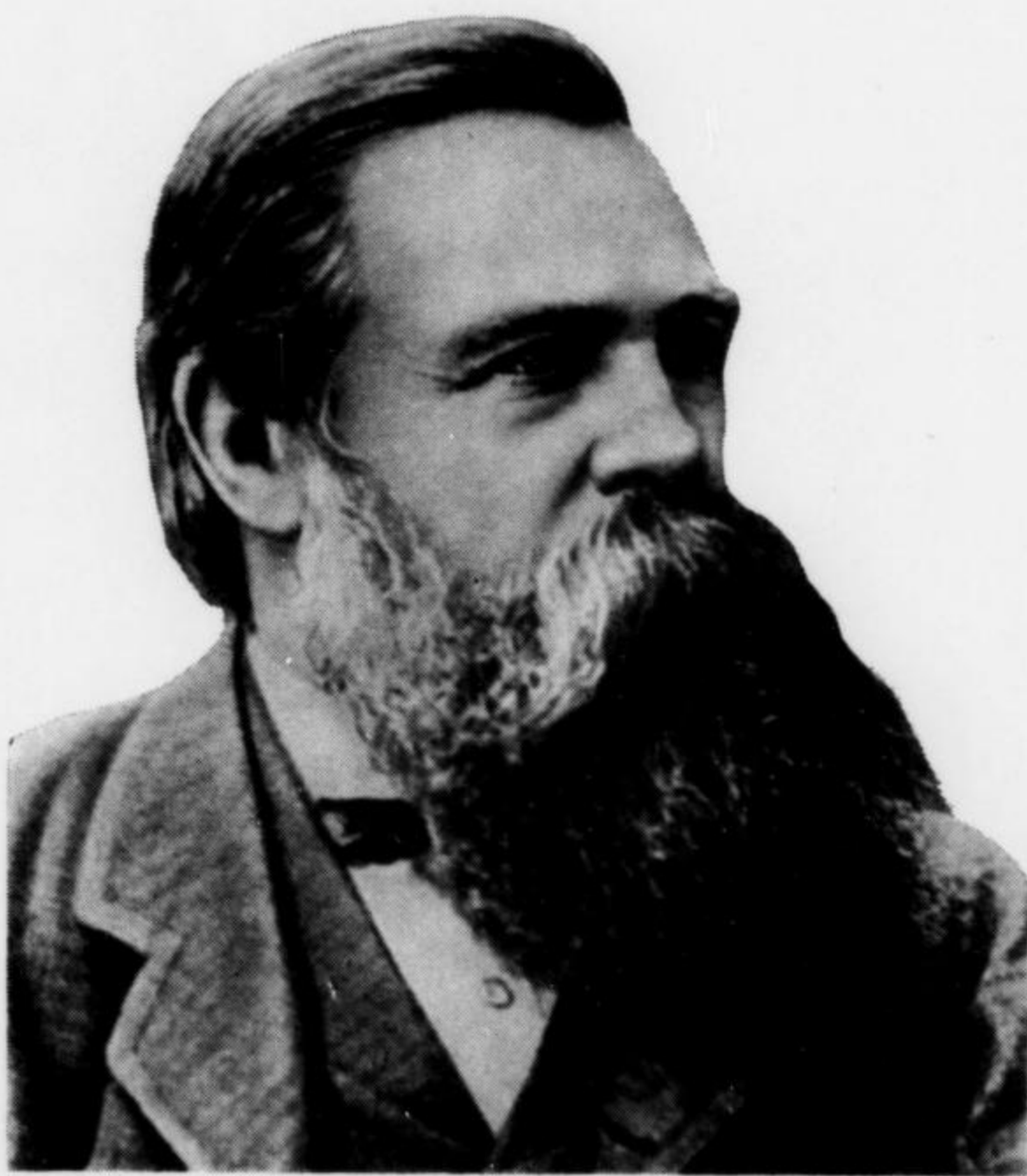


FREDERICK ENGELS
1820 - 1970

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

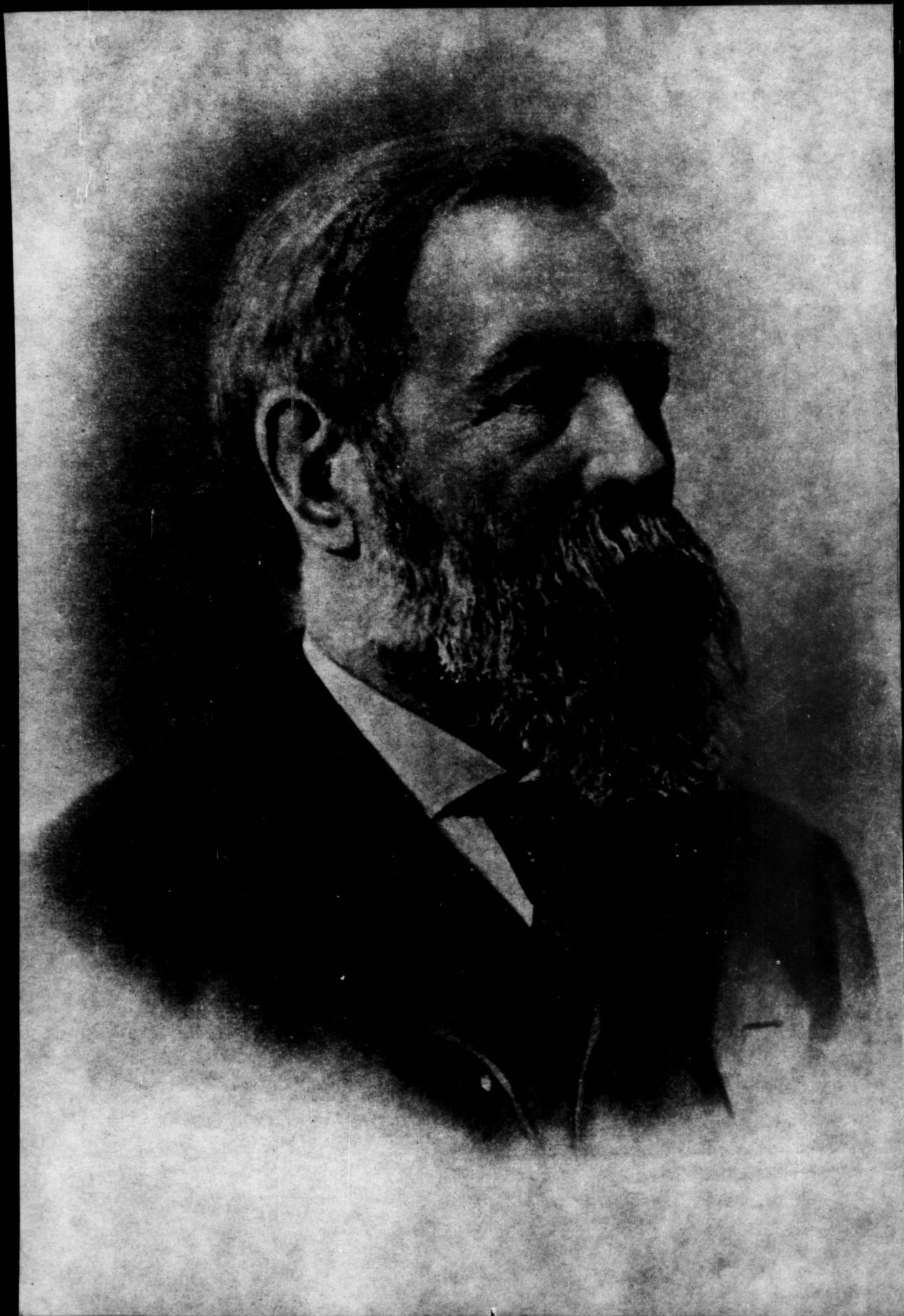


**On the
150th
Anniversary
of the Birth
of
Frederick
Engels**

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM

SEPTEMBER 1970

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OF FREDERICK ENGELS**

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FREDERICK ENGELS— thinker and revolutionary

On November 28, 1970, the world Communist and working-class movement, all working people and progressives, will mark the 150th anniversary of the birth of Frederick Engels, one of the founders of scientific communism, friend and close associate of Karl Marx.

Engels ranks among the most distinguished thinkers and revolutionaries in man's history. Lenin said: "It is impossible to understand Marxism and to propound it fully without taking into account all the works of Engels" (Vol. 21, p. 91). Engels' ideological legacy, like that of Marx, is the foundation of Leninism, the impulse for the live and creative development of scientific communism.

This issue is dedicated to the 150th anniversary of Engels' birth. It opens with V. I. Lenin's article, "Frederick Engels," a fundamental appreciation of the revolutionary activity and the works of Engels. We here present Party theorists' contributions to the international symposium, "Frederick Engels and the Communist Movement," held under the auspices of our journal. Also given in the issue are materials from a comprehensive biography of Frederick Engels soon to be published by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, CC CPSU.

In marking the jubilee, the Communist parties are centering their efforts on the topical problems of socialist construction and the further unfolding of the revolutionary working-class movement, the national-liberation movement and the anti-imperialist struggle. Communists hold that loyalty to the teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin is the guarantee of unity and successful advance to socialism and communism.

Frederick Engels

V. I. LENIN

On August 5 (new style), 1895, Frederick Engels died in London. After his friend Karl Marx (who died in 1883), Engels was the finest scholar and teacher of the modern proletariat in the whole civilized world. From the time that fate brought Karl Marx and Frederick Engels together, the two friends devoted their life's work to a common cause. And so to understand what Frederick Engels has done for the proletariat, one must have a clear idea of the significance of Marx's teaching and work for the development of the contemporary working-class movement. Marx and Engels were the first to show that the working class and its demands are a necessary outcome of the present economic system, which together with the bourgeoisie inevitably creates and organizes the proletariat. They showed that it is not the well-meaning efforts of noble-minded individuals, but the class struggle of the organized proletariat that will deliver humanity from the evils which now oppress it. In their scientific works, Marx and Engels were the first to explain that socialism is not the invention of dreamers, but the final aim and necessary result of the development of the productive forces in modern society. All recorded history hitherto has been a history of class struggle, of the succession of the rule and victory of certain social classes over others. And this will continue until the foundations of class struggle and of class domination — private property and

Lenin wrote this article in the autumn of 1895. It was first printed in a collection of the Union of Russian Social-Democrats, *Rabotnik*, No. 1-2, which did not appear until March 1896. The epigraph was taken by Lenin from N. A. Nekrasov's poem, *In Memory of Dobrolyubov*. Here reprinted from Lenin's *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, pp. 19-27 (Notes and footnotes omitted).

**What a torch of reason ceased to burn,
What a heart has ceased to beat!**

anarchic social production—disappear. The interests of the proletariat demand the destruction of these foundations, and therefore the conscious class struggle of the organized workers must be directed against them. And every class struggle is a political struggle.

These views of Marx and Engels have now been adopted by all proletarians who are fighting for their emancipation. But when in the forties the two friends took part in the socialist literature and the social movements of their time, they were absolutely novel. There were then many people, talented and without talent, honest and dishonest, who, absorbed in the struggle for political freedom, in the struggle against the despotism of kings, police and priests, failed to observe the antagonism between the interests of the bourgeoisie and those of the proletariat. These people would not entertain the idea of the workers acting as an independent social force. On the other hand, there were many dreamers, some of them geniuses, who thought that it was only necessary to convince the rulers and the governing classes of the injustice of the contemporary social order, and it would then be easy to establish peace and general well-being on earth. They dreamt of a socialism without struggle. Lastly, nearly all the socialists of that time and the friends of the working class generally regarded the proletariat only as an *ulcer*, and observed with horror how it grew with the growth of industry. They all, therefore, sought for a means to stop the development of industry and of the proletariat, to stop the "wheel of history." Marx and Engels did not share the general fear of the development of the proletariat; on

the contrary, they placed all their hopes on its continued growth. The more proletarians there are, the greater is their strength as a revolutionary class, and the nearer and more possible does socialism become. The services rendered by Marx and Engels to the working class may be expressed in a few words thus: they taught the working class to know itself and be conscious of itself, and they substituted science for dreams.

That is why the name and life of Engels should be known to every worker. That is why in this collection of articles, the aim of which, as of all our publications, is to awaken class-consciousness in the Russian worker, we must give a sketch of the life and work of Frederick Engels, one of the two great teachers of the modern proletariat.

Engels was born in 1820 in Barmen, in the Rhine Province of the kingdom of Prussia. His father was a manufacturer. In 1838 Engels, without having completed his high-school studies, was forced by family circumstances to enter a commercial house in Bremen as a clerk. Commercial affairs did not prevent Engels from pursuing his scientific and political education. He had come to hate autocracy and the tyranny of bureaucrats while still at high school. The study of philosophy led him further. At that time Hegel's teaching dominated German philosophy, and Engels became his follower. Although Hegel himself was an admirer of the autocratic Prussian state, in whose service he was as a professor at Berlin University, Hegel's teachings were revolutionary. Hegel's faith in human reason and its rights, and the fundamental thesis of Hegelian philosophy that the universe is undergoing a constant process of change and development, led some of the disciples of the Berlin philosopher—those who refused to accept the existing situation—to the idea that the struggle against this situation, the struggle against existing wrong and prevalent evil, is also rooted in the universal law of eternal development. If all things develop, if institutions of one kind give place to others, why should the autocracy of the Prussian king or of the Russian tsar, the enrichment of an insignificant minority at the expense of the vast majority, or the domination of the bourgeoisie over the people, continue for ever? Hegel's philosophy spoke of the development of the mind and of ideas; it was idealistic. From the development of the mind it deduced the development of nature, of man, and of human, social relations.

While retaining Hegel's idea of the eternal process of development, Marx and Engels rejected the preconceived idealist view; turning to life, they saw that it is not the development of mind that explains the development of nature but that, on the contrary, the explanation of mind must be derived from nature, from matter . . . Unlike Hegel and other Hegelians, Marx and Engels were materialists. Regarding the world and humanity materialistically, they perceived that just as material causes underlie all natural phenomena, so the development of human society is conditioned by the development of material forces, the productive forces. On the development of the productive forces depend the relations into which men enter with one another in the production of the things required for the satisfaction of human needs. And in these relations lies the explanation of all the phenomena of social life, human aspirations, ideas and laws. The development of the productive forces creates social relations based upon private property, but now we see that this same development of the productive forces deprives the majority of their property and concentrates it in the hands of an insignificant minority. It abolishes property, the basis of the modern social order, it itself strives towards the very aim which the socialists have set themselves. All the socialists have to do is to realize which social force, owing to its position in modern society, is interested in bringing socialism about, and to impart to this force the consciousness of its interests and of its historical task. This force is the proletariat. Engels got to know the proletariat in England, in the center of English industry, Manchester, where he settled in 1842, entering the service of a commercial firm of which his father was a shareholder. Here Engels not only sat in the factory office but wandered about the slums in which the workers were cooped up, and saw their poverty and misery with his own eyes. But he did not confine himself to personal observations. He read all that had been revealed before him about the condition of the British working class and carefully studied all the official documents he could lay his hands on. The fruit of these studies and observations was the book which appeared in 1845: *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. We have already mentioned what was the chief service rendered by Engels in writing *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. Even before Engels, many people had

described the suffering of the proletariat and had pointed to the necessity of helping it. Engels was the first to say that the proletariat is *not only* a suffering class; that it is, in fact, the disgraceful economic condition of the proletariat that drives it irresistibly forward and compels it to fight for its ultimate emancipation. And the fighting proletariat will help itself. The political movement of the working class will inevitably lead the workers to realize that their only salvation lies in socialism. On the other hand, socialism will become a force only when it becomes the aim of the political struggle of the working class. Such are the main ideas of Engels' book on the condition of the working class in England, ideas which have now been adopted by all thinking and fighting proletarians, but which at that time were entirely new. These ideas were set out in a book written in absorbing style and filled with most authentic and shocking pictures of the misery of the English proletariat. The book was a terrible indictment of capitalism and the bourgeoisie and created a profound impression. Engels' book began to be quoted everywhere as presenting the best picture of the condition of the modern proletariat. And, in fact, neither before 1845 nor after has there appeared so striking and truthful a picture of the misery of the working class.

It was not until he came to England that Engels became a socialist. In Manchester he established contacts with people active in the English labor movement at the time and began to write for English socialist publications. In 1844, while on his way back to Germany, he became acquainted in Paris with Marx, with whom he had already started to correspond. In Paris, under the influence of the French socialists and French life, Marx had also become a socialist. Here the friends jointly wrote a book entitled *The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Critique*. This book, which appeared a year before *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, and the greater part of which was written by Marx, contains the foundations of revolutionary materialist socialism, the main ideas of which we have expounded above. "The holy family" is a facetious nickname for the Bauer brothers, the philosophers, and their followers. These gentlemen preached a criticism which stood above all reality, above parties and politics, which rejected all practical activity, and which only "critically" contemplated the surrounding world and the events going on

within it. These gentlemen, the Bauers, looked down on the proletariat as an uncritical mass. Marx and Engels vigorously opposed this absurd and harmful tendency. In the name of a real, human person—the worker, trampled down by the ruling classes and the state—they demanded, not contemplation, but a struggle for a better order of society. They, of course, regarded the proletariat as the force that is capable of waging this struggle and that is interested in it. Even before the appearance of *The Holy Family*, Engels had published in Marx's and Ruge's *Deutsch-Franzoesische Jahrbuecher* his "Critical Essays on Political Economy," in which he examined the principal phenomena of the contemporary economic order from a socialist standpoint, regarding them as necessary consequences of the rule of private property. Contact with Engels was undoubtedly a factor in Marx's decision to study political economy, the science in which his works have produced a veritable revolution.

From 1845 to 1847 Engels lived in Brussels and Paris, combining scientific work with practical activities among the German workers in Brussels and Paris. Here Marx and Engels established contact with the secret German Communist League, which commissioned them to expound the main principles of the socialism they had worked out. Thus arose the famous *Manifesto of the Communist Party* of Marx and Engels, published in 1848. This little booklet is worth whole volumes: to this day its spirit inspires and guides the entire organized and fighting proletariat of the civilized world.

The revolution of 1848, which broke out first in France and then spread to other West-European countries, brought Marx and Engels back to their native country. Here in Rhenish Prussia, they took charge of the democratic *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* published in Cologne. The two friends were the heart and soul of all revolutionary-democratic aspirations in Rhenish Prussia. They fought to the last ditch in defense of freedom and of the interests of the people against the forces of reaction. The latter, as we know, gained the upper hand. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was suppressed. Marx, who during his exile had lost his Prussian citizenship, was deported; Engels took part in the armed popular uprising, fought for liberty in three battles, and after the defeat of the rebels fled, via Switzerland, to London.

Marx also settled in London. Engels soon became a clerk again, and then a share-

holder, in the Manchester commercial firm in which he had worked in the forties. Until 1870 he lived in Manchester, while Marx lived in London, but this did not prevent their maintaining a most lively interchange of ideas: they corresponded daily. In this correspondence the two friends exchanged views and discoveries and continued to collaborate in working out scientific socialism. In 1870 Engels moved to London, and their joint intellectual life, of the most strenuous nature, continued until 1883, when Marx died. Its fruit was, on Marx's side, *Capital*, the greatest work on political economy of our age, and on Engels' side, a number of works both large and small. Marx worked on the analysis of the complex phenomena of capitalist economy. Engels, in simply written works, often of a polemical character, dealt with more general scientific problems and with diverse phenomena of the past and present in the spirit of the materialist conception of history and Marx's economic theory. Of Engels' works we shall mention: the polemical work against Duehring (analyzing highly important problems in the domain of philosophy, natural science and the social sciences), *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (translated into Russian, published in St. Petersburg, 3rd ed., 1895). *Ludwig Feuerbach* (Russian translation and notes by G. Plekhanov, Geneva, 1892), an article on the foreign policy of the Russian Government (translated into Russian in the *Geneva Sotsial-Demokrat*, Nos. 1 and 2), splendid articles on the housing question, and finally, two small but very valuable articles on Russia's economic development (*Frederick Engels on Russia*, translated into Russian by Zasulich, Geneva, 1894). Marx died before he could put the final touches to his vast work on capital. The draft, however, was already finished, and after the death of his friend, Engels undertook the onerous task of preparing and publishing the second and the third volumes of *Capital*. He published Volume II in 1885 and Volume III in 1894 (his death prevented the preparation of Volume IV). These two volumes entailed a vast amount of labor. Adler, the Austrian Social-Democrat, has rightly remarked that by publishing volumes II and III of *Capital* Engels erected a majestic monument to the genius who had been his friend, a monument on which, without intending it, he indelibly carved his own name. Indeed these two volumes of *Capital* are the work of two men: Marx

and Engels. Old legends contain various moving instances of friendship. The European proletariat may say that its science was created by two scholars and fighters, whose relationship to each other surpasses the most moving stories of the ancients about human friendship. Engels always—and, on the whole, quite justly—placed himself after Marx. "In Marx's lifetime," he wrote to an old friend, "I played second fiddle." His love for the living Marx, and his reverence for the memory of the dead Marx were boundless. This stern fighter and austere thinker possessed a deeply loving soul.

After the movement of 1848-49, Marx and Engels in exile did not confine themselves to scientific research. In 1864 Marx founded the International Working Men's Association, and led this society for a whole decade. Engels also took an active part in its affairs. The work of the International Association, which, in accordance with Marx's idea, united proletarians of all countries, was of tremendous significance in the development of the working-class movement. But even with the closing down of the International Association in the seventies, the unifying role of Marx and Engels did not cease. On the contrary, it may be said that their importance as the spiritual leaders of the working-class movement grew continuously, because the movement itself grew uninterruptedly. After the death of Marx, Engels continued alone as the counsellor and leader of the European socialists. His advice and directions were sought for equally by the German socialists, whose strength, despite government persecution, grew rapidly and steadily, and by representatives of backward countries, such as the Spaniards, Rumanians and Russians, who were obliged to ponder and weigh their first steps. They all drew on the rich store of knowledge and experience of Engels in his old age.

Marx and Engels, who both knew Russian and read Russian books, took a lively interest in the country, followed the Russian revolutionary movement with sympathy and maintained contact with Russian revolutionaries. They both became socialists after being *democrats*, and the democratic feeling of *hatred* for political despotism was exceedingly strong in them. This direct political feeling, combined with a profound theoretical understanding of the connection between political despotism and economic oppression, and also their rich experience of life, made Marx and Engels

uncommonly responsive *politically*. That is why the heroic struggle of the handful of Russian revolutionaries against the mighty tsarist government evoked a most sympathetic echo in the hearts of these tried revolutionaries. On the other hand, the tendency, for the sake of illusory economic advantages, to turn away from the most immediate and important task of the Russian socialists, namely, the winning of political freedom, naturally appeared suspicious to them and was even regarded by them as a direct betrayal of the great cause of the social revolution. "The emancipation of the workers must be the act of the working class itself" — Marx and Engels constantly taught. But in order to fight for its economic emancipation, the proletariat must win itself certain *political* rights. Moreover, Marx and Engels clearly saw that a political revolution in Russia would be of tremendous significance to the West-European working-class movement as well. Autocratic Russia had always been a bulwark of European reaction in

general. The extraordinarily favorable international position enjoyed by Russia as a result of the war of 1870, which for a long time sowed discord between Germany and France, of course only enhanced the importance of autocratic Russia as a reactionary force. Only a free Russia, a Russia that had no need either to oppress the Poles, Finns, Germans, Armenians or any other small nations, or constantly to set France and Germany at loggerheads, would enable modern Europe, rid of the burden of war, to breathe freely, would weaken all the reactionary elements in Europe and strengthen the European working class. That was why Engels ardently desired the establishment of political freedom in Russia for the sake of the progress of the working-class movement in the West as well. In him the Russian revolutionaries have lost their best friend.

Let us always honor the memory of Frederick Engels, a great fighter and teacher of the proletariat!

Frederick Engels and the Communist movement

Materials of international theoretical conference

An international theoretical conference, "Frederick Engels and the Communist Movement," was held in Prague on July 1 and 2 to mark the 150th anniversary of the birth of Frederick Engels. It was organized by **World Marxist Review** and attended by Party and theoretical workers from the following Communist and Workers' Parties:

Communist Party of Austria; Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria; Communist Party of Argentina; Bulgarian Communist Party; Communist Party of Bolivia; Brazilian Communist Party; Communist Party of Great Britain; Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party; Guatemalan Party of Labor; Socialist Unity Party of Germany; German Communist Party; Communist Party of Honduras; Communist Party of Greece; Communist Party of Denmark; Communist Party of Israel; Communist Party of India; Tudeh Party of Iran; Communist Party of Spain; Italian Communist Party; Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus; Communist Party of Colombia; Lebanese Communist Party; Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party; Paraguayan Communist Party; Polish United Workers' Party; Rumanian Communist Party; Communist Party of the Soviet Union; Tunisian Communist Party; Communist Party of Finland; French Communist Party; Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and a representative of the Marxists of Senegal.

The international theoretical conference took place in a business-like and comradely atmosphere and there was a creative and friendly exchange of views.

Below we present abridged texts of the conference materials.

The conference was opened by K. Zarodov, Editor-in-Chief of **World Marxist Review**, who said, in part:

It is a great pleasure to open the international theoretical conference on the 150th anniversary of the birth of Frederick Engels, one of the founders of scientific communism, outstanding theoretician, leader of the international working class, and Karl Marx's associate and friend.

This date is an important event in the life of the working class and the working people of every country, in the life of the Marxist-Leninist Parties, and of the entire international Communist and working-class movement.

On behalf of the Editorial Board and Editorial Council of our journal, **World Marxist Review**, I extend warm greetings to all participants in this conference, both those who have specially come to Prague for the occasion and the permanent representatives of the fraternal Parties on the journal.

By holding this conference, the journal's Editorial Board is continuing to implement the idea of the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties concerning the importance of collective discussion and elaboration of pressing political and theoretical problems.

In arranging the present conference, the Editorial Board of **World Marxist Review** set itself a number of tasks, among which are the following:

—first, to pay due homage to the memory of Frederick Engels as a theorist and

to show the content of his theoretical legacy. Like Karl Marx, Engels was a great son of the German people, but the revolutionary doctrine he created has become the militant banner of the world's Communist and revolutionary movement, the science of building socialist and communist society;

—second, to give a comprehensive evaluation of Engel's vast revolutionary activity, his contribution to elaborating the strategy and tactics of the Communist movement, to creating and consolidating the proletarian parties, to the establishment and activity of the First and Second Internationals;

—third, to show the importance of Engels' ideas in solving the tasks we face today, in the course of socialist and communist construction; in advancing the working-class and Communist movement, and the national-liberation anti-imperialist struggle; and in finding the answers to the problems put forward by the development of the natural and the social sciences, and the scientific and technical revolution;

—fourth, to make fuller use of Engels' views in the fight against the vulgarization of the basic ideas of scientific socialism, including the attempts being made by bourgeois ideologists, reformists and Right and "Left" revisionists to contrast Marx to Engels. For Engels, as for Marx, criticism of bourgeois and opportunist conceptions was an organic component of scientific analysis and the elaboration of a consistent Marxist policy.

In other words, we hope that our theoretical conference will help highlight Engels' role in working out the scientific communist ideology and in making communism the most powerful socio-political movement of our time.

In his well-known article, **Frederick Engels**, Lenin said that the name and life of Engels should be known to every worker and we hope that this conference will serve towards that end.

The speakers were: Kurt Hager, Member of Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC, Socialist Unity Party of Germany; Pierre Hentges, French journalist; B. Kedrov, Soviet philosopher, Academician; G. Colman, Member of Central Committee, Paraguayan Communist Party; Hyman Fagan, English historian; D. Elazar, Member of CC, Bulgarian Communist Party, Director of Institute of BCP History, CC BCP; J. Ladyka, Doctor of Humanities, Poland; Ernesto Ragionieri, Member of Central Committee, Italian Communist Party; S. Khamis, Member of Political Bureau, Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel; B. Veszi, Prorector of Higher Political School, CC HSWP; Willi Gerns, Member of the Presidium of the German Communist Party; Julio Laborde, Member of Central Committee, Communist Party of Argentina; B. Zhodov, Mongolian journalist; E. Zucker-Schilling, Austrian publicist; A. Deac, Deputy Director of the Institute of Historical and Socio-Political Research, Central Committee, Rumanian Communist Party; Jan Fojtik, Member of Secretariat, Secretary of Central Committee, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; A. Malysh, Chief of the Marx and Engels Section of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, CC CPSU; C. Unni Raja, Member of the National Council, Communist Party of India; Ib Norlund, Member of Executive and the Secretariat of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Denmark; G. Girginov, Bulgarian philosopher; M. Yovchuk, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Andras Gedo, Hungarian journalist; A. Karim, Algerian philosopher; Amat Dansoko, representative of the Marxists of Senegal.

The concluding remarks were by the journal's Editor-in-Chief, Konstantin Zardov.

Frederick Engels—great theorist and leader of international working class

KURT HAGER

The centenary of V. I. Lenin's birth, which was an imposing manifestation of the international Communist and workers' movement of the vitality of Marxism-Leninism, is closely followed by the 150th anniversary of the birth of Frederick Engels. In the person of Engels we pay tribute to one of the founders of scientific socialism, a great theoretician, revolutionary and leader of the international working class, the closest friend and associate of Karl Marx.

Frederick Engels' life and work are closely linked with the theoretical and practical activity of Karl Marx, and their ideological legacy has been fully acknowledged and preserved by V. I. Lenin, who brilliantly developed Marxism. The scientific and revolutionary doctrine of Marxism-Leninism is a comprehensive and integral teaching which develops continuously. The integrity and cohesion of Marxism-Leninism largely explain its tremendous force of attraction. The materialization of those ideas in the building of a socialist society on one-third of our globe and in the struggle of the Communist parties in all countries, has proved strikingly the truth and the scientific and humane character of the theory created by Marx and Engels and developed further by Lenin.

We are proud that in the country of Frederick Engels, that great son of the German people, an anti-fascist, democratic and socialist revolution has been successfully carried out by the working people of the GDR under the leadership of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party,

the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Thus an era of socialism has been rung in on German soil too.

ENGELS' SHARE IN DEVELOPING SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

Engels always modestly ascribed to himself the role of "second fiddle" in developing scientific socialism. However, that role was by no means confined to merely popularizing Marx's ideas. He made a contribution of his own to all the components of Marxism, so that Lenin was perfectly justified in saying: "It is impossible to understand Marxism and to propound it fully without taking into account *all* the works of Engels" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 91).

Engels, the theoretician of the proletariat, did outstanding and lasting work in all fields of philosophy and political economy, scientific socialism and history, military theory and linguistics.

Of his friend Marx, Engels said: "To participate in one way or another in overthrowing the capitalist system and its machinery of state, to participate in liberating the modern proletariat . . . that was, indeed, his true vocation" (Speech at the Graveside of Karl Marx). Those words apply equally to Engels himself. Engels was the author or co-author of "The Principles of Communism," the "Manifesto of the Communist Party," "The Peasant War in Germany," "Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany," "The Military

Question in Prussia and the German Workers' Party," "On the Housing Question," "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State," "On the Criticism of the Social Democratic Draft Program of 1891," "The Peasant Question in France and Germany," and others. He contributed to the discovery of the laws of class struggle, to the elaboration of the problems of the state, of allies and the strategy and tactics of the working class. He made many speeches and wrote numerous articles, letters, draft resolutions, etc., in the time of the Communist League, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, the First International and the early period of the Second International. Many of these briefly define independent discoveries, such as the active role of the superstructure, the three forms of the class struggle, and much more.

How could Engels accomplish so much? Because he persistently represented and defended the interests of the working-class, the only class that can eliminate the exploitation of man by man and erect a truly humane, classless society; because he consistently treated theory and practice as a unity, because he was a scholar who knew life and a politician who championed the interests of the most progressive class.

His theoretical works are as forceful and topical as ever today. It is not surprising, therefore, that imperialists, Right-wing Social Democrats and revisionists of all shades try to deny the significance of his theoretical, practical and political heritage for the labor movement. They have been claiming for some time that one must differentiate between the "authentic" and the "simplistic" or "vulgarized" Marxism. By "authentic Marxism" they mean a Marxism indifferent to classes, transformed into a doctrine preaching general human salvation from all ills. In so doing they base themselves mainly on Marx's early works. They claim that the time the "simplification" of Marxism began is traceable to the publication of "Anti-Duehring," a work in which the Marxist ideology was set out as a comprehensive system for the first time. The attack is obviously aimed against the revolutionary ideology of the working class.

This is even more obvious if one considers the arguments brought forward to "repugn" Engels. The "falsifiers of Engels" claim that, influenced by Darwin, Engels idolized "evolutionism" and, departing from Marx's true view, made society subject to one of the laws of nature. That is

nonsense. Everyone can read Engels' controversy with the social-Darwinists and see for himself how bitterly he opposed any mechanical application of the laws of nature to society.

Bourgeois ideologists and revisionists are eager to deny the fact that objective laws are at work in society, as in nature, determining social development and that, consequently, capitalism will inevitably give way to socialism. The meaningful actions and historical optimism of the working class are based on the recognition of objective social laws. All attempts to minimize the significance of Engels and his works, to construct a contradiction between him and Marx, to turn Engels into a "simplifier" of Marxism, are, therefore, aimed against the revolutionary content and integrity of Marxism-Leninism.

In a letter written shortly after Marx's death, Engels said: "The fable about the nasty Engels who had led the benign Marx astray, has been repeated many times since 1844" (Letter to Bernstein, April 23, 1883). This applies equally to the main arguments of bourgeois ideologists and revisionists in fighting Leninism. However, they will never be able to stop the triumphant march of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

The working masses, guided by the ideas of Marx-Engels-Lenin, and led by the Communist parties, are changing the face of the earth by their revolutionary actions.

ENGELS AND SOCIALISM

The problems of the future socialist society free from exploitation and oppression of man by man occupy a central place in Engels' theoretical works. In the "Principles of Communism," that draft of the "Communist Manifesto," and the works and letters written in his later years, Engels presented a picture of the social order bound by the laws of history to replace capitalism.

Engels considered it impossible to draw up a complete and detailed conception of the future socialist society. In 1871 he wrote that the policy of transition to socialism could differ in details, "but since the basic relationships between labor and capital are the same everywhere and political rule of the propertied classes over the exploited classes exists everywhere, the basic principles and the aim of proletarian policy will be identical everywhere" ("To the Spanish Federal Council of the International Working Men's Association").

For us, importance attaches to Engels' contribution in determining the role of the subjective factor, especially that of the working class and its revolutionary party in the struggle for proletarian power and in building socialist society. Engels held that the existence of a revolutionary working-class party is the decisive pre-condition for socialist revolution and socialist construction. The theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the cornerstone of scientific socialism, occupies a central place in Engels' work. Marx and Engels demonstrated that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a universally valid regularity for every country taking the road to socialism.

Engels related the liberation of the working people, to be accomplished by the working class and its revolutionary party with the help of the socialist state, to the following two main functions, "to suppress the resistance of the capitalist class and to organize society along new lines" (Letter to Philip Van-Patten, April 18, 1883). He did not think the proletarian state would be a short-term exigency, and explained the long-term historical necessity of the proletarian state in making a reality of socialism and communism.

Both in Engels' time and in the present day, therefore, the Marxist views of the role of the socialist state in building socialism is the main target of bourgeois and revisionist ideologists. The common feature in their attacks is that they question the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Engels' thesis that the state will wither away after the establishment of the classless, i.e., developed communist society on a worldwide scale, is deliberately falsified. They try to apply this thesis to the present conditions of building socialism and communism, overlooking the struggle against the imperialist system. They insist that the state should wither away in the socialist countries and deliberately suppress Engels' decisive thesis about the role of the state in building socialism.

The theory formulated by Marx and Engels and developed by Lenin on the active and creative role of the socialist state in building a genuinely humane society, socialism and communism, is still highly relevant in political terms. In the GDR, for example, the working class has learned from experience that the emergence and further shaping of the socialist social order is not a spontaneous but a de-

liberately organized process practicable only through the socialist state and in close alliance between the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and other working people. To survive in the class struggle against imperialism, now under way in all fields—politics and economy, ideology and culture—the socialist state must be continuously strengthened in every way. In view of the increasingly dynamic development of the socialist productive forces and relations of production in the setting of the scientific and technological revolution, it is especially important these days to consolidate and effectively use the creative social function of the socialist state in building developed socialist society.

Contrary to all opportunist falsifications of the connection between the economic and political emancipation of the proletariat and of society as a whole, Engels held that the working class could win complete political freedom only by gaining control over the means of production. He consistently supported the view that the revolutionary struggle for public ownership of the means of production was primarily a political struggle for the final solution of the power problem and the implementation of the historical mission of the working class. The revolutionary uprooting of capitalist ownership is one of the main laws governing every proletarian revolution. Without this, socialism is inconceivable. This important conclusion has been proved both by the theory and the practice of socialism.

The foes of socialism have long been trying to attack Marxism-Leninism in this basic area. Chancellor Willy Brandt made the significant admission early this year that for him the demand for nationalizing the means of production, based, as he put it, "to no small extent on the astounding simplifications of Engels," was a "terrible notion" (*Die neue Gesellschaft*, No. 1, 1970). Speaking at the latest Congress of the SPD in Saarbrücken, West German Economics Minister Schiller described the demand for socialist ownership of the means of production as a "corpse that cannot be resurrected." The Right-wing SPD leaders prove thereby that they have long jettisoned socialism and are firmly integrated in the state-monopoly capitalist system. But by rejecting socialization of the means of production they are coming into conflict with those young socialists, Social Democrats and trade unionists in West

Germany who are casting about for an alternative to the state-monopoly system and therefore clamoring for a return to Marx and Engels.

The example of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, including the GDR, where the power of the monopolies and big landowners has been abolished for all time and the working class exercises political power with the other working people, and where the means of production belong to the people, shows the Social Democrats and all progressive forces in West Germany that there exists an alternative to the state-monopoly system. Engels predicted that public ownership of the means of production and the planned development of the productive forces also create the conditions for developing the physical and mental faculties of all members of society and for converting education, science and art from a monopoly of the bourgeoisie into the common patrimony of the whole of society. This prediction is coming true in the socialist countries under the leadership of the Communist and Workers' parties. Traditional demands of the revolutionary working-class movement for the complete development of the personality, for overcoming the difference between mental and manual labor, for abolishing the disparities between town and country, and for the unhindered development of the productive forces for the benefit of society and each individual, are the main guidelines in their policy.

It was Lenin who further developed Marxist revolutionary theory in relation to imperialism and the burgeoning struggle between the two world systems. With the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialism was translated into practice for the first time. The historic experience of the CPSU and the Soviet state produced new universally valid conclusions concerning the law-governed victory of socialism in the present epoch. Through the creative application of Marxism-Leninism and the experience of the Soviet Union, the Marxist-Leninist teaching has also been confirmed and enriched in the GDR and other socialist countries.

Engels pointed out that socialist society "is not anything immutable. Like all other social formations, it should be conceived in a state of constant flux and change." (Letter to Otto Boenigk, August 21, 1890). The Socialist Unity Party takes guidance in this in shaping the developed social sys-

tem of socialism. New and complicated problems keep arising all the time. The Seventh Congress of the SUPG set the task of shaping the socialist economic system as a comprehensive system, and to develop it into an all-embracing complex. This is expected to crystallize as a result of the 1971-1975 long-term plan, setting very high demands on the administration of society. The decisive thing is to continue strengthening the GDR in every way, which is, in effect, the foundation of our entire home and foreign policy, and at once our contribution to changing further the balance of forces in favor of socialism, and to safeguarding peace.

WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS IN LIGHT OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

The June 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow evaluated our time as the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism. This assessment, made by the finest representatives of the revolutionary working class of all continents, is for all anti-imperialist forces the basis for revolutionary action against imperialism. The documents of the Moscow Conference are a model of creative application and further development of the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin in analyzing the essence of present-day capitalism and its contradictions, and in working out the strategy and tactics of the anti-imperialist struggle.

Lenin ridiculed and exposed the Social Democratic talk about "organized capitalism," which allegedly brought forth a socialist system automatically, without revolution. In his "State and Revolution" he said that Engels had already set out "what is most essential in the theoretical appraisal of . . . imperialism, namely, that capitalism becomes monopoly capitalism." He also noted that Engels had thus foreseen "to a certain extent the tasks of our present, the imperialist epoch" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, p. 442). The basic problems related to present-day state-monopoly planning and regulation were also dealt with in some of Engels' works.

In the closing decades of the past century Engels followed the main trends in the development of the capitalist mode of production. Of course, it was still impossible to work out a conclusive theory of imperialism at that time. The capitalist system was only beginning to enter its final stage. Nevertheless, Engels did apprehend the basic direction of the process. "The

economic development of our modern society," he wrote, "leads more and more to concentration, to the socialization of production in giant enterprises which can no longer be directed by individual capitalists" ("Necessary and Superfluous Social Classes").

It is to Engels' credit that back in the 1870s and 80s he noted and theoretically analyzed the growing activity of the bourgeois state in the capitalist economy. He regarded this as an objective, law-governed process resulting necessarily from the increasing basic contradiction of capitalism. The ever greater concentration of production, the increasingly social character of the productive forces, Engels emphasized, must result in that "the official representative of capitalist society—the state—will ultimately have to undertake the direction of production" ("Anti-Duehring").

But Engels did not simply establish facts. He proved that the growing economic activity of the bourgeois state was in the interest of boosting capital and directed against the basic laws of historical development. This holds completely true for present-day state-monopoly regulation. That is why neither "global economic management" nor "middle-range financial policy" and "concerted action," practised by the Right-wing Social Democrats in the interest of the monopoly bourgeoisie, can overcome the contradictions of the imperialist system.

Engels produced an answer, too, to the place in history of economic activity by the bourgeois state. "State ownership of the productive forces," he wrote, "is not the solution of the conflict, but concealed within it are the technical conditions that form the elements of that solution" ("Anti-Duehring").

This indicates clearly that the contradiction between the social character of the productive forces and capitalist relations of production can only be removed if the economic and political power relations of capitalist society are eliminated by socialist revolution. Only then does "state ownership of the productive forces" change from a "formal" to a genuine means, to publicly-owned property, functioning in the interest of the majority and affording the productive forces the scope for further growth. "That is exactly the sore point," Engels wrote on this score. "... So long as the propertied classes remain at the helm, all nationalization will not be abolition of exploitation, but only its modifica-

tion" (Letter to Max Oppenheim, March 24, 1891).

Engels saw as an essential aspect of this process the emerging fusion between the state and militarism. Viewing the situation at the time in the large European countries, he wrote: "The army has become the main purpose of the state, and an end in itself; the peoples are there only to provide soldiers and feed them. Militarism dominates and is swallowing Europe" ("Anti-Duehring"). These words are still completely valid in view of the present-day unholy alliance of the monopolies, the government apparatus and the military, the military-industrial complex, in the imperialist countries. This alignment of the state-monopoly oligarchy is increasingly shaping the economic and political life in the West German Federal Republic.

The revolutionary processes and class battles of our time confirm the historic role of the proletariat as the grave-digger of capitalist society and builder of the new socialist society. Today, as 100 years ago, history is fashioned by the irreconcilable antagonism between capital and labor. The struggle between the two main classes—now in the form of the world confrontation of socialism and imperialism—is the "powerful lever of modern social change" ("Circular Letter").

With the present state of the productive forces, the capitalist concentration of production and state-monopoly dictatorship, the interests of the peasantry, the urban middle strata and the intelligentsia coincide increasingly with those of the working class. The intrinsic contradictions of imperialism grow sharper and new possibilities appear for a broad anti-imperialist front. This enables the revolutionary working-class movement to set new tasks. What is decisive is for all elements to join hands on the basis of a common strategy, which should link the tasks in the sphere of daily interests with those of the struggle for anti-monopoly reconstruction, for a democratic renovation of all spheres of social and political life and for the socialist goal. That is the only way to link the present and future interests of the working class and the other working people. That is the only way to achieve the level in organization, experience and methods of struggle, and that level of consciousness that will lead the masses up to socialist aims.

The more than one hundred years of the labor movement show: if the working class

links the struggle for reforms and the struggle for socialist revolution, it can score lasting victories. If some sections of the international working-class movement depart from the socialist goal, if they make an absolute of merely democratic gains, they are bound to slip into reformism. And if they recognize nothing but the goal, or if they deny the importance of democratic steps, then they become a prey to sterile sectarianism. In both cases they are unable to fulfil their historic mission.

Today, in the beginning of the 1970s, more favorable conditions are at hand for the struggle of the working class and all anti-imperialist forces against imperialism, the main common enemy. The world socialist system has become the decisive force of the anti-imperialist struggle. In the imperialist countries, the working class has developed into the principal driving force of revolutionary struggle and the anti-imperialist democratic movement. The role of the anti-imperialist movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America has grown as well. At the Moscow Conference, the Communist and Workers' parties made the strategically important point that it is of paramount importance "to strengthen the alliance between the socialist system, the working-class movement and national liberation."

Cooperation of the progressive forces in the national-liberation movement with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is expanding. This is an essential prerequisite for repulsing imperialist attacks. The events in Indochina and the Middle East confirm this.

