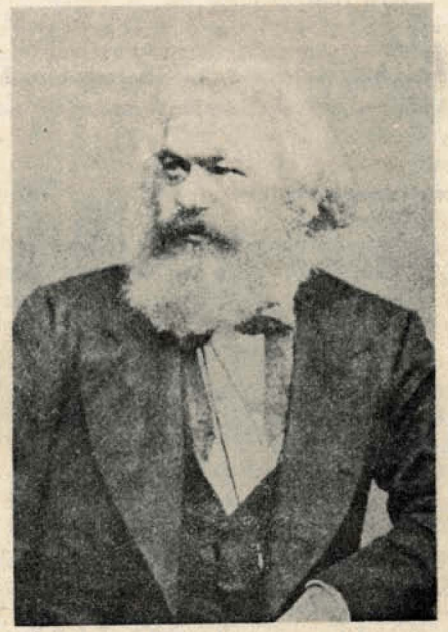
KARL MARX

1883—1933



by

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KARL MARX—1833—1933

LIFE AND WORK OF KARL MARX

By MAX BEDACHT

March 14, the revolutionary proletariat of the world commemorates the Fiftieth Anniversary of the death of Karl Marx. It was the life work of Karl Marx to uncover for the masses of exploited the conditions of their emancipation and to participate in their struggles. Marxism stood its historic test not only in the daily struggle of the working class during the last 50 years; it stood it especially in the great Russian revolution. Under the leadership of Lenin the masses of the exploited in Russia marched victoriously along the path of Marxism, through revolution to victory. Those scientific pygmies, those professional apologists for capitalism, those political traitors to the working class who have in the past and are still now trying to disprove or revise Marx, must either close their eyes to, or must vilify, this gigantic historic monument to the correctness of Marxism, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The revolutionary qualities of Marxian science are attested to not only by the fact this science has within itself all the elements for its own further development, but that its very essence is such further development. It is not a dogma. It is the social science not only of an epoch but of society. That is why the Leninist developments of Marxism are an integral part and a legitimate product of Marxian science itself, produced by the greatest Marxian since Marx and Engels.

Social democracy, in its efforts to prove that its treacheries are still "Socialist", maintains that in order to be Marxian one must drop Marxism now, in the epoch of 20th century capitalism. According to their theories Marxism itself presupposes the development of a new economic science under new conditions. Unashamed they tell the workers that "the picture Marx made two generations ago of the social and economic conditions of his time cannot be transferred to the social and economic conditions of our days". (Braunthal *Die Wirtschaft der Gegenwart und ihre Gesetze*). This contention is in itself a denial of Marxism because Marxian science is not merely the analysis of capitalism, but also the methods of his analysis, and the revolutionary conclusions from it. Marx' methods are still applicable; to be sure, today they must be applied to a capitalism much further developed. Marx'

conclusions about the facts and methods of the class struggle are still correct; of course one must recognize shifts in the class relations since Marx' time; but Marxism not only recognized, but foresaw them.

Despite all desecrations of the very corpse of Karl Marx by social democracy it will, on the Fiftieth Anniversary of his death, drop a hypocritical flower on his grave. Disguised as mourners among the disciples of Marx, social democracy tries to escape recognition as the murderer of Marxism.

The present use of Marxian phraseology by the Second International in line with their use of "left" phrases to cover up their threacheries before the radicalizing masses only confirm their historical opposition to the revolutionary teachings of Marx.

Karl Heinrich Marx was born in Treves, Rhenish Prussia, on May 5, 1818. His father, Heinrich Marx, was a counselor-at-law. Heinrich Marx' conversion to the Protestant Church in 1824 was more a sign of his emancipation from religion than of a change of religion. At any rate Karl Marx was never burdened by his father with any religious ballast. He received an excellent education. At the age of 16 he was prepared to enter a university. At first he studied law at Bonn. It was his father's wish that he should follow his footsteps.

At 18 years of age he entered the Berlin University to continue his studies. Although again taking a course in law, he extended his educational excursions especially into the realms of philosophy. An insatiable search for fundamental knowledge urged him on in his studies.

Before he entered the Berlin University he became engaged to Jenny Von Westphalen. His bride was the daughter of a high Prussian official, Ludwig von Westphalen, and the sister of Ferdinand von Westphalen, who after the revolution of 1848 became one of the most reactionary ministers of one of reactionary Prussia's most reactionary periods. Karl and Jenny did not get married until June, 1843.

In April, 1841, Marx was made a doctor of science by the University of Jena. Meantime he had become a member of a circle of intellectuals in Berlin, the "Doctoren Klub". There Marx was initiated into the mysteries of Hegelian dialectics. The dialectic methods of thinking introduced into German philosophy by Hegel were practiced in this club, and developed. Hegal himself had been, and his pupils in the doctors' club, were idealists. But it was evident that dialectic thinking, resuscitated by Hegel from ancient Greek philosophy, would soon find its material base and then inevitably become the method of revolutionary thinking.

During his service in the army in Berlin, 1841-42 Friedrich Engels, the life-long friend and co-worker of Marx, also became attached to

that club. The friendship of Marx and Engels, however, dates from Paris, 1843-44.

Already before his father died, May, 1838, it has been agreed that Karl should follow his scientific desires and prepare for a professorship. The rapid development of Marx toward revolutionary conceptions on the one hand, and the hothouse reaction in the Prussia of those days, decisively closed the door for Marx to a professorial career. In October, 1842 he became editor of *Die Rheinische Zeitung,* a bourgeois daily in Koeln. This paper had come under the influence of the Young Hegelians to whom Marx belonged. The five months Marx spent on that paper were decisive for the further development of Marx. His sense of realism taught him quickly that in judging the questions confronting him there, the misery of the peasantry, the questions of free trade and protective tariff, etc., could not be solved by philosophical phrases. He was forced to study economic science. He also came into contact for the first time with "a weak philosophically-colored echo of French Socialism and Communism", which did not satisfy him.

Resigning from the paper started Marx on a physical and ideological journey which landed him in London and Communism. First he spent one year in Paris where he came in close contact with the leaders of French Socialism. There he had occasion to study it at first hand. There, too, he and Engels recognized their common scientific and political conceptions.

Expelled by the government from the territory of France, Marx moved to Brussels. During the Brussels exile the German revolution broke out. Both Marx and Engels, who had joined Marx in Brussels, rushed back to Germany. Both became intensely active in the revolution. Through the efforts of Marx the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was established in Koeln, with Marx as editor. This paper will forever stand as a classical example of a revolutionary paper. The German revolution of 1848 was a bourgeois revolution. Marx started from the base of this historic reality. He agitated, advised, directed where he could, always with a view of driving the revolution onward. He did not see his historic mission in unconditional support of this bourgeois revolution as the Mensheviks did in Russia in 1917, and as the social democrats did in Germany in 1918. His attitude towards the bourgeois revolution was stated clearly in his declaration that his ideal was not the black-red-gold republic, but that on the basis of this republic his opposition would really only begin. Social democracy today, father and defender of the present black-red-gold republic would send Karl Marx, were he living, the way it sent Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, whose crime was opposition to the black-red-gold November republic.

After the suppression of the revolution, Marx was expelled from Germany. He returned to Paris. But the bourgeois republic, the product of the 1848 revolution, was no more tolerant with him than had been the product of the 1832 revolution, the Orleanist monarchy, a few years before. Marx had to leave France and finally settled in London. His family had, in the meantime, grown by three, two daughters, Jenny and Laura, and a son, Edgar.

