

ISSUE 3

MASS-LINE IN EDUCATION

REVOLUTIONARY

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REACTIONARY LINE

"REACTIONARY IDEAS AND PRACTICES DO NOT DIE OF THEIR OWN ACCORD
THEY ARE OVERTHROWN BY THE NEW, PROGRESSIVE IDEAS AND PRACTICES"

Words and Comment

Pamphlet

Series

WORDS AND COMMENT

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EDITORIAL

So the reactionaries have come out openly against knowledge, understanding and the act-of-finding-out. They have responded to the challenge of Words and Comment. In the Editorial page of Words and Comment, Vol. 2, No. 1, we wrote: Words and Comment opens its new year with attacks on reactionary ideas and people and challenges them to bring into the open their sordid and decadent, retrogressive policies and ways of organising societies. The response to this challenge, in accordance to our historical expectations, was cowardly like the impotent frenzy of a person at the tether-end of his life. Reactionaries are the most ignorant and unproductive segment of the human society. They do not read, this is their virtue. They do not discuss, this is their privilege. They do not participate in the production of real life because they are the parasites. But they have lots of bourgeois arrogance which, from time to time erupts into open violence; the frantic attack of the arch-reactionary, right-wing elements last Friday (Jan. 26 1968) on Words and Comment, and the Selected Readings of Mao Tse-tung was just the sort of behaviour one would expect from such types.

The large majority of the genuinely anti-fascist and anti-Nazi people have not forgotten the Nuremberg spectacle of Nazis burning all books which did not go along with the Nazi line. These fascists and Nazis insisted on carrying out anti-humanity and genocidal activities until the time the genuinely anti-fascists and anti-nazis rose to crush the cancerous growth. The verdict of history was definitely against the fascists and the nazis. Attempts were made twice on Friday (Jan. 26, 1968) to recreate the Nuremberg incidents. One man with the support of his coteries tore Selected Readings of Mao Tse-tung, proceeded to burn Chairman Mao's photograph, and in the process heaped unprincipled, unwarranted and the most fascist abuse on Chairman Mao Tse-tung, beloved leader of the Chinese and the working and oppressed people of the whole world. Genuinely anti-fascist and anti-nazi members of the Words and Comment selling staff, holding high the principles of The Internationalists, indignantly protested and forbade the person and his supporters from committing this fascist atrocity. When all efforts to persuade this man to refrain from recreating the book-burnings of Nuremberg failed, our members snatched the torn book from his hands. The same day in the afternoon, another man attempted to tear our informative and genuinely anti-imperialist paper, Words and Comment, but his efforts were combatted by the resolute action of our members. Various other provocations and incidents occurred the same day and during the Internationalist meeting on Thought Control.

Why are the arch-reactionary and right-wing element in such a violent mood? With all the reactionary press, radio and television at their disposal, why does

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a paper like ours strike panic at the hearts of these reactionaries? The answer to this is simple: 1. We represent the majority progressive view and our paper has been, and is instrumental in exposing the reactionary ideas and practices. 2. We stand for the act-of-finding-out which reactionaries thoroughly oppose because they believe in containment of all progressive ideas and practices and maintaining the status-quo. We see no other reason why anybody should stand against free inquiry and exchange of ideas for the purpose of changing the society. The Internationalist motto is: TO SEEK TRUTH: TO SERVE THE WORKING AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF IRELAND AND THE WHOLE WORLD. Why should anybody stand against this motto unless it serves their interests by doing so?

Words and Comment rigorously condemn the actions of those persons who participated in the most outrageous performance i. e. of attempting to burn and mutilate political literature which is opposed to their thinking and ideas.
REACTIONARY VIOLENCE SHALL BE MET BY REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE

FASCIST BEING

The extreme form of egocentric I is the I of the fascist; the fascist thinks that he is the only person alive. The egocentric I of the fascist is defined and qualified in terms of distinctions between him and the remainder of mankind. Fascism starts from a person's being, and it is important to go into the genesis of fascism and fascistic tendencies. When idealists talk of fascism they usually refer to murderous crusades carried out as a result of social, political, or religious dogmas. They picture dismembered bodies and recall all the kinds of physical killing that have taken place through the centuries. They recognize fascism when someone has been physically killed, or when someone is being physically killed. History as such teaches us that all of a sudden somebody, some class of people, or some society went crazy and started killing others. We would suggest that this is an easy definition of fascism, a comfortable rationalisation which allows us to ignore the genesis of fascism within ourselves and within our society; it is an easy definition because it does not take into consideration the reality of the human situation.

Do people become murderers all of a sudden? We would suggest no; the manifestations of fascism are many, and the anti-conscious definition cannot explain them. We would suggest that the moment we believe something without undertaking the act of finding out then we are manifesting a fascistic tendency; the acceptance without questioning of the fundamentals involved in a statement, an analysis or a concept is laying the basis of fascism. Cold War slogans operate precisely in this manner, being built on half-truths and distortions. The western capitalist press, radio, and television all refer to the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam as 'communist': because the ruling classes of these countries have created the bogey of 'international communism' to justify their opposition to all the national liberation movements in the 'tri-continental countries, it is more to their advantage to continuously refer to the Buddhists, Catholics, communists, businessmen, teachers, lawyers, and the countless peasants who support them agents of 'international communism'.

Beliefs devoid of experiential validity, the accumulated prejudices of the society constitute the dogma which gives rise to overt fascism; Hermann Goering remarked, "Voice or no voice, the people can always be brought to the bidding of their leaders, that is easy. All you have to do is to tell them that they are being attacked, and denounce the pacifists for lack of patriotism and exposing the country to danger. It works the same in any country." (At the Nuremburg Trials). Fascistic tendencies operate when beliefs are held without question, and they are expressed as the mode of thinking and the mode of action in non-confrontational societies. Consider, for example, the attacks made on the Internationalists by various writers in the local and national press. None of these writings went into the activity of finding out what we have been doing for the last few years, and why we have been doing it; instead, everyone is content to discuss the Internationalists on the basis of rumours. One of the Internationalists who had been dealt with in the local press described the following experience; "I talked to one student, a nice naive student. After I had explained to her how character assassination operates, she kept on saying to me how could I say that what was written was wrong when it was written down there in black and white. I said consider me as a person and try to understand what I am saying. Now I am not suggesting that the girl should believe me, but since that magazine was writing about me, she should at least be interested to find out what I have to say about myself." This is active fascism and affects both people involved. That student was consciously avoiding the possibility of ascertaining the reality of things, and in so doing, she was killing the personality of the other as well as her own. The soldier who sends human beings into gas chambers, the bomber pilot who rains napalm on villages, or the scientist who enthusiastically sells his services to equip the armies of aggression do exactly the same thing. In order to perform this operation he has to consciously suppress his living activity, his act of finding out whether what he is doing is justified or not. He has to turn himself into a robot, define himself in historical crib terms (patriotism and duty) and act as a machine in order to treat others as machines and not human beings.

(from 'The Necessity For Change' pamphlet page 16 published by the Internationalists, June 1967)

For further elucidation of this point, please turn to PERCEPTUAL KNOWLEDGE page 22.

NEXT WEEK!

IN WORDS AND COMMENT

POPULATIONS AND FOOD

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* INTRODUCTION *
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"Quantity without going into qualitative change becomes oppressive and will destroy the individual and organisation which lives on that principle. Thus progress is transformation from one quality to another going through transitional quantitative change." The Christmas study program was designed to develop the ideological base for such qualitative change in order that our movement will develop and go forward.

This report summarises the investigation of the last two weeks in which we have examined: the origin of the earth, the origin of species, the development of the family, the principles of the natural and social sciences, and trends in philosophic thought.

In the history of ideas, philosophers have consistently fallen into one or other of two world outlooks.

"In his Ludwig Feuerbach, Engels declares that the fundamental philosophical trends are materialism and idealism. Materialism regards nature as primary and spirit as secondary; it places being first and thought second. Idealism holds the contrary view. This root distinction between the 'two great camps' into which the philosophers of the 'various schools' of idealism and materialism are divided, Engels takes as the cornerstone, and he directly charges with 'confusion' those who use the terms idealism and materialism in any other way." (Lenin: Materialism and Emperio-Criticism p. 94)

Historically, however, there was still much confusion. The materialism of the ideologues of the French Revolution (Diderot, etc.), while correct in so far as it placed matter primary and spirit secondary, failed to account for the growth and development of phenomena. Man is a machine, they said, and thus they fell into metaphysics to account for motion and change.

