

an effective part in Social Construction, will find it difficult to do so because their whole habit of mind is cast in the mould of a production-for-profit system.

To borrow a phrase of this remarkable American writer, Thorstein Veblen, they will possess a "trained incapacity" for working in a society based upon production for use. Moreover, they already have a trained incapacity even to imagine an economic system based on any principle other than that of profitability. It is this incapacity which makes it so hard for many a sincerely perplexed British or American citizen to see any way out of the world's present plight.

Thus when we compare the enormous advantage in economic resources, & technical & cultural capacities, which the American &

British people could bring to the construction of
socialist society, we must not forget the one
great asset possessed, on the contrary, by
the Russians. The Russian people were not
trained for anything, either for capitalism or for
socialism. So they had, at any rate, nothing
much to unlearn.



The more closely we examine the State the more we shall become convinced that it is an apparatus for enforcing the will, as declared in a system of laws, of those who any given moment control society.

[The reader may, however, object that the contemporary State indulges in many other activities as well]; e.g. it contributes to unemployment insurance benefit; organises a health & sanitation service; provides various forms of pensions, & generally appears in the rôle of a distributor of income.

Now, then, can it be said that the State is essentially an apparatus of coercion. & This view can only be established by tracing the historical origins of the State (vide next Chap.). Human societies only throw up those social organisms which we call States when they split up into distinct social

classes. And the reason why the early tribal societies were stateless was because they were classless. All civilized societies take the form of States because they contain antagonistic social classes. For the function of the State is to resolve the conflicts of these classes in favour of the dominant or governing class which controls the State's apparatus of coercion.

This hypothesis is able to account for the existence of these other beneficent activities which the Capitalist State has lately undertaken. For when we examine ~~these~~ activities we find that the need for them also, to a predominant degree, arises from the fact that our contemporary societies are split up into the separate classes of capitalists and workers.

We can now define both the Character & the function of the State ^{more} fully. The State is an apparatus

of coercion, capable of enforcing the will of
 least class which has acquired the name the
 law. The function of the State is to deal with
 the conflicts & crises which the divisions of
 society into distinct classes with opposed in-
 terests is ~~forced~~ bound to create. It will deal
 with these conflicts principally, although not
 exclusively, by employing force or the threat
 of force, in order to ensure that the will of
 the dominant or ruling class shall prevail.

The permanent existence amongst us
 of a very large and complex apparatus of force,
 though it now seems to most people a matter of
 course, is in fact a recent innovation. In
 the past, men lived together without anything like
 the means of coercion which are evidently essential
 to the existence of our contemporary form of society.
 This suggests that something has happened which

has produced intestine conflicts within society of a much more formidable character than any which occurred previously.

As in Paris in 1871, in every city of the Russian Empire between 1917 and 1921, and in Vienna in 1934, so now in Spain in 1936, it is demonstrated that those who own the means of production have no other conception of the State than that of an instrument of coercion designed to protect their property.

They are correct in their opinion. A State is, to reach a full definition, an apparatus for the employment of force on behalf of the governing class of any community which has split up into antagonistic social classes. Its function is to resolve according to the will of the governing class the social conflicts inevitable to such societies.

What the workers have to do, then, is to

set up their State: to set up an apparatus of coercion by means of which they exercise their rule over the other classes of society, just as to-day the capitalists, through their State apparatus, exercise their rule over society.

Up to now States, whether of the slave-owners, the feudal over-lords or of the capitalists, have been the instruments of small minorities used to coerce the great majority of the population. But a working class State will be a State wielded by the immense majority of the population & used to coerce a small (though at first very powerful) & rapidly dwindling minority. This difference is so important that Lenin often referred to the working-class State as only a "Semi-State."

It will then be possible to return, through

on an incomparably higher level of culture, to
an state-less, because class-less, condition of
human society which existed before the dawn
of civilization.



Origin & Future of Slavery

The societies formed by early tribal Communities was necessarily classless. For in this stage of human development the subjection of their fellow-men, even if it had been possible, would have done a conquering group or class no good. For a man was on the average able to produce no more he & his dependants could live on. He could produce no surplus over & above his own & his dependants' needs. Hence there existed no surplus which could be taken from him.

This is the stage in which men live by hunting & by gardening; the stage of the bow, the arrow & the spade. This is the stage of human development which immediately precedes the one in which the means & methods of

production have developed sufficiently to allow of field agriculture, or the general domestication of animals.

Now the political institutions of these early classless societies do not constitute anything which anyone has ever thought of calling a State. It is in this stage of development aggregate into quite large communities. But they organize themselves not into States, but into tribes and, within these tribes, into an extremely interesting institution for which every race has had a different name, but which is usually known to us under its Latin title of the gens.

The fundamental social unit, the gens, or the clan as the tribes ~~were~~ of Scotland called it (and as their descendants call it to this day), was only an extremely large family.

Engels has an eloquent passage in his

book, "The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State", in which he describes an attraction of the old gentile constitution: —

How wonderful this gentile constitution is in all its natural simplicity, no soldiers, gendarmes, and policemen, no nobility, kings, regents, prefects or judges, no prisons, no law-suits, and still affairs run smoothly. All quarrels and disputes are settled by the entire community involved in them, either the gens or the tribe or the various gentes among themselves. Only in very rare cases can blood revenge be threatened as an extreme measure. Our capital punishment is simply a civilized form of it, afflicted with all the advantages & drawbacks of civilization. With a glimpse of our cumbersome & intricate

system of administration is needed, although there
 are more public affairs to be settled than now-a-
 days: the Communitistic household is shared by a
 number of families, the land belongs to the tribe,
 only the gardens are temporarily assigned to the
 households. The parties involved in a question
 settle it & in most cases the hundred-year-
 old traditions have settled everything beforehand.
 There cannot be any poor and destitute — the
 Communitistic households & the gentes know their
 duties towards the aged, sick and disabled. All
 are free and equal — the women included. There
 is no room yet for slaves, nor for the subjugation
 of foreign tribes. When about 1651 the Iroquois
 had vanquished the Erie and the "Neutral
 Nation", they offered to adopt them into the
 league on equal terms. Only when the vanquished
 declined this offer they were driven out of their

territory.

"What splendid men & women were produced by such a society! All the white men who came into contact with unspoiled Indians admired the personal dignity, straightforwardness, strength of character and bravery of these barbarians.

"We lately received proofs of such bravery in Africa. A few years ago the Zulus, and some months ago the Nubians, both of which tribes still retain the gentile organization, did what no European army can do. Armed only with lances and spears without any firearms, they advanced under a hail of bullets from breech-loaders up to the bayonets of the English infantry — the best in the world for fighting in closed ranks — and threw them into confusion more than

once, y^es, even forced them to retreat in spite of the immense disparity of weapons, and in spite of the fact that they have no military service and don't anything about drill. How enduring and able they are, is proved by the complaints of the English, who admit that a Kaffir can cover a longer distance in twenty-four hours than a horse. The smallest muscle springs forth, hard and tough like a whip-lash, says an English painter.

Such was the human society & its members before the division into classes had taken place. And a comparison of that social condition with the condition of the ~~old~~-whenever majority of present-day society shows the enormous chasm that separates our proletarian and small farmer from the free gentile of old.

What was it, then, which destroyed this

success, immensely long-enduring and, and, in spite of its narrow limitations, attractive form of human society? What destroyed the gens was a gradual development of new means of production; for this development necessitated the appearance of private property in the means of production, & the class division of society which is associated with such property.

These new methods of production were first agriculture, using the plough; the domestication of cattle & sheep; the working of some metals; and new methods of transport, by coasting ships, & by pack animals, making possible the exchange in trade of the products of the new methods of production. But these technical innovations could not be developed without the institution of private property,

both in the products themselves and in the means (viz the land & the ships) used in producing & exchanging them, plus a method of mediating exchanges, such as money.

In the gardening-hunting Communities of the gentile stage, private property was too meagre to be of much importance. Every man owned his hunting weapons & his gardening tools, and there was very little else to own. But no sooner had men learnt how to make useful and attractive objects, and, above all, to create the ^{for the} means ~~for the~~ production of such objects, when the question arose as to who was to own them — not by producing them oneself, but by producing something else & then exchanging it for the desired object. Trade was born. At this point in the development of every human Community a new social order, based upon the acquisition

retention of private property, becomes essential. Moreover, it becomes essential to create political institutions appropriate to this new social order. And the chief of these is the State.

