

Herbert Marcuse: Lectures on Marxian Theory and Communism (Politics 171b)

History of Ideas Program, Brandeis University
Spring 1963

Handwritten Course Notes by William Leiss

Contact Information: Email wleiss@uottawa.ca OR william.leiss@gmail.com

Biographical and publications information: www.leiss.ca

Transcribed by Michael G. Tyshenko, University of Ottawa
February 2017

Disclaimer: These notes should not be interpreted as a verbatim record of what was said in this class by Professor Herbert Marcuse. Rather, they are my own interpretation and personal record of what was stated by both Marcuse and some the students in that course, without distinction. (WL)

Spring 1963

H. Marcuse

MARXIAN THEORY AND COMMUNISM: Politics 171b

Bibliography

The following numbers are required reading: the titles listed after no. 5; (a) - (i), also nos. 8, 13, 16, 17a, 21.

A. Primary Sources and Documentary:

1. U.S. Congress. House Document Nos. 2240-2244. The Strategy and Tactics of World Communism. Prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities. Washington 1956 (an older edition House Document Nos. 619 ff., Washington 1948).

Part I, section A: Marxist Classics

B: The USSR

C: The World Congresses of the Comm. International

D: Communist Activities Around the World

E: The Comintern and the CPUSA

Contains a selection of documents on Communist strategy from Marx to Mao.

2. Handbook of Marxism, ed. Emile Burns. N.Y, 1936,
The best selection of Marxist writings from Marx to Stalin.

3. Marx and Engels, Selected Works.

a. 2 vols. Intern, Publ. N.Y.

b. 2 vols. Foreign Language Publ. House, Moscow,

c. Basic writings, ed. L. Feuer, Anchor Books Paperback,

4a. Marx and Engels, The German Ideology, N.Y., Intern. Pub. Paperback.

The philosophical foundation of Marxian theory.

b. Economic-Philosophical Manuscripts. English,language edition. Moscow 1959; also abridged text in E. Fromm: Marx's Concept of Man.

5. Marx, Selected writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy, ed. Bottomore and Rubel. London 1956.

Indispensable for the course are the following writings of Marx and Engels:

(a) nos. 4 and 5 above

(b) Communist Manifesto

(c) Critique of Political Economy, Introduction

(d) Wage Labor and Capital (for those who cannot or will not read CAPITAL)

(e) Capital (at least the selections in 2 or in the Modern Library edition)

- (f) Critique of the Gotha Program (also in no. 17a below)
 - (g) Anti-Duhring, Part III
 - (h) Socialism: Utopian and Scientific
 - (i) Class Struggles in France, Preface by Engels
- (All these are included in the selections listed under 1--3)

6. The theoretical foundation of Social Democracy.
Edouard Bernstein, Evolutionary Socialism. London 1909. (reprinted in paperback).

7. Theory of Imperialism:

- a. Rudolf Hilferding, Das Finanzkapital. Wien 1910.
- b. Rosa Luxemburg, Accumulation of Capital. (1913) Eng. Transl. Yale University Press.
- c. Lenin, Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism. (1917), ed. Varga and Mendelsohn, N.Y. 1940. (also in no.8).
- d. N. Bucharin, Imperialism and World Economy. (1917).

8. Lenin: The Essentials of Lenin, 2 vols. London 1947 (or any other edition of Selected Works),
(read especially: Two Tactics ..., Imperialism, State and Revolution).

9. The Communist International:

- a. The Communist International, Documents, Ed, Jane Degras, Royal Inst. of Internat, Affairs, Vol, 1: 1919-1922. Oxford Univ, Press 1956, vol, II: 1923-1928.
 - b. Program of the Sixth World Congress: (incl, in no. 1 and 2 above).
 - c. The Seventh (and last) World Congress: G, Dimitroff, United Front Against Fascism, N.Y. 1935 (also in no, 1,C above).
- Important material also in no, 10 below.
For the Cominform see no. 1 above.

10. I. Trotsky:

- a. The First Five Years of the Communist International, N.Y, 1945.
- b. The Third International After Lenin. N.Y. 1936.
- c. The Real Situation in Russia, N.Y. 1938. (contains the platform of the opposition).
- d. The History of the Russian Revolution (1930), any edition.

11. J. Stalin:

- a. Leninism or Problems of Leninism (selected writings), aqy ed.
- b. Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR, in: Current Soviet Policies. The Documentary Record of the 19th Communist Party Congress. N,Y. 1953.

12. Communist Theory for "Underdeveloped Countries":

- a. Theses and Resolutions of the second, fourth, and sixth congress of the Communist International in nos, 1, 2, and 9 above, See also no, 17 below.
- b. A Documentary History of Chinese Communism, ed" Brandt, Schwartz, and Fairbank,

Harvard Univ, Press 1952.

(contains some of the most important writings of Mao Tse-Tung) read esp, "On the New Democracy" (1940).

c. Mao Tse-Tung, On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People. The New Leader Pamphlet, N.Y. 1957.

13. Material for the Study of the Soviet System, ed. James H. Meisel and Ed,Kozera, N.Y, 19 0, A selection of important laws, decrees, statutes, etc, (incl, the Soviet constitutions),

14. Documentary History of Communism, ed. R, V. Daniels, 2 vols, Vantage Paperback 1961, Selections from speeches, writings, documents of Communist leaders since Lenin.

15. National Communism and Popular Revolt in Eastern Europe. A Selection of Documents on Events in Poland and Hungary, Columbia University Press, 1956.

16. The Anti-Stalin Campaign and International Communism, A Selection of Documents. Columbia Univ, Press 1956 contains Krushchev's "secret" speech at the 20th Congress of the CPSU).

17a. Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, adopted by the 22nd Congress 1961 in: The Communist Blueprint for the Future, ed. Th, P. Whitney, Dutton Paperback 1962.

b. Peace Manifesto, issued at the conference of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, November 1957.

c. Statement of the conference of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, December 1960. (The basic documents of post-Stalin Soviet policy).

18. The Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us, Editorial in People's Daily, Peking, December 31, 1962. Full text in The Washington Post, January 3, 1963, (The present Sino-Soviet conflict).

B, Secondary:

Historical

19. Alexander Gray, The Socialist Tradition: Moses to Lenin. N.Y. 1946.

20. D. H. Cole, History of Socialist Thought. 6 vols. London 1953 ff.

21. George Lichtheim, Marxism. An Historical and Critical Study. N.Y. 1961. (The best survey available in English).

22. John Plamenatz, German Marxism and Russian Communism. London, N.Y. 1954.

23a. Franz Mehring, Karl Marx.

b. Gustav Mayer, Friedrich Engels.

These two classical biographies are still the best works on the historical setting of early Marxian theory.

c. Isiah Berlin, Karl Marx. Home University Library.

