

WHEN THE IDEA PENETRATES THE MASSES, IT BECOMES POWER—
MARX

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114th ANNIVERSARY OF
THE BIRTH OF
KARL MARX

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(In Two Sections—Section Two)

**WORKERS OF THE WORLD
UNITE**
YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT YOUR CHAINS
— MARX-ENGELS

**WE'LL DEFEND
THE
SOVIET UNION
THE WORKERS'
FATHERLAND**

**5 YR
PLAN**

BEFORE ALL ELSE, MARX WAS A REVOLUTIONIST

Friedrich Engels' Speech at the
Funeral of Karl Marx

On March 14th, at a quarter to three in the afternoon, the greatest of living thinkers ceased to think. He had been left alone for barely two minutes; but when we entered his room we found that, seated in his chair, he had quietly gone to sleep—forever.

The loss which his death has inflicted upon the fighting proletariat in Europe and America, and upon the science of history, is immeasurable. The gaps that will be made by the death of this titan will soon be felt.

Just as Darwin discovered the law of evolution in organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of evolution in human history. He discovered the simple fact (heretofore hidden beneath ideological excrescences) that human beings must have food and drink, clothing and shelter, first of all, before they can interest themselves in politics, science, art, religion, and the like. This implies that the production of the immediately requisite material means of subsistence, and therefore with the existent economic developmental phase of a nation or an epoch, constitute the foundation upon which the State institutions, the legal outlooks, the artistic and even the religious ideas of those concerned have been built up. It implies that these latter must be explained out of the former, whereas usually the former have been explained as issuing from the latter.

Nor was this all. Marx likewise discovered the special law of motion proper to the contemporary capitalist method of production and to the bourgeois society which that method of production has brought into being. The discovery of surplus value suddenly threw light here, whereas all previous investigators (socialist critics no less than bourgeois economists) had been groping in the dark.

Two such discoveries might suffice for one man's lifetime. Fortunately he who is privileged to make even one discovery so outstanding. But in every field he studied (the fields were many, and the studies were exhaustive), Marx made independent discoveries—even in mathematics.

I have pictured the man of science. But the man of science was still only half the man. For Marx, science was a motive force of history, was a revolutionary force. Whilst he took a pure delight in a purely theoretical discovery, in one

which had not and perhaps never would have a practical application, he experienced a joy of a very different kind when he was concerned with a discovery which would forthwith exert a revolutionary influence on industry, on historical evolution in general. For instance, he paid close attention to the advances of electrical science, and, of late years, to the discoveries of Marcel Deprez.

For, before all else, Marx was a revolutionist. To collaborate in one way or another in the overthrow of capitalist society and of the State institutions created by that society; to collaborate in the freeing of the modern proletariat, which he was the first to inspire with a consciousness of its needs, with a knowledge of the conditions requisite for its emancipation—this was his true mission in life. Fighting was his natural element. Few men ever fought with so much passion, tenacity, and success. His work on the "Rheinische Zeitung" in 1842, on the Parisian "Vorwaerts" in 1844, on the "Deutsche Brusseler Zeitung" in 1847, on the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" in 1848 and 1849, on the "New York Tribune" from 1852 to 1861; a great number of pamphlets;

multifarious activities in Paris, Brussels and London; finally, as crown of his labors, the foundation of the International Workingmen's Association: there you have his record. Had Marx done nothing but found the International, there was an achievement of which he might well have been proud.

Because he was an active revolutionist, Marx was the most hated and the most calumniated man of his time. He was shown the door by various governments, republican as well as absolute. Bourgeois, ultra-democrats as well as conservatives, vied with one another in spreading libels about him. He brushed these aside like cobwebs, ignored them, only troubled to answer them when he positively had to. Yet he has gone down to his death honored, loved and mourned by millions of revolutionary workers all over the world, in Europe and Asia as far eastward as the Siberian mines, and in America as far westward as California. I can boldly assert that, while he may still have many adversaries, he has now hardly one personal enemy.

His name and his works will live on through the centuries.

The Communists -- Most Resolute Section of the Working-Class

The Communists have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole.

They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mould the proletarian movement.

The Communists are distinguished from the other working class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.

The Communists, therefore, are, on the one hand, the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all

others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement.

You are horrified at our intending to do away with private property. But in your existing society, private property is already done away with for nine-tenths of the population; its existence for the few is solely due to its non-existence in the hands of those nine-tenths. You reproach us, therefore, with intending to do away with a form of property, the necessary condition for whose existence is the non-existence of any property for the immense majority of society.

In one word, you reproach us with intending to do away with your property. Precisely so; that is just what we intend.

From The Communist
Manifesto.

"The Class Struggle Will Move Faster, Just Like Everything Else in America"--Engels

By SAM DON

A million workers demonstrated on May 1st. The militant traditions of the American working class of the first stormy days of American capitalism are being revived. But not just merely revived. The earlier militant traditions in this period of crisis, in this period of wars and revolutions, are enriched by a deeper revolutionary content. Led by the Communist Party, armed with Marxism-Leninism, the present day militant struggles of the American working class assume purposefulness and consciousness.

It is well to recall now some of the statements of Marx and Engels on the development of the American working class. The ideas bear testimony to their profound insight in the driving forces of the class struggle in America and their faith in the American working class. In 1892 Engels said:

"When the Americans once begin, they will do so with an energy and virulence in comparison with which we in Europe will be children."