"In the Grecian constitution of heroic times, then, we still find the old gentilsim fully alive, but we also perceive the beginnings of the elements that undermine it; paternal law and interference of property by the father's children, favouring accumulation of wealth in the family and giving to the latter a power apart from the gens; influence of the difference of wealth on the constitution by the formation of the first rudiments of hereditary nobility and monarchy; slavery first limited to prisoners of war; but already paving the way to ^{the} enslavement of

tribal and gentile associates; degeneration of the
 old feuds into a regular mode of casting by
 systematic plundering on land & sea for the
 purpose of acquiring cattle, slaves, and treasures.
 In short, wealth is prized & respected as the
 highest treasure, & the old gentile institutions are
 abused in order to justify the forcible robbery
 of wealth. Only one thing was missing; an
 institution that not only secured the newly-
 acquired property of private individuals against
 the communistic traditions of the gens, that not
 only declared as sacred the formerly so despised
 private property & represented the protection of
 this sacred property as the highest purpose of
 human society, but that also stamped the
 gradually developing new forms of acquiring
 property, & of constantly increasing wealth, with
 the universal sanction of society. An institution

that lent the character of perpetuity not only to the newly rising division into classes, but also to the rights of the possessing classes to exploit & rule the non-possessing classes.

" And this institution was found. The State arose " (The origin of the Family PP. 129-30).

It was the ever-growing necessity to recognize the new, economic, classifications of property and trade which made it ~~possible~~ essential to found the State & to destroy the power of the gens and the tribe. For a man's wealth & his occupation gradually became the most important things about him, became far more important than his membership of this or that gens. E.g., the rich men belonging to different gens found that they

had much more in common with each other than with their fellow gentiles.

The gens, in fact, was a social unit exclusively suitable to a society in which not only was everybody approximately as well off as everyone else, but in which, also, everybody did much the same sort of work; in a word, to a classless society in which the division of labour had not yet been extensively developed. For the growth of the division of labour, involving as it must the growth of trade, has a particularly disintegrating effect upon the gentile order.

Private property, the division of labour, and trade, are both caused by, & make possible, we repeat, the critically important technical advances of field agriculture, the handicraft production of metals, & the transport of goods by sea-going

ships and pack animals. These associated social and technical ~~ed changes~~ changes constitute a leap forward in human development. They amount to the transit of society from barbarism to civilization. But man has achieved the advantages of civilization at the cost of social disaster alone. On the one hand, the attainment of civilization enables man to take a long step toward the command over nature; but, on the other hand, it involves not only the subjection of man to man, but also the subjugation of man to economic forces which have proved so cruel, as uncontrolled, & as destructive as the forces of nature. The primitive form of production carried on by man in the gentle stage of development yielded no more than a bare living.

Man was far from dominating nature, but there was no danger whatever of his simple economic system getting out of order. The gentle Queen knew that, if he fished, hunted and dug, & if nature did not ruin him by drought & storm, he & his would certainly eat.

And now certainly men have never enjoyed again. The invention of private property, the division of labour, trade, classes, & the State have destroyed it. For these institutions have created so complicated a form of economic organisation that it is continually getting out of control and running us. Men have lost control of both the productive process & of the product. Their misfortunes flow from the fact that it was necessary, in order to enjoy the advantages of the division of labour, for men to produce, not for their own use, but for exchange on the market.

And when men launch their products, & cause
 generally their economic destinies, upon the
 market, they set sail upon a sea more
 stormy than ever long-suffering Odysseus
 suffered. The result has been that, while
 our ever-improving methods of production
 have given us civilization, they have also
 created insecurity, subjection and desti-
 tution for the greater part of mankind.

We may describe the purpose of
 the stablest form of society & Communism
 as being to restore at least the stability,
 security, social freedom, and equality
 enjoyed by the free men of the gentile
 ages, while retaining the immense gains in
 economic power made during the epoch of
 private property, trade, class divisions, and
 the State. But this can only be done by

An economic system of planned production for use will re-create a
 homogeneous society free from class divisions. Hence it will abo-
 lish the need for the State.

doing away not only with Capitalism, the specific
 system of the hundred & fifty years, but with
 what we call "Commodity production" also. By
 "Commodity production" we mean the satisfaction of
 men's wants by means of exchange between in-
 dividuals of goods individually owned & produced.
 [For the word 'commodity' means a product
 made to be exchanged for another product]. The
 task before us is to abolish Capitalism & to replace
 it with a new economic system which does not
 involve private property in the means of production,
 or exchange between individuals mediated
 by money. This can be done by the organiza-
 tion of that system of planned production for
 use which we described in Part I.

* It must not be supposed, however, that
 the State can be abolished on the morrow of the
 workers becoming the ruling class & abolishing the capi-

talist form of the State. At that moment, & for some years afterwards, it will not, unfortunately, be the case that there will be no class which it is necessary to coerce. The dispossessed capitalists & their adherents will, on the contrary, form a compact & formidable class, which will, experience demonstrates, attempt everything to win back its former position of dominance. Towards the young Workers' State must be, & will be, very firm.

The individual members of the capitalist class will be gradually absorbed into the mass of the population, but their attitude of mind will, unfortunately, survive them. Especially such Communities as Britain & America, which are soaked through & through with Capitalist ideology, many people will for a long time find it difficult to adapt themselves to the new

society. As & when this adaptation takes place, the need for any special apparatus of coercion will disappear. And as soon as that has happened (but not before that) the State will be no more. [This does not necessarily mean that communities which have reached this, to us, extremely high point of development will not formulate rules or laws for the guidance of their members. Nor does it ^{even} mean that ~~such~~ such communities will lack means ~~of~~ enforcing these rules upon their members. They will possess all these very effective means by which a club, or any other voluntary association, to-day enforces conformity to its rules. Such sanction, based upon the strength of public opinion, will no doubt prove an extremely efficient means of providing against vagaries which, if indulged in, would in the opinion of its citizens injure

the community. But the creation & maintenance of a special apparatus of coercion such as the State, will have become wholly unnecessary.

Socialism and Liberty.

It is evident that our conception of liberty differs from all previous conceptions in that it traces a decisive connection between the type of economic organization which a Society possesses, and the degree of liberty which its citizens may hope to enjoy. It conceives that the whole coercive, anti-libertarian apparatus which we call the State is an outgrowth of a particular set of economic and social relations and can be dispensed with when these relations are superseded, but not before.

We must reckon into the determination of how much liberty a man or a Community ^{enjoys} ~~possesses~~ many factors which are often wholly neglected e.g. such things as the number of hours which a man works, whether he is sure of being able to work & earn at all, & the degree of access to the

Culture of his age with which he is provided. These are clearly liberties of a different kind from the traditional liberties for which our forefathers struggled.

Many of the existing civil liberties date from an epoch in which the Capitalist class was often itself the victim of the State's apparatus of force. Hence, it was to be expected even the young & struggling Capitalists should attempt to limit the power of the State [Their objection to a standing army is a pertinent instance in point]

But what is the explanation of the liberties that were won in the nineteenth century? The answer is that the Capitalists had set in motion both the lower middleclass of petty traders and the new class of industrial workers. It was these popular forces which won — usually in

Conflict with the Capitalists, who were already becoming more and more Conservative — our were near libertarians.

Today the Capitalists have become wholly Conservative. For their power is quite unchallenged from the now completely absorbed feudalists above them, & is increasingly challenged from the ever-growing class below them.

Our existing Civil Liberties, however precious otherwise, are, for the workers, poor, thin and half-theory things.

Stalin, in an interview given in 1936 to Mr. Roy Howard of the Scripps-Howard newspaper, remarks that it is difficult for him to imagine "what personal liberty can be held by an unemployed man who goes hungry and cannot find a means of using his labour. Real liberty exists only where exploitation has been annihilated, where no

oppression of some people by others exists, where there is no unemployment, no poverty, where a person does not ~~tremble~~ tremble because tomorrow he may lose his job, his home, his food."

No statute, bill of rights or legal enactment whatsoever, can prevent those who ^{neither} own nor have independent access to the means of production from dependence upon those who have their ownership and access. Only a fortunate minority of those who have ever earned their living by selling their ability to work are likely to be unaware of this fact. For the great majority of workers have to adapt their actions, & in many cases their words, to the wishes of those who employ them.

Further, liberty in the capitalist epoch has been conceived of almost exclusively as the

absence of restraint; it is seldom thought of as the presence of opportunity. And yet for the mass of our population of any highly organized community the question of the provision of effective opportunity to speak & write, & to act, is the more important consideration. For example, the liberty which chiefly matters to the studious and ambitious is the availability of education, of books, of apparatus. A liberty which matters intensely, say, to the citizens of any great city is not merely that there should be no legal prohibition against their amuseing themselves, but that there should be enough playing-fields, enough, and cheap enough, transport to the country, enough and cheap enough, cinema & theatre seats to and to take. But the provision of these positive liberties to think, to learn, to speak, to play, and to do is not a matter of paper laws or decrees.

