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No 6, 1965

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This serial publication contains translations of articles from the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), No. 6, 1965. Complete bibliographic information accompanies each article.

**CONTENTS**

	<u>Page</u>
Speech by P'eng Chen at the Indonesian Aliarcham Academy .....	1
Marx on Wages, Prices, and Profits in Capitalist Society .....	20



SPEECH BY P'ENG CHEN  
AT THE INDONESIAN ALIARCHAM ACADEMY

[Following is a translation of the text of a speech  
by P'eng Chen (1756 4176) in the Chinese-language  
periodical, Hung Ch'i, Peiping, No. 6, 1 June  
1965, pages 3-18]

Dear and Revered Comrade Aidit,  
Dear Comrades Lukman, Hu-t'a-po-a, and Su-chi-ao-no,  
Dear Madam Su-chi-ma Aliarcham, and  
Comrades :

Today, I am greatly honored and pleased to be asked by the leadership comrades of the Indonesian Communist Party to come here and talk to the comrades.

The Indonesian people are a great and heroic people. The Indonesian Communist Party is a great, firm, and Marxist-Leninist political party. In the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, the Indonesian Communist Party and people have made great contributions. The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people are proud to have you as their staunch combat partners.

Now, I would like to discuss the issue against imperialism and modern revisionism.

The Major Conflict in the World Today

Our era is the era of the proletarian revolution and the national liberation revolution and the era when socialism advances toward victory and imperialism toward destruction in a world-wide sphere.

After World War II, the revolutionary struggles of the people of the world entered a new stage. The great development of the people's revolutionary strength and the great decline of the counter-revolutionary strength were the general tendency of the development of the world situation in the post war period.

After World War II, there was only one socialist nation in the world. Yet today, socialism has gained victory in a series of nations and formed a socialist camp. Those socialist nations firmly adhering to Marxism-Leninism are the great and powerful forts to promote the world revolution.

After World War II, except for the Czarist Russian colonies which won liberation together with Russia, imperialism still maintained its colonialist system over vast areas in the world. Yet today, the oppressed nations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America have ignited the flame of anti-imperialism, the long night of colonial rule of several centuries has finally come to an end, and the colonialist system of imperialism is accelerating its disintegration.

After World War I, the capitalist system experienced a short period of relative stability. But after World War II, there was no such relative stability. The imperialist strength has been greatly undermined. US imperialism, the mainstay of the imperialist system, also finds itself in a general decline, and the total crisis of capitalism has greatly aggravated.

The ratio of the international class strengths is extremely favorable to the socialist countries and the revolutionary people of the nations and extremely unfavorable to imperialism and the reactionaries in the world. The ratio of the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary strengths in the world has changed. However, the many types of fundamental conflicts in the world today, the conflicts between the socialist and the imperialist camps, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist nations, between the oppressed nations and imperialism, among the imperialist nations, and among the monopolistic capital groups, have not disappeared. These fundamental conflicts exist objectively, and also ceaselessly aggravate.

After World War II, replacing the German, Italian, and Japanese fascism, US imperialism has become the major enemy to the people of the world. In the entire post-war period, a repetitious and violent great struggle has been waged between the people in the world and US imperialism and its lackeys. The major battlefield of this great struggle is in the vast areas of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

From the situation of the world as a whole, the conflict between the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America and imperialism headed by the US is the most outstanding and acute among the many types of fundamental conflicts in the world. It is the major conflict in the world today.

After World War II, a gigantic revolutionary storm has appeared over the vast areas of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The successes of the Chinese revolution, Korean revolution, Vietnamese revolution, the anti-US war of the Korean people, the Cuban revolution, the Algerian national liberation war, and the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people, and the successive victories of the

national liberation struggles of the people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, have dealt serious blows to imperialism headed by the US and greatly changed the appearances of these areas.

At present, the national democratic revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa, and Latin America continues to rise. In Indochina, Congo (Leopoldville), Dominican, and other vast areas of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the oppressed nations and imperialism are also fighting at close quarters everywhere and waging violent struggles, including armed conflicts. The strategic rear of imperialism has become the struggle front lit with beacons reaching up to the skies.

Asia, Africa, and Latin America are the life line of imperialism to preserve its control, and they are also the areas where the imperialist rule is weakest. At present, a revolutionary situation exists over these vast regions. The national democratic revolutionary movement therein is the most important strength to deal direct blows to imperialism. This is an objective fact. It did not originate from anyone's imagination, nor can it be denied by anyone.

The people of the Asian, African, and Latin American nations will remain forever grateful to the advanced western proletariat for its influence and motivation, to the great October Socialist Revolution for its encouragement and aid, and to the creators of Marxism-Leninism for the enlightenment and for pointing out the direction of advance.

The historical development of the various nations in the world is not even, and the development of the revolutionary movement of the nations is not even. Now, the proletariat of Western Europe and North America is in the midst of a new awakening. However, the revolutionary situation, due to various reasons, has not appeared in such areas, while the people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America are advancing with the revolutionary torch held high.

Lenin once pointed out that the center of development of the European worker movement shifted from England to the economically relatively backward France, from France to the economically relatively backward Germany, and thence to the economically relatively backward Russia. Though the economy of Asia, Africa, and Latin America is relatively backward at present, it does not stop the people of these regions from becoming the new revolutionary shock troops of the world, and, in fact, they have become just such shock troops.

The national democratic revolution of Asia, Africa, and Latin America is an important component of the current proletarian world revolution. It has shaken the strategic rear of imperialism, undermined its control, and promoted and supported the revolution of the proletariat and other laboring people in the imperialist nations.

The anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America attacks and undermines the aggressive and war strengths of imperialism. This revolutionary struggle supports not only the struggle of the not yet successful proletariat of Western Europe, North America, and Oceania, but also that of the nations under proletarian dictatorship.

Comrade Aidit once declared: "In the sphere of the world, Asia, Africa, and Latin America are the rural villages, while Europe and North America the cities. For the success of the world revolution, the world proletariat must give serious attention to the revolution in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, i. e., the rural revolution of the world, for, aside from it, there is no other way." ("Bring forth the Spirit of the Ox! Continue to Advance, and Never Retreat!" - Political Report at the Second Central General Assembly (Expanded), Seventh Communist Party Congress of Indonesia, page 59, People's Publishing House, 1964 edition.)

The development and solution of the conflict between the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America and imperialism headed by the US concern the fate of the people of not only these regions but also the world; the conflict is not only an issue of a local nature, but one involving the entire situation. Its development and solution will produce a crucial effect on the development and solution of other fundamental conflicts.

Today, Asia, Africa, and Latin are where the many types of conflicts in the world concentrate. The violent struggles of the oppressed nations and people against imperialism and its lackeys exist in these areas. In the international sphere, the conflicts between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist and the imperialist nations, and between the Marxist-Leninists and the modern revisionists are manifested here acutely, and so do the conflicts among the imperialist nations.

After World War II, the ironclad historical and current facts show that the conflict between the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa, Latin America and imperialism headed by the US is the major conflict in the world today.

To a Marxist-Leninist, in the intertwining and complicated conflicts in the world today, locating this major conflict and grasping it tightly are extremely important. Only by so doing will we be able to correctly ascertain and determine the principal enemy and the principal direction of attack, decide upon the strengths to be relied upon and the strengths to be rallied, and formulate the correct strategy and plan.