24. G. H. Steckloff, History of the First International. N.Y. 1928.

25a. James Joll, The Second International. 1889-1914. London 1955.

b. G. D. H. Cole, vols. 2 and 3 of no. 20 above.

G. D. H. Cole, vol. 4: Communism and Social Democracy, 1914-1931; vol. 5: 1959; vol. 6: 1960.

26. Social Democracy:

a. Carl Schorske, German Social Democracy 1905-1917. Harvard Univ. Press 1955.

b. Peter Gay, The Dilemma of Democratic Socialism. N.Y. 1952. An analysis of Eduard Bernstein's theory (see no. 6 above).

c. Aaron Noland, The Foundations of the French Socialist Party. Harvard Historical Monograph. 1957.

27. Arthur Rosenberg, A History of the German Republic. 1936. The best work for the understanding of the German Revolution and its consequences.

28. E. H. Carr, A History of Soviet Russia. The Bolshevik Revolution. 1917-1924.

6 vols. (so far). London and N.Y. 1950 ff.

The standard work!

William Henry Chamberlin, The Russian Revolution, 1917-1921 (2 vols., 1935) contains a good selection of documents.

29a. Arthur Rosenberg, A History of Bolshevism. Oxford 1934.

b. Leopold H. Haimson, The Russian Marxists and the Origins of Bolshevism. Harvard Univ. Press 1955.

30. The third International:

a. Franz Borkenau, The Communist International. 1938 (also in paperback)

b. C. L. R. James, World Revolution 1917-1926. London 1937.

Both from a Trotskyite point of view.

31a. Robert V. Daniels, The Conscience of the Revolution. Communist Opposition in Soviet Russia. Harvard Univ. Press 1960.

b. Leonard Schapiro, The Origin of the Communist Autocracy. Political Opposition in the Soviet State 1917-1922. Harvard 1955.

32. Leonard Schapiro, History of the Soviet Communist Party. N.Y. 1960.

33a. Boris Souvarin, Stalin, N.Y. 1939.

b. Isaac Deutscher, Stalin. N.Y. 1949. Trotsky. 2 vols.

-c. Ruth Fischer, Stalin and German Communism. N.Y. 1948.

More recent material, see section E below.

C. Marxian Economic Theory:

34. W. H. Emmett, Marxian Economic Handbook. London 1923. Excellent summary and commentary on vol. 1 of Capital, from a Marxist point of view.
35. William J. Blake, Marxian Economic Theory and Its Criticism. N.Y. 1939 (later edition under the title "Handbook of Marxian Economic Theory"). A systematic presentation of Marxian economic theory, incl. theoretical development since the death of Engels, and the critique of Marxian theory. Extensive bibliography. From a Marxist point of view. The best book of this scope, but not easy!
36. Paul H. Sweezy, The Theory of Capitalist Development. Principles of Marxian Political Economy. N.Y. 192. The easiest scholarly presentation. From a Marxist point of view, but with critical comments.
37. J. v. Bohm-Bawerk, Karl Marx and the Close of his System. 1898. Reprinted, with Hilferding's reply, N.Y. 1950. Still the most serious critique!
38. H. w. B. Joseph, The Labor Theory of Value in Karl Marx. London 1923.
39. A. D. Lindsay, Karl Marx's Capital. London 1925. Both critical and scholarly.
40. Maurice Dobb, Political Economy and Capitalism. N.Y. 1939. Marxist analysis of the present position of political economy.
41. Joseph Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism, Democracy. N.Y. 1942.
42. Jane Robinson, An Essay on Marxian Economics. London 1946.
43. Joseph M. Gillman, The Falling Rate of Profit. London 1957.

D. Marxian Theory: Philosophical:

44. Georg Lukacs, Geschichte und Klassenbewusstsein. Berlin 1923. The most important philosophical contribution to Marxian theory.
45. Herbert Marcuse, Reason and Revolution. Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory. N.Y. 1941; 2nd. ed 1955. pp. 273-295.
46. Jean Hyppolite, Etudes sur Hegel et Marx. Paris 1955.
47. V. Venable, Human Nature: The Marxian View. N.Y. 1946.
48. Jean-Yves Calvez, La Pensee de Karl Marx. Paris 1956. The most complete study of the philosophy underlying Marxian theory.

49. H. P. Adams, Karl Marx in his Early Writings. London 1940.
50. Maurice Cornforth, Dialectical Materialism. An introductory course, 2 vols. 1952-1953. A Communist textbook.
51. Gustav Wetter, Dialectical Materialism in the Soviet Union. N.Y. 1961.
52. Herbert Marcuse, Soviet Marxism. N.Y. 1958.
- E. Soviet Society and Soviet Policy:
53. Barrington Moore, Jr., Soviet Politics. The Dilemma of Power. 1950.
54. Barrington Moore, Jr., Terror and Progress: USSR. 1954.
55. Jacob Miller, Soviet Society. Hutchinson's University Library 1954.
56. Merle Fainsod, How Russia Is Ruled. 1953.
57. Alexander Baykov, The Development of the Soviet Economic System. 1948.
58. Alexander Ehrlich, The Soviet Industrialization Debate 1924-1928. Harvard 1960.
59. Harry Schwartz, Russia's Soviet Economy. 1950.
60. John Maynard, Russia in Flux. 1948.
61. Rudolf Schlesinger, The Spirit of Post-War Russia. Soviet Ideology 1917-1946. 1947.
62. Rudolf Schlesinger (ed.), Changing Attitudes in Soviet Russia: The Family. 1949.
63. Henri Chambre, Le Marxisme en Union Sovietique. Ideologie et Institutions. 1955.
- 64a. Max Beloff, The Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia 1929-1941. 2 vols. 1947-1949.
 b. Louis Fischer, The Soviets in World Affairs. 2 vols. 1951.
 c. David J. Dalin, Soviet Foreign Policy After Stalin. 1960.
 d. Philip E. Mosely, The Kremlin and World Politics. Studies in Soviet Policy and Action. Vintage Paperback 1960.
65. The Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union, ed. A. Z. Rubinstein. 1960. A selection of documents.
66. Isaac Deutscher, The Great Contest. 1960.

F. Eastern Europe:

67. H. Seton-Watson, The Eastern European Revolution. 1950.
68. Moscow's European Satellites. The Annals of the American Academy of Political Science. September 1950.
69. Nicolas Spulber, The Economics of Communist Eastern Europe. 1957.
70. Z. K. Brzezinski, The Soviet Bloc. 1960.