It is a matter of the allocation of important economic resources.

The supply of economic resources is limited. Hence those who engross for themselves the whole supply available for the effective enjoyment of such fundamental liberties as those of self-improvement & recreation, deny these liberties to the rest of the population. Mr. H. H. Webb put the point thus:

"There is, in any given place, at any given time, only a certain amount of opportunity open to the population in the aggregate. Any one who takes to himself more than the appropriate amount and kind of opportunity that falls properly to his share, not only robs another of some or all of the opportunity that he might otherwise have enjoyed, but also, by increasing inequality, inevitably

lessens the aggregate amount of individual freedoms within the community. The social organization which allows the British ship-owner to treat himself and his family to a long & expensive holiday in Switzerland and Italy, whilst the hundreds of dock labourers who are unloading his ships, together with their families, get nothing more like a holiday than their wageless days of involuntary unemployment, not only injures them, but also diminishes the total aggregate of freedom within the community. Lenin is said once to have observed in his epigrammatic way: 'It is true that liberty is precious — so precious that it must be rationed.' " (pp 1035-36).

To what extent does the mass of the population possess the liberty of expression under capi-

talism & socialism respectively. Now the Capitalists' ownership of the means of production includes the ownership of the means of production of opinion; it includes the ownership, that is to say, of the Press, the wireless, the cinema, & the control of the educational system. Yet to-day liberty of expression, if it is not to be illusory, must mean liberty of access to the Press, the wireless, & the cinema. It cannot become a reality for the mass of the population so long as these three methods of effective expression are in the exclusive possession of a limited ruling class. It is hardly too much to say that the worker under Capitalism has the right of free speech — so long as there is no possibility of his making himself heard. In a socialist society the workers are not only free to speak; they are free to speak into

the microphone, free to use the great printing presses, free to use the incomparable instrument of the cinema, to make articulate & visible their whole view of the world. In a word it becomes apparent upon examination that effective liberty of expression is almost exclusively bound up with the question of who is to own the means of production as is the basic question of the liberty to work & eat.

Finally, we may notice a more subtle ground for the allegation that Socialism will fail to maximize the liberty of expression of the individual man. We are sometimes told, that even if there will be no tyranny of legal coercion in a socialist community, there will be a tyranny of public opinion, an over-mastering all-pervading conformity which will stifle all idiosyncrasy or even individuality. In this

Case also it is necessary, in order to retain a
 sense of proportion, to envisage the degree of
 freedom for non-conformity which exists
 in Capitalist Communities. Just one hundred
 years ago the first great socialists which
 the English-speaking world ever produced
 wrote with insight & force on the point:
 "Some nations, such as the
 British & their descendants, the population
 of the United States of North America, imagine
 that they now possess what they term civil
 & religious liberty; while both nations
 are in the very bondage of mental slavery
 both civil & religious. Their civil & religious
 liberty consists in expressing within a small
 circle such thoughts & feelings as they
 know by experience will pass current within
 that circle. If they infringe these bounds

they are likely to have Lynch law in one country, & find a 'imprisonment' in the other."

[Robert Owen, 'The Book of the New Moral World']

A community in which ^{a genuine} identity of interest between all citizens has been established will be able to afford to tolerate far more idiosyncrasy, really variety, & even plain eccentricity, in its citizens than can a community which is maintaining the precarious existence of a governing class.

To sum up: nothing can prevent the Capitalists from using the immense powers of coercion given them by their ownership of the means of production drastically to curtail every one of the liberties of the workers. The right of the Capitalists to allow or to refuse the workers the possibility of earning their living

in a power which, so long as it exists,
 transcends and over-rides every Constitution
 in the world. The initial act of despoiling
 the Capitalists creates at a stroke more liberty
 than has ever, or can ever, exist under
 Capitalism, except for the Capitalists. Neither
 Constitutions nor bills of rights, republics
 nor Constitutional monarchies, can ever
 make men free so long as their liveli-
 hoods are at the mercy of a small class
 which holds sway over the means of life.
 In a Socialist Society alone these liberties
 of which the workers of Britain & America
 possess little more than the shadow, can
 assume form & substance. In a Socialist
 Society the workers get, not merely, the
 theoretical right, but also the practical,
 daily opportunity to use their liberties. They

are enabled to live, & not merely to work.
Under socialism work ~~becomes~~ a means to a free
and good life. Under capitalism the life of the
worker is preserved as a necessary means to the
extraction of the maximum possible amount
of work from him.



Socialism And Religion

It is a common allegation that socialists and communists propose to destroy religious liberty, to persecute religion, burn down the churches, lock out their congregations, & punish everyone who dares to hold a prayer meeting or to confess their faith in God.

But this allegation is not true.

Just as when we wish to discover what the State is we investigate the question of how the State arose, so when we wish to find out what religion is we study how religion arose. As religion, Engels writes,

"is nothing but the fantastic reflection in men's minds of those external forces which control their daily life, a reflection in which terrestrial forces assume the form of supernatural forces. In the beginning of history it

was the forces of nature that were at first so
 reflected, and, in the course of further evolu-
 tion, they underwent the most manifold and
 varied personifications amongst the various peoples.
 Comparative mythology has traced back their first
 process, at least in the case of the Indo-European
 nations, to its origin in the Indian Vedas, &
 has shown its detailed evolution among the Indians,
 Persians, Greeks, Romans, Germans, and, so
 far as material is available, also amongst the
 Celts, Lithuanians and Slavs. But it is not long
 before, side by side with the forces of nature, Social
 forces began to be active; forces which presented
 themselves to man as equally extraneous and at
 first equally inexplicable, dominating them with
 the same apparent necessity as the forces of
 nature themselves. The fantastic personifications,
 which at first only reflected the mysterious forces

of nature, at this point acquire social attributes, become representative of the forces of history." [Anti-Dühring, pp. 353-54].

When Engels call religion "a fantastic representation in men's minds of external forces," he is simply alluding to the well-known fact that the early gods and goddesses were personifications of natural forces — of the thunder, the rain, the sun, the moon & the like. There is no difficulty in understanding why men made gods & goddesses out of these natural forces. They were by far the most important things in their lives. For until men had developed an adequate technique of production their livelihood depended upon the favours of the elements. And the elements were violent and capricious. The lightning

struck, the flood or the drought came, & the
best-laid schemes were destroyed. Nor had men
any but puny and ineffective means of guiding
or controlling these forces.

Naturally, therefore, men stood in wonder
and fear before them. Wonder & fear are the
parents of the desire to propitiate & to influence.
But how were men to influence the lightning or the
rain? Such questions led to thinking about these
natural forces, to theories as to their nature
and origin. Once such thinking had begun
it was natural to suppose that these forces
were the effects of mighty beings, comparable,
though infinitely superior, to men themselves;
that the sunshine came from the happy counten-
ance of a god, that the lightning was the
frowning of an angry God deity, that the rain
beat down from a third celestial.

Moreover, if natural forces were but the
 effects of the great inhabitants of the sky,
 they might be to some extent controlled. For
 their authors might be propitiated & cajoled.
 If their theory of the universe were true,
 a method of influencing natural forces had
 been found. Prayer & sacrifice might be
 made to the gods, and a bountiful blessing
 to them be adopted, and perhaps they would
 grant the fertilizing rain & withhold the
 lightning & the flood. Precept is added to
 doctrine, ethics to theology.

But, as Engels continues, the reflection
 of natural forces by their personification as gods
 & goddesses is only the first stage of religion...
~~When a large population~~ --- with the birth
 of civilization, a new function for religion
 arises. Not only, and soon not even

principally, is religion any longer needed to provide
 men with a method, objectively ineffective but
 enormously reassuring, of dealing with these
 natural forces which they are steadily learning
 to comprehend & to control. With the emergence
 of civilization, religion becomes increasingly
 the explanation of, and the only available,
 of insubstantial, shields against, the new
 terrors & disasters with which social and
 economic forces afflict the greater part of
 mankind. And this is ^{what} religion has ever since
 remained. For during all the long centuries
 since first men ate of the tree of technical
 & economic knowledge, revolutionized their
 methods of production & established private
 property, commerce, class divisions, & the
 State, social & economic forces have remained
 devastating, incomprehended & uncontrolled. "In

existing bourgeois society, men are dominated by the economic conditions created by themselves," Engels continues, "by the means of production which they themselves have produced, as if by an external force."

"The actual basis of religion's reflex action therefore continues to exist, & with it the religion's reflex itself. And although bourgeois political economy has given a certain insight into the causal basis of this domination by external forces, this makes no essential difference. Bourgeois economics can neither prevent crises in general, nor protect the individual capitalist from losses, bad debts and bankruptcy, nor secure the individual worker against unemployment & destitution. It is still true that man proposes and God disposes."

is, the enormous forces of the Capitalist mode of production) disposes." (p. 354).