And the American working class has begun.

In the brief period of "prosperity" the Second Socialist International declared Marxism dead. From Hoover through Hillquit to Lovestone and Cannon, American capitalism was presented as the proof of the fallacy of Marxism.

A typical expression of the attitude which pronounced Marxism dead is the following statement made in 1928 by one of the leading German Socialists and trade unionists, Mr. Tarnow, who said:

"We must distinguish two epochs in the development of capitalism, the epoch of British capitalism, which was limited in its possibilities of expansion, and the epoch of American capitalism, which on the basis of the latest technical advances can unendingly expand and develop. For the first epoch Marx and Lassalle were typical. They maintained that wages are determined by certain economic laws, that they depend upon the cost of labor power, etc. For the second epoch Ford is typical. He proved that capitalism can prosper while the workers need not at the same time remain poor."

Here the mass murderer Ford is substituted by the Second Socialist International as the savior of the working class in place of Marx. But it did not take long for capitalism itself to tear to shreds the "fine" theories of the leaders of the Second Socialist International.

The present world economic crisis, which began in 1929, demonstrated before the toiling masses throughout the world that it is not Ford, that it is not Kautsky and Hillquit, but Marxism and Leninism which they should choose as their guide to action.

In the beginning of 1930, Hilferding, the theoretician of the German Socialist Party could still muster courage to say:

"Modern capitalism is overcoming and removing everything which made for the anarchy of capitalist production."

Let us compare this statement of Hilferding's, of his unlimited faith in the stability of capitalism, with the following statement which appeared in one of the last issues of the *Annalist*:

"We have all hoped that the depression in business had spent its force. 1930 was bad. 1931 was worse. And now 1932 seems generally worse than 1931, but the most alarming feature right now is that there seems to be few signs that 1933 will be much better."

Thus we see how capitalism is "overcoming" its anarchy of production when its leading capitalists cannot even see signs of an improvement in the situation in the year 1933 when we are still in the midst of 1932.

In 1928 the American Socialist Party eliminated the class struggle clause from its constitution. Thus it demonstrated its complete sev-

erance with the basic principles of Marxism. Lovestone and Cannon have unlimited faith in the strength of American capitalism. Lovestone spoke of the Victorian age of American capitalism. That is, comparing American capitalism with the period of British capitalism when it enjoyed unchallenged monopoly on the world market, and when the British working class was in its most conservative period of history. But is there anyone today who would still dare openly to sing the praises of the strength and power of American capitalism as was done a few years ago? The present crisis dealt a body blow to the theories of the stability of capitalism and American exceptionalism, theories which attempt to replace Marxism with liberal "Socialism" and organized capitalism, and to substitute Ford for Marx.

Now more than ever the teachings of Marx and Lenin must become the torch light for the struggle of the workers against the offensive of the bourgeoisie. It is on the basis of a strict Marxian-Leninist analysis that the Communist International, with penetrating wisdom and Bolshevik foresight, told our Party at the beginning of 1929:

"With a distinctness unprecedented in history, American capitalism is exhibiting now the effects of the inexorable laws of capitalist development, the laws of decline and downfall of capitalist society." (From the opening address of the C. I.)

This analysis of the C. I., which is now strikingly confirmed, gives our Party a leading historical role.

Marx and Engels studied with great interest the specific features which at the time made the American working class move slower and not act as an independent class in comparison with European workers. They therefore carried on a sharp fight against those elements in the United States who, while professing to be Marxists, were sectarian and separated from the American labor movement.

Marx in a letter written November 23, 1871, to a member of the New York Provisional Federal Council of the First International spoke of the need to "put an end to all sectarian and amateur groups and in case of need to expel them." Engels spoke up very sharply against those who in the American labor movement "have not been able to use their theory as a lever to set the American masses in motion," against those for whom theory is "credo, not a guide for action."

Now that the American working class, with the changed situation of American capitalism, is beginning to play a leading revolutionary role in the international working class movement, we must free ourselves from the old sectarian traditions. To the extent that we free ourselves from these traditions, to the extent that we use theory as a lever for setting the masses in motion, to that extent will we fulfill the role as Marxist-Leninists, as the leaders of the American working class.

Engels and Marx already foresaw the severity and sharpness of the class struggle in the United States. Engels said:

"Nowhere in the whole world are they so brazen-faced and tyrannical as over there (America) where the battle is fought by the bourgeoisie with such weapons that decisions arrive quickly."

In order to meet these decisions, which arrive quickly, our Party must merge itself with the masses, arm itself with the theory of Marx and Lenin, so that in the shortest space of time it can overcome its isolation from the decisive sections of the American working class.

When we are faced at the present time with the war situation, in which the American proletariat is called upon to play a leading role in the struggle for the defense of the Soviet Union (14th Plenum

Resolution) we must take to heart the following statement of Comrade Stalin. Comrade Stalin in 1929 said:

"I think, comrades, that the American Communist Party is one of those few Communist Parties in the world upon which history has laid tasks of a decisive character from the point of view of the world revolutionary movement. . . . I think that the moment is not far off when a revolutionary crisis will develop in America, and when a revolutionary crisis develops in America it will be the beginning of the end of world capitalism as a whole."