It was the 19th century German philosopher, Hegel, who led the advance against the French materialists. Change he contended, was not a mechanical process, a simple reaction based on some external or internal mechanism, but a dialectical process in which a struggle between contrary opposites took place. Change and development was, therefore, the result of a qualitative transformation of a phenomenon into its opposite.

Unfortunately, Hegel's dialectics were idealist. Mind dominated matter. The dialectic was guided by the supreme Idea or the World Spirit which unfolded its form in the personification of certain nation states. Hegelian idealism served the reactionary status quo in German politics and reached a dead end in its attempt to guide and develop man's understanding.

Marx synthesised Hegel's dialectics with the early materialism, discarding

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the incorrect aspects of each philosophy. Modern materialism, or dialectical materialism, emerged in permanent opposition to both idealism and metaphysics.

ORIGIN OF SPECIES

In explaining the origin of the development of life, Darwin was a materialist in that he believed in things existing "independently of our sensation." ("For the basic position of not only Marxian materialist but of every materialism, of all earlier materialism is a recognition of real objects outside us, to which objects our ideas correspond." V. I. Lenin). Thus Darwin put forward the idea of progression of species through all ages and where this progression does not appear continuous, suggests that the link is maintained through extinct species. He states, "extinct species can all be classed either in still existing groups, or between them." However, he was not a dialectical materialist and therefore did not portray the dialectical balance in the contradiction of structure and function or environment and species. He shows, for example, how well the bee adapts to the flower but not how this development depends on their mutual struggle and, instead, puts forward the untenable idea of inherent variation.

SOCIAL SCIENCES

The application of dialectical materialism to the social sciences, that is, the Marxist scientific analysis of society, had revolutionary consequences. It was not, as the idealists and God-fearing souls believed, ideas which determined the world but, rather, the world which determined ideas. Casting out the metaphysical and theological notions of imate ideas and concepts residing in some heavenly deity, Marx showed that it was man's social being which determined his consciousness. More importantly it was not simply society -as-such (not some vague mentally-deduced abstractions) which shaped men's thinking but.

In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structures of society, the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political super-structure.

But, the "reasonable-minded" liberal asks, are you suggesting that economic determines everything, even what I am saying??? No, that is dogmatism. Marxists recognize the interaction between the economic base and the ideological super-structure. Engels, in Origin of Family, State and Private Property, demonstrates the determining influence of men's productive relations on the primitive family structure. But we can see, in turn, the influence of the family structure on the economic foundations. The bourgeois family, while clearly a product of the capitalist mode of production (with its fundamental basis in commodity consumption,

and private accumulation) in turn affects the economic relations in society.

Bourgeois intellectuals -- the sociologists, psychologists, historians and anthropologists -- fail here in that they do not grasp the internal contradictions in things. Nor do they see the interconnections and interdependency of phenomena. Rather, they are one-sided and subjective in their approach and because of their vested interest (as parasites of the reactionary exploiting classes) do not probe deeply into a thing so as to discover its principal contradiction and reveal its essence.

In opposition to the subjective superficiality of these 'bourgeois gentlemen' rises the solid weapon of scientific socialism. Dialectical materialism, openly declaring itself in the service of the working and oppressed peoples, exposes the confusion and nonsense of the intellectuals of the bourgeois elite.

Lenin maintained that materialism necessitates "the concrete analysis of concrete conditions." This method of approach is best illustrated by Marx in his demystification of the workings of capitalist society through the analysis of the simple commodity relation. In Das Kapital he shows how the contradictions in commodity exchange develop and lay the basis for the final destruction of the entire capitalist system.

QUALITY -- QUANTITY -- QUALITY

Our investigation in the natural sciences, social sciences, political economy, and in the history of ideas revealed that in all these fields a common process could be seen to operate; ie. the qualitative growth of phenomena (on the basis of the struggle of its internal contradictions) and then a sudden leap or transformation when the internal balance shifted and a new essence emerged. This process; quality diffusing into quantity and giving rise to the necessity for qualitative change, can be seen operating in all phenomena in which there is motion and development.

The key to grasping this process, which reveals the inner workings of the universe, is dialectical materialism and our subsequent reports and investigations will attempt to show the concrete operation of this process in all forms of life and matter.

Décember, 29th, 1967.

COMMENT ON MATERIALISM AND EMPIRO-CRITICISM

BY V. I. LENIN

Up, through the struggles of history we can, today, see that there have been two main protagonists, two cosmologies, or ways of interpreting the world, two forces struggling in nature and in man; one to promote change, the other to impede change. At any one time in history one of these forces is in ascendance, the other in decay. With growth a thing must leap into a new way of doing things, or it decays, and it's opposite grows in proportion to the decay.

Natural laws show us, through active experience, that understanding of the world does not passively mirror material conditions but takes part in the ordering of things by coming into contradiction with material conditions. This contradiction increases and through struggle develops to resolution. The materialist recognizes this fact, the idealist, sees his thought but not the frenzy of his actions, and denies that contradiction leads to change. He has become. The materialist is becoming.

For example, as the European Middle Ages fossilized their feudal values, the materialist forces were beginning to develop new values. Feudal land owners were being challenged by the nobility and wealth of merchants, and scientific investigation developed. With Galileo's announcement that the earth was not the centre of the universe, the forces of reaction, of status quo rose to assert that God's image, MAN, was still the centre of existence. In other words, it was a power struggle between the hitherto power-holders, and the ascending forces. How did the idealist reactionaries combat their case-by-situations? No, with centuries of burning, lootings, raping and shootings. In a word they objectively defend their power, though unconscious that their acts were only proving the natural laws of material development correct.

The dialectical problem of the materialist outlook is how to solve the contradiction between theory and practice. In his philosophical essays, Mao gives us first a description of the materialist theory of knowledge (ON CONTRADICTION). In other words, he describes matter, then motion; i.e. when he speaks of the theory of knowledge he is also speaking of it in practice.

Taking Materialism and Empiro-Criticism, we must first examine its historical background which contains, obviously, the dynamics of its creation from the objective conditions of the turn of the century, the forces at work in the world in general, and in Russia in particular. As Stalin pointed out, things were pretty rosy for capitalism at this point. Capitalist growth was still moving its predatory body ahead with few impediments. This was reflected by the state of much of the proletarian movement, infected as it was by Revisionism, parliamentary reform, and lack of progressive struggle amongst leading cadres. Quantitatively the people's movement had developed, but

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it was having second thoughts on the eve of its qualitative change (in Britain the second thoughts have lasted 50 years). This of course, is a direct reflection of the influence of the capitalist, reactionary mode of production on its opposite.

The people Lenin is refuting were self-professed Bolsheviks, but objectively they were liberal Bolsheviks. Hence in the party the contradiction was between empiricism and Marxism. We can see by practical definition that empiricists are observers of phenomenon, while Marxists are participants in phenomenon. At the outset, it should be obvious that an observer doing battle with an "activist" is going to put himself into an untenable position.

So the Russian empiricists, or followers of Earnst Mach, who were profess- ed Bolsheviks did not grasp the concept of transformation in Marxism. They saw knowledge in static planes, they said Marxists were 1. detached for look- ing at things-in themselves (outside of man), 2. dualists for seeing things- for-us' as well as 'things-in-themselves', 3. metaphysicians, for speaking of leaps in knowledge. In short, they used against Marxists the criticism that Marxists used against idealists, without undertaking to understand this criticism. They waved the red flag to defeat the red flag. Their detachment, indeed, ref- lected their class background, and their unconscious commitment to reaction.

Let's look at their practice. Working with the Bolshevik party ostensibly to help liberate the majority of men, to increase people's consciousness of the necessity of natural laws, they said they were seeking truth to serve people. They professed to be struggling to correct the incomplete ideas in the party. By filling in the gaps of Marxist theory; they thought they were setting up a revolutionary party based on empirical fact, a solid foundation, which when complete, could have the granite walls of revolution lowered onto it.