Into this period, from 1843 to 1849, from the editorship of Marx on *Die Rheinische Zeitung*, to the beginning of his London exile, falls the development of the fundamental conceptions and theories of scientific Socialism. Marx began with the criticism of his own conceptions and those of his friends, the Young Hegelians. Already on *Die Rheinische Zeitung*, he had recognized the hollowness of their phrases. He learned that social problems were not merely problems of philosophy but of politics. He entered a period of self-criticism and self-orientation; this meant for him a period of intense study, especially of economic science. He started where the Young Hegalians had left off. After David Strauss and Bruno Bauer in their analyses of the life of Christ and the origin of the Gospel, had established clearly that Christianity was not the producer but the product of its epoch, Marx investigated into the mechanics, into the material forces that produce such phenomena. It was in the course of these studies that he coined the epigram that *"religion is the opium of the people"*.

Marx showed that the hopes of people for heaven are merely reflections of their misery on earth. Unacquainted with the social forces, the masses feel that they cannot physically escape their misery; so they try to escape into a "spiritual" happiness. The product of such flight is religion. Fight against social misery, said Marx; change this miserable world into a better one; remove the need of fleeing from a physical misery into a "spiritual", imaginary or hoped-for happiness—and religion will lose its base. While it lasts it is not only the reflection of misery, but also one of the causes of its continuance. Religion, the flight from miserable reality to happy imagination, helps to maintain the misery producing realities. Therefore religion serves the ruling classes. It is the opium with which the ruling classes dope the masses into voluntary submission to their exploitation.

Those that fence with religion without fighting the social conditions that produce it are either only pretending, or they are Don Quixotes, fighting windmills. An atheist of this kind may be a hopeless reactionary; but no real revolutionist can be a deist.

In his consideration of the philosophy of Feuerbach, another of the

Young Hegelians, Marx formulated the principle that was his guide through all his life, in the study room as well as in his revolutionary actions: *"The philosophers have only interpreted the world differently; but our job is to change it."* Marx pointed out how weak the sprouting materialism of these Young Hegelians was. He showed that they created a dualism between thinking and the thinker, between thinking and the object of the thoughts. This results in a dualism between theory and practice. Thus they come to the conclusion that the material world influences thought. But they side-step the revolutionary conclusion that thought, that thinking man, also influences the material world. Such vulgar, mechanical materialism cannot overcome inactivity toward miserable social conditions. It feeds it.

Dialectic materialism, on the other hand, sees man as the product as well as the creator of his surroundings. The dialectic materialist is the revolutionist; he is the man who tries to understand in order to change, and not merely in order to know. Marx said: "The materialist teaching that men are products of conditions and education, that different people, therefore, are products of different conditions and different education, forgets that conditions are changed by men, and that the educators, too, must be educated." This vulgar materialism divides society into two parts, one of which dominates the other; it is the materialism of capitalism. It explains why there are classes, but it does not prove the need, nor does it provide the methods, to abolish them.

The study of economics, as well as the close analysis of bourgeois Socialism in France ripened Marx' economic theories. These theories are the fruit of Marx' dialectic materialist methods of analysis. They are the result of an application of the rules of social life to the history and to an analysis of the facts of this social life itself. That, makes the conclusions unassailable. That, makes Marxian science as effective and as revolutionary-productive today as it was when first applied by Marx himself.

The first comprehensive presentation of his theories were given by Marx in a criticism of one of the leaders of French petty bourgeois Socialism, Pierre Proudhon. The book appeared in the summer of 1847, under the title, *The Misery of Philosophy*. It was written in the French language.

In this book Marxian dialectic materialism is counterposed to the idealistic materialism of Proudhon. There also the commonplaces of vulgar economy are dissolved into their essential nothingness by a scientific Socialist analysis. The utopian social medicines for the social misery, peoples' banks, currency based on production, etc., are brushed away as empty petty-bourgeois phrases; the class struggle is put in their

place. The exploitation of the workers by the capitalist is proven; the social development of capitalism is outlined as one progressively increasing the misery of the masses; Marx shows that the conditions of the emancipation of the workers is the abolition of all classes and that for this abolition and until its completion, there will and must be a struggle of class against class, climaxing in a revolution.

Proudhon was against political action. In answer to this Marx, for the first time, developed his theory of the state. He pointed out that the struggle of the workers must be a political struggle because *"political power is the official expression of class antagonisms within bourgeois society"*. The state power whether lodged in democracy or a monarchy, is the main tool of the bourgeoisie in its struggle against the workers. The workers must wrest this tool from the bourgeoisie and use it for their purpose.

In the course of their struggle for existence the workers are continually hit with the weapon of the state power, wielded by the bourbeoisie; thus they gradually learn the need to conquer it. Their daily struggles for existence are, thereby, turned into political struggles, directed against the bourgeois state. In their highest stages these struggles become struggles for power; they turn into a revolution.

The workers' object of the revolution must be to take hold of the political power and to rebuild its apparatus, the government, so that they can use it as the capitalists did, *for their class purpose.* The capitalists used it to suppress the workers; the workers must use it to suppress the capitalists. The capitalists used it to maintain and defend against the workers their ownership and control of the means of production; the workers must use it to take away from the capitalists the ownership and control of the means of production.

In a letter to his friend Weydemeyer, Marx formulated the conclusions from his theories of the class struggle and the character of the state as follows: "First, the existence of the classes is dependent on definite historic struggles of development of production, second, *the class struggle must necessarily lead to the dictatorship of the proletariat,* third this dictatorship itself is the bridge to the abolition of all classes and to the establishment of a classless society."

Marx ends this polemic, which is at the same time the first extensive positive presentation of Marxism, with a sentence which social democracy will not quote in its anniversary orations: "Until then (until the abolition of classes), on the eve of every rebuilding of society, the last word of science will be: 'Struggle or death, bloody war or nothingness, the problem is inexorably formulated thus.' "

In 1847, the most important and best-known document of Marxism

was published—*The Communist Manifesto.* It was written in behalf and as the program of the Federation of Communists in London. It was drawn up jointly by Marx and Engels. It is a masterpiece of a revolutionary document, educational in its theoretical base, arousing, directing and leading in its practical revolutionary conclusions. This document tells the workers that men make their own history; but they do not make it just as they please. They have to work upon the circumstances they find, and they have to fashion material handed down to them. Here, workers, are the circumstances, here is the material you have to deal with; now go and make your own history, fashion your own world. In undertaking this task you have nothing to lose but your chains, but you have a world to gain.

The ringing signals of *The Communist Manifesto* to fight, have ever been a spur to the working class in their struggles, as the theories of the document have been their guides.

In 1859 Marx' *Critique of Political Economy* was published. It was a forerunner of his main work, *Capital.* In this book capitalist economy was subjected to a searching criticism. Marx shows that the accumulation of capital and wealth, which capitalist apologists ascribe to the thrift and intelligence of the individual capitalists, is in reality the product of exploiting the workers. It is accumulated out of unpaid labor. The worker sells his labor power; his wages are the price for it. This price, in the main, is determined by the cost of production of labor power. The cost of production is the cost of the maintenance and reproduction of the carrier of that labor power, of the worker. This cost expressed in hours of labor, is considerably lower than the hours of labor the capitalist gets out of the worker after he buys his labor power. The difference is unpaid labor, is surplus value. This unpaid labor reappears as profit in the pockets of the capitalist.

Starting from this proof of workers' exploitation by the capitalists, *Capital* then proceeds to analyze all of the mechanics of capitalism. It shows how profit is the dominating principle of capitalism; that honor, ethics, laws, etc., are subordinated to profit. But it also proves that this system has within itself the source of its revolutionary destruction. Objectively these forces spring from the progressive inability of capitalism to serve social purposes.

