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The Bandung dialogues

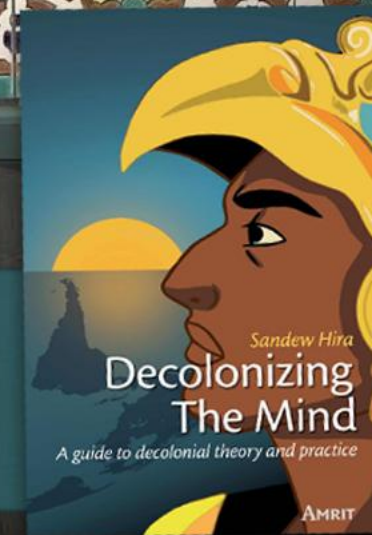
A series of dialogues with thinkers from different civilizational backgrounds



Marxism and other philosophies of liberation



Decolonizing The Mind,
the final frontier of colonialism
with Sandew Hira



#072

03-02-2025

Analysis of world politics: Palestine

<https://mofa.gov.qa/en/latest-articles/statements/joint-statement-of-the-arab-six-party-meeting-in-cairo-on-palestine>

- ❑ Arab leader stand against Trump's plan for Gaza
- ❑ Abraham Accords off the table
- ❑ Qatar and Hamas strategy

Analysis of world politics: Trumps trade war

- The effects of tariffs on China in 2018:
- **Started under Trump (2018):** The U.S. imposed tariffs on Chinese goods to curb intellectual property theft and trade imbalances. **China Retaliated:** China imposed tariffs on American agricultural goods and other products. **Phase One Agreement (2020):** Some tariffs were reduced, and China pledged to buy more U.S. goods. **Biden Administration (2021–present):** Continued pressure on China, with new restrictions on semiconductor technology.

Net effect

- ❑ Higher Costs for U.S. Consumers & Businesses: Tariffs increased costs for U.S. importers and consumers, especially in technology, manufacturing, and agriculture.
- ❑ China's Shift in Trade Partners: China diversified its import sources, increasing purchases from countries like Brazil (soybeans) and Germany (automobiles).
- ❑ Reshoring & Supply Chain Diversification: Some U.S. companies moved production out of China to avoid tariffs, benefiting countries like Vietnam, India, and Mexico.
- ❑ Trade Deficit: Despite tariffs, the U.S. trade deficit with China remained high (around \$400B in 2023), showing that tariffs did not significantly reduce imports.
- ❑ Technology War: The U.S. restricted semiconductor exports to China, slowing China's progress in high-end chipmaking but encouraging China to invest in domestic tech alternatives.