These people were revisionists who did not see the dialectical balance bet- ween contradictions, in which two become one, one divides into two and the result is unity again through the process of struggle.

In other words they failed to grasp the primacy of practice in the process of the growth of knowledge; their acts of revision were not based on first hand practical application among the people. They were academic bourgeois gentlemen preparing for a paper revolution. They failed to realise that obj- ectively they themselves were engaged in a dialectical struggle and develop- ment with real Marxists. They were as Mao says lazy bones.

The objective character of these early revisionists is very important for us today. These Russian Marxists were trying to fight the new with old meth- ods and hence, by natural laws were doomed to failure from the start. They were forming groups within the group, blind to the objective fact that their methods were leading them to conclusions in direct opposition to their avowed intentions. They were lifting rocks and dropping them on their own feet.

Lenin for his part in this struggle, showed the affinity ^{of} these Russian emp- iricists to Berkeley, who in 1710, brought out his Treatise Concerning Human

Knowledge. This was his subjective contribution to the world; and the development of British law, order, religion and civilization to the colonies (Ireland and America) were his objective acts, totally in keeping with his class and his class's production relations.

His distinguished materialism: "the absolute existence of sensible objects with or without the mind" from idealism: wherein objects do not exist without the mind, objects being combinations of sensations (table). He maintains that man's innate perceptibility was predetermined by God. Causality then, for an idealist of this nature, is symbolic of divine order, rational will, and for materialists, is empirical causes. That is - Berkeley's object is a reflection of God, whereas to a naturalist it is a reflection of the objective physical world.

Between these two camps, there were the agnostics personified by Hume and Kant. Hume says all we've got are sensations and we can never rationally know their connection with objects. He says the system is short circuited if God is dragged in. He believes the causes we ascribe to phenomena are culturally determined by habit - psychological craving.

Diderot, leader of the Encyclopedists, the intellectual elite of bourgeoisie prior to the French Revolution, showed how Berkeley and his followers were solipists; that is ego-centred, subjective idealists, the most detached beings possible.

One further example of Berkeley's contentions an object is a complex of sensations. A man is an object. A man perceiving another man is one group of sensations interacting with another group of sensations. Who, Lenin asks, can embrace this brainless philosophy when the brain is but another bundle of sensations? And he shows by means of the objective works of the Machists that they can and do embrace the brainless epistemology.

D. Daly

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NATURAL SCIENCE - M. White

This statement by Abel Rey: "An historian later will see steady evolution; contemporaries saw conflicts, contradictions and divisions into various schools," reflects the situation in natural science at the time Lenin was writing this book. Machists and physical idealists were arguing that there was no objective truth independent of mankind because the old truths of physics, some of which were thought to be established and inviolable, had been proved relative: e.g. The dictum that energy can't be created or destroyed was shattered with the discovery of radium for it is in a state of transformation, giving off energy. Later, with the splitting of the atom, matter was changed directly into energy, and the old dictum completely annihilated. Thus Hermann Cohen, a Kantian-idealist, can state: "Theoretical idealism has already begun to shake the materialism of the natural scientists, and may need only a little while to defeat it completely." In opposition to this, however, is Lenin's statement that "dialectical materialism insists on the approximate relative character of every scientific theory of the structure of matter and its properties; it insists on the absence of absolute boundaries in nature, on the transformation of moving matter from one state to another" and Marx, who maintains that absolute truth results from the sum-total of relative truths in the course of their development; that relative truths represent relatively faithful reflections of an object independent of mankind; that these reflections become more and more faithful; and that every scientific truth contains an element of absolute truth. (p. 298)

Thus, there is always the opposition of forces: idealism and materialism, reaction and revolution. Lenin argues in this book that many of the scientists and philosophers waver between idealism and materialism. They are, he says, shame faced materialists e.g. Heinrich Hertz and Rey, who e.g. says: "Objective is that which is given from without, imposed by experience; it is that which is not of our making but which is made independently of us and which to a certain extent makes us." "These men express materialist ideas but in other terms, and indeed, are often ignorant of dialectics.

The physicist, Lenin maintains, is by instinct a materialist for he is convinced of the reality of the external world. Why then the dichotomy? The contradictions between the idealist and materialist stance in natural science? One argument is that the idealist cannot see the progression of history, of science, of life through the struggle with contradictions. He wants to accept that what is here and now is absolute.

* * * * *

THE MONIST CONCEPT OF HISTORY

Plekhanov illustrates how from the French Materialists of the 18th, Cent. materialism developed because of the empirical consistency of this logic as opposed to idealism which kept reverting back to the spirit as a criterion for knowledge. He shows how idealism only appeared to progress because it used the knowledge gained by materialists of previous eras. It was not until the German Idealist Hegel that idealism took a strong stand. The reason for the materialists weakness lay in their inability to solve the problem of evolution in nature or in history. They took an idealist stand on these questions, maintaining that human nature and opinions governed the world.

Idealists at the beginning of the 19th. Cent. set about trying to combat this abstract way of thinking. They attempted to discover some concrete explanations for real life or the process of development of phenomena. Hegel contributed to this theory by opposing metaphysics to dialectics. He called metaphysics the opinion of one who disregarded the process of development of phenomena. Dialectics is opposed to this in that it is the study of phenomena in their development and interaction based on the understanding of their contradictions and motion. Plekhanov illustrates this by examples - life ending in the negation of itself, that is, death, and free competition ending in monopoly, that is, its opposite.

The metaphysicians explained evolution as though phenomena were originally microscopic and gradually grew up only to gradually diminish in size, that is, no leaps. Hegel maintained that in nature and human society leaps constituted just as essential a stage of evolution as gradual quantitative changes. He said quality passes into quantity and back in quality. He said that the 'Perfect legislation' that the Utopian Socialists thought was possible, could never be as every thing was in a state of flux and every useful institution eventually becomes harmful.

The German idealists weakness was that they did not understand the philosophy of nature, their strength was in their theories dealing with various sides of historical development. Like all the philosophers before them who concerned themselves with the relationship of being and thought, the idealists of the 19th Century found the old question of freedom and necessity coming up. They maintained that the possibility of the free (conscious) historical activity of any particular person is reduced to zero, if at the very foundation of free human action there does not lie necessity which is accessible to the understanding of the doer. Thus idealism leads to fatalism which the metaphysical French materialists fell into earlier. The dialectical idealists understood that necessity is the only reliable

guarantee of freedom. They abandoned the standpoint of human nature and as a result they got rid of the Utopian view of social phenomena. They began to examine social life as a necessary process with its own laws. But in a roundabout way; by personifying the process of our logical reasoning (i. e. one of the sides of human nature) they returned to the same unsatisfactory point of view and therefore the true nature of social relations remained incomprehensible to them. The problem was left to Marx to solve.

DAS KAPITAL

THE CONTRADICTION IN COMMODITIES.....

Marx, in Das Kapital, provides a key to the working class for unlocking the mysteries of the capitalist mode of production. Why is this so important for us?

In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production, which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum-total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structures of society, the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure.