The progressive orientation of some Asian and African countries that have opted for the non-capitalist way is of fundamental significance. The thesis that in our time peoples delivered from the colonial yoke can by-pass capitalism on the way of social progress was first substantiated by Lenin. In his theory, he was able to refer to the far-sighted predictions of Marx and Engels. Engels advanced the idea that countries in the pre-capitalist stage could significantly shorten their progress to socialist society and avoid most of the suffering and struggle" (Afterword to "On the Social Question in Russia").

Engels emphasized the need for close bonds between the international working class and the masses in the colonial countries. This is of particular relevance in present conditions. The experience of the non-capitalist way, of class struggle against

home reaction and imperialist aggression, show the peoples that national independence and freedom can be gained and secured only in alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

ENGELS' STRUGGLE FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKING-CLASS PARTY

The corollary of the discovery and scientific substantiation of the workers' historic mission by Marx and Engels is that the working class requires the leadership of an independent proletarian class party. Late in his embattled life Engels left the following bequest to the working class: "For the proletariat to be strong enough to triumph on the day of decision it is necessary — as Marx and I have said since 1847 — to form a special party, separate from all others and opposed to them, conscious of being a class party" (Letter to Gerson Trier, Dec. 18, 1889). The history of the class struggle of the proletariat in all countries confirms this statement.

The bourgeois and revisionist ideologists continually claim that the founders of scientific socialism had attached little importance to the party and working-class organizations in general, banking on the spontaneous struggle of the proletariat. Lenin is said to have been the first to set the task of forming a proletarian party as a conscious vanguard of the working class. They claim that Lenin's teaching on the party created the deepest gulf between Leninism and the "original" Marxism. This falsification and distortion is not novel. It is a lie pure and simple, repeated most frequently during periods of ideological class dispute.

In addition, our adversaries claim that in the last years of his life, above all in the introduction written in March 1895 to Marx's "Class Struggles in France," Engels had abandoned his revolutionary stand and advocated "peaceful evolution" to socialism by "reforms," with the vote as the main weapon. The Right-wing Social Democratic leaders use this falsification to make Engels the star champion of their opportunism.

The fact is that in this introduction Engels showed that the party was duty-bound to win the masses and untiringly prepare them for the revolutionary situation. He had one essential guideline: the working class can triumph only if it conducts a revolutionary struggle. In fact, he protested in a letter to Kautsky against the doctored passage from his introduction that

were printed in *Vorwaerts* for, as he wrote indignantly, they were "trimmed in such a way that I appear as the peaceful worshipper of law and order *quand meme*." He demanded that the whole introduction be published so that "this disgraceful impression is dissipated."

Scientific socialism was the only basis, Engels held, on which to build the program of the party. And strict observance by every member of the program guidelines, he stressed, was decisive for the continual growth of the party's political strength. His demand was that "at every given moment" the program "should be accepted by the entire party" ("The Labor Movement in America"). He who rejected the idea "of organizing the proletariat as an independent political party" and the dictatorship of the proletariat as the immediate aim of the struggle, Engels said, placed himself "outside the proletarian movement and inside petty-bourgeois socialism." This posture, as Engels saw it, was incompatible with membership in a revolutionary party ("On the Housing Question"). Engels took it for granted that the party needed iron and conscious discipline.

Marx and Engels substantiated democratic centralism as the main organizational principle of the party. They based this principle, as well as that of internationalism, chiefly on the objective situation of the working class. And Lenin based his teaching on the party of the new type on this important idea. The emergence of the economically and politically highly organized imperialist opponent acting as an international force, demanded "absolute centralization and rigorous discipline in the proletariat (as) an essential condition of victory over the bourgeoisie" (Lenin, Vol. 31, p. 24). As proved by the class struggle everywhere, only a conscious, highly organized and disciplined workers' party can lead the working class and all working people to success, to the victory of socialism.

Imperialist, Social Democratic and revisionist ideologists concentrate their attacks on the principle of democratic centralism. They malign Marx and Engels by alleging that they had thereby aimed at establishing and consolidating authoritarian power over the working-class movement. This is not a new charge, for the Bakuninists circulated it first a long time ago. Then as now, however, the central question in defending and developing democratic centralism is whether or not the party performs its leading role and whether or not it is the organized conscious vanguard of the working class. If

this principle is neglected or violated, the party in the end becomes a tool in the hands of organized counter-revolution.

In his efforts to link Marxism with the workers' movement, Engels, together with Marx, came to grips with all Right opportunist and Left sectarian views. In 1879, acting with the approval of Karl Marx, Engels wrote the "Circular Letter," in which he levelled sharp criticism at the progenitors of revisionism, the "intellectual avant-garde" of those days and various reformists and pseudo- and semi-socialists endeavoring to strip the party of its proletarian class character.

Throughout his life, Engels also firmly opposed all tendencies of imposing on the workers' movement sectarian conceptions that only ground the axe of the class enemy. He warned the working class against adventurism, putschism and phrasemongering. Only a class party, he pointed out, could show the way to victory over exploitation and oppression. Engels branded Bakuninism as essentially adventuristic, blind to the concrete situation in the various countries and incapable of revolutionary struggle on a strictly scientific basis. If a policy of this kind is followed consistently, it ultimately amounts to negation of the revolutionary party. Marx and Engels stressed that "the vocabulary of these sectarians, whose entire radicalism amounts to mere rhetoric, is the best possible aid to the designs of reaction" ("Seeming Splits in the International").

Needless to say, the concrete conditions of the working-class struggle of today differ from those in Engels' lifetime. But as in the past, social progress depends on how the working class and its revolutionary party perform their historic mission. That is why, supported by Social Democrats and modern revisionists, the bourgeoisie conducts a sustained offensive against the leading role of the party, aiming first of all at incapacitating the leading nerve-centre of socialism. Attacking the party it attacks the bearer of Marxist-Leninist ideology, without which a socialist order is inconceivable.

Engels' many years of experience show the working class of all countries and continents that collisions of principle with opportunism and anarchism are unavoidable. If this struggle is in the least neglected, even for a short time, the working class is bound to suffer setbacks and even defeats. Only by consistent struggle for the purity of the revolutionary theory of the working class, by principled struggle

against Right and "Left" deviations, can the party assure fulfilment of its historic task. This has always been a law of development of every revolutionary working-class party.

After Marx's death, the responsibility for the further materialization of the theory of the party and the merging of scientific socialism with the working class on an international scale, fell on Engels' shoulders. He performed a positively titanic labor of immense importance for the European and the American continents. He was at once a partner in discussions and a counsellor of the international labor movement.

The three decades after the Paris Commune until the beginning of the imperialist era were a period of a relatively "peaceful" development of capitalism. It was a time when mass proletarian parties, most of them Marxist, sprang up in many countries, and this was due to no small extent to Engels, to his scientific work, to his elucidation of Marx's ideological heritage and to his practical activity as organizer of the international working-class movement.

It was the main task then to marshal forces for the impending decisive class battles against the bourgeoisie and creating the subjective premises for victory over capitalism by raising the organizational and ideologico-theoretical standard of the workers' movement. When the Second International was founded in 1889, Engels set the task of safeguarding the hegemony of the Marxists in the international socialist movement as the top priority.

The cardinal problem of the labor movement in each country was described by Engels in the following terms: "The difference is purely a question of principle: should the struggle be conducted as a *class struggle* of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, or could we tolerate a fully

opportunist . . . rejection of the class character of the movement and of the program in all cases where this can yield more votes, more 'followers'?" (Letter to Bebel, Oct. 28, 1882). This problem is still a relevant one.

Lenin set out what especially distinguished Engels as a theorist and organizer of the international proletariat; Engels, he wrote, combined "a most profound comprehension of the *basic* aims of the proletariat" with an "unusually flexible definition of the tasks of the tactics of the moment from the standpoint of these revolutionary aims" without making "the slightest concession to opportunism or revolutionary phrasemongering" (Vol. 19, p. 554). The common struggle, joint action and joint policy of the Communist and Workers' parties, as defined in 1969 in the Moscow Document, accords with the testament of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Their tireless efforts to assure the international unity of the proletariat and its revolutionary parties shall always be for us a model. It is the duty of the Communist and Workers' parties to act in common according to the common program. This program takes account of varying conditions, but, as Engels put it, "everywhere has the same basic features, thus guaranteeing identity of aims and a general conformance of means used in achieving the common goal — emancipation of the working class by the working class itself" ("European Workers in 1877").

True to the principle of the "Communist Manifesto" — Workers of all countries, unite! — expressive of the international character of our struggle, the Communist and Workers' parties consider it their duty to cement still more strongly their ranks and make the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism the strongest bond of the working-class movement.

History and class struggle

PIERRE HENTGES

With their theory of historical materialism, Marx and Engels wrought a veritable revolution in the understanding of history. "For us," Engels wrote, "history is everything, and we prize it more than did any other, earlier philosophical school, more even than Hegel for whom, in the final analysis, it served merely to test his logical construction."

Engels' interest in history was wide and comprehensive. The origin of the family, the history of early Christianity, the ancient Germans, the disintegration of feudal society and the rise of national states, the 16th century peasant war in Germany, the revolutions of 1848-1849—these and many other historical landmarks were carefully analyzed. To this might be added that Engels intended to write a biography of Marx and to take up certain aspects of labor history. Unfortunately, he did not live to accomplish either.

Like Marx, he was conversant with the traditional methods of historical research. And like Marx, his object was to re-establish the truthful background of events and to reveal their real meaning. But neither he nor Marx were historians in the conventional sense of the term. For Engels' historical studies represent a vast legacy scattered over many of his works, due largely to his desire to apply the materialist concept of history to different problems and events. And for Engels the study of history offered many opportunities to test his analytical method and to draw conclusions concerning the working-class tactics and activity. Pure theorists, he remarked, exist only among the reactionaries. Many of his writings dealt with pressing problems of revolutionary propaganda. Perhaps the most characteristic example in this respect is "Anti-Duehring," written at Marx's request.

Engels says, in his preface to the third German edition of Marx's "18th Brumaire": "Marx was the first to discover the great law which governs the march of history. According to this law, all political struggles, although they seem to take place on the political, religious, philosophical, or any other ideal plane, are, in reality, nothing else than the more or less clear expression of struggle between social classes. The existence of these classes and their collisions, are themselves determined by the degree of development in the economic situation, by the prevailing mode of production, and by the methods of exchange which result."

Marx and Engels explained the novelty of their approach to history as compared to that of Hegel and Feuerbach. As in the study of nature, it was necessary to remove artificial contacts and to disclose the real ones. In the final analysis this meant discovering the general laws of motion, which hew a way for themselves in the history of society. Engels wrote: "The cult of abstract man, which formed the kernel of Feuerbach's new religion, had to be replaced by the science of real men and of their historical development" (*Ludwig Feuerbach*).

One can clearly see from Engels' writings how the understanding of history as class struggle gives the researcher a reliable method for determining the subject of history, for analyzing events and their periodization.

The theory of society formulated by Marx and Engels dislodged idealism from its stronghold and put an end to the substitution of mythology for genuine science. Marxism gave historical science an instrument enabling it to understand its nature and potentialities. One example is the clarity Engels projected into the complex

question of the relation between politics and war. He showed that the strength of an army and its methods of warfare depended on economic and political conditions and, also, on its class character. We know, of course, that Engels made a thorough study of strategy and tactics, the role of new weapons, the composition and organization of armies, and so on. But in every case he revealed the causal link between war and the general factors of historical development. For him war was not a fatal accident of history, or an error or miscalculation.

Marxism also helped the working class and nations to gain a clear picture of their aims and interests.

One can take the example of Germany. What other country can look back on a more tortuous and bloody history? But what use was there in Chancellor von Buelow describing that history as the world's greatest drama, or in Hitler disquisitions on Lebensraum and a Nordic people? Engels gave an altogether different picture of Germany's past, present and future. He analyzed the growth of German and Prussian economic, political and legal institutions, the survivals of earlier development stages and, on this basis, drew the conclusion (in an 1886 letter to August Bebel) that Prussianism was intrinsically inimical to the establishment of a German national state, a German republic, a democratic Germany.

As historians, Marx and Engels were especially closely associated with the epoch of French and German revolutions — they lived at the time of the 1848-49 revolutions and the Paris Commune. And Marx made a special analysis of the events in France. But if we study their articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* beginning with January 1850, i.e., "The Class Struggle in France, 1848-50," "The Peasant War in Germany" and shorter items, or the "18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," published somewhat later, and Engels' articles "Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany," we shall see that they form part of a comprehensive whole dealing with the lessons of European revolutions.

Beginning with February 1848, Marx and Engels had a direct part in this revolutionary movement — in the Communist League, the Cologne Democratic Association, and as publishers of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Engels, it will be recalled, took part in the armed rising in Elberfeld and in Pfalz. As historians they drew valu-

able lessons from their own experience, always guided by the principle of uninterrupted unity of theory and practice, which is one of the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism. For the first time, they were able to put their materialist interpretation of history to a practical test. In his introduction to "The Class Struggles in France," Engels showed that, at a time when the proletarian masses did not yet have a scientific understanding of their aims, still lacked class consciousness, he and Marx sought to explain a section of contemporary history by means of their materialist conception, on the basis of the given economic situation. They disclosed the inner causal connection, tracing political events back to effects of what were, in the final analysis, economic causes; back to the struggles between the interests of the existing social classes and fractions of classes, proving that political parties were the more or less adequate political expression of these same classes or fractions of classes.

Using their method, Marx and Engels were able to present partial developments against a broad historical background. Their account of the 1848-49 revolutions is the only one to provide a comprehensive picture of the way events unfolded in France and Germany, and is the only one that has not been relegated to oblivion.

Their writings on the 1848 revolution, their scientific analysis, with its accent on the connection between theory and practice, is part of their concept of historical determinism. Never did they consider events in isolation, always tracing their connection with preceding developments. That is why Marx and Engels were more than historians of revolution; they were also historians of civilization. Witness this splendid passage in "Dialectics of Nature," in the section dealing with the Reformation, the Renaissance and the Cinquecento: "The bounds of the old *orbis terrarum* were pierced. Only now for the first time was the world really discovered and the basis laid for subsequent world trade and the transition from handicraft to manufacture, which in its turn formed the starting point for modern large-scale industry. The dictatorship of the Church over men's minds was shattered." This is part of the history of mankind to which nothing human is alien; a history open to all beneficial influences, whether in realms of science, the military art or literature. And again we see Engels the historian in his letter to Laura Lafargue of December 13, 1883: "I have been reading scarcely anything but Balzac

while laid up, and enjoyed the grand old fellow thoroughly. There is the history of France from 1815 to 1848, far more than in all the *Vaulabelles*, *Capefigures*, *Louis Blancs et tutti quanti*."

Marx and Engels understood history in its continuity and universality. "The whole theory of Marx," Lenin wrote, "is the application of the theory of development—in its most consistent, complete, considered and pithy form—to modern capitalism" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, pp. 457-58). This could rightly be applied to other periods and other social regimes which Engels studied, in particular to all past bourgeois revolutionary movements. That approach not only makes for a better understanding of history, but also enriches the revolutionary consciousness of the international Communist movement and keeps alight the patriotic flame in its various national contingents. It helps us, for example, to see the evolution of the French bourgeoisie after 1789 as a single process, of which revolutionary terror, Thermidor and Napoleonic despotism were component parts. Maurice Thorez repeatedly stressed that by demolishing feudalism, the French revolution assured domination of the bourgeoisie and facilitated social progress; in liberating itself, the bourgeoisie created the conditions for the development and liberation of the working class. Many Communist Party leaders take the same view of the history of their particular country and people.

Having purged the philosophy of history of its *a priori* assumptions, Marx and Engels proved that men are the makers of their history. And though they never regarded social progress as a transcendent and metaphysical process, they formulated a number of general features of historical development. First, history was advancing to become universal, and in this context Marx and Engels emphasized the role of capitalism. In "Ludwig Feuerbach" Engels showed that continuous perfection of the mode of production, of exchange and the division of labor destroys barriers between nations and in this way history is becoming universal world history. Amplifying that, Engels pointed to the consequences the invention of new machines in England could have for India and China. Today, there is a multitude of facts to support that. For instance, radio, television

and earth satellites make us constant witnesses of, to a certain extent even participants in, events throughout the world.

Another general feature of historical development is our increased ability to forecast events. And here, too, Engels often passed from history as it is written to history as it is being made. Five months before his death, he predicted events that took place during World War I. "It was believed that the militant proletariat had been finally buried with the Paris Commune. But, completely to the contrary, it dates its most powerful resurgence from the Commune and the Franco-Prussian War. The recruitment of the whole of the population able to bear arms into armies that henceforth could be counted only in millions, and the introduction of fire-arms, projectiles and explosives of hitherto undreamt-of efficacy, created a complete revolution in all warfare. This revolution, on the one hand put a sudden end to the Bonapartist war period and ensured peaceful industrial development by making any war other than a world war of unheard-of cruelty and absolutely incalculable outcome an impossibility" (Introduction to *The Class Struggles in France*). And Engels foresaw that only a free Russia would weaken all the reactionary elements in Europe and increase the strength of the European working class.

In all his works, Engels emphasized the growing role of consciousness, which was increasingly becoming a force standing opposed to the social laws of antagonistic formations, laws that operate spontaneously, are alien to man and dominate over him. But in a world building socialism and communism, men have learned to use these laws in their social life, in the conscious making of history. The Great October Revolution and the Soviet Union's victory over fascism intensified the struggle for freedom. Last year's International Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties furnished added proof of the correctness of the historico-philosophical concepts of Marx and Engels. It demonstrated that, thanks to the might of the socialist countries, the struggle of the international working class, and the national-liberation movement, history is increasingly being shaped by the rational individual and collective will of men as they master the objective laws of social development.

Engels on connection between philosophy and natural science

BONIFATY KEDROV

Just as Karl Marx brought out the principal law governing the economic development of capitalism and showed the prospects for mankind's liberation, so Frederick Engels summed up the achievements of natural science and showed its prospects. It was Engels' idea that his work was to become something of a single whole with Marx's *Capital*, so that the process of development should be seen to run from the simplest forms of material motion in nature to the economic development of human society.

Engels' ideas of the interrelation between philosophy and the particular sciences fully retain their meaning in our day. The range of special disciplines which have separated from, or risen outside philosophy, has become more specific. That does not mean, however, that there is any break in the connection between the particular sciences and philosophy. As Engels pointed out, it marks the end of their subordination to philosophy, collapse of its claim to the role of the queen of the sciences dominating all other branches of science. Modern materialist philosophy, i.e., dialectical and historical materialism, has become the closest associate and true ally of the particular sciences and is in creative contact with them.

Engels' inquiry into the dialectics of science proper is centered on three chronologically definite groups of problems: the past (questions in the history of natural science roughly up to the mid-19th century; the present (problems of contemporary science dealing with nature) and the future (the principal tendencies and prospects of the further development of science). Engels saw his task in making a concrete application of the dialectical method in each of

these spheres to bring out the objective dialectics of nature and the dialectics in scientific cognition.

Let me deal in somewhat greater detail with Engels' forecasts, which bore on particular problems in the separate branches of natural science and on the general tendencies of its development.

His particular prognoses sprang from his overall approach to the dialectics of natural science and above all from the theory of the forms of motion of matter and the transitions between them, to which correspond transitions between the individual natural sciences. Guided by the dialectical method and its principle of historicism, Engels concentrated his attention on what his predecessors and contemporaries had overlooked, namely, the frontier areas where the mutual transitions between the distinct forms of motion, and thus between the corresponding sciences, take place. That is where he foresaw fresh and outstanding discoveries, because the study of these areas contained the key to the *essence* of higher and more complex forms of the motion of matter.

The substance of heat was discovered and first understood only after it had been concretely demonstrated that heat depended on the mechanical movement of molecules, that is, after the connection and transition between heat and mechanical movement had been discovered. Engels foresaw that the essence of chemistry would be revealed through an understanding of the nature of the connection between chemical and other, especially electrical, forms of motion. This prediction was fully borne out in his own lifetime: the theory of electrolytical dissociation explained the

chemical phenomena behind the electrical properties of the water solutions of electrolytes. The central conception of this theory—the ion—in fact expressed the connection between chemistry and electricity.

There was a similar methodological basis for his other remarkable prediction relating to the link between chemistry and biology in solving the problem of the artificial synthesis of living from non-living matter. He foresaw the establishment of new, interdisciplinary (as they are now called) regions of scientific knowledge — biochemistry at the point where chemistry and biology meet, and physical chemistry where chemistry and physics meet.

The artificial synthesis of living matter is still to be brought about, but all the corresponding interdisciplinary sciences have come up quite close to the solution of this problem. Fundamentally they followed the way Engels had indicated with such foresight almost a century ago. Some of the details of his views of the chemistry of proteins as the substance of life have been given more specific form, and his definition of life has been elaborated with the discovery of nucleic acids and of their role in vital activity (metabolism, heredity, and so on).

It was clear to Engels that subsequently, especially when chemistry came near to making the leap from non-living to living matter, the so far lacking physico-chemical substantiation of life would be found and that it would then be possible to discover the substance of organic forms of motion. But this did not mean that Engels “reduced” life to chemistry, as did the mechanists. While it does have a physico-chemical basis, the essence of life comes to more than the establishment of its structural and genetic connections with the lower (mechanical, physical and chemical) forms of motion.

It is absolutely essential to establish this connection for an understanding of the higher form of motion, but it is inadequate for an exhaustive explanation of its qualitative aspect. There is more to the essence of the higher form than the sum-total of lower forms of motion, from which the higher form historically (genetically) arose, and of which it is (structurally) made up.

Engels expressed the dialectical idea that in nature there are no absolutely immutable, “ultimate” particles of matter. He predicted that sooner or later science would discover the mutability, divisibility and complexity of the intrinsic structure of

atoms, that it would show that atoms are structured from other simpler and smaller discrete particles which may perhaps have connections with as yet unknown physical phenomena.

Since then physics has discovered a great number of particles smaller than the atom, with some of them being the structural particles of the atom itself (atomic nuclei and electrons); apart from electrons, there has been discovered a host of elementary particles the simplest of which (the photon and the different varieties of the neutrino) have no weight (in the sense that they lack a mass of their own). But, of course, the absence of mass does not signify that these particles are not material.

Engels predicted that with time the theory of electricity would be based on the idea of discreteness. He declared that in the science of electricity there would still be that discovery which, like Dalton's in chemistry, gave it a sound basis. Engels' prediction concerning the vehicle of electrical processes was borne out by the discovery in 1897 (two years after Engels' death) of the electron by J. J. Thompson. This was an event similar in principle to Dalton's formulation of his atomic theory: the idea of discreteness was introduced into the theory of electricity, and caused a revolution in physics. A little while later it was also adopted in the theory of light through the quantum theory formulated by Max Planck and further developed by Albert Einstein, who introduced the conception of the photon.

Engels' prediction concerning the overall tendencies and prospects for the development of the natural sciences, were also made with the aid of the dialectical method. Above all this relates to the two principal tendencies in the development of the sciences — the differentiation and integration. One-sided differentiation, based on analysis alone, led to a dissociation of the sciences. Hence, the differentiation tendency was complemented by the opposite tendency of integration. In the 19th century, these two opposite tendencies appeared to exist side by side, with the latter having the task of compensating the negative consequences of the former.

Engels essentially foresaw a more profound unity and interpenetration of the two tendencies: if progress in natural science would consist in the old gaps between the basic sciences being filled by the emergence of new (interdisciplinary) branches of science, the continuing differentiation of

the sciences would subsequently lead not to increasing their dissociation, but, on the contrary, to their connection with each other, in short, to their integration. That is exactly what is happening with ever greater momentum in modern natural science.

The link between philosophy and natural science, in which Engels always took an interest, is developing in our day along the lines he had anticipated. They way out of the contradictions in which natural science had found itself in the latter half of the 19th century was through rejection of metaphysics and adoption of the materialist dialectical view of the fundamental problems of modern science. This was essentially the "latest revolution in natural science" about which Lenin wrote.

Engels drew attention to the fact that, for all its abstract nature, mathematics has real connections with the real world and that there is a direct analogy between its operations and conceptions, on the one hand, and the processes of the real world, on the other.

The introduction of mathematics into every field of natural science is a token of immense scientific progress. The penetration of the concepts and methods of mathematics into all the natural sciences without exception always resulted in positive advances and greatly accelerated their development. At the same time, with the methodological crisis in natural science, this also produced negative phenomena in the philosophical realm, namely, the tendency among some mathematicians to detach their science from the real world, something that Engels had criticized. These fallacious views presaged a future crisis in the natural sciences; they were its initial symptom. And Engels' criticism was really a timely warning. That is why Herbert Marcuse is quite wrong when he says that in "The Dialectics of Nature" Engels' dialectical concepts appear as simple analogies which are figurative and which are superimposed on the content, amazingly shallow or general as compared with the precise concreteness of the dialectical conceptions in his economic and socio-historical writings (see H. Marcuse, *Soviet Marxism. A Critical Analysis*, N.Y., 1958, p. 144). Marcuse and other idealists deliberately ascribe an *a priori* complexion to Engels' ideas about the genesis and content of scientific abstractions.

Engels noted yet another reason for the idealistic confusion among natural scien-

tists. He wrote: "The number and the succession of hypotheses which supplant each other, without the natural scientists' having adequate logical and dialectical training, easily suggests the idea that we are incapable of cognizing the substance of things" ("Dialectics of Nature").

The succession of hypotheses and theories, the fundamental break-up of conceptions and principles testify to the relativity of our knowledge, but this conclusion does not in itself contain anything objectionable. On the contrary, it stems from dialectics. But without a knowledge of it, without adequate skill in dealing with the dialectical method, this conclusion impels scientists to infer wrongly from the relativity of our knowledge that there is nothing objective, or that we are powerless to know the essence of things. Consequently, through this one-sided view of relativism, subjectivist and agnostic views begin to seep through into natural science.

Engels' works and ideas are projected in Lenin's works and ideas, and this is more significant because Lenin had no knowledge of Engels' manuscript of "The Dialectics of Nature," and Engels did not live to the day when the "latest revolution" exploded in natural science with its attendant methodological crisis. Engels and Lenin both started from materialist dialectics, and it is this that led them not only to draw identical general conclusions but now and again also to make similar formulations.

Engels had predicted that once socialism won out it would mark the beginning of the chronology of a new historical epoch in which men themselves, and all the branches of their activity with them, natural science in particular, would make advances outshining everything done in the past.

The conquest of outer space, the peaceful uses of atomic energy, the invention of the laser and many other outstanding discoveries and inventions testify that Engels' prophetic words about the tempestuous development of natural science under socialism are being realized in life. This success in natural science is organically connected with the fact that Soviet scientists and the scientists of other socialist countries consciously follow the philosophical teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and use the materialist dialectical method the way Engels, one of its founders, had advocated.

Engels and internationalism

GUSTAVO COLMAN

The task of uniting all the revolutionary forces on a national and an international scale arose with the emergence of the independent class movement of the proletariat at the turn of the century. Its objective conditions and needs impelled its best men to realize the necessity for solidarity, fraternal alliance and effective mutual assistance of the working people and their organizations and parties in the fight for their vital interests, for abolishing exploiting regimes, and for bringing about a victory of the working people's power.

Engels established contact with the Chartist revolutionary workers' movement when he was in Britain from 1842 to 1844. At the same time he wrote for *The New Moral World*, published by the Owen socialists. From then on he maintained uninterrupted contact with the revolutionary proletariat, which he and Marx later called the grave-digger of the bourgeois society.

Engels' greatest achievement is that, having come to know Chartism and English socialism, he succeeded in showing the merits and the shortcomings of each. His book, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, published upon his return to Germany in 1845, summed up his studies of the proletariat in that country. He developed the idea that the proletariat was a class which differed basically from all earlier oppressed classes, because the very conditions of its existence created the prerequisites for its cohesion, awareness of its interests and of its historic mission of destroying capitalism. Lenin observed: "Even before Engels, many people had described the sufferings of the proletariat and had pointed to the necessity of helping it. Engels was the first to say that the proletariat is not only a suffering class; that it is, in fact, the disgraceful

economic condition of the proletariat that drives it irresistibly forward and compels it to fight for its ultimate emancipation. And the fighting proletariat will help itself." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 22).

Engels set out the integration of socialism and Chartism as the basic and crucial task before the British proletariat. He argued that a mass political revolutionary movement of the workers must take them to socialism. If socialism is no longer to be the utopian dream of lone individuals, and if it is to become a real force, it must be adopted as the goal of the working-class political struggle.

This task of integrating socialism with the working-class movement and converting it into a science, the theory of a numerous and mighty class—this task fell to the lot of Marx and Engels.

Marx and Engels gave the scientific backing for their great slogan "Workers of all Countries, Unite!" It was described at the head of the first set of Rules of the Communist League, adopted at its London congress at the end of 1847. It ended the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, issued in London in February that year. Shortly thereafter, in June 1848, Paris was the scene of history's first revolutionary battle for political power between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Recalling this almost 50 years later, Engels wrote: "We were in no doubt at all that a great and decisive battle had been joined, that it was bound to be fought to the outcome throughout a long revolutionary period full of vicissitudes, and that it was bound to culminate only in a final victory for the proletariat" (Introduction to the "Class Struggles in France").

Consequently, for Marx and Engels, the slogan of revolutionary proletarian unity was not in any sense a fad or a ringing

catchword, nor was it a tactical expedient. On the contrary, the idea of unity of proletarians of all countries expresses the essence of a whole epoch in man's history. Concise in form, this slogan sums up the proletariat's epoch-making role as a class, as the principal revolutionary force throughout the whole epoch of development and downfall of world capitalism. The final chord of the *Communist Manifesto* is still a call to organizing and uniting the forces, to vigorous joint action by all the contingents of the international working class.

The lasting importance of this call is seen from the response it draws from the present-day enemies of socialism. They have been trying to prove the "obsolescence" of this slogan for the working people's proletarian unity, and suggest that the working class of all countries no longer has common basic interests.

Engels, like Marx, never took the primitive, schematic or dogmatic view of the real conditions of the struggle waged by the working class and its parties in the various countries, or of the objective difficulties and vicissitudes in the development of the world revolutionary process. A characteristic mark of Engels' genius was his clear understanding of the objective laws of historical development, his firm faith in the strength of the working class and in the inevitable triumph of socialism. That is why it is invention, pure and simple, on the part of the opportunists and revisionists to accuse Engels of "dogmatism."

Engels made a vast personal contribution to the scientific substantiation of the need for proletarian internationalism and its basic principles. Together with Marx and for many years after his death, Engels tirelessly called, in his theoretical writings, in his many brilliant polemical articles in the press, in a mass of letters to working class leaders in various countries and in speeches at international congresses, for the cohesion of the proletariat's revolutionary forces on the basis of Marxism. He argued, with insistence and patience, that the proletariat's way to state power ran through the establishment of independent working-class Marxist parties, through the cohesion under their leadership of all the detachments of the proletariat on the national and the international scale, and through the unity, under the leadership of the working class and its revolutionary parties, of all sections of the working people, and the pro-

gressive, truly democratic and national-liberation movements of the masses in the fight against the capitalist exploiting system.

Engels believed unconditional and immediate international working-class support for the leading contingents of the proletariat to be necessary for the success of each major workers' offensive and the triumph of the socialist revolution. While giving due credit to solidarity statements in the press, he put the highest value on concrete measures of assistance, including large-scale and vigorous action by the working people in the various countries simultaneously against their own and "foreign" exploiters.

Inquiry into the last few years of Engels' life and work is especially rewarding. This was a period in which the contradictions of the capitalist system were sharply aggravated as it moved into its final stage of imperialism. There was also a fresh upswing in the working-class movement. In his 1886 article, "On the Anniversary of the Paris Commune," he wrote: "Today, the internationalist unity of proletarians, the brotherhood of the revolutionary workers of various countries has become a thousand times more solid and comprehensive than it was on the eve of the Commune. The International no longer needs an organization, in the narrow sense of the word; it lives on and grows thanks to the naturally developing and sincere cooperation of the workers of Europe and America."

At the same time, taking a creative view of the actual state of affairs in the working-class movement, Engels warmly welcomed the rebirth of the International, took an active part in preparing its congresses, and did everything to develop the ties and contacts between the socialists of the various countries. His home in London became a kind of international headquarters of the revolutionaries. Stressing the growing importance of the internationalist unity of the working people, Engels wrote in his "Message of Greetings to the Socialists of Sicily" on September 26, 1894: "A new and better society is dawning for the oppressed classes of all countries. Everywhere the oppressed masses are closing their ranks, everywhere they are reaching accord with each other, in despite of the boundaries and the barriers of language. An army of the international proletariat is taking shape—and the coming new age will see it attain victory."

In March 1895, a few months before he

died, Engels reiterated: "Today there is a great and united international army of socialists, with every passing day irresistibly advancing, building up its numbers, organization, discipline, consciousness and confidence in victory" (Introduction to the "Class Struggles in France"). He went on to give a warning not to under-estimate the strength of the enemy, and to refrain from reckless attempts to secure the social transformation of society "through a simple surprise attack" on the ruling classes and their state.

There is profound meaning today in Engels' ideas about establishing correct relations between the proletarian parties, and the correct blending of international and national interests. He took a firm stand against unwarranted claims to hegemony in the working-class movement,

which some parties now and again made. He explained that the status of this or that party in the international working-class movement did not depend on the subjective wishes of its leaders, but on the objective role it had to play in the liberation struggle of the working class. Without denying that at various stages of the struggle some parties could be in the van, he pointed out that the overthrow of capitalism on an international scale could in no sense be the business of any one party.

The Paraguayan Communists believe united action by the Communist Parties and their cohesion to be the most important factor in the unity of all the anti-imperialist forces, and an earnest of a more solid alliance and joint action by the three great streams of the world revolutionary movement.

Frederick Engels and the British working class

HYMAN FAGAN

Traditional histories of the British working class movement have always concealed the great part which Marx and Engels played in it, not only as theoreticians, but as practical leaders and fighters closely linked with the struggle of the working class in many countries, including England. Both Marx and Engels drew many lessons from Chartism and from the British Labor Movement as a whole, in order to formulate their revolutionary theories. Engels' work *The Condition of the Working Class in England* is a model of objective Marxist analysis in which he showed a profound understanding of the British proletariat.

Engels participated actively in every struggle of the British workers from the Chartist Movement in the 1840s, right down to the great struggles for the Eight-Hour Day in the 1890s. More particularly did Engels have a profound impact on the developing Labor Movement in the 1880s when Socialism revived and the Movement

had begun to turn away from its position as a "tail" of the bourgeois Liberal Party, and under the influence of Engels, and Marxists like Tom Mann, Eleanor Marx, Aveling, etc., was moving towards the formation of an independent working-class party. Engels' writings and speeches had a deep impact on the young and active trade unionists of that period who were heading the breakaway movement from the Liberals and the "old" unionism.

Studying the Chartist Movement, the first really independent political movement of the proletariat in the world, as well as the British trade union movement, Engels, as did Marx, laid bare their negative side due to a lack of theory, the ignoring of politics and the corruption of the aristocracy of labor, the skilled craftsmen, "by the crumbs from the rich man's table," which helped to create a petty-bourgeois respectability amongst the skilled workers.

"The most repulsive thing here," wrote Engels to F. A. Sorge in 1889, "is the

bourgeois 'respectability' bred into the bones of the workers. The social division of society into innumerable gradations, each recognized without question, each with its own pride but also its inborn respect for its 'betters' and 'superiors', is so old and firmly established that the bourgeois still find it pretty easy to get their bait accepted."

But this repugnance did not destroy the confidence which Engels had in the British working class, particularly the Chartists. On the contrary, in 1844, suggesting the lines along which revolutionary development was possible in Britain, he wrote: "The Chartists are theoretically the more backward, the less developed, but they are genuine proletarians all over, the representatives of their class. The Socialists (Engels here is referring to the Utopian Socialists, followers of Robert Owen — H.F.) are more far-seeing, propose practical remedies against distress, but proceeding originally from the bourgeoisie, are, for this reason, unable to amalgamate completely with the working class. The union of Socialism with Chartism, the reproduction of French Communism in an English manner, will be the next step and has already begun. Then only, when this has been achieved, will the working class be the true intellectual leader of England" (Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England—1884*, Allen and Unwin, London, 1926, p. 238).

Even at this early stage it was already clear that the essential thing for the advance of the working class was the uniting of revolutionary theory with revolutionary practice—"the union of Chartism with Socialism," as Engels had put it. But this was not to be realized until later when Marx and Engels themselves had forged this union of theory and practice.

The founders of Marxism highly praised the special fighting qualities of the English trade unionists who used the strike weapon with such deadly effect. These strikes showed "to what extent the social war had broken out all over England," Engels wrote. "These strikes . . . are the military school of the working men in which they prepare themselves for the great struggle which cannot be avoided . . . As schools of the war, the unions are unexcelled. In them is developed the peculiar courage of the English" (*ibid.*, p. 224).

Engels laid bare the peculiar conditions of the development of the British Labor Movement. He showed why, despite the

magnificent struggles of the Christians and the trade unions, and despite the maturing of the material conditions for the working-class advance to socialism, their political unreadiness, amongst other factors, still held them back.

The world monopoly of the British capitalist class made it possible for them to provide relatively more privileged conditions for the upper sections of the working class and its leadership — not, of course, without the most formidable class battles — even the skilled Labor aristocracy were never granted anything. The organized working class, in its craft unions, had to battle hard and bitterly for every concession wrested from the bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, this acceptance of capitalism by the upper sections of the working class constituted the root of reformism, of opportunism. It was this which led to the strength of capitalist ideas in the working class and in the organized Labor Movement.

But in view of its past history, in view of the deep class consciousness and the magnificent fighting spirit of the British working class, both Marx and Engels were convinced that this opportunism and reformism was a temporary phase. They believed that the conditions which led to opportunism were unstable, since they depended on Britain's world monopoly which was already being challenged by rising capitalist countries like Germany, Japan, and particularly the United States which, Engels forecast, would soon replace Britain as the leading capitalist power. The ending of British capitalist world domination with its exploitation of the nations under its domination was an essential preliminary condition for the victory of the working class. By the 1880s this appeared to be the case. It was within a decade of the breaking of Britain's world monopoly that the modern British Labor Movement came into existence.

In giving his guidance to the British workers, Engels had to steer a careful course between the middle class Socialists, such as the Fabians and others, with their opportunism, their determination to keep the working class tied to the Liberal Party, and their hatred of Marxism, and the sectarian leaders like H. M. Hyndman who had founded the Social Democratic Federation and who saw Marxism as a dogma and not a guide to action.

Engels had to prove to, and convince, the British trade unionists that although strike action for better conditions was im-

portant and an essential part of the class struggle, the battle did not end there. What was vitally necessary was to break away from the Liberal Party, to stop being its tail—and to form an independent working-class political party which would carry the fight to a higher level, to challenge and destroy the wages system altogether.

A series of articles in the journal of the London Trades Council, the *Labor Standard*, which Engels wrote in 1881, are a model of how to lead, guide, and educate the masses. These articles, simple in form, but deep and rich in content, made a profound impression on the younger, new generation of trade unionists, who were now moving into action. In these articles in the *Labor Standard*, Engels pointed out how essential it was for the working class to understand the working of the wages system in order that they should put an end to it. He explained how the worker is exploited by the capitalist, how the old trade union slogan, "A Fair Day's Work for a Fair Day's Pay" was in fact unfair to the worker because "the working man is paid out of his own product" *Marx and Engels on Britain*, p. 11). Therefore, concluded Engels, would it not be best to drop this old trade union motto which had been in existence for 50 years and replace it with another:

"Possession of the means of production — raw materials, factories, machinery — by the working people themselves"? (*ibid.*)

Emphasizing the importance of supplementing economic struggle by political struggle, Engels showed how strong trade unions had made the working class. "From the day that trade unions became legal in 1824," he wrote, "Labor became a power in England. The former helpless mass was no longer so . . . Hence the violent outbursts of the capitalist class . . . against the trade unions. That class had always considered its long-established practice of grinding down the working class as a vested right and lawful interest. That was now put a stop to" (*ibid.*, p. 17).

The constant struggle by trade unions to raise wages and to shorten hours, only to find that with the outbreak of economic crises "once every ten years at least" the whole bitter struggle had to start once again, was a vicious circle from which there was no escape within the framework of capitalism. If the trade unions only saw their function as conducting an economic fight within the capitalist system, then no matter how hard they fought on the economic front, the working class

would still remain wage slaves. "Is this to remain for ever the highest aim of British workmen?" (*ibid.*, p. 18) or should the working class not use its trade union organization politically and start a movement "for the abolition of the wages system altogether"? But in order to do so, there must be not only an organized trade union movement, but also a united independent political party of the working class. "For the full representation of Labor in Parliament as well as for the preparation of the abolition of the wages system, organizations will become necessary, not of separate trades, but the working class as a body. And the sooner this is done, the better. There is no power in the world which could for a day resist the British working class organized as a body" (*ibid.*, p. 21).

Advancing this task, Engels, like Marx, also foresaw with great clarity that the English worker had also been affected by chauvinism and colonialism. This also had to be got rid of before the working class could be successful in its struggle for power. No nation which enslaves another can itself be free, they told the English, for England had for centuries oppressed many nations of the world.

History has shown that the predictions of Engels on the future of Britain and the development of the working class movement were on the whole confirmed. Britain lost her world position to the United States, and, by the turn of the century, Britain has also lost her leading industrial position in Europe, to Germany.

It was during this period that, following a resolution of the Trades Union Congress, representatives of the trade unions and Socialist bodies met in unity in 1900 and took the first step towards organizing a political party which would represent the views of the organized working class in parliament. This had long been worked for by the "new" trade unionists who had been influenced by Engels.

Some years later, Lenin was to define this Labor Party as representing "the first step on the part of the really proletarian organizations of Britain towards a conscious class policy and towards a socialist workers' party." And he added: "That by separating in *Parliament* (not during the elections! not in its whole policy! not in its propaganda and agitation!) from the bourgeois parties, the Labor Party in Britain is taking the first step towards socialism and towards a class policy of the

proletarian mass organizations is indisputable" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 15, pp. 235, 236).

In 1920, at a Convention in London, the

British Communist Party was launched. Engels' concept of an independent political party of the working class was at last realized.

Engels on the agrarian question and the experience of the Bulgarian Communist Party

DAVID ELAZAR

The agrarian question occupies an important place in the works of the founders of scientific socialism. Engels deals with various aspects of this question in his works, "The Condition of the Working Class in England," "The Peasant War in Germany," "On Social Relations in Russia," "The Peasant Question in France and Germany," etc. His starting point in solving this question was the comprehensively elaborated theory of Marx concerning the inevitable development of capitalist relations in the countryside, leading inescapably to the ruin of small and medium-sized farming as a result of the concentration of production.

As we study Engels' theoretical heritage, we see his steadily growing interest in the agrarian question. Starting with the examination of its separate aspects and then proceeding to its more extensive treatment in "The Peasant War in Germany" and, in particular, in the preface to the second edition, Engels left us towards the end of his life his summary work "The Peasant Question in France and Germany."

It would be interesting to trace the evolution of Engels' views on the role of the peasantry in society. They became deeper, crystallizing on the basis of scientific socialism and the generalization of the experience of class struggle. From the as-

essment of the peasantry as ally of the bourgeoisie in the anti-feudal revolution, through a generalized conclusion on the reactionary role of the peasantry during the revolution of 1848, when "the hazy socialist aspirations . . . were rapidly disposed of by the reactionary ballots of the French peasantry" ("The Peasant Question in France and Germany"), to the definition of the toiling peasantry as the ally of the working-class—such is the evolution of Engels' views on the role of the peasantry in social development.

In "The Peasant Question in France and Germany" he especially notes that without the support and against the will of the small peasant, socialist revolution is impossible in a country like France. It is to his credit that he made a profound analysis of separate social groups of the peasantry—from the agricultural proletariat to the rural bourgeoisie—and defined the essence of the proletarian party's policy in relation to each of them. He emphasized that the Social Democrats should focus their attention on the small peasant. He wrote: "Not only is he, of all peasants, the most important for Western Europe in general, but he is also the critical case that decides the entire question."

Engels displayed a remarkable skill in approaching the peasant question concretely, depending on the conditions in each country. He emphasized that the de-

cisive thing for the French socialists is to work out a correct attitude to the small proprietor, the main social figure in "the classical country of small-scale farming." As regards Britain, where capitalist agriculture had been long in existence, the relations in the countryside are those of the bourgeoisie to the proletariat.

Engels left us valuable ideas not only regarding the role of the toiling peasants as allies of the working class in the struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, but also regarding their participation in the building of a socialist society.

In "The Peasant Question in France and Germany" he elaborated the principles of the policy to be followed by the proletariat in relation to the peasantry in the process of the socialist reconstruction of the countryside, emphasizing the diversity and the complexity of this process. He wrote: "Only the big landed estates present a perfectly simple case . . . As soon as our Party is in possession of political power, it has simply to expropriate the big landed proprietors, just like the manufacturers in industry." But even this "simple case" Engels makes dependent on concrete circumstances, on the conduct of the big landowners, etc. In this connection he points to the possibility of expropriation through redemption.