The products of unpaid labor accumulate into ever increasing new capital, into new machinery of exploitation; it also accumulates as surplus product in a planless production. This surplus, produced by the worker in an effort to *make it a living,* comes back at him in the form of overproduction and *deprives him of his living.* This contradiction between the living interest of the masses and the profit interests of capitalists

leads to ever sharper struggles, class struggles. The workers learn that their social problems are political problems. They learn that to solve these problems they need political power. They fight for this political power to the point of a revolutionary victory. Then the workers will organize their state and will use their power to liquidate all classes by reorganizing production from the base of private profit to that of social usefulness.

The first volume of *Capital* was published in 1867. It remained the only volume published during the lifetime of Marx. Volumes II and III were published by Engels after the death of Marx. The fourth volume was printed under the title *Theories About Surplus Value*. This fourth volume of *Capital* comprises in itself four volumes.

September 28, 1864, Marx participated in the meeting in St. Martin's Hall in London which gave birth to the International Workmen's Association, the First International. Marx soon became its leader and moving spirit. He remained in this position until the development of the international labor movement itself had antiquated this first international organization of the working class, and it stepped off the stage of history in 1873.

Since then this First International has found a legitimate heir, the executor of its will, the leader in the struggle for the emancipation of the working class from capitalism, the Communist International.

The heroic struggle of the Paris proletariat in 1871, the Paris Commune, found in Marx its indefatigable advisor and defender. In his criticism of the Commune, Marx gave the most positive formulations of the needs of the proletarian struggle. In his letter to Kugelman of April 12, 1871 Marx pointed out that the possible defeat of the Commune would spring out of two mistakes: first the Commune did not energetically enough and in time start open civil war, second, the revolutionary Central Committee was troubled too much with a democratic conscience and abdicated to an elected Commune before it had accomplished its revolutionary task. (The revolutionary Soviets in Russia did not make the mistake. Instead of abdicating to the constituent assembly, they made that assembly abdicate to the Soviets.

Marx' characterization of the Paris Commune in this letter to Kugelmann is an historically anticipating condemnation of German Social Democracy of today. Said Marx: "The present insurrection in Paris—even though it may succumb to the wolves, the swine, and the contemptible hounds of existing society—is the most glorious deed of our Party since the June insurrection. Compare with these stormers of heaven in Paris the slaves of heaven of the Prussian-German holy

roman empire with its posthumus masquarades, smelling after barracks, churches, petty feudals and, especially, philistines."

Those cowardly traitors of the working class who always defend their unwillingness to lead the workers into struggle because of the danger of defeat, were told by Marx in his defense of the struggles of the Paris Commune: "Of course, it would be a very comfortable thing if a battle needed only to be accepted with a guarantee of victory in ones pocket." Marx pointed out that the defeat of the Paris workers in their struggle was less of a calamity than would have been the demoralization of the proletariat in case it had not accepted battle. How correct this is, is shown by the inspiration the militant working class of the world derives to this day out of the heroic, though defeated struggles of the Paris proletariat in 1871.

The judgement of Marx on the Paris Commune has the most immediate bearing on the proletarian struggles of today. When the revolutionary proletariat prepared in Germany in 1918 to conquer the citadel of bourgeois power, the State, Kautsky falsified Marx' theory of the State and suppressed his criticisms of the Commune. Kautsky made the failure of the Commune to organize civil war, and the haste with which the revolutionary Central Committee abdicated to the elected Commune, the virtues of the revolutionary rising of the Paris workers. Marx had declared them to be their most serious mistakes which led to defeat. Kautsky desired the defeat of the working class. This desire was the source of his falsifications. This desire is also the source of falsification of Marx by the comrades of Kautsky, Social Democracy.

Lenin considered this the most decisive point of Marxism. In *State and Revolution* Lenin pillowed the renegade Kautsky and restored revolutionary Marxism. The importance of Marx' criticism of the Commune in this connection was attested to by Lenin in his advise that Marx' letter to Kugelmann should be put up in every workers home to have it constantly before his eyes. Its conclusion to the workers is: Conquer the State! Conquer it in war against the bourgeoisie! Establish your political dictatorship.

The limits of this article do not permit the giving of a full and comprehensive outline of the theories of Marxism. It shall be the duties of a truly Marxian commemoration of the anniversary of Marx' death to publish and popularize Marxian literature for mass study.

The letters we have of Marx contain a deep insight into the active political life he led. They are a testimony to the self-sacrificing revolutionary services he rendered to the working class under the most difficult conditions. Suffering and sick, his family short of the most

necessary things, he nevertheless kept to his chosen task. They give a picture, too, of the heroic, loving and devoted comradeship with Marx of his wife Jenny. Sickness was a frequent guest of the family, death of children and no money even to have them buried depressed them; but always and everywhere Karl and Jenny were with mind and body in the struggles for the emancipation of the downtrodden. Only the unselfish, always ready friendship of Friedrich Engels made the life work of Marx possible. It is next to impossible to view the life and work of Karl Marx without at the same time considering the life and work of Friedrich Engels. However, the limits and purposes of this article demand the impossible.

Beginning with 1852 and for some ten years Marx was European correspondent for the *New York Tribune*. His pay, a beggarly few dollars per article, represented an important part of Marx' income during this period. This correspondence (some of it written by Engels) contains brilliant analyses and commentaries on the political events of those days.

Continuous intensive work under the greatest difficulties undermined Marx' health. For years he was subject to acute suffering from liver trouble. Later an acute bronchial ailment added to his sufferings. At the age of 65, on March 14, 1883, one year after the death of his wife, and two months after the death of his most beloved daughter Jenny, he fell asleep in his easy chair, never to wake again.

Words spoken at his grave by Marx' lifelong friend, Engels, we quote here as the best appreciation of the life and work of Marx. Engels said:

> "What the fighting European and American proletariat and what historic science has lost in this man is immeasurable. Soon enough the loss which was sustained in the death of this colossus will be felt. . . .
>
> "Marx was first of all a revolutionist. His real mission in life was to participate in one form or other in the overthrow of capitalist society and of the State institutions created by it, to participate in the freeing of the modern proletariat to whom he had first given the consciousness of their position and of their needs, the consciousness of the conditions of their emancipation. Struggle was his element. And he fought with an enthusiasm and with a perseverance such as only few could muster. . . .
>
> "He died honored, beloved and mourned by millions of revolutionary comrades who lived from the Siberian mines over Europe and America to far-away California. . . .
>
> "His name will live through the centuries; and so will his work."

COMMUNISTS ONLY ADHERENTS OF TEACHINGS OF MARX

By SAM DON

I.

March 14 marks the Fiftieth Anniversary of the death of Karl Marx. The present world-wide crisis of capitalism, the end of relative capitalist stabilization, the growing revolutionary upsurge, confirm completely, as never before, the teachings of Marx. The triumphant march of Socialism in the Soviet Union is the great realization in practice of the teachings of Marx and Engels as developed by Lenin.

On the occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of Marx' death, we must popularize and apply the teachings of Marx to the present tasks as developed by Lenin and Stalin. To popularize Marxism means at the same time to refute the theories of the bourgeois economists, not only about the general development of capitalism, but the growing crop of economic theories that are put forward in a desperate effort to explain away the present crisis and to hold out hopes for a return of prosperity.

We should particularly expose the hypocritical attempts of the Socialist Party to "reclaim" Marx and the various revisionists who attempt to reconcile bourgeois philosophies and theories with Marxism-Leninism.

Moreover, the growing bankruptcy of capitalism reveals the growing bankruptcy of its apologists and economists. An involuntary confession of this bankruptcy is the declaration in the Cleveland Trust Company Bulletin:

> "It is true that despite an immense amount of study and research devoted to the problem over a long period of years, we do not clearly know what causes these great and irregularly spaced periods of bad business that we term deperession."

