

What about Marxism?

In speaking of Marxism two ^{things called by that name} ~~must~~ must be distinguished. First the scientific studies and discoveries of Marx that form a lasting contribution to human knowledge. Secondly the practical application in political opinions and actions, by Marx himself and by those who call themselves ^{his followers} ~~Marxists~~. Marx has given us scientific knowledge about the relations of society, mind, economy, classes, law, ideologies, politics, that belong to the most important progress of science in the 19th century. The application of this knowledge to practice and politics of the day, dependent as it was on the often imperfectly known conditions of that day, of course was often subject to failures.

So Marxism has many different sides. First it is a philosophical world-view. Just as in natural sciences the investigators proceed from the principle — ^{which} ~~that~~ cannot be proven by experiment — that all phenomena are connected and depend on one another, the so-called principle of causality, better of unity of nature — so Marxism proceeds from the principle that the entire world, including the social and spiritual phenomena presenting themselves in man and society, forms an interconnected unity. All ideas, thoughts, actions of man thus are determined by the rest of the world, by reality.

- antagonistic

^{To express the evolution of the world and knowledge, in its ~~controversial~~ form, the adjective "dialectical"} This epistemological world-view he himself called materialism.

Marxism, then, is a science. From all the facts and events of human history Marx deduced that it was the system of production ^{— developing ~~that~~ ^{chief}} that mainly determined the social, political, and spiritual phenomena. ^{to be} ~~The~~ (The growth of technique and knowledge) He discovered the struggle of the social classes as the ^{chief} ~~main~~ moving force of the inner history of peoples and empires, of their wars and revolutions, reflected in their ideologies and beliefs. As a science of society this doctrine was called historical materialism. ^(It must be remarked that these theses have not the strict character of the laws of classical physics. Individual conditions and behaviour often show a wild variety; the rules appear in the averages, in the regularity of the great numbers, the classes - 1)

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As a science of the present system of production Marxism is a new political economy, a complete theory of capitalism, as the outcome of his main life-study. ~~By this theory~~ he could explain ^{and} ~~gave him the explication of~~ exploitation and surplus-value, ~~it enabled him to fore see the~~ growing concentration of capital and industry. ~~It enabled him to see~~ Capitalism ^{which at the time}

(was added; but this word ~~that~~ had a real meaning then, now mostly has to serve parrot-propagandists

was now seen
(as a transient state to be transformed by a social revolution into a ^{production} system without classes and exploitation, where man^{and} is entirely and consciously master of its work and life. The driving force in this revolution he recognised in the class fight of the working class. Thus he took sides with the proletariat in its upward struggle.

~~Marxism~~ So Marxism is a class-science. ~~Marxism~~ Marxism ~~now~~ became the life-system of the ^{striving and struggling} ~~fighting~~ workers; it expresses ^(theoretical) in conscious form what they are, what they feel and think, the daily experience of their life, their aspirations, their will, their fight. It is rejected and refuted by those who take their point of view in the ~~bourgeoisie~~ ^{ruling class}. Its name and authority is ^{borrowed} ~~imposed~~ by those who ^{side} go with the workers' aims; so their errors are now imputed upon Marxism.

Under
The retardation
capitalism
considerably slowly
strengthened

Marx, because he ~~thought~~ ^{seeing} saw ~~human~~ social development ^{with} so lucid clearness, expected it ^{to be} (more rapid than was possible ^{under} ~~in~~ all the retarding and opposite forces. ^{his own} He needs saw the ^{workers'} (emancipation ~~in~~ in the context of ^{that} time, when barricade fights decided over governments and revolutions. Afterwards he was enthusiastic over the plucky and successful fight of the German workers against Bismarck's anti-socialist law, by the use of the ballot ~~box~~, (But he never put his belief in parliamentarism, as did most of his followers in the social-democratic movement ^{at} the end of the 19th century. Here again the expectations were too optimistic, ^(chiefly through) by the lack of understanding of the enormous growth of capitalist power, and of the softening influences of economic conjuncture.

