

# *Marxism after Seventy Years*

**The teachings of Marxism are all-powerful because they are true.  
LENIN.**

When Marx died seventy years ago on March 14, 1883, Engels wrote in a letter to Wilhelm Liebknecht on that same day:

We owe what we are to him; and the movement as it is today is the creation of his theoretical and practical work.

After seventy years that verdict has still more powerful confirmation in the modern world. In 1883 'the movement' was still confined to a few countries, mainly in Western Europe, and the parties based on Marxism had only begun in a handful of cases to advance to a mass basis in the working class. World capitalism was still at the height of its power and had not yet entered the imperialist era of decay and disruption. Today Marxism, carried forward by the teachings, by the 'theoretical and practical work' of Lenin and of Stalin, leads one third of the world; and its close approaching victory throughout the world is universally foreseen, whether with hope or fear, by friend or foe. This is a development within seventy years, within one span of a single human life, without parallel in

the long record of mankind upon the earth, since man rose from the beast. It explodes, not by mere argument, but by the force of reality, all the tedious commonplace moralising about 'cycles' of history or 'eternal recurrence' or 'illusions of progress' or 'inevitable downfall' which reflect the bankruptcy of thought or hope of the dying capitalist world. It demonstrates that this first all-embracing world science, this unity of science and practice, which is Marxism, this unity of theory with the rising class which can alone transform the world and end class society, is a new force in the world, the only constructive force in the world today which can solve, and is in process of solving, all the old problems—of poverty, ignorance, war, racial conflict, social inequality, helplessness before nature—that have wracked humanity these thousands of years.

### **It Lives—It Moves**

On March 15, 1883, on the day after the death of Marx, Engels wrote to Sorge:

Mankind is shorter by a head, and the greatest head of our time at that. The proletarian movement goes on, but gone is its central figure to which Frenchmen, Russians, Americans and Germans spontaneously turned at critical moments, to receive always that clear uncontestable counsel which only genius and a perfect understanding of the situation could give. Local lights and lesser minds, if not the humbugs, will now have a free hand. The final victory is certain, but circuitous paths, temporary and local errors—things which even now are so unavoidable—will become more common than ever. Well, we must see it through. What else are we here for?

For twelve years after the death of Marx, Engels was able to continue to provide, through his ceaseless correspondence and contact with the movement in countries all over the world, that 'clear uncontestable counsel which only genius and a perfect understanding of the situation could give'. By the time that Engels died in 1895, Lenin was at the full height of his activity, and Stalin had entered on his revolutionary apprenticeship. By the time that Lenin died in 1924, his closest associate and fellow-fighter over the preceding quarter of a century, Stalin, was able to carry forward and still carries forward, through all the trials and testings of these three decades, the leadership of Marxism to the height of achievement now reached. This succession of four figures of incomparable genius to lead mankind through the most hazardous and critical transition of human development is also without parallel in the historical record. Assuredly there have been, as Engels foresaw, plenty of dubious 'local lights and lesser minds' and also 'humbugs',

especially in the corruption of the imperialist era, to confuse temporarily and distort the movement. There have been 'circuitous paths, temporary and local errors'. A heavy price has had to be paid, in fascism, in world wars. But the victories have outweighed the defeats. The advance has gone and goes forward. The guttering candles of the 'lesser lights' and 'humbugs', of the Bernsteins and MacDonalds (the reader can easily supply the present-day names), of the myriad 'revisers' and 'refuters' of Marx's 'obsolete theories', have flickered for their brief moment and passed into extinction and oblivion in the merciless light of Marxism-Leninism. The proof of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin has been demonstrated by the event.

### **From Marx to Stalin**

It is timely to recall this estimate by Engels of the role of Marx, not only as the founder of scientific socialism, the theoretical genius, 'the greatest head of our time', but equally as the practical leader, the guide of the whole international movement, the 'central figure to which Frenchmen, Russians, Americans and Germans spontaneously turned at critical moments to receive always that clear uncontestable counsel which only genius and a perfect understanding of the situation could give'. And, in words of classic simplicity: 'We owe what we are to him'. It is timely to recall these words today, when the corresponding recognition of the role of Lenin and Stalin in our era arouses the special fury and reviling from all the pigmies and enemies of socialism, the 'lesser lights' and 'humbugs', who denounce such recognition as 'personal idolatry' which from the heights of their superior Marxist wisdom they are pleased to proclaim as 'wholly alien to Marxism'. Let these gentlemen study the words of Engels on Marx.