In the matter of winning over the middle peasant, Engels held that this may be done even under capitalism; he held that subsequently the party of the proletariat could "facilitate . . . also their transition to the changed mode of production." He amplified: "Most likely we shall be able to abstain here as well from resorting to forcible expropriation, and as for the rest to count on future economic developments making also these harder pates amenable to reason."

Engels' conclusions on the switching of the medium-sized and even big peasant farms on to the road of socialism provide for a variety of ways and forms. The Bulgarian experience, by the way, coincides with the most favorable variant foreseen by Engels.

Pointing out the ways in which socialism may triumph in the countryside, Engels again turned his attention to the small peasants. "Our task relative to the small peasant," he wrote, "consists, in the first place, in effecting a transition of his private enterprise and private possession to cooperative ones, not forcibly but by dint of example and the proffer of social assist-

ance for this purpose." Engels saw this as the sole means of their salvation.

To the succeeding generation of socialists the founders of Marxism thus bequeathed fundamental ideas and generalizations to be followed in shaping the policy of the proletarian party in relation to the peasants. And the trouble with the leaders of the Second International was not only that they failed to develop and enrich this heritage, but, above all, that they threw it overboard. The historical service of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party consisted not only in their remaining faithful to the revolutionary spirit of Marxism, but in their creatively developing and enriching Marxism. In Lenin's works the agrarian question was raised to a higher level, serving as the basis for the agrarian policy of the Bolshevik Party.

The Great October Socialist Revolution, which the Tesny Socialist Party (so the Bulgarian Communists called themselves then) welcomed enthusiastically, and the theoretical and practical contribution by Lenin and the Bolsheviks to the solution of the agrarian question, exercised a decisive influence on our Party.

The initial steps in the Marxist-Leninist elaboration of the agrarian problem were made in an atmosphere of our Party's broadly growing influence and activity in the countryside. In the period between the First and Second World Wars, the Bulgarian Communist Party implemented Engels' recommendation that in order to win political power the proletarian party must first go from the town into the country, and must become a force in the countryside. This enabled the Bulgarian Communist Party, during the Second World War, to find a political form like the Fatherland Front, in which, on the basis of an alliance of workers and peasants, all the democratic and progressive forces of the country were united. This forged one of the main prerequisites for the success of the socialist revolution.

The victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria in September 1944 provided the premises for the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. A number of conditions and factors favored this process: the BCP's clear concepts on the agrarian question, the USSR's fraternal assistance and its epoch-making experience in collective-farm construction, the Party's great prestige in the countryside, the traditions of the cooperative movement, and the exist-

ence of the democratic people's power as a form of proletarian dictatorship.

The development of socialist agriculture has gone through three main stages, reflecting the demands of the objective economic law of concentration of production.

The first period was marked by the formation and consolidation of a socialist agriculture. Millions of small farms merged into large cooperatives. As Engels predicted, private farms were transformed into "cooperative property operated co-operatively" ("The Peasant Question in France and Germany").

Given the concrete historical conditions in the country and the existing specific features of agrarian relations in the countryside, the social transformation of agriculture was carried out with the aid of a single form of cooperative — the CLF — without nationalization of the land, save a few large estates. The principle which had been so clearly formulated by Engels — voluntary option and all-round assistance on the part of society and the state — served as the main guideline for the Bulgarian Communist Party in setting up the Cooperative Labor Farms.

The complete victory of socialist relations of production in the countryside led to profound social changes. The exploitation of man by man became a thing of the past, and poverty and indigence disappeared. There arose a new class, a class of peasants, members of cooperatives. The kulaks were eliminated as a class. The gulf between town and country was reduced. Between 1948 and 1957 the population of the Bulgarian countryside fell by roughly 400,000, while agricultural output increased by 20 per cent. This bore out what Engels had said about the establishment of the cooperatives making superfluous a section of the earlier employed labor, and that this saving of labor constitutes one of the main advantages of large-scale farming.

The second stage in the development of our country's agriculture began after the full triumph of socialist relations of production, and was marked by a fresh concentration of socialist agricultural enterprises. At the end of 1958, 3,290 CLFs were amalgamated into 972, each averaging 4,000 hectares of land. The production facilities of the CLFs, which bought the machinery of the machine-and-tractor stations, grew at a fast rate. Compared with 1939, gross output in agriculture more than doubled, while the rural popu-

lation shrank by roughly one million, who had in an organized way joined the working class. The amalgamation of the CLFs raised the cooperative form of property to a new and higher stage of development. Among other things, amalgamation helped to abolish rent. This was an important step in developing cooperative property, accelerating the process of its drawing closer to property of the whole people.

One characteristic feature of this stage is that together with the increased economic possibilities of the CLFs, there was also a change in some of their functions, which led to their development not only as large-scale farming enterprises, but also as organizations handling with ever greater success the most important social, cultural and everyday problems. The tendency towards the obliteration of essential distinctions between town and country, forecast by Engels, became intensified.

The achievements in agricultural production resulted in a considerable improvement of the peasants' material condition and eliminated the differences in the incomes of the various CLFs. We no longer have any poor peasants. The incomes of Bulgarian cooperative farmers have climbed close to the level of the earnings of industrial and office workers in the middle brackets.

The start of the third stage in the development of socialist agriculture was made by the latest April Plenary Meeting of the BCPs Central Committee (1970), which adopted an extensive program for a fresh concentration and development of agriculture on an industrial basis. The main purpose of this program is to bring about a sharp increase in the productivity of labor, to boost agricultural production and reduce its cost, with the fullest use of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution.

The BCP Central Committee has decided that the agrarian-industrial complex is the most suitable form of concentrating agriculture at the present stage. The agrarian-industrial complex is a large economically powerful organization bringing together enterprises of a consistently socialist character — CLFs and SFs (state farms) in a given micro-region. Amalgamation occurs on an absolutely voluntary basis. The size of these complexes varies between 20,000 and 30,000 hectares. The BCP is tackling this exceptionally important task with great caution, without undue haste, experimenting and giving greater precision to the new forms.

The BCP's measures create favorable prerequisites for the organic integration of large-scale agricultural production with large-scale industry, and for bringing about the new and higher synthesis of agriculture and industry envisaged by the Marxist classics.

The great enthusiasm that has swept

the country with the first steps in the establishment of the agrarian-industrial complexes shows that our line in developing socialist agriculture is a Marxist-Leninist one. It is a fresh guarantee that the cause of Marx, Engels and Lenin will thrive triumphantly in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Engels' criticism of metaphysics

JERZY LADYKA

Frederick Engels' ideas are a living proof that Marxism can only exist in a state of continuous development, which is determined by the experience of the revolutionary movement and progress in the social and natural sciences. They also indicate that Marxism can only develop in controversy with the hostile bourgeois ideology and with revisionist distortions, oversimplification and vulgarization of the theoretical foundations of scientific socialism.

Engels, Karl Marx's closest friend and associate, is co-author of the main theoretical tenets of the Marxist doctrine.

The spiritual community of the founders of scientific socialism did not rule out individual characteristics, which manifested themselves, among other things, in a special interest in particular problems and in research into this or that sphere of reality. Contentions to the effect that there were fundamental differences between Marx and Engels are groundless. Still less founded are attempts to counterpose their views. There can be no doubt that the theories evolved by Marx and Engels separately were complementary to one another.

We would like to deal with some aspects of Engels' participation in the development of materialist dialectics, especially with his contribution to the criticism of metaphysical theories and the metaphysical method.

Systematizing the fundamental postulates

of Marxist philosophy became a pressing necessity in the last decades of the nineteenth century. This task was accomplished chiefly by Engels.

In formulating the main tenets of the proletarian world outlook, Engels devoted special attention to ascertaining what was at once the materialist and dialectical character of Marxist philosophy. He elaborated problems of contemporary materialism in controversies with the metaphysical point of view. His arguments, as well as contrasting materialism with idealism, emphatically oppose dialectics to metaphysics.

Engels' anti-metaphysical position may be considered from several angles.

He opposed the dialectical materialist point of view primarily to metaphysics, which has ample traditions in medieval philosophy and survives in modern bourgeois philosophical concepts. Historically, metaphysics performs the role of a speculative theory alleging that there is a transcendental reality which cannot be perceived by the senses but which, on the other hand, determines all empirical evidence. This reality is treated as an absolute, as final being or universality that cannot be described. It is regarded as total reality. In other words, metaphysics tries to explain the world and man from the standpoint of an absolute evolved through abstraction and introduced into the principle of existence, the essence of thought and

the norm of life. Being an essentially idealist system, metaphysics as a world outlook or ideology has an inherent tendency to absorb the ideas of positive sciences if it finds this advantageous from the point of view of social conditions.

The anti-metaphysical character of Engels' ideas flows, needless to say, from his materialist and scientific position in the modern sense of the term. The philosophy he represents sees the only object of knowledge in objectively existing reality with which cognitive links are established through investigations on the principles of empiricism and logical thought. Data for ideological generalizations are provided mainly by particular sciences. It goes without saying that this point of view rules out all speculative philosophy.

To attribute to Engels a positivist point of view negating philosophy is a misunderstanding. Engels never declared for abolishing philosophy. He called for the development of a scientific philosophy whose tenets would be tested in the practice of social life like those of particular sciences.

Engels also opposes the dialectical to the metaphysical point of view from another aspect. He criticizes the contention that reality is in essence completely immobile and immutable, devoid of evolution, and absolutely identical with itself. It will be readily seen that the idea of an immutable world is contained in the concept examined earlier which regards metaphysics as the theory of the primary causes of being. Indeed, such concepts as "development" or "progress" denote, according to this theory, what is transcendental and has no bearing on objective reality.

As a dialectician who sees the world in motion and evolution, in interconnection and interdependence, Engels opposes his point of view to all varieties of creationism, which has made its way into the realm of natural science in the form of diverse theories claiming that the various elements of the world are everlasting and immutable, that there is an insurmountable qualitative difference between objects, that individual forms are absolutely separate, and so on.

It was an unquestionable achievement of Engels that, effectively destroying stereotypes which had taken shape over the centuries, he refuted the concept about the static character of the qualitative multiformity of the world—a concept fairly widespread in natural science as early as the nineteenth century—and revealed its gnosiological sources. Whatever naturalists

may say, they are under the power of philosophy, he stressed. He also found it useful to recall Newton's words: "Physics, beware of metaphysics." Knowing as he did the situation in natural science, he tried to help naturalists to get rid of a philosophy that was becoming an obstacle to their research. "To the metaphysician," he wrote, "things and their mental reflexes, ideas, are isolated, are to be considered one after the other and apart from each other, are objects of investigation fixed, rigid, given once for all. He thinks in absolutely irreconcilable antitheses . . ." (Engels, "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific").

In revealing the gnosiological sources and socio-historical premises of the metaphysical method, Engels proved it to be an anachronism. His writings permitted recording and appreciating achievements of the natural and social sciences that had turned against the metaphysical method and provided powerful arguments in favor of the dialectical view of reality.

Lastly, we may point out yet another aspect of Engels' controversy with metaphysics—his criticism of metaphysical materialism, especially of its mechanistic variety.

As mechanistic materialists see it, qualitative distinctions in nature may be reduced to properties whose bearers are uniform primary elements of matter, and the multiform changes and transformations of nature, to one form of mechanical movement. This view is incompatible with the qualitative multiformity of the phenomena of objective reality. To attribute all change to quantitative transformations only according to the conception of matter as a completely uniform substance, as immobile, rigid, immutable being, means negating the concept of development. With naturalists this view expressed itself in the conviction that regardless of how it came into being, nature must, since it already exists, remain unchanged to the end.

In *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*, Engels revealed the weakness and limitations of mechanistic materialism and its intrinsic inconsistency stemming from a metaphysical view of matter. Lenin carried this idea forward and stressed that metaphysics is one of the gnosiological sources of idealism and that the method of conceiving phenomena as either completely uniform or absolutely different leads naturalists to idealist conclusions.

It is noteworthy that Engels, in analyzing

the antinomy of dialectics and metaphysics, furnished splendid examples of the creative application of dialectics in the natural and social sciences and in political thought. It was not only against alien ideological concepts clearly running counter to Marxism or frankly hostile to it that Engels spearheaded his antimetaphysical arguments. As a theorist of scientific socialism and a man active in the revolutionary movement, he also concerned himself with problems that arose and were discussed among Social-Democrats.

In the nineties Engels disproved a concept advanced by some interpreters of Marxism who, speaking of the relationship between basis and superstructure, maintained that all ideological phenomena depended one-sidedly on the economic factor. It was, in effect, a fatalist concept denying the possibility of influencing the course of events to any extent through consciously organized revolutionary activity. In letters to J. Bloch on September 21, 22, 1890, to C. Schmidt on October 27 of that year and to W. Borgius on January 25, 1894, Engels proved his proposition about the active role of the superstructure, its retroaction on the basis and the relatively independent development of ideology. The struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat would have had no meaning without the effect of political and other forms of reflection of the economic movement on the latter.

Engels provided a correct solution of the problem of interconnections between basis and superstructure by overcoming the limitations of the metaphysical position, which was dominated by the tendency to regard certain phenomena as absolute.

Engels did not confine his criticism of metaphysics to methodology in its narrow

sense. He argued against a system which, assuming diverse guises, turns away from the objective world of nature and misrepresents the real meaning of man's existence, robbing him of freedom of action. He criticized artificial constructions which at various historical periods hampered in varying measure scientific knowledge of objective reality, negating motion and development, and turned out in practice to be a conservative ideology trying to justify reactionary social structures and barring the way of free thought.

Engels did not regard criticism of the metaphysical position as academic. Whenever he joined issue with a manifestation of metaphysical thought, his ultimate goal was to reveal the ideological basis of this thought. Thereby he emphasized the antithesis existing between materialist dialectics and metaphysics.

This problem is as topical as ever. Bourgeois socio-political and philosophical thought today advances various concepts which reflect the position of forces defending an obsolescent social system and do not actually go beyond traditional metaphysics. Irrespective of whether they take the form of Christian personalized concepts, the concept of the "transcendental Ego" or theories of "protoconsciousness existing transcendently," they are all characterized by escape from the real contradictions of capitalist society.

Engels' contribution to dialectics, specifically in controversy with metaphysical theories, shows present-day Marxist science the lines on which the development laws of objective reality should be investigated according to the well-understood interest of man, who is striving to subdue the forces of nature and build a society free from exploitation.

The later Engels and the historicism of Marxism

ERNESTO RAGIONIERI

Engels' anniversary year started in Italy under favorable presages. In a highly influential journal, published by the so-called extra-parliamentary opposition—*I quaderni piacentini*—the Italian historian, Sebastiano Timpanaro, had a very interesting article, entitled "Engels, Materialism and Free Will." Analyzing the sharp polemics being carried on with representatives of the so-called "new Left" in Italy and the FRG, Timpanaro shows that the playing down of Engels' role, which is typical for some circles, springs from their special interpretation of Marxism. He shows it to be quite natural that whenever new trends appeared in bourgeois philosophy and some Marxists subsequently tried to reconcile Marxism with these trends, it was Engels who has had to pay the price. In the 20th century, the influence of empirio-criticism, Bergsonism, the doctrine of Benedetto Croce, phenomenology, neopositivism, and lately also structuralism in the working-class movement has on every occasion gone hand in hand with a playing down of Engels' role.

Timpanaro refutes the charge that Engels had allegedly produced a "philosophical novel" about matter. This charge is unfounded both theoretically and historically, because Engels had succeeded in giving a materialist answer to fundamental scientific questions, which the idealists had failed to do.

It is Engels' great achievement that he had warned against viewing human relations as a mere continuation of the relations in the animal world, while pointing out the inadequacy of a mere statement of distinctions between the animal and the human world. In his "Dialectics of Nature"

Engels made no concessions to vitalism or to simplistic mechanicism, and indicated the way which appears to be the most important one for the present-day development of the natural sciences.

Timpanaro's defense of Engels is a unique instance in the publicist writings of the extraparlimentary opposition. This article is a step towards greater realism, rejecting idealism and showing awareness of the distinction between intellectual recklessness and political struggle, while recognizing the need to adapt—instead of rejecting—the instruments of cognition to the ideological struggle. Although Timpanaro's article does contain a sharp polemic with the intellectual tradition and cultural policy of the CPI, our Party's journal, *Rinascita*, was absolutely right, I believe, in carrying a favorable critical review of the article.

While observing the now widespread minimization of Engels' importance, we Marxists must ask ourselves whether we have done everything to show Engels' true greatness, and, if we are to be quite frank, whether we are not ourselves to blame for this underestimation of his work. The frequently complete identification of Engels and Marx has not helped to gain a correct view of Engels. We have accepted uncritically the modest expressions used by Engels in characterizing his own contribution to the common cause of developing historical materialism. This was expressed by Antonio Gramsci in his prison notebooks in his Aesopian style in the following words: "There should be no underestimation of the contribution of the Second, but neither is it right to identify the First and the Second, and we should

not think that everything the Second has ascribed to the First was indeed absolutely authentic and free from any influence whatsoever."

The main reason, however, is that we have still to overcome the dogmatic conception representing Marxism as a closed system in which its whole subsequent development had been implanted from its inception. This kind of exposition of Marxism to the level of a history of religion, leaves no place for an explanation of the historical nature of Marxism itself, that is, an explanation of how Marxism has developed as the theory of the working-class liberation struggle, taking account of the new problems brought up by the historical process and the development of the working-class movement itself. The basis of such a history of Marxism is the relation between theory and practice. By recognizing the diverse aspects of this relation, we can counter the attempts, increasingly frequent in recent years, to erode this basis and to present the history of Marxism as a gallery of individuals, completely out of touch with the real movement, and to convert Marxism into pure ideology.

It was none other than Franz Mehring who once wrote that "it was given to him (Engels) to remain young to a biblical age, and to his advanced years fell the most active period of his historic activity . . . The old man merely fulfilled what the youth had promised." Engels' achievements in the latter period of his life are still to be evaluated in all their diversity. A great deal has already been said about the young Marx, and much of what has been said is valuable. It is high time to give due attention to Engel's activity in his later years. In this short paper I should like to make several observations which flow from the historical nature of Marxism.

After the death of Marx, Engels fulfilled the duties of consultant to the leadership of workers' parties seeking to work out strategy and tactics for their own countries and to set up an international organization. Engels concentrated on fulfilling this task above all for German Social Democracy, at the time the largest and the best organized working-class party. But gradually, as working-class parties were set up in other countries as well, he extended his activity on an international scale. I should like to accentuate two aspects of his activity, which Engels continued until his last days: first, re-estab-

lishment of democratic traditions in the revolutionary movement and exposition and development of Marx's ideas concerning these traditions; and second, a further deepening of Marx's theoretical legacy in the light of the new problems brought out by the development of the international working-class movement.

If we trace Engels' activity from 1884 to 1886, we shall observe that he concentrated on explaining to the leadership of German Social Democracy the need to resolve the outstanding problems of the 1848 Revolution. For this he chose three ways:

- 1) He gave a high assessment of the leaders of the Social Democratic movement in the 1848 Revolution. That is the light in which we should see the obituary of Johann Philipp Becker, and the introduction to Wilhelm Wolff's "Silesian Millionaire," which emphasized the military-revolutionary activity of the working-class movement during the revolution and which centered on the condition of the peasantry.

- 2) Engels drew the attention of German Social-Democrats, and thereby of the leaders of the working-class movement throughout Europe, to the fact that the defeat of the 1848 Revolution had exerted a strong influence on the whole of subsequent history, and to how closely the struggle for democracy was connected with the struggle for socialism and also how Marx had formulated the general principles of the strategy and tactics of the working-class movement in the course of that revolution. (In his prefaces to the work, "Karl Marx before a Koeln Jury," "Exposure Concerning the Koeln Proceedings against the Communists," and his articles, "Marx and the 'Neue Rheinische Zeitung' (1848-1849)" and "For a History of the Communist League").

- 3) On the strength of the principle he had formulated in his preface to the third edition of "The Peasant War in Germany" (1874), in accordance with which the working class carried on its struggle not only on the economic and political but also on the theoretical front, Engels sought to restore the revolutionary democratic traditions, characterizing the first theoretical stage of Marxism as an integral component part of these revolutionary traditions. It is no accident that "Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of German Classical Philosophy" was the first article Engels wrote for the journal *Die Neue Zeit*, edited by Karl Kautsky. This piece gave the first knowledge of Marxism to new generations who had no idea about the further devel-

opment from Hegelianism to the independent doctrine established by the founders of historical materialism, and therefore were unable to find their bearings in the complex questions of dialectics and its application to social practice. This purposeful activity is not only of great historical importance. It can be of benefit even today, because it shows that on the basis of truly creative activity we can establish contacts with the young generation coming into the working-class movement, on the basis of the traditions of the movement itself.

The great victory scored by German Social Democracy at the elections which predetermined the fall of Bismarck and led to the repeal of the law against the Socialists, and also the rise of the whole European working-class movement in the early 1890's, mark a new period in the development of Engels' ideas and activity. He boldly formulated the new questions brought up by the development of the working-class movement. Analyzing this stage of Engels' activity, some radical Marxists have used the word "revisionism" to characterize it. In so doing they saw Marxism as a cut-and-dried doctrine. It is up to us to take a fresh look at such of his works as "Critique of the Draft Program of the Socialist Party of 1891," "Can Europe Disarm?" and "The Peasant Question in France and Germany," and to study the great work done by Engels precisely in the early 1890s, so as to exert an influence on the new groups of workers and intellectuals which in almost all the countries of Europe have now established contacts not only with the working-class movement but also directly with Marxism.

In the 1890s, Engels concentrated on the policy of working-class alliances. His works, above all his correspondence, which he conducted very intensively in these years with leaders of the working-class movement in various countries, shows that he displayed great caution in determining the general and basic line of strategy and tactics, being aware that in each country the development of the working-class movement was at a different level, and that it was up to the men acting on the spot to determine the right tactics. Engels insistently emphasized as a fundamental condition for the positive development of the policy of working-class alliances the independence of its political party, its capacity to act not from corporative positions but to formulate problems crucial to the nation's future. Thus, he advised German Social Democracy to win over the

peasants of the East Elbe area and, by putting forward their own proposals in the Reichstag, to act as a supporter of disarmament in Europe. Similarly, he advised the young Socialist Party of Italy to maintain its independence in any alliance with the petty-bourgeois parties in the fight against the monarchy and the survivals of feudalism.

As for inner-Party democracy, Engels' correspondence with leaders of the Social-Democratic parties of Europe shows that in the 1890s he introduced new elements into his conception of the working-class party. It is generally known how critically Engels assessed the situation in German Social Democracy in the 1880s, during the anti-socialist law; it was so critical that at some moments he considered a split necessary in order to carry the proletarian masses away from the influence of petty-bourgeois Socialists, who were dominating the party group in the Reichstag and the party's leadership itself.

It always remained Engels' greatest concern to preserve the party's proletarian core. Even after the repeal of the anti-socialist law, when German Social Democracy became a legal mass party, Engels took an unequivocal and clear-cut stand against the Right and "Left" deviations and continued his fight on two fronts, which he had started together with Marx in the late 1870s and early 1880s. Engels believed that this absolutely necessary struggle had to take account of the new historical situation. A strong massive party, with a solid proletarian core, was capable of re-educating the petty-bourgeois elements and intellectuals joining it, and whose entry Engels on the whole assessed as a necessary and positive phenomenon.

In the 1890s, Engels reached the conclusion that the legal mass party needed new methods to tackle the problems it faced. If a strong centralized organization was good and necessary for a small party just starting out, this was no longer suitable for a massive party. Engels saw the free clash of opinion within the party as an important element of the new method. The working-class movement, Engels argued, rests on the sharpest criticism of existing society, and criticism is its strongest weapon. The working-class party must not shun criticism or limit the internal clash of opinion.

In setting forth these ideas of Engels we have no intention at all of declaring that every proposal of his is correct and proven or that it retains absolute validity to this

day. On the contrary, this kind of use of the history of Marxism is entirely at variance with the spirit and method by which Marxists must be guided. Lenin once said that the living spirit of Marxism consists in the concrete analysis of the concrete situation, and this also applies to an historical assessment of the works of the

founders of Marxism themselves. But it is absolutely necessary that we should assimilate, without over-simplification, the diversity of this great history if we really intend to understand what Engels taught us and what we sometimes forget, that Marxism is not a dogma but a guide to action.

Engels' contribution to teaching on party of the working class

SALIBA KHAMIS

When we read Engels we can strongly sense the faith in the working class based on deep scientific understanding of the social and economic forces that govern development. Marx and Engels proved that the inevitability of socialism does not spring from human nature or moral principles. It is due to the objective laws of social development. Engels wrote: "Whilst the capitalist mode of production more and more completely transforms the great majority of the population into proletarians, it creates the power which, under penalty of its own destruction, is forced to accomplish this revolution" (Engels, *Anti-Duehring*).

Engels held that the effectiveness of the historical struggle of the working class will be the greater, the higher the level of its consciousness. From this follows the most important task of the party—to blend the working-class movement with scientific socialism. Therefore, Marx and Engels state, the party comes out as a subjective factor whose role grows in the course of historical progress and becomes extremely important at a certain stage.

The main idea of the Marxist conception of party was expressed as follows by Engels: "For the working class to be strong enough to win on the decisive day, it must form a separate party, distinct from all others and opposed to them, a conscious

class party" (Engels' Letter to Trier, December 18, 1889).

The views of Marx and Engels concerning the party of the working class, its structure, tasks and forms of activity were not finally shaped at once. They underwent a certain evolution, changed and were more precise depending on the concrete conditions in which the working-class movement develops, the level of its maturity and organization. A stage can be singled out when they regarded the party as the most common ideological trend of unity of all followers of communism; a stage when they viewed the party as an organization of supporters of scientific socialism counterposed to petty-bourgeois and utopian socialists; and finally, a stage when the party was seen as a militant alliance of like-minded people, forged by organizational unity. The Communist League served as a model (1847-1852).

It may be claimed that the main views of Marx and Engels concerning the party of the working class, its essence, tasks and importance took shape when writing the *Communist Manifesto*. Lenin emphasized that the Communist League was a "genuinely proletarian party" (Vol. 19, p. 297).

The deepening and development of the teachings on the party are connected with the experience of the 1848-1849 revolu-

tions, with the theoretical apprehension of this experience in the fifties and the activities of the First International. It should be noted that in this period, i.e., 1848-1872, Marx's and Engels' notion of "proletarian party" did not coincide with the notion "communist party." By proletarian party they implied all class organizations of the proletariat (including trade unions) which waged a political struggle against the ruling classes. Sometimes this is used to draw the conclusion that Marx and Engels did not allegedly consider the Communist Party to be the vanguard of the working-class movement. Such a viewpoint is erroneous. Beginning with the *Communist Manifesto*, they called upon Communists to cooperate with other organizations of the working class, but not to dissolve in them but to bring communist consciousness into these organizations and guide their activities.

In the period following the 1848-1849 revolutions Marx and Engels summed up their experience, deepened their conception of the tactics of proletarian organizations, examined the problems of development of revolution, deepened the thesis of proletarian dictatorship. Scientific communism was still confined to a small group of people who were as yet unable to influence the working-class movement deeply and widely enough. It developed spontaneously, and the premises for the final ousting of pseudo-socialist theories had not yet been created. Counter-revolution hindered the development of the working-class movement. However, the theory of scientific socialism, i.e., the theoretical basis of the Communist Party, was being actively elaborated in this period by Marx and Engels so that when need arose theory could once again enter the battle on the side of the working class.

The next stage was connected with the emergence and activities of the First International (1864-1872). Its main documents, *Appeal to Workers' Societies* and the *Inaugural Address*, though based on the views of Marx and Engels, differed from the *Communist Manifesto* because the latter appealed to a much more limited section of revolutionary workers. This is to be explained by the fact that the situation was not a revolutionary one and the International from its inception was not a narrow revolutionary organization. The International embraced most of the prominent leaders of the workers' organizations, societies and trends at the time. That is why

the *Appeal* was addressed to the entire working class and its leaders.

Gradually the influence of the champions of scientific socialism within the International grew and at its conference in London in September 1871 a decision was taken to set up an independent political party of the proletariat in each country. This decision created the main prerequisite for the successful development of the socialist working-class movement. Social liberation of the proletariat was inconceivable without a party.

The fact that this idea of Marx and Engels once again became a practical problem some 20 years after the dissolution of the Communist League is to be explained both by a higher level of the working-class movement in most of the European countries and the experience of the Paris Commune. It was the absence of unity, of a clearly defined political program and sound organization that ruined the Commune. The successes of the German working class also demonstrated the need for unity of the proletariat and for a sound political organization. That is why Marx and Engels came out with the idea of a party of the working class in the hope that it would enjoy the support of the working-class movement. And the London Conference approved their idea by a majority vote. It was re-approved by the 1872 Hague Congress. The resolution of the London Conference, which was later included in the General Rules of the International, stated that the organization of the proletariat in a party is necessary for the victory of socialist revolution.

The founders of Marxism were uncompromising when they saw signs of vulgarization of the conception of the party. In a letter to A. Bebel they strongly criticized a conciliatory attitude towards certain representatives of the petty bourgeoisie who were attempting to combat the proletarian character of the party and were thereby acting as an adulterating element within it.

Marx and Engels saw the fullest possible internal democracy as an essential feature of a proletarian party. Against arbitrariness in dealing with opponents at that time, Engels wrote to Trier in the letter quoted above: "The workers' movement is based on the sharpest criticism of existing society; criticism is its vital element; how then can it itself avoid criticism or try to ban dispute?" Democracy, however, does not mean anarchy. Engels pointed out in the same letter that at certain stages and in certain situations, the use of disciplin-

ary measures, including expulsion of the opposition from the Party, was fully justified.

Marx and after his death Engels translated into practice their main idea on the need for an independent party of the proletariat based on the principles of scientific socialism and representing the vanguard of the working class.

The concept of the Communist Party, elaborated by the founders of Marxism, contained the following main ideas:

- 1) The Party, rejecting all utopian, adventurist and reformist schemes, acts on a clear understanding of its class character. It is the party of the working class and its activity is wholly motivated by an awareness of the historical mission of this class.

- 2) The Party relies on a scientific world outlook, the philosophical basis of which is dialectical and historical materialism.

- 3) Fusing the working-class movement with scientific socialism, the Party thereby acts as a militant organization capable of effectively assaulting the political power of the bourgeoisie to achieve its concrete goal—the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Engels attached great importance to strengthening the ideological foundations of Party activity and, in this connection, to the fight against utopian and conspiratorial conceptions and, later, against Right opportunism.

Before becoming the theoretical basis of the working-class parties the teaching of Marx and Engels withstood the struggle against other conceptions. In 1846 there was a polemic with Weitling, in 1847—criticism of Proudhon, then the fight against the “Left” ultra-revolutionaries, Gotshalk’s sectarianism, etc.

And some 30 years later, in 1879, Marx and Engels, condemning the lack of firmness in ideological and theoretical problems among the leaders of German Social-Democracy—Liebknecht, Bebel and others—wrote to them: “If people of this kind from other classes join the proletarian movement, the first condition must be that they should not bring any remnants of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, etc., prejudices with them but should wholeheartedly adopt the proletarian outlook” (Letter to A. Bebel, W. Liebknecht, W. Bracke and others, September 17-18, 1879).

Bourgeois ideologists and revisionists charge that Marx did not consider an independent party of the working class in-

dispensable because he believed that the proletariat, due to its objective position, is socialist-minded. The idea of a centralized party, leading the class struggle of the proletariat, they claim, belongs to Engels alone and later Lenin in his teachings on a party proceeded from it. All the above-said demonstrates the erroneousness of such views.

No less refutable is the attempt to counterpose Marx’s and Engels’ views concerning the concept of a party to the Leninist teachings. Thus, W. Leonhard (FRG) tries to prove that while Marx and Engels saw the working class as the main force Lenin pinned his main hopes on an elite party. In fact the famous Marxist principle “the emancipation of the working classes must be won by the working classes themselves,” is co-complemented, not contradicted, by their concept of the Party. In *The Housing Question* (1872-1873), Engels wrote: “The German Social-Democratic Workers’ Party, just because it is a workers’ party, necessarily pursues a ‘class policy’, the policy of the working class. Since each political party sets out to establish its rule in the state, so the German Social-Democratic Workers’ Party is necessarily striving to establish its rule, the rule of the working class, hence ‘class domination’.”

Marx and Engels held that the form of a political party would always change and develop depending on the concrete conditions. But they always recognized the need for such a party as the vanguard of the working-class movement and the need for its organization as a vanguard. Lenin proceeded from these common principles, applying them to the conditions of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. As he saw it the core of a party must be formed by professional revolutionaries. However, Lenin never held that the party should be limited to these professional revolutionaries. He perfectly mastered the idea expressed by Marx and Engels in the period of their struggle against the conspiratorial conceptions of socialism to the effect that the party’s strength lies in its inseparable ties with the masses. And all his activities as a revolutionary politician confirm that he consistently translated this idea into practice both at the time of preparations for the socialist revolution and in the period of socialist construction.

It is worth observing that just as the concept of a party of the working class was the target of attack by bourgeois

ideologists, so now the concept of the leading role of the Communist Party as the working-class vanguard in the socialist revolution, democratic centralism and proletarian internationalism are the target of attack by capitalist ideologists and their revisionist allies and renegades of the working class.

To uphold the behests of Marx and Engels regarding the purity of the concept

of a party of the working class, the Communist Party, to observe Lenin's principles in the life and activity of Communist parties, to adhere strictly to the principles of proletarian internationalism, are the sources of strength of the socialist system, of the whole Communist movement, are the guarantee for further successes in the peoples' struggle against imperialism, for peace and socialism.

Engels on the state

BELA VESZI

The dictatorship of the proletariat idea runs right through the theoretical activity of Marx and Engels. According to them, the most immediate goal of the socialist revolution is to destroy the bourgeois state and establish a system of proletarian power organized as the ruling class.

The doctrine of Marx and Engels on the proletarian dictatorship is still fundamental today. Time has confirmed Engels' characterization of the essence of the bourgeois state: its capitalist-class character is now even more glaring, the apparatus of oppression is being further intensified, and the alienation of the whole mechanism of the state from the people is much more pronounced. The destruction of the bourgeois state, the fundamental transformation of its apparatus, and the formation of a proletarian state continue to be an abiding goal in the revolutionary struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries.

The attitude towards dictatorship of the proletariat is the watershed between the revolutionary and the opportunist trends. There are different ways of establishing workers' power, because the process goes forward in concrete international conditions and within a specific national framework. At the same time, the history of the working-class movement and the socialist revolution shows that despite the wealth and diversity of form, its political

content is the same: to establish working-class power and to use it for a radical reconstruction of society.

Today we shall benefit from tracing the development of Engels' view of the idea of the proletarian dictatorship, his defense of it against the attacks and distortions of Right-wing opportunism, on the one hand, and "Left"-wing radicalism and anarchism, on the other.

The proletarian dictatorship idea did not arise all at once. Marx and Engels developed it gradually, as they summed up the experience of revolutionary events in France and Germany. The lessons of the Paris Commune of 1871 provided especially good material for adumbrating the main features of the proletarian state. At every stage of developing the proletarian dictatorship theory, Marx and Engels had to fight various forms of Right and "Left" opportunism.

Already in the 1850s, Engels came out against the anarchist slogan of liquidating the state. He wrote: "For Communists abolition of the state means that it is a necessary result of the elimination of classes with whom of itself goes the need for an organized force of one class to keep the other classes in subordination" (Slogan of Repealing the State and the German 'Friends of the Party').

Marx and Engels attacked Bakunin and other anarchist spokesmen, and pointed to

the need for and possibility of abolishing the bourgeois state through massive revolutionary working class movements, but at the same time firmly rejected the utopian dreams of the anarchists about liquidating the state altogether. Engels gave a very clear formulation of the difference with anarchist views in one of his articles, *On Authority*. He wrote: "All socialists are agreed that the political state, and with it political authority, will disappear as a result of the coming social revolution, that is, that public functions will lose their political character and be transformed into the simple administrative functions of watching over the true interests of society. But the anti-authoritarians demand that the authoritarian political state be abolished at one stroke, even before the social conditions that gave birth to it have been destroyed."

After the suppression of the heroic Paris Commune, there was a temporary lull in revolutionary action. In the relatively less stormy period, as the working-class movement unfolded, there arose legal mass parties. The trade unions became class organizations embracing broad masses of the working class in a number of European countries. In that period, there was a spread of Right-wing opportunism, which gradually won over most of the parties of the Second International, with especially strong influence in German Social-Democracy. The initial obscuring of the "ultimate goal" and then its rejection in their program went hand in hand with the pushing into the background and minimizing of the revolutionary doctrine of the founders of Marxism.

While defending the revolutionary essence of Marxist doctrine against the Right-wing deviation, Engels did not cease to struggle against anarchism, which had established itself in a position of "Left" criticism of Right opportunism. After all, these two ostensibly polar opposites were already giving each other support. That is why it was impossible to fight the one without criticizing the other as well. At the same time, Engels always directed his criticism against the views and the practices which presented the greatest danger at the given moment.

An important feature of this criticism, its theoretical and methodological lesson, which is still meaningful today, is that defense of revolutionary ideas constantly includes a constructive element, an enrichment of scientific theory. This element is the proletarian dictatorship. Marx's crit-

ique of the Gotha Program, Engels' of the Erfurt Program, and Engels' letter to Bebel in 1875 refuted the idea of a "people's state" because it was abstract, and because its conceptions of the state and democracy lacked class content. No wonder the opportunists tried to hush up these works of Marx and Engels.

In his criticism Engels proceeded from the characteristic situation in the European, notably German, working class movement. A direct take-over of political power, and, consequently, the question of establishing a proletarian state, were temporarily struck off the agenda. Engels appreciated and supported the efforts of the German Social-Democrats to use the legal opportunities and to broaden bourgeois democracy.

Engels made a comprehensive examination of the impact of electoral successes on the development of the movement. This was a new form of class struggle which rapidly developed and which soon brought definite results. He saw this, too, as confirmation of the fact that the conditions of the struggle had changed. "Rebellion in the old style, street fighting with barricades, which decided the issue everywhere up to 1848, was to a considerable extent obsolete" (Introduction to "The Class Struggles in France").

However, Engels pointed to the limited nature of bourgeois democracy and warned Party leaders against over-rating universal suffrage. He believed bourgeois democracy to be the best political shell for the bourgeois state, and added that in a bourgeois democratic republic wealth exercised its power indirectly, but all the more surely.

From the outset, he warned the revolutionary movement against taking the opportunist attitude of a peaceful growing over into the bourgeois state. He formulated the overcoming of bourgeois democracy as an aim, but pointed to the need to use democratic forms in the interests of exercising and carrying forward the socialist revolution. "If there is anything that is beyond doubt it is that our Party and the working class can attain supremacy only under a political form like the democratic republic. This is also the specific form for the dictatorship of the proletariat" (Critique of the Draft Social-Democratic Program of 1891).

Engels was as resolute in saying that the bourgeois state, even the most democratic, must be supplanted by a proletarian dictatorship, as he was flexible on the

question of ways and means leading to the dictatorship of the proletariat. He did not absolutize any of the forms, and saw them as being subordinate to the unfolding of the content; he took a concrete historical view of the question of when, in what form of state and how the progressive content could be expressed, how these forms could be used to help the working class to advance towards the attainment of its goals. That is how, for instance, Engels answered the questions of central administration and local self-government, and of the federal republic.

Engels, together with Marx, made a very important contribution to the solution of the question as to the type of state that should supplant the bourgeois state, and what socialist statehood should actually amount to. The experience of the Paris Commune helped to find the answer. It confirmed the real possibility of supplanting the bourgeois dictatorship by the power of the armed people; the old state mechanism would give way to a new, proletarian one, with the characteristic blend of legislative and executive power, and with the widest electivity, the recall of deputies, and so on.

Life has fully confirmed that the proletarian dictatorship is fundamentally different from petty-bourgeois utopias and anarcho-syndicalist illusions. The power of the workers is based on democratic centralism, the broadest local self-government and initiative, and the central political power. The authority of the center is not only a necessary condition for a political revolution, but also a condition for organizing production along socialist lines. Engels wrote: "The material conditions of production and circulation inevitably develop with large-scale industry and large-scale agriculture, and increasingly tend to enlarge the scope of this authority. Hence, it is absurd to speak of the principle of authority as being absolutely evil, and of the principle of autonomy as being absolutely good. Authority and autonomy are relative things whose spheres vary with the various phases of the development of society" ("On Authority").

The implementation of the principles of the proletarian power, substantiated by Marx and Engels, transforms the state from an instrument of oppression and exploitation into an important instrument for their complete elimination. It was no accident that Lenin turned, in an impending revolutionary situation, to the works of Marx and Engels. He creatively applied and

developed their theory during the period of revolutionary struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. Lenin raised the theory of the state of Marx and Engels to a new stage and made it fuller and richer. Its truth is being proved by the practice of socialist construction.

Lenin gave a model of the creative application of the ideas of Marx and Engels in building the proletarian state, taking into account the international and internal conditions of socialist construction. He succeeded in so combining the general and the particular, the international and the national, that there was no infringement of the revolutionary content of theory. He gave us a deep insight into the functions of the socialist state and the new mechanism of state organization. I think that we shall not be minimizing Engels' importance when we say that his creative method and the revolutionary content of his work are developed and enriched in the teaching of Lenin, in Leninism.

This is even more important to emphasize today because we have been witnessing fresh attempts to "modernize" Marxism. Some have tried to contrast Engels' doctrine of the state to Lenin's, insisting that Lenin had in some respects simplified Engels' conception, that he had lost some part of it, and moreover had given it a somewhat different interpretation. Engels' analysis of the bourgeois state, especially his assessment of bourgeois democracy, undoubtedly are of help to us today. The whole point is that Leninism, far from refuting, in fact elaborates and enriches that analysis.

There is, therefore, no ground at all to contrast Engels to Lenin. What some regarded as Lenin's "pragmatic thinking" was in fact ability to make concrete and exhaustive analyses of topical issues, and stressing the main thing — revolutionary abolition of the bourgeois state and establishment of a socialist state. Clearly, this is not a fault, but a virtue of Lenin's teaching.

In studying our classics, we find many points relevant to concrete situations of today. But we must guard against distorting the essence, the main revolutionary content, of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

The fact that the centenary of Lenin's birth and the 150th anniversary of the birth of Engels are being marked in the same year is, of course, a coincidence, but one which reveals the necessity that indissolubly links great revolutionary thinkers.

Ideological battle over the Engels legacy

WILLI GERNS

Marxism could not be hushed up in the lifetime of Marx and Engels. To do so today would be more than foolhardy for Big Business in face of the embodiment of scientific socialism in the powerful socialist system, the mounting national-liberation movement and the vigorous communist movement throughout the capitalist world. So the latter-day bourgeois and revisionist ideologues are doing all they can to distort and vulgarize Marx, Engels and Lenin, using diverse, sometimes highly refined, methods. In particular, they exploit passages from Marx and Engels to attack Lenin and to "construct" a contradiction between Marx and Engels.

The main purpose of the foes of Marxism, however, is to use the statements of Marx and Engels out of context in attacks on the existing socialism, the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and other socialist countries, and the Communist parties of the world.

They want to depreciate Frederick Engels as a co-creator of Marxism or portray him as a mere publicist and popularizer of Marx's ideas. For example, this is done in I. Fetscher's introduction to the Fischer-Verlag edition of Marx and Engels.

To Marx goes the bulk of the credit. That is beyond question. And no one stressed this more than Engels himself. But Engels' modesty should on no account obscure his own immense scientific accomplishments. He wrote or collaborated in producing, "The Condition of the Working Class in England," "The Communist Manifesto," "Socialism—Utopian and Scientific," "Anti-Duehring," "The Dialectics of Nature," "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State," and others. Furthermore, Engels took a prominent part

in producing "Capital," Marx's magnum opus. Never could Marx have completed it without his friend's significant aid, and not in terms of material support only. Through his "Sketches Relating to the Criticism of Political Economy," Engels acquainted Marx with essential aspects of criticism relating to capitalist political economy, and, as we know from their correspondence, Marx frequently consulted Engels on various economic points.

Engels' participation in the writing of "Capital" primarily concerned volumes II and III, to the publication of which after Marx's death he applied himself with deep devotion and in so doing took into account a number of new elements surfacing in the capitalist system after Marx's demise.

Engels sounded out these new elements in other works, such, for example, as "A Critique of the Draft Social-Democratic Program of 1891." Lenin, for one, observed that Engels had espied the new trend in capitalist development, namely, that "capitalism is turning into monopoly capitalism," stressing that Engels' ideas were particularly valuable in exposing the bourgeois-reformist contention that "monopoly or state-monopoly capitalism is *no longer* capitalism" (Lenin, Vol. 25, p. 442).

Engels' ideas are as relevant as ever. Not least are they valid in combating the convergence theory, the exponents of which maintain that capitalism and socialism are ostensibly converging towards a new "optimum society," arguing that in capitalist countries the state is intervening increasingly in the economic domain and gravitating towards state-monopoly methods of planning and programming. Yet years ago, Engels demonstrated that introducing elements of planning into the capitalist so-

ciety did not make it any the less capitalist. Referring to the state's regulation of the economy, Engels showed in "Anti-Duehring" that such intervention, even if it assumed the highest form of state ownership, did not abolish capitalist ownership of the means of production, that is, did not alter the substance of capitalist relations of production.