It is in the spirit of this statement of Comrade Stalin, which is permeated with Marxism and Leninism, that we celebrate the anniversary of Marx.

Stalin on Marxism, Leninism

Leninism is the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution. To be more precise: Leninism is the theory and the tactic of the proletarian revolution in general, and the theory and tactic of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular. Marx and Engels lived in a pre-revolutionary period, when imperialism was still in an embryonic condition, when the workers were only preparing for

By OTTO HALL

Karl Marx, in his study of the historic development of capitalism in America, ruthlessly exposed the source of the great fortunes accumulated by the pious capitalists in England and America engaged in the slave trade. He pointed out, in the first volume of "Capital" in the chapters dealing with the source of primitive accumulation of wealth, that these hypocrites, in their greed for gold, did not hesitate "to turn Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skinned" and that this "signalized the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production."

Marx not only exposed the viciousness of slavery, and the slave trade, but as the founder of the First International, he led a stern and uncompromising fight for the complete abolition of the vicious system of chattel slavery. He wrote many articles for the "New York Tribune" in the years preceding and during the Civil War, supporting

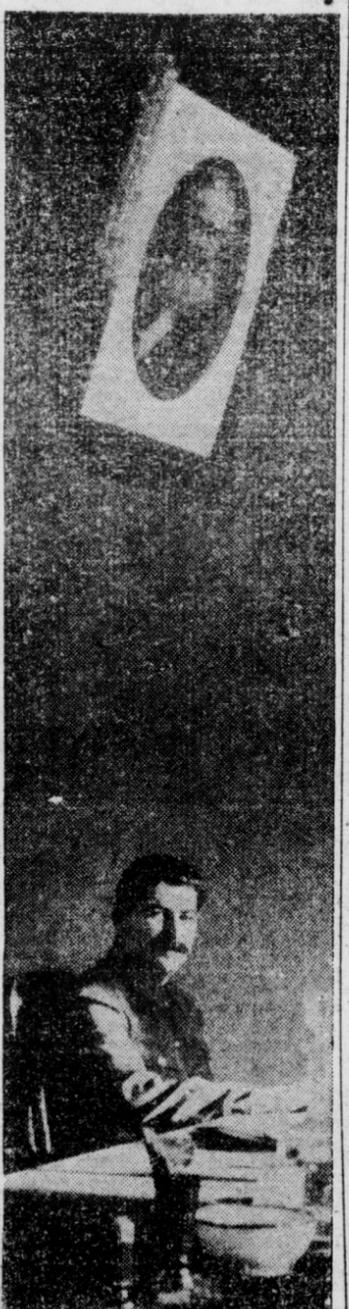
the abolition and mobilizing public sentiment against this vicious system of human bondage and was an important factor in mobilizing the workers, both in Europe and America, against slavery. He pointed out back in 1859, that "Labor in the white skin cannot emancipate itself as long as it is degraded in the black."

When the British textile barons who were accumulating great fortunes by securing cheap cotton thru the existence of the slave plantations in America, tried, during the early years of the Civil War, to mobilize sentiment in England favoring recognition of the Confederate States, Marx carried on a vigorous fight on the lecture platform, and through the columns of the Vienna "Free Press" against them. He succeeded in mobilizing the workers in England and other European countries against the slave system. Marx, who was living in London at this time, wrote to Lassalle on April 23, 1862 that: "The English middle class (and aristocracy) has never more shamelessly disgraced itself than in the great struggle that is taking place on the other side of the Atlantic. The English working class, on the other hand, which is suffering most under the bellum civile (Civil War), has never proved itself more heroic and noble. All the more is this to be admired when one knows as I do, all the means which were set in motion here (London) and in Manchester in order to get it to demonstrate. The only organ that they still had, the newspaper of the scoundrel Reynolds, has been bought up by the Southerners; likewise their most important lecturers. But all in vain."

It can easily be seen that through the agitation carried on by Marx, which resulted in the failure of the Southern confederacy to obtain moral and financial support of the principal European countries, was a great factor in bringing about its early defeat. Thus the struggles of the revolutionary white and Negro workers under the leadership of the Communist Party against the vicious campaign of lynch terror and suppression against the most exploited section of the working class becomes one of the most important tasks facing the workers at this time. The vigorous campaign carried on by the Communist Party for the self-determination of the Negro toilers in the "Black Belt" of the South and for their equal rights everywhere is not, as the social fascists and their friends of the N. A. A. C. P. claim, a new scheme of the Communists for self-advertisement, but the logical carrying thru of the teachings of Karl Marx.

The great majority of the Negroes in the United States are still on the land, and are living in actual slavery, in spite of their supposed emancipation, in the section of the South known as the "Black Belt." The vicious character of their exploitation, their re-enslavement on the plantation after the Reconstruction period when they were systematically deprived of the most elementary rights enjoyed by other workers, the super-profits extracted from their toil, definitely determines their class position as oppressed Nationals. Marx understood this very clearly when he wrote to Engels on July 25, 1877, commenting on the Hayes-Tilden compromise, which marked the end of the Reconstruction Period and the betrayal of the Negroes by the republican party. He stated that: "The policy of the new President (Hayes) will make the NEGROES, and the great expropriations of land (exactly the fertile land) in favor of railways, mining, etc., companies, will make THE PEASANTS OF THE WEST, who are already very dissatisfied, ALLIES OF THE WORKERS."