(Plekhanov, The Monist View of History, Quoting Marx, p. 190)

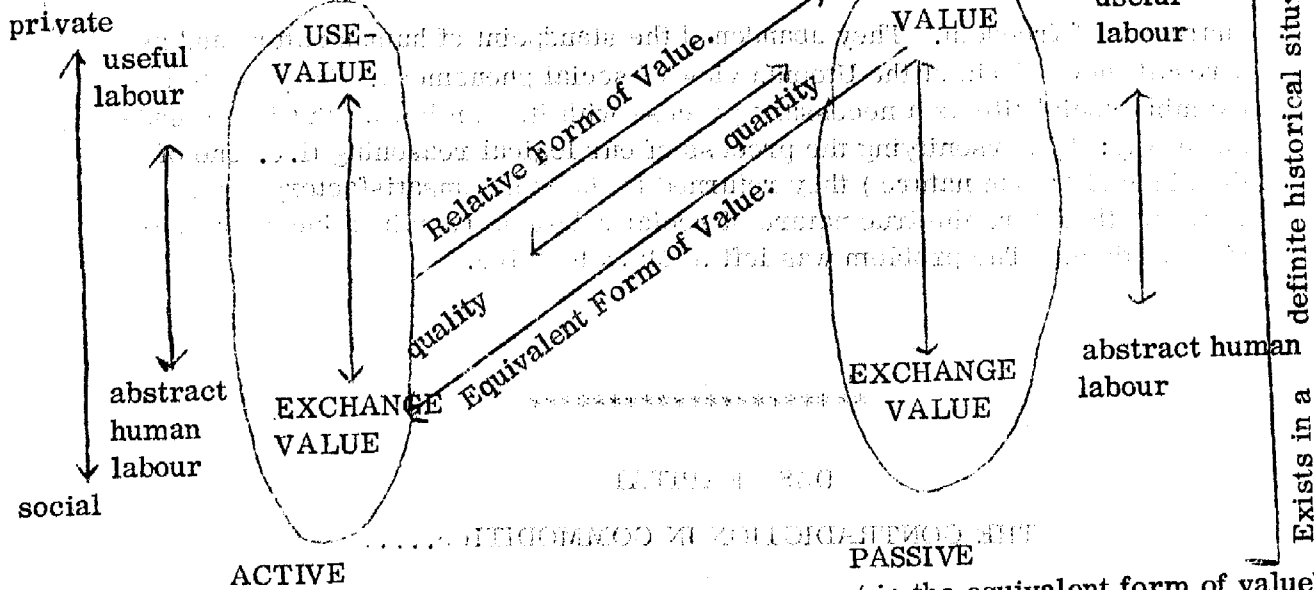
Men's productive relations, therefore, provide the thread for unraveling all the phenomena of our social existence. What, then, is the fundamental nature of the capitalist mode of production? Lenin writes, (Mao, On Contradiction),

In his Capital, Marx first analyses the simplest, most ordinary and fundamental, most common and everyday relation of bourgeois (commodity) society, a relation encountered billions of times, viz. the exchange of commodities. In this very simple phenomenon (in this 'cell' of bourgeois society) reveals all the contradictions (or the germs of all the contradictions) of modern society. The subsequent exposition shows us the development (growth and movement) of these contradictions and of this society in the (summation) of its individual parts, from its beginning to its end.

The following diagram illustrates the 'simple' relationship of the 'form of value' of two commodities, say a coat and some linen. The arrows demarcate contradictions.

x Commodity A (1coat)

y Commodity B (20 yds of linen.)



ACTIVE

PASSIVE

(in the relative form of value)

(in the equivalent form of value)

In this 'value form' the two commodities are related by virtue of the fact that they both contain the same amount of 'necessary labour time'. In the relative form of value we are answering the question . . . "What is the value of, say, the coat?" The answer is provided by bringing it into relation with another commodity (of a certain definite quantity, vis. one whose production requires the identical amount of socially-necessary labour time.) Thus,

The bodily form of the commodity becomes its value-form. But, mark well, this quid pro quo exists in the case of any commodity B, only when some other commodity A enters into a value relation with it, and then only within the limits of this relation. Since no commodity can stand in the relation of equivalent to itself, and thus turn its own bodily shape into the expression of its own value, every commodity is compelled to choose some other commodity for its equivalent, and to accept the use-value, that is to say the bodily shape of that other commodity as the form of its own value." (Capital 1)

This 'relation' instantly generates an opposite (polar but interdependent) relation, vis. the equivalent form of value. Here, in the diagram, 20 yds. of linen is the equivalent of the coat (and in the equivalent form) and expresses its bodily form (its use-value . . . as opposed to its exchange value) in the fact that it is directly exchangeable with the coat.

But this embryonic analysis of commodity relation is merely the seed which gives rise to a mammoth weed patch of contradictions. For example Marx develops the relative form of value into the expanded form of value (in which innumerable commodities can be equated to x Commodity A) and finally, by reversing the equation, produces a single commodity that comes

... to be recognised as the universal equivalent.

Only the social act can make a particular commodity the universal equivalent — money. The immanent contradiction in a commodity as the direct unity of use-value and exchange-value, as the product of useful private labour... and as the direct social materialisation of abstract human labour — this contradiction finds no rest until it results in duplicating the commodity into commodity and money.

Further developing these contradictions which appear in the circulation of commodities, Marx explains:

Circulation bursts through all restrictions as to time, place, and individuals, imposed by direct barter, and thus by splitting up, into the antithesis of a sale and a purchase, the direct identity that in barter does exist between the alienation of one's own and the acquisition of some other man's product. To say that these two independent and antithetical acts have an intrinsic unity, are essentially one, is the same as to say that this intrinsic oneness expresses itself in an external antithesis. If the interval in time between the two complementary phases of the complete metamorphosis of a commodity become too great, if the split between the sale and the purchase become too pronounced, the intimate connexion between them, their oneness, asserts itself by producing — a crisis. The antithesis, use-value and value; the contradiction that private labour is bound to manifest itself as direct social labour, that a particularised concrete kind of labour has to pass for abstract human labour; the contradiction between the personification of objects and the representation of persons by things; all these antitheses and contradictions, which are immanent in commodities, assert them selves, and develop their modes of motion, in the antithetical phases of the metamorphosis of a commodity. (Capital 1)

From beginning to end, the original contradiction in a commodity (between its use-value and its value in exchange) is scientifically analysed by Marx. The development of capital as a 'social force' is shown to operate independent of the 'will' of any individual capitalist and independent of his understanding of the phenomena. Capital rigourously adheres to the materialist theory of knowledge: recognising the primacy of matter over spirit and holding to the premise that the real OBJECTIVE world exists independent of our sensation or consciousness of it.

Marx's development of the commodity relation in its 'simple' form, on through to the end of the book, is a brilliant example of the dialectical materialist method of analysis. Capital, from beginning to end, illustrates the correctness of the law of the unity of opposites which Lenin defined as "the recognition (discovery) of the contradictory, mutually exclusive, opposite tendencies in all phenomena and processes of nature (including mind and society)." Mao On Contradiction)

Marx ridicules the total failure of many economists (bourgeois) to grasp his basic analysis of the commodity. In a footnote in Capital he writes.... "The few economists, amongst who is S. Bailey, who have occupied themselves with the analysis of the form of value, have been unable to arrive at any result, first because they confuse the form of value with value itself; and second, because, under the coarse influence of the practical bourgeois, they exclusively give their attention to the quantitative aspect of the question."

Capital, as a social force, produces commodities, more and more commodities, with the growth of surplus-value. This quantitative growth is most apparent under US monopoly capitalism where the surfeit of commodities has transformed living human beings into consumption gadgets and totally detached them from the production and reproduction of real life. That there is a finite limit to the degree that this commodity culture (corporate sensate culture) can provide sustenance, warmth or amusement is obvious. Original 'quality,' seen in terms of the exchange of commodities (trading in the 16th Century onwards) so that others could benefit from your skill or particular product, has diffused into quantity (in the form of 'higher man', the imperialist baby, whose existence is complete with a can opener, bottle opener and a cheque book). Without qualitative change (vis. socialist revolution), commodity production in America can only further degenerate and decay.

In the context of the commodity relation, qualitative change means RESOLUTION OF THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN USE-VALUE and EXCHANGE-VALUE. This contradiction cannot be resolved (as the imperialists and their lackeys would so like to believe) through the dehumanisation of all useful labour and all useful products into pure exchange value. Rather, the necessary transformation is the DESTRUCTION OF EXCHANGE-VALUE AS SUCH and the development of the productive forces under relations which ensure that goods are produced for real needs and for the welfare of the majority of the people and not for the profits for a minority. The first step in the resolution of this contradiction in the commodity is the socialist revolution and the final resolution of the elimination of 'exchange-value as such' under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

R. Cruise, J. Holland, J. Gillespie.

GERMAN IDEOLOGY

SECTION ON FEUERBACH:-

"The philosophers have only interpreted the world the point, however, is to change it." (11th. Critique of Feuerbach) Marx's criticism of his contemporary philosophers in Germany, namely the Young Hegelians, Bruno Bauer and Max Stirner is in essence contained in the above statement.