True science, it is said, is discerned by the exactness of its predictions. Look at the natural sciences with their ascertained laws, ^{at} astronomy, physics, ~~the~~ ^{and} the predictions of Marx on social development and revolution ~~have~~ ^{are} proved false. Are those who ^{try to} discredit Marxian science on this argument, (acquainted with the ^{—taking Marx as a kind of soothsayer—} practice of science? ^{e.g.} The history of astronomy is full of predictions that came ^{and} false, of disagreements that alarmed the scientists and had to be explained by new unforeseen circumstances. May I ^(myself on the character of natural law?) quote here: "What certainly do I have

^{The} ~~For this delay~~ Things that he could not foresee, as trusts and world-wars, airplanes and atom bombs, ~~the~~

that the event thus asserted and computed really takes place? The answer can only be: none. . . . No scientist assumes that for predictions on the basis of known laws there is absolute certainty. Hundreds of times it happened, contrary to expectation, that it did not come true, and on such cases depended the progress of science" ("Das Wesen des Naturgeschehes", "Erkenntnis" Vol III ¶ p. 397)

And now the so called "predictions", i.e. the conclusions derived by Marx from his theoretical work. ^{If we look} Look at the changes of society in the past century, ^(what do we see? continuous) development of big industry, and decline of small business into entire dependence. A concentration of capital ~~in the hands of a few~~ more enormously ^{than ever could have been suspected;} a concentration of capitalist power in few hands, exemplified ^(e.g.) in "America's sixty families". An increase of the working class, appearing in all statistics, ^{are} in the chief industrial countries the majority of the population. ^{An increase in} their class-fight, ^{a century ago} ~~then~~ the first revolts of a ^{small} despised lot of starvelings, now ~~are~~ ever more the chief factor determining ^{inner and even foreign} politics. All this has ^{(since long been recognised,} though cavilled in detail, by the ^{learned} ~~bourgeois~~ ^{economists} ~~middle class spokesmen~~ of the bourgeoisie. But they had one strong point: Marx had spoken of the increasing misery, the capitalist class ^{even} not being able to feed its slaves. That was false; the fight of the workers, the trade-unions, the social reforms all tended to ^{raise} ~~increase~~ the standard of living of the masses, indicating ^{the} ~~a~~ gradual ^{of society} rise to a real commonwealth; and Marxian writers had to point out at least the "relative ^{miserly} ~~depression~~ ^{the falling} behind the great increase of productivity of labor. So ^{it was generally assumed.} ~~they all asserted.~~ And now? Just now, that science demonstrates its power in the highest degree, that ^{new} ~~immense~~ sources of energy are ^{being} opened, now famine ^{rages} ~~is~~ reigns over the world, naked hunger destroys the millions, ~~and~~ direct, visible consequences of the capitalist development. If ever a prediction came true, ^{more terribly} ~~worse~~ than any student of Marx could have expected, it is this.

Marx then proceeded: but at the same rate ^{as with their misery increases,} the rebelliousness of the masses, Social contradictions need time to transform into consciousness and action of the masses. ^{Today} Now, in Europe, they are crushed under the enormous power of the ^{Capital.} ~~masters.~~ But history goes on. ~~is not yet visible. Some causes for~~ ~~have been indicated in a former article.~~

II

The failure of Marxism, ~~was~~ proclaimed ever again, centers around the non-occurrence ~~of~~ as yet of the expected social revolution. Those wily Marxists, ^{we might say,} ~~always~~ ^{avoided} omitted to indicate in what year it ^{would} ^{happen} ~~was to take place~~, so they never could be ~~caught~~ ^{caught} upon their failure; but the ^{delay} ~~disappointment~~ could not miss to throw doubt upon all their assertions. ~~Now~~ The important thing, ^{now,} ~~is not the contents,~~ ^{the arguments} ~~of all these~~ this anti-marxist ^{campaign} ~~campaign~~; as to ~~the~~ social development we have seen that they are false: never predictions were more fully confirmed by ^{the} facts than those of Marx' theory. The important thing is ~~that~~ the campaign itself, as a social phenomenon. Why all these attacks on Marxism just in the present times?

Marxism always was the object of vehement attacks, from the side of the spokesmen of capitalism. Most vehemently, of course, when the working class movement ^{shoot up} ~~arose~~ ^{arose} as a mighty threat. But now it is different; ^{as a result} ~~not the power but~~ the weakness of the workers' fight. It is not the enemies, ^{the defenders of capitalism,} ~~but the friends of~~ the working-class socialism from ~~which~~ ^{whom} the ~~criticism~~ ^{objections} ~~are~~ ^{are} coming. It is not mockery or taunt, it is bitterness what we hear in their criticism. It is not hatred but disappointment that lies at the basis. So it must ~~be~~ be examined somewhat ~~more~~ more closely.