G. China:

71. Charles p. Fitzgerald, Revolution in China. 1952.
72. Harold R. Isaacs, The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution. 1938. An excellent analysis from a Trotskyite point of view; reissued, with less documentation, in 1951.
73. Benjamin I. Schwartz, Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao. 1951.
74. Peter Townsend, China Phoenix. 1955.
75. R.H. Tawney, Land and Labor in China. 1932.
76. Hsiao Tung'Fei, Peasant Life in China. A Field Study. 1939.
77. Peter S. Tang, Communist China Today. 1957.
78. Solomon Adler, The Chinese Economy. 1957. Monthly Review Press.
79. Communist China 1955-1959, ed. Barrie and Fairbank. Harvard 1962. Policy documents with analysis.

1855 Minutes of the First International; Debate between Bakhunen and Marx

Bottomore, tr. Marx's Early Writings (Watts, 1963)

Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right

COURSE NOTES

Communism = collective ownership of the means of production and their collective control.

(No split between socialism and communism until after the First World War).

For Marx and Engels, control of the means of production by the immediate producers was supposed to be a transitional stage on the way to the classless society, at which point collective control would employ control by the people as a whole.

Earlier types of Communist movements:

- 1) slave and peasant revolts as attempt to rectify mal-distribution of wealth. Based upon a primarily agricultural productive system. Seen in slave revolts of antiquity and as late as peasant wars of 16th century.
- 2) religious communism – communism of consumption. Central motivation is deeply felt religious motivation; earthly social injustices are also “transcendentally” unjust. Seen in early Christian communities and in sporadic outbursts in MA and early modern era.
- 3) primitive communism (or collectivism) – prehistorical stage of tribal society. Not very well known, existence is debatable.

Emphasis on production: in present society, there is no division between individual need and social need: organs of repression and waste, outside the sphere of individual needs, exist to preserve the established order. The ideal of Marx and Engels is the old Liberal one: elimination of the conflict between individual and societal needs. But Marx shifts emphasis from consumption to production because it is in the sphere that the essential life of man is determined.

Sources of Marxian Philosophy:

- 1) Classical German philosophy, especially Hegel
- 2) French and British socialists; of French especially Saint-Simon (not socialist per se)
- 3) Left-wing of French Enlightenment: Linguet, Morelly, Mably
- 4) British economists – Smith, Ricardo

Background of history: collapse of restoration monarchy and defeat of liberal bourgeoisie in the revolutions of 1848. Marx and Engels draw the following conclusions: (1) events were proof that the bourgeoisie could not succeed in their attempt to rip form society; (2) emergence of laboring classes as decisive political force.

The acceptance of Marxist ideas between the appearance of the manifesto in 1848 and the formulation of the Gotha Program in 1875 demonstrates the extent to which theory (ideology) anticipated and in fact guided actual developments. The development of new categories and a new logic possible the comprehension of the new social forces at work during the period.

Capitalist society – that society which replaced the society of the Middle Ages (about the 16th century).

Bourgeois society – Within capitalist society during which the bourgeoisie remains the primary social and England – 17th century; Europe – 19th century).

Industrial society – During which large-scale industry remains the economic basis upon which society reproduces itself.

Development of philosophic thought from the end of the 18th century was a reflection of the obsolescence of politics. The historical Law of Three Stages – in Condorcet, Saint-Simon, and finally Comte – saw its culmination in an era of ruled by technocrats. The ideals of freedom, reason, and individuality – which until the present were mere abstract ideas – could now be realized in society and asked reality. But it was within a political framework: the social order was to be governed by the ideals of productivity and efficiency, to such an extent that progress would become self-propelling under the industrial order. The First Industrial Revolution was (and talk) and age of unbridled optimism.

The French social thinkers proclaimed that ideology had come to an end – that what was necessary was simply to apply technological knowledge to the production of an increasing quantity of things; thus, the good society could be established without politics. It was a strongly positive attitude toward the established scientific facts. It was attacked by the had a Hegelian philosophy.

Hegelian concepts:

1) Reason = the power of the Negative (denial, refusal, rejection – the replacing of what exists by something else; oppositional and critical element of the mind); nay-saying based upon the belief that what exists is false, distorted, and limited. This action is demanded by the nature of reality itself, and not by philosophical whim.

Secondly, a historical force, both in the individual and the whole.

Thirdly, it is the expression of the universal in the particular. The individual is at the same time the executor and the victim of historical forces.

(This process applies equally to nature as to man's history). Reason pertains not only to the subjective structure of the mind but also to the object structure of the world – only thus can we understand the world. In other words, the world “makes sense” – it has inherent in it a rational structure. In this world, everything becomes that which it is (e.g. Man becomes a human being). This is not an automatic process: things must make themselves as the realization of their being: this process of being is the potential the coming actual; existence is the struggle of things to bridge the gap between potentiality and actuality. Far from being a gradual and harmonious process, it is catastrophic and revolutionary: each preceding stage must be destroyed in the coming to being of the new.

Also, is not merely an individual process, but a historical one individuals partake of the larger whole in which they exist (there is no room here for either psychology or ethics). Contradiction and conflict as the driving power which constitutes the process of existing; the process of being attains its identity only in the process of alienation and the overcoming of alienation (or estrangement).

The return to oneself from alienation is never final, but leads to new contradictions. In logical form: A is not – A (nothing exists in and with its own contradiction), being is not – being.

The Law of Identity is the Law of Contradiction – the first establishes itself in the second. Nothing in the world of nature or society is in harmony.

Thought must comprehend adequately the structure of reality: thus the logic of thought must correspond to the logic of reality (logic = ontology). The process of reality – “A being non-A, becoming A” - takes place in the form that A is self-identical with itself through all the stages of its development (negation of the negation). There is no substance in the traditional sense which forms the ground of existence; substance is the process itself. The substance is subject, i.e. If all substance is the process of becoming, then all objects are part of the process of self-realization and destruction, hence subject (this includes inorganic matter – only there the process is wholly unconscious).

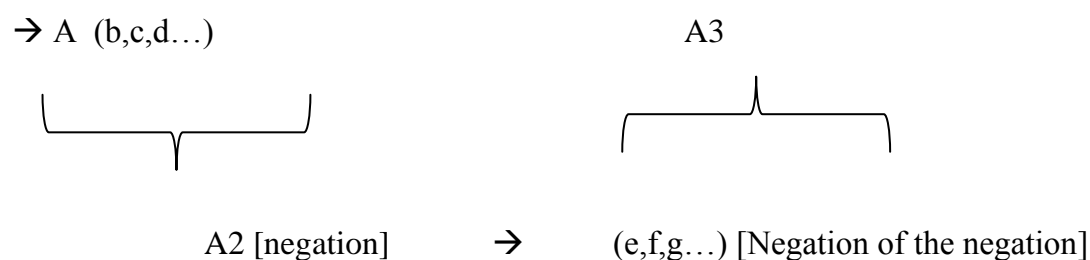
For man the conclusion is that he exists in a state of alienation – state which is necessary for existence – which takes different forms throughout his history and which it is the function of rationality to attempt to overcome. The ideal state for man would be that he would remain himself in all otherness: thus the opposition between Subject and Object would not be overcome, but rather the process would be no longer alien to man. This would be Freedom –

where the subject finds and recognizes itself and all otherness – and also Reason, because this freedom can be attained only by a being which is capable of comprehension, of comprehending the probabilities of integrating the basic contradiction of reality.