He says of the Young Hegelians---"they did not relate German philosophy to German reality. That is they did not relate their criticism to their material surroundings. What were the Young Hegelians saying. Marx says of them that they reduced such things as Law, politics, ethics and philosophy to one ground, religion and

set about their criticism with that as their base. Thus it was possible for them to consider, conceptions, thoughts, ideas, in fact all the products of consciousness, to which they attribute an independent existence, as the real bonds of men. They propose that men exchange their present consciousness for human critical or egoistic consciousness and thereby remove man's limitations. Marx shows very clearly how these assumptions are incorrect. 'Where do ideas come from?' asks Marx. Ideas come from the material activity of real men, and not from what men may imagine say or conceive. . . . that is man's consciousness is determined by his productive activity. For instance the proletarian world outlook as opposed to the bourgeois world outlook of today. Marx empirically reveals how man's consciousness arises from his productive activity. He says, that the first condition that must be met before there can be any history is the existence of living human individuals. Their first historical act is to produce the means of sustaining their existence. . . . the satisfaction of this need necessarily gives rise to new needs, one of them being an increase in population. This increase in population necessitates a qualitative development in production which simultaneously gives rise to a division of labour. The division of labour only becomes truly such with the division into mental and material. Marx substantiates this by pointing out that priests were the first ideologists. At this stage consciousness can emancipate itself from the world and proceed to the formation of pure theory. . . . theology, philosophy, ethics etc. Marx shows here that any philosopher or historian who traces the development of man prior to the development of the various ideological superstructures. These historians and philosophers call this era pre-history but they do not enlighten us as to how we proceed from this nonsensical 'pre-history' to history proper'.

In dealing with Feuerbach, Marx says of him that he accepts and at the same time misunderstands existing reality. For instance Feuerbach proposes that the 'essence' of man (soul) is identical with his 'existence' (mode of life) when these two are not in harmony he considers it merely as an accident. However if we take the example of the working class whose 'existence' is obviously separate in that it is in contradiction with its 'essence' can we call this fact an accident. Marx suggests that we cannot and that this will be brought to our attention when the millions of proletarians decide to bring their 'essence' into harmony with their 'existence' by means of a revolution.

Thus Marx says that this explanation of Feuerbach's, that all such contradictions are inevitable abnormalities (accidents) does not essentially differ from the consolation that Max Stirner offers to the discontented. Stirner says that this contradiction (the poverty of the human condition) is their own contradiction and this predicament their own predicament, whereupon they should either set their minds at ease, keep their disgust to themselves or revolt against it in some fantastic way. This differs just as little from Bruno Bauer's allegation that these unfortunate circumstances are due to the fact that those concerned are stuck in the muck of 'substance', have not advanced to absolute 'self-consciousness', and do not realise that these adverse conditions are 'spirit of their spirit'.

Marx clearly shows the origin and development of the social history of man always revealing what forces give rise to the contradiction between 'existence' and 'essence', whether it be the primitive tribal community or the modern industrial state. Thus in doing this, he accomplishes his primary task which is as he says

'to unleash these sheep (philosophers) who take themselves and are taken for wolves' and he shows how 'their bleating merely imitates in philosophic form the conceptions of the German middle class.'

DEVELOPMENT OF FAMILY, PRIVATE PROPERTY AND STATE

Man is in continual struggle with his environment, in this struggle he develops his means of production. As these means of production change the family and social structures also change. Primitive group marriages were narrowed down to the gentile and finally, the monogamian families, thus inbreeding was gradually restricted, resulting in more healthy people. Under gentile society the means of production were primitive----hunting, fishing and the population was sparse. The only division of labour was the natural one between man and woman. Some tribes found that animals could be domesticated and this led to a) social division of labour and an increase in the range of products leading to exchange property. The increase of production created conditions for slavery, and this was the first great class division of society.

This great social revolution destroyed the gentile family. It required a more dense population so that tribes now joined together to become a 'people' living in their own (seperate) territory. To these peoples plunder was easier and more honourable than productive work. As man controlled these improved means of production he usurped the dominant position in the house, and mother right changed to father right. With the development of metal work and horticulture a second great division of labour occurred between agriculture and handicrafts and slavery thus became essential.

Due to the switch from mother right to father right, it became usual to elect the son of the tribal chief as his successor, thus leading to a rising nobility. Community interests changed to individual antagonisms. Thus the mode of production changed the family, and the organisation of tribes for their free administration was changed into their opposite - an organisation for ruling and oppressing their own people. The resulting class differences led to the state, the instrument which shows but tries to hide, the irreconcilability of classes. The state has two important attributes: 1. it divides people according to territories and 2. it has a public power over and above the people. The state is the state of the most powerful economically dominant class, which, through the medium of the state becomes the politically most dominant class. (This class rules today by means of universal suffrage.)

To-day, under capitalism, (and especially under its highest form, imperialism) the state is based on the exploitation of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie, and the conception of wealth and private property as ends to themselves. The means of production (as we have seen in the evolution of society) affects the family but also the family affects the means of production. The bourgeois family affects the mode of production through the ideological superstructures. All family relations are based on private property - 'the man is the bourgeois and the wife is the proletariat'. The capitalist system contains within it the seeds of its own destruction, ie. class distinction, and class struggle. When this struggle has developed, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie will change into its opposite, the dictatorship of the proletariat; and thus change in the means of production by abolish-

ing private property, will cause a change in the family. Women will be able to take part in productive work in the society as household work becomes a social industry. This and the elimination of private property are the conditions for the liberation of women from domination by men.

SCIENCE FOR WHOM?-'EVOLUTION'

Darwin says that "Owing to the struggle for life, variations however slight and from whatever cause proceeding, if they be in any degree profitable to the individual of a species, will tend to the preservation of such individuals and will generally be inherited by the offspring. The offspring will thus have a better chance of surviving, (for of the many individuals of any species which are periodically born, but a small number can survive) and will thus increase."

Darwin terms this principle, the principle of natural selection, but points out that "the expression often used by Mr. Herbert Spencer of the Survival of the Fittest is more accurate, and is sometimes equally convenient." Thus it is clear that Darwin uses these terms synonymously.

He further points out "that as more individuals are produced than can possibly survive, there must in every case be a struggle for existence, either one individual of a species with another of the species, or with the physical conditions of life. It is the doctrine of Malthus applied with manifold force to the whole animal and vegetable kingdoms."

Apart from mentioning that climate plays an important part in checking the tendency to increase, and the pressure of competing for the same food gives "the extreme limit to which each (species) can increase" Darwin does not go into detailed explanation of the factors checking the animal and plant population. He implies that variation is inherent, that "as new species in the course of time are formed, through natural selection, others will become rarer and rarer and finally extinct"... and "each new variety or species during the progress of its formation, will generally press hardest on its nearest kindred and tend to exterminate them."

Thus by a process of gradual natural selection the "improvement inevitably leads to the gradual advancement of the organisation of the greater number of living beings throughout the world." Later he adds that it "may be objected that if all organic beings thus tend to rise in scale, how is it that throughout the world a multitude of the lowest forms still exist?" and counters this by saying that this "offers no difficulty, for natural selection at the survival of the fittest does not necessarily include progressive development." Later he adds - "lowly organised forms appear to have preserved to the present day, from inhabiting confined or peculiar stations, where they have been subjected to less severe

competition, and where their scanty numbers have retarded the chance of favorable variations arising" and finally "that many lowly organised forms now exist throughout the world from various causes."

1. Some cases of variations of a favorable nature may never have arisen for natural selection to act on and accumulate.

2. In no case probably, has time sufficed for the utmost possible amount of development.

But

3. "The main cause lies in the fact that under very simple conditions of life a high organisation would be of no service". Thus these live in protected niches.

The class limitation of the author:

Before Darwin presented his theory, the prevalent view in society was the "immutability of species" and that all the animals and the plants had arisen by sudden acts of creation. As A. J. Hall says in "The Scientific Revolution" after the revolution "the belief on the fixity of species was no less respectable than the belief in the fixity of the earth." Thus Darwin's "Origin of the Species" revolutionised the thinking in terms of fixed species. Nevertheless we note that at each stage the facts of science are the same but the interpretation of the facts depends on which class one serves. Darwin came from the bourgeois class and transplanted his prejudices from the bourgeois society onto nature.

1. He transplants Hobbes idea "all men against all men in war" and emphasises that struggle is greatest between the same species, without showing that the qualitative change gives rise to the struggle, nor does he show more clearly or grasp firmly what he himself gives in his data, the unity of those who struggle against the common foe.