Socialist society, as put ^{forward} ~~up~~ by Social-democracy as the goal of the working class, was just what could appeal strongly to social-minded intellectuals. These State power, ^{these} ~~by~~ ^{and minor political bodies,} means of its officials (direct~~ing~~ ^{ing} production, distribution, and social life at large as a well planned ~~community~~ system. Thus all kinds of intellectuals, scientists, managers, specialists ~~find~~ ^{find} their tasks, not as underlings of capital, but as ^{highly appreciated} ~~important~~ servants of the community, ^{exporting} ~~putting~~ all their capacities for the ~~weal~~ weal of the working masses. ~~Physicians~~ Physicians who prefer to be health officers for the people to earning money from imaginary illnesses of the rich, scientists ~~who~~ ^{who} instead of seeing it ~~converted~~ ^{converted} into ~~million~~ ^{million} profit for capital, artists who wish to bring beauty into the life of the masses, ^{politicians coming forward as spokesmen of the miserable,} they all saw socialism as a new world giving ^{significance} ~~contentment~~ and contentment to their life. What for the workers was only partial liberation, ^{are desirous to} ~~apply~~ ^{apply} their science to create abundance for all,

for the workers themselves attractive only as long as they did not feel their ^{full} power, ^{at least} their first use, 189/5
for the socialist intellectuals was the consummation of ~~the highest aspirations of mankind.~~
~~the highest aspirations of mankind.~~

^(allocated)
^{assigned to}
~~the socialist intellectuals~~ ^{glorious} ~~was~~ the role of being the active ^{agents of} liberators ^{from misery}, as politicians, leaders and officials. ~~So they hailed Marxism~~ ^{Thus} the doctrine of state-socialism to be brought about by ~~the~~ class fight ~~of the workers, their followers for whom the predictions~~ development, ~~that offered~~ the scientific basis of their ideals ~~of theory meant the promise of a better world~~

There is no room here to go into the details why social-democracy collapsed, with all its ideals and promises. For the socialist workers this collapse was a heavy disappointment, ^{in its social minded part} stirring them, however, ^{up} to look for better pathways. For the intellectual class it ^{with the important future social function their faith in Marxism} was more than a disappointment; it was a tragedy ~~for~~ ^{and} their reproach against ~~the theory~~ ^{had} ~~Marxism~~ ^{later away} that ~~flung them into these illusions, now~~ takes the form of theoretical attacks against its truth.

was more than a disappointment; it was a tragedy. With the hope of an important future social function of their class, ^{gone} their faith in Marxism broke down. And their reproach against ~~Marxism~~ ^{Marxist} theory, that ~~had~~ ^{had} ~~lured~~ ^{lured} them into these illusions, took the form of attacks against its truth. Thus ^{we see here an instance how} ~~the~~ ^(opposite) theoretical contests on Marxism reflect changes in the relations of the ^{social} (classes: ^{has}

The intellectual class turning away from socialism ~~now~~ ^{now} to look for other directions. ^T Rather they will turn to the ways of its social function in ~~the doctrine~~ ^{the doctrine} of managerialism or state-capitalism. ^{In that case the} ~~former~~ ^{former} bent towards democracy, as chosen leaders of the ^{will be} ~~will be~~ superseded by ~~given way to~~ ^{for} working masses; ~~not~~ ^{not} ~~develops~~ ^{develops} the desire ^{for} dictatorship, for domination, ^{by their} ~~by~~ ^{own right} (as masters) over the workers. The Russian example shows that even in this case some other distorted form of Marxism may be constructed as its theoretical expression.

^T That they will ^{being simply} ~~see it~~ ^{in the community} as members of the working personnels can ~~not~~ ^{not} be expected, now that the workers themselves ^{hardly} ~~may~~ begin to perceive ^{the way of self-rule by means of} (council organisation).

Modern physicists emphasize that ~~the same holds for~~ physical laws too are statistical laws.