### **History and the Man**

Marxism above all, precisely because it is fully objective science, because it understands the anatomy of human society, the role of classes and of the struggle of classes, and therefore the role of the theoretical and political representatives and leaders of the classes in conflict, understands the role of the human being, the person, in the development of society, and not least in the development of Marxism. Marxism is no textbook of ready-made formulas and recipes to be applied by fools. Marxism is a science alike in the field of theory and of action; and precisely because it is a science,

and all the more because it represents the highest level of science, it requires mastery; and mastery implies a master. For this reason living Marxism finds its expression in the living person, and its highest expression in the 'greatest head', the 'central figure', the 'genius and perfect understanding'—to use the words of Engels—whose theoretical and practical leadership most effectively carries forward the fulfilment of Marxism. And it is a testimony to the vitality of Marxism through all the tides and changes of our era that this very moment of the seventieth anniversary of the death of Marx should have seen the birth of a new classic of creative Marxist genius in J. V. Stalin's *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*, carrying forward the audacious thoughts and vision which Marx could only indicate in prophetic outline to new pioneering heights of fulfilment in the transition to communism.

### **Foreshadowings of the Future**

Marx died before capitalism had passed into its era of imperialist decline and of the general crisis, before the conditions of the victory of the working-class revolution and of the building of socialism, still less of the transition to communism had matured. But with the power of scientific theory Marx saw with unshakable certainty and confidence the future path: the laws of capitalism carrying it forward to increasing concentration and deepening crisis; the advance of the working class to the political conquest of power, to the dictatorship of the proletariat to crush with iron hand the resistance of the exploiting classes and expropriate the expropriators; the construction of socialism, still with the birthmarks of its origins in capitalist conditions, not as the final goal, but as the first stage of communism; and the transition to communist society and the new human being, the new fully free (because fully conscious of natural and social laws) fully developed man and woman of communist society, the final liberation of humanity, the leap of humanity from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom. All this Marx foresaw, not when the capitalist world was breaking up around him, not when the working class was already triumphing, and even a Toynbee cannot fail to sense a changing world, but *before the event*, seeing below the surface of the complacent, triumphant capitalism around him, beyond the imaginary immutable laws of the blinkered bourgeois economists and political theorists, beyond the weaknesses of the infant working-class movement, with a prophetic insight of true scientific understanding for which there had been before no parallel in the entire record of human thought.

And history has proved his insight true. The record of seventy years has *proved* the truth of Marxism. All that we justly celebrate today is but the foretaste of what the centenary of the death of Marx in thirty years from now will assuredly witness.

### **'Cosmopolitan' Capitalism**

Before he died Marx pointed to the new developments of capitalism which were already preparing the way for the era of imperialism. In 1879, in a letter to Danielson on April 10 of that year, he emphasised the significance of the development of railway construction and modern means of communication, the formation of 'immense joint stock companies' and 'banking companies'—all giving

an impetus never before suspected to the *concentration of capital*, and also to the accelerated and *immensely enlarged cosmopolitan activity of loanable capital*, thus embracing the whole world in a network of financial swindling and mutual indebtedness, the capitalist form of 'international' brotherhood.

(Incidentally Cartoonist 'Vicky', who can sometimes do better, should take due note of this actual opinion of Marx on 'cosmopolitanism', since his cartoon depicting a highly imaginary Marx defiantly proclaiming himself a 'cosmopolitan bourgeois Jew' has been reproduced *ad nauseam* in the *Herald*, and in all the litter of anti-Marxist publications of Transport House in the service of American imperialism.) Marx never failed to draw the sharpest distinction between the 'cosmopolitan' outlook and activities of modern capital, leaping over national frontiers and extending its octopus grip to enslave the world—powerfully demonstrated by British capitalism in his day and still more by the operations of American imperialism today—and the internationalism of the working class.

### **Colonial and Semi-Colonial Subjection**

In the same letter Marx showed how this 'enlarged cosmopolitan activity of loanable capital', with the extension of the railway network and of the operations of joint stock companies and banking companies, carried with it the extending subjection or dependence of a wide range of countries, and especially the intensified exploitation of the peoples of the primary producing countries.