All socialist nations adhering to the Marxist-Leninist line and the proletariat of West Europe, North America, and Oceania adhering to the revolutionary path must firmly support the anti-imperialist struggles of the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America and consider such support their own most important internationalist obligation. The attitude toward this issue is the most important criterion to distinguish between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism, between revolution and counter-revolution, and between true and spurious revolution.

The Khrushchevian revisionists do their utmost to deny the great internationalist significance of the anti-imperialist revolu-



tionary struggles of the people of Asian, African, Latin American nations. They arbitrarily insist that these regions are "not the focus of conflict," "not and impossible to be the center of modern conflict," and impossible to become the major area of the revolutionary storm of the world today. Whoever wishing to explain the facts is accused by them for "replacing the class analysis of the revolutionary strength with geographical principles" and for being a "nationalist," "racist," "skin-color-ist," and "geographist."

To a Khrushchevian revisionist, the center of the world can only be Europe and North America, while the US and the USSR, the two great powers, are the "center" of the world center.

The moment they see the resistance of the Asian, African, and Latin American people against imperialism headed by the US, the Khrushchevian revisionists, inheriting the racial superiority feeling of the European and American bourgeoisie and the imperialists, clamor about "the colored versus the white" in the same tune as imperialism. Such theory does not even have a Marxist-Leninist flavor, and is a sort of betrayal of the revolutionary cause of the socialist nations and the western proletariat. Those spreading this theory place themselves precisely in the position of the nationalist, racist, skin-color-ist, and geographist.

The Khrushchevian revisionists attack us for underestimating the effect of the worker movement of the capitalist nations and for placing the national liberation movement and the international worker movement on opposite sides. In fact, they, themselves, are the ones who actually place the national liberation movement and the international worker movement on opposite sides. They have basically abandoned the Leninist principle concerning the national liberation movement.

After the October Revolution, the national liberation movement no longer remains in the sphere of the bourgeois world revolution, but belongs to the sphere, and has become a part, of the proletarian world revolution. As stated by Lenin, "the socialist revolution cannot be only, or mainly, the struggle of the proletarians against the bourgeoisie of the individual nations. No, this revolution will become the struggle of all colonies oppressed by imperialism, all nations, and all protectorates against international imperialism." ("Report at the Second Congress of the All-Russia Communist Organization of Eastern Nationalities," Complete Works of Lenin, volume 30, page 137, People's Publishing House). He also declared: "Without the support of the laboring people of the oppressed colonial nations of all areas, first of all the support of the laboring people of the eastern nations," the proletariat of imperialist nations "cannot gain victory." (Ibid., page 139).

The purpose of the Khrushchevian revisionists in spreading their theories is none other than to suppress and dissipate the revolutionary movement of the Asian, African, and Latin American regions,

block the socialist nations and the international proletariat from supporting their revolutionary movement, and render service to imperialism, especially US imperialism, in its promotion of the new colonialism.

### Defeating US Imperialism Is Completely Feasible

The most vicious enemy of the people of the world today is US imperialism. After the war, utilizing the economic strength inflated during the war period, US imperialism built an unprecedented war machine, and, brandishing the nuclear weapon, pursued insane aggressions in all areas in the world, attempting at world supremacy.

How to understand and assess the strength of US imperialism, and whether there are confidence in victory over it and courage in struggling against it, constitute a momentous issue in the revolutionary struggle of the people of the world.

Though appearing to be powerful, US imperialism is essentially empty and weak. As proved by the history after the war, be it gold dollars or armed strengths, it cannot avert the final victory of the world people's revolution. Similarly, the nuclear weapon in its hand cannot block the progress of the human history, nor ward off its own destruction.

Leaving the past alone, let us look at the facts apparent to everyone today.

In Vietnam, after more than a decade, several billions of US dollars, tens of thousands of men, and all types of modern arms short of the nuclear weapon, this gigantic US imperialism has been placed in a miserable state by the fourteen million South Vietnamese people. In face of the organized and armed people, the US aggressor faces attack from all sides. As described by American newspapers, "the war in South Vietnam, to a great extent, is a war against unseen enemies. Enemies are everywhere and no where." The defeat of US imperialism in Vietnam has been predetermined. Like a wild buffalo charging into the flame, it cannot but be burned to death.

In Congo (Leopoldville), whether by utilizing the United Nations or by direct armed intervention, US imperialism has not been able to strangle its national liberation struggle. Like the grass which cannot be completely destroyed by the wild fire, but revives with the spring breeze, the people of Congo (Leopoldville) have regrouped their ranks, taken hold of the weapons, and plunged anew into a victorious struggle.

In the Dominican Republic, this island nation of three million situated at the gate of the US, the people's armed uprising has placed the US in a dither. It sent out more than 30,000 aggressive troops all at once to suppress the uprising and fully revealed its plight.

The road followed by US imperialism today is the one walked by Hitler before. Its aggressive ambitions far surpass those of Hitler, but it is more inadequate and weaker than Hitler. Its strategic position deteriorates more and more.

Like a rabid dog, US imperialism, following its insane aggressive and war policies, charges into everywhere recklessly and displays its might, and the result is that it incites the resistance of the people and the opposition of its allies everywhere and finds itself in an extremely isolated position.

US imperialism has over-extended itself. It spreads its troops in all continents and all oceans in the world, in order to pursue aggression and suppression of the people's revolution. Its military strength is inadequate, its front line too long, its rear too far, and its forces scattered. It dismantles the east wall to mend the west wall and places itself in an extremely passive position. Strategically, it has sunk into a spot where it encounters punishment from all sides.

Meanwhile, with the new changes in the ratio of strengths among imperialist nations, the supremacy of US imperialism in the capitalist world has been shaken. The imperialist camp is in the process of disintegration.

As the last and greatest imperialist fort, US imperialism vainly tries to preserve the doomed imperialist system. The result can only be drinking poison to quench thirst and burning itself by playing with fire. It wildly dreams of blocking the revolutionary torrent of the people of the world, but the revolutionary torrent only becomes more powerful. Everywhere, it trains gravediggers and daily expands their ranks for the purpose of digging a grave for itself.

As long as the people of the world recognize clearly US imperialism as their major enemy, rally all strengths which can be rallied, and form the most extensive united front against it and its lackeys, it is perfectly possible to defeat this vicious enemy.

The Khrushchevian revisionists spread everywhere a sort of pessimist and defeatist theory to intimidate the people of the nations and sabotage their revolutionary struggle against US imperialism and its lackeys.

Contrary to the Marxist-Leninists, the Khrushchevian revisionists fundamentally do not believe in the power of the masses or the possibility of victory in the struggle against US imperialism. They are the weapon-ists, the nuclear weapon-ists. They do their utmost to paint the horror of war and advocate the impossibility of the anti-imperialist struggle and the revolution due to the appearance of the nuclear weapon. Not only afraid to provoke US imperialism themselves, but they do not permit others to pursue the anti-US struggle. Without confidence in victory themselves, they wish to shake and dissipate the confidence and determination of others. They do not wish to pursue the revolution, and they do not permit others to do so. They wish to surrender, and they want to drag or force others to surrender also.

In face of the powerful and vicious international or domestic class enemy, whether an individual has the courage to struggle and to seize victory has always been the dividing line between the Marxist-Leninist and the opportunist, and between the revolutionary and the surrendist. As a result of the struggle, the Marxist-Leninists, the revolutionaries, and the people have always gained victory, while the opportunists and the surrendists, along with the failure of the class enemy, are thrown into the trash pile of history.