We see then, that an understanding of revolutionary Marxism gives the workers the means, through which they can achieve their final emancipation from the yoke of capitalist oppression.



The latest picture of the leader of the Communist International, Comrade Stalin, in his office in Moscow.

THE 2nd 5-YEAR PLAN AND THE ABOLITION OF CLASSES

The fundamental political task of the second Five Year Plan is the final liquidation of the capitalist elements and of classes in general, the complete removal of the causes which produce class differences and exploitation, the overcoming of the remnants of capitalism in economy and in the minds of the people, the conversion of the whole of the working population of the country into conscious and active builders of the classless Socialist society.

"Labor in the white skin cannot be free while labor in the black skin is branded!"--Marx

The 80th Anniversary of Marxism in America

ALEXANDER FRUCHTENBERG

The first Communist periodical in the United States was published exactly eighty years ago. It is true that another publication, *Die Republik der Arbeiter* (The Republic of Workers), published in the interest of labor and which might be considered semi-Communist, appeared two years earlier. Its editor was that redoubtable Wilhelm Weitling, journeyman tailor, political immigrant, utopian Communist, labor organizer, Free-Soiler, colonizer, etc. Weitling's paper helped to organize the German workers who emigrated to this country, par-

KARL MARX



Born May 5, 1818—Died March 14, 1883.

ticularly after the defeat of the Revolution of 1848, in Germany. Due to Weitling's activity the first national convention, representing about 5,000 German workers in the United States, was held in Philadelphia in the fall of 1850, from which the American Socialist movement can claim its origin.

But it is *Die Revolution* (The Revolution), published in the spring of 1852, that must be considered as the first Communist publication in this country. Due to financial difficulties only two issues of this publication were published, but they mark the definite beginning of Marxist publication in America. The publisher and editor of *The Revolution* was Joseph Weydemeyer, a friend and co-worker of Marx and Engels, a participant in the Revolution of 1848 who emigrated to the United States in 1851. Weydemeyer was thoroughly versed in the teachings of Marx and Engels as propounded by them in the *Communist Manifesto*, and, on coming to the U. S., he soon became active among the German workers, spreading among them the ideas of scientific Communism. He felt the need for a periodical publication, and he was determined to establish a Communist weekly. He wrote about his plan to Marx and asked him to write an article for the first number of the magazine, which was to be published early in 1852. Marx reacted favorably to the idea, but when he had already sent off the first installment of his contribution, he heard that it might have to be abandoned for lack of funds.

Marx's biographer, Franz Mehring, tells of the extraordinary hardships under which Marx lived and worked at the time he was writing the "article" for Weydemeyer's paper. His wife, Jenny, was ill, one of his children had died, and the family was experiencing the direst poverty. On a winter day of that year Marx wrote in a letter: "For a week I have been unable to leave the house because my coat is in a pawnshop; and we can no longer get any meat, for the butcher has refused further credit."

While Marx was working under these conditions on what was destined to become one of the classic pieces of revolutionary writings, Weydemeyer was hurrying to apprise him of the good news that he had secured the funds with which to publish the first issue of the magazine. "Unexpected aid has at last removed the obstacles in the way of printing your booklet," Weydemeyer wrote Marx on April 9,

1852. "Just after I wrote you, I chanced to meet one of our Frankfurt workers, a tailor by trade, who like myself crossed the Atlantic last summer. When I told him of my straits, he placed all his savings, a sum of \$40, at my disposal."

Weydemeyer was going to publish the first issue of a magazine and expected to include among other material an article by Marx. He asked Marx to write on the *coup d'état* of Louis Bonaparte of December 2, 1851. When the last installment of the "article" arrived in April, Weydemeyer did not need any more copy for his first number of *The Revolution*. The entire issue was devoted to the "article," which was entitled: *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. The Frankfurt worker who gave "all his savings" for Weydemeyer's publishing project, made possible the publication in New York of the first edition of one of the most brilliant historical writings that came from the pen of the greatest genius of the Nineteenth Century. *The Eighteenth Brumaire* was published in Europe only seventeen years later, and Marx reports that only a few hundred copies of the American edition reached Europe after its publication.

In celebrating Marx's 114th anniversary American Marxists celebrate the eightieth anniversary of the publication in America of one of his best works in his literary heritage, as well as the anniversary of the appearance of the first Communist journal in this country. Although penned four generations ago *The Eighteenth Brumaire*, about which Engels exclaimed "it is, in truth, the work of a genius," still serves as a source book for the study of class relations in society, of revolution and counter-revolution, of class collaboration, of the independent role of the proletariat, of petty-bourgeois reformism, of the role of the peasantry in the revolution, of bourgeois-democratic revolution—of many other fundamental problems of the theory and practice of the revolutionary proletarian movement.

The Eighteenth Brumaire is an inspired work and, anyone who has been under the spell of Marx' brilliant analysis of the class relations of the Second Republic and of the developing counter-revolution in France, will readily agree with Engels' following characterization of the book: "Never have we had an example of so fine a penetration into the meaning of living history, history as it is written before our very eyes from day to day."