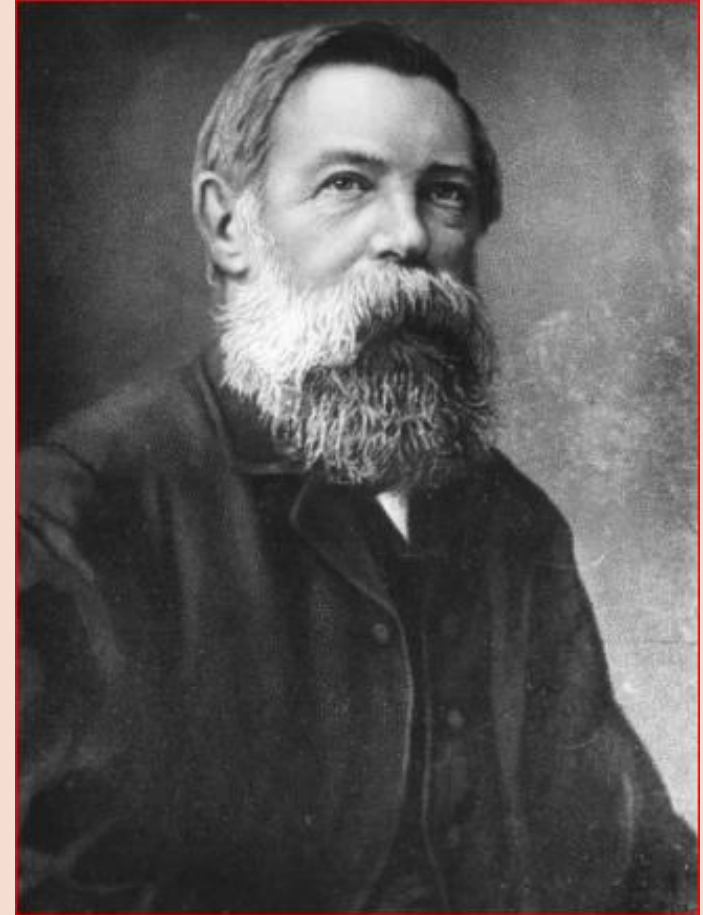
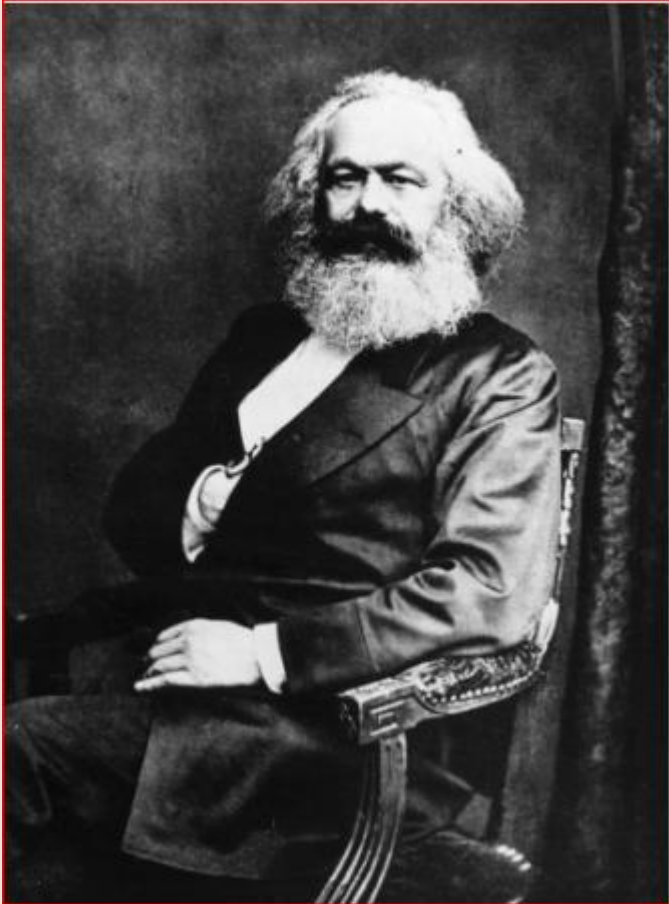
Trump and the crisis of USA empire

- ❑ The USA is loosing on all fronts on a global scale
- ❑ A faction in the ruling class thinks that the main instrument for retaining power is economics, not war.
- ❑ It does not work

Philosophies of liberation

- ❑ European Enlightenment: Marxism is the philosophy of liberation
- ❑ For many liberation movements of the global south Marxism has been a source of inspiration
- ❑ What are the philosophies of liberation from the global South and how do they relate to Marxism
- ❑ Part 1: understand Marx and Engels and their work

Karl Marx (1818-1883) – Friedrich Engels (1820-1895)



1814-1838

12 February 1814✕	<u>Salzwedel</u> Prussia (Germany) Jenny von <u>Westphalen</u> (wife of Marx) born✕
5 May 1818✕	Trier Prussia (Germany): Marx born✕
28 November 1820✕	Barmen, Prussia (Germany). Engels born✕
29 September 1821✕	Ireland Mary Burns (first partner of Engels) born✕
6 August 1827✕	Ireland Lizzie Burns (second partner of Engels) born✕
<u>October 1835</u> ✕	Bonn: starts studies of law Univ. of Bonn (M16)✕
Autumn 1836✕	Trier: Engaged to Jenny (M18)✕
October 1836✕	Berlin: starts studies law and philosophy at Univ. of Berlin (M18)✕
1838✕	Barmen Prussia (Germany): Engels starts work as a mercantile apprentice in the family firm (E18)✕