Diagram illustrating above:

A (b,c,d... [i.e. a thing cannot be separated from the conditions which form an essential part of its being; but these are at the same time opposed to it, thus not – A]).

These conditions generate pressures in it which become powerful enough to explode these very conditions themselves and thus transcend them. Thus they are surmounted: A has mastered and integrated the negative conditions which surround it; but, arriving at the new stage of development, A finds a new set of conditions and the process continues.



Obviously, the stage of A includes all prior history. Also, the scheme is not essentially Hegelian (it was developed much more fully by Fichte; Hegel mentions “thesis – antithesis – synthesis” only once or twice). The first two could be considered as one, since there is an internal contradiction present.

Science of Logic:

Two prefaces, General Introduction

Book 2, sect 1, ch. 2

Book 3, sect. 3, ch.3

“Smaller Logic” (first part of the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*).

A being which is able to comprehend has the capacity of understanding its own existence. It is able to “gather together” (comprehend, begreifen) facts of its own existential conditions; but only in man, who is the subject of his own existence, does this process rise to the level of consciousness and thus arrived at the possibility of freedom. In inorganic manner then exists

a mode of comprehension, albeit at a very low level, which manifests itself in resisting, for example, its own annihilation: thus, all things are “manifestations of the concept.”

These inorganic things exist only “in – itself” (an sich), not for themselves: they exist for us as conscious beings. But in history the contradictions in man's existence become “for himself” (für sich), as he arrives at an understanding of his history.

Is the scheme of development progressive? The second stage – that of negation – with its limiting conditions on the existence of the thing, would be regressive; but it is necessary for the arrival of the next stage – the negation of the negation – which is indeed a higher stage of existence.

But it is determinate negation, i.e. not freely chosen, but rather given by the nature of the whole to the individual thing. The pattern of internal contradiction, in the individual and in the whole, is determined by the historical situation. (This was developed by Marx: feudalism could not be followed by socialism). But for both Hegel and Marx there is no simply straight-line progressions: in many periods of history conditions of relapse and regression are evident. Only the grand pattern, the transition to a higher stage of development, is necessary.

This is as true of nature as of man: nature has a history, and Hegel conceives of it is also manifesting the development and alienation of the concept. Nature terminates, “develops to,” history; and history terminates in the emergence of the free subject, the subject which recognize itself in its own alienation. [It is the last appearance in philosophy of the old idea of Eternal Return.] Freedom demands the freedom of the world. But in the end dialectic turns to the realm of thought. The sphere of the Absolute Idea – in religion, art, and philosophy – closes the original circle which began with the self-alienation of God (spirit). Freedom finds its ultimate relaxation only in the realm of the mind.

Unlike former German idealism, Hegel’s “subject” is not merely the subject of cognition: it is also practice, i.e. history. And of course, this history includes not only the struggle between man and man but also that between man and nature. Reason and Freedom are not only ideas of consciousness and moral action [the individual subject] but are very much a part of man's actual history [the object world]. Thus, in absolute idealism man is at the threshold of historical materialism.

Hegel goes beyond his predecessors in denying that freedom is really only inner freedom. Freedom and society reflects the attained level of civilization; that it must always (as with Rousseau) be close to legitimate unfreedom. The ultimate goal of Freedom can only be reached in the realm of the mind, particularly in philosophy (which is the science of the most general concepts of knowledge and which comprehends reality as such).

Only in thought can harmony of Subject and Object be attained – but it is in thought only that reality is comprehended, that the general overcomes the particular. Therefore, a criticism of this concept of freedom as “only” intellectual is meaningless.

Q.: What is the reality of capitalism?

Hegel – and Marx – answer: the concept of capitalism, which reveals its essence. No combination of particulars can do this. This is the meaning of Hegel’s assertion that “only the concept is real”.

The Transition from Hegel to Marx:

Marx’s legacy from Hegel:

1) dialectical method – used to expose the contradiction inherent in the established system of society.

The dialectical negation of the present system is the proletariat. This group is an identifiable mass whose existence is a living denial of the value of the whole society – liberty, equality, possession of private property. The whole constitutes the unity of opposites. And the negation was brought about by the working of the society itself, not from without.

2) emphasis on history as the essential dimension of human existence, that in which humanity constitutes itself, and not just as one aspect of life.

Marx differed from his contemporaries not in that he noted that terrible social conflicts of industrial society but in that he saw the conflict of social groups as pertaining to the very structure of the society. He saw the condition of life as only the manifestation of the fundamental contradiction of bourgeois society. Thus he concluded that the basic problems could only be resolved by the abolition of the established form of society and a piecemeal reform.

The difference in modes of thinking between the proletariat and the ruling groups are not simply a reflection of their social position but are derived from the nature of the social reality itself. The particular solution of the proletariat embodies the state of, and is identical with, the general interest of the society as a whole, because among all groups the proletariat alone has no interest in the preservation of the society. The emancipation of the proletariat is the emancipation of all persons in that society. The goal of the proletariat is the recovery of the human existence for not only this group but also those groups which exploit it.

(1) Why does Marxism begin with a critique of religions and philosophical ideology?

Marx answers that at that point (in Germany) ideology was far ahead of reality, that reality was “below” the level of ideological development. Germany was behind England and France in economic, social, and constitutional development; but it was far ahead of all other nations in its intellectual comprehension of the underlying reality of the modern world, e.g. In the development of the concepts of freedom and equality and in the development of intellectual instruments necessary for understanding the course of Western history (e.g. Hegel's logic).

(2) Levels of Marxist Theory.

1) Philosophical Foundations: Historical Materialism and the Dialectical Method

2) Analysis of Capitalist Society: Economic Theory

- internal breakdown of capitalism; transition to socialism

3) Theory of Socialist Revolution: Political Theory

The turning of Marxism into a general social theory and of the dialectic into the realm of nature was begun with Engels and was brought to fruition in Soviet Marxism.

Historical Objectivity – comparison of societies. The state of productive forces, which determines the outer limit of the possibilities of human development at any given historical moment, can be known. Moreover, any rational human being will make this judgment: it is better to live than to die, and it is better to live well than to live badly. [The denial of the first contracts the very basis of thought: for, as Plato and Aristotle already argued, language and logic were developed to better human life.]