In studying *The Eighteenth Brumaire*, the workers must relate the lessons of that important social struggle in French history to the struggles of which they are themselves a part. As Lenin himself practiced and as he never tired of adjuring us: "Marxism is not a dogma, but a guide to action," we must approach the study of the classics of Marxism-Leninism with this in view. We must tie up revolutionary theory with revolutionary practice, as Marx himself always did. And Lenin, the most illustrious pupil of Marx, became the world leader of the revolutionary proletariat and the oppressed colonial peoples precisely because in him more than in anyone else was found the complete fusion of revolutionary theory and practice. Stalin, too, speaks about the fruitfulness of activity without the support of revolutionary theory, and of the bareness of theory without revolutionary experience.

Every worker can read *The Eighteenth Brumaire* for the joy of reading it, for the joy of seeing the stature of Marx rise higher and higher. But greater joy is in store for the worker-reader who will make out of this book an instrument in the struggle for the liberation of his class, for the triumph of the proletarian revolution to which Marx devoted his life and his great talents, and to which the little volume published in New York eighty years ago was dedicated.

A FEW OF THE THINGS THAT KARL MARX SAID ABOUT UNEMPLOYMENT

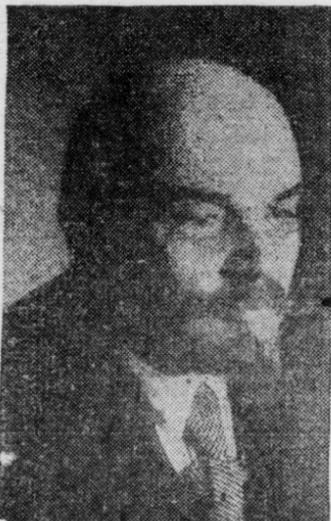
By BILL DUNNE

On the anniversary of Marx, with its more than 12,000,000 unemployed workers in the United States; with the additional millions of part-time workers, whose condition in many instances, such as in the steel industry, where workers rated as employed are given one day's work per month, are but little better than those of the entire unemployed; with the stagger system and the speed-up making devastating inroads on workers' health, living and social standards; with unemployment increasing, it is well to recall what Marx wrote 75 years ago about capitalist production, unemployment and the effect upon the working class. Especially because of the whole libraries that were written up to the period of the crisis to prove that the steady improvement of the wages and living conditions of workers were inherent in the so-called mass production and high wage theory put forward by the apologists of capitalism and especially by the leadership of the American Federation of Labor.

The theory of "organized capitalism" also had as its base, and this was one of the chief demagogic appeals of the socialist parties of the Second International throughout the world, that improvement of workers' conditions and social standards went hand in hand with the higher organization of capitalism.

Even the gigantic national and international combinations of capitalism, the huge trustification especially of basic industries, the mergers and re-trustification that took place in the United States, Germany and other countries, likewise found their apologists in the

V. I. LENIN



Born April 23, 1870—Died January 21, 1924.

leadership of the socialist parties and social fascist trade union leadership.

The American working class, in terms of factory workers employed, actually decreased in numbers during the post-war period. Unemployment involving two and three million workers became permanent even during the greatest boom period that American capitalism ever passed through. The organic composition of capital reached unheard of proportions. Entire huge plants still capable of producing at a tremendous rate of speed were scrapped and still high speed machinery and faster production processes involved. Production reached new high levels.

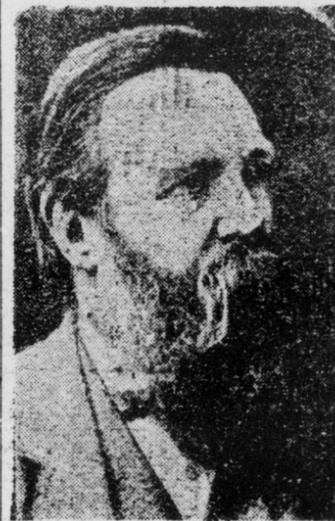
All of this was interpreted by capitalist economists as a complete refutation of Marxian economic theory. While the total sum paid in wages rose, the relative condition of the working class became worse.

But this fact, of course, escaped the capitalist economists. It was likewise concealed to the best of their ability by the social fascist leaders.

On this point Marx said: "The number of laborers commanded by capital may remain the same, or even fall, while the variable capital increases. This is the

case if the individual laborer yields more labor, and therefore his wages increase and this although the price of labor remains the same or even falls, only more slowly than the mass of labor rises. Increase of variable capital, in this case, becomes an index of more labor, but not of more laborers employed. It is the absolute interest of every capitalist to press a given quantity of labor out of a smaller, rather than a greater number of laborers,

FRIEDRICH ENGELS



Born November 28, 1820—Died August 5, 1895.

if the cost is about the same. . . . We have further seen that the capitalist buys with the same capital a great mass of labor power, as he progressively replaces skilled laborers by less skilled, mature labor by immature, male by female, that of adults by that of young persons or children."

What could better describe the speedup process in America?

During the boom period American capitalism was steadily creating "the industrial reserve army" which, as Marx says in one of his most brilliant passages, "during the period of stagnation and average prosperity weighs down the active labor army; during the periods of overproduction and paroxysm, it holds its pretenses in check. Relative surplus population is therefore the pivot upon which the law of demand and supply of labor works. It confines the field of this action of this law within the limits absolutely convenient to the activity of exploiters and to the dominance of capital."