2. He imposes the bourgeois economist Malthusian theory of population.

3. He imposes the bourgeois economic theory of competition - and does not show how a variants characteristic may be regressive when life as a whole is considered.

The transplantation of his bourgeois outlook on nature is particularly illustrative in the chapter on instincts where he talks about the slave-making instinct. He arbitrarily imposes the concept of slave and master onto the ants he was studying. "The slaves work energetically with their masters in carrying them (the exposed larvae) away to a place of safety. Hence it is clear that the slaves feel quite at home". . . . and again "Mr. Smith informs me that he has never seen the slaves, though present in large numbers in August, either leave or enter the nest. Hence he considers them as strictly household slaves. The masters, on the other hand, may be constantly seen bringing in materials for the nest, and food of all kinds."

The advantage of the dialectical materialist outlook and the weakness of the bourgeois mechanical materialist outlook:

The dialectical materialist outlook of the evolution of the species is that there is a contradiction between structure and function, between rigidity and flexibility,

and in history progress, as Engels said "makes its appearance as the negation of the existing state of things." (Dialectics of Nature.) The species maintains its structure from generation to generation, and in its search for food the environment alters the species in its contact and expression with the species - thus a struggle ensues and this resolves itself in history if the pressure of a large population alters the dialectical balance in favour of the progressive variants. As the new variant with its new mode of living appears, the old quality either dies away, (regression) on account of being unable to adapt, or else the dialectical balance alters and thus allows the old quality to survive 'in a niche'. Accordingly a struggle takes place at each stage between contradictory aspects, between progression and regression, between old quality and the new quality and as the new quality wins over the old and begins to increase, new contradictions come into play. Thus at each stage the present quality and the future quality are present and struggle for expression.

Darwin's theory of 'inherent variation' is untenable, for not only is it mechanistic - but it is plainly simple to think of say a bacteria, containing the inherent capability to turn into a man.

Darwin also does not seem to see how the environment and species are constantly affecting and changing each other through a process of dialectical struggle.

Finally before we look at the overall view of the evolutionary process it should be noted that the bourgeoisie takes the theory of natural selection and survival of the fittest and emphasises the part which will support its reactionary stand - and distorts the rest into bourgeois rhetoric. Thus the phenomena whereby during the historical period, progress is maintained by history's selection of those who are the most progressive, is distorted by the bourgeois when he considers himself in a non-continuous, dismembered way, as the end product of history. (Things have become rather than things are becoming) and goes so far as to transplant his views back into history.

The overall aspect of evolution is the consistent theme that when a new quality arises, it goes into quantity, becomes oppressive and in turn a new quality arises. Thus from quality to quality, new species are formed in a progression. Regression in the species as a whole may arise, as with the case of parasites, but natural history as a whole progresses on.

M. Madha, A. McCall, J. Simmons.

HOUSING CRISIS

DUBLIN HOUSING ACTION COMMITTEE

PUBLIC MEETING

Abbey St. Corner at 8pm.

followed by a march to City Hall on Monday 5th. February.

SUPPORT THE JUST DEMANDS OF DUBLIN'S HOMELESS!

and detached understanding of a phenomenon. One has to depend on some supernatural power to explain the phenomenon. Indeed, our knowledge will be limited and superficial. The basic question, why the thing operates in this particular manner, goes unexplained.

In brief, concepts based on sense-perceptions and on mechanical-materialism cannot isolate the dynamic force which brings about the transformation of society. One cannot comprehend the historical development of cities, the family, or the means of production, no matter how hard one tries, nor can one understand the future trends. The basic contention is that things and systems exist in themselves without inter-relationships, that they develop in themselves, and that the motive force for the existence and development of the systems and the things is obscure. People who believe in this outlook, e.g. the bourgeoisie, fail to answer the why's and how's of their system because of their class-interest. They can't tell what is the real basis of progress. They can give the history of the ~~system~~ in a manner that proves 1. that society has reached its height of progress and 2. that no more progress in terms of the basic inter-relationships, is possible and 3. that the broad masses of people ought to be content with their lot. You ask what is the basis of movement of a thing? What is the basis of motion? This, they cannot answer. Their analysis is one-sided because it overlooks the inter-relations of the system; it deals with the system only perceptually. You can, if you like, visualize the concept of historical development in the following manner: You can look at history as it is taught in the bourgeois institutions, as moving from one point to another, and yourself as static onlooker. History is spread over a period of time. You can't understand that man is developed in the process of the movement of history and that things transform. Your consciousness will be determined by what is perceptually available at the moment in your society. Bourgeois society exhibits art and articles from the past in the museums. External developments like buildings, planes, going into space etc. personify linear progress. You will be overwhelmed by all that perceptually exists and through deductive logic, you can only foresee future development as the development of bigger and better things, without knowledge of why and how come.

The bourgeois intellectual, whose consciousness is limited by sense-perceptions and deductive logic, claims himself to be the most objective (objective is used here in the bourgeois sense) individual because he looks at things in themselves, in the most detached manner. So he has the objective perceptual knowledge, based on the belief that man has no part to play in the development of history, that history exists as such, and that the world was created that way. Perceptually, this understanding is logical because you have looked at the thing, compared it with another of a similar kind, and concluded that such and such a thing exists in such and such a way. It is logical not to look for anything else. What else is there?

The bourgeois propagandists use this world outlook to confuse the large mass of people who are unidirectional, sense-perception oriented, live in a corporate-sensate culture. These propagandists present a fact as something which one must be able to perceptually experience in a direct manner. So

if you have not seen something with your own eyes, then you can excuse yourself by saying; I really don't know, I have never been there. So many people in the imperialist countries are willing to give their imperialist governments the benefit of the doubt about all kinds of war-mongering and aggressive policies by saying; I don't have facts, I have never visited Vietnam or the Dominican Republic or Thailand or Burma or Korea. To legitimise this attitude, members of the ruling circles like Charles Percy or Romney or Kennedy go to Vietnam on fact-finding missions. So understanding of the Vietnam problem becomes an issue synonymous with looking at a tree or watching the squirrels running around your back-yard. Attempt is made to dupe the people to believe that fact is something you can see with least mental or physical effort, in a detached manner. Bourgeois journalists are trained to perceptually report about an event e.g. a bourgeois journalist reporting about a war, enumerates the number of people dead or injured and the reactions of the belligerents (usually the imperialist side) without undertaking analysis of the cause of the war, who fired the first shot is made the major issue. This is called objective reporting, interpretation is left to the readers. Based on this concept of fact, (that fact is something which depends on seeing), deductive logic is safely agreed upon as correct, and because fact is dependent on seeing then legitimacy is given to the various interpretations of the same fact by various individuals. Most of the arguments, under the bourgeois system, centre around interpretations and the whole idea of analysis is made nonsensical. Thus everybody is free to have their own interpretations and present mentally deduced facts which may have nothing to do with the reality of the thing. For example, you do not have to go to Vietnam to find facts you can analyse the socio-political system right where you are living and you will know the reasons why the war is being waged against the U. S. imperialists. Ultimately, perceptual and mentally deduced experiences are nothing but the retrogressive spiral which if it goes uncontrolled leads the person to anti-consciousness, the stage of ultimate blindness.

Anti-consciousness and perceptual knowledge are complimentary qualities of an individual or a system; anti-consciousness is the act of negation of everything that goes against the perceptual knowledge. Let us discuss the basic qualities of both:

1. Perceptual knowledge is the knowledge based on sense perceptions, i.e. the recognition of the existence of objects as immutable and dependent as to their quality and nature, on the message perceived by the particular senses of the perceiver. The natural extension of this theory of knowledge is that the quality of perception is dependent on the intelligence of the particular person, people who are intelligent can perceive, the ones that are lacking intelligence cannot.
2. Anti-consciousness is the quality of those people who believe that knowledge is based on sense-perceptions and are thus actively engaged in negating the fruits of real knowledge. Anti-conscious people live on faith and not on scientific enquiry.
3. Both anti-consciousness and perceptual knowledge stem from recognition

of the false fact that the most important task of all human beings alive is to;

- a) concede that things have become and there is no possibility for further change,
- b) that it is their responsibility to protect the final stage of human development,
- c) that their duty is to negate any attempt made by anybody to have depth analysis of the society.