Historically, the new born strength is always weak, but it always turns from small to big and from weak to strong, and finally conquers the seemingly powerful counter-revolutionary strength. The new born revolutionary strength is unarmed or inferiorly equipped at the beginning, but it always overcomes the superiorly equipped and fully armed counter-revolutionary strength. At the very bottom, the basic factor is human, not material. It is the people, not arms.

Lenin had a famous saying: "Do you wish to prosecute the revolution? You must be the strong ones!" ("Never Lie! Our Strength Is in Telling the Truth!" op. cit., volume 9, page 283). Why? Because the revolutionaries represent the newly arisen strength of society, believe in the power of the people, and rely on it, while the power of the people is invincible; therefore, they should be, and are inevitably, strong. The reactionaries can only be, and are inevitably, weak, because they are severed from, and opposed by, the people; regardless of how powerful they may be on the surface temporarily, they will eventually fail.

After World War II, Comrade Mao Tse-tung proposed the famous theory that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers. Based on the objective law of social development, he believes that the new born social strength will eventually defeat the decadent social strength and that the people's strength will eventually defeat the anti-people strength. He makes a profound analysis of the changes in the international class strength ratio after the war and points out: "The strength of the anti-imperialist camp in the world surpasses that of the imperialist camp. Superiority is with us, not with the enemy... All viewpoints overestimating the strength of the enemy and underestimating that of the people are erroneous." ("The Current Situation and Our Tasks," Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, volume 4, page 1259, People's Publishing House). The development of the world situation has further verified the accuracy of his theory.

The revolutionary struggles of the people of the world rise like the winds and the clouds and succeed ceaselessly, while imperialism suffers blows everywhere and approaches destruction.

Full of confidence, the Marxist-Leninists and all revolutionaries are fighting alongside the people, dealing severe blows on imperialism, and hastening it to its grave. Any feeling of pessimism and despondency is groundless, and anyone spreading pessimism and defeatism will be punished by history.

## Modern Revisionism Is the New Social Prop of Imperialism

The great Lenin instructs us: "If the anti-imperialist struggle is not closely linked with the anti-opportunist struggle, it will be merely an empty or fraudulent phrase." ("The Military Outline of the Proletarian Revolution," Complete Works of Lenin, volume 23, page 80, People's Publishing House).

To prop up the shaky imperialist mansion, the monopolistic bourgeoisie of imperialist nations, besides directly relying on force, has always been depending on the worker aristocracy as its own social prop, as the life prolonging dose to avert destruction, for the purpose of drugging the revolutionary will of the proletariat, fooling and disintegrating the revolutionary people, and resisting the storm of the proletarian revolution.

Prior to World War II, the monopolistic bourgeoisie practiced the policy of bribery and corruption on the worker class of the various nations with the surplus profits plundered from the people of the colonies and semi-colonies, bred a worker aristocracy, and used the social democratic party as its social prop. After the war, with the aggravation of the capitalist total crisis, the monopolistic bourgeoisie needs such social prop even more to maintain its control. It understands that utilizing the right wing social democratic party alone as the tool to destroy the worker movement is inadequate. While continuing its policy of bribery and corruption on the worker class of the capitalist nations, raising a new worker aristocracy, and causing the communist parties of some capitalist nations to turn into new bourgeois worker political parties and new social democratic parties through exuviation and degeneration, it introduces the policy of "peaceful evolution" on the socialist nations, inducing the exuviation and degeneration of the communist leadership groups of some such nations, and turning them into its servants and agents.

In the post war years, at a cost of several billion US dollars, US imperialism raised the Tito clique, the "lead goat" in betraying socialism and the proletariat. Nevertheless, the effect which can be produced by the Tito clique is, after all, limited. Thus, US imperialism looks for new objectives with the two counter-revolutionary tactics -- intimidation and inducement, pressure and persuasion. The Khrushchevian revisionism is a product of just such a policy.

Beginning with the Twentieth Soviet Communist Party Congress, Khrushchev proposed an anti-revolutionary revisionist line. After the Twenty-second Congress passed a Soviet Communist Outline with the Khrushchev earmark, this revisionist line became a complete system and was solidified in form of an outline.

The Khrushchevian revisionists have generally and arbitrarily revised the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and mutilated

the revolutionary soul of Marxism-Leninism. Replacing dialectic materialism with subjective idealism, and the revolutionary dialectics with the mediocre evolutionism, they have become the disciples of bourgeois pragmatism. They have substituted the principles of the class struggle, the proletarian revolution, and the proletarian dictatorship for the theories of class reconciliation, class cooperation, and class capitulation. They advocate that the essence of imperialism has changed, conceal the many inherent conflicts in the imperialist system, and openly declare the Leninist theory on imperialism obsolete.

The Khrushchevian revisionists propose the general line of "peaceful coexistence," "peaceful competition," and "peaceful transition," and practice "pacifism," which is, in fact, surrender-ism, toward imperialism, and render service to the counter-revolutionary global strategy of US imperialism. They advance the fallacies of "the nation of all the people" and "the party of all the people," abandon the proletarian dictatorship, and change the essence of the communist party as the proletarian vanguard. They replace the proletarian internationalism with large-power chauvinism and national egotism, split the socialist camp and the international communist movement, and destroy the great unity of the revolutionary people of the world.

In disintegrating the socialist camp, splitting the international communist movement, destroying the national liberation movement and the revolutionary movement of the people of the various nations, drugging the people of the world, and serving as a detached force of US imperialism and the reactionaries of the nations, the Khrushchevian revisionism has produced an effect which cannot be produced by US imperialism and the reactionaries and old revisionist rebels of the world. In view thereof, the Khrushchevian revisionists find themselves in a position antagonistic to more than 90% of the people in the world, and cannot but encounter the firm resistance of the true Marxist-Leninists and all the revolutionary people. The Khrushchevian revisionism is destined to fail, and it is, in fact, failing rapidly.

Khrushchev, the originator of the Khrushchevian revisionism, was expelled from the stage of world history. It was a momentous event. It signified the victory of the Marxist-Leninist line and the failure of the Khrushchevian revisionism. It proved the necessity and accuracy of the struggle waged by the Chinese Communist Party, the Indonesian Communist Party, and other Marxist-Leninist political parties, and the Marxist-Leninists, against the Khrushchevian revisionism.

The Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary people understand that the appearance and development of the Khrushchevian revisionism are not the question of mere individuals or an incidental matter. It has its profound social and historical sources. As pointed out in the 1957 Declaration, "the presence of the bourgeois influence is the source of revisionism inside the country; the capitulation to the imperialist pressure is its source outside the country."

The Khrushchevian revisionism is a product of the domestic capitalist power in the Soviet Russia. After Khrushchev came into power, with the aid of his misguided policies, a special privilege bourgeois stratum was gradually formed in the Soviet Russia. This special privilege stratum is completely severed from the Soviet people and has thoroughly betrayed the proletarian world revolutionary cause. It is the principal social foundation of the Khrushchevian revisionism. Those like Khrushchev are its representatives. Their policies and lines are all in its service. They have usurped the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet state, adapted it to the imperialist needs, and led the Soviet Communist Party built by Lenin to the perilous way of exuviation and degeneration and the Soviet Russia, the first social nation, to the dangerous road of capitalist restoration. This, itself, is the greatest betrayal of the Soviet people and the revolutionary people of the world.