These most learned, accomplished gentlemen of "science" are quite unaware that when capitalism was still in its swaddling clothes, Marx clearly understood "what causes these great and irregularly spaced periods of bad business that we term depressions." In a similar vein, Professor Einstein declared, "At a time when we are rich in consumable goods and means of production as no previous generation before us, a great part of humanity suffers severe want. Production and consumption falters to an increasing degree and confidence in public institutions has sunk as never before. *It is as if the circulatory system of the whole economic organism were throughout fatally ill.* Some

pessimists ask: "Why should not our civilization collapse through inner decay in a manner similar to that of the Roman Empire?" An admission of bankruptcy from the world's leading scientist!

Capitalism is on trial before the oppressed toilers. The workers are beginning to ask questions of a fundamental nature. The devastating effects of the crisis, the growing capitalist offensive, the gathering clouds of war, and the growing resistance of the workers bring forth the question: Why continue a social order that creates unemployment and wars? What steps should be taken to overthrow such a system? It is natural, therefore, that the interest in Marxism is growing and that large sections of workers are anxious to read and study Marxist writings.

When we have admissions on the part of economic bulletins from leading banks that after long years of study they cannot answer why we have crises, when leading scientists shake their heads in despair, when the report of the Hoover Commission on Social Changes utters a warning against revolution, it is natural that the bourgeoisie will consciously sponsor and develop all sorts of theories calculated to turn the attention of the oppressed from the real causes of the crisis. It will manufacture a hodge-podge of theories designed to prevent the growingly critical attitude towards the capitalist system from developing into an understanding of the fundamental reasons of capitalist exploitation and crises under capitalism.

Thus we are treated to a "Technocracy" fad. It is true that an immediate economic stimulus for this "theory" has been the growing unemployment and the consequent disgruntlement among the technicians and engineers. But Technocracy as a theory and the popularization of this theory has as its purpose *the blinding of large sections of the dissatisfied and questioning population to the real causes of the crisis and capitalist exploitation.*

This is the meaning of the whole new-fangled Technocracy and its discussions about machines, energy, the price system, debts, etc.

What is the cause of the capitalist crisis? Many years ago Marx gave us the answer. *It is the poverty of the masses which causes crises.* Our Technocrats discuss exchange as completely separated from production—because to bring the attack against capitalist production would bring the attack against capitalist exploitation itself. They discuss the question of "ergs" of energy as separate from human labor power, from the problem of surplus value. It is the improper utilization of the machine and energy, they assert, which is the cause of the crisis, and not the capitalist mode of production, not the existence of an exploiting class.

Certainly such theories are quite safe for capitalism; in fact, in this period of looming question marks about the capitalist system, let the dissatisfaction and criticism of the system be directed against the machine, against the price system, but leave the existing production relations and the capitalist class intact!

Machinery is not merely a technological problem. It is for the purpose of increased exploitation and to meet competition that the capitalist class had developed machinery. Engels in his *Socialism—Utopian and Scientific,* in a concentrated form, makes this point clear:

> "On one hand, the perfecting of machinery made by competition compulsory for each individual manufacturer, and complemented by a constantly growing displacement of laborers (industrial reserve army), on the other hand unlimited extent of production also compulsory under competition for every manufacturer; on both sides unheard-of developments of productive forces, excess of supply over demand; overproduction, glutting of markets, crisis every ten years; the vicious circles—excess there, laborers without employment and without means of existence' But these two levers of production of social well-being, are unable to work together because the capitalist form of production prevents the productive forces from working and the products from circulating unless they are first turned into capital, which their very superabundance prevents. The contradiction has grown into an absurdity. The mode of production rises in rebellion against the form of exchange."

In a nutshell, the Technocrats and all other bourgeois economists can at best see only that there is something wrong with the exchange, but are blind to the basic cause of crisis which lies in the form of production relations. Can we have a better characterization of the present crisis than the brilliant statement of Engels: *"The mode of production rises in rebellion against the form exchange"*?

In the *Communist Manifesto,* written by Marx and Engels in 1847, we have the best answer to the ideas of Technocracy, brought forward in different forms by various petty bourgeois utopians in those days, too. We have the true, the scientific treatment of the causes of crises. To quote from the *Manifesto*:

> "Modern bourgeois society with its relations of production, of exchange and of property—a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, is like the sorcerer who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom, he has called up by his spells. For many a decade past the history of industry and commerce is but the history of the revolt of modern productive forces against modern conditions of production, against the property relations, that are the conditions for the existence of the bourgeoisie and of its rule. It is enough to mention the commercial crises that by their periodical return put the entire existence of the bourgeois society on trial, each time more threateningly. In these crises a great part not only of the existing products but also the previously created productive forces are periodically destroyed. In these crises there breaks out an epidemic that in earlier epochs would have seemed an absurdity—the epidemic of over-production."

In Engels' *Socialism—Utopian and Scientific* we have a most ade-

quate explanation of the objective reasons for all these theories of the Technocrats and others, namely: *"The bourgeoisie are convicted of incapacity further to manage their own social productive forces."* The ideas of the Technocrats reflect the incapacity of the bourgeoisie further to manage their own social productive forces and their desire, by their so-called criticism, to retain the faith of the masses in the capitalist class.

We have quoted at length from the Marxian classics because there can be found no better explanation for the reasons of the present crisis than in the writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

In connection with this point it is interesting to note that the bourgeoisie, sensing the growing interest in Marxism, is sending out its own interpreters of Marxism. A case in point is the recent publication of some of the writings of Marx in a special book compiled and edited by Max Eastman. We cannot in this pamphlet deal with his introduction, which is full of slanders and open revisionism of Marxism, nor with the distorted Borschard edition of Marx which Eastman has chosen. But it is interesting to note that in publishing this book he actually dissuades the workers from reading Marx, or any of his writings. This is how he recommends Marx:

> "It is needless to say that no one but a specialist needs to read the whole three volumes of *Das Kapital*. There are too many books in the world, too many sciences, too much to be known and thought over, for these pious acts of devotion to be indulged in by live men in our day."

And in the note of the original German editor of this translated edition, we have the following gem:

> "It is hardly exaggerated to say that the first sections must seem to the novice bold enough to venture to read them, as if they were written in Chinese."

As the crisis brings about a growing interest in Marx' writings, let's give them a few excerpts, and poison even these with scoffing remarks, say these "cultured" bourgeois gentlemen. At least let the workers, those who cannot decipher Chinese, keep away from Marx!

Lenin had a far different idea about the ability of the workers to read Marx and Engels. Of course, one cannot read lightly the works of these geniuses of the proletariat, but no other class, *because of the class nature of Marx' writings,* is so capable of understanding him as is the working class.

The old Bolshevik Shapovalov relates a very interesting story in his book, *On the Road to Marxism.* He tells of a conversation between Lenin and Lafargue. The gist of this story is: When Lenin told Lafargue that there were as yet no parties in Russia in the West European sense, he asked: "Then what do you do in your workers' circles?"

To which Lenin answered: "We conduct public lectures for the workers and then later the more capable ones among them study Karl Marx." Lafargue exclaimed in astonishment: "The workers read Karl Marx?" "Yes," answered Lenin.

Comrade Shapovalov tells us:

> "Right at the very start of the movement we Russian workers went right to the source, that is, to *Capital*, and that is certainly one of the reasons for the exceptional progress of Marxism among us. Lenin considered it correct for the workers to study Marx independently and supported these efforts in every way."

And on the occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the death of Marx, the workers will take the advice, not of the renegade Eastman, but that of the greatest Marxist of all, Comrade Lenin.

II.

The Socialist Parties of the Second International, whose spokesmen in the days of so-called prosperity, and even at the beginning of the present crisis, officially declared Marxism to be antiquated and substituted Henry Ford for Marx, have at the present time "rediscovered" Marx. Why this somersault? The visible decline of capitalism, the growing misery of the workers is becoming so obvious that the Socialist Party claiming to be a workers' party, in order to retain its influence among the workers, is executing this left maneuver in draping itself in Marxian phrases.