Thus, at every historical moment it can be known objectively whether the prospects and possibilities of a given social order are being applied to the alleviation and mitigation of the struggle for existence, i.e. Are tending (within stated limits) to improve the quality of life. For instance, the comparison of fascism and Western democracy. It can be shown that the first must develop (because of its basis) in the direction of increasing inequality and suppression and total war; the other, while it might develop regressive institutions, has also with the possibilities of purifying the struggle for existence.

Feuerbach

Hegel's philosophy attains the level of the concrete individual only in the most abstract way. Feuerbach stresses that the individual has sensuous being, especially the role of the senses as media of enjoyment.

(Marx – his theses on Feuerbach: If external conditions often determine men's actions, it is no less true that man first made these conditions.)

Religion is the projection of man's aspirations and failures into an imaginary world. According to Marx this draws man's intellectual energy away from the real problems of human existence – puts it “on ice”.

Dialectical Materialism.

Productive forces – the sum total of natural, physical and technical resources available to a society – always appear as a set of productive relations, i.e. Organized in a specific division of labor. This is the base of society. There are also other layers: legal, political, cultural – these are the superstructures. The latter are a function of the former.

But the formulation, “basic determines superstructures”, would not be an adequate one, because the relationship would not be dialectical. There can be a conflict between base and superstructure, but this is not the dynamic and explosive force in society; that is the conflict between the productive forces and the relations of production.

The conflict is always an internal one, i.e. The revolutionary forces always developed within the structure of the established system and necessarily bearers of a higher and more rational organization of production relations.

This is the content of historical progress – “higher” refers to purely materialistic considerations, i.e. every step in the historical process leads to increased production.

1844 MANUSCRIPTS.

Two conflicts: (1) between increasing wealth and property and increasing poverty; (2) between property and property-less-ness, the latter the condition of those who do not have enough material goods to attain the level of decent living possible at a given social point of development. The British thinkers, who recognize these facts, did not understand the conflicts as the necessary, inevitable consequences of the prevailing mode of production (end-of-life): increasing exploitation and alienation and poverty are the result not of errors or flaws but of the normal functioning of the society.

Alienation.

1) labor is not a human being while he works, but something else.

2) energy expended in work assumes the form of an independent object. Externalization and objectification (e.g. Bread to consumer) and detachment is necessary – the alienation of the product is inherent in labor. But Marx's objection is that the object becomes a hostile object, a power above and against the worker. Sum total of labor in society → totality of productive opposites → reproduction of society as a whole. It is hostile because the workers' human requirements are completely determined by labor: it is the complete enslavement of man by his work.

3) alienation from the essence of “man” namely the activity of creating his own existence. Essence → existence (anti-existentialist). Man can transform his immediately given situation into conditions in which he can develop his potentialities; then as free subject he can live in them as his own. Pacification of the struggle for existence. Man must transform objects into the condition for the relaxation of humanity, i.e. as a free human being. Man's essence is that man determines his existence; if existing conditions tonight humanity, they must be changed by man for man.

5) Alienation determines the relation of man to man as well as to his species. This is the Division of Labor (not psychological).

In the early Marx. There is a teleology in nature in this sense that the liberation of man produces the liberation of nature. Pacification of man's struggle for existence results in the pace of the hostility of nature. (The violence of nature is reflected in the violence of society).

Relationship between nature and society is determined by modes of production: in the modern. This means a denial of teleology and the treatment of both man and nature as dead matter – as static means to be studied and controlled. As such a society develops the instrumentalism will grow and men will become increasingly the tools of the powers that be. H true mode of production would be the use of nature for freedom, not a conquering of one hostile force by another.

Communism: Stages.

1) crude communism: form of society in which property has been abolished by making it general and universal. Labor and toil is also made general – crude egalitarianism. The State appears as the universal capitalist which exploits all. The state does not control production

for the whole, but for the vested interests and power groups. No distribution by needs, but strengthens exploitation to establish a material basis of society.

2) political communism – a) state is retained as a separate functioning entity. b) no political element: administration of things, not man (St.-Simon).

3) positive abolition of private property – (abolition – *Aufhebung* - cancel, destroy, eliminate, preserve, liberate). The elimination of capitalism preserves the development of productive forces and the level of technology. The benefits of private property must be set free through appropriation. (Socialism is the restoration of private property by socialized modes of production). Appropriation means using nature for man, instead of having Life as means to make a living. Life becomes an end in itself.

(The stages are not necessarily temporal or sequential).

In what sense does alienation pertain to the very essence of labor?

Not work: Marx speaks of the goal of communism as the “abolition of labor,” i.e. toil for the necessities of life. “Work” has the connotation of activity in which the individual develops his individual faculties and satisfies his individual needs. The objects of labor are always external to man, thus alienation results.

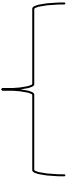
Capital, III, chapter 48: The realm of necessity can never be totally abolished, no matter how high the technological level (e.g., any kind of repetitive assembly-line labor). But if the level of necessity could be reduced from eight hours daily to one hour for every man, then the amount of alienated labor would be insignificant in human life.

GERMAN IDEOLOGY.

The empirical framework of philosophy is held to be the social activity of collective human organizations, and not isolated individuals. This does not mean that the individual is totally determined – only that both are to be seen as interact.

Three stages in the development of social division of labor (correlative to forms of ownership of property): tribal, ancient city state, feudal (“capitalist” added later on).

Basis of Production:

Law		Tribal = primitive society; collective ownership
		Ancient = private ownership of landed estates; small property holders; slaves
		Feudal = private ownership of land; serfdom

Industry: Capitalism = relationship of owner and laborer

Historical materialism: Theory must be capable of showing the link between the relations of production in a society and the basic social and political institutions and ideas of that society. The ideology must be derived from the bases: this is the basis of the methodology.

All ideology contained a kind of truth: this can only be found in comparing the ideology with the rest of the life – process in the society.

Religion is a manifestation of alienation: gods are the dreams of man. In a liberated society, men do not need a Savior, do not need God to guarantee justice, do not have to transfer their desires for good life to some vague hereafter. But, until that society is established, religion is by no means useless: it is the “heart of a heartless world,” the “soul of a soulless people,” and it has maintained the dream of a just world in the face of a persistent reality which tonight that hope (introduction to Hegel's Philosophy Of Right).

“The ruling ideas are nothing more than ideal repression of the dominant material relationships. The ideas that are the ruling ideas of the he epoch are the ideas of the ruling class.”

In the history of Western civilization, the dominant ideas become increasingly abstract, i.e. Take on the aspect of universality. This is evident, e.g. With the extension of political rights to those who were formerly slaves, and in the growing idea that all men, regardless of social distinction, should work. But this universalization is also increasingly abstract, i.e. Distinctions are drawn which vitiate the force of those ideas.

Individuals must revolt against the totality of life, rather than against certain conditions in the social system, i.e. They must recognize that the whole system is bad and must be abolished *in toto*.