As shown clearly by the facts, similar to the old revisionists, those like Khrushchev, as pointed out by Lenin, "are objectively of the political ranks of the bourgeoisie, the spreaders of the bourgeois influence, and its agents in the worker movement." ("The Bankruptcy of the Second International," op. cit., volume 21, page 223).

Can one imagine that it is adequate to resist imperialism without resisting revisionism?

As exhorted by Lenin many a time, if we do not deploy a firm and relentless general struggle against "the workers political party of the bourgeoisie... we basically cannot discuss resisting imperialism, nor can we discuss Marxism and the socialist worker movement." ("The Split between Imperialism and the Socialist Movement," op. cit., volume 23, page 117). Without doubt, Lenin's teachings still serve as the compass to the Marxist-Leninists. For victory in the struggle against imperialism, for the emancipation of all oppressed people and oppressed nations, for realizing a new world free from imperialism, capitalism, and the exploiting system, we must continue to expose firmly and thoroughly the features of the Khrushchevian revisionism and wage the struggle against it to the final end.

#### The Marxist-Leninists Must Recognize the Essence through the Appearance

The new leadership of the Soviet Russia has come into power for more than half year. We originally hoped that it could rectify the errors and return to the road of Marxism-Leninism -- at least it should be an improvement over Khrushchev. Nevertheless, it has acted contrary to our hopes.

The successors to Khrushchev realized that Khrushchev was too notorious, and that, if they followed his way entirely, there would be no reason as to why they had replaced him. Hence, they had to redecorate themselves and exhaust all means to demonstrate their distinction from Khrushchev. They decked themselves out as "revolutionary," em-

ployed innumerable "anti-imperialist" phrases, and uttered many pleasant words of "unity." They also displayed some political sleight of hand and made some small gestures. They felt that, by so doing, they would be able to confuse others with the illusions created by them and conceal their essence.

What are the things which manifest their essence?

They still stubbornly adhere to the entire set of the Khrushchevian revisionist line of the 20th and 22nd Soviet Party Congresses and the Soviet Communist Outline and resist the revolutionary struggles of the people of the nations.

They still stubbornly adhere to the line of "Soviet-US cooperative control of the world," declare "the existence of an extremely extensive cooperative world" between Soviet Russia and the US, and accelerate the pace toward "cooperation" with US imperialism.

They still stubbornly adhere to the schismatic line, openly and faithfully implement the intent of Khrushchev, and held a schismatic conference in Moscow in March of this year.

As long as they adhere to such fundamental lines, all their "revolutionary," "anti-imperialist," and "unity" manifestations will only be fraudulent empty words and disguises, without changing the essence of the matters in the least bit.

Had they truly changed the Khrushchevian revisionist line, why did they still get into a partnership with US imperialism and serve as the international military police to suppress the oppressed people and nations? Why did they repeat Khrushchev's proposal of last July to form the United Nations armed forces? Why did they vote along with the US in the United Nations Security Council supporting the resolution for "cease fire" and "realizing national reconciliation" in Congo (Leopoldville) and the suppression of the patriotic armed struggle of her people by US imperialism?

Had they truly changed the Khrushchevian revisionist line, then, why did they continue to promote his policy of betrayal against the German Democratic Republic? When the West German militarists arbitrarily held federal parliamentary conferences and recklessly provoked the German Democratic Republic and the entire socialist camp, why were they afraid to adopt counter measures? Why did they shelve the issues of the German peace treaty and the West Berlin problem and were afraid even to mention them?

Had they truly changed the Khrushchevian revisionist line, then, why did they cruelly suppress the students of Vietnam and Asia and Africa in their anti-US demonstrations? Why must they establish the hot line and the cold line, exchange information, hold secret negotiations, and openly cooperate with US imperialism? Why must they concentrate on coordinating with US imperialism in the "peaceful negotiation," include the Vietnam issue in the orbit of their general line of the so-called "peaceful coexistence" and "Soviet-US cooperative so-



lution of world problems," and attempt to extinguish the revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese people?

We cannot but reach the following conclusion from the series of facts: What is practiced by the successors to Khrushchev is still his revisionism, except that their means are more cunning than Khrushchev. Khrushchev had a certain amount of naivety. To please the US bandit chief, he often revealed certain inner thoughts in spite of himself, and was too frank at times. His successors have learned this lesson. They understand that what they do cannot face the daylight and may incite the counter attack of the Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary people anywhere and any time; therefore, they must camouflage themselves. Meanwhile, they also realize that their position is much weaker than Khrushchev and that working surreptitiously may possibly benefit them even more. Thus, they adopt the means of repudiation and brazen it out by declaring that "I am not I, the horse is not a horse, the cart driver is not a cart driver, and the revisionist is not a revisionist," as if there were never any distinction between revisionism and Marxism-Leninism in the world to start with.

Precisely because the Khrushchevian revisionists have adopted more ingenious and fraudulent means of camouflage, it becomes even more necessary for the Marxist-Leninists to expose their essence concealed under such camouflage and their traitorous conduct covered by imposing phraseologies. If not, if they are permitted to swagger and deceive, it will result in greater harms to the revolutionary cause of the people of the world. As declared by Lenin when discussing Kautsky's fraudulent ways, if we "do not expose the practical political significance under the phraseologies, then we are no longer Marxists, and generally no longer socialists." ("The Pacifism of the Bourgeoisie and the Pacifism of the Socialist Party Members," op. cit., volume 23, page 182).

The many types of opportunists and revisionists in history would always deceive the revolutionary people with their double means and purposely fabricate false illusions to cover up their own traitorous essence. Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin would always penetrate the fog spread by them, grasp their essence through the intertwining and complex appearances, and thoroughly expose their traitorous features before the revolutionary people. It was through just such struggles that the many types of opportunist and revisionist factions went bankrupt one after the other, the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theories developed continuously, and the proletarian revolutionary cause gained ceaseless great victories.

Today, the Marxist-Leninists have not only had the experience of handling Bakunin, Bernstein, Kautsky, Trotsky, and Tito, but more important, the experience of handling Khrushchev. Thus, it becomes easy for us to see through the many types of camouflage of the Khrushchevian revisionists and recognize the essence through the appearance. Marxism-Leninism is a truth revealing mirror. The facts are a truth

revealing mirror. No matter how many different guises the Khrushchevian revisionists assume, their original features will be exposed under the truth revealing mirror.

### On What Foundation Is True Unity against the Enemy Possible?

In a recent period, the Khrushchevian revisionists shouted louder than ever such terms as "unity against the enemy" and "concerted action." Just what are the "unity against the enemy" and "concerted action" advocated by them? Do they really wish to unite with us against the enemy?

No, definitely not!

The foundation of the so-called "unity" of the Khrushchevian revisionists is not Marxism-Leninism, nor the revolutionary principles of the 1957 and 1960 Declarations, but the revisionist general line of the 20th and 22nd Soviet Communist Party Congresses and the Soviet Communist Outline, of "peaceful coexistence," and of the "Soviet-US cooperative control of the world." Following such a general line can only mean unity with US imperialism, with the reactionaries of the nations, and with the modern revisionists, but definitely not with the Marxist-Leninists or more than 90% of the world populace.