The commerce in countries which export principally *raw produce* increased the misery of the masses. Not only that the new indebtedness, contracted by the government on account of the railways, increased the *bulk of imposts* weighing upon them, but from the moment every local

production could be converted into cosmopolitan gold, many articles *formerly cheap*, because invendible to a great degree, such as fruit, wine, fish, deer, etc., became *dear* and were withdrawn from the consumption of the people, while on the other hand, the *production itself*, I mean the special sort of *produce*, was changed according to its *greater or minor suitability for exportation*, while formerly it was principally adapted to consumption *in loco*. . . . All the changes very useful indeed for the great landed proprietor, the usurer, the merchant, the railways, the bankers and so forth, but very dismal for the real producer.

Marx was speaking here immediately of the effects on the agrarian regions of European countries, but the corresponding process could be still more sharply demonstrated during the following years in the colonial and semi-colonial world. Thus in this rapid note of 1879 Marx was indicating in a preliminary form some of the key forces of capitalist development which were preparing the way for the imperialist era. On the one hand, the increasing concentration of capital, extension of 'immense joint stock companies' and banking companies, and 'enlarged cosmopolitan activity of loanable capital' were pointing the way to the era of finance-capital, with the fusion of industrial and banking capital in modern monopoly capitalism, and the key role of the export of capital. On the other hand, the intensified exploitation of the extending range of peoples, especially of the primary producing countries, brought within the network of the export of capital and heavy financial indebtedness, was pointing the way to the partition of the world by the imperialist powers and the development of colonial and semi-colonial subjection and exploitation in the imperialist era.

### **The First Decade**

By 1893, by the end of the first decade after the death of Marx, this process of preparation of the imperialist era had gone much further. Shortly before he died in 1895, Engels had drafted notes for an article in *Neue Zeit* containing his additions for the third volume of *Capital*, in which he focussed attention on the rapidly advancing partition of the world by the capitalist Powers in the interests of the Stock Exchange:

Colonisation. Today colonisation is simply a department of the Stock Exchange in whose interests the European powers a few years ago divided up Africa. The French conquered Tunis and Tonkin. Africa has simply been given out on lease to the larger companies (the Niger, South African, German South-West and East African); Mashonaland and Natal have been taken over for the Stock Exchange by Rhodes.

The alignment of the Powers for the war of 1914 had begun, with the formation of the Franco-Russian Alliance in 1891 to confront

the Triple Entente, although Britain had not yet chosen its alignment. Engels had given his penetrating prediction of the prospect of the coming European War, with ten million soldiers engaged, the violation of Belgian neutrality, the halting of the German advance on Paris at the Marne, the development of the war on the Western front to a war of positions, and the outbreak of the Russian Revolution to transform the situation. The Second International had been formed, with the initial guidance of Engels, to unite the socialist parties of the world on the basis of Marxism. In Britain the pioneering work of the Social Democratic Federation had prepared the way for the New Unionism and the first beginning of the upsurge of the working-class movement as British capitalism began to lose its world supremacy before the advance of its German and American rivals.

### **Imperialist Era and Bolshevism**

By 1903, two decades after the death of Marx, the imperialist era had opened, the era of 'dying capitalism', as Lenin termed it, with the increasingly fierce development of the arms race and preparation for war for the redivision of the world. British capitalism, its gathering weakness and isolation exposed by the costly expansionist adventure of the South African war, had moved over to enter into the system of imperialist alliances, first with the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and then with the initial advances to France and later to Russia to form the Triple Entente against the Triple Alliance. The approach towards the Russo-Japanese War and the first Russian Revolution of 1905 heralded the entry into the extending series of wars and revolutions associated with the imperialist era. 1903 saw the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Party in London and the foundation of Bolshevism under the leadership of Lenin to carry forward the fight of Marxism in the midst of the confusion and corruption generated by imperialism within the leadership of the working-class movement. Within twenty years of the death of Marx the foundation of the Bolshevik Party under Lenin's leadership, whose half-century anniversary will be celebrated this summer, guaranteed the carrying forward of the inheritance of Marx and Engels into the new conditions and the future victory of the working class. In Britain the establishment of the Labour Representation Committee since 1900 reflected the first still hesitant, limited, but none the less significant, steps of the trade unions into the sphere of independent political activity. Ten years later, by 1913, the thirtieth anniversary,

all the contradictions of the imperialist era, alike of imperialist antagonism and of internal social conflict, were reaching to bursting point and preparing to explode in the war of 1914.