A.O.
In the year 1929, as in the year 500 B.C. men were almost helpless before the unexpected and uncomprehended consequences of the economic relationships into which they had entered. The uncontrollable forces of our runaway economic system have replaced the now ~~old~~ guided forces of nature as our oppressors. To the tyranny of flood and storm has succeeded the tyranny of slumps, of currency crash, of the enslavement of man by man, of the fratricide of nation by nation.

We now know what the steps which we can take for our own sustenance will soon be frustrated by natural forces. We can defy

the elements; we can be assured of being able
 to produce enough food & clothing & shelter for
 our needs. We can be assured of being able
 to produce these things; but we cannot be assured
 of receiving them! The formidable social forces
 which have been generated by the economic
 system which we have built up snatch
 the food from our mouths and the clothes
 from our backs. The operation of these social
 forces is at least as mysterious, to most
 men today as was ^{the} operation of natural forces
 to the savage. So long as this is the case
 we need religion to offer to us some explana-
 tion (however fantastic) of these social forces,
 just as the savage needed religion to offer him
 some explanation of natural forces. We need
 a God to whom we can pray for protection
 against the starvation which comes (we have

seen how & why) from growing too much wheat as the savage needed a god to protect him from the starvation which came when hail destroyed his wheat.

This suggested then, that the incomprehensible disasters with which our now more and more uncontrollable economic system afflicts us are a sufficient explanation of the continuance of religious belief, after the subjugation of natural forces. Engels foretold that when the terrifying economic insecurity of modern life was abolished religious belief would begin to fade out of man's consciousness. "When Society", he concludes,

"by taking possession of all means of production and using them on a planned basis has freed itself & all its members from the bondage in which they are now held by the means

of production, which they themselves have produced
 but which now confront them as an irresistible
 extraneous force; when therefore man no longer
 merely proposes but also disposes — only
 then will the last extraneous force which is
 still reflected in religious vanities; and with
 will also vanish the religious reflection
 itself, for the simple reason that when
 there will be nothing left to reflect."

I personally believe that the above view
 of the cause of the persistence of religious belief
 after man's conquest of external forces is in
 itself correct — but that it is incomplete. The
 psycho-analytical school of psychology
 trace another strain in the genesis of religion.
 They suggest that the feeling of helplessness, the
 need for propitiation, the fear, the need to

Love & to evoke love, which the religious adult feels towards his heavenly father, are but an altered expression of the feelings which he experienced as a child in regard to his terrestrial father.

It seems necessary to make another qualification to Engels' statement. For, after all, say no means all natural forces have yet been fully comprehended. For example, man's main antagonist, his own still inevitable death after seventy or eighty ~~but~~ brief years of life, is as yet, if not as mysterious, almost as invincible as ever. Until & unless this last enemy is defeated or at any rate, driven back, so that his empire does not descend upon us till we have had double our present span of life, a powerful generation of religious beliefs will remain in existence.

The only deduction of practical importance, however, which we need make from the above qualifications is that the fading out of religious belief in conditions of general security & plenty will be a very slow process.

It should now be clear that any attempt to suppress religious belief, or to curtail freedom of worship, is totally out of accord with the views of Communists & Socialists.

Religious belief has predominantly arisen from man's need to explain & influence terrifying natural or social forces; but religious institutions can be used to justify & to perpetuate attitudes of submission to, and resignation before, these forces. For these very social institutions such as private property in the means of production which create frightful insecurity for the majority of mankind, are also conditions of existence

for the ruling class. Accordingly, the Churches have been used as instruments by the governing class for the intellectual and spiritual subjection of the rest of the population. There of the odious tyrannies of both the ancient & the modern world have supported themselves upon the mitre and the cross.

Workers' States will not only exercise, however, their right to deny the political pretensions of Churches which still make either direct or indirect attempts at temporal sovereignty. They will also actively combat the hold of religious mythology over man's mind. For religious mythology is profoundly inimical to the specifically scientific attitude to the universe which must be the mental climate of a free socialist society. This is attested by the fact that all the bloodiest leaders of each successive ruling class of Europe, from

the Emperor Constantine to Napoleon Bonaparte,
 have highly valued, for their purposes of
 subjugation, the hold of religion over the minds
 of the people. The Church's promise of future bliss
 was, in the opinion of Bonaparte, e.g.,
 a most important factor in obtaining the
 acquiescence of the masses in the manifest
 injustice of their present lot. Accordingly,
 he re-established the religious institutions
 of France, convinced that they were indis-
 pensable to the maintenance of any class-
 divided society.

Religious institutions have served the
 purposes of the governors of society by giving
 the mass of the population sufficient hope
 in the possibility of recompense after death
 to enable them to endure the unendurable
 in life. It was this which made Mark

call religion the opinion of the people [Of this world,
 religion is the general theory, its encyclopaedia
 Compendium, its logic in popular form, its
 spiritual point of honour, its enthusiasm,
 its moral sanctions, its solemn complement,
 its general consolation & justification ---
 Religion is the sign of the hard-pressed creature
 the heart of a heartless world, as it is the
 soul of soul-less circumstances. It is the
 opinion of the people."]. And it is this condi-
 tion which makes it necessary for all those
 who care for human progress to carry on an
 unceasing protest against the deception of the
 poor by means of the promise of celestial
 remedies for terrestrial ills. Hence, Communists
 & Socialists, although understanding well the im-
 possibility of the disappearance of religious belief
 while the social & economic conditions which

give rise to it still exist, & the harmfulness of attempting to destroy religion by force yet carry on an active campaign of enlightenment as to the part which religion's belief has played in making class oppression possible throughout the centuries.

One of the principal examples of the direct participation of a Church in the rule of a corrupt & tyrannous governing class is afforded by the Greek Orthodox Church of the Russian Empire. The Russian Church was fused with the State apparatus of coercion to an extent unknown, at least, in the rest of Christendom (except Spain). The head of the Church was a lay minister of the State appointed by, & responsible to, the Tsar. His status, and indeed

his functions, hardly differed from those of the other Ministers of State, such as the Minister of the Interior. The whole vast ecclesiastical apparatus was supported either out of State funds raised by the taxation of the masses or by the Cautch's ownership of extensive tracts of land. Religion was imposed on the Russian people by the Govt.

Moreover, this State-imposed religion was a medieval, Byzantine form of Christianity — a religion more akin to primitive magic than to modern Protestant doctrine. The grossest superstitions, the most primitive conceptions of the universe, were preached to and the most odious deceptions were practised upon, the Russian people. The Russian hierarchy stretching down from the Procurator of the Holy Synod to the humblest, the most

illiterate; and the most barbarous parish "pope", was composed of State officials charged with the special function of the policing of men's minds. It is not then ecclesiastical policemen fail to work in the closest association with the civil police.

Thus the Orthodox Church of the Tsarist Empire was an organisation as different in its doctrines, its rights, its practices and its endowments, from one of the free Protestant Churches of contemporary Britain or America as can well be imagined. It was quite inevitable that the Russian Orthodox Church should fall with the Tsarist State of which it had become an integral part. Nor, as events prove, could it be expected that the Russian

Church would not use all its formidable resources both to maintain that State when it was threatened and to attempt its restoration when it had been overthrown.

Between such an organisation and the party of the Russian working class decisive struggle was inevitable. It was no less necessary for Russian Communists to break the political power of the ^{Russian} Church than it was necessary for them to break the power of the other organs of the Tsarist State. And when that initial task had been accomplished it was necessary to destroy finally, & if need be by summary means, the frightful pall of superstition which the Orthodox Church had hung over the Russian land.

In any event, the Communists &

societies parties of Britain & America, advocate
 in strict conformity with their basic theory
 full freedom of worship to every denomination,
 & they will establish such freedom. As
 evidence of good faith, they can point to
 the fact that, even in the extreme case
 of the Russian Orthodox Church, the
 Russian Communists have in fact
 preserved that freedom. The Churches have
 remained open in Russia throughout the
 eighteen years which the working class has
 been in power. Anyone can walk into
 a Church in any City in the Soviet
 Union and divine service being conducted
 according to the elaborate and, to some
 tastes, exceedingly superstitious ritual
 of the Orthodox Church (See Art.
 124 of the Draft Constitution).

To sum up: there is reason to suppose that religious belief will fade as & when men achieve as great a control over social & economic forces as they now possess over natural forces. We reserve the right to proclaim this view & to inform the whole population of the probable origins of religious belief, and of the part which organized religion has played in modern history.