Those loudly acclaiming such "unity" have long degenerated into the greatest schismatists of today. Beginning with the 20th Soviet Party Congress, they have clamored for a split from Marxism-Leninism, from the Soviet people, from the revolution, and from the Marxist-Leninist political parties in the whole world. Today, what they practice is still Khrushchev's policy of "four-associate and four-oppose," i. e., associating with imperialism and opposing socialism, associating with the US and opposing China and other revolutionary nations, associating with the reactionaries and opposing the national liberation movement and the people's revolution of the nations, and associating with the Tito clique and all types of rebels and opposing all Marxist-Leninist brother parties and all revolutionaries struggling against imperialism.

That the Khrushchevian revisionists demand more urgently than all others for the "unity" of the international communist movement is for the purpose of silencing the Marxist-Leninists so that their revisionist essence and illicit dealings will not be further revealed, and for the purpose of attacking those resisting their revisionism and schism. They are staging a play: While they, themselves, are destroying unity, they clamor loudly for "unity;" while they, themselves, are effecting schism, they clamor loudly against "schism."

As for the slogan of "unity against the enemy," it will have no meaning at all if we do not put it through the minimum class analysis. We must clarify whom they wish to "unite" with and against what enemy. Since 1959, we advised the Khrushchevian revisionists many times against confounding the relations between the friend and the foe. They

gave absolutely no attention. After Khrushchev fell from power, we again advised them to discard his old ways and correct the confusion of the relations between the friend and the foe. But they still refused to listen, and they declared to our delegation to its face that they differed not in the least bit from Khrushchev in handling such relations. They still do not recognize US imperialism as the major enemy, but consider it the major friend. They still deal with the people of the world by "uniting" with US imperialism. Under such conditions, how can they discuss "unity against the enemy" with the Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary people?

Recently, the Khrushchevian revisionists also loudly advocated for the "concerted action" of all socialist nations. We must also clarify what they want to do by "concerted action." Is it the "concerted action" of coordinating with the "peaceful negotiation" conspiracy of US imperialism, betraying the interest of the Vietnamese people, and extinguishing their revolution? Is it the "concerted action" of surrendering to US imperialism, resisting the national liberation movement, and opposing the people's revolutionary struggles of the nations? Is it the "concerted action" in the revisionist general line of enforcing "Soviet-US cooperative solution of world issues?" To tell the truth, such "concerted action" can only be practiced with US imperialism and its lackeys, with the reactionaries of India, and with the Tito clique; it cannot be practiced with the Marxist-Leninists.

Lenin ridiculed this type of people by saying: "Such a situation is often seen in the market: The one who shouts loudest and swears most fervently is the one who hopes to sell the worst merchandise." ("The Unity of the Workers and the 'Factions' of the Intellectuals," op. cit., volume 20, page 294). We must expose such merchandise under the bright light of the day.

Some one asked: Have not you Marxist-Leninists built up an excellent relationship of a united front with many non-Marxist-Leninists and non-communists? Why can you not take concerted action with the modern revisionists?

It is not determined by our desire. According to our desire, they should not pursue revisionism -- at least they should not stand alongside US imperialism, the public enemy of the people of the world. Starting with this desire, we remonstrated with and criticized them many times, hoping that they would mend their ways. Our words fell on deaf ears. If they wish to fall, what can any one else do? They are determined to remain outside of the anti-US united front of the people of the world and act like inseparable love birds with US imperialism. Under such conditions, it is naturally impossible for them to take "concerted action" with the true Marxist-Leninists and the people of the world.

In this sense, they are not comparable to the representatives of the anti-imperialist revolutionary national bourgeoisie of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, nor those of the anti-imperialist patriotic aristocrats of these regions. As stated by Stalin in on the Foundation of Leninism, some "socialists" are reactionary, while some kings and merchants, struggling for national independence, actually are, objectively speaking, revolutionary. This is a fact and a truth.

The Khrushchevian revisionists attack the Marxist-Leninists for "encouraging" imperialism in its ventures and "rendering valuable service to the aggressors" as a result of the latter's refusal to take "concerted action" with them.

Such an accusation cannot be placed on our head. On the contrary, it fits the Khrushchevian revisionists. They are the ones who "encourage" the US aggressor and "render service" to US imperialism, not us. It is precisely their revisionist line, their surrenderist line. Who voted for the US armed aggression of Congo (Leopoldville) at the United Nations Security Council? Who capitulated to Kennedy's blackmail in the Caribbean Sea? Who manufactured the fraud of the US-Great Britain-Soviet Russia partial nuclear ban treaty to consolidate the nuclear supremacy of the US? Who colluded with US imperialism in planning for the organization of United Nations regulars to suppress the national liberation movement. Were the fallen Khrushchev and his successors not the ones indulging in such conduct encouraging the US aggressor and rendering service to US imperialism? Were they not the product of the revisionist line of "Soviet-US cooperative rule of the world?" Are they not following this very pattern on the Vietnam issue?

Contrary to the Khrushchevian revisionist line, the line followed by the Chinese Communist Party, the Indonesian Communist Party, and other Marxist-Leninist political parties is a thoroughly revolutionary line; it is an anti-imperialist line; it is a line in firm support of the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed people and oppressed nations and in defense of world peace. As proven by practice, this is the only correct line. Only by following it will we be able to overcome the US imperialist aggressive bearing and subdue its aggression and war plans, thus promoting the people's revolution of the various nations while winning world peace.

The Chinese Communist Party, the Indonesian Communist Party, and other Marxist-Leninist political parties have always advocated unity against the enemy. To the Marxist-Leninists, unity against the enemy means the union of all proletarians in the world, and the union with the oppressed people and nations in the world against imperialism and the reactionaries of the nations. Today, it means uniting the international proletariat and the revolutionary people of the nations, and all strengths which can be rallied, to deal with US imperialism and its lackeys together. The unity against the enemy advocated by us is a slogan with a clear distinction between the enemy and ourselves; it is a revolutionary slogan.

Only adherence to Marxism-Leninism and resistance of modern revisionism will effect the unity of the international communist movement.

Only resistance of imperialism, especially US imperialism, and support of the revolution of the oppressed nations will produce unity between the international proletariat and the oppressed nations.

Only resistance of imperialism and the reactionaries of the nations and support of the people's revolution will produce unity between the international proletariat and the oppressed people of the nations.

Unity is for the revolution. Whoever opposed to the revolution is basically not qualified to discuss unity with the revolutionaries. Revolution and resistance of imperialism are the desire of more than 90% of the world populace, and an irresistible historical trend today. Whoever disregarding the desire of the world people and resisting the torrent of the historical development will be eliminated by history.

The great Soviet people possess the glorious tradition of the October Revolution. The great Soviet Communist Party has a long revolutionary struggle history. The Khrushchevian revisionists have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and the proletarian revolutionary cause, in violation of the fundamental interest of the vast Soviet people and the Soviet communists. Opposing the Khrushchevian revisionism is the demand of not only the communists and revolutionaries of the whole world, but also the Soviet people and the large Soviet party membership and cadres. The Chinese communists and the Chinese people deeply believe that the parties and the people of China and Soviet Russia will finally dispel the dark clouds cast by the Khrushchevian revisionism, unite closely on the Marxist-Leninist foundation, resist together US imperialism and its lackeys, and promote together the cause of the revolution.