To elucidate this point, we can take the example of transition from zero to one. Zero, according to perceptual knowledge and anti-conscious people is the state of non-being, a state of non-existence. One is the coming of being or becoming existence. Zero is considered as a fixed point and one is presented as the jumping-board to life, ie. two. Zero, then, is nothing, one is everything. There is no use exploring the transition from zero to one. How much is the difference between zero and one and why? Is the origin of one zero? Or is the origin of capitalism a vacuum? Or is life the product of zero? Anti-conscious people, instead of going into the origin of one, actively participate in the repetitive experience of one, this is why for a corporate-sensate-culture product, it is the quantity of experience of sensations with infinite variety (without bringing about change in the quality of that experience) which is the most dominant aspect of his life. He can only achieve this by harmonising the contradiction between forces of change and development, and the forces of retrogression and status-quo.

The active negation of anything which interferes with the bourgeois system, by the bourgeoisie gives rise to a very serious contradiction ie. the contradiction between the structure and function of the society. For the preservation of structure the function must be curtailed to suit their system, and the structure must be forced to give rise to a function which it cannot give. Thus for every loophole there must be a stop-gap, and this process at its maturity, will go completely out of the control of the defenders of the status-quo. This anarchy will be smashed by the progressive and productive forces, the seeds of which were sown at a very early stage of the system.

People who are anti-conscious cannot see. There is a large majority of genuinely honest people who just cannot see and we have to be very patient with them. They must be shown in concrete terms that the small minority of the privileged and parasitical class has pit itself against any kind of depth analysis of the system. They want to keep the masses ignorant. It was Marx who provided the depth analysis of the commodity-producing society and laid down the scientific foundations on which the new society will be built at the cost of the old. This is why the bourgeois ruling circles fear the Marxists most. It is against the interests of the bourgeoisie to promote analysis while it profits them to keep the people at the sense-perception level.

CORPORATE-SENSATE-CULTURE AND PERCEPTUAL KNOWLEDGE.

Living is the negation of development under the imperialist system. What is living? What is development? Living under the imperialist system is to live according to the historical crib. What is the historical crib? The historical crib is the world outlook that we are conditioned to, because of our background. Under the

bourgeois system, we have the bourgeois historical crib. Perceptually it is the pattern of existence given by parents, priests, politicians and cultural leaders. It is the active state of anti-consciousness and for its validity, depends on perceptual knowledge. The workings of the world from this vantage point are seen as static, as things existing in themselves without the possibility of change. This bourgeois historical crib is consistent with its world view; it does not develop and cannot go further qualitatively without negating itself; it develops the status-quo by repressing something. What is repressed? The negation of itself. And who are the architects of its negation? The proletarians, whom it gave rise to in the first place. It is the historical reality that the bourgeois system has reached the end of its rope and must be eliminated. The bourgeois system attempts to repress this historical reality. There is no hope for the future under the bourgeois historical crib. Why does bourgeois society which bases itself on security at every level have no future? The answer lies in the perceptual knowledge and the anti-consciousness of the bourgeoisie, in the encouragement of detachment and compartmentalisation. Indeed the only future for a detached person is more detachment! As long as the bourgeois individual remains unconscious of his situation, he has easy answers to everything. One such easy answer is that history is simply a chronicle of events. Similarly, life is a line of events based on sensations, and things have always existed as such for one's use, like Pongloss' nose existing to hold his spectacles. Parents, cars, alcohol, girls - all exist for your exclusive use. If you don't get these things you complain, like a child whining to its parents.

Then what is this development? A physical growth! A succession of events! A series of varieties! What is the negation of development? Negation of the status quo can best guarantee the line of events and the variety of objects for your exclusive use. Security is built by reinforcing the status quo. Anything threatening this status quo, threatens of course this development and security. Then what is progress? Progress under perceptual knowledge, is the growth of efficiency in the safeguarding of the status quo, the security, and development. All this goes against the means of production, change in distributive relations, real scientific enquiry and democracy. What it promotes is stagnation, arbitrariness and scientific blackmail.

The sensations of touch and taste and others are the logical experiences of real life for the bourgeois. As mentioned before, that fact for such people is grasping something in a perceptual manner. Similarly, life personifies itself through the passage of objects through the body. What do you value most under the imperialist system? Eating, sex, entertainment etc., in other words anything which provides you with sensation and you can sit still and enjoy it. For the bourgeois, the basis of living is enjoyment of oneself, i. e. negation of change and consolidation of the status quo. The bourgeois is the static and constant factor; the movement of objects through the body is the sensation of living and the gratification is limited to the variety of objects which are available for consumption in a given period. The dominant aspect of this kind of life is that it never ends because it never begins, but is eliminated by the real providers (i. e. the working class) of objects. The bourgeois will try to repeat the existence of the consumption of objects at the cost of the livelihood of the large majority. But alas! Progress of real human-kind discards all parasites!

TO BE CONTINUED NEXT WEEK

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 * THE TWO LINES *
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There are two opposing lines which are put forward for the interpretation of world history the idealist concept of history, which is the philosophy of the status-quo, the historical analysis of the feudal and bourgeois ruling circles and it advocates the detachment of labour from the production and reproduction of real life: the second is the Materialist concept of history which intergrates labour with the historical process of production and reproduction and shows in clear terms that it is the working class which is the motive force of history. These two lines are supported by opposing economic interests: The idealist line peddled by the Capital and Monopoly-Capital class and the Materialist line, reached through the scientific analysis of the society by the vanguard of the large majority of the working class. This line shows that the death of capitalism is inevitable. The non-scientific line, i. e. the Idealist line, which is retrogressive, presupposes the existence of some supernatural power which triggers history into motion, while the Materialist line, through scientific analysis has concretely shown that life transforms from one stage to another, on account of its internal and external contradictions. In the same way chemical compounds, under the influence of physical factors give rise to bio-chemical compounds. Similarly property relations under the influence of sharpening class contradictions on the one hand and the loss of the colonies, neo-colonies on the other, will be destroyed with the inevitable development of relations based on production and reproduction of real life. So it is impossible to stop the progress of chemical into bio-chemical compounds apart from assuming subjectively that some supernatural power will stop it, similarly it is impossible to harness the progress of history by pacifying and repressing the progressive forces; it is not possible to suppress the working people of the whole world even if an automatic machine is built in the heads of all people making sure that who-so-ever demands the destruction of the imperialist system, based on predatory monopolycapitalism, and internal and external exploitation and subjugation, the automatic machine tears that person to bits. It is this impossibility which the idealists fail to see and the materialists completely put their faith in. The two lines can be analysed further, as two diametrically opposed systems of thought and action; idealists believe in the invincibility of the status-quo and reaction on the other hand the materialists believe in the invincibility of the death of reaction and the overthrow of the status-quo. Thus materialists advocate development and progress while the idealists propound living passively under the aegis of the status-quo. Materialists are staunch and active. Idealists are feeble and passive. Thus the forces of progress prevail over the forces of retrogression.

Is history a fixed point which linearly moves without undergoing transformation? Is history the consequence of transformation which has been taking place since time immemorial? Is history imposed upon man by some supernatural power? Or is

But alas!

...the product of human endeavour?

The idealists, because of their faith in the Cartesian concept of time, believe that individual life is short thus it is impossible for anybody to comprehend what really went on in the past and what will happen in the future. For them past is dead and gone once and for all. While materialists, recognising the fact that individual life is short and recognising also that populations do not come into being and die in one sweep, stress learning from the objective trends of history. The subjective side (theoretical) of history is revealed in the objective (observable facts or practice), and it is only objective understanding of the subjective and its application in practice can we guide the course of history. Idealists contend that history has nothing to do with them, so they claim that they are living out of the context of history and that is why they attempt to absolve themselves from any responsibility for the crimes which their class (capitalist) is and has been committing against the real producers of life (that is to say the working class). Materialists, on the other hand, take full responsibility for their acts, because they live only in the context of history, and through the summing up of their personal experiences build the foundations for the new objectives. At this point it must be stressed that the materialists on account of their grasp of the historical process correlate their experiences with the general trend of history, going from the general to the particular and back, march from one stage to another. Idealists negate the experience of history and attempt to force people to live a detached existence, because they know full well that when working people are successful in relating the evils of the society to the imperialists they will be destroyed. Thus it is in their interest to keep historical transformation unexplained and the working people divided. The interest of the materialist is directly opposed to the idealist as they advocate the unity of the working class and put the interest of labour first.