Idea of communism: exchangeability of function. A man can develop his natural faculties only if he has the opportunity to try out many different fields for himself.

Abolition of social division of labor. Routine labor will remain the realm of necessity. But (1) the time necessary is reduced to an absolute minimum; (2) men can change functions often; (3) necessity is self – imposed in the sense that freely associated human beings themselves determine the production and distribution of required labor.

ECONOMICS

Social wealth of capitalist society appears as the vast collection of commodities. A commodity is anything produced for the market were bought and sold on the market. Almost anything can be a commodity – even the human body. Commodities are exchangeable by a price where it supposedly expresses its value. Thus, the market price appears as a quality of the commodity.

Basic method: the analysis of “reification”: relationships among men appear as relationships among things.

Reification of Commodities: what really determines the value of commodities is objective human relationships. Profit e.g. Is determined by the relationship between capitalist and worker. Again, not psychological. Individuals of course can get richer as capitalist profit declines in the class as a whole.

Wages too are reified because they also are actually based on human relationships.

Dialectical Method:

fuse reality as composed of facts and potentialities.

Interprets the facts in terms of the potentialities which the facts deny and suppress.

In the course of the development of productive forces the established conditions come to deny the possibilities which they themselves have opened up. Thus, the underlying conflicts are not generated from without, but rather develop as an inherent part of the normal development of the productive forces. For example, the first volume of Capital presupposes a model of capitalism which is the finest work of liberalism, a model in which nothing interferes with the freedom of the economy and its natural mechanisms – and proceeds to show how the inherent contradictions of the pure system produce an unworkable system. How degeneration will eventually set in even under optimum conditions.

Economic Theory:

(1) capitalism is society based on exchange of commodities, of the special form: whereas in a simple exchange society transactions are of the form

C (commodity) - M (money) - C (commodity),

in which the seller buys only what he needs for himself, the capitalist exchange takes the form of

M (money) - C (commodity) - M (money) +.

At the beginning is a certain amount of money, which is used for the exchange of commodities with the result that at the end of the process the amount of money is greater. In other words, use – value has been supplanted by exchange – value. (Use – value is the value of things that satisfy individual needs; exchange – value is the value which any item, however useless, can command on the market.)

(2) In a capitalist society, all commodities exchange according to their value, i.e. All commodities yield the price on the market which expresses their value. (It is assumed that there is no external interference – e.g. Cornering of the market – on the market.) The common demonstration of exchange – value is money.

No concrete quality of a commodity can possibly represent the quantifiable value represented by money: thus, the only common quality, the only universal attribute of all commodities is labor time.

(3) the exchange – value of every commodity is determined by the labor time socially necessary for its production. “Socially necessary” refers to the average of all phases of production; “labor time” means “abstract labor time”, i.e. without reference to individual differences in skills. If labor time is the only determinant of exchange – value, it follows that it is the only source of surplus value.

(4) Labor power, like all other commodities, is a commodity in a capitalist society. It is bought and sold on the market. Its value must also be determined by the time necessary for its reproduction. Physical energy spent is a commodity.

(5) Labor power is a unique commodity in that it creates value while it is consumed. The capitalist pays the equivalent of the socially necessary time for the reproduction of labor, but he receives more than this in the fact that value is being created – and appropriated by the capitalist – while it is being reproduced through consumption.

(6) the hidden fact appears in that the working day is longer than the time necessary for the reproduction of labor. Marx's example: four hours is reproduction time, for which the labor is paid; but the working day is eight hours: thus, there are four hours daily for unpaid labor. The decrease in time socially necessary for reproduction of labor is a function of increasing productivity brought by machinery and technology; this leads to increasing exploitation. (Rate of exploitation is ratio of unpaid to paid labor). This exploitation is inherent in the very system itself.

The capitalist does indeed pay the worker the cost of reproducing his labor (however badly); the evil of the system lies in the separation of the worker from the means for production through the appropriation of them by the capitalist. The value of unpaid labor is the only

source of surplus value in capitalist society – the machine creates no additional value whatsoever, it merely transfers its own value to the commodity which it ends in creating.

(This is proved by pointing to the fact that the more a product is exclusively the result of machinery, the more its value declines; Hunter complete mechanization the value of products would approach zero.)

(7) Surplus value appropriated by the capitalist must be reinvested on an ever-increasing scale if he is to maintain his competitive position (remember that Marx's model of capitalist society is a freely – competing one). Thus, also surplus value and profit must increase continually if the capitalist wants to maintain his position.

(8) Possibilities open to capitalist to increase surplus value: (1) absolute surplus value can be increased simply by increasing the length of the working day, i.e. Unpaid labor time (this of course ultimately would defeat the purpose by completely exhausting the laborers); (2) relative surplus value is increased by magnifying productivity of labor.

(9) “Higher Organic Composition of Capital”: $C = (c) + (r)$

Where,

- C Capital as a whole
- (c) Constant capital i.e. machinery
- (r) Variable capital, i.e. labor power

Law of development of capitalist society: “C” increases at the expense of “r”.

This is the heart of the contradiction in capitalism: it is technical progress in itself which results in the decline in the role of labor power and thereby in the source of surplus value itself. The law of the system's progress is also the law of its decline and stagnation.

Value of product: $C + V + S$ (surplus value)

example: $C100 = C50 + V50$

$$C140 = C80 + V60$$

although total amount of capital investment has increased, the percentage of surplus value (as part of variable capital) has declined.

Formula of Profit: $S / C + V$

Formula of Surplus Value: S / V

Profit is the “mystified form of surplus value”

(10) Consequences: a) concentration and centralization of capital, inevitable result of higher organic composition of capital. Even more capital is required to keep abreast of the competitive process – result is victory of fewer and fewer units with increasing amounts of capital.

(b) increasing impoverishment of working class. As a result of relative decline in utility of “r” there will be increasing technological unemployment, a vast reserve industrial army whose pressure would continually tend to drive wages down. Also, the capitalist would increasingly attempt to exploit the worker as a result of falling profit rates – this result is not just in physical want, but (because of new technology and “scientific management”) in increasing dehumanization and alienation. Marx means explicitly that the impoverishment of the working class increases in proportion to the accumulation of social wealth (i.e. It is relative impoverishment in that the worker could eventually be comfortable, but the gap between his level of living and that of the capitalist would continually increase.)

(c) contrast between great social wealth and increasing productivity and the injustice of its distribution: a few great entrepreneurs rule the economy and thereby also the social and political facets of the society.

Solution for the situation described in Capital – working classes must simply transform what is already a fact, namely the concentrated productive apparatuses which are not really private wealth, into a system organized for the benefit of all. Marx here revealed his commitment to the rationalist heritage of Western civilization – that the existing system was simply be free from its destructors limitation by the rational action of the proletariat. He could not foresee the extent to which technological progress, operating under repressive and exploitative institutions, could develop instruments of ideological control far more complete than anything known to the past. (Also, the great material production made possible by this technological progress.)