To depreciate Engels' scientific accomplishments, Marx "experts" and the modern revisionists mount their attack chiefly against his philosophical works. Fetscher maintains, for example, that what he describes as Engels' abbreviated elucidation of dialectics and his handling of the dialectical method in interpreting nature and the natural sciences, paved the way for the Lenin-Stalin "diamat." He speaks of natural-philosophic dilettantism in reference to "Anti-Duehring" and maintains that "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State" is "one-sidedly deterministic." The purpose is to create a "contradiction" between Marx, on the one hand, and Engels and Lenin, on the other. Yet it will not stand up to criticism.

The correspondence between Marx and Engels, Engels' 1885 preface to "Anti-Duehring" and Marx's introduction to the French-language publication of some extremely important passages from the book's theoretical chapters (which Marx described as an "introduction to scientific socialism") prove conclusively that:

- 1) "Anti-Duehring" was written on Marx's insistence in the interest of the proletarian party;

- 2) Marx knew and endorsed every word of the book, which Engels read to him before sending it to the printer's;

- 3) Chapter Ten of Part II was written by Marx.

It follows that the attack on Engels is, in effect, an attack on Marx.

If Fetscher and his fellows had taken the trouble to digest Engels' preface of 1884, they would have known that in writing "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State," Engels drew extensively on Marx's prolific materials.

As to the charge of "one-sided economic determinism," none other than Engels, in a series of letters to K. Schmidt, J. Bloch, F. Mehring and W. Borgius in the 1890s, opposed the views attributed to him by the Marx "experts." Deriding those who ascribed all things one-sidedly to economic causes and overlooked the multiform interaction of the social factors, Engels

wrote: "What these gentlemen lack is dialectics. Eternally, they see the cause here and the effect there."

The other tack followed in distorting the Engels legacy is that of contrasting passages from his later works—distorted and taken out of the historical context—to Marx and Lenin. This is done, among other things, to vindicate opportunist and revisionist theory and practice.

The selfsame Fetscher dishes up reformist and revisionist falsifications of Engels's works, chiefly Engels' last work (1895), Introduction to Marx's "Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850," straining to portray Engels as favoring bourgeois parliamentarism. To create a "collision" between Marx and Engels, Fetscher avers that Engels "grasped the spirit and substance of the free democratic Anglo-Saxon type of society more solidly and deeply than Marx."

Nothing could be more tendentious. To begin with, Fetscher says nothing of the circumstances in which the book appeared and how it was distorted by opportunists. Engels had had no choice but to reckon with the standpoint of the party leadership in Germany, which had asked him to word his ideas mildly and cautiously due to the imminent issue of a new emergency anti-socialist law. That Engels was not satisfied with the wording may be seen from his letter to K. Kautsky on March 25, 1895. "My text," he wrote, "has suffered somewhat from the uncertainty of our Berlin friends, who feared the bill on the prevention of a coup d'etat; in the circumstances, I had no choice but to take that into account" (Letter to Kautsky, March 25, 1895).

Yet Engels' wording had not been mild enough for some of the German Social-Democratic leaders, who did not scruple to falsify. In *Vorwaerts*, the Party journal, they published a passage doctored to a point that it made Engels look a pacific exponent of legality *quand même*, as he indignantly wrote Kautsky.

Engels' "Introduction" and all his other works show beyond a doubt that he was never an apologist of bourgeois parliamentarism or an exponent of exclusively peaceful forms of struggle. He stressed in the "Introduction," for one, that all legal means should be used to prime the proletariat for socialist revolution and that we should learn to link the struggle for democracy with that for socialist revolution. He pointed out that choice of form and tactics depended entirely on the historical situation,

showing in what situations preference should go to the peaceful forms. At the same time, he called attention to the fact that the working class should learn all forms of struggle and be able to use the non-peaceful if reaction were to resort to force.

Engels set out his attitude to the bourgeois state clearly in the Introduction to Marx's "Civil War in France" in 1891 and in his foreword to "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State." "In fact," he wrote, "the state is nothing but an instrument for the suppression of one class by another; this is as true of a democratic republic as of a monarchy" (Introduction to "Civil War in France"). He amplified: in a bourgeois democratic republic "wealth uses its power indirectly, but all the more surely" ("The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State"). This the present situation in the Federal Republic of Germany and other capitalist states bears out in every way.

Marx and Engels pointed out, however, that democratic republicanism, democratic rights and democratic freedoms were immensely important for the working class. He therefore objected strongly to under-rating the need for the struggle for democracy.

Fetscher tries to infer from Engels' support of peaceful forms of revolutionary struggle a departure from Marx and the idea of proletarian dictatorship. So he should be reminded that in 1872, that is, after the Paris Commune, which Marx welcomed as a suitable political form of emancipating the working class, Marx, too, held the peaceful way as practicable in definite historical circumstances.

At an Amsterdam meeting following the Hague Congress of the First International, Marx said: "The worker must in due course take political power in order to establish a new organization of labor . . . But we have never said that everywhere this aim should be approached in the same way.

"We know that we must reckon with the institutions, customs and traditions of the different countries, and we do not deny that in some countries, like America and England—and perhaps if I knew your institutions better I should probably add Holland—the workers can attain their goal by peaceful means."

Lenin also stressed frequently that the working class and its party should learn all forms of revolutionary struggle. The struggle of the Russian proletariat under the guidance of Lenin and the Bolsheviks from February to October 1917 is a splendid example of how to apply this principle in revolutionary practice.

The aims Fetscher and his like pursue by distorting the Engels legacy could not be more obvious. First, the revisionist interpretation of Engels is meant to divert from revolutionary struggle the working class and part of the youth aspiring to radical social change. Second, it is hoped thereby to shore up the revisionist posture of the vacillating elements in the socialist countries and the Communist parties.

The German Communist Party will continue to combat all falsifications of the Marx-Engels-Lenin doctrine by bourgeois and revisionist critics, and will work for the growth and application of Marxism-Leninism in the concrete historical conditions in which the working class is developing in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Engels on principal forms of proletarian class struggle

JULIO LABORDE

Elaboration of the principal forms of working-class struggle, economic, political and ideological, holds a conspicuous place in Engels' theoretical legacy. In appraising the successes of the German proletariat of his time, Engels wrote (in the Prefatory Note to *The Peasant War in Germany*): "For the first time since a workers' movement has existed the struggle is being conducted pursuant to its three sides—the theoretical, the political and the practical-economic (resistance to the capitalists)—in harmony and in its interconnections, and in a systematic way. It is precisely in this, as it were, concentric attack that the strength and invincibility of the German movement lies."

That proposition has immense theoretical and practical significance. The reformists and revisionists never desist in their attempts to counterpose these different forms of struggle and thus prevent a "concentric attack" on capitalism. The Economists, whom Lenin fought so vigorously, maintained, it will be recalled, that the workers should concern themselves entirely with bettering their economic conditions. In our day, too, that concept persists, albeit in differing forms, in many countries, and objectively serves the same aim, namely, to keep the working class under bourgeois tutelage.

In Argentina, the Right-wing Socialist leaders for many years sought to inculcate the reformist idea that the workers' struggle must not encroach on the foundations of capitalist rule. Now, in fact, they renounce even this reformist position in favor of that of the West German Social Democrats who deny the very existence of the class struggle.

The Right-wing Peronist leaders are straining every effort to submerge the workers' political struggle in a policy of class conciliation. But as Engels emphasized in a letter to the German Socialist T. Cuno: "The mass of the workers will never allow itself to be persuaded that the public affairs of their countries are not also their own affairs, they are by nature *political* and whoever tries to make out to them that they should leave politics alone will in the end be left alone."

That is very much the picture today in Argentina. The workers are more determinedly taking up the struggle, as evidenced by major strike actions in various parts of the country. And there is also this evidence: the growing influence and leading role of the Communist Party among the working people of town and country.

It has to be said that the policies preached by the so-called ultra-Left are no less pernicious than those of the Economists and the reformists. For the ultra-Left maintains that a revolutionary party must fight to capture power instead of wasting time in supporting the workers' economic demands. In contrast, we Marxist-Leninists believe that if the workers are to be united, and if their class consciousness is to be enhanced, we must closely tie economic struggle with political. The task before the Communist parties is to raise the revolutionary consciousness of the proletariat, for the greater its experience of class struggle, the easier will it assimilate Marxism-Leninism and finally break with the non-proletarian ideas still current in its ranks.

Since its very inception, the Communist Party of Argentina has combated both Economism and ultra-Leftism. The Party

Program contains this passage: "Now as always, the Communist Party upholds the immediate demands of the working class and people, closely linking them with the struggle for a democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution, for the winning of socialism and the building of a communist society."

The bourgeoisie has been at great pains to keep the masses away from active politics, using repression or demagoguery, or a combination of both, the old Peron method. Very often the bourgeoisie presents its own leaders as "saviors of the nation" in whom the workers are invited to place all their trust. The obvious purpose behind that policy is to demoralize the working class, undermine its faith in its own forces, condemn it to passive waiting while placing all its reliance on these bourgeois leaders. But the achievements of socialism and of the world revolutionary movement have doomed that tactic to failure. Accordingly, the bourgeoisie is employing other methods to divert the masses from the revolutionary path. One of these is flirting with ultra-revolutionary groups.

These groups, we all know, are out to split the Communist parties and the labor movement. Their activity is sheer adventurism based on instilling the illusion that a few "heroes" can liberate the working class without active mass struggle. This plays into the hands of the bourgeoisie in its efforts to undermine proletarian unity.

Engels trenchantly criticized this type of adventurism, the belief that a revolution can be the result of a "revolt" in which the masses have no active part, and which does not reckon with concrete conditions. He wrote: "There was an infatuation with revolutionary legions in Paris. . . . We categorically opposed this playing at revolution. To invade Germany, a country then in intense ferment, in order to impose a revolution by force would only undermine the cause of the revolution in Germany, strengthen the government, disarm the legionnaires and put them at the mercy of the German army" (*On the History of the Communist League*).

In scientifically elaborating the strategy and tactics of revolutionary struggle, Marx and Engels counselled against wishful thinking, emphasizing that revolution has to be prepared in alliance with the masses. Engels wrote, in his famous introduction to "The Class Struggles in France": "The time of surprise attacks, of revolutions

carried through by small conscious minorities at the head of unconscious masses, is past. Where it is a question of a complete transformation of the social organization, the masses themselves must also be in it, must themselves already have grasped what is at stake, what they are going in for, body and soul."

Lenin enriched the theory of revolutionary strategy and tactics in adaptation to the imperialist era and applied it, with brilliant results, in Russia.

Engels attached much importance to the fight for democracy and civil rights, remarking that legality helps the proletarian struggle. It is now forty years since our people were deprived of all democratic rights, even within the framework of restricted bourgeois democracy. The only exceptions have been the brief periods when our Party was able to intensify its propaganda of Marxism and of its own Program.

Of course, Communist parties are prepared to conduct their revolutionary work under any conditions. That fully applies to our own Party: driven into clandestinity, it has nevertheless been able to multiply and strengthen its ties with the masses, increase its membership, extend its propaganda and play a leading role in the struggles of the working class and the people. And yet it would be wrong to accept the ultra-Left contention that the fight for democracy and civil rights is of little or no importance. To quote Engels again: "The *Communist Manifesto* had already proclaimed the winning of universal suffrage, of democracy, as one of the first and most important tasks of the militant proletariat" (*Ibid.*). And referring to suffrage: "In election agitation it provided us with a means, second to none, of getting in touch with the mass of the people where they still stand aloof from us; of forcing all parties to defend their views and actions against our attacks before all the people; and, further, it provided our representatives in the Reichstag with a platform from which they could speak to their opponents in parliament, and to the masses without, with quite other authority and freedom than in the press or at meetings." (*Ibid.*).

In the vain attempt to impede the popular struggle and protect its own class interests, the imperialist-linked bourgeoisie is persecuting Communists and other democrats. True to their Marxist-Leninist principles, the Communists can further the revolutionary process through their parliamentary activity. That is why the

Communist Party of Argentina holds that the fight for democracy is a component of the fight for the democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution with subsequent transition to socialism. At the same time we, like Engels, wholly reject reliance on parliamentary activity to the exclusion of all other forms and the revolution itself.

The ideological struggle, which Engels considered a factor of the utmost importance, is now growing in scope and intensity. As imperialism realizes that it cannot bring the socialist countries under its control by direct military and political intervention, it is turning more and more to ideological subversion, though not abandoning economic and political subversion. We witness today an all-out ideological campaign meant to undermine the popularity of the socialist system, the Marxist-Leninist principles and the role of the Communist parties, and to engineer a split between the socialist countries and within the world Communist movement. To do that the imperialists are actively propagating chauvinism and nationalism in the socialist lands and in the revolutionary movement and giving every support to Right and "Left" deviations.

That is one aspect. The other is the campaign to embellish modern capitalism, present it as something entirely new compared with the nineteenth century capitalism described by Marx. The welfare state, the consumer society and many other catchwords are used to show that present-day capitalism is allegedly free of antagonistic social classes and, consequently, of class struggle.

It would be folly to underestimate this imperialist propaganda, conducted skillfully, subtly and with vast financial backing. As Comrade Brezhnev has emphasized: "Without a most active offensive against bourgeois ideology we cannot win the battle against imperialism nor strengthen the unity of our movement and of all the anti-imperialist forces."

And in this battle we Communists have an excellent weapon, Marxism-Leninism. Applying it in concrete situations, we can win the fight against bourgeois ideology.

The class struggle is a complex process. And to win victory the working class must master the laws of social development and consciously employ them in each concrete situation. Marx and Engels scientifically

substantiated the historic mission of the working class, emphasizing that the revolutionary refashioning of capitalist society into socialist society can be accomplished only by an independent proletarian political party. This theory of the working-class political party was further developed by Lenin.

Revisionists of Right and "Left" persuasions are directing their attacks on the Marxist-Leninist parties in an effort to undermine them ideologically and organizationally. But despite all their attacks, the Communist parties, which have arisen in the course of proletarian struggle, as a result of historic necessity, continue to grow and extend their influence. Increasingly, they are leading the struggle of the working people against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism, and in many countries are directing the building of the new society. Ours is the age of transition from capitalism to socialism, and, as last year's International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, declared: "The main direction of mankind's development is determined by the world socialist system, the international working class, all revolutionary forces."

The Soviet Union, that bulwark of the socialist system and of the international revolutionary movement, is successfully building the material and technical basis of communism and is helping all peoples fighting for liberation or building the new society.

The Communist Party of Argentina, born in the crucible of struggle against reformism and revisionism, is upholding the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Throughout the 52 years of its existence, it has remained true to these principles and, notwithstanding the difficulties of illegal activity, continues to popularize the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, creatively applying them in the concrete conditions of our country. The 150th anniversary of the birth of Engels is being celebrated by our Party, by all workers and progressive intellectuals in an atmosphere of struggle against imperialism and its subservient oligarchy and military dictatorship, against the background of a growing movement for a democratic coalition government that would follow the path of democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution with the prospect of its subsequent growing over into socialist revolution.

Engels' heritage and experience of the Mongolian revolution

BAYARYN ZHODOV

In creating the materialist theory of socio-economic formations, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels foresaw the possibility of economically backward countries taking a "short cut" to socialism, by-passing the "greater part of the suffering and struggle" to which capitalist society is doomed.

Of great importance in this respect are Engels' writings dealing with the possible ways of effecting the transition to socialism in countries still at the pre-capitalist stage of development. As we all know, Engels proceeded from a postulate he had formulated with Marx, saying that the socialist revolution, which puts every achievement of civilization at the disposal of the working people, is a "prerequisite" of the social emancipation and progress of these countries.

However, the productive forces of these backward agrarian countries are at a very low level of development, whereas the transition to socialism is impossible without a large-scale industry. A real contradiction arises: underdeveloped countries cannot overcome their backwardness without a large-scale industry and an advanced agriculture but, on the other hand, their backward state prevents them from speedily setting up a large-scale industry by drawing on their own resources. This contradiction is not confined to the last century. Imperialism has carried it over into the present time by holding up the socio-economic progress of entire continents. It is all the more noteworthy, therefore, that, already in the 19th century, Engels disclosed this contradiction and, moreover, put forward realistic ways and means of resolving it.

Engels wrote that to go over to socialism, backward countries need the material assistance and support of countries in which a "victorious proletarian revolution" has taken place (*On the Social Question in Russia*). The countries where socialism had triumphed would set for "all countries at the pre-capitalist stage of development" an example of "how to place the productive forces of modern industry at the service of the whole of society as public property" ("Afterword to the Work *On the Social Question in Russia*").

In other words, Engels held out to the underdeveloped countries a real possibility of promptly overcoming their backwardness and to take the socialist road. This possibility consists in an alliance with the countries where the dictatorship of the proletariat has triumphed, an alliance enabling the underdeveloped countries to receive requisite aid and support both in the formation of new social relations and in material production.

These ideas were carried forward by Lenin. Drawing on the teachings of Marx and Engels, Lenin made a profound analysis of the laws of imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, and created on this basis the theory of the national and colonial question, elaborating, among other things, the ways and means of emancipating the working people of colonial countries.

Lenin also considered the possibility of non-capitalist development in backward countries. The experience of the Soviet Eastern republics led him to the conclusion that this form of transition to socialism was conditional on political support and economic aid from the proletariat of

countries where socialism had triumphed. In his report to the Second Congress of the Communist International, in 1920, he said: "... Aided by the proletariat of advanced countries, backward countries can go over to the Soviet system and, through definite stages of development, to communism, skipping the capitalist stage of development" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 219).

Lenin posed the problem of non-capitalist development in specific terms in an interview with the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic in November 1921. Analyzing the character and prospects of the Mongolian revolution, he advanced the idea of the possibility and necessity for Mongolia to develop on non-capitalist lines. The main condition for taking this road, he stressed, was greater effort by the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the people's government to promote the cooperative movement, introduce new forms of economic management and get the *arats* (peasant stock-breeders) to share in the country's economic and cultural upbuilding. Lenin pointed out to the Mongolian comrades that it was "only from islets of the new economic structure brought into being under the influence of the Party and the government that a new, non-capitalist economic system will be formed in arat Mongolia" ("Interview with the Delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic").

Lenin also pointed out that in view of Mongolia's geographical location imperialist powers would try to seize the country and turn it into a bridgehead for hostilities against other countries. He therefore advised our delegation to promote friendship and cooperation with Soviet Russia in every way because this was the basis for the independent existence and prosperity of People's Mongolia.

Acting on this highly important advice of the great Lenin, our Party established close political and economic relations with Soviet Russia. To quote Y. Tsendenbal, it was "*a class alliance between the victorious working class of Russia and the Mongolian arats*, which ensured the victory of our people's revolution and afterwards the country's entry on to the non-capitalist road of development towards socialism and its successful advance along this road".

The Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the non-capitalist road, to which Engels made an appreciable contribution, forms the basis of the general line of the Mongolian

People's Revolutionary Party. Our country has followed this road in the past 50 years and has made great progress, taking a historic leap from feudalism to socialism.

It stands to reason that the Party and the people's state had to exert great efforts to bring the new, socialist economy into being. The main difficulty lay in the country's economic backwardness and the exceedingly low level of development of its productive forces. The Party Program says: "The Party and the people had to overcome enormous difficulties stemming from the age-long economic and cultural backwardness of the country, the domination of extensive nomadic stock-raising in the national economy and the lack of up-to-date productive forces and a working class."

The domination of feudal relations of production, and exploitation on the part of foreign trade and usurer capital hampered the country's economic growth. The greater part of the livestock population and the land was owned by feudal lords. Trade was under the sway of foreign firms. They purchased animal products at low prices and sold the population manufactured goods of foreign make at high prices. Mongolia was becoming a raw-material appendage of capitalist countries.

Led by the Party, the Mongolian people carried out the revolution. They ended feudal oppression and colonial dependence for all time, and have been successfully building socialism. Every sphere of the country's economy today is dominated by socialist relations of production. The productive forces are growing apace. Having built a national industry, Mongolia, once a backward stock-raising region, has become an agricultural-industrial country.

In the early period after the people's revolution our advanced political system lacked a corresponding economic base. A contradiction developed between the high form of political organization and the low level of the productive forces inherited from feudalism. To ensure their rapid growth, the Party took a series of measures designed to eliminate the remnants of feudalism and foreign capitalist influence. With the help of the USSR, and later of other socialist countries, modern industries, transport, communications, a financial and trade systems were built up. On this basis the main social factor for socialist development — the working class — has been formed and its alliance with the arats has been gaining in strength.

The people's material, educational and cultural standards are rising.

Being backward both economically and technologically, the Mongolian People's Republic would have been unable to set up a modern large-scale industry or to mechanize agriculture on its own, without all-round assistance from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Our experience has shown that the founders of scientific communism were right in saying that mutual assistance and economic cooperation between the socialist countries are an essential factor in setting up the material and technical base of socialism and, specifically, in industrializing a country like Mongolia.

The land was nationalized in the early years of the Mongolian revolution. But the main line of arat farming was nomadic stock-raising and not crop farming, hence to put it on a cooperative footing meant collectivizing livestock and setting up collective stock farms. This is the fundamental distinction of collectivizing arat households and of establishing a public sector in Mongolian agriculture.

The challenging task of putting arat households on a cooperative basis could not have been carried out without creative use of Soviet experience in building up the collective-farm system. This process also benefited from their achievements in collective farming.

The victory of the cooperative system ended the exploitation of man by man. The multi-structure character of our economy was done away with and a single, socialist economic system came into being. The reorganization of society on socialist lines is the main historic gain of the Mongolian people.

The process of establishing a new, socialist economy and culture was accom-

panied by bitter class struggles reflecting not only the political situation at home, but also the contradiction between the new, socialist world and the forces of international imperialism. On more than one occasion, the people's state had to break the desperate resistance of the overthrown class of feudal lords. The latter, counting on the support of world reaction, continuously hatched counter-revolutionary plots and organized subversion, sabotage and armed revolts. The state also had to carry on a strenuous struggle against imperialist provocations and acts of aggression. Thus the implementation of far-reaching social and economic changes and resolute struggle against the forces of imperialism and feudalism were requisites of creating a new, socialist Mongolia.

The Program of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party stresses that the most important laws of our country's transition to socialism without passing through capitalism consist in consolidating political independence and in achieving economic sovereignty by forcing out predatory foreign capital; in setting up and developing up-to-date industry and transport and state and cooperative sectors in the economy; in curbing and forcing out incipient elements of capitalism; in forming a working class and a people's intelligentsia; in accomplishing a cultural revolution. The decisive factor for the socio-economic progress of the country has been, and will remain, all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and consistent, creative application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Engels was one of the founders of that great teaching. That is why the Mongolian people give credit for their achievements also to him. They pay tribute to Engels as one of their great teachers.

Engels and strategy of the Communist movement

ERWIN ZUCKER-SCHILLING

To produce a comprehensive evaluation of Engels' activity in the realms of theory and political practice, to weigh his contribution to scientific socialism and to the strategy and tactics of the class struggle of the workers and their party, we should take guidance first and foremost in historicism and our sense of party allegiance, those key principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Viewing Engels' legacy from this angle, we shall see that it has stood the test of time, has been borne out in practice and is an effective aid to us in combating imperialism, revisionism and dogmatism. Engels' work in the realms of theory and politics leads hard up to Leninism and the communist theory and practice of our time. To be truly partisan and concretely historical, our approach to Engels' legacy, therefore, should center on those of his ideas that we can use and develop in our activity as aids in resolving the topical problems of our movement.

Just as in the pre-monopoly capital era, the decisive criterion distinguishing Marxists from their adversaries — Utopians, pseudo-Socialists and pseudo-revolutionaries — is their correct appreciation of the historic mission of the proletariat.

In the *Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels pointed out that "in the proportion as the bourgeoisie, i.e., capital, is developed, in the same proportion is the proletariat, the modern working class, developed." And they amplified: "The development of Modern Industry therefore cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie, therefore, produces, above all, is its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally

inevitable." This was something Engels stood up for firmly against those who either denied or misunderstood the workers' role as the sole truly revolutionary class. Engels, as we see, demolished contentions which the antagonists of Marx bandy about today, inferring the "eclipse" of the proletariat and its historic revolutionary role. Engels said in *Anti-Duehring*: "Whilst the capitalist mode of production more and more completely transforms the great majority of the population into proletarians, it creates the power which, under penalty of its own destruction, is forced to accomplish this revolution." Rejecting this decisive conclusion, modern revisionists are sliding far back to what are essentially utopian notions, to views and aspirations doomed from the beginning to remain a rosy dream, no more, because ignorant of the objective laws governing the development of history.

Engels firmly denounced opportunist and surrenderist views surfacing among certain of the German social-democratic leaders at the time of the Anti-Socialist legislation. In the famous "Circular Letter", which Engels wrote jointly with Marx, opportunists are assailed in the following terms: "Instead of determined political opposition, general mediation; instead of struggle against the government and the bourgeoisie, an attempt to win over and persuade them; instead of defiant resistance to ill treatment from above, humble submission and confession that the punishment was deserved."

Like Marx, Engels attached importance to fighting for the people's social and political rights, for democracy — one of the crucial preconditions for eliminating the capitalist system and assuring victory of

the working-class. Yet he stressed: "Democracy would be totally useless for the proletariat if it did not make immediate use of it as a means to effecting broad measures that impinge directly on private ownership and secure the existence of the proletariat" (Engels, *The Principles of Communism*). In his "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State" Engels defined the capitalistic democratic republic as the form of state in which alone the last decisive struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie can be fought out. These days, however, Right-wing revisionists and social-democratic leaders both regard bourgeois democracy, minus some of its "faults," as the ultimate goal, extolling the bourgeois democratic republic, of which Engels aptly said that "in it wealth exercises its power indirectly, but all the more surely" ("The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State"). This might have been pronounced today.

No less relevant for today, especially in Austria's case, are Engels' ideas on nationalization in the capitalist state. "Of late," he wrote in *Anti-Duehring*, "... a kind of spurious socialism has arisen, degenerating, now and again, into something of flunkeyism, that without more ado declares all state ownership . . . to be socialistic." Engels takes note of the benefits accruing from the transfer of large industrial and transport companies into the possession of the state, notably that production is run without private owners. He stressed, however, that (the case of Austria and other capitalist states shows indeed that nothing has changed) state ownership does not abolish the basic aspects of capitalist production relations. "The modern state, no matter what its form," Engels wrote in *Anti-Duehring*, "is essentially a capitalist machine, the state of the capitalists, the ideal personification of the total national capital." In his letter to Max Oppenheim, Engels observed that as long as the propertied classes remain in power, all nationalization does not repeal but merely modifies the nature of exploitation.

Engels predicted the development of bourgeois society into state-monopoly capitalism. He even analyzed the substance of that process from the workers' standpoint. "The capitalist relation is not done away with (by nationalization — E. Z.-Sch.). It is rather brought to a head. But, brought to a head, it topples over. State ownership of the productive forces is not the solution of the conflict, but

concealed within it are the technical conditions that form the elements of that solution" (*Anti-Duehring*).

The present-day Social-Democrats, like Bruno Kreisky in Austria, shy away from a socialist solution of that conflict. The capitalists are appeased by their declared aspirations for a "pluralistic" rather than socialist society, that is, a system in which capitalist ownership of the means of production survives alongside a number of state-owned enterprises. History abounds in evidence bearing out Engels, who said such "coexistence" does not abolish capitalism and only lengthens its life.

Of the utmost importance for the Communist and Workers' parties of today is Engels' stand against Lassalle's ardently propounded notion of a "single reactionary mass." As surely as then, this notion leads to a self-imposed isolation of the working-class party from the masses, expressive of total disregard for the political realities and social contradictions of capitalism, and ruling out the policy of alliances so essential for the emancipation struggle. Engels ridicules those who see revolution as an overnight act with the lines of all the fronts set once and for all. "As long as we are insufficiently strong to take power and carry out our principles," he wrote to Karl Kautsky, "there can be no question, strictly speaking, of any reactionary mass in relation to us. Otherwise the entire nation would be split into a reactionary majority and an impotent minority."

Despite the far-reaching political changes, the idea is still a key element in the strategy of struggle for socialist revolution. This was pointed out at the historic Seventh Comintern Congress in 1935, in the report, "Engels Fighting for Revolutionary Marxism." Changes in Comintern policy and the orientation on united action and alliance with the Socialists and other progressive forces were, among other things, based on Engels' ideological legacy.

The report noted Engels' stand regarding cooperation and alliance with other parties, recalling the criteria he had used in making his point. In his letter to Gerson Trier, the Danish Socialist, Engels pointed to possible temporary support of other parties "in actions that are either directly beneficial for the proletariat or facilitate progress of economic development or political freedom." Yet he added this essential: "However, I am for this only if the benefit directly for us or for the

country's historical development towards economic and political revolution is beyond question and is worth working for; and all provided the proletarian class character of the party is in no way jeopardized thereby."

Engels' statements of principle are as significant as they were a hundred years ago in determining the stand of each revolutionary party: given the maximum flexibility in politics and tactics and heeding all circumstances—the relation of forces and the specifics of the historical situation—the decisive thing is for the Party to assure and accentuate its class character.

Engels never wavered in upholding the party's class character. He defended it against Right opportunists and that segment of the intelligentsia that injected into the labor movement immature, and confused, though sometimes well-meaning, ideas that were worlds removed from reality. Not less than in Engels' time, intellectuals professing to be Marxists aspire to predominance in the party these days. And here is what Engels said to them: "They should realize that their 'academic education,' one that, moreover, requires a thorough critical self-verification, does not entitle them to an officer's rank with a right to an appropriate office in the party; that in our Party everyone must begin serving at the bottom; that it is not enough to possess a flair for writing and a knowledge of theory to occupy responsible posts in the party even when the one and the other are unquestionably in evidence, and that this also requires a thorough knowledge of the conditions of the party struggle and conversance with its forms, tested personal integrity and

firmness of character, and, last but not least, voluntary dedication of oneself to the ranks of fighters; in a word, that they, these 'academically educated' people must by and large learn much more from the workers than the latter from them" ("Reply to the Editors of *Saechsische Arbeiter-Zeitung*").

Like Marx, Engels pointed out repeatedly that a broad and enduring working-class political unity is the prime requisite in preparing for revolution. But he rejected unity at the price of moderating the essentially firm attitudes of the working-class party, merely in order to win the vacillating petty-bourgeois elements. Nothing incensed him more than that. He argued that departure from class principles did not benefit unity, and really disrupted it.

Marx and Engels warned time and again against unity "at any price." Yet no one was as persevering as they in working for unity, so long as it did not impinge on principles. "The movement of the proletariat," Engels wrote to Bebel, June 20, 1873, "necessarily passes through different stages of development; at every stage part of the people get stuck and do not join in the further advance." How often has this been proved right in the subsequent stormy and at once imposing growth of the proletarian movement. Yes, some have got stuck, were unable to advance further, but the militant proletarian party continues its onward march, overcoming difficulties and obstacles. The dependable compass that Marx, Engels and Lenin have given us shows our parties the way to new success, new victories. Experience and science prove that the course they charted is the only correct one.

Engels and the labor movement in Rumania

AUGUSTIN DEAC

The good organization of the Rumanian proletariat and its militant struggle marked by the spread of the ideas of scientific socialism aroused Engels' interest in our people and the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Rumania.

Engels followed the development of the labor movements of many countries and was pleased that in Rumania it had ranged itself with scientific socialism. Among the many publications on his desk were journals of the Rumanian socialist movement—*Contemporanul*, *Revista Sociala*, *Munca* and *Lumea Noua*—and the booklets by Dobro-geanu Gherea, "The Aim of the Rumanian Socialists" and "Karl Marx and Our Economists."

Contemporanul published Engels' "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State" complete before it appeared in Rumania as a book. The Rumanian Socialists noted that it "traced the actual development of the forms which human society assumed from the beginning of our time."

In a letter to Ion Nadejde, dated January 4, 1888, Engels applauded our Socialists for adopting the Marxist doctrine. "To my great satisfaction," he wrote, "I have seen that the Socialists of your country have adopted in their program the basic principles of the theory that has united in a single detachment of fighters the vast majority of European and American Socialists—the theory created by my late friend, Karl Marx."

Engels knew many of our socialist leaders personally.

In 1893 Konstantin Dobro-geanu Gherea met Engels in London and presented him with his two-volume "Critical Essays," which appeared in 1890. The dedication in

the first volume read, "To our teacher F. Engels in admiration and gratitude," and the second, "To our Teacher F. Engels in profound admiration from the author."

George Diamandy, a Rumanian Socialist, corresponded with Engels and asked for new material for his Paris-based journal. Engels' keen interest in the Rumanian labor movement is also visible in his correspondence with Panait Musoiu.

The Rumanian Socialists were deeply grieved by Engels' death. The obituary in *Lumea Noua*, the Social-Democratic Workers' Party organ, paid tribute to his outstanding ability as leader of the international labor movement and expressed admiration for his analyses of the distinctive conditions in each country. "For him," the obituary said, "fruitful inquiry into the real situation in a country served as a key in choosing the most effective tactics for that country."

The 150th anniversary of Engels' birth is a fit occasion for us to size up the militant revolutionary traditions of our working class and the achievements of our people in building socialism under the leadership of the Rumanian Communist Party.

The works of Marx and Engels are published extensively in our country. There have been many editions and mass printings of their most important works — "Capital," "Manifesto of the Communist Party," "Anti-Duehring," "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State," "Critique of the Gotha Program," "The Condition of the Working Class in England," and others. We have so far put out thirty volumes of their works in Rumanian.

Engels' works bear the mark of the prin-

cial qualities of Marxist thought — its scientific, creative and vital essence and the ever-present striving to provide answers to the topical problems of the epoch.

Continuous enrichment, deepening and development of the Marxist teaching on the basis of generalizations of Communist revolutionary experience presupposes a creative application of Marxist-Leninist principles to the concrete conditions of each country. Marx and Engels studied economic and socio-political facts in close relation to the historical reality. And now, when the conditions in which the parties function have become more diverse and reality confronts us with complex and multifold problems, we must act on the Marxist dialectico-materialist method, investigate the new facts, the new phenomena, and work out the correct answers to the questions posed by the contemporary revolutionary struggle.

Scientific inquiry into the increasingly complex processes of a national and international scale and elaboration of the right standpoint on the various new problems of social development add to the treasure-trove of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice. Hence the need for broad scientific discussions in a friendly atmosphere encouraging creative search for new ideas.

Engels' attitude to natural science and the philosophical conclusions he drew from his analysis of its development are worthy models for imitation.

In our time, with science and technology undergoing a real revolution, it is up to us Marxists to generalize on the achievements of different branches of science, analyze the social aspects of the technico-scientific revolution and the changes it has impelled in the structure of the working class and society. We experience a need, too, for a broad dialogue with exponents of other contemporary progressive trends critical of capitalism and striving to resolve in the interest of the people the serious problems troubling present-day society. Their attitude makes them amenable to influence bringing them closer to the Communist and Workers' parties, the working class, and enables them to gain an appreciation of dialectical and historical materialism.

Like Marx, Engels showed the deepest interest in the militant actions of the working class. He examined the forms and methods of struggle very closely, linking them with the international and home situations. He pointed out that success at home

conformed totally with the international interest of the proletariat and the cause of its social and national emancipation.

The deep scientific analysis made by Marx and Engels of international relationships and the class struggle in different countries led up to the extremely important theoretical and practical conclusion that international cooperation is possible only among independent nations and the joint working-class struggle on an international scale is inconceivable and impossible other than on the basis of the equality of all workers' organizations and non-interference in internal affairs: "The international movement of the proletariat is possible only among independent nations" (Engels to Kautsky, Feb. 7, 1882).

Summing up the experience of the international working class movement, Engels drew attention to the duty of the proletariat to apply the common principles of revolutionary theory and tactics to the concrete situation in each country. When the Italian Socialists asked Engels to write an article about the impending revolution in Italy, he warned against a mechanistic and dogmatic approach to established postulates, stressing: "What I have said here is only my personal opinion; I express it, because I have been asked for it, and do so with hesitation. As concerns common tactics, all my life I have seen them proved right; they have never let me down. But as concerns applying them to the present conditions in Italy, that is a different matter; it should be settled on the spot, and by those who are in the center of the events" ("The Impending Italian Revolution and the Socialist Party").

Marx and Engels opposed any mechanistic imitation of forms and methods of revolutionary struggle. In a letter to Bovio, the Italian, Engels wrote in April 1872: "The emancipation of the Italian peasant will not occur in the same form as that of the English factory worker; but the more profoundly the one or the other appreciate their own forms, forms that best suit their conditions, the fewer differences there will be between them as to the essence of this emancipation."

The Marxist classics regarded this approach as a premise for blending national and international tasks in reinforcing the labor movement and assuring the victory of the working class.

As stressed in the Document of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and

Workers' Parties, the fraternal parties operate in highly diverse and specific conditions requiring a suitable approach to the concrete problems:

"Each Party, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and in keeping with concrete national conditions, fully independently elaborates its own policy, determines the directions, forms and methods of struggle, and, depending on the circumstances, chooses the peaceful or non-peaceful way of transition to socialism, and also the forms and methods of building socialism in its own country." The participants in the Meeting reaffirmed "their common view that relations between the fraternal parties are based on the principles of proletarian internationalism, solidarity, and mutual support, respect for independence and equality, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs."

Unity among the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries, and unity of all anti-imperialist forces, is of the utmost importance these days. Yet there are differences of opinion and disparities that affect this unity. That is why efforts at cementing the unity of the Communist and working-class movement and the unity of the socialist countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism are the best possible tribute to Engels' memory.

Developing their own economy, science and culture, making the most of the advantages of the new system and rallying all

their creative potential, our people are performing their lofty international, as well as national, duty, because, as pointed out by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the RCP, "the better developed each socialist country is and the more fully and consistently it carries forward the ideals of the proletariat, the greater is its contribution to the growth of the world socialist system as a whole, to the prestige and authority of socialism and to the strengthening of the anti-imperialist front."

The RCP and the people of Rumania give top priority in their foreign policy to friendship and fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and all the other socialist states, with which we are linked by a common system and identical aims, by our Marxist-Leninist ideology and by the common struggle against imperialism, for social progress and world peace. At the same time, Rumania maintains relations with other states, regardless of their social system and cements friendship and solidarity with peoples fighting against imperialism and colonialism, and for national independence.

Fired by its sense of responsibility for the socialist cause and world peace, the Rumanian Communist Party will persevere in its work for closer world Communist unity, the unity of all the socialist countries and the powerful anti-imperialist front. It will not spare its energy in contributing to the growth of international cooperation, to removing the danger of a new war, and to securing international peace and security.

Engels' doctrine of historical determinism still meaningful

JAN FOJTIK

In celebrating the 150th anniversary of the birth of Frederick Engels we wish not only to mark the anniversary of one of the founders of the doctrine that we want to translate into life, but also to show that his ideas and his methodological approach to the study of social processes are still mean-

ingful today, once again emphasizing the importance of creatively developing the theory of communism as the scientific ideology of the revolutionary working class.

The current analysis of the crisis in Czechoslovakia shows that among its causes a considerable role was played by

departure from Marxist-Leninist theory and a revision of the philosophical foundation of the communist movement—dialectical and historical materialism. One of the basic issues between Marxist-Leninists, on the one hand, and revisionists, on the other, was the question of the laws of social development, and historical determinism. This question constitutes the starting point for a correct philosophical understanding of the Communist Party's role as a subjective factor of social development.

The difficulties of socialist construction, the errors and deformations which had occurred even before January 1968 were mainly connected with the Party's inadequate political work and a weakening of the influence of Marxist-Leninist ideology on our society. Apart from everything else, it was the purpose of the January 1968 plenum to create conditions for eliminating this serious shortcoming. However, the Party's self-criticism was used by Right, anti-socialist forces to destroy the socialist social system. The revisionists began to attack the principle of the Party's leading role, denied the revolutionary mission of the working class, preached élitist theories and views about the specific messianic role of the intelligentsia. They tried to substantiate the theory in accordance with which mankind's emancipation could be achieved without developing a massive social movement, without the Communist Party's organizational activity, without taking account of the objective logic of the revolutionary process.

The philosophical basis of these theories was individualism, set up as an antithesis to the Marxist-Leninist conception of determinism. The revisionists insisted that man's constructive activity could not be made to "fit" the narrow framework of mechanical determination, which had allegedly been propounded by Engels and Lenin, and that this had to give way to a society centered on a free and active individual.

Those who expounded "socialism with a human face" insisted that they had in mind a concrete individual, the "re-deified man." In fact, however, they tried to refute the Marxist proposition that specific forms of human activity were determined by the nature of the socio-economic formation, and the whole system of social conditions in which man lives.

Philosophical individualism, professing to occupy a place outside the context of history and portraying society as an ag-

gregation of individuals independent of and isolated from each other, performed a definite ideological and political function. If the individual is taken as an absolutely autonomous subject, it is good logic to say that society, with its institutions and all its forms of social life, constitutes an artificial restriction on the freedom of its individual members, a restriction inherent not only in an exploiting society, but also in any other.

Thus, philosophical individualism, having become the theoretical basis of "humane socialism," of "socialism with a human face," was in fact designed as a theoretical apology for destroying the existing socialist system. The unscientific conception of practice had a similar purpose. Borrowed by our revisionists from Sartre, this conception saw practice only as men's subjective activity.

Over the last few years, there have appeared in Czechoslovakia diverse "studies" on the individual oppressed by society. The self-styled saviors of the *Literární Noviny* (Literary Gazette) argued that the "alienation" which springs from the existence of social institutions is similar to exploitation. The authors of the "2000 words" pamphlet had declared, even before 1968, that socialism, by retaining the state and social institutions, had been unable to solve any of the problems of man's being. A large section of our writers adopted these ideas and urged the people to express discontent and resist the policy of the Party and the socialist power. On the basis of this individualistic conception, the Rightists worked out their program of "democratization" which, far from having the purpose of awakening massive initiative, in fact led society to a division and elimination of any regulation or control on the part of the socialist state. In this way, the Party's justified efforts to do away with administrative methods of government were twisted and, instead of eliminating bureaucratic distortions, led to a growth of irresponsibility and a deepening of disorder and chaos.

Thus, philosophical anthropologism, originating as criticism of determinism and claiming to seek "prospects for man," turned out to be a proclamation of scepticism, the absurdity of man's existence in modern society, negativism with respect to socialist reality and lack of faith in the prospects of communism. Because of the activity of the Rightists in our Party's leadership, headed by Dubcek, this cor-

rupting trend was given full play in science, literature, the arts and the mass media.

When this trend gained the upper hand, when any attempt at criticism or exposure of Right revisionist conceptions was persecuted, the working people were inevitably disoriented on a massive scale. The way was opened to anti-communism. Philosophical-sociological individualism and its attendant negativism became, in various forms, a component part of the preparation for changing the class character of the socialist power, ideological camouflage for efforts to reverse our development and carry out a counter-revolutionary coup.

Engels' legacy in the domain of theory is an effective weapon in combating attempts at revising the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the nature of the laws of social development. In a number of his works he demonstrated the objective nature of these laws, laws that cannot be apprehended or explained by analyzing the activity of a few individuals isolated from each other. They can be understood only by investigating the development of society as a whole, by studying the mutual influence of individuals engaged in definite and concrete social relationships.

Engels showed that the regularities in society, like those in nature, are objective; the specific character of the former consists in the fact that the form of their reflection is the conscious behavior of social groups, especially classes. He writes: "When, therefore, it is a question of investigating the driving powers which . . . lie behind the motives of men who act in history . . . then it is not a question so much of the motives of single individuals, however eminent, as of those motives which set in motion great masses, whole peoples and again whole classes." Then he amplifies: "Bourgeoisie and proletariat both arose in consequence of a transformation of the economic conditions, more precisely, of the mode of production" ("Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy"). From this it flows that the laws of social development are not only a component part of the external conditions of man's subjective activity but also its intrinsic content.

Whereas Marxist-Leninist theory sees the interests of class and nations as a reflection of objectively existing material conditions and relations, Sik and his like spread the views here that these interests were determined only as a psychological fact, as an expression of individual will. Supplanting the objective requirements and

interests of classes with subjective individual interests as the main motives of behavior and activity, these views were to have led and did lead up to the conclusion that the sole function of politics is to create room for the clash of interests, for the free play of social forces.

The psychological conception of historical determinism, which starts from the behavior of the isolated individual, inevitably leads to subjectivism and arbitrariness.

Engels showed this approach to be methodologically untenable when he said that social laws "have no other reality except, as an approximation, a tendency, an average, but not as *immediate* reality." He also noted that these laws operated differently in different socio-economic formations.

Under socialism, men come to know the laws of social development when they establish social property of the means of production, create the prerequisites for balanced conscious activity and for harmonious interrelations between society and its individual members. As a result there emerge new conditions for man's development. His once empirical consciousness draws nearer to science, gradually becoming scientific.