But we are firmly opposed to any attempt forcibly to eradicate religious belief from men's minds; for we believe that this would be impossible to-day and unnecessary to-morrow. Consequently, we assert the necessity of maintaining freedom of worship for every religious denomination, and, what is more, are willing to shoulder the arduous task of preventing any denomination from

curtailing the religious liberties of other denominations, or the liberty of expressing those who have ceased to hold religious convictions. In order to carry out such a policy of liberty of opinion in religious matters, the political & psychological grasp of certain formidable, aggressive and intolerant religious monopolies of which the Russian Orthodox Church was a leading example, must be broken. Finally, Socialist & Communist teaching inculcates a Code of Conduct at least as strict, although far more rational than that aimed at by religious doctrine.

Chap. XX
Socialism and Peace

184

One of the highest and one of the most disputed claims of socialism is that it alone can bring permanent peace to the world.

We saw that the essential nature of Capitalism prevents it disposing of its potential output of goods to its own population. No Capitalism, neither that of Britain, nor of America, nor of Japan, can provide itself with an adequate market for its output of goods. It must, therefore, seek markets outside itself.

But how can these goods be paid for? For paid for they must be, or else they might just as well be given away at home. In principle, they can only be paid for by the return sale of goods to the exporting community -- But how

Can the exporting Capitalism take in such a return flow of goods? If its population has not the purchasing power to buy the goods which they themselves have produced, no more will they have the purchasing power to buy the equivalent goods which their outside consumer must send them:

It does so by means of taking payments in terms of IOUs, instead of by immediate payment in terms of equivalent goods. It takes its payment in the form of claims, payable at some future date. It lends to its foreign customers the money necessary for the purchase of its own goods [For all these are but different ways of describing what is fundamentally the same position] Thus, for the time being, a solution is found

for the dilemma of every Capitalist Community, namely that at one & the same time it desires being paid for its exports, & yet cannot possibly give them away.

The supreme advantage of undeveloped parts of the world to Capitalism is that they cannot yet produce very much. They lack the essential means of production. Accordingly, the great developed Capitalist Communities can lend them the money with which to buy the goods with which to build up their own productive systems. And, until this is done, these undeveloped areas will not need to send out any return flow of goods. And they absorb

The possibility of prolonging the life of a particular Capitalist Community by undertaking the development of some pre-Capitalist area of the world is further evidence, the

use goods on credit, by paying over not actual goods on cash, but IOUs or claims on their future wealth.

reader will observe, that the sole function which Capitalism can perform is the creation of a Community's outfit of productive equipment. For once this task is accomplished at home the only thing which the system can do is to repeat the process somewhere else.

This process has involved the political linking together of the pre-capitalist areas with one or other of the great capitalist Communities. For this particular type of trade, as distinct from the ordinary reciprocal trade carried on between communities in approximately the same stage of economic development, almost inevitably involves the political control of the pre-capitalist area by the Capitalist Centre which is undertaking its development. For this development

may take decades to accomplish, and during
 all that time it must be conducted on credit.
 Hence, a formidable debt to the Capitalist's Centre
 is piled up. Anxiety for the safety of this
 debt must be acute unless some form of
 political control over the debtor has been
 established.

The political acquisition of undeveloped
 territories, and the monopolization of their
 markets, is only the other face of that process
 of monopolization which is going on within
 every Capitalism. Capitalism is transforming
 itself before our eyes from a system of
 competition into a system of monopoly. And
 this change in the economic structure of each
 Capitalist empire is inextricably associated
 with the partitioning out of all the undeveloped
 areas of the world as preserved markets for

the; or that empire.

The Competitions are now for the most part vast national monopolies or semi-monopolies, so that their Competition has become, in effect, the rivalry of their respective empires.

The development of the pre-capitalist areas of the world by the export to them of means of production (and some consumers' goods) financed by loans is the one method by which a Capitalism which has grown into the monopolistic stage can obtain a relief of an outlet for its otherwise unsaleable products. It can be, however, only a temporary relief. For, again, unless the goods are to be given away, the loans out of which they were purchased must some

day be repaid. And no one has ever been able to suggest how this can be done. Hence the Capitalist exporters in one sense only seem to be paid by the underdeveloped country. All they are really given are IOUs or claims, & these claims can never be collected. The interest on these ever-mounting claims can for a long time be paid, however, & so long as this is the case the creditor feels that his claim is sound^x. But the claim itself is uncollectable.

^x. [For decades at a time the interest on such loans is often met by the simple expedient of contracting new loans. Hence, the absurd and familiar spectacle of the Capitalists of some wealthy empire lending an underdeveloped country the money with which to pay the interest on some former loan!].

The export of their capital, mainly in the form of means of production, to undeveloped parts of the world which have passed under their control, enables the capitalists of the major empire to reap otherwise unrealizable profits. For the capital when it arrives in the colonial area is typically employed in the extraction of some typical raw material — such as rubber, for example. Partly because of the extreme exploitation of the native labour which is employed, & partly because of the semi-monopoly which the possession of the main sources of supply of the commodity may give it, capital so employed can often earn astronomical returns. Hence, colonies have become a vitally important source of profit, & so

of new Capital, as well as a necessary market for goods. This extremely important aspect of imperialism is always conveniently ignored by the spokesmen of the possessing empire.

The imperative need of every Capitalism, when it has reached the monopoly stage for perpetual expansion into new markets, both for its otherwise unsaleable consumers' goods and its otherwise unusable Capital, is basic cause of modern war.

No problem of finding markets can ever arise in a socialist economic system. The illimitable market provided by the infinitely extensible needs of their own citizens will always absorb every single good & service which can be produced. Hence, such Communities can experience no need whatever for the acquisition of undeveloped areas of the world.

Chap. XXI
World Before War.

193

Nothing worth ~~Nothing~~

Chapter XXII,
WAR NATIONALISM & HUMAN NATION

Those who do not accept the view that modern wars are caused by the economic necessities of Capitalism put forward several alternative explanations. The occurrence of war is often ascribed, for example, to the existence of nationalism.

Now it is an historical commonplace that the rise of nationalism has occurred simultaneously, and has been associated, with the rise of the Capitalist class. Pre-capitalist

Europe was divided into ~~Capitalist~~ states which had little or no relation to the various nationalities which were then just emerging as distinct & self-conscious entities. The feudal land-owners, lay and ecclesiastical, who formed the ruling class had little sense of solidarity with any particular peoples over whom they ruled; and they had a considerable sense of rivalry with each other. Partly because of this non-national character of the old feudal governing class, the nascent Capitalist class began to represent & to lead their respective peoples as nations. In many places the revolutions by which the Capitalist class came to power involved the freeing, not only the native Capitalists from the native feudalists, but also the freeing of the Nation as a whole from foreign domination. For the feudal overlords were, as often as not, the

representatives of some sprawling feudal empire, the territories of which bore no relation to natural boundaries (e.g. the Hapsburg Empire).

Such, for example, was the character of the first of all successful Capitalist revolutions, the founding of the Dutch Republic by the expulsion of the Spaniards. Such was the American Revolution. Such was the Italian Revolution of the nineteenth century, by which an independent Capitalist Italy arose on the termination of the Austrian domination. Of such a character was the slow & distorted emergence to power of the German Capitalists.

Now the rise of nationalism between say, 1400 & 1850 was a progressive & beneficial event. The Capitalist Revolution with which the process was associated

marked long steps forward in the evolution of human society. It was essential that the huge, tyrannous, reactionary, stifling feudal empires should be broken up in order that the creative energies of the peoples of the world should be freed. This is the historical justification of that glorification of the nationalistic spirit which the Capitalist class has everywhere undertaken.

The world, however, no longer consists of young Capitalist nations - states struggling to be free. On the contrary, many Capitalist nations have themselves become empires, which hold down more subject people than ever the feudals managed to acquire. Nothing could be more unjustifiable than to ask men to defend these sprawling & heterogeneous empires in the name of patriotism & love of country. For the patriotism of a dozen subject peoples is perpetually violated by

the maintenance of these empires.

However strong nationalist sentiment may be, it is necessary to explain to the people of the great empires that their patriotism is being used, not to save their own country, but their ~~masters'~~ profits. The immediate denunciation as a traitor to his country of everyone who questions the capitalists' absolute power is evidence that what the capitalists are intent that the people should defend is a country which belongs long, short and barrel to them.

Then socialists & Communists do not question the right of men to defend their country; but we do recommend that they should first acquire a country to defend. Till then we are bound to

fought & to struggle against the exploitation
 of nationalist sentiments by the Capitalists for
 their own benefit. We must assure ourselves
 that it is neither their duty nor their destiny
 to be slaughtered in the interminable wars
 made inevitable by the necessity for
 economic expansion of every Capitalist
 empire.