Linear movement without undergoing qualitative change is not movement at all but the repetitive production of the same quality at the cost of the productive forces of man. Thus under the imperialist system, sex and money are used to undermine the working people, and abound in more grotesque and oppressive forms today than ever before. To say that quantity is progress is to deny the basic dialectic of quality going through quantity, and developing its internal and external contradictions, reaching a stage where the principle aspect of the thing is either transforming into new quality (one divides into two, through struggle between the two, it transforms into a new one changing the internal relations or degenerates). Quantity without ^{under}going qualitative change becomes oppressive and will destroy the individual and organisation which lives on that principle. Thus progress is transformation from one quality into another going through transitional quantitative change. Idealists deny this fact that is why they are retrogressive and they advocate retrogressive chauvinism. Thus the history of the idealists develops in terms of quantity and goes no further, but recedes while the history of the materialist develops in terms of quantity, reaches its maturity and undergoes a qualitative change. It is important to point out here in passing that the historical crib, under any system, is the quantitative accumulation of prejudices of a class transferable to the coming generation: the idealist historical crib consciously suppresses any possibility of change while the materialist historical crib enthusiastically promotes the possibility of development from the historical crib to a higher stage. It is indeed

...to be that the development of the individual under the imperialist system means linearly developing to the stage of fitting into the historical crib of the imperialist system without paying any attention to the facts around. It is also a historical fact that under socialism large masses of the proletarians are encouraged to participate in the development of the society. It is a glaring fact that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution at present going on in the People's Republic of China, is only possible under the socialist system because under the imperialist system if such a thing happened it would mean the destruction of that system. So imperialists dread revolutions most of all while anti-imperialists cherish them. Mass democracy is possible only under a system where progress and development is the way of the historical crib as under the dictatorship of the proletariat, while it is repressed under a system which is based on reaction and the preservation of the status-quo, as under the dictatorship of the bourgeois.

Under the idealist system correction of basic relations is repressed. Priority, (because of its class in reaction and status-quo) is given to 'fixing up' things in detail. It is common knowledge of even the most ignorant rustics, that if you 'fix up' the details of an oppressive system it will only sophisticate oppression, and make it more efficient and nothing else. But it goes against the interest of the idealist to question the fundamental while it favours the materialist to expose the rottenness of a system.

Idealists further deny the experience of history as well as of the individual. To them it is meaning less to talk about experience of anything. But the materialist recognise the experience of the history of classes and the class struggles on the local, national and the international scale and they also recognise the role that the working class plays in the moulding of history. It is within this light that one can see how idealists attempt to falsify history and they attempt to white-wash the objective experience of the people by explaining to them that their problems are the result of fate. Thus distinction should be made between apostles of mystery and exploitation and the apostles of change and liberation of the productive forces of man.

H. S. Bains

VIETNAM MEETING

FORMATION OF A COMMITTEE IN SUPPORT OF THE SOUTH VIETNAM NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION.

On: 8th. February.
At: The Power's Hotel, Kildare Street.
Time: 8pm.

All genuinely interested individuals who staunchly support the struggle of the Vietnamese people against imperialism are invited to attend. This meeting has been convened by the Internationalists as a result of the Resolution passed by them and various progressive organisations on Jan. 19th. 1968. (See Words and Comment: issue two)

INTERNATIONALISTS' LETTER OF PROTEST TO THE JUNIOR DEAN

Dear Sir,

Following the protest made to you last Friday, Jan. 26th. on behalf of the Internationalists, it was agreed that the Internationalists would confirm their protest, to yourself and the college authorities in the form of a written statement which follows below.

On Friday 26th. of January, the Internationalists set up their stall at the Front Gate of the College, to sell their publication Words & Comment as well as some other publications. During the period between 2p. m. and 2.30 p. m. whilst attended by a woman student the stall was approached by Mr. David Naisby-Smith, with several of his friends. Mr. Smith bought a copy of a book entitled "Selected Readings of Mao Tse-tung". Standing directly in front of the stall, in the middle of the entrance from Front Gate, Mr. Smith began to mutilate and deface the book, saying that he had wanted to "do this for a long time". The seller protested verbally at Mr. Naisby-Smith's abuse of the book, whereupon Mr. Smith ripped out a page from the book which bore a photograph of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and set it alight. Holding the burning photograph aloft in a demonstrative and provocative manner, Mr. Smith uttered ignorant and slanderous statements about Mao Tse-tung to the large crowd of students who had by then congregated around the stall. This rowdy misbehaviour was causing considerable disturbance at the Front Gate; people could not come to and from the stall and the crowd was blocking the passage way through the Front Gate, but this was not interfered with by any College official, instead it was allowed to grow uninterrupted.

At this point one of the students arriving on the scene made a vigorous protest against this abusive behaviour, snatched the burning photograph and retrieved the defaced and mutilated book from Mr. Smith. Mr. Smith said that as it was his copy he was entitled to do anything he liked with it. The protesting student asked if Mr. Smith had read the book, and he replied that he had not; she protested that this was a university, an institute of learning and for a student to deface and mutilate a book, and slander the author, and further more to not even have read the book, was to act in a manner contemptuous of all knowledge and learning and was not worthy of a university. She further rejected the view of Mr. Smith that his 'private property rights' allowed him to treat the book in such a manner; the book was published and on sale to allow people to read it, and book-arsonists would not be allowed to deprive people of the access to these works.

At this point Mr. Smith was asked by the seller and the protesting student to move away from the stand and to stop creating a disturbance. Mr. Smith then snatched back the remnants of the defaced book and moved away with his friends to the corner of the grass in Front Square. Here he began again his exhibitionist and ignorant behaviour, and provoked further protest. There was still no interest on behalf of the authorities.

Shortly afterwards Mr. Beverly St. Vaughan, came to the stall, after being seen conversing with Mr. Smith. Mr. Vaughan bought a copy of 'Words & Comment' and immediately began to tear it up. Two students other than the seller protested to Mr. Vaughan in a similar manner to the way the protest had been made to Mr. Smith. As he refused to show any respect for a student publication, they wrested the copy from him.

The student who seized the copy from him refused to compensate him with the one shil-

ling he demanded and he threatened to sue them.

Between five and six p. m. when a woman student was selling, two tall students, Mess Buchanan and Bourke, tried to create a rumpus at the stall; one of them picked up a copy saying that he would not pay but take it to Mr. Vaughan. The Seller protested and retrieved the copy from Mr. Buchanan; the other gentleman then picked it up and walked away also without paying. The seller went after the student and wrested back the copy; when she tried to return to the stand Mr. Buchanan physically obstructed her return.

This being the sequence of events, the Internationalists strongly protest

1. At the unruly behaviour allowed to grow unheeded at the Front Gate of the College and in particular of Messrs. Smith, Vaughan, Buchanan, and Bourke.
2. That in an academic institution students should be allowed to behave in this manner reflecting as it does the very antithesis of what a university should stand for. The Internationalists vehemently contend that the behaviour of Messrs. Vaughan, Smith, Buchanan and Bourke was diametrically opposed to the ethos of this university, to promote knowledge and learning.

Further more at no time in the afternoon did the protagonists Messrs. Vaughan, Smith, Buchanan and Bourke attempt any discussion of their disagreements---either with the Internationalistsellers or the individuals who intervened at various stages.

The Internationalists view the defacing of any book as a most un scholarly and arrogant act, and the slandering of a book and its writer, as an example of unbridled ignorance and active fascism. Mr. Smith's admitted ignorance of the contents of the book, simply underlines his arrogant and un scholarly attitude.

The Internationalists categorically support the actions of those individuals who on their own behest, protested and intervened, to uphold the best interests of academic freedom.

INTERNATIONALIST S MEETING

FRIDAY FEB 2nd. at 8 pm

To discuss the topic :

MASS LINE IN EDUCATION

You are invited to participate and contribute to the discussion