As compared with the past, when the laws of social development were spontaneous, and its processes the result of the clash of men's interests in their struggle for existence, under socialism there is active a social subject of the higher type, the Communist Party, the conscious vanguard of the working class and all society. The Party is the vehicle of a revolutionary scientific ideology, directing the creative energy of the working people towards the construction of a socialist society and the transition to communism.

Underestimation of the role of social activity and overestimation of objective conditions leads to fatalism, whereas an ignoring or underestimation of objective conditions inevitably leads to subjectivism and voluntarism. In other words, a one-sided exaggeration of the importance of objective conditions results in a passive adaptation to these conditions, while illusions about one's own exceptional role and possibilities lead to adventurism. The ultimate result is the same: departure from the revolutionary principles of communist theory and practice. Both these deviations, as we know, have occurred in the history of the working-class movement.

Revisionist criticism of historical materialism proves that revisionism is as one-

sided and limited as dogmatism. The dogmatist clings to definite propositions, but as soon as new phenomena, contradicting or seemingly contradicting these propositions, arise in the process of development, he abandons the old views, going to the other extreme. This is usually motivated by the need of "creatively developing" Marxist theory, but the inability to produce a genuinely creative solution eventually leads to departure from Marxism and to revisionism.

Lenin, a true follower and continuator of Marx and Engels, drew attention to this intrinsic tie-up of dogmatism and revisionism on many occasions. Applying the doctrine of Marx and Engels to Russia's conditions, he proved that it was of universal significance. He was brilliantly successful in making a distinction between the general, which corresponded to the general laws of capitalism, and the particular, which was inherent in the given phase of its development in Russia.

Leninism developed in struggle both against objectivist fatalism and subjectivist voluntarism. The scientific view of the dialectics of the objective and the subjective in the development of society is one of the crucial theoretical premises for the historic victories of the CPSU. It has been

and continues to be an outstanding achievement, an inspiration and a lesson for other Communist and Workers' parties, including the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is known to have gone through a deep crisis, which it is now gradually overcoming. The plenary meeting of its Central Committee held at the end of June summed up the results of the policy of consolidation over the past year. It is now safe to say that in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic the threat of a disaster, the threat of elimination of the socialist system has been averted. Conditions are being created for the further successful development of socialism. We have been able to do this thanks to the fact that Czechoslovakia was not left to the mercy of the united forces of internal and external counter-revolution, thanks to the fact that it was given invaluable internationalist assistance, that sound socialist forces were able to form themselves in the country, that the bloc of the Right-opportunist and anti-socialist forces has suffered a defeat. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is once again being consolidated as the vanguard of the working class, it is uniting on the principles of the immortal doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Frederick Engels and Marxist economic doctrine

ALEXANDER MALYSH

Engels was Marx's closest friend, associate and ideological ally. For forty years they worked shoulder to shoulder jointly laying the theoretical and organizational foundations of the present-day working-class and Communist movement. Whatever period of Engels' activity we take, we shall see that his thinking was strictly consistent and un-deviatingly faithful to the fundamental principles that Marx and he had worked

out together. Any attempt at differentiating the single process and contrasting one stage in the development of Marxism to another can, in effect, disrupt or distort the intrinsic logic in the emergence of the new, proletarian ideology. That is why we should not accept the point of view voiced at the conference by Ernesto Ragionieri. One could accept it if it were complemented by the call to study the young and the

middle-aged Engels, for that was when Engels did so extraordinarily much to elaborate the fundamental Marxist postulates. We cannot afford to overlook these periods: Engels should be studied as a comprehensive thinker, as one of the founders of scientific communism.

There was a definite division of labor between Marx and Engels. Beginning with the mid-1840s, Marx concentrated his theoretical inquiry in the sphere of political economy, while Engels gave most of his attention to the study of social history, the history of the working-class movement, and the elaboration of questions in the theory of military science, philosophy, natural science, and so on. But Engels also contributed considerably to laying the foundations of political economy. His article, "Sketches Relating to the Criticism of Political Economy," published as early as February 1844, was the first attempt at scientifically analyzing economic relations in bourgeois society from the revolutionary standpoint of the working class and socialism. It had a most profound influence on Marx, who even in his mature years used to say that it was a brilliant inquiry.

Engels produced the first formulation of the subject-matter of political economy, from which it follows that this science deals with the laws governing production and exchange not only under capitalism but under all social formations. Lenin rated highly this view of the subject-matter of political economy. After the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, when analyzing Bukharin's book, "The Economics of the Transition Period," which argued that the end of capitalism would also mean the end of political economy, since the regularities and contradictions of social production it traditionally dealt with would disappear under socialism, Lenin noted that Bukharin was wrong and was taking a step backwards as compared with Engels.

Engels was the first to study the socio-economic consequences of the 18th century industrial revolution. He formulated the lasting conclusion that the most important outcome of the industrial revolution in Britain was the epoch-making changes in "civil society," that is, in the aggregation of economic relations. The first thing he had in mind was the emergence of the proletariat, the class which not only suffered and served as the object of ruthless exploitation by capital, but which also fought for its economic and social rights, which was

aware of its strength and its task of acting as the grave-digger of capitalism, and the maker of the new social system.

Present-day critics of Marxism take great care to avoid one important remark by Engels which he made on the 1891 draft Erfurt Program of the German Social-Democratic Party. Concerning the thesis in the draft about the growing numerical strength and poverty of the proletariat, Engels remarked: "In this absolute form . . . this is wrong. Workers' organizations and their steadily growing resistance will create wherever possible some barrier to the growth of poverty. But what does definitely increase is the insecurity of existence" ("On the Critique of the Draft Social-Democratic Program of 1891").

Engels' work on "Capital" is a special page in his creative effort. "Capital," Marx's main work, was the product of a lifetime. However, Engels also did a great deal to produce and make successful this epoch-making work, which sets out the fundamentals of Marxist economic doctrine. He put out the third and fourth German editions of Volume I, giving the text its final form; he was also the editor of the English edition, writing a number of new notes and prefaces. As for Engels' work on Volumes II and III, Lenin had good reason to say that these two volumes were the work of two men: Marx and Engels. (See Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 42). Thanks to Engels, the uncompleted manuscripts of Volumes II and III have become available to world science and the international working-class movement.

It took Engels almost 11 years to prepare Volume III. First of all, he had to sort out the manuscripts and dictate them to a secretary. He had to collate, sentence by sentence, the different variants of the various sections and to select the most complete part. He had to regroup the texts, carry out a blanket verification of the facts, and recalculate all the tables. From fragmentary and scattered entries, he drew up whole paragraphs and even chapters. That, for instance, is the origin of Chapter 20, "Historical Facts About Merchant Capital," and Chapter 27, "The Role of Credit in Capitalist Production." In Chapter 27, Engels included his own generalizations over the 30 years since Marx had dealt with the problem. He drew the most important conclusion that competition had given away to monopoly, and that the future expropriation by the whole of society, by the nation, is being prepared in

the most encouraging manner (Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, Book III, 1).

Of Chapter 4, "The Effect of the Turnover on the Rate of Profit," Marx's manuscript contained only the title and an indication that he had intended to set out the substance of the matter at a later stage of his work. The whole of it was subsequently written by Engels. It formulates some of the universal regularities of extended reproduction: a) an inverse proportion between the time of the circulation of capital and the mass and rate of profit; all other things being equal, reduction in the time of turnover tends to increase the mass and rate of profit; b) the time of turnover is regulated by the time of production and the time of circulation; the main means of reducing the time of production is to increase the productivity of labor, which usually expresses progress in industry, and application of scientific and technical innovation to production; the main means of reducing the time of circulation is to improve the means of communication (*Ibid.*).

The first edition of Volume III contains an extensive preface by Engels, a document of exceptionally great theoretical importance.

Engels gave an original and profound formulation of the function of the law of value, which shows the vulgar theories of profit and surplus value to be untenable. He says: "The law of value is aimed from the first against the idea derived from the capitalist mode of thought that accumulated labor of the past, which comprises capital, is not merely a certain sum of finished value, but that, because a factor in production and the formation of profit, it also produces value and is hence a source of more value than it has itself; it establishes that living labor alone possesses this faculty" (*Ibid.*).

In his preface Engels stands up for Marx against the charges that "Marx wishes to define where he only investigates." He says that Marx does not have any "cut-to-measure, once and for all applicable definitions." He then goes on to formulate an important methodological principle: "It is self-evident that where things and their interrelations are conceived, not as fixed, but as changing, their mental images, the ideas, are likewise subject to change and transformation; they are not encapsulated in rigid definitions, but are developed in their historical or logical process of formation" (*Ibid.*).

In the concluding section of his preface,

Engels exposes the unsavory methods used by the bourgeois opponents of Marxism—Julius Wolf, Achille Loria and George C. Stiebeling—who asserted that the theory of surplus value was absolutely incompatible with the fact of a general equal rate of profit, and that Marx had become lost in the jungle of his own logico-theoretical constructions, and so on and so forth.

Although he was gravely ill, Engels decided to write a special work—a supplement to Volume III—in order to "bring more to the fore important aspects whose significance is not strikingly enough evident in the text, and to make some important additions to the text written in 1865 to fit the state of affairs in 1895." (Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, Book III, II). In May and June 1895, he wrote the first of the two intended supplements — "Law of Value and Rate of Profit." This work was first published in the Social-Democratic journal *Die Neue Zeit* soon after his death, and contains an exposition of the more esoteric aspects of the law of value. In the second supplement, entitled "The Stock Exchange," Engels intended to shed light on the changing role of the stock exchange, the gradual establishment of joint-stock companies in industry and trade, the technical changes in agriculture and the growing role of the banks and the stock exchange in farming, the export of capital in the form of stock, and the division of the colonies between the European powers in the interests of the stock exchange. Unfortunately, he was able to produce only an outline, or a full-scale plan.

"The noblest fruit of bourgeois society"—the stock exchange—always held a special and direct interest for Engels, because he saw it as a most important means in the concentration of capital, a source of the greatest corruption, a means of disintegration and dissolution of the last remnants of the links which had naturally taken shape in bourgeois society, a means of destruction and transformation into their opposites of all the established moral standards, an incomparable element of destruction and a mighty accelerator of the coming revolution.

Engels' profound understanding of the laws and contradictions in the movement of capital, and his wide acquaintance with world economics and brilliant capacity of foresight enabled him to observe some of the basic features of the emergent new epoch. Citing from Engels' remarks on the draft Erfurt Social-Democratic Program of

1891 the idea that the trusts were monopolizing whole branches of industry, and that not only *private production* but *balanced production* ceased at this point, Lenin said that this was the most fundamental in the theoretical assessment of modern capitalism, that is, imperialism, namely, that capitalism was being transformed into monopoly capitalism. (Lenin, Vol. 25, p. 447). Lenin said this was a remarkably valuable pointer by Engels on the question of economics and that it showed how much care and thought he had put into observing the modification of modern capitalism, and how well he had therefore succeeded in anticipating some of the tasks of our own, imperialist epoch (*Ibid.*).

The publication of Volumes II and III of *Capital* put an end to the speculation that Marx, having put out Volume I of his main work, had found himself in blind conflict with his own scientific conscience and so had left no continuation to Volume I. In order to discredit *Capital*, while minimizing Engels' scientific achievements, bourgeois critics of Marxism began to say, immediately upon the publication of Volumes II and III, that both these books did not constitute anything special in themselves, that in them Marx had failed to produce any new solutions for the problems of value, price of production, and so on, and that all that Engels had done was reverently to collect together all the scattered and theoretically inessential remarks

left by his friend.

Nor have these attacks on Engels ceased in our day. Thus, in 1957 Benedikt Kautsky put out a "pocket edition" of the whole of *Capital* in one volume. With the greatest of ease he omits, among other texts, mainly from Marx's manuscripts, all of Engels' prefaces to the various editions of "*Capital*."

M. Rubel has gone even further: he has produced a mock-up of his own version of *Capital*, an arbitrarily selected collection of the most diverse texts: manuscripts dating to the 1840s, Economic Manuscripts of 1857-1858, letters of various years, and finally manuscripts of Volumes II and III, shuffled, and sometimes considerably abridged and without Engels' footnotes, addenda and prefaces. Such editions are outright impingements on the author's rights.

The work which Engels performed for the various editions and for the propaganda of Marx's *Capital* testifies to the exceptional scope of his thinking, his unequalled nobility of spirit and not only to his personal loyalty as a friend, but also to his readiness to dedicate all his energy to the revolutionary cause.

We have good reason to say that the joint efforts of Marx and Engels produced Marxist political economy, a constantly developing science, whose theoretical categories are a precise reflection of the content of objective economic reality in its diversity and dynamics.

Engels on national liberation movement and problems of India

C. UNNI RAJA

Engels, together with Marx, paid great attention and took great interest in the history, conditions and problems of the countries and peoples of the East. Marx and Engels made a strict scientific analysis of the economic causes behind the preda-

tory colonial policy of the capitalist countries, revealed the organic connection between the growth of capitalism and colonialism and exposed the brutal exploitation of the colonial peoples by European capitalist countries. Analysis of the situa-

tion in India and the tendencies and prospects of her development hold a prominent place in their works.

In *Principles of Communism*, written in 1847 as a preliminary draft for the *Communist Manifesto*, Engels wrote:

"Thus it was that countries which had stagnated for millennia, India for example, were revolutionized from top to base . . . Large-scale industry has brought all the peoples of the earth into relationships with one another, has lumped all the small local markets into one world market, has everywhere paved the way for civilization and progress and things have reached a point when everything that happens in the civilized countries has its repercussions in all other countries. Thus if the workers of England or France free themselves now, this must induce revolutions in all other countries, which sooner or later will lead to the emancipation of the workers there too."

Here we find the basic principles, though in a rudimentary form, of the Marxist approach to and understanding of the colonial question. Here the emphasis was on the workers of England or France freeing themselves and inducing revolutions in all other countries. That was quite natural. The peoples of the East had not yet risen in revolt against their foreign oppressors. But within a few years, in 1853, on the future results of the British rule in India, Marx wrote: "The Indians will not reap the fruits of the new elements of society scattered among them by the British bourgeoisie, till in Great Britain itself the now ruling classes shall have been supplanted by the industrial proletariat, or till the Hindus themselves shall have grown strong enough to throw off the English yoke altogether. At all events, we may safely expect to see, at a more or less remote period, the regeneration of that great and interesting country" (Marx, *The Future Results of British Rule in India*).

When the national revolt against British rule, the first Indian War of Independence, broke out in India in 1857, Marx as well as Engels wrote a series of articles in the *New York Daily Tribune* in which they analyzed the progress of the uprising, showed its causes, its nationwide scope and its connection with "a general dissatisfaction exhibited against English supremacy on the part of the great Asiatic nations." Engels especially dealt with the military aspects of the revolt. He considered the absence of a single centralized insurrectionary leadership and a unified

military command to have been one of the principal causes for the failure of the revolt. Reviewing the results of the first major Indian revolt against the colonialists, Engels wrote in *New York Daily Tribune*, dated October 1, 1858: "Among both Hindus and Mussalmans, the hereditary hatred against the Christian intruder is more fierce than ever. Impotent as this hatred may be at present, it is not without its significance and importance, while the menacing cloud is resting over the Sikh Punjab." (Marx and Engels, *The First War of Indian Independence*, page 190).

Marx and Engels made a deep-going analysis of the social relations and social system in old China and gave an evaluation of the Taiping Rebellion of 1851 which was a peasant revolution against the Chinese feudals and foreign invaders. In their works on China they also emphasized the connection between the revolutionary movement in Europe and the national liberation movement of the peoples of Asia.

The historical destiny of the Eastern countries, especially of India and China, which were objects of the predatory capitalist colonial policy, engaged the attention of the founders of scientific socialism mainly from the standpoint of the proletarian revolutionary struggle. They regarded the changes, maturing in India and China, forced upon them by the colonial conquerors (namely, the dissolution of the patriarchal and feudal relations and gradual transition to capitalist development), as a new, very important factor that would inevitably influence the prospects of revolution in the metropolitan countries in Europe.

For us, the works of Marx and Engels on the history of the eastern countries provide valuable guidelines in three very important directions:

Firstly, to study the true history of these countries. It is not only of academic interest, but it is necessary to educate the people and convince them of the necessity and inevitability of revolutionary social changes. History has been distorted by the imperialists as well as by bourgeois nationalists to serve their own interests.

The history of India has been written in different ways. History was used by the British rulers of India to denigrate the people of India, to demoralize the rising freedom movement, to prove that India and its people were historically destined to be always conquered and ruled by foreign invaders. Even the most serious, ob-

jective and responsible British historians of India propagated the thesis that geography, climate and culture inevitably doomed the Indians to the fate of being ruled by others.

This imperialist ideological propaganda, taught through textbooks in the schools and spread by all other means, had to be countered to rouse the national consciousness of the people for the struggle for freedom. The new Indian historians depicted everything in the past of our country as glorious and venerable. History writing became a weapon of national struggle.

Now, with India in the whirlpool of economic and political crisis, not only the historians of the bourgeoisie, but also the ideologues of Right reaction are again delving into the past history of our country to combat the rising working-class and democratic movement. They argue that laws of historical materialism are not applicable to Indian history. They want to prove to the workers that class struggle and revolution are alien to Indian history and tradition.

Even the obnoxious "caste system" is being idealized and used to disrupt the working class and democratic movement, to organize pogroms against religious minorities by Right reactionary chauvinistic parties like Jan Sangh, which is financed and boosted up by former princes, big landlords, monopolists and foreign imperialists.

It has become the duty, the political task, of the representatives of the working class, of all democratic forces, to combat this reactionary ideological campaign by correctly interpreting the history of our country, elucidating the laws of the break-up of the primitive commune society, the evolution of private property, the origin of classes and the state power of the two noble "castes," the fierce struggle and sanguinary wars that accompanied this evolution.

Secondly, the writings of Engels on the question of colonialism are of great value even today for they point to us the enormity and significance of the plunder of India, China and other eastern countries, which served as one of the major sources of primitive accumulation, so vividly described by Marx in *Capital*, (Vol I, Chapter XXXI), for the development of capitalism in Europe. In a letter to C. Schmidt, Oct. 27, 1880, Engels wrote: "The discovery of America was due to the thirst for gold which had previously driven the Portuguese to Africa . . . , because the

enormously extended European industry of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the trade corresponding to it demanded more means of exchange than Germany, the great silver country from 1450 to 1550, could provide. The conquest of India by the Portuguese, Dutch and English between 1500 and 1800 had imports from India as its object — nobody dreamed of exporting anything there. And yet what a colossal reaction these discoveries and conquests, brought about solely by trade interests, had upon industry: it was only need for exports to these countries that created and developed modern large-scale industry."

It is interesting to note that the pioneers of economic thought in India in the late 19th century and the early 20th century, representatives of the rising national bourgeoisie and educated middle classes, came almost to the same conclusion as the founders of scientific socialism. There is the famous "Drain Theory" of Dadabhai Navaroji, the Grand Old Man of Indian nationalism. With painstaking and detailed scientific study of the taxes and other levies extracted from India by the British colonial rulers he proved the systematic drain of Indian wealth to enrich the British treasury and capitalists.

And now, when colonialism has been destroyed in the classical form, when imperialism itself is fast approaching its doom, as a result of the combined blows of the forces of socialism and national liberation, the capitalist monopolists want to keep the former colonies and semi-colonies, newly independent countries, as sources of super-profits and prevent their independent development towards democracy and socialism.

Thirdly, Engels in his writings has also indicated the general perspective of the development of the national liberation movement. In a letter to K. Kautsky (September 12, 1882), he wrote:

"The countries inhabited by a native population, which are simply subjugated—India, Algeria, the Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish possessions—must be taken over for the time being by the proletariat and led as rapidly as possible towards independence. How this process will develop is difficult to say. India will perhaps, indeed very probably, make a revolution, and as a proletariat in process of self-emancipation cannot conduct any colonial wars, it would have to be allowed to run its course; it would not pass off without all sorts of destruction, of course, but that

sort of thing is inseparable from all revolutions. The same might also take place elsewhere, e.g., in Algeria and Egypt, and would certainly be the best thing for us. We shall have enough to do at home. Once Europe is reorganized, and North America, that will furnish such colossal power and such an example that the semi-civilized countries will of themselves follow in its wake; economic needs, if anything, will see to that. But as to what social and political phases these countries will then have to pass through before they likewise arrive at socialist organization, I think, we today can advance only rather idle hypotheses. One thing alone is certain: the victorious proletariat can force no blessings of any kind upon any foreign nation without undermining its own victory by so doing."

Of course, Engels did not advance any idle hypotheses. He could then only indicate the general perspective. As we know, in the new epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, V. I. Lenin further developed the general perspective in the "Draft Theses on the National and Colonial Question" and his report on the same at the Second Congress of the Communist International, where he indicated the possibility for the colonial and semi-colonial

countries, after winning independence, to advance towards socialism, without passing through the painful stage of capitalism, with the fraternal help of the victorious proletariat engaged in building socialism. He also stressed the need for a series of special transitional measures before socialist revolution becomes feasible in these countries. History and life have proved the truth of these ideas of Engels and Lenin.

There are people who swear by the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, but who deny or denounce such transitional measures under the cover of ultra-revolutionary phrases. Communists and other revolutionary democrats in the newly independent countries, in their struggle against neo-colonialism as well as the capitalist path of development pursued by the national bourgeoisie, consistently uphold such transitional measures, working out the social and political phases necessary in each developing country for completing the tasks of democratic revolution and advancing towards socialism.

Hence a study of the works of Engels is very relevant today. Every day brings new proof of the truth and invincibility of the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Engels on unifying and guiding role of communists

IB NORLUND

Marxism's revolutionary perspective and spirit stem from its fundamental analysis of social development. They are part of the Marxist attitude to the problems of social struggle. Marxists always have a clear idea of the goal and trend of the movement, are inspired by it in all contingencies of the class struggle and work to create the premises and conditions for the practical reconstruction of society.

In the half-century of their activity, the founders of Marxism extended and deepened their view of the revolutionary pro-

cess. In one of his last works (Introduction to Marx's *The Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850*), Engels wrote on this score: "If even this mighty army of the proletariat has still not reached its goal, if, far from winning victory by *one* mighty stroke, it has slowly to press forward from position to position in a hard, tenacious struggle, this only proves, once and for all, how impossible it was in 1848 to win social transformation by a simple surprise attack."

Sizing up the concrete conditions of

the struggle in the course of capitalism's further growth, Engels added: "The time of surprise attacks, of revolutions carried through by small conscious minorities at the head of unconscious masses, is past. Where it is a question of complete transformation of the social organization, the masses themselves must also be in it, must themselves already have grasped what is at stake, what they are going in for body and soul."

In other words, our effort should be concentrated on helping the masses assume revolutionary positions and on creating a correlation of class forces making a victorious revolution practicable.

Engels' view of tactics and strategy, reflecting his consistently revolutionary attitude, is as valid as ever in the present-day capitalist setting. The advice he has so generously given the international working-class movement is a goldmine of political ideas and a valuable part of the Marxist-Leninist heritage.

The Danish labor movement, too, has benefited from Engels' wise counsel both at the time of the First International and later. Left-wingers in the Danish social-democratic movement corresponded with him. Extant is his letter to Gerson Trier (dated December 18, 1889), of a significance far beyond the framework of the Danish labor movement.

On the Danish scene of that time, an ultra-reactionary government stood at the helm with the King's blessing, despite a succession of devastating defeats in parliamentary elections. The core of the opposition consisted of the bourgeois Venstre (i.e., Left) Party, which held an overwhelming majority in the Folketing, but had no stomach to assault a government ruling in defiance of the Constitution. The Social-Democratic movement, still weak then, was represented in the Folketing by just a few deputies, its leadership obediently following the Venstre line. A Social-Democratic pronouncement of 1885 said, "the party reaffirms its cooperation with other parties of the opposition, *recognizing the right of its majority to determine the line of the general opposition to the government*" (Bertolt O. o. a. *En Bygning vi rejser*. I. Kobenhaven, 1955, s. 187-188. My italics—I.N.).

Gerson Trier opposed agreement with the bourgeois Left and was expelled from the Social-Democratic Party. This prompted him to write to Engels.

Engels' reply centered on the point that for the proletariat political domination is

the only door leading to the new society, attainable in but one way—the revolutionary way. This was Engels' point of departure in criticizing Trier's Left-sectarian postures, on the one hand, and the rightist attitude of the party leadership, on the other.

Engels argued against Trier's refusal to act jointly with other parties. "I am enough of a revolutionary," he wrote, "never to rule out this mode of procedure in a situation in which it may be either more advantageous or less damaging." The party's activity as a class-conscious organization, he said, "does not mean it cannot back other parties temporarily in actions either directly beneficial to the proletariat or promoting economic progress or political freedom."

Engels pointed out the terms on which such united action is acceptable: "But I am for this only if the benefit directly for us and for the country's historical advance towards economic and political revolution is incontestable and worthwhile; and all this, providing the party's proletarian class character is not thereby placed in question. For me that is the basic condition. You will find this policy set out in the *Communist Manifesto* back in 1847, we followed it in 1848, in the International, everywhere." To his friendly criticism of Trier, Engels added: "For me as a revolutionary all means are acceptable, both the most violent and also those that seem the most peaceful, so long as they lead to the goal."

Trier feared that the policy of alliances would erode the working-class party. Engels replied: "Such a policy requires perspicacity and firmness, but then what policy does not?" Coming to grips with anarchists and others, he added: "Yes, if the working class consists of fools, weaklings or mercenary scoundrels, then it would be best for us to pack up at once, then the proletariat and all of us have no place in politics. The proletariat, like all other parties, learns quickest from its own mistakes and nothing can make it completely impervious to mistakes."

Precisely because he trusted the working class, Engels favored a bold policy of alliances as a means of revolutionary struggle and censured Trier's typically sectarian mistake of trying to inflate what was "primarily a tactical issue to the proportions of an issue of principle." Yet with an eye on the Right opportunist party leadership, he added: "However, a tactical

error may in certain circumstances lead to a violation of principle." He regarded the tactics of the Danish Social-Democratic leadership as totally incorrect. The bourgeois Venstre, he said, gravitated increasingly towards conciliation with reaction, and shrank back in face of its threats. "It seems to me," he wrote, "that a truly proletarian party cannot act jointly with a party like that and not lose its own class identity as a working-class party. Therefore since, in contrast to this policy, you put the accent on the class character of the movement, I can only agree with you."

As we see, Engels thought it necessary to criticize those party leaders who departed from class positions.

There are many statements by Engels, as well as by Marx, stressing the need for a working class party acting as a close-knit unit, on the basis of its own program and in line with class organizational principles. That, too, was the angle from which they evaluated the role of the party press. Here, for example, is what Engels wrote Wilhelm Liebknecht on November 24, 1894: 'Certainly, as the editor of the central organ you are obliged to maintain the balance, to eliminate in debate even the really existing differences, to settle everything to everybody's satisfaction and to promote the unity of the party.'

The developments in Denmark bore out Engels' opinion of the Danish Social-Democratic leaders, set out in the letter to Trier. They fell increasingly under the spell of the policy of the liberal bourgeoisie, which culminated in the collapse of the party that "realized itself as a class party." Yet, Trier's sectarian prejudices, and still more those of the people around him, prevented them from conducting a consistently socialist policy in face of the democratic tasks of the time.

The problem of blending a policy of broad united actions with a consistent class line confronted the working-class movement in different forms, in various countries and on the international scene. And each time it was attempted to "fight" right opportunist errors from the standpoint of Left sectarianism or to "fight" Left sectarian errors from the standpoint of Right opportunism. None of these approaches yielded the desired solution. Always, it is necessary to attain a deeper appreciation of the class aims and thereby make the policy broader, as well as stronger.

Lenin, as we know, elaborated further

on the theory and practice of the joint action policy. He always associated the idea of the broadest possible working-class alliances with consolidation, not decrease, of the class party's independent role.

That is the aim facing the Communist parties in defining their national and international policy.

In the state-monopoly capitalist countries the working-class movement should now build up mass action for better living conditions, for democracy and peace, against monopoly, reaction and imperialism, so that the masses move to revolutionary positions. Then, on the basis of their unity and organized action, it will be possible to change the correlation of class forces.

Rallying the masses for action and working to arouse their class consciousness, we should always remember Engels' warning: no one should be allowed to provoke us into accepting pseudo-revolutionary simplistic demands of struggle; we should learn to utilize all political opportunities to help the masses understand what the struggle is about.

Compared to Engels' time, the ideological struggle, which goes on alongside the political and economic, plays a more important role these days. The levers of influence at the command of the ruling classes are now highly developed, on the one hand, while the intrinsic ideological crisis of the ruling classes is highly acute, on the other. Both these facts tend to make the ideological influences exerted by the bourgeoisie more subtle and refined in means and method, thus creating new tasks for the working class.

The party "realizing itself as a class party," a party representing the class standpoint in the ideological domain, has never been more important for the growth of modern mass movements.

The illusions created by the economic growth in the latter-day capitalist setting, coupled with the hint of uncertainty in analyzing the new problems of the class struggle in the fifties and sixties, have given rise to revisionist trends reflecting the influence of bourgeois ideology and aimed against the Communist parties. These are chiefly right opportunist in complexion, though they are often tied in with frankly Left opportunist aspirations. They have arisen in a number of large capitalist countries and should not be regarded as stemming exclusively from local or national factors. Their nature is shaped

by conditions common to late capitalism.

For various reasons, the Danish Communist Party was one of the first that had to come to grips with problems of this kind. Unlike some other parties, we can observe the development of these trends over a longer term. Our experience has shown that those who came forward with revisionist or nationalist conceptions, declaring their determination to "renovate" by forming new parties, achieved but short-term success and then sank to the traditional Social-Democratic postures.

Splinter groups clamoring for "renovation" scorned Engels' warning that "breadth" in politics should not be re-

garded as a levy for abandoning class positions. And the activity of the splinter groups bears out the everlasting relevance of Engels' basic standpoint.

Recent experience also reveals the need for fresh effort to reinforce the ideological unity of the world Communist movement. This unity, as Engels pointed out, is achieved through discussion, and once thus achieved, unity in approach to all problems should be obligatory for all parties, big and small, in organizational activity, as well as in political action.

In all circumstances, the unifying and guiding role of Communists is an eternally vital, at once old and new, issue of struggle for the people's cause.

Engels on the laws of scientific progress

GIRGIN GIRGINOV

Frederick Engels made a deep and comprehensive analysis of science and scientific knowledge. His deductions and his general ideas about the nature of science and the laws, factors and trends of its development are still valid from the standpoint of general theory and methodology.

Engels examined two principal groups of laws and trends of scientific progress.

One group expresses the interconnection between science and the entire system of material social relations, particularly production, economic factors and technology.

Engels pointed to the distinctive character of the laws and trends of scientific development which are inherent in science as a system of ideas, a phenomenon of the non-material sphere. At the same time he stressed that one can understand and explain the character of science only if one regards ideas as a reflection of reality and sees their dependence on practice and social requirements. These ideas of Engels are an effective weapon against modern attempts to make an absolute of the relative independence of consciousness from

social life and to represent science as something entirely independent of the material life of society.

By revealing the dialectical character of scientific progress and knowledge, Engels provided important help in elucidating the universal validity of the laws studied by dialectics, and hence dialectics itself as a method of investigation. His views on this problem follow logically from the dialectical materialist philosophy created by him and Marx, a philosophy which constitutes a qualitatively new stage compared with previous forms of materialism.

This is all the more important to emphasize since there are those who assert that in the philosophical sphere Engels remained at the level of the old materialism. V. Miketsin, a Yugoslav philosopher, imputes to Engels the sins of the old materialism, which does not see the creative character of the activity of the subject, of man's thought. "Engels . . ." he writes in his book, *Marxists and Marx*, "was inconsistent in overcoming the metaphysical tradition regarding the relationship be-

tween subject and object and therefore remained, unwittingly, on the positions of classical materialism even though he sharply criticized the latter."

These allegations run counter to the facts. Engels consistently upheld Marx's concept that ideas, especially scientific ones, play an immense revolutionizing role, primarily because they guide the practical activity of the masses. The ideas themselves become material in the course of social practice. Engels also pointed out that in the more or less distant future "men will understand in advance the necessity of changing the social system . . . on account of changing conditions, and will desire the change before it forces itself upon them without their being conscious of it or desiring it" (*Anti-Duehring*).

Equally untenable are the arguments of some modern authors, such as Lucio Colletti (see Lucio Colletti, *Il Marxismo e Hegel*, 1969), who accuse Engels of Hegelianism. They allege that although Engels criticized Hegel for trying to impose figments of his idealist imagination on reality, he himself followed, in effect, the same principle by trying to impose dialectics (inherent in consciousness only, according to Colletti) on objective reality. The same accusation is levelled at Engels by Jean Paul Sartre ("Critique de la raison dialectique").

Yet every Marxist knows that Engels criticized Hegel from the same positions as Marx did. Both came out sharply against Hegel's idealism and his effort to squeeze the objective world into the narrow bounds of the system he had evolved. Engels did not see the task of materialist dialectics in bringing dialectical laws into nature from without, but in deducing them from it.

Engels devoted special attention to the relationship between science and production. While noting the tremendous role of science in the advancement of production, he warned against the danger of a one-sided conception of this role. He stated his views on this problem, specifically, in a letter to J. Bloch dated September 21 (22), 1890 and to C. Schmidt dated October 27 of that year.

The modern scientific and technological revolution did not necessitate any substantial amendments to these views of Engels. Engels rightly stressed that scientific progress is stimulated largely by production and technology and that social requirements are the mainspring of progress in the knowledge of nature. Today,

however, we may add that modern science, for its part, is exerting an increasing active influence on the creation and development of new branches of production and a new, more perfect technology.

Highly valid are Engels' ideas about the nature of the relationship between the economic basis of society and ideology. They are an effective weapon in the ideological contest of today, particularly over the interconnection between the social-class and gnosiological aspects of the cognitive process. Some theorists counterpose Marx and Engels to Lenin, contending that Marx and Engels were against the principle of partisanship in the social sciences, including philosophy. (See, for example, Gajo Petrovic, "Filozofija i marksizam," Zagreb 1965, pp. 21-22.) Roger Garaudy—in his book, "The Great Turning Point of Socialism"—goes so far as to call the connection between philosophy and the party of the working class a revival of the totalitarian and clerical concept.

Actually, in upholding the principle of partisanship, Lenin proceeded from Marx and Engels, who invariably stressed the role of their doctrine in the proletariat's class struggle and pointed to its ideological character. This is seen, for example, in Engels' preface to "The Peasant War In Germany," which regards theoretical activity as a form of class struggle, along with the economic and political forms.

The other group of laws and trends of scientific progress is expressive of a very important aspect of the relative independence of science—the distinctive logic of its inner development. The law of the advance of scientific knowledge from relative to absolute truth (*Anti-Duehring*), which Engels and then Lenin gave so much attention to, holds an important place in this respect.

Engels' conclusions regarding the dialectics of absolute and relative truth help to expose speculations by such authors as Roger Garaudy. Proceeding from the Marxist-Leninist idea of the relativity of all scientific truths, Garaudy argues that Marxism is merely a variant scientific solution of problems, and hence any other theory can lay claim to recognition as a consistent science since it contains grains of absolute truth. He equates theories, many of which are very remote from science, with Marxism, an integral and harmonious doctrine. He even maintains—without adducing any evidence—that Catholic philosophy and religion have elaborated certain problems, such as that of subjectivity, bet-

ter than Marxism has, and urges "enriching" Marxism with religious ideology.

In revealing the dialectics of absolute and relative truth in scientific knowledge, Engels stressed the role of practice and of so tested a method of eliminating errors as the free exchange of views in science, constructive discussion of unsolved problems.

Engels said that if science is to make progress it must necessarily break up the object of investigation into its components and investigate them separately. The profundity of this idea is particularly obvious in the light of the rapid process of differentiation and integration going on in science today. Characteristically, two opposite yet interpenetrating trends coexist in science now: one, the emergence from existing sciences of new ones that concentrate on narrower realities, and two, the rise of new branches of scientific knowledge at the junction of several old ones, which is due to the tendency to create an integral scientific panorama of the world, to eliminate the dissociation of particular sciences.

Engels also formulated the law of the existence of two stages in the development of every science: the necessary stage of accumulating factual evidence, a stage at which science is collective and empirical, and the next stage, that of generalizing and of comprehending theoretically, which makes science "theoretical" (*Anti-Duehring, Dialectics of Nature*).

Modern scientific progress proves Engels correct as regards the trend towards scientific theories becoming more theoretical and hence more abstract. The increasing mathematicization and computerization of the natural and some social sciences today, the growing use of axiomatizing and modelling methods and of a symbolic apparatus, and a kind of "flight from graphic quality" in modern science are all a logical sequence to the fact that scientific progress has attained a qualitatively new level.

Engels gave prominence to the law of continuity of ideas in carrying forward and contributing to scientific knowledge. This continuity applies to the development of both any one science and scientific knowledge as a whole, in which it is a question of continuity linking diverse fields of science that neither are nor can be delimited by clear-cut dividing lines.

The process of interpenetration of the methods and concepts of diverse branches of science, and the rise of new sciences,

already mentioned, call for philosophical comprehension, which necessarily uses Engels' relevant ideas.

The general law of increasing necessity for the interaction of particular sciences (natural and social) and philosophy is gaining ground in human knowledge. Engels' deductions in this respect are of programmatic significance and are perfectly valid to this day as a weapon against neopositivism. His thesis that all scientists must consciously master materialist dialectics was brilliantly carried forward by Lenin in the era of the revolution in natural science. Lenin showed that many physicists had lapsed into idealism precisely because they had not known materialistic dialectics or had been unable to use the dialectical method.

It is hardly necessary to point out that what Engels said about the universal validity of dialectical laws also applies to science and scientific knowledge. He stressed that the general laws of dialectics operate in nature, society and thought alike but vary in form from one field to another. This is why the dialectical laws of thought are a powerful instrument of scientific knowledge if properly known and applied.

Bulgarian Marxists think highly of Engels' contribution to the development of the scientific ideology of the working class, of its three components. In particular, they refute the allegations of Ernst Fischer, who denies Engels' historic contribution to Marxism and epistemology.

The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party did much, especially after the Ninth Party Congress (1966), and continues to do much to improve the system of the scientific guidance of society, including the guidance of science itself, according to the exigencies of the laws of scientific development so brilliantly revealed by Engels, with a view to making optimal use of the opportunities afforded by the socialist system.

In an article published in *Problems of Peace and Socialism* (No. 4, 1970), Comrade Todor Zhivkov stresses how very pressing a task it has become to master science and technology in their unity. "The priority aim of the socialist system's strategy and tactics today is maximum use of the technological revolution," he writes. "This is of decisive importance for the world proletarian class struggle for the triumph of Communist ideals the world over."

Engels and revolutionary Russia

MIKHAIL YOYCHUK

Frederick Engels, who stood at the fountainhead of the international Communist movement together with Karl Marx, played an exceptional role in the progress of the revolutionary struggle and socialist thought both in West European countries and in Russia. Marx and Engels had never been to Russia, but proceeding from the principles of their theory they made a scientific analysis of Russia's economic, social and political development and saw its past, present and future far better than many of their contemporaries. They were optimistically confident of the victory of the Russian revolution and hoped that it would become "the signal for a proletarian revolution in the West" (K. Marx and F. Engels, Preface to the Edition of the *Communist Manifesto* of 1882).

Engels wrote a number of works devoted to Russia, including the pamphlet "On the Social Question in Russia" (1875), and the "Afterword" to it (1894). Like Marx, he revealed the dialectics of the social development of Russia: the universal laws of capitalist development already applied to it as to other countries, especially after 1861. On the other hand, social relations in Russia were colored by the existence of strong survivals of pre-capitalist societies, in particular the rural peasant commune. Engels held that the initiative of remaking the peasant commune on socialist lines might come not from the commune itself, but from the industrial proletariat, and that the replacement of capitalist production in the countries where the proletariat had won by socially managed production was a necessary condition for raising the commune to the same level of development.

Engels regarded the future revolution in Russia as "the next turning point in world history" (Letter to J. P. Becker, Dec., 19, 1879). In 1890 Engels hoped that tsarist

absolutism would be overthrown in the next few years, with the result that the whole character of Europe would change. "Critics" of Marxism often speak of Marx's and Engels' mistakes in estimating the time of the future Russian revolution. Lenin commented on this as follows: "Yes, Marx and Engels made many and frequent mistakes in estimating the proximity of the revolution, in hoping for the victory of the revolution. . . . But such mistakes by giants of revolutionary thought who strove to and did raise the world proletariat above petty, everyday, trivial tasks are a thousand times nobler, greater and *historically more valuable, more truthful*, than the banal wisdom of official liberalism . . ." (Preface to F. A. Sorge's Correspondence).

Marx's and Engels' faith — the most radiant faith, as Lenin put it — in the Russian revolution and its world significance prompted them to study the Russian language, the history and culture of Russia, follow Russian literature and social thought with keen attention and establish ideological and political contacts with Russian revolutionaries.

In Marx's and Engels' lifetime the revolutionary movement and social thought in Russia went through a number of stages, and each of them drew their attention. While there was a certain estrangement between the founders of Marxism and Herzen, the Russian nobleman revolutionary, Marx and Engels repeatedly turned to Herzen's writings *The Past and Meditations*, articles in *Kolokol* (The Bell), etc., as they studied Russia and the Russian language. They regarded the revolutionary peasant democrats of the sixties (N. Chernyshevsky, N. Dobrolyubov) and their followers—the revolutionary Narodniks (G. Lopatin, P. Lavrov, N. Flerovsky and others) — as defenders of the oppressed masses, and as their allies in the fight

against the exploiter system, tsarism and world reaction. Engels, like Marx, considered Chernyshevsky an eminent scholar, a critic of capitalism and bourgeois political economy, and called him and Dobrolyubov "Socialist Lessings."

While criticizing the anarchist, adventurist views and activities of M. Bakunin, the Utopian and Blanquist illusions of P. Tkachov, the eclectic errors of P. Lavrov and other unscientific concepts of the ideologists of Narodism, Engels rated highly the progressive trends of Russian revolutionary thought. "Although some schools were notable for revolutionary fervor rather than scientific research, and although there were, and still are, errors here and there," he wrote in 1884, "there was, on the other hand, critical thought and selfless quest in the sphere of pure theory worthy of the people who have given the world Dobrolyubov and Chernyshevsky. I mean not only revolutionary Socialists active in practice, but also the historical and critical school in Russian literature, which is infinitely superior to all that was created in this respect by official historical science in Germany and France. And even among revolutionaries in practice our ideas and economic science, thoroughly recast by Marx, always met with understanding and sympathy" (Letter to Y. Paprits, June 26, 1884).

The revolutionaries and progressive scientists of Russia took a great interest in Marx's and Engels' writings and strove to set out their ideas in the censored press. Engels' book *The Conditions of the Working Class in England* was first popularized in our country by N. Shelgunov's pamphlet *The Labor Proletariat in Britain and France*. N. Ziber's articles in the legal periodicals *Kriticheskoye Obozreniye* and *Slovo* publicized Engels' philosophical writings, primarily *Anti-Duehring*. However, this interest in Marxism in the Russia of the 1870s and 1880s did not at all mean that the Narodniks and liberals had adopted it.

There is some reason to say that Engels inspired and gave advice to the Emancipation of Labor group founded by G. Plekhanov, the first Marxist organization to come into being in Russia. In the early eighties G. Plekhanov, Vera Zasulich and their fellow-thinkers discarded their Narodnik concepts under the impact of Marx's and Engels' writings and turned to the developing working-class movement. Plekhanov and members of his group trans-

lated the *Communist Manifesto* and other works of the founders of Marxism into Russian and began to correspond with Engels. They visited him in London and sought his advice and his ideological and theoretical assistance.

After reading Plekhanov's book *Our Differences*, Engels wrote to Vera Zasulich in 1885: "I am proud to know that among the Russian youth there is a party which has adopted the great economic and historical theories of Marx sincerely and without qualification and has resolutely broken with all the anarchist and somewhat Slavophile traditions of its predecessors. Marx himself would have been proud of this had he lived a little longer. This is an advance that will be of enormous importance to the development of the revolutionary movement in Russia."

Engels was particularly happy when, in 1895, the Emancipation of Labor group succeeded in legally publishing Beltov-Plekhanov's *On the Development of the Monistic View on History* in Russia, a book of which Lenin wrote that it had educated a whole generation of Russian Marxists.

Plekhanov was one of the first Marxists in the Second International to turn the weapon of philosophical criticism against both anarchism and revisionism in the international labor movement (E. Bernstein, the Russian Economists, and others), as well as against the liberal fellow-travellers of Social Democracy (P. Struve, the German Katheder-Marxists, T. Masaryk and others). In his letters to K. Kautsky, who tried either to prevent or moderate criticism of E. Bernstein, C. Schmidt and other *Neue Zeit* revisionists, Plekhanov asked, in 1898: If they are right in making their "critical attempts" to dismiss Engels' ideas as obsolete, "what will be left of the philosophical and socialist concepts of our teachers?"