We still hope that the Soviet communist leadership will one day admit and rectify its errors, discard the Khrushchevian revisionism, and return to the road of Marxism-Leninism. Under the present condition, that day will not arrive in the near future. The Marxist-Leninists must pursue the struggle against the Khrushchevian revisionism to the final end, without the slightest relaxation.

### Always Be Revolutionary Progressives

At any time, under any condition, the Marxist-Leninists must not forget the world historical mission of the proletariat as the creator of the socialist society.

The historical mission of the proletarian political parties of all nations at the present stage is to unite the revolutionary people of the world, rally all strengths which can be rallied, resist imperialism and the reactionaries of the nations, fight for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy, and socialism, and struggle

for the gradual realization of the complete victory of the proletarian world revolution and the building of a new world free from imperialism, capitalism, and the exploiting system.

The revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and people of the various nations must undergo their own different stages and possess their individual special characteristics, but they must not depart from the general law of the development of the world history. When leading the revolutionary struggle and formulating the revolutionary line and policy of their individual nations, it is extremely important for the proletarian political parties of such nations to adhere firmly to the principle of integrating the Marxist-Leninist universal truth with the concrete practice of the revolution of their particular nations. Only the expert integration of the two will enable Marxism-Leninism to grow root, blossom, and bear fruit in the particular nation and the revolution to succeed.

At any time, under any condition, the Marxist-Leninists must remain revolutionary progressives.

In the current class struggle in the international sphere, in the great struggle of all oppressed people and oppressed nations for liberation, the Marxist-Leninist political parties must adhere to the revolutionary line, render support and aid to one another, and perform their proletarian internationalist obligations.

The communist parties of socialist nations must adhere to the proletarian dictatorship, consolidate and expand the socialist battleground, and pursue the socialist revolution to the final end on the political, economic, and ideological-cultural fronts. They must constantly keep in mind the classes and the class struggle, and the struggle between the socialist and the capitalist roads. Only thus will they prevent the capitalist restoration and prepare the conditions for the transition into communism in the future.

Any any time, under any condition, the Marxist-Leninists are revolutionary optimists.

Though only two individuals, Marx and Engels, with a resonance piercing the skies, declared to the whole world: Both the destruction of the bourgeoisie and the victory of the proletariat were inevitable.

Today, in our era, the Marxist-Leninists, with a greater confidence, declare to the whole world: Imperialism will perish, and socialism and communism will succeed. The future of the international communist movement is bright, and the future of the proletarian world revolution is bright.

The appearance of the Khrushchevian revisionism is but an interlude in the historical development process. No matter how much din its adherents make for a time, it is merely a dirge for imperialism and themselves. "A few flies knocking their head against the wall on the little globe. Buzzing away, at times bitter, and at times pitiable." The handful of individuals play the miserable role destined for elimination by the current of the era. How many revolutionary rebels

and how many infamous opportunists and revisionists in history are now being scorned by the people! The fate of the modern revisionists will not be any better than their predecessors.

In the hundred years or more since the birth of Marxism, heaven and earth shaking changes have occurred in the world. Such changes surpass those of hundreds, thousands, and tens of thousands of years in history. This has been the greatest hundred-year in human history. It can be expected that even greater revolutionary changes will occur in the world in the hundred-year to come.

In the past hundred years, Marxism has made a great development. It can be expected that an even greater development will be made in the next hundred-year to come.

Therefore, to the Marxist-Leninists of today, to all the revolutionaries of today, more arduous struggles are yet to come, and greater victories are awaiting us.

History has endowed the Marxist-Leninists and all revolutionaries of today with an arduous and great mission, but it has also created an extremely extensive stage of action. As long as they truly master the invincible and powerful weapon of Marxism-Leninism, truly rely on the masses, and are brave and expert in struggle, the true revolutionary heroes and strong men will play innumerable resonant, colorful, and magnificent revolutionary dramas on this boundless historical stage. In the months and years of the past, innumerable revolutionary forerunners have opened the way, set up the example, and accumulated the experience for us. The Marxist-Leninists and all the revolutionaries of today can and should make even greater contributions than their predecessors. "Today is the era of heroes."

Let us raise high the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary banner and march forward courageously against imperialism, the reactionaries of the nations, and modern revisionism, and for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy, and socialism, for the gradual realization of the complete victory of the proletarian world revolution and the building of a new world free from imperialism, capitalism, and the exploiting system!

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## MARX ON WAGES, PRICES, AND PROFITS IN CAPITALIST SOCIETY

Following is a translation of an article by Wang Hsueh-wen (3769 1331 2429) in the Chinese-language periodical Hung Ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 6, 1 Jun 1965, pages 40-45.

Editor's explanation: In June 1865, at a meeting of the general committee of the International Working Men's Association, Marx made a famous report on economics. June of this year marks the one hundredth anniversary of this report. The draft of this report was published after Marx's death with the title of Wages, Prices, and Profits, and it became a basic textbook for studying Marxist political and economic theories. This book explains the basic principles of Marxist political and economic theories in simple terms, criticizes the erroneous economic theories of capitalism, and calls on the proletariat of the world to write, under their own banner, the revolutionary slogan of "destroy the system of hired labor." By study of this work one can grasp the basic knowledge of Marx's theories, and one can be aided in observing and criticizing the reactionary viewpoint of the international bourgeoisie and modern revisionists who are upholding the capitalist system in political and economic theories.

### 1.

In June 1865, at the meeting of the general committee of the International Working Men's Association, Marx made two reports in English. In 1898, Marx's daughter, Ai-lin-no, published the draft in English under the title Value, Prices, and Profits. Later it was translated into German with the title Wages, Prices, and Profits.

The work is divided into two parts: the former is Marx's refutation of Wei-ssu-tun's viewpoint; and the latter is Marx's own viewpoint.

Wei-ssu-tung was an English utopian socialist, a disciple of Owens. In May 1865, he raised two topics for discussion at the International Working Men's Association:

1. Could the social and material future of the working class be improved in general because of wage increases?
2. Would the striving for increased wages on the part of the labor

associations have a harmful effect on other production departments?

Wei-ssu-tun made a negative reply to the first question and an affirmative reply to the second. His two major points were: 1) Labor wages determine the value of commodities; 2) if the capitalists today pay out five shillings instead of four, then tomorrow their commodities will be sold for five shillings, not four (because an increase is needed).

Wei-ssu-tung's opinion was taken over from capitalist political and economic theory. Marx criticized this, and at the same time criticized the erroneous viewpoints of capitalist political economics. However, in his report Marx used a few correct views in capitalist and bourgeoisie political economics to refute Wei-ssu-tun errors. At that time, bourgeois political economics had not sunk to such a low state, and it still had correct elements in it.

In the first part of his report, Marx, in diametrically opposite terms, refuted Wei-ssu-tun's theory of wages and funds and theory of the fixity of the quantity of currency circulation. The question of wages is complex and involves the overall question of political economic theory. Therefore, his refutation, where the circumstances permitted, had to involve many aspects of political economic theory. The second part of the report was an exposition of the essentials of Marx's new viewpoint. At that time, the first volume of Das Kapital was about completed, and research was well into the second and third volumes. Of course, the first part of the report also made its refutation with a new viewpoint. Consequently, this famous work can serve as a basic text for studying Marxist political economic theory and Das Kapital. And it provides us with preliminary, preparatory knowledge on Marxist theory.