### **General Crisis**

By 1923, on the fortieth anniversary of the death of Marx, the entire world scene was transformed. The general crisis of capitalism had opened with the victory of the Bolshevik Revolution and the loss of one-sixth of the world by imperialism. The world revolutionary wave shook every continent and every country. Communist Parties were formed in the majority of the countries of the world. Equally the wars of intervention and the attempted stabilisation of capitalism in the West failed. The tottering capitalist regime sought to prop itself up on the support of the corrupt Social Democratic leadership, with false labels of 'socialism'. In Britain, now sunk in chronic depression, the old Conservative-Liberal two-party system gave place to the expedient of the first Right Wing Labour Government under MacDonald. This did not prevent the upsurge of the class struggle to the General Strike. As the prop of Social Democracy began to weaken, with the unrest of the working class, and as the temporary stabilisation collapsed into world economic crisis, capitalism began to turn to the desperate methods of fascist dictatorship, already tried out in Italy, in the centre of contradictions in Germany. By 1933, the fiftieth anniversary saw the advent of Hitler and Nazism to power in Germany, and the proclamation of the grand crusade of the Axis against the Soviet Union and Communism, with the backing and support of the Western powers. But the deep conflicts of imperialism rent asunder the intended united counter-revolutionary front in the second world war. By 1943, the sixtieth anniversary saw the epic victory of Stalingrad, which sealed the fate of Nazism and opened a new world era.

### **After Seventy Years**

And now in 1953, on the seventieth anniversary, great indeed is the further transformation of the world. The rate of change has certainly accelerated. In place of the one hundred and seventy millions after the first world war, now eight hundred millions after the second world war have won freedom from imperialism and are marching forward under the guidance of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Once upon a time the critics used to



proclaim that the teachings of Marxism were applicable only to Western Europe, and could never have any relevance for a vast peasant country like Russia. The early Russian Marxists had a stubborn job to shatter this illusion. After the victory of the Bolshevik Revolution the tune changed. Communism, it was announced, had its obvious natural soil in a backward undeveloped country like Russia, but could never win a hold in the advanced industrialised countries of Western Europe and America. After the further progress of Communism was demonstrated in the development of mass Communist Parties leading the majority of the working class in leading countries also in Western Europe, relegating the minority Social Democratic leadership to a rump, the tune was again changed. Communism, it was explained, was an essentially European doctrine which could have no relevance for the vast majority of mankind in Asia, Africa or Latin America. China has given them the answer. And now Dulles in his first foreign policy statement of January 15 has come out with the panic lamentation that in South and Central America they might 'wake up one morning to find that the same thing had happened as had happened in China in 1949'.

### **Communism and India**

As late as 1927 Harold Laski, whose sublime ignorance of Marxism was only equalled by his incessant readiness to chatter about it, in his anti-Communist book on *Communism* commissioned by the Home University Library (the publishers commissioned a Conservative leader to write about *Conservatism*, a Liberal leader to write about *Liberalism*, the Labour Party leader to write about *Socialism*, and an anti-Communist to write about *Communism*—an example which Laski might with advantage have selected at the outset to illustrate the bourgeois principle of freedom of discussion) dismissed with characteristic contempt the suggestion that Communism could have any relevance for India:

The effort to read the problem of India in the set terms of Marxism is rather an exercise in ingenuity than a serious intellectual contribution to socialist advance. (Harold Laski, *Communism*, 1927, p. 194.)

In fairness to the smatterer, it should be recognised that Laski, who had read very little of Marx, as his writings revealed, was probably completely unaware of the profound and exhaustive work which Marx had devoted to the question of India (as his Notebooks on India testify) and his numerous writings on the subject, especially the long series of articles in the *New York Tribune*.

### **Mr. Attlee's Alarm**

That pearl of wisdom was offered a quarter of a century ago. Twenty-five years later the Communist Party of India, with its allies, was winning six million votes and recognised as the main challenging alternative to the rule of the Congress big landlords and monopolists. And by January, 1953, Clement Attlee was racing to New Delhi to proclaim:

I think there is a great danger that all Asia might fall under totalitarian rule.

By 'totalitarian rule' Mr. Attlee did not of course mean to express alarm over the military dictatorship of Marshal Pibul in Siam or the terrorist dictatorship of British imperialism in Malaya (whose excesses he zealously defended in the same speech) or the measures of American imperialism to rebuild militarist reaction in Japan. The 'great danger' terrifying Mr. Attlee was that all the peoples of Asia, inspired by the examples of the Soviet Asian peoples and the Chinese People's Republic, were visibly advancing to throw off the yoke of imperialism and its reactionary satellites, to end imperialist colonial plunder and take possession of their own countries, and to build their own free and prosperous future through the leadership of Communism.