During the boom period of American capitalism the policy of "worker-management-cooperation" became openly the major line of march of the official leadership of

the trade unions. Nothing was to be done which would interfere with the freedom of the capitalists to install the newest and speediest labor processes; nothing must be done to interfere with the efficiency of American capitalist production.

The American working class was deluged by floods of speeches, magazine and newspaper articles, books and pamphlets, all trying to convince the worker that any interference with this right of capital would decrease the number of workers employed, lower wages and worsen conditions because capital had to be left free in order to carry out its benevolent task of always employing more workers at ever higher wages.

Even some Communists were deluded by the superficial results of the rationalization process. It appeared to them as something entirely new in capitalism and not as what it was—an intensification of the process continuously at work in capitalist society, the relation between employer and worker—that of securing more work from less workers at lower wages. Rationalization was the intensification of this process in the period of imperialism.

Marx described with great exactness the way by which the spokesmen and publicists of capitalism of his day glorified this process and tried to make it appear in the earlier days of capitalism as their socialist prototypes and leadership of the American Federation of Labor did, and still do for that matter, in the declining period of capitalism.

On this point Marx said, speaking of what he called "one of the greatest exploits of economic apologetics":

"It will be remembered that if through the introduction of new, or the extension of old, machinery, a portion of variable capital (wages) is transformed into constant, machinery, plant equipment, etc., the economic apologists interpret this operation which 'fixes' capital and by that very act sets laborers 'free,' in exactly the opposite way, pretending that it sets free capital for the laborers. Only now can one fully understand the effrontery of these apologists. What are set free are not only the laborers immediately turned out by the machines, but also their future substitutes in the rising generation, and the additional contingent, that with the usual extension of trade on the old basis would be regularly absorbed."

Perhaps we can see, in the words of Marx, that today, in the third year of the worst crisis in the history of capitalism, "only now can one fully understand the effrontery" of the boosters of the theory of "permanent American prosperity."

The Liberating Movement of the Working Class

By V. I. LENIN

The greatest liberating movement in the world of the oppressed class, the most revolutionary class in history, is impossible without revolutionary theory. It (theory) cannot be invented, it grows out from the cumulation of revolutionary experience and revolutionary thought in all the countries of the world. And such a theory grew out of the second half of the 19th century. It is called Marxism. One cannot be a socialist, one cannot be a revolutionary S. D. (social democrat) without participating, to the extent of one's ability, in working up and applying this theory, and in our days—in the merciless struggle against its being distorted by Plekhanov, Kautsky and Co. (1915, the Honest Voice of a French Socialist.)



"The executive of the modern State is nothing else but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie."—From the Communist Manifesto

Marx, the Founder of the First International

By MAX BEDACHT

The Hague Congress of the First International in September, 1872, decided to remove the seat of the General Council from London to New York. The motion was made by Karl Marx. This motion was an actual recognition of the inevitable end of the First International. It died actually in 1874; it was officially buried only in 1876.

The First International was founded in 1864. In spite of reaction throughout Europe which prevailed after the stormy days of 1848, the labor movement began to develop in most European countries. Developing capitalism had begun to produce its own undertaker, the modern proletariat. This proletariat, in spite of its suffering and suppression, or, rather, because of that, began to form economic and political associations to defend its interests.

The theoretical line of the labor organizations and movements of the various countries differed with the different stages of development of capitalism. In advanced Britain, for instance, trade unionism prevailed. The backward German states produced the journeymen communists of Wilhelm Weitling. In the territory of typical home industry of the Jura in Switzerland petty bourgeois individualism and anarchism rooted itself, while in France with its revolutionary and insurrectionary traditions there developed the theory of Putschism (Blanqui-ism) on the one hand and the petty bourgeois reactionary reformism of Proudhon on the other.

Yet, in 1864, after a number of efforts, an international Workmen's Association was organized. This organization became known in history as the First International.

Although they did not directly initiate it, Marx and Engels took an active part in it from the very beginning. Marx became the German secretary of the General Council. In this position Marx began to struggle against the main weakness of the International. He endeavored to put in place of the many national groups with the many different conceptions one unified International with one fundamental program and aim. In the Workers International Marx and Engels saw the potential conqueror of capitalism. But the growth of the strength of the Workers International to the point of a successful revolutionary challenge to capitalism presupposed the elimination of theoretical and national divisions. The aim of Marx was to develop the working class as a class, conscious of its social existence and mission as a class, and active in its class interests. Only such a development would make the workers' International truly international. It would make it inevitably revolutionary.

The leadership of Marx and Engels in the International Workingmen's Association was, therefore, one continuous effort to have the revolutionary theories of Marxism replace the variety of national conceptions, Proudhonism, Blanquism, Bakuninism, Weitlingism, etc.

The Paris Commune brought the inner division of the International Workingmen's Association to a head. The various fractions fought with each other for credit for the successes of the Commune, and they accused each other of the responsibility for its mistakes and defeats. This resulted in a life and death struggle of the fractions for domination in the International. The Hague congress of the International in 1872 was to be the main battlefield for the fractions.