Later in this pamphlet we expose the American Socialist Party in its attempt to "accept" Marxism. A very striking example of this maneuver of the Second Socialist International is the following fact. The German Social-Democratic Party announced that at its coming convention on March 12, 1933, none other than Hilferding would make a special report to this convention on "Marxism and our Present-Day Problems." Who is this Herr Hilferding? He has the honor of having created the theory of "organized capitalism," a theory which received wide influence in the days of prosperity: that capitalism has so well managed production and its system that the periodic crises of capitalism, with consequent unemployment, shutting down of factories, etc., has been done away with. In 1927 this arch-apologist for capitalism made a report to the congress of the German Social Democratic Party. What did he say then? "This indicates the change from the capitalism of free competition to organized capitalism. Thanks to this arose the conscious order and leadership in economic life." Now in 1933 *he* will speak about Marxism and our present-day problems.

In 1927 the "Marxist" Hilferding spoke of "conscious order and

leadership in capitalism"; now we imagine he will, as Norman Thomas did the other day, speak about "the rapid breakdown of capitalism."

Various "ghosts of the past," old time, so-called American Marxists, are being revived now in the drive to reclaim Marx as part of the left maneuvers of the American social fascists. A new magazine called *Our America* has made its appearance. It is dominated ideologically by the Musteites—the most dangerous of the social-fascists. The magazine, let it here be admitted, receives the collaboration of certain elements that have recently on other occasions come forward with avowals of Communist sympathies. In this first issue of *Our America* there is an article by Louis Boudin, "A Marxian Looks at America." To get his conception of Marxism, please read these words: "For *Marxism*, it must always be remembered, *is not a theory of Socialism, but a theory of capitalism.*" (His emphasis.)

Why this declaration that Marxism is not a theory of Socialism? These "Marxists" who have suddenly awakened from their Rip Van Winkle slumbers, are brave indeed now, in this period of crisis, to declare that capitalism is breaking down. But as for Socialism—that they do not see. The workers, however, want to know *how* to abolish capitalism and *how* to build a classless Socialist society. As to the proletarian revolution, as to the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is not found in their Marxian theory! The question of the proletarian revolution and the building of a classless Socialist society has no place for the new theoreticians of Marxism. A Marxism without proletarian revolution, without the dictatorship of the proletariat, without the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin on the role of the State—a most convenient and useful "Marxism" for the ruling class! It is the very essence of the "left" theories of social-fascism!

Although Mr. Boudin writes his article ostensibly to attack Norman Thomas from the "left," his Marxism is in perfect accord with that of Thomas, who, in his book, *America's Way Out*, says:

> "Now, insofar as the inverted Hegelianism of Marx found expression in the materialist conception of history or economic determinism, it gave men a useful principle for understanding *past history and a less sure means of predicting the future.* It enables man to explain far better what has been then to foretell what will be in the future." (Our emphasis.)

Here Boudin and Thomas are in perfect agreement. Yes, they say, Marxism has helped us understand how capitalism developed, but it is a "less sure means" of telling the workers how to abolish capitalism, *how* to build a classless Socialist society. According to these "Marxian" theoreticians who speak of Marxism as only theory of capitalism, the statement of Marx "through the dictatorship of the pro-

letariat to a classless Socialist society"; and that of Engels, "the proletarian revolution—solution of the contradictions"—is not an integral part of Marxism. Certainly the "Marxism" of Boudin and Thomas are very useful and convenient for the capitailist system in its dying days! Such a "Marxism" is the surest guarantee for a non-revolutionary working class!

There is an attempt, for instance, to falsify Marxism by such a thesis as:

> "The revolutionary philosophy of the *Communist Manifesto* in which the *labor theory of value is not even mentioned.*" (Sidney Hook.)

To say this is to deny the revolutionary historical significance of the *Communist Manifesto.* Our learned scholar, of course, completely missed this important statement in the *Communist Manifesto* wherein the labor theory of value, basic to the law of surplus value, is clearly presented:

> "Hence the cost of production of a workman is restricted almost entirely to the means of subsistence that he requires for his maintenance and for the propagation of his race."

It is important to expose this attempt of Hook to rob Marxism of the very essence of the revolutionary struggle of the working class against capitalist exploitation. Of course to Hook who separates Engels from Marx, and Lenin from Marx and Engels, the statement of Lenin that *"the doctrine of surplus value is the essence of the economic theory of Marx"* is of little significance. Certainly a Marxism which denies that the *Communist Manifesto* is based on the law of surplus value, the very substance of capitalist exploitation, is a Marxism which is very useful for the capitalist class. It is precisely on the laws of surplus value that the *Communist Manifesto* states:

> "But not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself, it has also called into existence the men who are to wield these weapons—the modern working class—the proletarians."

Eduard Bernstein, founder of the revisionism of Marxism, the leader of German social democracy, died recently. He is being hailed by the Socialist Party "Marxists" as a great Socialist, thinker and leader. But they are not alone in their praise of Bernstein. Here is what Hook, the "Marxist," has to say about Bernstein, and this really shows the source of Hook's revisionism:

> "Bernstein's merit lay in his intellectual honesty. He interpreted Marx and Engels as they appeared to him in their soberest years—peace-loving, analytical, monocled scholars devoted to the cause of social reform with stirring memories of a revolutionary youth."

Of course Hook is not simply paying tribute here to the so-called intellectual honesty of Bernstein. He is paying tribute to the Marxian

revisionism of Bernstein. Hook, in the words of Bernstein, pictures Marx and Engels as social reformers and not as the greatest of all revolutionists. Incidentally, the great "intellectual honesty" of Bernstein consisted of repeating the slanders against Lenin that he had been paid by the German bourgeoisie for the November Revolution. Such was the intellectual honesty of Bernstein!

The *New Leader,* Socialist Party official organ, carried in its December 24 issue a eulogy of Bernstein. This eulogy winds up with the statement: "He was a great thinker, a great statesman, a great socialist, and a great man. Socialists walk more proudly because such men have walked among them."

The Nation, in the January 4 issue, has an article on Eduard Bernstein by Ludwig Lore, a renegade from Communism and at present a Musteite. The final sentence of this article by Lore on Bernstein says: "The world has lost a courageous and faithful idealist." A "great thinker" for the *New Leader,* a "courageous and faithful idealist" for Lore, the Musteite, and a great man of "intellectual honesty" for Hook! The praise of these people for Bernstein reveals them all as revisionists of the great revolutionary teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. The above revisionists all pay tribute to Bernstein of which social-fascism is the logical consequence.

To popularize Marxism on the Fiftieth Anniversary of Marx' death means to apply it to the epoch of imperialism and of proletarian revolution; it means to popularize Marxism-Leninism. (A point, incidentally, which is deliberately ignored by the entire crop of self-styled "Marxists.") In this period of the end of relative capitalist stabilization, when our main blows must be directed against social democracy, when we must expose their left maneuvers in drapings of Marxism, it is well to remember the statement of Comrade Stalin that—

> " . . . it is a fact that Lenin brought to light once more the revolutionary content of Marxism which had been glossed over by the opportunists of the Second International" and "Leninism originated and grew strong in conflict with the opportunism of the Second International—a conflict essential to success in the struggle against capitalism."

In this period of the end of relative capitalist stabilization, in the period of the successful building of Socialism in the Soviet Union, we cannot apply the teachings of Marxism-Leninism without applying it in its further development by Comrade Stalin. The role of Comrade Stalin in this respect was stated by Comrade Manuilsky in the following words:

> "On the basis of the law of the uneven development of imperialism, he (Stalin) has worked out and carried into operation the Leninist teachings on the building of Socialism in a single country and this Stalinist position, which is understood

by the whole of the Communist International, the task of preparing the international proletariat for a new round of wars and revolutions, is actually being carried out."

