest and well meaning, but ill-informed or confused persons who still believe that this so-called Socialist party is what it claims to be. It should, in short, furnish final proof, if proof were still needed, that the so-called Socialist party is, in fact and in truth, a machine for lying about Marx and Marxism, i.e., Socialism.

Class Antagonisms in Capitalist Society.

By *Karl Marx.*

The bourgeoisie commences with a proletariat which is itself a remnant of feudal times. In the course of its historical development, the bourgeoisie necessarily develops its antagonistic character which at its first appearance was found to be more or less disguised, and existed only in a latent state. In proportion as the bourgeoisie develops, it develops in its bosom a new proletariat, a modern proletariat: it develops a struggle between the proletarian class and the bourgeois class, a struggle which, before it is felt, perceived, appreciated, comprehended, avowed and loudly proclaimed by the two sides, only manifests itself previously by partial and momentary conflicts, by subversive acts. On the other hand, if all the members of the modern bourgeoisie have an identity of interest, inasmuch as they form a class opposed by another class, they have also conflicting, antagonistic interests, inasmuch as they find themselves opposed by each other. This opposition of interests flows from the economic conditions of their bourgeois life. From day to day it becomes more clear that the relations of production in which the bourgeoisie exists have not a single, a simple character, but a double character, a character of duplicity; that in the same relations in which wealth is produced, poverty is produced also; that in the same relations in which there is a development of productive forces, there is a productive force of repression; that these relations produce *bourgeois wealth*, that is to say the wealth of the bourgeois class, only in continually annihilating the wealth of integral members of that class and in producing an ever-growing proletariat.

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