Marx realized this. On June 21, 1872, he wrote an urgent letter to F. A. Sorge, who was the leader of the American section of the International. Marx wrote: "The next congress will be held on the first Monday in September, 1872, in the Hague (Holland). Under no conditions can you confine yourself to send a memorandum. This congress decides about life or death of the International."

The majority of delegates to the Hague Congress supported Marx. Bakunin and his group were expelled. Bakunin was characterized

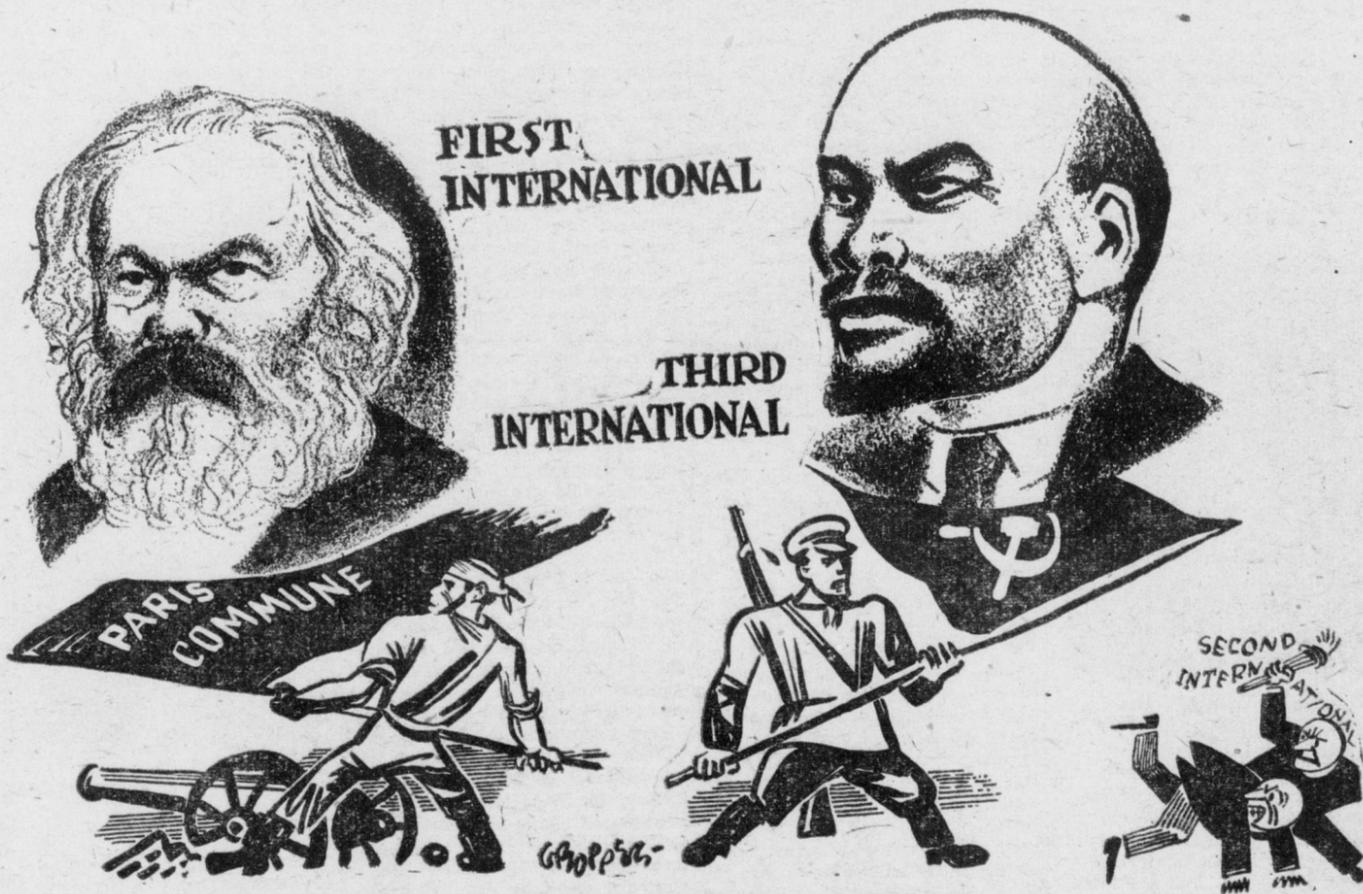
by Marx in a letter to Bolte in New York, dated November 23, 1871, as follows: "At the end of 1868 the Russian, Bakunin, joined the International for the purpose of forming within it a second International with himself as the chief, under the name of Social Democratic Alliance (Alliance de la Democratie Social-

bring the Negroes, and the extensive expropriation of (exactly the fertile) land by the railroad and mining companies will bring the already dissatisfied farmers of the west as auxiliary troops to the workers. Thus a nice stew is brewed together over there. This may make, post festum, the removal of the

Hague congress the end had come for both sides. The only country in which there were still some possibilities in the name of the International, was America. And a fortunate instinct moved the top leadership there. Now even there the prestige is exhausted, and any further efforts to galvanize new life

International continued its formal existence till 1876. At a congress in Philadelphia in that year, participated in only by American affiliates, the International dissolved itself. It wrote finis under its own history with a statement which began:

"Fellow workmen: The Interna-



iste). He—a man without any theoretical knowledge—pretends to represent scientific propaganda within his special organization, and to make this the special task of the second International within the International.