Law governing capitalist society is the law of value: law that socially necessary labor time is common determinant of market value is the principle which harmonizes the otherwise anarchic economic process (or, goods are exchanged according to their value). This law asserts itself behind the backs (*ex-post*) of the individuals concerned; what it does is to distribute labor time to the various areas of production.

Final crisis of capitalism is the crisis of overproduction. Licensing gaps between production and impoverishment of working-class. There were however, various counter – tendencies operating against the centralization's in the system which were evident even in Marx – Engels' lifetime.

(1) growing productivity of labor: this may grow faster than “r” (see (9) above) so that an adequate rate of surplus value may be maintained – this is precisely what happened. But this cannot continue for very long.

(2) transition to mass production: creation of large sectors of consumption.

(3) regeneration of production and destruction by the organizations of business and labor. This also appeared in widespread form around 1900, with monopolies and cartels on national and international basis. End of liberalist period of economy.

(4) production of waste – luxuries, armaments, etc.

(5) “capital export” – investments in foreign areas where organic composition of capital is lower than that in more developed areas, giving higher rate of surplus value: Imperialism.

POLITICAL THEORY.

The state arises out of the need for performing certain functions in the interest of the community as a whole. At origin of state these functions are purely economic – e.g. negation in primitive society – later those who perform these tasks become part of the social division of labor, and foundations are laid for a political order.

I.e., early authority – and idea of Marxist revolution – is the demonstrators, rational, based on real need; government is identified with oppression. Process is one which political rule gains the upper hand over rational administration. It is concurrent with the private appropriation of the means of production. The state becomes the whole of power for the ruling class.

For a long period, the interest of the ruling class is the interest of the society as a whole: each new ruling group of necessity develops the productive forces while acting in its own interest. However barbarous the means, these classes product civilization to the stage of industrialism (an illustration of Hegel's “cunning of Reason”) and laid the material foundations for free and rational society.

The forms of government (government as part of the superstructure) reflects the nature of the base, i.e. The relation that prevails between the social classes. The era of democracy is the era in which the people as a whole are being transformed from the status of objects of the government to that of subjects; the generalization of work in modern society which affects the nature of the base does not, however, affect the structure of government: its inequality also reflects the inequality of economic and social conditions. Democracy does not really work for the people; but only under democracy can capitalism develop and then can the transition from capitalism to socialism take place.

Capital, 5, chapter 24: Concluding Sentences.

Characteristic ideals of capitalist production, which forms establish capitalist private property: free enterprise, equality of opportunity, justice (fair exchange). These developed out of the struggle against feudalism. But in the process of development these forms are negated by the very working out of their inherent consequences, free enterprise turns into regimentation (large corporations, monopolies); equality turns into inequality because of the concentration of wealth; fair exchange becomes exploitation. Precisely in the development of capitalist relationships these forms turn into their opposites, e.g. In paying the fair market price of labor to the worker the capitalist exploits and. In addition, increasing productivity leads to the increasing production of waste and negation of the aims of productivity.

But the conditions which negate the ideals of capitalist production (and which has grown freely out of them) already contained the seeds of the new order, albeit introverted form: specifically, social forms of production. Therefore, for Marx, the transition from capitalism to socialism would be relatively easy – with the application of simple common sense the means of production, already highly socialized, should pass to the control of the producers (industrial and agricultural laborers), not to the state or even to “society”.

Why this class? Only they produced the goods necessary for the reproduction of society; inasmuch as this determines the whole of life, this class determines the whole of social life. Also, this class is the vast majority of the population (Marx and Engels took real democracy very seriously). But is this not simply the replacement of one ruling class by another? No: the emancipation of the working class is the emancipation of all classes.

Socialism builds on the achievements of capitalism. During the transitional period the government will be a dictatorship of the proletariat, with the suspension of democratic processes directed against the ruling class. This is necessary because every facet of the existing political order is dominated and influenced by the interest of the ruling class; the proletariat faces heavy odds (especially the Army and police) in its struggle for supremacy. All the representatives of the former ruling class must be removed from administrative

positions in society. The dictatorship also must supervise and protect the socialization of the means of production.

The dictatorship is supposed to lead to the “withering away of the state,” based on the increasing social wealth. Thus during the first phase some of the repressive features of capitalism – e.g. Inequality of remuneration – would have to be retained. Paradox: in this phase equality inevitably involves inequality, because law must be general and universal and cannot be applied to particular cases (in the instance of equality before the law); but this involves far less injustice than a lawless system.

[Another reason for the withering away of the state is that the increasing social wealth will lead to an increasing interchangeability of functions in men in general.]

The justice according to which remuneration is based upon the labor contributed to the community and involves itself an injustice (in case of greater needs). Thus, it is necessary to transform the principle of the first phase – to and according to his labor – into a qualitatively different principle to and according to his needs.

Surplus value – unpaid labor time - will continue to be extracted, but it will be applied to a social fund, collectively managed, to be utilized for the expansion of the productive forces in the interest of all.

In the second phase, where the commodities will be distributed according to need, money will be abolished.

Communist Society.

(1) Base (technical apparatus and technical division of labor) will continue to remain a realm of necessity and unfreedom, though greatly reduced.

(2) Superstructure: (a) juristic sphere – would almost vanish with disappearance of conflict of interest in society; (b) political sphere – transformed into administration and would disappear as an independent area in the social division of labor: both (a) and (b) would in a way become part of the technical division of labor in (1) above. In this sense the cultural sphere becomes as the only remaining part of the superstructure, the true realm of individual freedom.

LENINISM

Rosa Luxembour, The Russian Revolution: best critique of Leninist policy.

While the trade union movement contributes to the immediate interest of the working class, it is detrimental to their real interest, mostly in weakening the class – consciousness of the workers.

Lenin also opposed the participation of the Marxist parties in coalition governments because it makes them responsible for the actions of government and also leads to a vested interest in the status quo (same for “participation” of labor in management).

Organized capitalism means the continual danger of war among the capital nations.

Imperialism.

J.A. Hobson - at certain stage capitalist development demands the acquisition of foreign markets through political domination (mainly changes labor and raw materials and opportunities for investment); it is an internal necessity of capitalism economies in origin.

New Forms of Capitalism - amalgamation of capitalist enterprise and increased protection and intervention of the political and military power of the government: financial capitalism (cf. R. Hilferding), monopoly capitalism, monopoly state capitalism. The period is characterized ideologically by the replacement of all humanitarian outlooks by militant, racist, nationalist, militaristic, expansionist, and irrationalist philosophies, the coercion of the liberalist philosophy.