In his report, Marx pointed out that the distinction between labor and the labor force. Due to the failure of the persons listening to the report to understand political economic theory and in order to simplify comprehension, many places substituted labor for labor force.

## 2.

Marx pointed out that there were the two aspects of quality and quantity to commodities. The reason that commodities have value is because they are the crystallization of social labor. The amount of the value is determined by the amount of social labor contained in the commodity. The value of the commodity is formed from the value transferred from past labor, that is the means of production, and from the value created by present labor.

The amount of social labor is the amount necessary to produce a certain commodity under certain average social production conditions and under a certain average social standard of the strength and skill of the labor. These average social production conditions refer to general, middle-level conditions, so they are neither higher nor lower than the general. The amount of social labor needed to produce a commodity constantly varies with the changes in the productivity of labor. With regard to the relations between labor productivity and value of use, the greater the labor productivity, the greater the number of commodities completed within a certain

labor period; and the smaller the labor productivity, the fewer the commodities produced within a certain labor period. With regard to the relation between labor productivity and value, the greater the labor productivity, the smaller the amount of labor spent on certain commodities. Thus the value of the commodity is all the smaller. The smaller the amount of labor productivity, the greater the amount of labor spent on commodities, and thus the value of the commodities is all the greater. The general law for the relationship between commodity value, labor time, and labor productivity is: The value of the commodity and the amount of labor consumed in production are in direct proportion, while the commodity value and labor productivity are in inverse proportion.

From the question of commodity value Marx took up the question of money. At that time, England generally used gold money, while Europe used silver. The value of gold and silver was determined by the social labor amount needed to mine gold and silver. The amount of money necessary for commodity circulation, under conditions where the commodity value didn't change, not only varied according to money value, but also varied according to the speed of money circulation. Apart from gold money at the time, England also had subsidiary coinage, bank notes, promissory notes, and bank bonds in circulation. Marx pointed out: The value and amount of commodities in circulation and the amount of money exchanged varied everyday; the amount of bank bonds issued varied everyday; the amount of promissory notes, bank notes, loans for transferring accounts, bills paid by the stock exchange varied everyday; under conditions of actually needing gold money, the amount of hard currency in circulation and the amount in storage varied everyday with the rate of gold; the amount of gold money in circulation domestically and the amount of gold used for circulation internationally varied daily. From this, Marx proved that Wei-ssu-tun's theory on the fixity of the amount of money in circulation was erroneous.

At a time when commodities are not exchanged directly for other commodities but are exchanged for money, the value of commodities is expressed as price. Under conditions where commodity producers are mutually competing, although producers' production conditions are different, the market price for all commodities of the same type is the same. The market value, expressed under average production conditions, provides the market with the average amount of social labor needed for a certain quantity of certain commodities. Within this sphere, the market price is unanimous with its value. Due to the changes in demand and supply, the market price of a commodity is sometimes higher or lower than its value. However, looking at many phenomena over a long period, no matter how disparate the market price and commodity value may be, the price always varies mainly due to the value. Marx pointed out that the conditions of supply and demand could only determine changes in market prices for a time; if the supply and demand were the same, then the relations between the two could not explain the determination of price. What basically determines changes in price is commodity value, the amount of social labor needed to produce commodities. Marx pointed out: Wei-ssu-tun's idea that needed increases could not cause an increase in supply but only in price is shallow and erroneous.

The movement of capital takes the circulation of commodities as its prerequisite, and at the same time the circulation of commodities accompanies the circulation of money. In order to understand capital deeply, Marx first analyzed commodities and money.

In his analysis of the process of capital movement, Marx started with the process of production. Capitalists (production capitalists) must first of all purchase a labor force on the labor market; they must purchase means of production of the commodity market, and then combine the two before they can start production.

The process of capital production is the production process of capitalist commodities. Looking at its essence, it is the production process of surplus value. As Das Kapital stated, the results of capitalist production, the value of commodities, are formed by the three components of the value of unchanging capital transfer (c), the value of changeable capital (v), and surplus value (m). To express this in a formula, the value of commodities is equal to  $c+v+m$ .

Marx also analyzed the question of the value and price of the labor force, wages, that is. The value of the labor force is determined by the amount of labor needed to produce it. Concretely stated, it is determined by the value of the means of production required to produce, develop, uphold, and extend it. When capitalists buy a labor force and pay out wages, it is in order to utilize the labor force, to seize the surplus labor, and produce surplus value. In the process of capitalist production, the labor which the laborers put out is divided into necessary labor and surplus labor, that is, the two parts of reimbursed labor and un-reimbursed labor. The value of the necessary labor, the value of the labor force which is recompensed, and surplus labor form surplus value.

The production process of capital is the production process of surplus value; it is the process of capitalist production relations and capital itself. At the same time, it is the production process of internal contradictions. This means that due to the production of surplus value, capitalists arise on the one hand, and proletarians on the other hand; that is, capitalist relations are caused and capital itself is produced. Under the capitalist production method, due to the constant increase in labor productivity, capital accumulation constantly increases, production is constantly changing, for it is not fixed and unchanging. With the development of capitalist production, with the increases in capital accumulation, with the constant rising of the fluid formation of capital, the rate of capital used to buy the means of production constantly increases, while the rate of capital used to purchase the labor forces constantly declines. Therefore, the development of capitalist production is beneficial to capitalists and harmful to the workers.

The movement of capital proceeds from the production process to the circulation process. After commodities are produced, there must be sold into the circulation process before the commodity value can be realized, and before the surplus value in the commodity can be realized. These are realized, under conditions of free competition, by means of price form in the process of circulation. Consequently, the circulation process of

capital is not only connected to the production process, but it is also the process of movement built on the basis of the production process.

The continued undertaking of the movement of capital proceeds from the circulation process to the distribution process; it is also the process of concrete distribution of the results of capitalist production, that is, surplus value. Marx pointed out that three types of people participate in the distribution of surplus value: One type is the production capitalist who divides part of the production profit; the second type is the middle man who gets interest; and the third is the land owner who is paid rent. Surplus value is divided into the production profit, the interest, and the rent; this constitutes three incomes of the exploiting class. The source of the exploiting class' income is surplus, and it certainly doesn't come from capital itself or from the land. On this point, Marx shows a difference in principle with the bourgeois economists who make a mystique of capital and land and who believe the opposite about profit, interest, and land rent.

Marx pointed out: The bourgeois economists are in error when they divide the value of commodities into wages, profit, interest, and land rent, and leave out the value of the means of production (that is, commodity value is only equal to  $v \neq m$ , not  $c \neq v \neq m$ .) Marx also pointed out: With regard to distribution between capitalists and workers, the greater the distribution on one side, the less on the other; conversely, the less the distribution on one side, the greater on the other. Marx further pointed out that due to the fluidity of capital, there is the question of the equalizing of profit and the decline of profit. He noted: The standard average profit is obtained by selling the commodity according to the true value; it is not, as bourgeois economists claim, obtained from the amount over the value.

Then, Marx pointed up two methods for calculating the rate of profit. Of these two methods, one is to calculate the rate of surplus value by the formula  $\frac{m}{v}$ , and the other is to figure the rate of profit by the formula  $\frac{m}{c+v}$ . In order to make this commonly known, these two concepts are used indiscriminately. However, by means of Marx's explanation of these two methods of calculating the rate of profit, we can see the difference between the two; their class significance is different. The first can reveal the amount of capitalist exploitation of the labor, while the latter can conceal the exploitation circumstances.