Contemporary wars are neither wars of
 liberation; they are seldom wars of defence.
 They are essentially wars of imperialist ex-
 pansion, or, in the case of the possessing
 states, of imperialist retention. The profound
 national traditions of the peoples of the West
 are, however, used effectively by the Contending
 Capitalists to mobilize their people for warlike
 sacrifice. Thus the existence of nationalism is
 certainly an aid to those who have to lead

the people into war in order to maintain themselves as Capitalists. But it is certainly not itself the cause of war.

The last cause to be adduced for the occurrence of war by those who do not accept its economic causation is the most general. We are told that wars occur, not because of the need of Capitalist enterprise for economic expansion, nor because of the nationalist sentiments amongst the population, but because of "human nature".

The innate combativeness of ~~human nature~~ man is a favourite theme of those whose way of life and professional interests are bound up with the waging of war. The military & naval officer (more frequently, perhaps, the retired military &

naval officer) frequently elaborates this view.
 --- It is perfectly true that men, in comparison
 with all other large, Carnivorous animals, are
 Combative. It is true that both for men and
 animals Combative ness & Courage had had,
 & still have, a high survival value. If be &
 larger, strange animals are lazy, timid, erotic
 inquisitive and greedy as well as Combative!
 And each of these qualities had or has survival
 value.

As anthropological research proceeds,
 almost every conceivable kind of human nature
 is discovered to exist or to have existed. It seems
 that human nature is incomparably more variable
 than we had supposed. The types of conduct which
 different men in the same circumstances, and the
 same men in different circumstances, exhibit
 seem inexhaustible in number & variety.

In recent years, however, a far more elaborate argument, seeking to demonstrate that modern war is caused by the innate nature of man, has been adduced. Some psychologists of the psycho-analytical school contend that the effective cause of war is to be found in man's innate, but unconscious, aggression. Dr. Glover has given us the clearest available statement of this view in his essay, War, Sadism & Pacifism.

— — — — — The one school of thought (psycho-analytical) puts its emphasis upon a subjective, the other (socialist) upon an objective factor. And this difference is of great practical importance. For while finding it unnecessary to deny that Lord Salisbury (Premier in 1898) when war was averted between Britain & France over the

Fashoda incident) was a cool and ~~able~~ ^{imperialist}, we are sure that, even if he had been still a hundred times cooler & able, he could not averted war if the favourable objective factors of a large divisible prize and only two disputants had been absent —

— Reincarnate Lord Salisbury in 1914, or, still more, in 1936, and he would be confronted by a situation in which there was no possibility of achieving such peaceful solutions as he achieved up till the turn of the century. [Lord Salisbury was, ^{enough} ~~Deffores~~ ^{of} Consider, an eminently, well-adjusted, conspicuously free from repressed, unconscious impulses to aggression arising from feelings of inferiority & unconscious fear of impotence. Thus he was enabled to follow a cool, reasonable line of diplomatic policy, & war was avoided].

Another leading figure of the British psycho-analytic school.

The question of whether or not our minds do contain unconscious and repressed impulses of the sort described by Drs. Jones and Glover is largely, though no doubt not wholly, irrelevant to the question of the causation of Modern war. I personally happen to believe that our minds do contain these impulses, & that these are the impulses which are appealed to by the war propagandists carried on by every Capitalist class. But that these impulses are dominant, in the sense that they would cause international wars in the absence of the objective economic factors which we have analysed above, I do not for one moment believe.

Individual and neuritic maladjustment play a part, not indeed in causing war, but in making it possible to force

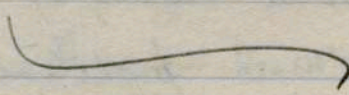
the mass of the population to go and fight
for their masters' battles for them. This, in
my view, is a fruitful field of enquiry.

What we shall probably find is that
these impulses, which are to-day made use of
for the purposes of international war, whilst
not ceasing to exist, will, in a different social
environment, find new forms of expression. No
one has laid more emphasis on the variety of
the forms of expression which a repressed impulse
may take than have the analysts. The subli-
mation of impulses which to-day find one of their
modes of expression in war can be confidently
expected; we may deduce the character which
these sublimations will take from sublimations
which already exist. Competitive games of an
athletic and preferably violent character
are, undoubtedly, the characteristic Portuguese

a American sublimation of repressed ag-
 gressive impulses. It would be no doubt
 over-optimistic to suppose that 'all
 these impulses can be diverted into the
 harmless & delightful channel. But that
 they can, & will, find adequate channels
 of expression (of which the principal one
 will no doubt be the struggle with nature),
 other than this fatal channel of
 international war, seems clear.

PART III

SOCIALISM
AND THE
WORKING - CLASS.



The Birth Of An Idea

The idea of a socialist or Communist form of society was born at an very moment of the birth of Capitalism, & of Capitalism's, a property-less working class. Capitalism and the working-class first appeared at the end of the Middle Ages, where the old feudal relationships began to loosen and disintegrate.

For the raising of wool had become by far the most profitable use to which the land of England could be put. The temptation of profit had floated before the eyes of the lords and abbots ("holy men, no doubt") who up till then had simply lived well off the feudal dues paid to them by the peasant husbandmen, but had had no

thought of accumulating a money - profit -
 of becoming capitalists. But now it had become
 to them -
 apparent that they had only "inclose all cut
 pastures", turn off the husbandmen, replace
 them by sheep, and wealth would be theirs.
 Therefore", Sir Thomas More's Utopia ^(first published in 1516) continues
 "that one covetous and insatiable covarant
 and very plague of his native Country may
 compass all together within one sale or hedge",

The enormous process of the enclosure
 of the land of England had begun. Hitherto it
 had been tilled on the basis of production for use;
 now it was to be tilled on the basis of pro-
 duction for profit. This process began before
 1500 and was not finally completed until
 about 1850. It was the true and indispensable
 parent of British ~~Imperial~~ Capitalism. ---
 --- The horror which More felt at the

rights and sounds of the process, engendered in his brilliant, quick-forted imagination the dream of a society in which such things should not be; of a society in which the land & all other means of production should be the common property of the whole people.

[The prophetic genius of More consists in the fact that the rights & sounds of the early enclosures did not make him decide to restore the individual ownership of land to the English peasants. He somehow grasped the fact that this system was inevitably doomed. Thus he escaped that futile, if often eloquent, advocacy of the return to individual peasant proprietorship which has occupied so many English men from John Ball, to Cobbett, to the

Chartist's leaders, and to, in our own day, Mr. Beloe and Mr. Chesterton, More wanted to go forward beyond Capitalism, not backward to pre-Capitalist conditions. Few of his co-religionists has ever again seen so far.]

As More saw so vividly, Capitalist private property in the means of production could only be established by the confiscation of the scattered, small-scale means of production hitherto belonging to the mass of the population. For you cannot use any given means of production simultaneously for the two purposes of production for use & production for profit. The land of England, for example, could not be used for the production of a profit, until (and unless it was taken from the peasants who were using it to produce food. In the

same way, the production of clothes, tools, and luxuries could not be organised upon a profit-making basis until & unless the existing system of production was abolished. For under the then existing system of production these goods were made for use, by small masters, employing an apprentice or so, and organized in self governing guilds, the ordinances of which were expressly designed to prevent the accumulation of considerable profit. The property of the guild members in the means of production of their trade had to be directly or indirectly confiscated if the new, large-scale masters were ever to get a start.

Already in 1576 Thomas More knew well enough that common ownership

In the Island of Utopia, there are great communal storehouses into which all products flow and out of which every citizen can take what he needs. His Utopian is organized on the basis of "to each according to his needs, from each according to his capabilities."

of the means of production is the one great condition precedent to any effective alteration of society to the advantage of property-less workers. Private property, he declares, is at the root of all social evils. But he has not yet distinguished between private property & the means of production & private property in consumable goods. Hence his Utopia has necessarily to be organized upon the basis of full Communism.

The next great crisis in the development of the British Capitalist class occurred in the seventeenth century. The English Civil War of 1640 to 1660 again brought every social issue out into the open. And once again the intolerable pressure of the crisis upon the lowest class of society made a man conceive ^{of} the idea of socialism.

a Communism. And at this second appearance of the idea had come appreciably nearer to the revolt.

The man was Gerard Winstanley, the "Digger" or "Leveler", and the book in which he described his proposed Communist community was called "The Law of Freedom". Winstanley's community is to have the same basic economic system as More's Utopia. All products are to be taken to communal store-houses, & all citizens are to draw what they will from the store-houses, "without buying or selling".