In an unpublished variant of his report "From the Russian Social-Democratic League" Plekhanov wrote: "So-called 'criticism of Marxism', which is a pitiful reactionary attempt to weaken the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie in practice and make a rapprochement and conciliation with it easier in theory, has become fashionable among our learned and half-learned, educated and half-educated petty bourgeoisie. The very same people who called themselves Marx's disciples and, indeed, do so to this day, are ranging themselves 'behind the banner of criticism', abandoning all the fundamental

tenets of Marxism. The mental chaos caused by this pseudo-criticism is assuming truly immense proportions and threatens, by penetrating into the midst of the working class, to cause great damage to our young Social-Democracy, which is not strong enough yet. The fight against this mental anarchy is the immediate task of the revolutionary Social-Democratic elements that have not succumbed to the fashionable infection of anti-revolutionary 'criticism'". These words ring with great force to this day.

The creative elaboration of the philosophy and entire revolutionary theory of Marxism in Russia and the world as applicable to twentieth-century conditions is not, however, linked with either Plekhanov or his followers, but with Lenin and his writings, with Leninism. He founded a Marxist party of a new type, accomplished the combination of scientific socialism with the working-class movement in Russia.

Lenin wanted to meet Engels and went abroad to do so. But Engels was seriously ill and the meeting never took place.

Like Engels, who considered that the victory of the revolution in Russia would weaken all reactionary elements in Europe and increase the strength of the European working class, Lenin stressed that history had assigned the Russian proletariat an immediate task which was the most revolutionary of all immediate tasks of the proletariat in any other country — to destroy tsarism, a powerful bulwark of European and Asian reaction—and that by accomplishing it the proletariat of Russia would become the vanguard of the international revolutionary working class.

In "Engels on the Importance of the Theoretical Struggle," a section of the book *What Is To Be Done?*, Lenin carried forward Engels' prophetic ideas, arguing that the role of vanguard fighter could only be performed by a party taking guidance from a progressive theory.

In keeping with the traditions of Marx and Engels, Lenin and the Bolsheviks of Russia led by him consistently and fervently upheld militant materialism and creatively developed materialist dialectics, the heart and soul of Marxism. Whereas Plekhanov underestimated the importance of developing materialist dialectics as a philosophical science, Lenin, continuing the work begun by Engels in *Anti-Duehring*, fully revealed the nature of materialist dialectics, its kernel — the unity and

struggle of opposites — proved the unity of dialectics as the science, logic and theory of knowledge and elucidated its significance as the methodology of revolutionary thought and revolutionary action.

Whereas Plekhanov confined himself to acknowledging the fact that natural science refutes idealism, and failed to notice the crisis of the philosophical foundations of natural science, Lenin continuing the work begun by Engels in *Dialectics of Nature* and other writings, furnished a philosophical generalization of the modern revolution in natural science and confirmed Engels' conclusion that materialism was changing its form due to epoch-making scientific discoveries.

Plekhanov's works, particularly those written at the turn of the century, were somewhat abstract and lacked a concrete historical, dialectical analysis of the new epoch. Unlike him, Lenin carried forward the traditions of creative Marxism. He formulated and substantiated the scientific theory of imperialism, the new theory of the socialist revolution, and the doctrine of building socialism first in several countries or even in one country.

A characteristic of Lenin, like Engels, is inseparable unity of the dialectical materialist theory and the method of materialist dialectics, an inseparable link between the scientific reflection of reality and man's creative attitude to the world — an attitude revolutionizing it in practice. "The world does not satisfy man, and man resolves to change it by his action." This is Lenin's deduction from the theory of reflection, from scientific knowledge of the objective laws of nature and history ("Abstracts and Fragments").

This disproves the contention of bourgeois Marxology that Engels, and after him Plekhanov and even Lenin, departed from Marx's dialectical, critical revolutionary and humanist philosophy in favor of a contemplative and metaphysical materialism, that they were conformist, "narrow-minded in a scientistically positivist sense," indifferent to the problem of man, and so on. While professing to recognize the dialectical method of Marxism, its "renovators" reject the materialist principles of Marxist theory upheld in the writings of Engels and Lenin.

Marxist ideas owe their creative novelty to the continuity of their principles at every historical stage. This is why Marxism-Leninism has not become, nor can ever become, a closed and rigid system expect-

ed to be taken at its face value, as our opponents claim. It has been, is and will be an ever-living and creative doctrine, a

doctrine continuously developed and renovated in the process of revolutionary practice and the building of socialism.

Engels and present-day theoretical struggle

ANDRAS GEDO

Engels' views continue to be the subject of heated debate, a sure sign that his theoretical heritage has retained its validity and topicality.

The "Engels problem," as it is posed today, revolves around interpretation of the ideas enunciated by Marx and Marxist philosophy in general. That has become the central issue of theoretical confrontations.

Twice philosophy played a crucial role in the development of the doctrine formulated by Marx and Engels: at the beginning and concluding periods of their theoretical work. The two periods are united by the inner logic of the evolution of Marxist thought. He who ignores this will not correctly understand either the initial stage of their work or its philosophical synthesis, as set out in the works of Engels. Hence, the polemic against him flares up anew whenever the theoretical struggle centers on philosophy, whenever idealistic interpretation of Marxism evolves into a distinct trend.

When the reformists took up the cudgels against Engels in the early years of the century, their purpose was to "complement" Marx by injecting neo-Kantian and positivist philosophy into his teaching. Engels was again criticized in the twenties when attempts were made to reduce dialectics to the interaction of object and subject and delete from Marxism the idea of objective dialectics of nature and the process of reflection. That conception was upheld by proponents of "humanistic Marxism" who rejected dialectical materialism as an invention of Engels, Lenin and also Plekhanov.

The reformist tactic towards Marx and Engels is to borrow some of their ideas and criticize all the rest. Engels lived to see the rise of mass legal Marxist parties, and the tactical advice he gave them in the 1890s took into account the opportunities offered by the relatively peaceful course of the class struggle. But in keeping with the division of labor between him and Marx, he devoted much of his later years, especially after Marx's death, to formulating and elaborating the basic philosophical tenets of Marxism. The reformists, who still professed fidelity to Marxism, used Engels' ideas to bolster their position on questions of political tactics and the theory of the state, but they had only criticism for Marxist philosophy. Depending on the changing trends within reformism and practical exigencies, the philosophical discussion shifted from re-interpretation of Engels' views to their outright and trenchant criticism.

Reformism's complete departure from Marxism erased from the ideology of the German and Austrian Social-Democratic parties the last vestiges of adherence to Marxism: "democratic socialism" wholly rejected historical materialism and the class approach. Engels' work, notably in the realm of philosophy, the reformists claim, has been overcome by recent developments in philosophy and the natural sciences. Indeed, the reformists maintain that these developments have "demolished the very foundation of the views Engels expresses in 'Anti-Duehring' and 'Dialectics of Nature'" (B. Kautsky: "Zur Programmatik des Sozialismus in der Gegenwart." In *Die Neue Gesellschaft*, Heft I, 1960, S. 24-25).

This criticism no longer sets out to justify revision of Marxism—its aim is to write *finis* to Marxism. “The unalterable aim of socialism” is now understood only as “eliminating the self-alienation of man,” a formula that has absolutely no social substance.

Reformist social and political activity can, and does, veil for a time the difficulties such “de-ideologicalization” produces. But mounting opposition trends within the Social-Democratic movement (and their theoretical weakness) are symptomatic of a deep crisis. Reformist political activity is no substitute for theory; on the contrary, it points up the urgent need for theory. And in its search for a “new socialist theory” reformism is squarely faced with the “Engels problem.” And not only in the objective sense that reformist experience proves the truth of Engels’ remark (made in another connection) that renunciation of philosophy inevitably leads to acceptance of a worse philosophy. More important is the fact that reformism cannot simply renounce Marxism, as it did in the late fifties and early sixties. Now that it has expelled the “old” Marx as theoretician of the labor movement and scientific socialism, it is prepared to “accept” a Marx revised to fit in with bourgeois ideas, a Marx as the prophet of a “concrete utopia.” Even such an extreme reformist as Nenning, who dismisses the term scientific socialism as a “miserable anachronism,” is prepared to accept “Marx’s methods” and “Marx’s utopia” as part of the “new Social-Democracy.” He writes: “With Marx against Marx. That is how communism is being gradually transformed into Social-Democracy” (G. Nenning, *Sozialdemokratie. Wien-Frankfurt-Zurich*, 1965, S. 30).

Reformist ideology rests partly on re-interpretation of Marxism. Following publication of the “Economic-Philosophical Manuscripts” Heinrich de Mann came out with his theory of two Marxisms: the “humanistic Marxism” of the young Marx as opposed to the materialist “orthodox Marxism.” And here, too, the criticism is pivoted on the philosophical works of Engels. It questions the unity of the world outlook of Marx and Lenin, and negates the validity of dialectical materialism.

That is amplified by the “Marxologist” Lichtheim. There is no logical link, he says, between Marx’s conception and the dialectical materialism of Engels and Plekhanov, just as there is no link between Marx’s pragmatic thought (which regards con-

scious spiritual activity as an aspect of practice) and Lenin’s gnosiological realism.

Lichtheim ignores obvious facts, namely, that Marx repeatedly expressed his full agreement with Engels’ *Anti-Duehring*, shared in its writing and formulated his materialist position in a set of theses, fully accepted Engels’ view of nature as the “touchstone of dialectics.” Marx made no attempt to socialize nature. He stressed the universality of the laws and categories of dialectics, of which the laws of the movement of society were a specific manifestation. When he wrote of “a single science” (in “The German Ideology”) encompassing both the history of nature and of society, he anticipated the understanding of materialist dialectics given by Engels (with his knowledge and approval) in *Anti-Duehring*.

In their early period, Marx and Engels concentrated on developing historical materialism, which in mature Marxism is an aspect of dialectical materialism. As it later developed, the Marxist view of society was not an isolated concept, but part of an integral philosophical theory striving towards totality. In this connection the French philosopher L. Goldmann contrasts “*Anti-Duehring*” to “*The German Ideology*” and the “*Theses on Feuerbach*,” arguing that “*Anti-Duehring*” and most of the post-Marx writings “retreat from the idea of totality and approach positivism by removing the concept of identity of subject and object or, in other words, the practical character of the whole cognitive process” (L. Goldmann, “*L’Idéologie Allemande et les Thèses sur Feuerbach*,” in “*L’homme et la société*,” No. 7, 1968, p. 43).

However, the concept of totality Goldmann ascribes to Marx really belongs to his idealistic interpreters. For the materialist understanding of totality in “*The German Ideology*” does not exclude nature and does not gloss over differences and contradictions between subject and object. Nor does the dialectical concept of cognition and practice ignore their gnosiological difference. “*The German Ideology*” criticizes the one-sided naturalism of the old materialism, which regarded nature from the position of the passive onlooker. In contrast, the new materialism of Marx and Engels regards the understanding of nature from the standpoint of its *socio-practical* mastery while “retaining the priority of external nature.” The concrete veracity of human thought is corroborated by practice. Subjectivizing the concept of practice, negating the dialectics of nature and disre-

gard of the reflection process all stem from an idealistic interpretation of Marx, and certainly not from his "Theses on Feuerbach" or "The German Ideology."

Engels' critics question the legitimacy of dialectical materialism as applied to the revolutionary working-class movement. The principal error of dialectical materialism, we are told, is its understanding of matter, which can only be the result of abstraction and cannot truly reflect reality, for otherwise this would lead to idealism. Yet Engels, his critics say, presents matter (in "Anti-Duehring") as a thing in itself, whereas Marx understands matter to mean the productive forces and production relations in their historical specificity, that is, as contrasted to thought.

But is it not true that the concepts of practice and history, productive forces and production relations are the result of abstraction? Why, then, should there be the danger of idealism if we take as our starting point Engels' concept of matter, and why should this danger vanish if we consider dialectics as stemming from the activity of the subject? In this case, the *a priori* assumption of anti-Engels criticism is that dialectics stem only from unity of subject and object and that the dialectical laws of motion do not apply to nature, society and cognition.

He who thinks that Marx equated matter with "the historical specificity of productive forces and production relations," reducing matter to these two categories, is wrongly interpreting Marx. For in studying the materiality of society in his economic investigations, Marx worked on the premise that social materiality interacts with nature, with which it forms a material whole. Accordingly, he sought to disclose the natural-historical laws of social movement; accordingly, the theory of reflection is immanent in historical materialism and, conversely, historical materialism in the theory of reflection. The opposite to thought is not merely society, but the historically relative material oneness of society and nature.

This type of criticism of Engels and Lenin does not lead to Marx; it leads from Marx (and against Marx) to Stirner and Kierkegaard. The revival of subjectivism on the plea that it is justified by practice goes hand in hand with rejection of Marx's discovery of the objectivity of social practice. The present-day subjectivist, drawing his inspiration from existentialism and confused by his own alienation, relies on a "concrete utopia" as his guide.

The idealistic criticism of Engels, and, in general, the tendency to relativize Marxist theory, are based on the false alternative of unhistorical absolutization. At the time of their writing, "Anti-Duehring" and "Dialectics of Nature" answered the need for philosophical interpretation of the natural sciences. But they went beyond that: the concrete universality of the laws of materialist dialectics paved the way for a concept which, in its philosophical implications, foreshadowed the new breakthrough in science. Lenin proceeded from that in his study of the philosophical problems of the 20th century scientific revolution. Today it is impossible to anticipate, let alone substitute, scientific theory by philosophical induction and Engels spoke of the decline of natural philosophy. The philosophical ideas set out in "Anti-Duehring" and "Dialectics of Nature" make both books intensely interesting today too.

Marxists do not tie the basic universal content of dialectical materialism to the philosophical interpretation of a definite stage in the development of the natural sciences. Moreover, their philosophical content is not unalterable. Engels once remarked that materialism is bound to change its form with every epochal discovery in the natural sciences, and this opens new paths for the development of materialism.

The revolutionary class struggle has given a revolutionary meaning to the theoretical works of Engels; with Marx he gave the revolutionary class struggle a scientific foundation. In our time, in this era of transition from capitalism to socialism, Frederick Engels remains our contemporary.

"Anti-Duehring", its relevance to ideological struggle in Arab countries

AHMED KARIM

Frederick Engels' *Anti-Duehring* marked an important stage in the development of Marxism. First published in 1877-78 as a series of articles in *Vorwaerts*, the central organ of the German Socialist Labor Party, it was put out as a book in 1878.

The Paris Commune of 1871 ushered in a new phase of the world proletarian liberation struggle. It demonstrated that proletarian revolution can triumph only if led by a mass workers' party armed with the theory of scientific socialism. Hence, the organization of such parties was the main prerequisite for the movement's development.

The Commune also clearly demonstrated the growing strength of the proletariat and inspired mortal fear in the ruling classes. The process of decay, which gradually spread to the entire capitalist system as part of the transition from capitalism to imperialism, was bound to put a sharper edge on reaction. But there was also another process: as the working-class movement gained in strength, and as scientific socialism gripped the minds of progressive workers, Marxism was being increasingly attacked also by its ideological opponents.

Capitalist development was especially rapid in Germany following its victory in the war against France. With the defeat of the Paris Commune the center of the European revolutionary movement shifted to Germany, where the first mass proletarian party was formed. It had to contend with all manner of anti-Marxist ideological trends. One of the most dangerous of these was represented by the German petty-bourgeois Eugen Duehring.

All earlier opponents of Marxism had challenged the political principles of its revolutionary theory. Duehring went further—his criticism was aimed at all the component parts of Marxism. He set out to replace dialectical and historical materialism, scientific socialism and Marxist political economy by a theory of his own, which Engels so aptly characterized as *Bettelsuppe* (poor man's soup). What he concocted was an eclectic and superficial philosophy, an economic theory that did not go beyond crude, empirical concepts—in short, an *ersatz* utopian socialism.

Duehring's theories gained currency before 1875 among members of the German Social-Democratic Labor Party (Eisenach supporters). And they presented a considerable danger after 1875, when the Eisenachers joined with the Lassalleans to form the United Socialist Labor Party of Germany—and made many important concessions to the Lassalleans in the course of the merger.

It was this serious menace to the purity of Marxism and the unity of the proletarian parties, indeed to the very prospect of revolution, that prompted Engels to take up the defense and propaganda of scientific communism on behalf of the young party. He pitilessly criticized Duehring's overall conception, revealing its class roots and its idealistic, metaphysical and, in the final analysis, unscientific nature. Time was to prove Duehring a sorry theoretician, and were it not for Engels' criticism of his writings, this *Privatdozent* of Berlin university would have been forgotten long ago. But the Duehrings are still there, bat-

ting against Marxism, its materialist and dialectical conception of the world, acting as agents of the bourgeoisie within the labor movement, doing their inadequate best to convert socialism from a science to a utopia. And they are to be met both in developed capitalist and underdeveloped countries. In some they are well to the fore, endeavoring to keep the masses off the road to Marxism-Leninism. Needless to say, the Duehrings will not quit the scene of history of their own free will. They must be forced to do that by persevering and purposive struggle. In this respect, "Anti-Duehring" continues to play a very meaningful part—directly because of its ideas, and indirectly as an inspiring source of creative thought.

Many of Lenin's works, notably "What the 'Friends of the People' Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats," "What Is To Be Done?," "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism," are evidence of the splendid results that come from using Engels' ideas in developing Marxism in battle against opportunist and revisionist trends.

But it would be wrong to believe that Engels was the vehicle of absolute truth and his "Anti-Duehring" a sort of Koran applicable to all times and all conditions. Engels would be the first to accept the characterization he gave of Marx (in a letter to Werner Sombart of March 11, 1895): "Marx's entire world-outlook is not a doctrine, but a method, it does not provide ready-made dogmas, but a starting point for further investigation and the method of that investigation."

"Anti-Duehring" was written at a time exceptionally rich in discoveries in the technical and natural sciences, and rich, also, in historical landmarks. That largely explains why it is a veritable encyclopaedia of Marxism, harmoniously uniting philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism.

We Arab socialists and revolutionaries regard "Anti-Duehring" as one of the most significant ideological contributions to the struggle for progress, rational thought and the liberation of man. And in this context it is proper and fitting to compare the book with another, "Tahafut at-Tahafut" (1180) of Ibn-Rochd (Averroes)*, known in medieval Europe under the title "Refu-

tations Refuted." The two books have in common their sharp polemics. Of course, "Tahafut at-Tahafut" is not another "Anti-Duehring" nor could it be, but though separated by centuries, they share a common spirit of creative thought and humanism.

Arab national liberation movements are giving rise to a cultural regeneration. This return to the past, or to the "sources" (the term used by some petty-bourgeois Arab theorists and politicians) has a very topical relevance and meets the objective needs of our time: the past helps us remake the present and shape the future.

This great function of the past, however, should be seen in its class substance. For the past can be expressive of the mounting urge towards progress, towards the social and spiritual emancipation of man. But it can also serve as an apology of national and social oppression, as a negation of one's national culture—in short as a weapon to suppress the historical initiative of the people. That is the past left us by colonialism. The present cultural renewal aims at securing our peoples freedom and re-establishing their dignity.

The process of cultural renewal has other important and complex features. Socio-economic disunity, plus a low economic development level and an incomplete class structure sometimes make it difficult to single out the ideological boundaries of this process. This is especially so if we bear in mind that all ideas, not excluding those of scientific socialism, reach the Arab masses through the prism of ingrained religious beliefs and, furthermore, are colored by nationalism.

However, notwithstanding this religious and nationalistic shell, ideological differences, based on mutually-opposed class interests, always come to the surface when pressing problems of the present or appraisal of our cultural heritage are at issue. For one cannot subscribe to Ghazali's* "Tahafut el-Falasafa" (Refutation of the Philosophers) and at the same time accept the ideas of "Tahafut at-Tahafut."

Marxists highly appreciate Ibn Rochd's progressive strivings, but resolutely reject the Ghazalis—and the Duehrings—of yesterday and today.

"Anti-Duehring" is a model of consis-

*Ibn Rochd (Averroes) (1126-1198), Arab philosopher and scholar, carried forward the materialist aspects of Aristotle's teachings. Regarded matter as uncreatable and unvanishable. Maintained that God did not precede matter, but was merely the "primordial engine" of the cosmic organism operating out of necessity but not prescribing it. Developed the idea of dual truth, i.e., philosophy is confined to theory, and religion to practice, with philosophy being the path to absolute truth.—Ed.

*Ghazali (1059-1111) a Moslem theologian and critic of Aristotle, Farabi and Avicenna. Upheld the Islamic dogma on divine creation of the world and man, opposed the idea of the world's eternity and its law-governed development, maintained that perceptual experience did not produce true knowledge.—Ed.

tent struggle for the purity of ideological and theoretical principles, against eclecticism and concessions to idealism, religion and pre-scientific socialism. As such it is of inestimable value for Arab socialists and revolutionaries in their fight against attempts to galvanize the reactionary ideas of our past and use them for attacks on scientific socialism.

Appealing to everyone who contrasts faith to reason, Ibn Rochd exclaims: "Oh, man! I do not say that the science you call divine is false; I say only that I recognize human science." His object was to uphold this human science against Ghazali, that fanatical refuter of reason.

Writing in another era and from the standpoint of the proletariat, the most advanced class with a vital interest in the triumph of truth and reason, Engels was combating the same enemy, those who deliberately or unwittingly retreat from science, from the interests of the revolu-

tionary struggle and leave loopholes for the penetration of religion and utopias.

For us Arab socialists and revolutionaries, propaganda of the all-conquering ideas of "Anti-Duehring" and of the principles of Marxism-Leninism is, at the same time, a fight for the triumph of the progressive ideas of "Tahafut at-Tahafut," that significant chapter in Arab and world history. And our fight is one more refutation of the petty-bourgeois claims that we are but conduits of a foreign ideology that has no roots in our national culture. In this context, one might quote Lenin: "Marxism has won its historic significance as the ideology of the revolutionary proletariat because, far from rejecting the most valuable achievements of the bourgeois epoch, it has, on the contrary, assimilated and refashioned everything of value in the more than two thousand years of the development of human thought and culture" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 317).

"Socialist" trends in tropical Africa in light of Engels' criticism of utopian socialism

AMAT DANSOKO

Together with Marx, Engels laid the foundations of scientific socialism, developed it, applied it to the solution of the theoretical and political problems posed by history and the revolutionary movement and defended it against its ideological opponents.

Much of his time and effort were devoted to the genesis of scientific socialism and the history and logic of the development of socialist ideas. Engels studied the theoretical legacy of the utopian socialists, singling out their weak and strong points and disclosing the socio-economic and ideological conditions of their origin. Scientific socialism, he showed, was a qualitatively new stage compared with their

social utopia. But he also noted the continuity—Marxism assimilated all the correct propositions given by Saint Simon, Fourier and the other great utopians.

This is of more than historical or academic interest for all Marxists. For Engels' investigations clearly bring out the dialectics of socialist thought and the link between ideology and economics. Engels demonstrated how the alignment of class forces, national and political relations, social psychology and cultural traditions determine the situation in one or another country at a given stage of its development. It was therefore necessary — and this Engels repeatedly emphasized — to see ideological systems in their interac-

tion with socio-economic factors, always remembering that such interaction is dynamic, never static.

The rise of utopia, Engels noted, was a reaction to the capitalist system, but at a stage when its productive forces and production relations were still rudimentary. He wrote: "To the crude conditions of capitalist production and the crude class conditions corresponded crude theories. The solution of the social problems, which as yet lay hidden in undeveloped economic conditions, the utopian attempted to evolve out of the human brain" ("Anti-Duehring").

Engels' appraisal of the theories of Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen rests on a comprehensive and concrete analysis. He criticized those who saw in these theories merely ludicrous fantasies, remarking that "for ourselves, we delight in the stupendously grand thoughts and germs of thought that everywhere break out through their fantastic covering . . ." (*Ibid.*).

It required the emergence of modern materialism, and of the scientific understanding of history based on it, for idealism to be dislodged from its last stronghold and be replaced by scientific socialism. Again to quote Engels: "The socialism of earlier days certainly criticized the existing capitalistic mode of production and its consequences. But it could not explain them, and, therefore, could not get the mastery of them. It could only simply reject them as bad" (*Ibid.*). The problem, of course, was not to invent out of one's brain the means to overthrow capitalism, but to reveal the economic and socio-political conditions latent within the system that would make it possible to abolish the capitalist mode of production.

That was accomplished by Marx, who laid bare the secret of capitalist production, surplus value, and formulated the theory of historical materialism. These two discoveries, Engels said, made socialism a science. The appropriation of surplus value is the very basis of the class struggle within the capitalist mode of production, while historical materialism gives us a precise idea of capitalism's place in human history.

Lenin applied Engels' approach to social utopia in explaining the tenacity of pre-scientific-socialism theories in Russia. "Russia's backwardness," he wrote, "naturally accounts for the firm footing that various obsolete socialist doctrines gained in our country" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 9, p. 439). And further: "For many centur-

ies and even for thousands of years, mankind has dreamed of doing away 'at once' with all and every kind of exploitation. These dreams remained mere dreams until millions of the exploited all over the world began to unite for a consistent, staunch and comprehensive struggle to change capitalist society in the direction the evolution of that society is naturally taking. Socialist dreams turned into the socialist struggle of the millions only when Marx's scientific socialism had linked up the urge for change with the struggle of a definite class. Outside the class struggle, socialism is either a hollow phrase or a naive dream" (*Ibid.*).

It will thus be seen that both Lenin and Engels regarded social utopias chiefly as a manifestation of socio-economic immaturity. The utopians could expose capitalism; they could not destroy it. It fell to Marxism to give the battle against capitalism a consistent and scientifically substantiated positive orientation.

We are fully justified in maintaining that Engels' methodological principles in tracing the development of socialism from a utopia to a science retain all their validity, since they stem from the philosophical foundation of scientific socialism, dialectical and historical materialism, and from Marxist political economy. More, they are a sure guide in investigating present-day ideological processes, in particular the different varieties of utopian socialism current in Tropical Africa.

What strikes one in Tropical Africa is the rapid, indeed tempestuous, growth of states and parties professing to favor socialism, or even claiming to be building it. Of the 60 published African party programs, 43 call for a "socialist economy," four take no definite stand, and 13 opt for a *laissez-faire* economy.

Reflected in this, naturally, is the growing influence of our international teaching and of the socialist world system. But the fact remains that many of these programs opt for "African" socialism, utopian in its very conception. For though we can record a certain evolution towards scientific socialism, its basic ideological content is utopian, and this should be attributed to the weakness of national capital in Tropical Africa.

Utopia rests on idealization of the peasant community. In fact, we are often told that socialism existed in Africa long ago and all we have to do, now that colonialism has been ousted, is re-activate it.

That view betrays an underestimation of the structural changes powered by capitalist development. For, even discounting industry, controlled mainly by international capital, we cannot but see the vast differentiation in agriculture. This is spelled out in the statistics issued by the International Labor Organization on the share of farm labor in total wage labor in the early sixties: 5.5 per cent in Sierra Leone, 16 in Ghana, 20 in Ruandi-Urundi, 25.7 in the Congo (Kinshasa), 40 in Southern Rhodesia, 45 in Kenya, and 49 in Tanganyika.

A survey conducted in Ghana shows that half of the cocoa harvest comes from nine per cent of plantations. Or these revealing figures for Nigeria: half of the cocoa growers account for less than 10 per cent of the harvest, whereas less than 15 per cent of growers produce more than half of the total output. And often enough the members of this new class of big growers come from the former aristocracy and are closely associated with the bureaucratic bourgeoisie implanted in our countries by imperialism.

Idealization of the African peasant community can be directly traced to the low level of private landownership. But, as Lenin emphasized, even in the absence of private property, control of the land by the exploiting element creates a monopoly. That is indeed the case in Tropical Africa—the big planters actually run the peasant communities. Consequently, to deny the existence of classes and the possibility of class conflict in Africa, is a utopia. But it is now being dispelled by reality. For instance, cooperatives in Tropical Africa are being converted into a weapon of repression and exploitation. Everywhere we see capitalism penetrating agriculture. The peasant community can evolve towards a socialist-relations pattern only if there is full democratization that does away with

traditional or new forms of inequality. And such democratization requires not only consistent anti-imperialist struggle, but a scientific understanding of how class relationships develop within the rural community.

As a rule, idealization of the peasant community goes hand in hand with distrust of the urban proletariat. The wage worker is the target of constant abuse and attack. For "African" socialism, even when anti-imperialist oriented, regards the proletariat as a privileged class whose revolutionary potential is questioned on the plea that "it stands to lose much as a result of a revolution in Africa." These views are not always a utopian product; in some cases they reflect the class instability of a society living under the ever-present menace of mass unemployment.

Lenin wrote: "Only the urban and industrial proletariat, led by the Communist Party, can liberate the working masses of the countryside from the yoke of capital" (Vol. 31, p. 152). The weakness of the African working class in no way alters this fundamental Marxist proposition.

The more consistent and radical Tropical Africa governments are keenly aware of the class struggle in African society.

Another factor in the emergence and spread of utopian socialism is anti-communism, propagated by the imperialists not without the assistance of European Social-Democracy. The reformists maintain that Marxism-Leninism is the only ideology alien to Africa.

"African" socialism often serves as a veil for neo-colonialism and for cooperation with the imperialists. In other words, social utopias become a form of social demagoguery meant to confuse the masses. That is why the class struggle, as explained by Marx and Engels, is a potent weapon in our battle against the negative conception of "African" socialism.

History bears out teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin

KONSTANTIN ZARODOV

(Concluding remarks)

The range of problems covered by Engels' theoretical thinking is so extensive, and his role in developing diverse spheres of science, philosophy and natural science, political economy and scientific socialism, history and linguistics, literature and military science so great, his contribution to developing the working-class and Communist movement, and elaborating the strategy and tactics of the class struggle so vast, that our conference could not help going beyond the limits of the established topic: "Frederick Engels and the Communist Movement."

I think it is quite right to remark on the most essential aspects of our work, especially those reflected in the speeches of most comrades and bearing on the importance of Engels' theoretical and practical activity for the present stage in the development of the Communist movement.

What was brought to the fore at the conference was *Engels' role in developing materialist dialectics* as the philosophical basis of scientific socialism, as the theory and ideology of the Communist movement.

It has been shown at the conference that philosophy, according to Engels, cannot but rest on the experience of scientific knowledge, and that any efforts to isolate it from science are futile, and that it is in the form of materialist dialectics that philosophy finally assimilates the experience and method of scientific thinking. Life has provided confirmation for the truth of Engels' emphasis that philosophy, a science of the most general laws of the development of nature, society and human thought, fulfils the function of a world outlook.

It has been shown at the conference that

Engels was the first in Marxist philosophy to tackle the elaboration of the structure of materialist dialectics as a science. He emphasized the special importance of its fundamental laws, which determine the essence of the dialectical conception of development, as opposed to metaphysical conceptions. Engels made a considerable contribution to substantiating the idea that dialectics, logic and the theory of knowledge were a unity.

The conference has shown that scientific achievements have provided fresh arguments to back up the ideas of Marx and Engels that inquiry into the sphere of the concrete sciences, natural and social, cannot be successful unless they rest on the sound foundation of an outlook. At the same time, the quantitative growth of knowledge, the many new discoveries of the scientific and technical revolution go to confirm their idea about the need to analyze the development of science from the philosophical standpoint, the need for developing philosophical theory as such.

The second fundamental line clearly evident in the speeches at this conference consists in *shedding light on Engels' invaluable contribution to elaborating the theory of socialist revolution, and to clarifying the premises and conditions for its victory, and his contribution to the theory of socialist and communist construction.*

Together with Marx, Engels elaborated the questions of mankind's revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism, communism, at a time when these questions largely lay in the theoretical plane. However, even today, when socialism has become practice for masses of people and

Communist parties on three continents of this planet, when society's transition from capitalism to socialism has become a program for the revolutionary activity of the working people, headed by the working class and its Communist vanguard, throughout the world, Engels' ideas and views have a fresh ring, providing us with ammunition in the fight for the further advance of the world revolutionary process in all its principal links and directions.

If we were to summarize what has been said here about Engels' contribution to the theory of socialist revolution, these conclusions could be stated as follows:

Engels believed that the proletariat should be victorious more or less simultaneously in a number of developed capitalist countries. However, he did not rule out unevenness in the development of revolutionary explosions. He taught revolutionaries always to be on the alert and to be able at the right moment to give a lead to the mass struggle and resolutely to carry it forward to final victory. He pointed out the need for support of the advanced contingents of the proletariat by the whole international working class.

Primitivism and oversimplification in understanding the objective and subjective conditions of the working class struggle in the various countries were always deeply alien to Engels. A characteristic feature of his genius was a clear view of the objective laws of historical development and his faith in the inevitable triumph of the working class under the leadership of the Communist parties. From the example of many countries at this conference a concrete picture was given of the depth of the knowledge Engels had of their history and economics, and the culture and everyday life of their peoples, and especially the condition of the working class, and the circumstances of its work and struggle.

Engels proceeded from the fact that the socialist revolution—whether peaceful or non-peaceful in form—is the only way for the proletariat to win political power and create the conditions for building socialism, for it is, as he put it, "the only gateway to the new society" (Letter to Sorge, June 20, 1882). He saw the socialist revolution as a process that presupposes the forcible overthrow of the power of capital and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship, break-up of the bourgeois state machine, and establishment of a system of institutions expressing the political domination of the working class. To prepare the

revolution, Engels considered necessary the development of the three principal forms of class struggle: political, economic and theoretical. He attached special importance to establishing a proletarian army of the revolution, and winning over military forces by the proletariat.

Engels devoted much attention not only to the destructive but also to the constructive functions of the proletarian dictatorship. He clearly saw its ultimate aim—the establishment of a classless communist society, and clearly defined two phases in its growth, showing that it was impossible at once to go over to communism. Engels, a great realist, well knew, and wrote on many occasions, that the way to full victory for the new social system would be long and hard. He never invented any utopias about socialism and communism, and did not build any castles in the air. However, even today we cannot help admiring the remarkable foresight he displayed of the essential aspects of life in socialist society, many of which have been and are being confirmed in the living practice of socialist construction. There is his proposition about the functions of the proletarian state, about socialist democracy, organization of the masses, the ways in which to do away with the contradiction between mental and physical labor, between town and country, and others.

Finally, another group of questions broadly dealt with at the conference includes *the pressing significance of Engels' ideological and theoretical legacy and the example of his practical revolutionary activity* for developing the world Communist movement, and strengthening unity of action by the revolutionary forces in the fight against imperialism.

What has this conference contributed to this question? Allow me to draw your attention to a number of propositions elaborated by comrades who spoke here.

Engels, like Marx, gave a profound substantiation of the need for and showed the way to ensure unity of action by the forces of the world's proletariat. It was Marx and Engels who first proclaimed the great slogan: "Workers of all countries, unite!" Since the time this slogan was written at the head of the first set of Rules of the Communist League and also constituted the final sentence in the classical work, the "Manifesto of the Communist Party," it has embodied the idea of the unity of proletarians of all countries in the struggle for socialism, giving expression to the very

substance of a whole epoch in mankind's history. For Marxist-Leninists, the ideas of proletarian internationalism have been and will continue to be the cornerstone of their policy, because imperialism, an international force, can be overcome not by the scattered actions of however massive and solid national detachments of working people, but by the concerted efforts of all the forces of world revolution. For Marxist-Leninists struggle for the basic interest of their peoples, for their countries' progress to socialism is part of the struggle for the common international cause.

The participants in the conference showed that the Communists have not forgotten Engels' warning about the danger of underestimating the forces of capitalism and reaction. Engels lived in the epoch of premonopoly capitalism, but he was already aware of the new tendencies in its development, which later took the state-monopoly forms of capitalism. Engels saw the full danger of a world war. In an interview in 1893 he stressed that "compared with the future war all past wars will appear to be child's play." Later, Lenin described this as a great prophecy. Engels called for cohesion of the forces of the international proletariat for fighting world capitalism, which was rallying its forces, to prevent war, to turn it into a revolutionary one.

Speakers at the conference showed that even as imperialism was taking shape Engels discerned the great danger of opportunism and revisionism for the international working-class movement. That is why he came out so sharply against the revisionist mistakes of Bernstein, Kautsky and other opportunists of the Second International. Engels also observed another characteristic feature of the bourgeois fight against the working-class parties, namely, its enemies' donning of socialist and Marxist disguise. Engels said these men were "bourgeois socialists or socialists in bourgeois colors." Engels also sharply attacked those who wanted to limit the tasks of the working class to a fight for "sixpence."

Vigorously, with irresistible logic, Engels attacked the numerous sectarian-dogmatic, petty-bourgeois deviations in the working-class movement, and anarchism and Blanquism. His, like Marx's, implacable stand against all deviations from proletarian theory is a lesson to Communists today, teaching them to take a firm, principled and consistent stand for our movement's line.

His advice in every way to consolidate the organizational principles of the proletarian party remains valid today. He was resolutely opposed to factionalism or intrigues within the ranks of the revolutionary parties, and steadily fought for strict observance in the parties of the principles of democratic centralism, and for keeping them on a high militant level. This related to mass legal and insufficiently mass illegal parties. Engels criticized those who regarded the party as a "milk cow," as an association that must "win more votes" at any price, as an organization in which any individual or group could do what they wished, even if this ran counter to the party's line.

The last few years have abounded in historical revolutionary jubilees. The Communist movement has already marked the 150th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx, and the centenary of the birth of V. I. Lenin. Now the world Communist movement is preparing to mark the 150th anniversary of the birth of Frederick Engels.

Marx, Engels and Lenin are three gigantic personalities who are inseparable from each other and who laid the cornerstone of our Communist movement. With their life and work, with their doctrine is indissolubly bound up the whole history of the proletariat's struggle and victories, the whole history of socialist and communist construction. It is wrong, therefore—and this was said at the conference—to seek to find some "discrepancies" in the views of these great revolutionaries, or to try to contrast Marx and Engels, the early Engels and the late Engels, and so on. It is common knowledge that even before fate so happily brought them together, Marx and Engels had reached roughly the same conclusions on all the main problems of scientific communism, and then fought shoulder to shoulder for many years. After Marx's death, Engels stood up resolutely for the principles of scientific communism. His ideas on the strategy and tactics of the international labor movement were based on a creative use of revolutionary theory, not ever departing an inch from the fundamental principles of Marx's doctrine, the ideology of the working class, that comprised all down the years a single, comprehensive and clear system of scientific views.

It is profoundly symbolic that Lenin set up the "League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class"—the pro-

tototype of the Bolshevik Party—in the last year of Engels' life and work. The present-day Communist movement, which has now become a powerful influential social force, as last year's International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties showed, has its origins in the period of the victorious Great October Socialist Revolution.

This time connection is a most important source of our inspiration and confidence in the final victory of communism.

Under the banner of the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, Communists have scored auspicious successes, and will bring about the triumph of communism throughout the world.

Pages out of a great man's life story

As millions of revolutionaries and the masses throughout the world adopt the Marxist-Leninist teaching, interest is growing in the lives and work of Karl Marx, Frederick Engels and Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. Knowledge of the lives of the creators of scientific communism helps understand the development of Marxist-Leninist theory, its treatment of the topical problems of the present day, and to cultivate the qualities of a revolutionary and builder of the new society.

Excellent biographies of Marx and Lenin have been written in recent years. The life and work of Frederick Engels, meanwhile, was until recently depicted solely in popular-science books. This blank is now being filled to some extent by a scientific biography of Engels, in preparation by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, CC CPSU. It is based on the works and letters of Marx and Engels, testimonials of prominent labor leaders, recollections of contemporaries, still unpublished material and archives.

With the kind consent of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, CC CPSU, we present below fragments of this Engels biography.

CHILDHOOD AND EARLY YEARS

Frederick Engels was born on November 28, 1820, in Barmen, Rhine Province, Prussia, into the family of a wealthy cotton-spinner.* Like all Barmen industrialists, his father, Friedrich Engels, a man of will-power, energy and enterprise, was conservative in his political thinking and extremely religious.

Engels' mother, Elizabeth, née van Haar, had an intellectual family background and was a sensitive woman, kind, vivacious, with a lively sense of humor and a liking for books and art. Her influence on Frederick, her first-born, whom she seemed to have liked more than her other children and of whom she expected great things, was quite considerable. And Engels reciprocated with a deep affection.

Also a beneficial influence was his grandfather on the distaff side, Gerhard Bernhard van Haar, a linguist and once

rector of the Hamme gymnasium, who acquainted his inquisitive grandson with the myths of Ancient Greece and German folk tales. The boy was deeply impressed by the German epic heroes. Siegfried of the *Nibelungenlied* was his favorite personage, a symbol of manhood and the courageous battle of the German youth against conservatism, philistinism and reaction.

Frederick had eight brothers and sisters, of whom he was closest to his sister Mary. His brothers followed their father into the textile business, and his sisters married men from the same milieu. Frederick was the only one to pick a different life. "Never yet, probably, did the son of a family of this kind lead a life so contrary to the family spirit," wrote Eleanor, Marx's daughter, in 1890. "Frederick must have seemed an 'ugly duckling' to his family. And possibly they are still unaware that the 'duckling' was really a 'swan'."

Engels milieu provided him amply with

*Barmen—textile center on the Wupper. In 1930 it merged with Elberfeld to form the city of Wuppertal.

material for observation and serious thought.

Growing up in one of the biggest Rhine industrial centers, he saw pictures of hopeless poverty hounding people. To survive against factory competition, craftsmen and artisans worked from dawn to dusk, many seeking oblivion in schnapps, with religion exercising a no less stultifying influence. Wherever he looked — at home, in school, in the gymnasium and in "respectable society" — Engels encountered obdurate pietism. The religious bigotry and hypocritical sermonizing of the Wuppertal industrialists fired a deep-seated protest in the boy.

From an early age, Engels displayed an independent will. His father's admonitions and threats of punishment did not reduce him to blind obedience.

The gymnasium director, who was at the same time trustee of the Evangelical boarding-school in Lower Barmen, advised Engels' father to let him have the boy, and his father welcomed the suggestion, hoping that the "secluded way of life" in the boarding school under the mentorship of the pious director would help Frederick overcome his "frivolity and spinelessness."

Engels stood out among his classmates as a boy of extraordinary endowments. He studied history, the dead languages and German classical literature with rapt interest. His history notebook, still extant, contains colored drawings of the environs of Carthage, Jerusalem, Pytho (Delpho) and the Pass of Thermopylae, and ink-drawings of pyramids, the colossal Sphinx near Cairo and the Lion's Gate in Micena. On the margins of pages are sketches of Babylonian warriors and Hindu and Greek pillars. In his later years, Engels gratefully recalled the beneficial influence of his history teacher, Herr Klausen.

Engels was a gifted student of Latin and Greek, reading and fluently translating Homer, Euripides, Virgil, Horatius, Livius and Cicero. He knew Greek so well that he wrote a Greek poem, *The Combat of Etheocles and Polinicus*, which he recited at a gymnasium function in September 1847. Engels' report on completing the seventh grade said that he had shown a deep interest in the history of German literature, the works of the German classics, that he had acquired a good knowledge of mathematics and physics and had proved a modest, sincere and friendly boy, displaying a commendable desire to obtain an extensive education.



Father and mother of Frederick Engels

In the gymnasium years Engels' interests ranged far afield. He was member of a circle where boys read their poetry and prose and performed their own musical compositions. A few of Engels' poems have come down to us, and so has his *Story of the Sea-Robbers*, written with sympathy for the Greek independence struggle. Engels wrote short musical compositions and drew well, his witty cartoons of classmates and teachers affording his friends much pleasure.

At that time already, Engels displayed his sympathy for peoples fighting for national independence, showing a hatred of absolutism and the Prussian officialdom.

WORK IN MERCHANTS' ESTABLISHMENTS

Engels' gymnasium period ended abruptly. He had been planning to seek admission to university and to study economy and law. But his father insisted that the eldest should be a businessman and compelled him to leave the gymnasium in 1837 and begin an apprenticeship in his own enterprise.

This held very few attractions for Engels, but happily left him with enough leisure to study history, philosophy, literature, linguistics and poetry, to which he was greatly drawn. He wanted to be like Ferdinand Freiligrath, a Barmen clerk and well-known poet. This love of literature Engels retained to the end of his life. True, he soon became critical of his own literary efforts, especially in poetry, but his early literary preoccupation left a deep mark on his scientific and publicistic activity: his writing is lively and vivid, imaginative and clear.

Engels showed little diligence in learning the ways of commerce at his father's office. So in July 1838 his father sent him

to Bremen, where he served in the large trading establishment of Leipold.

Living in Bremen, a large port city trading with nearly all the world, broadened Engels' outlook. The young man acquainted himself with foreign literature and the press, devoting his leisure to reading imaginative and political literature. Also, he continued to study languages and wrote "multilingual" letters to his sister Mary and his classmates, in which German alternated with Latin, Greek, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French, English, Dutch and other languages.

Engels' interest in music did not diminish. He was a frequent visitor at a song circle and went to concerts and the theatre. He studied the theory of music and tried his strength at composing and writing chorals. Strongly attracted to Beethoven, young Engels regarded his works as the apex of German music. The *Eroica* and Fifth Symphony were his Beethoven favorites.

His main interest, however, centered on literature and publicism. His writings and letters of the 1838-1842 period show the evolution of his revolutionary-democratic outlook under the determinative influence of the then burgeoning German bourgeois-democratic revolution.