In the light of the struggle for the complete victory of Marxism-Leninism, in the light of the struggle for the exposure of the social-fascist leaders as the carriers of bourgeois ideology into the ranks of the working class, in the light of the struggle for the revolutionary way out of the capitailist crisis, workers commemorate the Fiftieth Anniversary of the death of our great leader and teacher, Karl Marx.

ALL IN THE NAME OF MARXISM

Socialist Party Increases Use of "Marxian" Left Phrases to Cover Up Further Treachery Against Workers.

By SAM DON

The Socialist *New Leader* in the last few months is making heroic attempts to become "Marxist." Why this maneuver? Or is our statement, as Oneal, the official Socialist Party "theoretician," would call it, but another Communist "slander"? Maybe it is not a maneuver at all. Perhaps some of the new gentlemen "Marxists" of the Socialist Party have had a real honest-to-goodness "change of heart."

Let us meet the issue. In 1930 Norman Thomas wrote a book, *America's Way Out.* In that book he has a special chapter aiming to prove that Socialism can do without Marxism; in fact, that Marxism is a burden to Socialism. To pick out one of the gems in his book: "Not only is the concept of economic determinism [a perversion of historical materialism of Marx with vulgar economic determinism—S. D.] inadequate to the weight Marxists have put on it, but so is the more vehemently held *dogma* (!) *of the class conflict.*" (Page 138. Our emphasis.) So the class struggle, the class conflict, is for the leader of the Socialist Party a dogma!

Compare this statement with an article which appeared in the November 19 issue of the *New Leader.* First, the writer, Mr. Gibson, begins with a confession that when Marxism first came to his attention "it was most old stuff, antiquated." But now "Marxism remains an indispensable guide." He already speaks in the terms of "we Marxists," etc. We shall not enter into a discussion of his various old revisionist conceptions of Marxism. We shall merely emphasize the somersault from the official denial of Marxism, not only on the part of its presidential candidate, but on the part of its 1928 convention,

which deleted the class struggle clause from its platform, to the present-day attempts on the part of the Socialist Party to proclaim its adherence to Marxism.

The writer of the above-mentioned article goes so far as to state that "it (Marxism) will make us see the necessity and the inevitability of the coming social revolution (!) and it will make us willing to participate in it." Here we see the harmony between the talk of peaceful revolution to the chatter on the part of these "Marxists" of the "inevitability of the coming social revolution." Why these left phrases? Because, he further on lets the cat out of the bag: "America needs Marxism." Translated into the language of the class struggle, this means *that under the pressure of the crisis the laws established by Marxism become ever more obvious to large masses of the workers.* With the sharpening of the class struggle, with the workers becoming ever more radicalized, the philosophy and teachings of Marxism are being embraced by larger sections of the American working class.

Only a few years ago the Socialist Party, in order to become more "American," eliminated from its constitution the words class struggle. Many articles were written by Socialist Party leaders, including the above-mentioned book by Thomas, to prove that Marxism is un-American and the Socialist Party must be purged of Marxian ideas (as if it ever suffered from Marxian ideas!). But now, as part of its maneuvers to continue to appear as a Party of the working class, it is also attempting to dress itself in Marxian phrases.

If we wish to get an idea of what this "Marxist," Mr. Gibson, had in mind, you can see it from his statement that "Marxism is not a final formula," that "Marxism is far from finished." Behind these phrases lies the conception that you can accept Marxism without following all its teachings, and particularly its revolutionary conclusions. Mr. Gibson refers continually to Marx as a great thinker. Of course Marx was the greatest thinker of modern times. The compliment here to Marx, however, as a great thinker is for the purpose of robbing Marxism of its most important element, namely, revolution. It is not an accident at all that Engels in his famous speech at the grave of Marx, in referring to Marx as the greatest thinker, emphasized the point that *"above all else, Marx was a revolutionist."*

In 1930, Thomas in his book stated:

> "Workers of the world unite, you have only your chains to lose and a world to gain—is a magnificent slogan. It is not an exact statement of fact. . . . The idea of the class struggle is a very effective organizing 'myth' to hold the workers together."

But in the fourth year of the crisis, it is a bit too dangerous to attempt to appear as a Party of Socialism and at the same time say that

the class struggle is a myth and the international unity of the workers is not "an exact statement of fact." Left phrases and left maneuvers must be used in order to retain their treacherous leadership amongst the workers. Therefore the "sudden change" from the above statements of Thomas to a declaration in an article in the *New Leader* in the December 10 issue that "Marxism is the livest force in the world today."

If we want to get some idea of this Marxism of the Socialist Party, we can refer to the article of A. L., evidently Algernon Lee (*New Leader,* December 17), which winds up with a call for the study of Marxism, but begins with the insinuation that the Hunger March is the work of stool pigeons.

A more exact idea of the "Marxism" of the Socialist Party can be obtained from an article on planning which appeared in the December 17 issue of the *New Leader.* Mr. Douty, the writer of the article, gives us the idea of the Socialist Party of how the workers can gain power. He says:

> " . . . before we can have genuine Socialist economic planning, the workers and farmers must gain control of the factories, mines, railroads—of the vast productive apparatus of present-day United States. *The precise method needed to accomplish this end will depend on the course of historical events."* (Our emphasis.)

Talk to the workers about the need of gaining power, but leave out the "dangerous" aspects of *how* to gain it. This "Marxist," Douty, leaves to fate "the precise method" of gaining control of the means of production. Of course such a maneuver on his part is not accidental. The workers, becoming more radicalized, seeing more plainly the control of monopoly finance capital, become more convinced of the need of bringing about a new society. On the one hand, left phrases by the Socialist Party leaders about "gaining power" and on the other hand holding back the workers as to the "precise method" of doing away with private property.

Marx and Engels have certainly established the *precise method.* They have established the fact that only through the dictatorship of the proletariat, only through the establishment of a proletarian State can we achieve a classless Socialist society.

The writer of this article says further: "The ownership of industry must be taken from the capitalist class and vested in society." But how, by what program, by what method? This he leaves to the "development of historical events. . . . ". He even winds up his article with a call for the establishment of a classless society, but here, too, we are left in the dark as to how it should be done. Perhaps, through Mr. Thomas' scheme of raising bonds to buy out the industries from Mr. Ford, Morgan and Rockefeller; to a classless society not through pro-

letarian revolution but by purchasing the industries from Rockefeller! This is the "Marxism" of the Socialist Party!

For Marx the class struggle was not an organizing "myth." The historical slogan of the *Communist Manifesto*—"Workers of the World Unite"—was for Marx indeed an exact statement of fact. Marx said that

> *". . . the class war indispensably leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat. That this dictatorship is only a transition to the destruction of any classes and to society without classes."*

The "Marxism" of the Socialist Party is a "Marxism" for bourgeois democracy and against the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a treacherous program which has absolutely nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism. For the Socialist Party some of its present left maneuvers, its chatter of classless Socialist society, is only a cover for growing treachery.

For the Communists the class struggle in the words of Marx leads indispensably to the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Soviet Union is already realizing the teachings of Marx *"through the dictatorship to the establishment of a classless society."*

Thomas in his book, *America's Way Out,* declared:

> "The attempt to derive the Socialist answer solely from Marxism (!) is not only to waste energy but to deepen the gulf between theology and the practice of the Socialist Parties." (page 140.)