The Digger movement of which Winstanley was the head, arose on the morrow of Parliament's final victory over what Winstanley calls "the kingly power". The Diggers arose to assert their interpretation of the "freedom" which

Parliament had won. For that freedom meant one thing to one man & another thing to another man. To the squires in Parliament it had originally meant freedom from arbitrary taxation, and had come to ^{mean} freedom to rule; to many men in the middle of English society, to shopkeepers, trades, farmers, and the like, it meant religious freedom; freedom to worship as they wished. But to Winstanley & his friends, poor men, men ruined in the wars, or never having had enough to be ruined, freedom meant something different. It meant nothing more nor less than freedom to dig: freedom to dig the common lands of England; it meant that freedom which the heart-breaking procession of their peasant ancestors had lost a hundred & twenty years earlier.

For what purpose had the Civil War

been fought? It had been fought, said
 Wm Stanley, in order that the people of England
 might resume those rights of which they
 had been gradually deprived by the usurpations
 of successive generations of the privileged
 classes; and, above all, of the right to
 live by tilling the land.

But Wm Stanley was a man of peace.
 He did not propose to take back into common
 possession two-thirds of the land of
 England which had, it was estimated, al-
 ready been enclosed as private property.
 He proposed to dig only that one-third
 which was still common land, but over
 which the lords of the manors, and
 certain privileged freeholders & copyholders,
 had now acquired exclusive rights of
 grazing & the like.

The new rulers of England, however, thought differently. . . . They took no notice of Winstanley's protestations. With no idea nor mean to touch private, enclosed land, & ordered their General, Lord Fairfax, to send a troop of horse to turn the Diggers off the Common.

Winstanley's major work, "The Law of Freedom in a Platform: or True Magistracy Restored", was written after the Diggers had been finally hurried off St. George's Hill, by the magistrates' cause, sitting at Kingston. . . . Long before the Restoration movement had appeared. . . . After the publication of "The Law of Freedom" there is no further record either of Winstanley or his movement. Soon the great coalition of noblemen, gentry, and great merchants of England, temporarily broken

up by the Civil War, was to be knick up
 again more shingly than ever before. The
 process by which the peasants of England
 were to be steadily deprived of the land,
 almost to the last acre, was resumed
 & went on for two hundred years more.

Robert Owen & The Communist Colonies.

The next substantial appearance of Communist & Socialist thought, & of working-class activity, inextricably associated as before, occurred at the next great crisis in the development of Capitalism.

At the end of the eighteenth Century it became clear that ^{an} almost wholly new technique of production had been evolved in the preceding fifty years and that this new technique was shaking the existing social structure to its foundations. It was discovered that the development of industrial production by steam power was incompatible with the still semi-feudal structure of society; that this method of production was both endowing society with extraordinary wealth, & was creating vast urban aggregations of men & women living in conditions of unexampled misery.

The prophets & theorists of Capitalism had
 promised & believed that their final conquest
 of power would produce the millennium for
 everyone. What it did produce was some-
 thing very near heaven for the Capitalists, and
 something very near hell for the workers. And
 hardly had the victory been won than three
 men stepped forward to point out the discrepancy
 between promise & performance. Their names
 were Saint-Simon, Fourier and Robert
 Owen. These three great men could show
 that the Capitalists were only accomplishing
 their task at the cost of inflicting tortures
 upon the mass of the population worse
 than any which had existed under the feudal
 monarchies. Whole generations of men became
 the living fuel with which the great steam
 engines of early Capitalism were stoked.

Of the three great Utopian societies of the dawn of the industrial era, we shall select Robert Owen for brief consideration. Owen left home at the age of ten, & he supported himself entirely by his own labours from that moment. By the age of twenty, - more he was managing partner of the large & prosperous textile concern of New Lanark, & on the way to making a great fortune.

By treating the workers, and, above all, the workers' children, of New Lanark like decent human beings, instead of like valueless slaves, he utterly transformed them. Treated as civilized beings they behaved as civilized beings. Owen, not unreasonably, concluded that all that was needed in order to produce an earthly paradise was that a similar environment should be provided for the rest of the population. And he forthwith

suggested to the Govt, and to prominent persons in what are, but not he, should call the governing class, that they should get on with the job. --- He saw not the slightest reason why the Capitalists and their Govt should not inaugurate socialism. After all, he was a great Capitalist and he was prepared to inaugurate socialism. Why should not they?

All Owen's early schemes were proposals for the establishment, by the British Govt, of mixed agricultural & industrial colonies into which the unemployed were to be sent, to be put on to such productive work as would make them self supporting, while they were to be housed, fed, educated, & generally treated on the model of the Colonies established at New Lanark. They formed

warm supporters in the Cabinet, and the
Parliament, ^{on a division,} refused to move.

The measure of support which they
received was at any rate enough to confirm
Owen's delusion of a socialism imposed by
the Capitalists. [Or, for that matter, by
the feudalists; at various times he had high
hopes of Melnikov & the Tsar of Russia &
bombarded them with memoranda]. However,
Owen had himself only just realized that
the establishment, "on a magnificent scale",
of his communes, or colonies, in which non-
profit-making production for use was to be
carried on, was incompatible with the existing
order of society, with, that is to say, Capitalist
production for profit, private property in the
means of production, & the institutions and
ideas associated with such a system.

About 1826, however, Owen did come to realize this fact. But this did not shake his faith that the Capitalists would themselves establish socialism as soon as they had been taught by him how much nicer socialism would be. But he did come to see that if the Communist Colonies were to supersede private property in the means of production, every idea & habit of mind associated with Capitalist private property would, sooner rather than later, have to go.

About 1823, Owen did begin to notice that the British Govt seemed so fully occupied in enforcing the Combination Laws & passing the Six Acts that it had no time to inaugurate a socialist Commonwealth. Hence he decided in 1824 to set the Cabinet an example by establishing the first Communist Colony himself.

self. Owen's first & greatest experiment was in the U.S.A. At Harmony, on the banks of the Wabash river there was established the first famous of a series of abortive Communist Colonies founded by Owen, Fourier, & their disciples.

Any attempt to abolish Capitalism by means of setting up Colonies of persons producing for use is in fact doomed to failure, both for political & economic reasons. It is an attempt to alter the economic system of a community without simultaneously altering its political system. Hence, even if it were economically feasible, it could not succeed, for it would be suppressed by the governing class.

Owenite Colonies grew up from the quite startling improvidence of their management. In

in field of economics, the Owenites neglected three facts: first, that the industrial revolution could never have begun, and could not be continued, unless the bulk of the new wealth was devoted, not to raising the standard of life, but to creating new means of production. Second, that anything like a ~~two~~ - hundred fold increase in man's capacity for wealth had occurred in the textile industry alone (& not in agriculture). And, third, that the startling increase in wealth production which they observed around them was so dependant upon a wide division of labour as upon a new industrial technique.

The third phase of Owen's career (it began before he had been forced to abandon finally his attempt to found Communist Colonies) was one of cooperation with the working-class

movement of resistance to capitalism which was
 going on all through the first three quarters of
 his life. In fact, Owen, for a short time, led
 the most important section of the movement.
 And yet his cooperation with the working-class
 always remained limited and, on the whole,
 reluctant. Between 1830 and 1850 the
 Chartist movement, ^{with O'Brien, O'Connor & Hargreaves as its leaders} stirred the British working-
 class to its depths. Working-class political
 activity reached a height to which it was not to
 attain again till the present century, but
 Owen remained aloof from all this. Just as
 he could see no reason why Lords Liverpool
 and Castlereagh should not support socialism,
 so he could see no special reason why the
 working-class should.

Owen is remembered as a Utopian

differing from Thomas More, for example, chiefly
 in that he tried to construct his ideal com-
 munity of bricks & mortar instead of paper &
 ink. -- Thirty-three years after his death
 an Irish socialist, William Morris, pub-
 lished "News from Nowhere". -- It
 is, in one sense, not a particularly satisfying
 example of the accounts of a future society.
 -- Morris' medievalism & his generally
 anti-scientific attitude may have some
 parts of his account of a Communist
 Britain irritating to-day. But we must
 remember that Morris was reacting not
 so much against science itself as against
 the prostitution of science to the overwhelming
 "Commercialism" as he called it, which then
 as now, characterized British Capitalism. --
 But there is much that is shrewd -- and

indeed profound — in his description of the
England of A.D. 2000 odd. —

It is not mainly, however, in
its account of his ideal community that
Morris's book differs from all its predecessoring
Utopias. It differs from, & surpasses, them
and indeed ceases to be a Utopia at
all, in this respect: it contains a clear
and realistic description of how the
abolition of capitalism and the establish-
ment of socialism can be brought about.
The Chapter in "News from Nowhere" on
"How the Change Came" demonstrates how
far more clearly the poor may see into
the nature of political reality than can the
practical men of his day. Morris's book
was published in 1891, in the first flush
of the Fabian movement, when every

English socialism was being taught by Mr. and Mrs. Sydney Webb, by Mr. Bernard Shaw, and by a dozen others that socialism could and ought to be achieved by a process of accumulative reform at once so gradual that the capitalist class would never resist it, & so thorough that nothing of Capitalism would remain.