Theories of Imperialism:

(1) Otto Bauer, The Question of Nationality (1902) expansion into backward area makes capital more profitable in Metropolis itself: “the capitalist expansion appears as the common economic interest in the society as a whole.” Capitalists can raise wages without endangering profit structure.

(2) Rudolph Hilferding, Finance Capital (1910): Banks have accumulated a distinct aggregation of capital, which now exceeds amount owned by individual industrialists (A.A. Berle Jr., The 20th Century Capitalist Revolution shows how this trend has been reversed and how large corporations finance their own operations).

“General cartel” supra – national Corporation which will eliminate internal competition in capitalist nations; never thought it would become reality.

Hilferding - the change in the class – relations at the turn-of-the-century – the decline in class – consciousness and the exasperation of the working class in the established order – necessitated a corresponding change in ideology. This change was the decline of the liberal

philosophy and the rise of new ideas – the total mobilization of the nation into politics – nationalism, militarism, racism.

(3) Karl Kautsky: “ultra-imperialism” – alliance (supra-national) for joint exploration of the world.

(4) Rosa Luxembourgh - with closing of world markets the source of surplus value will dry up and capitalism will collapse. Lenin and Bukharin object that the closing of the world does not prevent the capitalists from finding new ways of extracting surplus value.

Lenin: Theory of the Party.

1. Formulated when it had become clear that the socialist revolution would not take place in the advanced capitalist nations of the West.
2. Emphasis on national parties. Party is the embodiment of the real (as opposed to the immediate = trade union, etc.) interest of the proletariat.
3. Party dictatorship. Leadership cannot be imposed from above. But because of the increasing ideological degradation of the working class, class – consciousness must be imposed from without. The party has kept itself free from the corrupting influences of advanced capitalist countries; it is its job to do this.
4. Unity of the party = must be purged of all elements not favoring revolution, even at risk of splitting the party.
5. Russia: broadening of Marxist views to include the peasantry as a revolutionary element and indeed as the largest single group, given the fact of the low industrial development. Following this was the proposition (probably Trotsky's) - a major revision- that the “imperialist chain” should be broken at its weakest link. But this raises the problem that the powerful capitalist nations would not tolerate a socialist revolution in a weak country, weak because the industrial base simply did not exist. Lennon therefore insisted that the revolution in Russia would be safe only if a revolution occurred in a neighboring country, especially Germany.

Communist International: First Congress (March, 1919)

Program

- 1) destruction of the bourgeois state and theory in its entirety.
- 2) dictatorship of the proletariat: depression for the sake of destruction of enemies; will disappear when the old order is smashed.
- 3) nationalization of entire economy at once.

Second Congress (1920): begins to face the major problem of Communist strategy even since – abandoning the international struggle and concentrating on the building of socialism in one country. Then what of the position of national Communist Parties?

Soviet foreign-policy since the death of Lenin has never swayed from its objective of avoiding a war with the capitalist nations.

Statement - Russia was never one man rule. There were several layers of bureaucracies: (1) economic, (2) party, (3) government (includes police).

Russia: Menshevik, Trotsky, Bolshevik (Lenin): all three agree that a democratic revolution must overthrow the Tsarist regime before the socialist revolution can take place (i.e. Bourgeois democratic revolution is a necessary step in transition).

The Menshevik approach was the gradualist one, like those of Western social Democrats. Lenin saw that at some point the bourgeoisie would feel threatened by the movement toward Socialism and would end the process of democratization. At the point “the bourgeois democratic revolution was complete”: Lenin forced the Bolsheviks to transfer their allegiance from Kerensky to the new Soviets.

Trotsky: the “Permanent Revolution” (term coined by Marx in 1850 to mean the long-range plan of socialist education etc.): Proletariat would be in conflict with the peasantry, but the farmer would be predominant; thus if socialism is to be accomplished in Russia by antagonizing the majority of the population, then it could not succeed by itself. It must be from the beginning to be an international movement, not a building of socialism in one country. They must support the proletarian movements in the advanced capitalist countries.

SOVIET MARXISM.

All factions – Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin - believe that the socialist revolution could be guaranteed to succeed only if it would occur in an advanced capitalist country. The Russian Revolution was a “holding operation” for the revolution in Germany: it could not succeed by itself because (1) the socialist society would have to be continually armed against the threat of capitalist intervention, and (2) the base – material, cultural, intellectual – was extremely low. The whole future of Russian communist development hinged on the situation in Germany.

Imperial regime was replaced by workers’ and soldiers’ councils and by middle-class (and conservative) parties. The social Democratic Party was faced by small revolutionary groups (e.g. Spartacus League who saw that the result of universal suffrage would deny the socialists a clean majority in the legislature. These groups were strong enough to carry the socialist movement, but other social Democrats called on the Army (still intact after the war) and defeated them.

Concluding Themes.

1. Alienation.

1. Marx accepts description of society given by British economists. Negates them on their own terms, increasing alienation and exploitation is the result not of errors or flaws in the system but of the normal functioning of the society.

2. Ruler, more complex view of man's essence than liberal one: Man has his objective needs, as animal and as human being; man’s essence is “free conscious activity”.

→ Criticism of ideal of liberal political economy: *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts* [EPM], 118 – 9.

3. Alienation and estrangement: worker is confronted by objects of his labor as hostile objects, a power above and against him. It is hostile because the worker’s human requirements are completely determined by labor: it is the complete enslavement of man by his work; secondly, because the worker’s activity belongs not to him but to another. EPM, 72 –3.

4. Laborer as a commodity, as unit of production, not as human being. His essence is determined by capital. EPM, 85

II. Marxism as science of society

1. Philosophy of history.

a. Early formulation (EPM, 113-4), “for the socialist man the entire so – called history of the world is nothing but the begetting of man through human labor, nothing but the coming – to – be of nature for man.”

b. History: the history of class struggles.

c. Necessity of the process of history: feudalism – capitalism – socialism. Transitions to hire, more rational stage.

2. Dialectical Materialism.

a. Dialectic – internal contradictions inherent in every system, uncovered by its very development and fulfillment as a system. Negation. Reality as compared to facts and potentialities.

b. Materialism (*Communist Manifesto* [CM], 28 - 29).

c. Dialectical materialism: conflicts of society always appear as conflict between forces of production and relation of production. Interaction of base and superstructure.

Critique of Capitalism.

1. The role of capitalism and the bourgeoisie in history: CM, 12-13.
2. The labor theory of value (and the condition of the working classes)
3. Contradictions of capitalism: CM, 14-15, 21; *Capital*, I, 763.
4. The role of the proletariat (I. Berlin, 88, 152:
 - a. Sole creator of social wealth;
 - b. First historical movement this is in the interests of the majority (CM, 20)
 - c. Emancipation of all classes, “universal human emancipation” (EPM, 82)