Engels' political non-conformism is also reflected in his poetry. The first published poem was entitled *Bedouins*, which, in effect, aimed its darts against A. Kotsebu, the reactionary dramatist. But the most consummate of all, the freshest and most forceful, betraying the poet's love of freedom, is the poem *Evening*, printed in the *Telegraph fuer Deutschland*.

Engels described himself as a bard of freedom who, like the birds in the forest, sang to greet the rising sun.

"LETTERS FROM WUPPERTAL"

In March and April 1839 *Telegraph fuer Deutschland* published two of Engels' articles under the head, "Letters from Wuppertal."

The 18-year-old youth attacked the pietistic spirit of bigotry reigning in his native city, the obscurantism, fanaticism and mysticism of the pietists, especially their principal Wuppertal sermonizer, F. W. Krummacher.

But the most important element in "Letters from Wuppertal" is their criticism of the social relationships in Barmen. One admires the depth and knowledge displayed by the young man. The suffering and

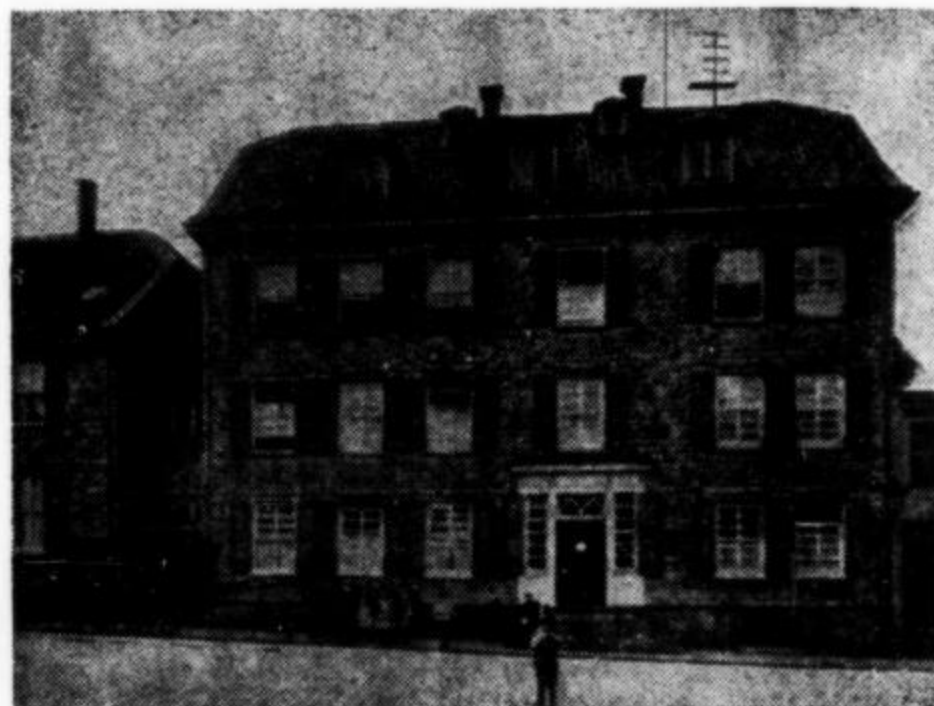
privations of the workers, the contrast between their lives and the prosperous lives of the industrialists and merchants roused Engels' sense of protest, a desire to fight injustice. He stigmatized the industrialists, the merciless exploiters who would not spare even children. He ridiculed the philistine ways of the Barmen upper crust, their ignorance of everything transcending commercial affairs, their spiritual poverty.

The "Letters" roused a storm among the Wuppertal bourgeoisie. The burghers wondered who had written the "outrageous" articles. The *Elberfelder Zeitung* took the side of the factory-owners and pietists. And the young writer was elated that his message had hit the mark.

His sense of protest and his wish to shake off the traditional religious notions were strikingly evident in his early articles and especially in his letters to the Grabers. From letter to letter the intensive workings of his mind developed, revealing his agonizing soul-searching, his gradual deliverance from religious concepts.

REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATIC CONCLUSIONS DRAWN FROM HEGEL

At the end of 1839 Engels occupied himself with the works of Hegel. Hegel's philosophy of history attracted Engels with its idea of the ascendant movement of man to higher, more mature forms. The dialectical approach to world history and social phenomena became increasingly evident in Engels' writing, in his criticism of the German socio-political order. Not yet ready to disparage Hegel directly, Engels in effect departed from the conservative principles typical of Hegel's socio-political system.



House in Barmen where Engels was born

While accepting Hegel's view of world history as a perpetual development of the freedom concept, Engels arrived at quite different, radical political conclusions.

In an article, "Requiem for the German *Adelszeitung*," written in April 1840, he ridiculed its editors. "The introduction," he wrote, "tells us that history exists . . . merely to prove the necessary existence of the three estates, of which the nobility does the fighting, the burghers the thinking and the peasants the ploughing." Unlike Hegel, who regarded the division of society into estates as immutable, Engels held it to be completely senseless. He rejected the outdated institutions, and assaulted the estate system, absolutism, the cult of the nobility and apotheosis of war.

Engels tried to apply Hegel's dialectics to the social scene. In a January 1841 article, "Ernst Moriz Arndt," he censured the German nobility for cultivating public hatred of the democratic principles of the great French bourgeois revolution, hard-headed chauvinism and contempt of other nations. He showed, too, that cosmopolitan liberalism, the antithesis of Germanomania, was also barren, because blind to national distinctions and feeding on good intentions only. We must work for a clearer mutual understanding among the European nations, he added, and promote national unity.

FIRST STEPS TOWARDS MATERIALISM

In September 1841 Engels came to Berlin and joined an artillery brigade, the Kupfergraben barracks which were near Berlin University. During his service in the brigade he became an expert bombardier and acquired a military training, which later served him in good stead. Then, he attended Berlin University as an external student, hearing lectures on philosophy and working with Professor Benari's seminar on the history of religion.

The audacity of the Young Hegelians in criticizing religious and philosophical dogma, and the radical political stand of many of them, attracted Engels' attention, rousing his sympathy.

He joined the Berlin group of Young Hegelians and took an active part in the ideological battle of the time.

Advancing the idea of the unity of the world, Engels came to the conclusion that there was a deep connection between thinking and being, the mind and matter. Unlike Schelling, who separated reason and sensation, reason and experience,



Engels in 1839

Engels believed in their close connection and stressed that they complemented each other, that reason could apprehend the "necessity of the existing" only by resort to experience.

Engels formulated his attitude to Hegel and the Young Hegelians. He approached Hegel's philosophy from the standpoint of a revolutionary democrat, holding that Hegel was contradictory because of dissonance between his basic philosophical idea and his moderate, conservative conclusions—"the barriers which Hegel himself erected as a dam to the powerful, furiously boiling stream of judgments implicit in his teaching."

Blending the radical philosophical ideas of the Young Hegelians with a democratic revolutionary approach to the socio-political, Engels in his works on Schelling called for struggle and voiced deep faith in the victory of progress over reaction. "Let us fight and shed our blood, let us gaze fearlessly into the angry eyes of the enemy and battle to our last breath! . . . The day of the great decision, the day of the battle of the peoples, is approaching and victory shall be ours!" That is how he ended his pamphlet, "Schelling and the Revelation."

The works on Schelling evoked a considerable response.

BREAK WITH "YOUNG GERMANY." ENGELS AND THE "INDEPENDENTS"

Engels' revolutionary democratism and search in philosophy for the justification of a revolutionary socio-political program precipitated his break with the "Young

Germany" group. Back in Bremen, in 1839-1840, he saw through the ornate rhetoric of some of the "Young Germany" writers, spotting their indecision and incapacity for vigorous action.

Later, wishing to plunge into the political struggle against the reactionary order, he left the "Independents," who were far removed from the realities, from the tasks of progress, and presented no real danger to the government, only prejudicing the democratic movement.

Another barrier between him and the "Independents," whose philosophy of self-awareness drove them back from Hegel to Fichte, to subjective idealism, was the development of his philosophical outlook through a creative synthesis of Feuerbach's materialist ideas with the dialectical principles of Hegel.

In articles in the *Rheinische Zeitung* and other radical publications (in 1842) he campaigned like Marx for advanced political ideas, championing freedom of the press from the oppression of the Prussian censors and battling the designs of Prussian reactionaries to perpetuate the feudal system in Germany. He sensed the approach of a revolutionary storm.

SCHOOL OF LIFE IN ENGLAND

The articles Engels wrote on landing in England, published in *Rheinische Zeitung* in December 1842 — "The British Standpoint on Internal Crises," "Internal Crises," "The Position of the Political Parties," "The Condition of the Working Class in England" and "The Corn Laws" — show that he was able to seize quickly on the contradictions of English society; his analysis of social relationships reveals that he instantly perceived the division into three main classes: the landed gentry, the industrial bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Also, he displayed awareness of the basic contradiction of capitalist society, that between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

For the first time, Engels defined the idea of social revolution. He deduced its inevitability in England from the contradictions in the country's industrial development, and named the English proletariat as its bearer.

In England it was that Engels first encountered a developed labor movement.

For nearly two years he observed the life of the English people, the condition and struggle of the workers. His approach to the proletariat was not of the sentimental philanthropic variety of bourgeois

reformists or petty-bourgeois Socialists. He saw the English workers not as sufferers only, but also as a fighting class, the revolutionary activity of which would shape the country's future.

In his 1845 appeal, "To the Working Class of Great Britain," which opens his book, "The Condition of the Working Class in England" Engels had every right to say: "I have lived long enough among you to acquaint myself with your condition . . . I am glad of it, and proud . . . Proud because this gave me an opportunity to pay due tribute to an oppressed and maligned class of people."

By associating with the English Chartists and Socialists, Engels discovered that they knew very little about the movement unfolding on the European continent. And since he showed a close interest in it, following the growth of the Communist movement in other European countries, he struck on the idea of acquainting the Chartists and Owenites with the socialist and communist trends in France, Switzerland and Germany.

During their first encounter, the League of the Just leaders invited Engels to join them. He refused, due to substantial differences of opinion, for he did not agree with the egalitarian communism expounded by members of the League. Also, he looked askance at its conspiratorial methods.

FINAL ACCEPTANCE OF MATERIALISM AND COMMUNISM

His stay in England helped Engels to shake off his idealistic views. Scientific pursuits and acquired experience forged him into a consistent materialist.

A most important influence on Engels' development was exercised by articles written for the journal, *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbuecher*, organized and edited by Marx and Ruge.

Engels' concept of material production and economic relations as being the basis, a concept that evolved during his stay in England, coupled with his wish to analyze the consequences of private capitalist ownership, impelled him to make a critical study of bourgeois political economy. The most significant result was the writing of "Notes on a Critique of Political Economy," in which, in effect, he produced his first dialectico-materialist critique of bourgeois economic science.

His materialist interpretation of the economic laws and stress on their histori-

cal origin provided the only possible way out of the "vicious circle" of capitalist contradictions.

His criticism of capitalism as a system went hand in hand with criticism of the exponents and apologists of that system, of bourgeois economists of the old and new schools.

Engels' first politico-economic work bears distinct signs of the influence exercised on him by the ethical conceptions of the Utopian Socialists and Feuerbach's abstract humanism. His grasp of the principal economic theories is still insufficiently strong, for which reason some of the evaluations were later revised by Engels himself. Yet of the utmost value was Engels' astounding ability to perceive the connection between real economic life and economic theory, to see their mutual influence. It is to his credit that he showed private capitalist ownership to be the basis of the material and spiritual life of capitalist society. We cannot help admiring the consistency and depth of thought which the young Engels displayed in deducing the inevitability of socialism from the growth of the imminent contradictions of capitalist production.

In his article, "The Situation in England. Thomas Carlyle. The Past and the Present," which, in effect, is a review of Carlyle's book, Engels adopted what were by and large materialist positions.

His conception of the state developed in 1843-1844 articles, showing that he was already aware that property relations were the basis and acknowledging the connection between the state, its class character, and the economic system.

Engels' articles for the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* crowned a most important period in the evolution of his outlook and provided evidence of his rapid spiritual growth. They reflect his final and complete passage from idealism to materialism and from revolutionary democratism to communism.

AN AUSPICIOUS MEETING

At the end of August 1844, Engels' "social apprenticeship" in England came to an end. He left Manchester and on the way home stopped over in Paris to see Marx.

By that time, Marx and Engels had arrived at the same scientific conclusions, though in somewhat different ways.

His ten days in Paris Engels spent almost entirely with Marx, discussing theoretical and practical problems of common

interest. "When I visited Marx in Paris in the summer of 1844," Engels wrote later, "we found that we were in complete accord in all theoretical domains; this was when our joint work began." ("On the History of the Communist League").

Marx and Engels saw it as their task to continue to develop a new revolutionary theory, while searching for ways of reaching the progressive elements among the intelligentsia and the working masses of Germany. The first thing to do was to refute false ideas that obstructed the spread of materialist and communist concepts.

THE FIRST JOINT WORK

Even before meeting Engels, Marx intended to write against the Young Hegelians, who were gradually abandoning their radicalism and former democratic convictions.

Engels was completely in accord, and readily agreed to collaborate on a pamphlet against the Bauer brothers and their followers. Later, he showed how important this was. In April 1845, he wrote: "War has been declared on those German philosophers who refuse to draw the practical conclusions from their pure theory and maintain that man is not entitled to anything more than speculative rumination of metaphysical problems. . . . Bauer and Stirner are exponents of the most extreme conclusions of German *abstract* philosophy and consequently the only serious philosophical opponents of socialism, or, more precisely, communism."

Originally, Marx and Engels entitled their pamphlet, "Critique of Critical Criticism." However, after Engels' departure, at the publisher's suggestion, Marx gave it the following title, "The Holy Family or Critique of Critical Criticism. Against Bruno Bauer and Co." In the "Holy Family" Marx and Engels appear as consummate and convinced materialists.

The book shows a direct approach to the main element in the materialist appreciation of history—the idea that the mode of material production plays the decisive role in the development of society. In the book, Marx and Engels also formulated one of the basic propositions of historical materialism to the effect that the people are the true makers of history. The role of the masses grows in the historical process as the decisive force of social progress and the true maker of the future. The broader and deeper the upheaval in society, the

more numerous are the masses that perform this upheaval.

The "Holy Family," an important milestone in the emergence of Marxism, contains many basic definitions relating to the proletarian world outlook.

"THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS IN ENGLAND"

Originally, Engels intended to write a book on England's social history, with but one chapter devoted to the condition of the workers. But examining sources and observing the working conditions, life and struggle of the English proletariat, he changed his mind. He saw that the condition of the working class was worth an independent inquiry. A clear plan emerged for a large book, "The Condition of the Working Class in England."

The merits of the book doubtless derive from the wealth of factual material stigmatizing capitalist society. Engels apprehended and portrayed the workers' needs and aspirations. He portrayed them not only as sufferers of capitalist oppression, but also as fighters for a decent life capable of ultimately smashing the chains of capitalist wage slavery. An imposing image of the worker is presented—a worker beginning to realize his plight, to see the true culprits and to cast about for a way to destroy the establishment.

Engels advanced the important idea that Chartism should fuse with socialism, that the revolutionary mass movement should fuse with socialist theory cleansed of bourgeois ideas. That is one of the decisive conditions for building a proletarian party and, consequently, for the victory of the proletarian revolution.

Engels' "The Condition of the Working Class in England" evoked instant response, especially in the German press, the German socialist newspapers and journals.

On reading it, many advanced workers embarked on revolutionary socialist struggle. "It was the first book I ever acquired and from which I first obtained an idea of the labor movement," recalled Lessner, a German worker later active in the world Communist movement.

THE SECOND JOINT EFFORT

Meeting Engels again, Marx told him about his then basically materialist conception of history. "When we met once more in Brussels in the spring of 1845," Engels later recalled, "Marx . . . had in the main

developed his materialist theory of history, and we began to explore these new views in detail in various directions" ("On the History of the Communist League"). The two reached an understanding on producing a joint work against the idealism of German post-Hegelian philosophy, especially its latest varieties.

In November 1845 Marx and Engels began writing a two-volume philosophical work, entitled "The German Ideology." The effort was collective in every way. As distinct from the "Holy Family," where each wrote a particular part, "The German Ideology" was a product of creative co-operation.

What makes it theoretically significant is the elaboration in it of the materialist concept of history (historical materialism) as the philosophical cornerstone of scientific communism. The bulk of the credit in developing this integral conception belongs to Marx. As Engels put it, it was one of Marx's two greatest discoveries that transformed socialism from a Utopia into a science (the second was his theory of surplus value).

The most important conclusion implicit in the historico-materialist conception set out in "The German Ideology" is that a proletarian communist revolution is historically necessary and inevitable. All previous revolutions did not eliminate classes and class rule, whereas the "communist revolution destroys the rule of all classes together with the classes." Not only was revolution the only way to throw down the ruling class, but also a means of changing people. Through revolution people deliver themselves from the ideas, traditions and prejudices of the old society.

"The German Ideology" ridiculed Stirner's contention that under communism the individual is the slave of society and that by abolishing private property Communists destroy the individual. Private property, Marx and Engels explained, is a basis for bourgeois individualism only, while robbing the bulk of the people, those owning no property, of all individuality. Meanwhile, the workers acquire individuality only by fighting the capitalist system.

Marx and Engels denounced the bourgeois idealist definition of freedom as freedom or autonomy of the spirit, as the individual's complete independence from society, that is, as a spurious freedom. They set out the materialist concept of freedom, defining it as man's power over circumstances and relationships. True free-

dom, they pointed out, is not the imagined freedom of the spirit from material social relationships, but cognition and command over these relationships. They inferred the historical approach to the concept of freedom, stressing that at each successive stage in history mankind achieved but a definite degree of freedom and domination over the external natural forces and the social relationships. Not until it reached the highest stage of social relations under communism would mankind establish complete social and spiritual freedom.

The second volume is entirely devoted to a critique of "true socialism," its abstract idealistic principles and substitution of abstract humanism and sentimental rhetoric about universal love for the class approach and revolutionary struggle.

COMMUNIST CORRESPONDENTS' COMMITTEES

In the late 1840's Europe was on the brink of bourgeois democratic revolutions. The labor movement, however, was still immature, poorly organized, and out of touch with socialist thought. The workers did not appreciate the ultimate aims of the struggle. The few existing labor organizations lacked a positive program.

In the circumstances, in a setting of severe police persecution and limited printing facilities, Marx and Engels devised communist correspondents' committees as the most suitable form of organizing the movement. They expected the committees to establish contacts with exponents of communist ideas in Germany and other countries, and to organize exchanges of printed and other propaganda.

The first committee was formed in Brussels in January 1846.

CRITIQUE OF WEITLING'S "ARTISAN COMMUNISM"

The moment it was formed, the Brussels Committee, directed by Marx and Engels, came to grips with the utopian conceptions of Weitling and the "true socialists," who had begun acting as a brake on the development of the labor movement in Germany and obstructing the spread of scientific communism. An open clash with Weitling took place at a sitting of the Correspondents' Committee in Brussels on March 30, 1846, during a discussion concerning printed communist propaganda in Germany. Weydemeyer

suggested printing the works of Marx, Engels and other Communists on funds promised by the Westphalians Mayer and Rempel, both Communist followers. Weitling, on the other hand, demanded that the committee first print his new works. Yet in these works Weitling's obsolete standpoint was presented in a particularly undesirable form. The choice was between Weitling's unscientific utopian outlook and sectarian conspiratorial methods and the revolutionary theory and tactics developed by Marx and Engels.

Contrary to Weitling, Marx and Engels proved that there could be no question of establishing communism at once. Required was active and far-flung political struggle. Though this would at first, in a bourgeois revolution, put the capitalists at the political helm, it would pave the way for the ultimate victory of the working class.

THE "CIRCULAR AGAINST KRIEGE"

Opposition to the "true socialism" highlighted the work of the Brussels Communist Correspondents' Committee. The reactionary tendencies of the "true socialists," the fact that they ignored the specifics of German socio-political development and their refusal to understand the relative progressiveness of capitalism objectively amounted to a defense of the existing feudal absolutism. And that many exponents of "true socialism" operated under communist banners tended to confuse the German workers, preventing them from seeing its true nature, essentially hostile to the proletariat.

The open action against "true socialism" by the Brussels Communists rallied round Marx and Engels was prompted by the activity in the United States of Herman Kriege, a German journalist. Kriege passed off as communist various newspaper appeals to New York charity for cash aid to needy workers and the poor in general.

His propaganda drew sharp censure from Marx and Engels. A sitting of the Brussels Committee on May 11, 1846, adopted a resolution on their initiative, condemning Kriege. Weitling was the only one to vote against it. The resolution and a memorandum of the Brussels Committee, drawn up by Marx and Engels, were lithographed and circulated among other correspondents' committees and Communist groups. Subsequently, the document became known as the "Circular against Kriege."

The resolution stressed that Kriege's

propaganda "discredited the Communist Party to the utmost in Europe, as well as in America," and that "Kriege's views set out in the *Volks-Tribun* are not communist." It added: "The fantastic and sentimental drivel which Kriege expounds in New York in the name of 'communism' would have an extremely demoralizing effect on the workers if the latter were to accept it."

IN PARIS

Letters from London and Paris showed Marx and Engels that the "true socialists" had a fairly strong hold on the League of the Just. To end this, the Brussels Committee decided to delegate Engels to Paris, as requested by leaders of the League's branches in that city.

Marshalling the support of the most advanced League members in Paris, Engels came to grips with the petty-bourgeois ideas spread by Proudhon. In letters to Marx and the Brussels Committee, Engels "criticized Proudhon's basic ideas with merciless severity and extraordinary depth."

At meetings of delegates of the League branches, Engels engaged Proudhon's followers in stormy debates. "I showed no mercy," he wrote Marx. "I attacked their worst prejudices and I told them they were anything but proletarians." He produced a concise definition of the basic aims of the Communists: "1) to champion the interests of proletarians as against those of the bourgeoisie; 2) to do so by destroying private ownership and replacing it with public ownership; 3) to recognize no other means to this end other than violent democratic revolution."

At the First Congress it was decided to submit to the League the draft of the "Symbol of Faith" drawn up by Engels. We still do not know when and in what circumstances Engels wrote this first draft of the Program of the League of Communists. But that he wrote it is clear, because the original manuscript is in his hand and because a considerable portion of the text became part of the "Principles of Communism," which Engels drew up shortly before the Second Congress of the League of Communists.

Engels' was the first attempt to produce the rudiments of a Marxist program treating aspects of social development from the materialist standpoint.

"MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY"

In the "Manifesto" Marx and Engels summed up the experience of the working class from the most elementary forms of struggle to the latest class battles. It was a generalization of everything they had done before 1847 in developing scientific communism, ending the initial period in the development of Marxist philosophy and presenting ideas they had formulated in preceding works in the consummate literary form known to millions all over the world. The strictly scientific thinking of the founders of the Marxist outlook was here couched in no less precise and lucid language.

Thenceforth, Marxism became a comprehensive scientific theory of the revolutionary reconstruction of the world. The Manifesto was an inspired declaration of the basic ideological principles of the revolutionary proletariat, the first summing up of what had been achieved by then in elaborating on the three components of Marxism—dialectical and historical materialism, political economy, and scientific socialism.

SOLDIER OF THE REVOLUTION

By the spring of 1849 the counter-revolution succeeded in restoring control over many parts of Germany. But the revolutionary forces were not yet subdued in Hungary and Western and Southern Germany, where new popular ferment was in evidence.

The fighting that erupted in Western and Southern Germany completely preoccupied Engels. In the beginning of May he worked out a plan of armed action.

To carry it forward, he left for Elberfeld, the scene of a rising, on May 10, stopping over in Solingen, where he quickly formed a 400-strong battalion of revolutionary workers, at the head of which he arrived in Elberfeld on May 11.

Engels worked tirelessly in the Military Commission and Military Council, working out new dispositions for the armed workers' detachments and reinforcing engineer companies. He demanded that the Safety Committee disarm the part of the Elberfeld militia hostile to the people and distribute its arms among workers, suggesting that the bourgeoisie should be made to pay a tax for the maintenance of the armed detachments.

Shying away from strong measures, the

Safety Committee rejected Engels' proposal, and, ignoring its decision, he and other detachment leaders captured the arms of the counter-revolutionary Kronenberg civic militia, stocked in the town hall. In all actions, Engels leaned for support on the armed workers.

Soon, hostilities broke out between the Pfalz army and Prussian troops. Engels participated as aide-de-camp to Willich, member of the League of Communists, who commanded a unit of the most conscious and courageous fighters, chiefly workers.

Engels displayed initiative, inventiveness, bravery and courage. He and Willich drew up the operational plans and directed the more complicated and dangerous actions. Helping organize supplies, Engels maintained contact with other units, and on occasion participated in reconnaissance. In retreat, he always stayed behind with the bravest, covering the withdrawal of the main force.

Aside from minor clashes, Engels participated in four large-scale battles, of which that at Rastatt was probably the most important. "All who saw him in combat long spoke about his extraordinary calm and absolute contempt of danger," Eleanor, Marx's daughter, wrote later.

"NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG. POLITISCH-OEKONOMISCHE REVUE"

Marx and Engels were anxious to equip Communists with a clear appreciation of the perspectives of their movement and to work out new theoretical and tactical principles on the basis of the 1848-1849 experience. For this a printed organ was essential. Following a plan they had cherished for some time, they began organizing a journal, *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-Oekonomische Revue*.

Engels worked on the plan enthusiastically and collaborated with Marx in writing the "announcement" setting out the journal's program, pointing out that it "would investigate in detail and scientifically the economic relations constituting the basis of all political movement" and use the spell of seeming relaxation to "apprehend the experienced period of revolution, the character of the contending parties and the social relationships that condition the existence and struggle of the parties."

The six issues of the journal (with issues five and six appearing under one cover) put out in 1850 consisted almost

exclusively of contributions by Marx and Engels.

The task of generalizing the experience of the German revolution was also served in another of Engels' works, "The Peasant War in Germany." Subsequently, in a foreword to its second edition, Engels wrote: "The parallel between the German revolution of 1525 and that of 1848-49 was too obvious to be rejected altogether." It helped Engels elucidate the reasons for the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution: Germany's economic and political backwardness, betrayal of democracy by the bourgeoisie, weakness of the progressive elements, dispersal of the movement and local nature of the risings, which enabled the counter-revolution to suppress them one by one.

"THE EGYPTIAN ENTRALLMENT"

After the revolution was suppressed in Germany and other European countries, Marx and Engels were deprived of the opportunity of publishing articles and books. The only publications to which they could contribute from time to time were those of the English Chartists, who paid nothing for them. Meanwhile, financial want plagued Marx and his family. The matter of making a living also confronted Engels. Taking advantage of this, his parents tried to influence the future of their eldest son. At their request, his sister Mary wrote him that they wished him to leave London and take up commerce. Engels agreed to return to the Manchester office, but made no pretence as to this being merely temporary.

Life in Manchester was monotonous and boring. Engels complained that "the damned business" drained him physically and spiritually. Marx described his stay in Manchester as an "Egyptian enthrallment," but Engels knew that it was the only way he could assure regular aid to Marx and his family.

Living at some distance from each other, confronted with new socio-political problems and daily worries, Marx and Engels felt a keen need for mutual friendly contacts. "Here . . . I live in complete seclusion," Marx wrote Engels. "You will therefore appreciate that I miss you and long to speak to you."

SPIRITUAL COMMUNION

Although Marx and Engels did not meet daily, their creative cooperation did not cease. They maintained a regular exchange of opinions.

In December 1851, soon after the coup d'état in France, Marx wrote his well-known "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Buonaparte." On comparing its opening pages with Engels' letter to Marx of December 3, 1851, one will readily see that the striking portraits and witty comparisons of the letter were used by Marx to great advantage.

The long association of the two thinkers with the progressive *New York Daily Tribune* is another striking example of their spiritual communion. Marx enlisted Engels to work for the paper and in later years Engels wrote a considerable number of articles for it on military and other matters. Some of them were produced jointly.

At Marx's request, Engels wrote a series of articles, "The Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany," for the *New York Daily Tribune* between August 1851 and September 1852, which appeared above Marx's signature, its official correspondent. Marx read each article (altogether nineteen) before it was dispatched.

This series of articles was the first systematic Marxist inquiry into the history of the German 1848-49 revolution.

Engels advanced a number of interesting ideas about tactics in revolutionary struggle, proving a gifted strategist, master of revolutionary action and a connoisseur of the art of war.

Speaking of the conditions essential for victory, Engels wrote: "In a revolution, as in a war, it is always necessary to meet the enemy bravely face to face; the attacker is always in a more favorable position; in a revolution, as in a war, it is absolutely necessary to stake everything on the decisive moment, whatever the chances. History knows of no successful revolution that did not prove this axiom."

The ability to take a risk, coupled with unrelenting courage, are necessary qualities for every true revolutionary. "Beyond question, in any struggle," Engels wrote, "he who raises the glove risks being defeated. But is this a valid reason to admit defeat from the beginning and submit to the yoke without so much as drawing the sword?"

"In a revolution, he who occupies a decisive position and relinquishes it instead of forcing the enemy to venture an attack, always deserves to be treated as a traitor."

At the decisive moment, Engels pointed out, relinquishing a position to the enemy with a fight demoralizes the masses more than a defeat in battle: "Defeat in a tena-

cious battle is as much a fact of revolutionary significance as an easily won victory."

Engels' "The Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany" is contiguous with Marx's classical works, "The Class Struggles in France 1848 to 1850" and "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Buonaparte." The three complement each other in summing up the results of the European 1848-49 revolutions. The experience acquired in these revolutions enabled Marx and Engels to develop the main ideas of their teaching, those of revolution, the state and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

DISSOLUTION OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS

After the Central Committee of the League of Communists was transferred to Koeln, it ceased to exist as a single centralized organization. Aware of this, its London section dissolved the League at Marx' suggestion on November 17, 1852, stating that continued existence of the League on the continent was inexpedient. "At once after sentence was passed," Engels wrote in 1888, "the League was formally dissolved by its remaining members" (Foreword to English edition of "Manifesto of the Communist Party").

The League's dissolution culminated an entire stage in the development of the German and international labor movement. "The trial of the Koeln Communists in 1852," Engels wrote later, "ended the first period of the independent German labor movement" ("On the History of the Communist League"). What Marx and Engels accomplished in organizing and consolidating the League of Communists and framing its theoretical and tactical principles is one of the most striking chapters in their struggle to form a proletarian party.

Later, the seeds they sowed yielded a rich harvest.

UNBREAKABLE FRIENDSHIP

Although in the early years of his stay in Manchester Engels had very limited means, he did everything he could to alleviate the privations of Marx and his family. Frightening poverty was the lot of that great man in the capital of the prosperous capitalist power, the heart of the "world's industrial workshop." Marx's irregular and extremely modest literary income was for his large family the only source of subsistence, and Engels' constant financial

support was vital. This support alone enabled Marx to cope with the adversities. And no matter what Engels' own financial situation was, he was always pleased to aid his friend.

Particularly valuable for Marx was Engels' constant moral support. Engels was for him a faithful pillar in the darkest hours of his life. On April 6, 1855, the day his dearly loved son Edgar died, Marx wrote Engels: "I shall never forget how your friendship helped us through this terrible time. You will realize how deeply I grieve over the child." In his next letter, he wrote: "Through all the terrible suffering of these days I was always sustained by the thought of you and your friendship and the hope that we two will still do something sensible in this world."

The close spiritual communion of Marx and Engels did not cease in the long years that they lived in different cities. This is evidenced by their correspondence.

For twenty years, Lafargue noted later, they did not stop communicating, sharing ideas and plans in their letters, whether this concerned current political events, the tactics of the proletarian class struggle, or scientific pursuits. If Marx did not get a letter from Engels for a few days, he began to worry. "The very sight of your handwriting," he wrote, "infuses me with strength." And Eleanor Marx-Eveling wrote: "Among my earliest childhood recollections is the arrival of letters from Manchester. Marx and Engels wrote each other almost daily, and I recall how often the Moor (that was how my father was called at home) conversed with these letters, as though their writer was present."

Neither the difficult circumstances in which Marx lived nor the deluge of lies and slander showered upon Marx and Engels by the capitalist press could break their will or undermine their vitality. Their correspondence is an inexhaustible fount of good humor.

THE DIFFERENCES WITH LASSALLE

Lassalle set out his point of view, sharply opposed to the position of the leaders of the revolutionary proletariat, in a pamphlet: "The Italian War and the Tasks of Prussia," which appeared in May 1859. In contrast to the views of Marx and Engels, known to him from Engels' work, "The Po and the Rhine," Lassalle advocated neutrality of the states of the German Union in the Italian war, declaring the Italian policy of Napoleon III as a progressive cause and

portraying the French Emperor as a benefactor not of Italy only, but also of Germany. The line of Marx and Engels, centered on uniting Germany from below, by revolutionary mass action, was in contrast to his course of supporting the policy of the Prussian rulers, who wanted to unite Germany under the aegis of their reactionary state.

Lassalle's pamphlet, which its writer moreover said was expressive of the opinion of the revolutionary party, greatly angered Marx and Engels. "Lassalle's pamphlet," Marx wrote Engels on May 18, 1859, "is an enormous mistake . . . Generally, if Lassalle has the temerity to speak on behalf of the party, he should be prepared in future for our exposing him publicly, because the circumstances are too grave for us to be finicky, or else . . . he should reach an understanding beforehand with people who may have different views. We must now maintain party discipline at all costs, or things will go badly." However, though Marx and Engels were then still reluctant to engage Lassalle in open polemics, Marx, with Engels' complete consent, firmly indicated to Lassalle the damage done by his wilful and uncoordinated actions, "because a public discussion within so small a party (which, however, one should hope, will make up in energy what it lacks in numbers) is disadvantageous in all circumstances" (Marx to Lassalle, Nov. 22, 1859).

The differences between the founders of Marxism and Lassalle were not confined to tactics and the policy of the workers' party. They also encompassed problems relating to philosophy, to aesthetics, and the like. This became evident towards the close of the 1850s in connection with the appearance of certain of Lassalle's philosophical and literary works.

Marx's and Engels' views on the state were also fundamentally different from those of Lassalle. The founders of Marxism regarded the state as an organization of the ruling class, while Lassalle, still in the thrall of Hegel's idealism, held it to be a supra-class institution, the purpose of which it was "to educate and develop mankind towards freedom."

Lassalle's petty-bourgeois views, saturated with idealist and utopian illusions, and his fallacious political tactics, naturally prompted Marx and Engels to regard him as a highly unreliable ally. In August 1862, Marx informed Engels that after a number of talks with Lassalle, he told him: "Politically, we have no points of agreement, save some very remote ultimate aims." However,

neither Marx nor Engels abandoned the hope of inducing Lassalle to act as a fellow traveller of the proletarian revolutionaries.

MILITARY THEORIST OF THE PROLETARIAN PARTY

At the end of the 1850s and in the early 1860s Engels revealed himself as a brilliant writer on military theory, and specialists took note of his articles in the *New York Daily Tribune*, which were published anonymously. It was assumed that the author was the American General Scott.

From 1857 to 1860, Engels' articles on military history and theory were carried by the *New American Encyclopaedia*. The first of these, *The Army*, was written in September 1857, and got high praise from Marx, who wrote: "Your Army is excellent; but I was astounded at its length, because it's not good for you to do so much work . . . The history of the army provides the most visual confirmation of our view of the connection between the productive forces and social relations. In general, the army has an important role to play in economic development . . . The history of the army sums up with remarkable clarity the whole history of civil society."

Engels' military articles gave a profound and comprehensive characterization of the essence and causes of armed conflicts, the socio-economic condition of the belligerents, their strategic plans, tactical operations, armaments, and geographical conditions of the theatre of military operations. His analysis of modern wars and the history of military art in the light of historical materialism laid the foundations of a new military science, and made an invaluable contribution to the development of military thinking. The dialectico-materialist approach helped him to establish the connection between the development of military science and its material basis—the economic system of society. Engels refuted the idealistic thesis that war was perpetual, as all military thinkers before him had assumed. He showed that war appeared with the emergence of class society, so that with the elimination of social antagonisms war would disappear for good, while their instruments—armies and armaments—would go with them. Engels also proved that the army was something of a replica of the social system under which it took shape and developed, and that its entire structure, organization, armament and mode of combat operations reflected the basic features of that system.

Engels attached much importance to the army's social make-up and morale among its officers and men, and noted the exceptional role of morale in combat operations.

Engels dealt with other military questions in later years, and his party friends put high value on his military talent.

FOUNDING OF THE INTERNATIONAL

When he received the first news from Marx of the establishment of the International Working Men's Association, Engels at once realized that it was an important development. He saw it as his and Marx's common undertaking, and wrote to him: "Still it is good that we are once again in contact with men who, at any rate, represent their class; after all, that is the main thing." It was clear to Engels that the International Working Men's Association opened for Marx and himself broad possibilities for exerting influence on the working class as an important means of developing the proletarians' class awareness, which gave them clarity on their true aims and means of struggle.

Living in Manchester, Engels was unable to attend the sittings of the General Council, which met in London, or to take part in the day-to-day work of the International, but from the outset he strove to help Marx, and took an active part in the International's ideological struggle, spreading, defending and elaborating the propositions of revolutionary Marxism set out in the *Inaugural Address* and the *General Rules*.

Engels' almost daily letters to Marx show that he responded avidly to all the events in the International. Every matter of any importance was discussed by the two men, as they worked out a consistent line of struggle for the proletariat's international cohesion, and for an integration of scientific communism with the working-class movement. Engels also corresponded with many leaders of the International, explaining to them the General Council's line and his and Marx's common stand. As far as he could he took part in practical organizational work, spreading the International's membership cards, taking part in financing some organs of the press in Britain, and frequently organizing material support for striking workers.

"HURRAH!—I'M A FREE MAN"

In 1869, Engels was finally free of the business he hated: his contract with his

partner, Gottfried Ermen, expired on June 30, 1869. Well aware that Engels found his business venture irksome, Ermen had, a year before the contract was due to expire, offered to pay him his part of the capital and compensation for his withdrawal from the business. Engels found the offer acceptable, but wanted the compensation to be such as to enable him to provide constant material assistance to Marx and his family over a number of years ahead. After long negotiation, he secured the desired result.

"Dear Moor! Hurrah! Today I put paid to sweet commerce, and am a free man," he wrote to him on July 1, 1869.

Eleanor Marx later recalled: "I was visiting with Engels when this hard labor of his was drawing to an end, and that is when I became aware of what all these years had been for him. I shall never forget his joyous exclamation: 'This is the last time.' As he was putting on his boots to go to the office for the last time.

"A few hours later, we were standing by the gate awaiting his return, when we saw Engels striding across a small common in front of his house. He was waving his walking-stick, singing and beaming with joy. Then we sat down to the festive board, drank champagne and were happy."

At long last, Engels was able to devote all his energy to party and scientific work. In July 1869, he wrote to Kugelmann: "I need not tell you, of course, how glad I am that I have done with this accursed trade, and can once again do what I wish, especially because this has happened just now, when events in Europe are increasingly acute, and the storm may break quite suddenly one fine day.,,

MEMBER OF GENERAL COUNCIL

Having settled all his affairs in Manchester, Engels on September 20, 1870, moved to London, where he set up house at 122 Regents Park Road, within a ten-minute walk of Marx's home. At long last this gave him the opportunity of seeing Marx every day, and their constant meetings, and discussion of scientific and political problems were a mighty stimulus in developing the thinking of both men.

Engels became the Marx family's most intimate friend. His kindness, sensitivity and consideration, his calm, jovial character and fine sense of humor had long since won for him the sincere affection and respect of all its members.

Engels spent long hours in his big light



Engels with Marx. Seated (left to right) Jenny and Eleanor Marx, and Laura Lafargue

room, lined with bookshelves, which, says Lafargue, was always in perfect order.

His working day was usually a very tight schedule, but Engels always looked fit, and was well and even smartly dressed, although, says Lafargue, he "knew no one who wore his suits longer, although they never lost their style and looked like new ... He was frugal in his habits, and allowed himself to spend money only on what he considered to be absolutely essential." He retained his inner composure and smart outward appearance to the end of his life.

On October 4, 1870, Engels was unanimously elected, on a motion by Marx, a member of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association. Earlier on, he had helped Marx in working out and explaining the General Council's line, corresponding on the International's affairs, and writing for the press. As a member of the Council, he threw himself into its work, sharing with Marx the whole burden of practical guidance of the Association's diverse activity. In this post, Engels fully revealed his ability to deal with men of different temperament and sometimes of different convictions, to see their vices

and virtues, and to give support, as well as to criticize. He never used his vast knowledge and experience to browbeat; he heard everyone out and showed great respect for the views of his correspondents. Heart and soul with the working class, he admired its best men, and wrote about them with pride. His attitude to his comrades-in-arms largely determined the mould of the early proletarian fighters, who were his friends and associates.

THE DAYS OF THE PARIS COMMUNE

On March 19, 1871, Marx and Engels learned that the Paris workers had taken up arms. The proletarian revolution had broken out in Paris, and the Paris Commune was proclaimed within a few days. It had been prepared by the entire development of the international and French working-class movement, and by the changes in the minds of the workers under the impact of the International. Engels subsequently wrote that the "Commune was undoubtedly the spiritual child of the International."

The uprising came as no surprise to Marx and Engels. The situation in France had been repeatedly discussed by the General Council. The news from France was alarming. Marx and Engels distinctly saw the provocative nature of the French Government's acts, and realized that these could impel the workers to start a premature uprising. In September 1870, Engels wrote to Marx: "If anything could be done in Paris, it should be to prevent the workers from taking action until the conclusion of peace . . . They will be crushed by the German armies in a futile attempt, and will be thrown back 20 years."

But when the proletarians of Paris rose up and established their power for the first time in history, Marx and Engels resolutely sided with them.

Already on March 21, 1871, Engels told the General Council about the revolution in Paris, for the first time showing the proletarian character of the revolution and of the National Guard Central Committee, which had taken power. At the same time, Engels stressed that these developments were popular and deeply democratic.

The Commune was the first attempt in history to break up the old state machine and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. Engels subsequently wrote: "The Commune had to recognize from the outset that the working class, once in power, could not continue to rule with the old state ma-

chine; that the working class, if it was not to lose again its newly won ascendancy, had, on the other hand, to do away with all the old machinery of oppression, hitherto used against it, and on the other, to ensure itself against its own deputies and officials, by declaring them to be all removable, without exception, at any time (Introduction to "Civil War in France").

FIGHT AGAINST BAKUNINISM

Engels had an important part to play in solving the complex problems which arose before the International after the Paris Commune.

Engels' extensive knowledge, his acquaintance with the condition of the working-class movement in the various countries, and the situation in which it developed, together with his brimming energy, all served to command for him authority among the members of the General Council. Together with Marx, he became a recognized ideological leader of the Association.

The ideas of proletarian socialism were making their way into the minds of the masses. The decisions of the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) Congresses on collective property marked a triumph for the principles of scientific communism over the ideology of petty-bourgeois reformism, and Proudhonism. A telling blow was also dealt at Lassalleism in Germany. However, a new and formidable enemy—the anarchists grouped around Bakunin—made his appearance.

Engels ridiculed Bakunin and his followers, who denied the need for political struggle, while styling themselves extreme revolutionaries. He said: "The revolution is the supreme political act: those who strive for it must also recognize the means, the political action, which prepare the revolution, and which educate the workers for the revolution. . . . The policy that should be followed is a workers' policy; the workers' party should not follow in the wake of this or that bourgeois party, but must be constituted as an independent party, with its own goal, and its own policy" ("On Working Class Political Action").

Marx and Engels attacked both the petty-bourgeois Left-wing sectarianism, which denied the need for political struggle of the working class, and the trade-unionist leaders whose policy reduced political activity to petty reform, and support of this or that bourgeois grouping.

A serious blow at the Bakuninists was

dealt by the resolutions, adopted on the motion of Marx and Engels, about the banning from the International of any conspiratorial societies or organizations setting themselves independent tasks, distinct from those of the International's, and also the decisions aimed at strengthening the inner cohesion and discipline in the ranks of the Association.

Engels sharply criticized the Bakuninist thesis that the International should be reorganized in accordance with the anarchist ideal of the future society without any authority. He wrote: "Just now, when we have to defend ourselves with all our strength, the proletariat is being invited to organize not in accordance with the requirements of the struggle, which is being daily and hourly forced on it, but in accordance with the hazy ideas of some dreamers about a future society" ("The Congress in Souvillier and the International"). Engels stressed the need for strict party discipline, which was dictated by the course of the proletarian revolutionary movement and the demands of the struggle.

Some time in January, 1872, Marx and Engels began their work, "Imaginary Splits in the International," which they completed in early March. They showed the theoretical constructions of the Bakuninists to be shabby, and traced their splitting activity. They also gave an analysis of sectarianism, and proved that while sectarianism may have been to some extent inevitable in the early stages of the proletariat's liberation struggle, when "it had been insufficiently developed to act as a class," at the subsequent stage sectarianism was a drag on the advance of the mass workers' movement and was reactionary.