### **Frenzy of Desperation**

The *delirium tremens* now reached on this seventieth anniversary by the rulers of the remaining shrunken and mortally diseased capitalist world has been suitably demonstrated at the apoplectic centre of modern capitalist concentration in the United States of America. The year of the seventieth anniversary of the death of Marx has seen the inauguration of an Eisenhower and a Dulles in Washington to aspire to the vacated thrones of Hitler and Mussolini, not to mention Kolchak and Denikin, Stolypin, Pobiedonostsev, the Kaiser, Bismarck, Thiers, Cavaignac, the Procurator of the Cologne Trial and all the other valiant slayers of Communism whose brilliantly successful exploits adorn the past century. Eisenhower, in fulfilment of his inspiring motto 'Make Asians Fight Asians' (to which may be added in practice 'Make Europeans Fight Europeans' and 'Make Germans Fight Germans'), has inaugurated his regime with new threats of war in Eastern Asia, new peremptory demands to the reluctant nations of Western Europe to obey the commandments of their transatlantic warlords, new proclamations of the manifest destiny of 'world leadership' of the United States, new denunciations of 'defensive' policies and calls for an

offensive strategy, and new announcements of the sacred principle that treaties signed by the United States are to be regarded as scraps of paper to be torn up when convenient. This glorious inauguration has certainly aroused alarm in all the Governments of the American satellite coalition, and has given new impetus to the popular revolt against these policies of war.

### **'Without Soldiers'**

Secretary of State Dulles made his inauguration with a wild and whirling television broadcast in which he complained that the capitalist world was suffering from 'encirclement' by Communism. An old word in a new context. Not without reason even the *New York Times* found the language of Dulles comparable to the language of the Kaiser and Hitler in 'the dictionary of aggression'. Dulles surveyed the 'gloomy world situation' for the benefit of his viewers, and what did he see? In Asia? Communism. In the Middle East? Communism. In Africa? Communism. In South America? Communism. And in Western Europe the American 'investment', as he described it, of thirty billion dollars to ensure obedient vassals was in danger of being rendered null and void by the resistance of the peoples. And on top of this came the supreme complaint, expressed in his inaugural statement to the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee on January 15:

The Russians have achieved all these results without using a single Russian soldier. Surely what the Russians can accomplish we can accomplish.

Strange and revealing complaint. The wickedness of these Russians is limitless. How much simpler everything would be if there could be just one single little case of Russian aggression. The American war lords have covered land and sea in every continent and region of the world within their reach with their bombers and their bases, their troops and military missions. They have spread destruction and devastation thousands of miles from their shores. And to their amazement they discover that everywhere the peoples turn against them. They discover that Communism is spreading everywhere 'without a single Russian soldier'. Incomprehensible situation to the mentality of a Dulles. For to him the words of Lenin are beyond his understanding: 'The teachings of Marxism are all-powerful because they are true'.

### **The New 'Revolutionaries'**

And so a new paroxysm of frenzy is generated in the infuriated minds of these champions of the old order. They have discovered

that all their armies and police and napalm bombs cannot arrest the march of Communism. Everywhere they see the advance of popular revolt against exploitation and subjection, against landlordism, capitalism and imperialism. A brilliant new idea is born in the heads of the American multi-millionaires. 'Surely what they can accomplish we can accomplish'. We, too, announces Mr. Dulles, are going to organise 'revolution'. New-style revolutions—revolutions against socialism, revolutions against national liberation, revolutions to bring back capitalists and landlords and the foreign imperialists. The multi-millionaires have become the new anarchists—the advocates of 'propaganda by deed'. They know how it is done. Not for nothing have they read in their newspapers about 'Moscow gold'. They know it is only necessary to sign a big cheque, hire a few agents, and they will have their 'revolution'. With gleeful pride they announce the 'new strategy'. Now at last they have out-Marxed Marx. So they sign the cheque. They hire their agents. They organise what in their own language they describe as their 'Department of Dirty Tricks' with limitless cash under the direction of Dulles' own brother. The murder gangs are formed and equipped. The saboteurs are parachuted down. But then they begin to discover they have forgotten one ingredient in their recipe. They have forgotten that real revolutions are made by people. As fast as they send in or hire their agents, the vigilance of the peoples who have won their freedom from the exploiters by generations of sacrifice and struggle rout them out and smash them. As they begin to realise this limitation of their loudly proclaimed 'new strategy', the menace increases of the final desperate thrust to let loose major war. Eisenhower and Dulles stand on the brink of these fateful decisions.