His program was a right and left hodge-podge—equality of classes (!), abolition of the right of inheritance as a starting point of the social movement (St. Simonist nonsense), atheism as a dogma dictated to the membership, etc., and, as the main dogma, (Proudhonist) abstention from political action."

Here we have Marx's own formulation of the reasons why Marx directed his big guns against Bakunin.

The First International in America.

• With the removal of the General Council of the International from London to New York, F. A. Sorge became the main secretary and leading spirit. But the correspondence between Marx and Engels on the one side and Sorge on the other shows that neither Marx nor Engels even for a moment abandoned their ideological leadership of the International. This correspondence is rich in advice and guidance to their American followers. These advices must be heeded even to this day by the Communist Party. The development of the American proletariat as a class was the ever recurring aim put before the members and organizations of the First International in America. Every event in the labor movement was followed carefully by the two in London.

Although the International had formally been dissolved in 1876 Marx was still watching the possible influences of the idea of the International as a potent factor of the labor movement of America. When in 1877 a broad mass struggle broke out among the American railroad workers, Marx wrote to Engels: "What do you say to the workers of the United States? This first explosion against the associated capitalist oligarchy, which originated in the Civil War, will of course, be suppressed. But it can very well become the starting point for a labor party. Two favorable conditions may help. The policies of

the new, president (Hayes) will center of the International to America very peculiarly opportune."

The End of the First International.

Sickened by the petty attacks of the factions and by the evident hopelessness of a further growth of the International under prevailing conditions, Sorge resigned his post as secretary. A letter written by Engels on this occasion to Sorge, on September 12, 1874, contained the following epitaph for the First International:

"With your resignation there is an end to the Old International. And that is well. It belonged in the period of the second empire (Napoleon III.—M. B.) when the pressure upon the just reviving labor movement throughout Europe demanded unity and avoidance of all internal polemics. It was the time when the common cosmopolitan interests of the proletariat could push themselves into the foreground; Germany, Spain, Italy, Denmark, just had entered the movement or were then entering it. The theoretical character of the movement throughout Europe, that is with the masses, was in 1864 really very unclear. German Communism did not yet exist as a party of labor; Proudhonism was too weak as yet to ride its hobby, Bakunin's newest invention did not yet exist even not in the head of Bakunin; even the chiefs of the English trade union movement believed justified by the ideas expressed in the statutes to enter the movement. The first success had to break up this naive unity of all fractions. This success came with the Commune, which unquestionably was the intellectual child of the International for which it was rightfully held responsible. When, because of the Commune, the International became a moral power in Europe, the trouble started. Each group wanted to exploit the successes for itself. The unavoidable disintegration came. The increasing influence of those who were really ready to continue work on the base of the old comprehensive program, drove the Belgian Proudhonists into the arms of the Bakuninist Adventurers. With the

into it would be foolish and a waste of efforts. The International has dominated ten years of European history in one direction—in the direction where the future lies—and it can proudly look back upon its work.

"But in its old form it is obsolete... I believe that the next International, after Marx's writings have sunk in for a few years, will be directly communist and will raise our principles."

After the resignation of Sorge the

tional is dead." This statement ended with the assurance, that "more favorable conditions will again bring together the workingmen of all countries to a common struggle, and the cry will again resound louder than ever:

"Proletarians of all countries, unite!"

This assurance has since been fulfilled in the formation and the program, work and achievements of the Communist International.

Communist Int'l Continues Traditions of the First Int'l

The Third Communist International, in continuing the work of the First International, and in accepting the fruits of the work of the Second International, resolutely lopped off the latter's opportunism, social-chauvinism, and bourgeois distortion of socialism and set out to realize the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this manner the Communist International continues the glorious and heroic traditions of the international labor movement; of the English Chartists and the French insurrectionists of 1831; of the French and German working class revolutionaries of 1848; of the immortal warriors and martyrs of the Paris Commune; of the valiant soldiers of the German, Hungarian and Finnish revolutions; of the workers under the former Tsarist despotism—the victorious bearers of the proletarian dictatorship; of the Chinese proletarians—the heroes of Canton and Shanghai.

Basing itself on the experience of the revolutionary labor movement on all continents and of all peoples the Communist International, in its theoretical and practical work, stands wholly and unreservedly upon the ground of revolutionary Marxism and its further develop-

ment, Leninism, which is nothing else but Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

Advocating and propagating the dialectical materialism of Marx and Engels and employing it as a revolutionary method of conceiving reality, with the view to the revolutionary transformation of this reality, the Communist International wages an active struggle against all forms of bourgeois philosophy and against all forms of theoretical and practical opportunism. Standing on the ground of consistent proletarian class struggle and subordinating the temporary, partial, group and national interests of the proletariat to its lasting, general, international interests, the Communist International mercilessly exposes all forms of the doctrine of "class peace" that the reformists have accepted from the bourgeoisie. Expressing the historical need for an international organization of revolutionary proletarians—the grave-diggers of the capitalist order—the Communist International is the only international force that has for its program the dictatorship of the proletariat and Communism, and that openly comes out as the organizer of the international proletarian revolution.—From the Programme of the Communist International.

"Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workers of all countries, unite!"