At the same time, in their letters to leaders of the International in Germany, Denmark, Italy, Spain, the USA, Switzerland, and Belgium, they developed their criticism of anarchism, and defended and substantiated the decisions of the London conference. Thus, in a letter to the leader of the Naples section K. Palladino, Engels stressed that "no society—even the most revolutionary—can do . . . without" rules binding on all its members—the Rules, jointly adopted decisions, and so on. "Bear in mind that the International has its own history and this history—of which it had every right to be proud—is the best commentary on the General Rules. The International has no intention at all of repudiating this fine history. . . . Whatever your fears concerning the great responsibility the General

Council has assumed, it will always remain true to the banner which the workers of the whole civilized world have now entrusted it to safeguard for seven years." In a letter to a leader of the International section in Turin, Engels exposed the Bakuninists' empty talk against authority and centralization, and observed that it was the lack of centralization and authority that cost the Paris Commune its life. He wrote: "The struggle calls for a joining of all our forces in a single fist and their concentrating at the central point of attack. When I am told that authority and centralization are two things that deserve condemnation in any circumstances, I feel that those who say this either know nothing of revolution, or are revolutionaries only in words."

BATTLE ON TWO FRONTS

Although he was already over fifty, Engels set about with great energy to solve the most abstruse theoretical and practical tasks put forward by the development of the working-class movement. In less than a decade, beginning with 1872, he published over 100 signatures of writing, including such outstanding works as *The Bakuninists at Work*, *On Authority*, *On the Housing Question*, *Emigre Literature*, *Anti-Duehring*, and many others. Add to this his incomplete works, and hundreds of letters on the broadest range of scientific and political problems, some of them highly profound theoretical pieces.

An important problem facing the working-class movement after the International was the preservation of its international unity, some of the old leaders of the Association had repeatedly proposed the reestablishment of the International in its old form, but this had been strongly opposed by Marx and Engels.

By then there had crystallized two trends against the revolutionary proletarian approach—reformism and anarchism. Although Marxism had on the whole won an ideological victory in the International, both these trends continued to exert some influence on the working-class movement. This was evident also in the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, which was a special danger, because the followers of scientific communism in other countries regarded it as a model Marxist Party, and in a sense the embodiment of proletarian theory and tactics.

Engels used every opportunity to explain to the German Social-Democrats the need

for keeping the party pure ideologically, and to counter the influence of various petty-bourgeois, pseudo-socialist theories on the German proletariat. From 1872, he actively contributed to the party's central organ, *Volksstaat*. His articles analyzed the economic and political situation in the German Reich, and explained the reactionary essence of that state. Another highly important aspect of Engels' writings was the fight against reformist illusions which came mainly from the Lassalleans.

In June 1874, Engels published in *Volksstaat* his article entitled "The Polish Proclamation" the first of a series subsequently brought together under the head of "Emigré Literature" and dealing with some of the new phenomena and negative tendencies in the European revolutionary movement.

A series of major articles was written in 1872 and 1873 in defense of the basic propositions of scientific socialism in connection with the galvanization of Proudhonist petty-bourgeois socialism and the "socialist" theories of bourgeois philanthropists. It was carried in *Volkstaat*, and later issued as a pamphlet entitled *On the Housing Question*.

Engels subjected to withering criticism the reactionary rejection of capitalism by petty-bourgeois socialists, and showed their dreams of correcting the existing relations through appeals to "law" and eternal justice to be utterly utopian. Capitalism had its core and roots in the sphere of production, in the general conditions of the workers' existence, in the conditions in which labor power was sold and exploited, in the conditions which gave rise to the possibility of producing and gratuitously appropriating surplus value, embodied in the surplus product of the worker's labor.

If the housing question, like all other social questions, were to be solved once and for all, there was need to change the mode of production, and to eliminate the conditions for the exploitation of wage labor. The decisive factor for the solution of this question is the winning of political power by the proletariat, and the elimination of the bourgeoisie's economic and political domination.

Engels showed that bourgeois "socialism" was ultimately an ideological pillar of the bourgeoisie, a form of defense of its dictatorship. While some "enlightened" spokesmen of the bourgeoisie may express their anxiety, say, over the slum areas in cities, they have done so not out of a

sense of pity for their miserable inhabitants, but only because these slums may present a health hazard to the elite. Moreover, they may generate social conflagrations endangering the regime. Bourgeois "socialists" wanted to remedy some of the social ills not to help the workers to improve their condition but only to consolidate bourgeois society.

"DIALECTICS OF NATURE," AND "ANTI-DUEHRING"

In 1873, Engels started to write one of his main works, *The Dialectics of Nature*, as a dialectico-materialist summing up of the key achievements in natural science in the mid-19th century, and a critique of the metaphysical and idealistic views in that field. Considering the acute ideological struggle then going on, the elaboration of these problems was especially pressing.

In 1875 and 1876, Engels got down to the actual writing of his book, and wrote an *Introduction* to the whole work, setting out the main stages in the history of natural science, and his own view of the origin and development of the world and human society. At this time, too, he wrote "The Part Played by Labor in the Transition from Ape to Man," which he subsequently included in the *Dialectics of Nature*.

However, in May 1876, he had to suspend his work on it, because there was need to give a full-scale critique of Duehring's pseudo-socialist doctrine. In a letter to Marx on May 28, Engels outlined a general plan of this work. He worked hard on it during the second half of the year, and in January 1877 its first sections were published in *Vorwaerts*, the party's central organ, and later issued as a book entitled "Herr Eugen Duehring's Revolution in Science." This classic work later came to be known as "Anti-Duehring".

Marx also helped to produce the book. In his *Preface* to the Second Edition, Engels wrote: "I must note in passing that inasmuch as the mode of outlook expounded in this book was founded and developed in far greater measure by Marx, and only in an insignificant degree by myself, it was self-understood between us that this exposition of mine should not be issued without his knowledge."

This critique of Duehring's system and his and Marx's views on a broad range of questions, was to give, as he put it,

"an encyclopaedic essay on our comprehension of philosophy, and natural science and historical problems" (Letter to Laura Lafargue, April 18, 1884).

LIZZY'S ILLNESS AND DEATH

Engels' wife, Lizzy, fell ill when he was hard at work on "Anti-Duehring." In 1876 and 1877 he had several times to take her to seaside resorts for treatment. She showed some improvement after this, but was never quite cured. Her condition worsened sharply in the spring and summer of 1878, the disease ran its course, and Lizzy died on September 12.

This was a heavy blow for Engels. They had lived together for over 20 years. Lizzy had been an ordinary woman, not very well read, but with a keen mind, and a wholehearted devotion to her husband's lifetime cause.

Many years later, Engels recalled: "My wife also came from true Irish proletarian stock, and her innate wholehearted affection for her class was something I cherished infinitely more and derived more support from at critical moments than I could have had from all the refinements and smartness of the 'educated' and 'sentimental' daughters of the bourgeoisie" (Letter to Julia Bebel, March 8, 1892).

SPOKESMAN FOR INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

For all of Engels' involved preoccupations with scientific problems he still found the time to follow the struggle of the international proletariat, and sought to preserve and strengthen the numerous ties with the working class movement in the various countries which he had established during the years of the International. These ties were steadily extended and consolidated, like the positions of the socialist movement itself. Although in the second half of the 1870s and the early 1880s Marx and Engels gave most of their attention to Germany, they never lost sight of socialist activities elsewhere. Engels wrote: "We hardly belong more to the German party than to the French, the American or the Russian . . . We attach definite importance to this special status of ours as spokesmen for *international socialism*" (Letter to Eduard Bernstein, Feb.-March 1883).

Under the impact of the International's ideas, independent proletarian parties were being established throughout Europe. By the end of the 1870s, socialist parties had been formed, apart from Germany, in Aus-

tria, France, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, and Portugal. The sections of the International served as the basis for the emergence of the Socialist Labor Party of North America. A little later there appeared the General Labor Party of Hungary, the Socialist-Democratic League in the Netherlands, and the Labor Party in Northern Italy.

Not all of these parties at once adopted the platform of scientific communism, or acquired influence among the masses, but on the whole their emergence marked tremendous progress and their leaders naturally turned for help to Marx and Engels, the recognized leaders of the international working-class movement.

Apart from the German Social Democrats, the French Socialists, and leaders of the working-class movement and advocates of socialism in Britain, Engels supported more or less regular ties with socialist parties and organizations in many other countries of Europe and in the USA.

An important source of information about the socialist movement in the various countries was the press. In the 1870s and early 1880s, most countries with proletarian and socialist organizations had workers' newspapers. Apart from Germany, such papers were published in France, Switzerland, Italy, Portugal, Hungary, Austria, Belgium, the USA and other countries. The Russian and Polish revolutionary émigrés also had their own newspapers. Engels read these and many of them were regularly mailed to him by friends.

Engels' articles in the second half of the 1870s show his good knowledge of the state of the international working-class movement, and this applies especially to his series entitled "European Workers in 1877," which was carried by the American workers' newspaper, *Labor Standard*, in March 1878. He gave an exceptionally precise and profound analysis of the working-class struggle and revolutionary movement in Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Belgium, Austria, Hungary, Denmark and Russia.

"CIRCULAR LETTER"

Marx and Engels attached much importance to the party press in arranging the party's work after the introduction of the exclusive law against the socialists. They deemed it necessary to put to the party leaders the flat demand that they keep out opportunists from control of its cen-

tral organ of the press. On September 17 and 18, 1879, Engels wrote an official letter for all members of the Editorial Board of *Sozialdemokrat* in Leipzig—Bebel, Liebknecht, Fritzsche, Heyser and Hasenklever, and member of the Social Democratic parliamentary group Brackke. Upon Marx's return to London from a month's holiday at Ramsgate, Engels discussed the text of the letter with him, and it was sent off to Leipzig, with the signatures of both.

This document has gone down in history as the Circular Letter, and is one of the most important of Marx's and Engels' statements against Right-wing opportunism. It says: "It is the representatives of the petty bourgeoisie who are here presenting themselves, full of anxiety that the proletariat, under the pressure of its revolutionary position, may 'go too far'. Instead of determined political opposition, general mediation; instead of struggle against the government and the bourgeoisie, an attempt to win over and persuade them; instead of defiant resistance to ill treatment from above, humble submission and confession that the punishment was deserved."

Marx and Engels clearly showed the class and ideological tap roots of opportunism. They wrote: "It is an inevitable phenomenon, rooted in the course of development, that people from what have hitherto been the ruling class should also join the militant proletariat and supply it with educative elements." But they also tended to bring into the working-class movement their unproletarian ideology. Marx and Engels gave compelling proof of the need to follow a consistent proletarian line, and formulated their revolutionary party stand: "As for ourselves, in view of our whole part there is only one path open to us. For almost forty years we have stressed the class struggle as the immediate driving power of history and in particular the class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat as the great lever of the modern social revolution; it is, therefore, impossible for us to cooperate with people who wish to expunge this class struggle from the movement."

The "Circular Letter" had an influence on German Social Democratic leaders.

THE MECCA OF THE SOCIALISTS OF THE WORLD

The first few weeks after Marx's funeral Engels spent entirely in sorting out his late friend's archives and library. Apart

from extensive economic manuscripts he discovered a mass of diverse outlines, extracts, letters, and documents of the working class. He wrote to Sorge in late June 1883: "Almost everything has been saved from the pre-1848 period; not only have the manuscripts we then wrote together been almost fully preserved, but also the correspondence; everything in its entirety also from 1849 on, of course, and after 1862 even in some sort of order; there is also extensive manuscript material relating to the International, adequate, I believe, for its full history." It took a long time to put Marx's archives in order. Only by the end of March 1884 did Engels manage to complete the work in the main, and the flat where Marx spent his last years with his family was vacated. All the manuscripts and correspondence were moved to Engels' house.

Engels was faced with new gigantic tasks. Apart from preparing for the press Marx's incomplete works, above all Volumes II and III of *Capital*, he intended primarily to write a detailed biography of Marx in connection with the history of the German and the international working-class movement. This biography, he wrote to J. F. Becker on May 22, 1883, "will also be a history of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and the 1848-1849 movement on the lower Rhine, a history of the lousy London emigration of 1849-1852, and a history of the International." Engels now also bore the full weight of the cares of guiding the international working-class movement, which he had shared with Marx. He said: "We . . . must, to the best of my ability, preserve the numerous threads running from all the countries, which had voluntarily converged on Marx's study."

In the 1880s, Engels did much to publish Marx's and his own works, to organize and edit their translation, and review articles and pamphlets setting out the Marxist doctrine in popular form.

Engels attached special importance to polemical statements against the ideological enemies of Marxism, and various critics and "refuters" of Marx's theory. In the summer of 1884, he approved of Lafargue's intention to issue a critique of a recently published anti-Marxist book by the French bourgeois economist P. Leroy-Beaulieu, entitled *Collectivism*. Before publishing his article, Lafargue sent his manuscript to Engels and soon received his detailed remarks. In a letter on this matter, Engels gave some advice which is of invaluable methodological importance for a criticism

of bourgeois literature in general. He laid special emphasis on the need to maintain the Party approach, the objective analysis and the strictly scientific argumentation. Engels urged Lafargue to give Marx's *Capital* another close reading.

ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE 1890s

For the New Year 1890, Engels received the usual flood of letters from friends and associates from various countries. He was in good humor and feeling fit. His health had markedly improved. His chronic eye ailment, lately the main obstacle to his scientific studies, did not worry him as much as before. In January 9, 1890, he wrote to his brother, Hermann: "Even the doctors do not believe me when I say that I'm pushing 70. They insist that I look 10 or 15 years younger." Engels was glad at the successes of the working-class liberation struggle, and the rapid spread of Marxist ideas among the fighting proletariat. With a sense of deep satisfaction he wrote on May 1, 1890, that the ideas of the Communist Manifesto have now become a "common program for many millions of workers in all countries, from Siberia to California."

He eagerly looked forward to the workers' demonstrations for an 8-hour day, which were to be held in all the European countries on May Day in 1890, under a decision of the Paris Congress of 1889.

He took the most active part in preparing for the demonstration in London which was set for the first Sunday in May. He supported the tactical line of Bebel and his supporters, who believed that May Day should be marked with as much composure as possible and to avoid any provocations so as not to provide any pretext for continuing the anti-socialist law. Preparations for May Day in France were a prominent subject in his correspondence with Lafargue.

With great satisfaction Engels learned of the thousands who took part in the demonstrations, rallies, processions and strikes which swept across Europe. He was highly impressed by the powerful demonstration of proletarians in London. "I would give anything to have Marx live to see this awakening," he said.

On November 28, 1890, Engels was 70. Even before his birthday, numerous messages of congratulation began arriving from every corner of the world, among them those from old comrades-in-arms in the revolutionary battles of 1848-1849, veterans of the International Working Men's

Association, friends and people he had never known, Ruhr miners and world-famed scientists, Russian revolutionary emigres and American socialists. The Russian socialists, Lavrov wrote to him, "greet in your person the only man whose name has been written into the chronicles of socialist history side by side with that of Marx, and which does not dim in the brilliance of that great name." Plekhanov, writing in the *Sotsial-Demokrat*, which was published by the Emancipation of Labor group, observed that "there is no one at present to rival Engels in services to the proletariat." Engels received messages of greeting from many socialist parties and editorial boards of socialist papers. Bebel, Liebknecht and Singer came to London to convey congratulations on behalf of the leading party of the European proletariat.

Of course, Engels realized that all these men were moved by the most sincere feelings, and everything that was said in that period by friends and followers he credited above all to Marx. That is a point he always made in replying to the numerous messages.

AGAINST THE "YOUNG" OPPOSITION GROUP

In the summer of 1890, Engels' attention was drawn to the developments in the Socialist Labor Party of Germany. Engels learned that inside the party there had arisen an opposition group which was sharply criticizing the leadership and its entire political and tactical line.

In assessing the stand of the "Young," as the opposition group was known in the party, Engels was wholly on the side of Bebel. He characterized the opposition as a "student rebellion" and the result of an influx of a great many "students, writers and other declassé young bourgeois," who were helpless in theoretical terms but who had an exaggerated self-conceit and an unwarranted claim to playing a leading part.

However, Engels had good ground to believe that the demagogy and the pseudo-revolutionary catchwords used by the opposition could easily sway the young people who were full of revolutionary enthusiasm but who lacked the necessary theoretical grounding of party members. He warned Bebel: "This is a danger that should not be underestimated." Indeed, the opposition had managed for a time to carry with it a section of the workers. Engels warned his friends, Liebknecht especially, against taking any hasty organi-

zational measures in respect of their opponents. He believed the party would easily cope with the opposition at the forthcoming congress, and wrote to Liebknecht on August 15: "Do not create any martyrs without need; show that you have freedom of criticism, and if it is at all necessary to expel anyone, then do this whenever there is evidence of 'open action,' actual striking and fully demonstrable facts of baseness and betrayal." He conveyed his opinion to Bebel, who fully agreed, and handed his letter to other leaders to enable them to "derive something from it for themselves as well."

In early September, Engels found it necessary to come out against the "Young" and to do it publicly. This was caused by the appearance in *Saechsische Arbeiter Zeitung* of a statement by its editorial board that it was siding with its criticism of the party leadership. On the pages of *Sozialdemokrat*, Engels gave a sharp rebuttal to these inventions. He observed that the views of the opposition were quite untenable, and that it failed altogether to understand Marxism, and had a total lack of knowledge of "the historical factors which were crucial at every given moment." Referring to the tactics proposed by the "Young" and their ultra-revolutionary demands, Engels showed that any attempt to implement these demands could "wreck even the strongest party which had millions in its ranks." In a reply to one of the "Young" leaders, P. Ernst, which was published in *Berliner Volksblatt*, Engels criticized their theoretical views and said that "the materialist method is being turned into its opposite when it is being used not as a leading line in historical analysis, but as a ready-made pattern for trimming and cutting down the historical facts."

FIGHT AGAINST OPPORTUNISM IN GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

But Engels could not confine himself to this article. He saw that to attack the party the opposition was sometimes using actual facts of opportunist statements and acts by some of its leaders. Although the reformist wing of the party had suffered a series of reverses in the second half of the 1880s, it continued to exist and remained as dangerous as before. Accordingly, Engels decided to express his view of this danger.

He took the opportunity to do so in the final issue of *Sozialdemokrat*, which was being wound up because with the repeal

of the anti-socialist law on October 1, 1890, there was no longer any need for an illegal organ. In his farewell letter to readers Engels stressed unambiguously that in putting forward "legal" methods of struggle just then, the party had to be prepared to switch to illegal means in the event of a change in the situation for the worse. He wrote: "The old mechanism, which is being kept in reserve for such a contingency will be set in motion once again—improved, strengthened and newly arranged."

Meanwhile, the party was preparing itself for an important event—the adoption of a new program. The decision to do so had been adopted by the Halle Congress on a report by Liebknecht. Engels was quite determined to prevent the new program from containing the mistakes which he and Marx had earlier criticized. His main concern at the time was preparation for the press of the Critique of the Gotha Program, which Marx had written some 15 years earlier, and which only a handful of persons had read up to then. Engels believed that its publication just when intensive preparations were under way to draft a new German Social Democratic program would prevent the inclusion in it of the erroneous planks adopted at the Gotha Congress of 1875, and would hit out at the opportunist petty-bourgeois elements.

CRITIQUE OF THE NEW DRAFT PARTY PROGRAM

At the same time, Engels was making a thorough study of the material connected with preparation for the new program. In the second half of June 1891, the party Board sent him the draft for review, and Engels at once got down to the job. On June 29, he wrote to Kautsky: "At first I had intended to try to put the introductory statement of intent into stricter form, but could not do so because there was not enough time; moreover I thought it most important to sort out shortcomings—partly avoidable, and partly unavoidable—in the section on political demands, because it gave me a chance to hit out at the peaceable opportunism of Vorwaerts and at the cheerful-modest-merry-free "growing over" of the old swinishness into "a socialist society."

Engels sent his remarks to Germany at the end of June. Stressing that the draft he had received was "very much better than the old program" and was "on the whole framed on the basis of modern science," Engels pointed to the need for a

concise and precise exposition of the statement of intent, and proposed new formulations for some of its propositions. In particular, he stressed that it was wrong to make the unconditional assertion that the proletarians were steadily growing poorer. "In this absolute form . . . it is wrong," he said. "Organization of the workers, their continuously increasing resistance will to a possible extent erect a certain obstacle to *impoverishment*. But what does *definitely* increase is the insecurity" ("On the Critique of the Draft Social-Democratic Program of 1891").

Engels pointed to the gradual disappearance of private capitalist enterprise in view of the development of corporate forms of capital in the form of joint-stock companies, trusts and other major associations which monopolized whole industries.

Central to Engels' critical remarks was his analysis of the program's political demands, for that was the weakest part of it. It said nothing about the establishment in Germany of a democratic republic as one of the party's proximate tasks. This Engels saw as a direct concession to opportunism.

While accepting the view that under the existing regime in Germany some key demands could not be written into the program of a legal party, he insisted on formulations that would make it possible to retain these demands. Thus, he proposed the inclusion, without any overt statement about a republic, the demand that "*all political power should be concentrated in the hands of a popular representation*." Engels said the demand for a single German state, that is, the elimination of such reactionary survivals as "the division into petty states and the specific Prussianism," should be supplemented with the demand for full local self-government through officials elected on the basis of universal suffrage. He considered it necessary to drop all formulations which gave a reminder, however indirectly, of the notorious "state socialism."

The importance of Engels' work goes well beyond his concrete criticism of the draft program. In it he gave a further elaboration of the Marxist doctrine of the state, and the ways of moving to socialism.

FIRST STEPS OF THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

While giving so much time to German Social Democracy, Engels also gave unflagging attention to the other contingents

of the international working class movement. Whenever there was need he actively intervened in the solution of some questions bearing on the interests of the movement as a whole.

In the autumn of 1890, he found himself forced to deal closely with preparing the next international socialist congress. Relying on the decisions of the Paris Congress of 1889 which said that the next congress should be held either in Switzerland or Belgium, opportunist elements which were quite strong among the Belgian socialists sought to control its preparation. Without consulting with the other parties they appointed the congress to be held in Brussels in 1891, and invited the British trade unions to take part. Meanwhile, the other parties continued to debate the venue of the congress. There arose the danger of two congresses being held at the same time, something Engels believed to be undesirable, as then some labor organizations, notably the British trade unions, would attend a reformist-led congress, and so drop out of the sphere of influence of the revolutionary socialists. He believed—and argued in this sense in letters to his French and German friends—that the situation in the working class movement at that time gave grounds to hope that the revolutionary, Marxist wing would be in a majority at the congress and could take over the leadership and isolate the reformists.

Engels drew up a detailed plan for calling a united congress, and conveyed it to France and Germany, where he met with full support. On his initiative, Guesde and Lafargue got a congress of the French Labor Party to agree to take part in one congress with the possibilists. To take the final decision on the coming congress, Engels proposed a preliminary conference of the European socialist parties during the German Social Democratic congress in Halle, which guest delegations from other countries were attending.

Engels' plan was fully realized. The Halle Conference decided to hold a united congress in Brussels in August 1891. On November 26, 1890, Engels wrote Sorge: "Our campaign for a united congress has been successful. . . . We . . . will undoubtedly win."

The congress, held as planned in Brussels in the second half of August 1891, justified Engels' hopes. The Marxist wing had a majority. Engels endorsed the congress decision to invalidate the mandates of the anarchists, and gave a positive as-

assessment of the congress's rejection of an anarchist resolution for a general strike in the event of a war. He attached special importance to a resolution saying that the emancipation of the working class could be achieved only through the abolition of class domination in general. On September 2, 1891, he wrote Sorge: "Both on the fundamental issues and on the question of tactics, the Marxists have scored a victory all along the line."

Apart from working-class problems in the various countries, Engels was now faced with new tasks arising from the consolidation and extension of international proletarian ties, the actual formation of a new International, and the growing need to concert action by socialists in the various countries. Engels' vast prestige, his long experience of revolutionary struggle, and his recognized position as ideological leader of the international working-class movement all impelled socialist leaders to turn to him for advance and help, for they were always sure to get a clearcut answer. Engels was especially vigorous over conflicts between the national contingents of the working-class movement.

Thus, in the autumn of 1892, the German Social Democrats, despite the resolution adopted at the Brussels Congress in 1891 with their participation, decided not to stage any May Day strikes, and to confine themselves to demonstrations, rallies and meetings after working hours. Although he found their motives convincing—they feared the May Day strikes would lead to a lockout—he strongly censured the German Social Democratic leaders for having undertaken commitments at an international congress without having given thought to the possibility of carrying them out. On November 19, 1892, he wrote to Bebel: "When the world's strongest party beats a retreat, this leaves a very bad impression everywhere. . . . You are a militant detachment . . . of the modern working-class movement, and you had a moral duty to fulfil any promises made at Brussels." Engels stressed that this kind of action inflicted great harm on the common cause and hampered the consolidation of international unity. Engels warned the German party leaders about the need to draw a serious lesson from the conflict and to prevent any action which might cause a negative reaction among socialist parties in other countries and disrupt normal relations between them.

Engels vigorously opposed the unwarranted claims by some parties to a special

status in the international working-class movement. Thus, in a letter to Lafargue on June 27, 1893, he criticized some erroneous propositions in a recent appeal issued by the National Council of the French Labor Party in response to a slander campaign in the bourgeois press, which accused the party of being "unpatriotic." Engels described as wrong the urge expressed in the appeal to present France as a country which was to have in the coming socialist revolution in Europe not only the initiative but also the decisive role. He emphasized that these claims were groundless because neither in economic development nor in level of organization and influence on the socialist working-class movement could France lay claim to such a status.

In this letter Engels also dealt with another question with which he had had occasion to deal many times in the past. The French socialists backed up their claims with the fact that in contrast to Germany and Britain, France was a republic and was consequently ahead of these countries politically. Engels stressed that it was wrong simply to contrast the monarchy and the bourgeois republic, forgetting their similar class essence. "Both your republic, and our monarchies are equally ranged against the proletariat; if you help us against *our* monarchist bourgeois, we shall help you against your republican bourgeois."

Engels believed that the basis of the militant cooperation of the national contingents of the working class—a *sine qua non* of successful struggle for socialist revolution—was ideological unity and complete equality of all the participants in the struggle, and their mutual respect and independence. On June 20 he wrote to Laura Lafargue: "An international alliance is possible only between *nations* whose existence, autonomy and independence in internal affairs is part . . . of the very concept of internationalism." One of the important conditions for such an alliance, he said, was that the socialist workers of the various countries should pass on their experience in the struggle to others, from whom they learned in their turn.

Engels attached particular importance to concerted action by the socialist parties of the various countries. He believed it to be intolerable to attempt any action calling for collective effort, without prior coordination with all their prospective participants. He wrote: "Any international action must be preceded by preliminary agreement both on its essence and form. I think

it is inadmissible that any nationality should publicly undertake an initiative and then invite the others to follow suit" (Letter to Paul Lafargue, Jan. 3, 1894).

Engels gave much attention to the new International which did not yet have permanent working organs and which existed in the form of more or less regular international congresses. He did everything he could to ensure the advocates of scientific socialism a dominant role in the new international association, while preventing any sectarian disregard for the numerous mass organizations of workers which were yet to adopt Marxist ideas.

Engels was implacable and relentless in his defense of the general basic principles of Marxism. Anyone who departed from these principles and abandoned the clear-cut class stand was bound to feel the full power of his critical mind.

Thus he sharply criticized those who, from the heights of their "impartial" stand, preached to the workers a socialism that hovered well above their class interests and the class struggle, and that sought to reconcile the interests of the two contending classes in a higher humaneness. These men were, he said, either novices who had to learn, or the workers' worst enemies, wolves in sheep's clothing (Preface to English edition of "The Condition of the Working Class in England").

As the generally recognized leader of the whole socialist movement Engels strove to help the leaders of the working-class parties in their search for the right solutions of complex problems, and to convince them that he was taking the correct stand on this or that question. He always displayed the greatest tact and required others to do likewise. However, Engels was adamant with those who, through want of understanding or for purely parochial reasons, hampered any agreed joint international action.

STILL IN THE FIGHTING RANKS

Engels' great authority was enhanced by his total honesty. He wrote: "If I do enjoy the trust of the workers it is because I tell them the truth and nothing but the truth, whatever the circumstances" (Letter to Pasquale Martignetti, Jan. 13, 1890). What he hated most was falsehood and hypocrisy. Eleanor Marx-Aveling wrote: "The only thing Engels never forgives is hypocrisy. Engels has no mercy for those who are insincere with themselves, to say nothing of those who are untrue to the party."



Spot near Eastbourne where urn with Engels' remains is buried

Engels considered the interests of the party and the proletariat to be the main and decisive criterion in the examination of any question, including those relating to the Social Democratic "code of honor"—party ethics.

Engels set an inspiring example to leaders and rank-and-file members of the socialist parties by his selflessness, and his deep sense of party duty. Eleanor remarked that Engels had "a higher sense of duty, party discipline especially, than anyone I know." This sense of duty to the party, to the working class, to Marx's memory, something he held above all other things, was a mighty stimulus in his life and struggle.

To his dying day he insisted on staying in the fight. He yearned to "peer into the new century," which, as he foresaw, was to become the age of the triumph of communism. However, this hope of his was not to be realized.

In 1894, he experienced various ailments and caught colds. In March 1895 he wrote to his friends that he "had again slightly gone to pieces," but hoped to be well again in a couple of weeks. But at the time Dr. Freyberger informed Adler that he had diagnosed cancer of the oesophagus. It was decided not to let Engels know.

SPOT IN EASTBOURNE WHERE THE URN CONTAINING ENGELS' ASHES IS INTERRED

He died at 10.30 p.m. on August 5, 1895.

In accordance with his will, his funeral was a modest affair. On August 10, the funeral meeting at Waterloo Station was attended by about 80 friends and comrades-in-arms. The coffin was covered with flow-

ers and wreaths whose red ribands bore inscriptions of sincere gratitude and expressions of grief from the socialists of Germany, Austria, France, Britain, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Russia, Poland, and Bulgaria. A great many telegrams and letters arrived from all over the world. After the lay funeral service his body was cremated at Working near London.

On August 27, the urn containing his ashes was taken by Eleanor, Aveling, Lessner and Bernstein to Eastbourne where it was lowered into the waters of the sea a short distance from the shore.

The socialist press and many bourgeois newspapers informed the world of the great loss suffered by the international proletariat.

Forum held by West German communists

In Wuppertal last May the German Communist Party held a forum on the 150th anniversary of the birth of Frederick Engels. It was one of the first functions marking the jubilee. The subject, "Frederick Engels and the Current Revolutionary Struggle," conditioned the nature of the event, attended by leaders of the GCP under Kurt Bachmann, the Party Chairman, and guests from the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. Polish comrades who had intended to come were refused entry visas by the FRG authorities.

The forum was preceded by a press conference at which representatives of the GCP, CPSU and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany described the academic sessions, conferences and meetings, and the various publications timed for the Engels jubilee.

Among the participants were some 500 workers, students, teachers and engineers. During the forum, organized as a free discussion, they asked questions, which were answered by functionaries of the German Communist Party and attending social scientists, including some from the socialist countries.

The opening report was by Comrade Gerd Deumlich, editor of *Unsere Zeit*, the central GCP organ. He pointed out that we pay tribute to Engels not simply as a "historic personality," but as a revolutionary and thinker, whose ideas and advice are of outstanding significance for the revolutionary struggles of the present.

The co-founder, with Marx, of scientific socialism, Engels never failed to emphasize the role and importance of the revolutionary party for the struggle, political awareness and organization of the working class. The German Communist Party is just such a party, he said, for it differs radically from the Social-Demo-

cratic Party, which speaks of a mere "change of power" centered solely on social reform and declares the abstract slogan of "public welfare," while officially jettisoning the property problem. This course only underscores the relevance of Engels' uncompromising opposition to the theoretical and political rudiments of opportunism and ultra-Left adventurism.

The first point in the debate concerned the role of ideology in modern life and the so-called de-ideologization. Comrade Vladimir Ruml, director of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute in Czechoslovakia, noted in his intervention that Marxist-Leninist ideology was today of the utmost significance, stressing its profoundly scientific nature. He showed that the bourgeois contention of "de-ideologization" was meant to rob the working class of a scientific ideology, to reduce the influence and role of Marxist ideas, and to denigrate the policy of the Communist parties. This could lead to ideological disarmament of the workers in the confrontation with reactionary bourgeois ideology.

The forum raised points relating to the present political situation in the country, the policy of the Brandt government, the revival of neo-fascist forces and the tasks of combating them. GCP Chairman Kurt Bachmann provided convincing replies to all these questions. He noted that one of the central issues of today is to mobilize all energy in fighting neo-nazism and revanchism. The fact that the organized forces of the working class are capable of repulsing reaction was amply demonstrated by the meeting in Kassel. This is a particularly important point in the present situation, with neo-nazi and revenge-seeking forces reviving, holding reactionary conventions, forming armed underground gangs and poisoning the air with chauvinist rabble-rousing.

Speaking of the role of the German Democratic Republic, Comrade Bachmann emphasized that it has carried forward the most important demands of the Erfurt program, so highly rated, despite some critical remarks, by Engels. What is essential, Bachmann said, is to build up a broad movement in West Germany for formal recognition of the German Democratic Republic, the first socialist state on German soil, in international law.

A participant asked how the celebration of the Engels jubilee (in which official Social-Democratic bodies in power would take part) could be compatible with the ban on the Communist Party of Germany since the Adenauer times? M. Schaefer, director of the *Marxistische Blaetter* publishing house, replied that the two things were, indeed, incompatible. The Communist Party of Germany adheres consistently to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the ideas of socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat so exhaustively developed by Frederick Engels. The ban on the CPG, meanwhile, implied an "incrimination" of these doctrines, their "legal" prosecution by the authorities.

Another question concerned the concept of "revolutionary situation." The answer was given by Willi Gerns, member of the GCP Presidium, who stressed that the Communists are a party of socialist revolution, but are firmly opposed to pseudo-revolutionary slogans and Maoist falsification of Lenin's theory of socialist revolution. According to Lenin, he pointed out, a revolutionary situation depends on objective and subjective factors in each concrete historical period. In West Germany, it must be admitted, he said, the working class is not ready yet for the revolutionary effort of overthrowing the existing system. Calls for "revolutionary action," therefore, were dangerously adventurist in the present stage.

The tasks of the Communists at present are: tireless work with the working masses, political education of the working class, organization of a broad anti-monopoly front and struggle for progressive social reforms. This would lead up ultimately to decisive action in the struggle for socialism. Comrade Gerns recalled the importance Engels attached to the general democratic struggle, the demand for a democratic republic — something that opens up the way directly to socialism. He also recalled that Engels extended

every support to the democratic forces in Bismarck Germany in their fight for the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law.

A young Lutheran pastor asked whether or not one could be a Marxist in our time without reading or studying Engels' works. Hungarian philosopher Andras Gedo said in reply that the dialectical method of cognition, conclusively developed and brilliantly applied by Engels in analyzing social and natural phenomena, was still valid. More, the achievements of modern science furnished fresh proof of its relevance. Comrade Gedo noted that Engels had at all times actively opposed various conceptions and views put forward by bourgeois philosophers, sociologists and economists. Repugning attempts at opposing the young Marx to the mature, Engels to Marx, and Marx and Engels to Lenin, Comrade Gedo demonstrated the continuity of the Marxist teaching and the organic historical connection between its ideas and principles. That alone, the speaker said, ruled out "exclusion" from Marxism of Engels, whose works are fundamental for Marxist thought.

At the end of the discussion a participant asked whether or not there was a "contradiction" between the well-known postulate set out in the *Communist Manifesto* of Marx and Engels that "workers have no fatherland," and the description of the German Democratic Republic as the "socialist fatherland of the German working class." The reply was furnished by Juer-gen Kuczynski, member of the German Academy of Science in Berlin. There is no contradiction between the two concepts, he said. The "Communist Manifesto" postulate refers to bourgeois states, essentially anti-people and hostile to the interests of the working class. The German Democratic Republic, on the other hand, is a new state, a worker-peasant and truly popular state, which is the socialist fatherland of the German people. Comrade Kuczynski urged the exposure of the views of bourgeois ideologists, who distort the key concepts of modern political life and their class purport and meaning.

In the concluding remarks, Comrade Gerns again accentuated the significance of Engels' ideas and teaching for the current revolutionary struggle of the working class in West Germany and elsewhere. He stressed the profoundly internationalist character of the Engels jubilee, marked by revolutionary and progressive forces throughout the world. He called

for uncompromising struggle against distortions of Marxism by bourgeois and reformist "critics." In this regard, the life

and work of Frederick Engels has been a striking model for us.

G. K.

Notices

MARX K., ENGELS F., *La Nouvelle Gazette Rhénane (Neue Rheinische Zeitung)*. Tome II. Paris, Editions sociales, 1970. 382 pages.

The French publishers, Editions sociales, have recently put out the second volume of *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, containing articles written by Marx and Engels during the 1848-49 revolution (from September 1848 to February 1849).

Appearing in French for the first time, these articles provide valuable pointers concerning the tactics of Marx and Engels in the 1848-49 revolution and contain their conclusions and theoretical generalizations made in the course of the revolution on the basis of the rich experience of popular struggle. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was then the only paper representing the proletarian standpoint in the democratic movement.

Marx and Engels applied Marxist dialectics in their analyses of current events, laying bare the true substance of the political conflicts as an expression of the acute struggle of classes, defining the alignment of class forces on the political scene and then charting the workers' tactical line in the different stages of the European revolution. Summing up the rich experience of the masses in that revolutionary period, Marx and Engels developed the ideas of scientific communism and elaborated on the basic postulates of historical materialism and Marxist political economy.

The second volume of *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* is sure to attract public attention: its conclusions help analyze and apprehend some important aspects of the contemporary political struggle.

Yves LUMIERE

B. ENGELS, *O rozporech uvnitr strany*, Praha, nakladatelství Svoboda, 1970.

"On the Internal Contradictions in the Party" is a collection of Engels' letters of 1879-1885, compiled under separate cover by the Czechoslovak publishers, Svoboda.

Some socialist workers' parties of Europe had gained their first major successes in those years, while others were still in the formative stage. Anarchism and sectarianism, on the one hand, and the right opportunists in the German social-democratic movement, on the other, imperilled the revolutionary proletarian character of the movement, and Engels, the main adviser of the leaders of socialist parties during Karl Marx's illness and after his death, warned against errors and offered advice on how to remedy faults.

Engels showed a special interest in the work of the two biggest parties — the Socialist Labor Party of Germany and the French Workers' Party. He defined continuous, consistent and uncompromising struggle against opportunist elements in the party as the German workers' main task, calling on them to eradicate the "petty-bourgeois, burgher-philistine spirit" injected by exponents of the Right trend who opposed the party's revolutionary tactics. He levelled scathing criticism at the political cowardice, lack of spirit, obtuseness and instability of the Right-wing leaders. He called for militant tactics: to stigmatize all who wished to win favor with the enemy, "not to twist and turn under the blows of the opponent," and "not to whimper and mumble excuses that we had meant well. We must trade blow for blow, strike back twice or thrice against each blow struck by the enemy."

The letters also reveal Engels' active role in the political education of the

French Workers' Party and its ideological breach with petty-bourgeois socialism and opportunism. Engels told socialists in his letters about the reasons for the clash in the French Workers' Party between the Marxist trend headed by Jules Guesde and Paul Lafargue, and the opportunist (possibilist) trend headed by Malon and Brousse. The dispute, he pointed out, was over diametrically opposite attitudes to the nature of the struggle and the party's political program—whether it was a class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie or whether opportunist rejection

of the class nature of the movement and the revolutionary program was tolerable in those cases when it could win new followers.

Engels' analysis of the origins of internal contradictions in socialist workers' parties and his counsel to their leaders are still topical. They are priceless in drawing the proper lessons from the recent events in Czechoslovakia and in working out the correct political line for the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Zdenek DVORACEK

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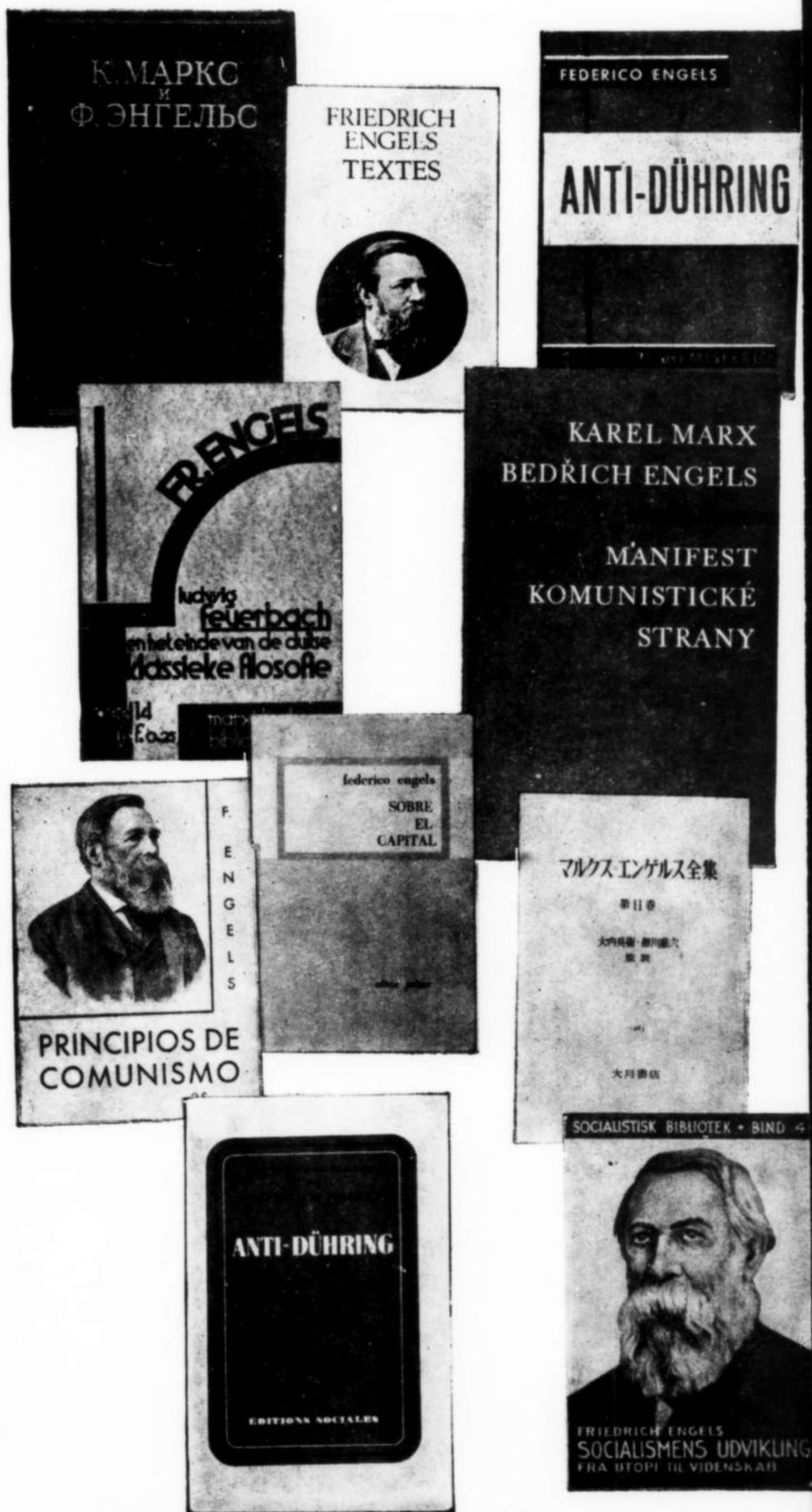
Frederick Engels has left behind a legacy inestimable in significance and vast in content: dozens of books and pamphlets, and thousands of articles and letters.

The works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels have been published in a total of more than 90 million copies in 79 languages, including 6,270,000 copies in English, German, French and Spanish, nearly 74 million in Russian and more than 10 million in other languages spoken in the Soviet Union. The **Manifesto of the Communist Party**, written by Marx and Engels, had a total printing of over 20 million copies in 72 languages.

At present the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, CC CPSU, and its counterpart in the German Democratic Republic have jointly begun publishing the Complete Works of Marx and Engels in German, comprising approximately 100 volumes, with the first volumes expected to appear this year.

Engels' works published under separate covers include: **Anti-Dühring**, total printing 2,700,000 copies in 22 languages; **The Dialectics of Nature**, more than 2,500,000 copies in 15 languages; **Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy**, 4,500,000 copies in 33 languages; **Karl Marx**, over one million copies in 20 languages; **The Peasant War in Germany**, more than 500,000 in 11 languages; **The Peasant Question in France and Germany**, more than 600,000 copies in 11 languages; **The Condition of the Working Class in England**, over 60,000 copies in seven languages; **The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State**, 3,600,000 copies in 30 languages; **Socialism: Utopian and Scientific**, over 2,800,000 copies in 35 languages and **The Part Played by Labor in the Transition from Ape to Man**, about 3,500,000 copies in 32 languages.

Like the works of Marx, those of Engels are widely read in all countries. They are now within the reach of readers in practically every country.



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