For the purpose of left maneuvers, the Socialist Party has decided now to turn revolutionary Marxism into theology. The gulf between left phrases and the practical treacheries of the Socialist Party now is wider than ever before. In the name of Socialism, forced labor is practiced in Milwaukee. In the name of Socialism the breaking of strikes and the leading of strikes to behead them. In the name of Socialism, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is declared a sign of nationalization. It is no wonder then, that Algernon Lee declared recently in the NEW LEADER *that Socialism can be built only when the capitalists will get out of the crisis! Help the capitalists get out of the crisis by accepting their murderous attacks upon the working class and then we shall have Socialism!*

A leading editorial in the *New York Times,* in its December 18 issue, also helps to explain this attempt to dress up the Socialist Party in Marxism, to make it appear more as a party of the working class, to make easier its treacheries and crushing of the growing struggles of the workers. This editorial cannot find words enough to shower praises upon Thomas for "standing by his Socialist guns"—Socialist guns that will never strike at capitalism. This *New York Times*

editorial is one in connection with the articles which appeared in the *Nation* on the future of the Socialist Party. Thomas, in his article in *The Nation,* refuses to accept the advice to abandon the name of Socialist Party. His answer is in substance that now more than ever before it is necessary to retain the name of the Socialist Party. He rebuked his advisers for "their dislike for the practical contact with these same working masses"—contact necessary in order to deliver the workers to the bankers!

If the Socialist Party is to live up to its role as the third party of capitalism, as the social-fascist party of American capitalism, it must retain its left phrases, its appearance as a working-class party, and by all means retain the traditions connected with the Socialist Party name. That is why the *New York Times* speaks of Mr. Thomas' article in *The Nation* on the future of the Socialist Party as one which answers his advisers with "a great deal of force." It agrees with Norman Thomas that the name should not be changed, as the program of the Socialist Party "is of great benefit, particularly to the working classes." The organ of finance capital in New York City keeps *its* party on the right track. The *New York Times* is also against changing the name of the Socialist Party. The *Times* is also anxious that the Socialist Party should maintain its "practical" contact with the masses. Because only such a Socialist Party can really be useful for the capitalist class. Such a party, by its presence within the ranks of the working class, with the aid of left phrases, will help finance capital to put the burdens of the crisis on the shoulders of the workers.

In connection with the Fiftieth Anniversary of Marx' death the widest campaign must be carried out to popularize the teachings of Marx, and their application in this period of wars and revolution—Leninism. Our campaign for popularizing Marxism and Leninism can only be successful to the degree that we specifically apply it to the United States, and at the same time develop a concrete struggle against all attempts to revise Marxism and Leninism and the recent attempts of the social fascists to claim Marx as their own.

"THEORY IS OUR GUIDE TO ACTION!"

Speech at the Mass Meeting of the Tenth Anniversary Celebration of the Workers School, New York, December 9, 1932.

By EARL BROWDER

Comrades and Friends celebrating the Tenth Anniversary of the Workers School:

I think we had a most excellent contribution from Comrade Olgin. After listening to Comrade Olgin's speech, I wondered what one could add, except to emphasize the thought which he brought forward, that our revolutionary theory develops right out of and is a part of our revolutionary practice in the class struggle.

Bourgeois society has not only separated the people into owners and workers. It has also separated the human faculties and placed them in opposition to one another. Knowing and doing are two entirely different categories in bourgeois society. Those who know—they do not do anything. And those who do anything—they are not supposed to know anything. Bourgeois society has placed a deep gulf between theory and practice—so much so, that in the ordinary popular sense one who is particularly ineffectual in action is spoken of as a "theorist."

Of course we cannot accept these traditions and conditions of bourgeois society. Just as it is our task not only to understand present-day society, but to change it, so also it is our task to smash this seeming contradiction between idea and action, between theory and practice. Theory is our guide to action. Theory grows out of action. Theory for us is the instrument of revolutionary action, and it can be the instrument of revolutionary action only insofar as it is theory which is drawn from international experience of the class struggle and the development of human society.

We do not create theory out of our heads. Our theory grows organically out of the development and maturing of the revolutionary class, the working class. It is a historic product. It has the same objective character as all scientific principle. And in just the same way as it is necessary to be very intolerant against all those who wish to revise the fundamental knowledge of mankind in order to insert in its place the arbitrary creations, the phantasies of the individual mind, so also, it is necessary to be intolerant in the struggle against all tendencies to replace our scientific knowledge and our scientific practice with individual, small-group revisions of our revolutionary body of theory. For it is only the proletariat, the only revolutionary class in

capitalist society, which is capable of understanding and developing the scientific principles of social development.

Our Workers School of the Communist Party is often accused of being narrow, dogmatic and intolerant, lacking in broad-mindedness, because we struggle against all individuals and groups who try to revise, change and water down the essential features of Marxism-Leninism.

In our approach to the masses whom we are striving to win, to organize, to mobilize for the revolutionary struggle, we always must be tolerant and patient, as well as stubborn and persistent.

But in the field of revolutionary theory, to accomplish our main task of winning the broad masses, the majority of the working class for the proletarian revolution, we must be resolutely intolerant against every deviation in theory, against every effort to revise Marxism and Leninism.

This theoretical intransigence, this unyielding adherence of the Communist movement to the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism is not sectarianism. It is not dogmatism. It is the necessary pre-condition for the smashing of sectarianism of all opportunist tendencies in the working class.

Our theory is developed, not in schools. Our theory is developed in life, in mass struggle. Only through mass struggle can this theory grow and develop further. Our schools are auxiliaries to the mass struggles. Our schools are those places where we make available the knowledge that has been accumulated from the experience of the past struggles in order to solve the problems of present and coming struggles. Only in these struggles, by arming ourselves with the lessons of the past struggles, do we develop the theory, the knowledge and the practice that makes up Marxism-Leninism.

It is in this sense that we understand the Workers School and its place in the revolutionary movement. This phase is becoming more and more important. And more and more keenly do we feel the necessity of our school, of the service that it renders.

Under the conditions of the class struggle today, it is impossible to imagine that we could tolerate for one moment such influences as in the past have exerted themselves quite strongly on our institution, the Workers School, during the ten years of its existence.

The Workers School itself is the product of struggle. The Workers School was built and grew strong in the course of our struggle against Trotskyism, and the driving out of the influence of the representatives of Trotskyism in America. Perhaps you at present in the Workers School may not know that an influence in shaping the early

years of the Workers School was Mr. Cannon, the outstanding representative of Trotsky in America. And for the development of the Workers School it was necessary to fight against deviations and drive out of the movement these Trotskyites and Trotsky theories.

Perhaps some of you can still remember the days when the destinies of the Workers School were in the hands of Bertram D. Wolfe, representative of the right wing revision of Marxism-Leninism in America. Another big struggle was necessary to defeat this open opportunism in the Party, in the movement and in the Workers School and to purify the Workers School from the opportunism of Mr. Bertram Wolfe and company, representing the Lovestone group.

The building and the development of the Workers School is a constant struggle, just as the building and development of a revolutionary workers' party is a constant struggle, against all of the influences of the ideas of the class enemy. The Workers School is that institution where we arm our leading cadres with weapons which give them the ability to resist the influence of class enemy ideas, to combat them, to overcome them. The school is where they master the ideological weapons of Marxism-Leninism and put them into effect in the mass struggles. Let us grasp the full meaning of that slogan of our great leader, Marx, that *an idea becomes power when it is seized upon by the masses.* Our ideas are not forces in themselves. They are instruments of the masses for the carrying through of the class struggle.

As our class struggle develops, we more and more need the Workers School. We more and more need to sharpen these weapons, because we are rapidly approaching the time when the struggles in which we are engaged are taking on a more and more decisive aspect, becoming more and more serious, more widespread, involving greater masses. We are coming closer to the days of decisive struggle, when through these instruments that we are forging in the Workers School and in the class struggles led by our Party, we will begin the transformation of society to Communism which is inaugurated with the seizure of power. by the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. This historical moment is coming in the United States just as inevitably as it came in the Soviet Union.