From this angle, the process of the movement of capital is formed by the processes of capital production, circulation, and distribution. Looking at their essence, it is formed by the production, realization, and distribution of surplus value. The process of the movement of the capital is at the same time a process of the struggle of every sort of internal contradiction (on the basis of the contradiction between labor and capital).

When Marx clearly explained the movement of capital and surplus value, he also pointed out the laws of economic movement, such as the general laws of the relations between commodity, value, labor time, and productivity, the law of money circulation, the law of wages, the law of the constant increase in the fluid formation of capital, the law for the equalization of profit, and the like.

4.

In his report Marx discussed several important situations in striving

for increases in wages or in opposing the lowering of wages.

1. The effect of changes in labor productivity towards wages and profits, towards the necessary labor and surplus labor.

2. Under conditions where the value of the labor force doesn't change with regard to daily necessities, the effect of changes in money value on prices.

3. The effect of changes in the labor day on surplus labor and wages.

4. The effect of production periods on wages.

In sum, the struggle to increase wages is a necessary result of changes in such aspects as the quantity of production, the labor productivity, the value and price of the labor force, the value of money, the length and strength of the labor, the relations of supply and demand, and the production period -- every stage must be in accord with the changes in market prices.

From this Marx explained that the question of wages was not as simple and fixed as Wei-ssu-tun put forward.

Finally, Marx discussed the struggle between labor and capital. The goal of capitalist production is to pursue as much surplus value as possible and as much profit. The highest limit of profit is restricted by the lowest degree of wages permissible biologically and the longest working day possible biologically. Between the two limits here on the highest rate of profits, there may be many changes. The actual level of the rate of profits can only be determined by the constant struggle between capital and labor, and it is finally determined by a contest of class strength.

Due to the constant increase in the fluid formation of capital, the general trend in capitalist production is not to raise the average level of wages, but rather to lower them. The workers oppose this trend with struggle. Marx pointed out that the labor union is very effective as the core organization for opposing capitalist exploitation. He opposed Wei-ssu-tun's opinion that labor unions were ineffective for raising wages. However, Marx also emphasized: "The working class also should not exaggerate the final result of this daily struggle. It should not forget: In this daily struggle it is only opposing the effect, not the cause; it is simply opposing the trend of declining wages, not changing the direction; it is simply occupied with fighting the symptoms, not the disease itself. ... Workers should discard the idea of 'Do an honest day's work, receive an honest day's wages!' It must get rid of this conservative slogan, and write its own revolutionary one under its own banner: 'Destroy the system of hired labor.'" (1)

## 5.

A few conclusions:

1. In this work, in order to understand capital deeply, Marx proceeded from an analysis of commodities to money, and from an analysis of money to one of capital. Regarding the analysis of the process of capital movement, it is a process of proceeding from production to circulation, from circulation to distribution. By means of this analysis, Marx saw deeply the movement of surplus value, that is, how it is produced in the production process, how it is realized in the circulation process, how it

is distributed in the distribution process, so that this all constitutes the income of the exploiting class. Under capitalist conditions, surplus value again manifests itself in the form of profit. In the process of capital movement, Marx not only saw the movement of surplus value, but also the source of power for this movement; that is, he not only saw the phenomenon of capital movement, but also the internal relationships within the various aspects of capital movement. Throughout the whole of the capital movement runs the thread of the question of surplus value and at the same time the question of wages. In this there is opposition between labor and capital, that is, between present labor and past labor, between living labor and dead labor.

When Marx was elucidating the movements of capital and surplus value, he at the same time also criticized the lack of scientific nature in the various bourgeois economic viewpoints. This is similar to Das Kapital in which he both presents his own scientific views and also criticizes the bourgeois economic views.

Consequently, this constitutes a simple introduction to Das Kapital, and also a simple conceptualization of the theory of surplus value. This may serve as an entrance to Kas Kapital, and that's the reason for it. Of course, since this is only an outline, these questions are shortened.

2. From this work we may easily see that there is a difference in principle between proletarian economists and bourgeois economists, between scientific socialism and utopian socialism with regard to economic viewpoint. Marxist political economics accurately, completely, and penetratingly reflects social economy; bourgeois political economics and utopian socialist political economics erroneously and one-sidedly reflects social economics. From bourgeois political economics to proletarian political economics, from utopian socialism to scientific socialism, this is the natural result of different stages of development in capitalist society and a manifestation of the growing class strength of the proletariat. By means of Marxist analysis and criticism, we can see clearly, in the realm of class and economic relations, who opposes the exploiting class; we can deeply and overall reveal and criticize the economic viewpoint in the essence and error of the exploitation; we can see who sides with the exploiting class, who seizes on a few surface things to make a defense and to whitewash. Although Marx's criticism of these aspects is 100 years old, it is still of realistic significance today. The bourgeoisie and its theoretical representatives still use these vulgar economic viewpoints to oppose the struggle by the proletariat to increase wages. In economics, utopian socialists cannot draw a boundary line with the bourgeoisie, nor can they free themselves from the influence of the bourgeoisie. With a sharpening of class opposition and the class struggle, they not only cannot advance, but they even head in the reactionary direction. They oppose the political and economic struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, and the source for this action may be found here. From this book we can see that it is inevitable that proletarian political economics will replace its bourgeois counterpart and that scientific socialism will replace utopian socialism. This is wherein Marxist superiority and vitality lie; this is something which bourgeois and utopian socialist thought cannot compete with.

3. Like other Marxist components, the important component of economics is a strong weapon of criticism and struggle; it has matured through struggle. In this book we can see: In order to elucidate his own viewpoint, Marx introduced certain major points of Das Kapital very concisely; he criticized the bourgeois economic viewpoint very correctly, and established the proletarian one; he criticized in an overall, deep manner the Owenist Wei-ssu-tun for not looking at commodity production and circulation in capitalism from the process of movements approach, for he made the error of considering that the two were fixed.

From this we can also see that the scientific and revolutionary nature of Marxist political economics is such that it can correctly and deeply understand the capitalist economy; thus it can criticize the various erroneous viewpoints, and it is not led astray by things on the surface in the capitalist economy.

4. This work tells us that the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are fundamentally opposed in class relations and that the contradictions are irreconcilable. In order to liberate itself, the proletariat must basically change its social status and life, and it is only by struggle against the bourgeoisie that it can find the path. If this struggle were limited to the economic realm only, even if it succeeded, there would only be a temporary respite from exploitation, but no liberation. When the bourgeoisie changes its livelihood methods or makes an assault on the proletariat with other methods, it frequently happens that the fruits of the proletariat's victories are stolen away. If the proletariat wants to be liberated, it must proceed from the economic to the political struggle, overthrow the capitalist system, and expunge the system of hired labor. This is the essence of the class and revolutionary nature of this work by Marx; at the same time, it is the essence of the scientific and correct nature of this work. This is fundamentally distinct from the various theories on the part of reformists, opportunists, and economy-ists who attempt to whitewash capitalism and to prolong its life. All erroneous economic viewpoints can naturally for a while play their roles of befuddlement and deception, but due to the active struggle by Marxist-Leninists and to the elevation of mass consciousness, they will in the long run be overthrown.

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