### **Britain in the New World**

It is at this moment that the highest opportunity and responsibility rests above all on the British people. The aggressive plans of Eisenhower and the Republicans to extend war in the Far East have aroused universal alarm in Britain. They have aroused no less openly expressed alarm in France, in Canada, in Japan, in all the countries tied to the American chariot, and equally in India, in the Middle East and in all the countries of Asia seeking to free themselves from the imperialist grip and to end the wars of Western imperialist invasion of Asia. But at this historical moment the key lies above all in Britain. The main antagonism of the remaining capitalist world is between

Britain and the United States; and it is rising every day in every region and in every sphere of policy. If Britain takes the lead for peace against the new war plans of the Eisenhowers and Dulles, the rest of the world would overwhelmingly support such a stand, and the battle for peace can assuredly be won. But to achieve this will require the overmastering pressure of the entire British people, and of the British working class in the first place, to repudiate the servility of the Churchills, Edens, Attlees, and O'Briens, and to compel a new orientation of policy corresponding to the vital immediate economic and political needs of Britain for peace and international co-operation, and for the resumption of national independence and trading freedom. This is the supreme fight that has now opened.

### Marx and Britain

Marx throughout the one third of a century of his residence in Britain gave the closest attention to the problems of Britain's development and the British working class. Professor Cole in the latest of his prolific series of diligent narratives of the socialist and labour movement from a reformist standpoint \* lets drop the remark:

One cannot help feeling that after 1848 he (Marx) buried himself so completely in his study of the British records of the early part of the nineteenth century as never to observe, despite his residence in England, what was happening there at any later time. . . .

At all events, Marx in his later writings gave no evidence of any willingness to alter his general theory of capitalist concentration and 'increasing misery' on account of the course of British capitalist developments after 1850.

An odd remark. Odd, not merely in the face of Marx's very active practical participation in British working-class politics, which Cole very inadequately admits. Still more odd, in the face of Marx's voluminous writings, not merely on the general character of British capitalism and British political institutions, but with unrivalled close informed judgement on all the intricacies and ins and outs of British politics during the mid-nineteenth century, as in his articles in the *New York Tribune*, his *Palmerston*, his correspondence and references in *Capital*. But most odd of all that such a remark should be so complacently published in 1953—when the whole character of Britain's crisis is beating at the head of every politician and economist and so powerfully demonstrating the correctness of Marx's analysis of 'capitalist concentration and increasing misery'

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\* Socialist Thought: The Forerunners 1789-1850, by G. D. H. Cole. Macmillan, 25s.

specifically in relation to the conditions of Britain's development, and so abundantly proving the profound insight of the perspective of the future crisis of British capitalism, after the loss of the temporary world monopoly, which Marx and Engels were alone in revealing in the nineteenth century.

### **Marx and the British Working Class**

Marx understood very well all the special conditions and problems affecting the development of the British working class from the priority of British capitalism and its temporary world monopoly, with the consequent special problems and tactical needs in the evolution of the British working-class movement and the advance to political consciousness and socialism. Marx exposed without mercy the tendency to the development of a 'bourgeois proletariat', laid bare the basis of the labour aristocracy, and fought relentlessly all the narrow backwardness and limited short-sighted outlook reflecting these conditions. But Marx equally never failed to express his deep confidence in the strength and ability of the British working class to overcome these limitations, his admiration of the heroic struggles of the British working class in the past, and his certainty of the future victory of the British working class and of the profound significance of that victory for the whole world:

The English working men are the first born sons of modern industry. They will then certainly not be the last in aiding the social revolution produced by that industry—a revolution which means the emancipation of their own class all over the world, which is as universal as capitalism and wage-slavery.

I know the heroic struggles the English working class have gone through since the middle of the last century—struggles not less glorious because they are shrouded in obscurity and burked by the middle-class historians.

(Marx on the Anniversary of the *People's Paper*, April 14, 1856.)

On this seventieth anniversary of the death of Marx the fight is indeed opening out for the British working class to save themselves and the future of Britain, and thereby to help to save the future of the world. In the fulfilment of this task, as the deep ferment and battle of policies develops within the labour movement, the teachings of Marx, carried forward in our day by Lenin and Stalin, will assuredly come into their own also in Britain and guide the path to the future victory.

*February 18, 1953.*

R.P.D.