We celebrate the Tenth Anniversary of the Workers School because it has become one of the essential instruments for the preparation and the carrying through of the proletarian revolution in the United States.

RELATION OF THEORY TO PRACTICE

By SAM DON

The materialistic—dialectic—method, the key to the understanding of the laws of the universe and driving forces of human society, enabled Marx to create his revolutionary philosophy. The working class, being the revolutionary class, is, therefore, the only class capable of understanding Marxian philosophy. Marx expressed this relationship in the thought, "That as philosophy finds in the working class its material weapon, the working class finds in philosophy its ideological weapon."

Marxian philosophy based upon the dialectic method means the closest unity between theory and practice. The revolutionary practical purpose of this theory was expressed by Marx in the idea that "the philosophers only explained the world one way or the other, but the main problem is to change it." Marxian theory based upon the method of learning to know and understand reality, in its rise, development and changes, is the theory indispensable to the working class as a guide in their struggles.

Marx, the founder of the revolutionary theory of the working class could not but become the founder of the First International. The unity of Marx' theoretical and practical activities is seen already in his dealings with the strategy and tactics of the working class, which reflect the immediate problems and tasks of the working class linked up with the ultimate goal of the proletarian revolution. Lenin brilliantly describes the unity of Marxian theory and practical activities, in the following brief sentence: "The fundamental line of proletarian tactics was laid down by Marx in strict conformity with the general principles of his materialistic outlook." Lenin time and again emphasized the close unity between Marxian philosophy and proletarian revolutionary practice. For instance, "the political line of the Party is inseparably linked up with philosophy of Marx."

Lenin—the most consistent Marxist of the 20th century—embodied best the unity of Marxian theory and practice. Just as Marx, the founder of the revolutionary theory of the working class, was also the founder of the First International, so Lenin, the best Marxist of the 20th century, was the founder of the Bolshevik Party and of the Communist International. The "infallibility" of the Communist International and the Party in the Soviet Union is precisely based on the closest unity of Marxian theory with revolutionary practice.

Lenin, who lived in the period of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, demanded the most complete unity between theory and practice. He said, "the basis for correct revolutionary practice and

policies is the strategy and tactics based upon the concrete objective truth, which flow from the general fundamental laws of Marxian theory. Following the direction of Marxian theory, we shall draw nearer and nearer to the objective truth (without exhausting it), following another path we shall arrive at confusion and falsehood." We may therefore also say that Marxism based on generalized experiences (that is experience analysed and lessons drawn from it), tested by life, is a guide to action.

Flowing from Marx' idea that the task is not merely to interpret history but to change it, Lenin said: "According to Marx, the direct task of science is to give a true slogan of struggle that is to be in a position to say that this struggle is objectively a product of a definite system of production relationships, to make clear the *necessity* of the struggle, its content, its direction, its conditions of development." Here we see how with the help of theory the Party can see the inevitability of the struggles, understands its development, knowing its content and direction, deepens the struggles, gives it consciousness and leadership.

As we can see, Lenin, time and again, emphasized the necessity, importance and effectiveness of theoretical work. But in the words of Lenin this does not mean "that theoretical work should be given preference to practical activities, and it surely does not mean that practical work should be given up or postponed until the theoretical work is completed." Yes, theory is a guide to action, in fact, an indispensable guide, but above all, life, movement, experience, practice. And therefore, "theoretical work only gives an answer to the problem raised by practice."

While both Marx and Lenin place the importance of practical revolutionary activities above theoretical activities, they at the same time with the utmost vigor, persistence and clarity pointed out continually the need of theory as a guide to action and as a weapon in changing and making history. We must remember that *practice without theory is limited, narrow, and without a perspective. Theory in a concentrated and quickened form contains the lessons of generalized experience.* Self-criticism is one of the best methods in examining our experiences in the class struggle in light of theory and enriching and deepening our theory by revolutionary experiences and practice. Every mistake, every deviation, can easily be traced back to a "forgetting" or lack of knowledge of some of the basic principles of Marxian-Leninist theory. *Without theory one cannot learn successfully and quickly from experience.*

Therefore, the vanguard of the working class, the Party (always to link up the immediate struggles with its goal, to raise the struggles to ever higher levels), must be equipped with our revolutionary theory.

In this sense we must grasp the full significance of Lenin's statement: "Only a Party guided by an advanced theory can act as a vanguard in the fight and that without a revolutionary theory there cannot be revolutionary practice."

Especially in this period of growing quick changes, widening revolutionary struggles, Marxian-Leninist theory is the surest compass and guide.

Theoretical work and study in our Party must not be confined to a small group of comrades, nor must it become the special field of activity of a "special selected group" of comrades. Hand in hand with the slogan "every Party member an active comrade" must go the understanding that every Party member must become equipped with the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, as only then will the Party membership more readily grasp the policies of the Party (read and better understand Party resolutions and theses . .) and increase its desire and consciousness for mass activities.

While not for one single moment must we forget (which happens quite often) the real glorious historical traditions of the American working class, and that in many respects the American working class was a pioneer in militant forms of struggles to the International working class (8-hour day movement, First of May, general strikes, nature of armed camp struggles, etc.), however, in *comparison* with the European working class, its traditions and struggles are backward. The lack of revolutionary experiences (and again speaking only in comparison with the European working class) must be made up by deepening the theoretical knowledge of the Party. It is absolutely wrong for comrades to speak of the history of the American labor movement *only* pointing out to its backwardness (which must not be forgotten), and "forgetting" entirely that in the United States in the past there was a class struggle with sharp, militant, furious battles on the part of the working class. . . *The present driving forces of the proletarian revolution in the United States linked up with a maximum Leninist analysis of the history of the class struggle in the past, must be undertaken seriously by the Party. This will help considerably to clear revolutionary perspectives to the entire membership.* To live and struggle in the leading imperialist country in the world—means to live and struggle in a country pregnant with crises and revolutions.

The changed role of American capitalism and imperialism, which changed the role of our Party from one of the least important to one of the very most important sections of the Communist International, places great historical revolutionary responsibilities on the shoulders of our Party. *The gap of backward traditions with the present-day grow-*

ing revolutionary responsibilities of our Party can be considerably closed by deepening the theoretical knowledge of our Party, a revolutionary understanding (and not petty bourgeois) of the history of the class struggle in the United States, and constant learning from international experiences.

The Communist International in its Open Letter to the Party convention 1929 stated as the very first condition for the Party becoming a mass Party, "a correct perspective in the analysis of the general crisis of capitalism and American imperialism, which is part of it."

There are still various shadows of the wrong theories of Lovestone of American imperialism creeping within the Party. And it is precisely these shadows which breed the right danger in the Party and are responsible for the lack of greater sensitiveness to the growing crisis of American capitalism, with the consequent lack of outlook for and lack of contact with the growing struggles of the working class. It is therefore no accident at all that the Communist International places a correct analysis of the general crisis of capitalism and American imperialism, which is part of it, as the very first condition in developing our Party into a mass Party. The raising of the theoretical level of the Party functionaries and membership will undoubtedly create a better understanding of the role of American imperialism in the third period of wars and revolutions and make it more sensitive to the growing struggles.

The present Party situation demands the immediate drawing in of a very large number of young proletarian forces into various leading positions. The Party, in a way, is in a crisis because of lack of forces. The way to solve it is to draw in, and draw in courageously, new proletarian elements. And this must be done conscientiously, and not as in the past (factional days) as mere gestures, mechanically, without serious consideration. The situation is such that we must draw in elements who do not have a sufficient political background and training, nor sufficient organizational experience, for that matter. However, the Party must prepare and train its new forces and the proletarian Party comrades who are placed in responsible positions, to take their positions seriously, must make up their lack of sufficient political organizational experience, by increased political theoretical studies *and the Party must and undoubtedly will help them.*

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