Morris foresaw that a point would come when these reforms would become incompatible with the further working of the profits system. He saw then that walls must come to a head, that either the workers must lose all that they had gained by the reforms or must achieve the practical power necessary to the abolition of Capitalism & the establishment of socialism. He foresaw, moreover, that an actual conflict would be pre-

pilates, ~~led~~ by the workers, ~~and~~ by the Capitalists.

The Working - Class

The misfortunes of the Utopian Socialists demonstrated even the working - class must be the chief agent of social change. . . . That is why the establishment of socialism is only now a practical proposition; for it is only now that the working - class of the world has come of age, as a leading class of society, capable of making society according to its own interests and desires. . . .

--- To-day the fact that the workers are, actually or potentially, the only force which can seriously challenge the continued existence of capitalism is generally, although more or less tacitly, realized. . . . But in England & America this sociological or psychological fact was, we saw, only discovered by long experience, and even now most people do not attempt

to ascertain the reason for it - - - they see, as Owen did, that the workers are poor, and, so long as Capitalism lasts, relatively ignorant and apparently powerless. They see that if society is to be transformed under their leadership the process must be long, stormy and painful. They recoil from such a prospect. How much nicer it would be, they reflect, if the job could be done in a polite manner by the "trained minds" of the middle classes (Mr. H. G. Wells is, in England, the leading exponent of this attractive view).

Unfortunately, however, appeals to these trained minds remain almost, though not quite, as futile as did Owen's appeals to the Prince Regent to Tletternich, and to the Tsar Alexander. For those who make them forget the all-important fact that the greater number of these trained minds

Have been so trained that they do not
 desire, and indeed cannot even imagine,
 any system of society other than Capitalism.
 They have, to return to Veblen's phrase, a
 trained incapacity for the job which they are
 asked to do. It is only the un-mistrained
 workers who can in a majority desire, or
 even conceive of, the total replacement
 of the present economic & social system by
 another — — — The conditions of life which
 Capitalism always has, & does now, impose
 upon the working class are such & inevitably
 to cause that class to struggle continually
 against those conditions of life. This struggle
 becomes, in the end, a struggle for existence
 which in turn becomes a struggle to destroy
 Capitalism, since it is Capitalism which is
 creating the impossible situation for workers,

The Conditions of the Working Class under Capitalism.

But how after the Great War, the reader will object, was the economically hard-pressed British governing Class able to afford to prop up the workers' standard of life by extended social services? The answer is that the funds out of which the British social services are paid come, in the ultimate economic analysis, not from competitively derived profit, every penny of which is now urgently needed to maintain an adequate rate of profit on the British Capitalists' vast total Capital, but from monopolistic, semi-feudal tribute derived from Britain's vast dependent Empire the exploitation of a whole sub-continent such as India, in which wealth is to a large extent taken from the workers and peasants

by direct, monopolistic methods, without
 the check of effective competition, modifies
 the working of the laws of Capitalism
 in favour of the British Capitalists — so
 long as they possess their Empire. ---
 The dependent Empire, by allowing them
 to sell a substantial proportion of their
 exports well above their price of production,
 since they sell in ~~some~~ monopoly
 conditions, provides them ^{with} a fund which
 can & is used to prevent the British
 workers from becoming desperate.

The general ~~price~~ ^{level} of the purchasing power of
 the class is best envisaged by the income figures,
 quoted in Chap. I, of an average of £ 25/-
 a year per head, or a family income of £ 100/
 a year, for a family of four, for the poorer

two-thirds of the British population. But such an average figure tells us little of the actual living standards of the eight million or so families which comprise the mass of the population. The best available picture of their present situation is given in a report entitled "Food, Health and Income", by Sir John Boyd Orr (Macmillan). This report is the result of an investigation conducted by official bodies such as the Rowett Institute and the Market Supply Committee. The object of this investigation, conducted by official bodies, was to show how much, and what kinds of, food the different sections of the British population were able to buy. For this purpose the population was divided in six groups according not to the income received per family, but according to the income available per head.

— the following table was compiled: —

Group	Table IV		
	Income per head per week	Estimated average expenditure on food	Estimated Population of group. Numbers
I	Up to 10 s.	4 s.	4500,000
II	10 s. to 15 s.	6 s.	9000,000
III	15 s. to 20 s.	8 s.	9000,000
IV	20 s. to 30 s.	10 s.	9000,000
V	30 s. to 45 s.	12 s.	9000,000
VI	Over 45 s.	14 s.	4500,000
Average	30 s.	9 s.	

The reader will see that Sir John See takes a much more favourable view of the total amount of income available to the poorer two-thirds of the population than does Mr. O. R. Hobson. Mr. Hobson simply divided the number of non-income-tax payers into the amount

of the national income not subject to income-
 tax. His result of £25/- a year, or under 10s. a
 week, per head would clearly place a
 much larger percentage of the population in
 Group I than does the Oxe report. —
 In any case, we shall be in no danger of
 exaggerating the gravity of the position if we
 accept Sir John Oxe's figures of income dis-
 tribution. Sir John Oxe is a skilled dieti-
 tician. Here are his conclusions on the ade-
 quacy of the food which the above distribu-
 tion of income will buy in the different
 groups: —

"The average diet of group I is inadequate
 for health in all the constituents considered;
 group II is adequate only in total proteins &
 total fat; group III is adequate in energy value,
 protein and fat, but below standard in minerals

and vitamins; group IV is adequate in iron, phosphorus and vitamins, but probably below standard in Calcium; group E has an ample margin of safety in everything with the possible exception of Calcium; in group VI all standard requirements are exceeded in every case.

According to the graph printed on p. 40 of the Orr report, elementary school boys of thirteen years of age average about 57 inches in height, while public school boys of the same age average 63 inches in height [Elementary schools are state-provided schools for the working-class, while public schools are private schools. They are schools, that is to say, reserved, as Sir John Orr estimates, almost exclusively for boys coming from the richest

(10 percent of the population), ---

We are not primarily concerned with the question of whether or not the conditions of the workers have varied to a significant extent between different periods in the development of British Capitalism. --- We have seen that at the best level reached, which is probably that of to-day, their conditions remain abominable. The truth is that the lot of the great majority of those who in a Capitalist society live by selling their ability to labour has always been, and still is, almost unendurable.

This is why the working-class is driven to become the chief agent of social change.

The Commune.

Here the little Community has all its material possessions in common ownership, and unites all its activities under common management, very much

Chap. xxvii

The Working-Class Begins To Think.

The collapse of the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union marked the end of the first crude attempt to fuse the idea of ^{Communism} ~~the idea~~ and socialism with the dynamic thrust of the workers' resistance to Capitalism. It showed how disastrous was the leadership of a Communist or Socialist such as Owen who, although he had achieved a relatively clear conception of right objectives for the working-class movement, had no idea of the necessary means of achieving such objectives.

The real movement of the British workers was led by men who, compared to Owen, had a remarkably clear and realistic knowledge of the means necessary to the struggle to abolish Capitalism. But, unfortunately, they lacked

(O'Connor, O'Brien, George Jackson &
Harvey and Ernest Jones) 241

Owen's knowledge of the proper objective of the struggle. The Chartist leaders were for the most part not Communists or socialists; they did not aim at establishing a new economic system of planned production for use, based upon the technical advances achieved by Capitalism, but rather (in so far as they formulated their social objective at all) at returning to the pre-capitalist peasant society out of which Capitalism had emerged. Their objective was a return to universal peasant proprietorship in which everyone should have his own plot of land [see "From Chartist to Leaguism" by Mr. Theodore Rothstein and "The Final Crisis" by Mr. Allen Hunt].

6.1.3.13 on pp 18 to 26, pp. 31-32, 37

७४८, ७४०-४९, ७३८-३८,

७३०-३२, ३३, ३५, ३७, ७३६ + ४८८

बो २५५५ रुद्र लाले
दाता

मल्लू पर
निम्न निरी त्रिशू
वरली

TIME TABLE FOR 1940-41.

Name.....Class.....Sec.....

Days.	1st Period	2nd Period	3rd Period	4th Period	5th Period	6th Period	7th Period
Mon. ...							
Tues. ...							
Wed. ...							
Thur. ...							
Fri. ...							
Sat. ...							

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