1841-1843

1841✕	Jena: dissertation at Univ. of Jena <i>The Difference Between the Democritean and Epicurean Philosophy of Nature</i> : theology must yield to the superior wisdom of philosophy (M23)✕
1841✕	Berlin: Engels performs his military service in the Prussian Army; attends university lectures at the University of Berlin (E21)✕
1842-1844✕	Manchester, England: Engels works at parent factory cotton mill from November 1842 to August 1844. (E22-24)✕
1842✕	Köln (Cologne): journalist <u>Rheinische Zeitung</u> (Rhineland News) (M24)✕
19 June 1843✕	<u>Kreuznach</u> : Marriage to Jenny (M25). Seven children together, but only three survived to adulthood✕
October 1843✕	Paris: co-editor <u>Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher</u> bring together German and French radicals. (M25)✕

1843-1844

1843✕	Paris: Manuscript Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right " <i>Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the people.</i> " theory of alienation (M25). <u>Published Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Werke</u> . Berlin 1956, Band 1. ✕
1844✕	London: Publication of <i>Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy</i> by Engels. He compare economists with theologians. (E23)✕
October 1843 until January 1845✕	Marx engaged in an intensive study of political economy (Adam Smith, David Ricardo, James Mill, etc.), the French socialists (especially Claude Henri St. Simon and Charles Fourier) and the history of France. Marxism is based in large part on three influences: Hegel's dialectics, French utopian socialism and British political economy. (M25-27)✕
April-August 1844✕	Paris: Marx writes a series of notes <i>Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844</i> . Published in 1932. The Manuscripts provide a critique of classical political economy grounded in the philosophies of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel and Ludwig Feuerbach. The work is best known for its articulation of Marx's argument that the conditions of modern industrial societies result in the estrangement (or alienation) of wage-workers from their own products, from their own work, and in turn from themselves and from each other. (M25)✕

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1844-1846

28 August 1844	Paris: meets Friedrich Engels. Engels publishes <i>The Condition of the Working Class in England: the Industrial Revolution made workers worse off.</i> (M26/E23).
6 September 1844	Paris/Barmen: Engels leaves Paris for Barmen (E23)
February 1845-1848	Brussels: Marx moves to Belgium (M26)
April 1845-1848	Brussels: Engels moves to Belgium (E24)
April-May 1846	<p>Brussels: <i>The German Ideology</i> manuscript by Marx and Engels. Published in 1932. Some passages were later written by Joseph Weydemeyer's and Moses Hess. The Preface and some of the alterations and additions are in Marx's hand. The bulk of the manuscript is in Engels' hand, except for Chapter V of Volume II and some passages of Chapter III of Volume I which are in Joseph Weydemeyer's hand. Chapter V in Volume II was written by Moses Hess and edited by Marx and Engels. The text in German runs to around 700 pages.</p> <p>Recent research for the new Marx Engels Gesamtausgabe (MEGA) indicates that much of the "system" of the "materialist conception of history" in the first part of the book was created afterwards by the Marx-Engels Institute.</p> <p>Propositions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• humans distinguish themselves from animals as soon as they begin to produce their means of subsistence to support their needs; what individuals are coincides with their production in both how and what they produce. The nature of individuals depends on the material conditions determining their production.

1846

- → How far the productive forces of a nation are developed is shown by the degree to which the division of labor has been carried. Also, there is a direct link between division of labor and forms of ownership. ¶
- → The ruling class, in ruling the material force of society, is simultaneously the ruling intellectual force of society. They regulate the production and distribution of ideas of their age. ¶
- → Society consists of two parts: the base (or substructure) and superstructure. The base refers to the mode of production which includes the forces and relations of production (e.g. employer–employee work conditions, the technical division of labour, and property relations) into which people enter to produce the necessities and amenities of life. The superstructure refers to society's other relationships and ideas not directly relating to production including its culture, institutions, roles, rituals, religion, media, and state. The relation of the two parts is not strictly unidirectional. The superstructure can affect the base. However, the influence of the base is predominant. ¶

(M27/E25)✕

1845-1847

May 1845✕	Paris: Marx and Engels write <i>The Holy Family</i> . Published in 1845. It is a critique of the Young Hegelians. False consciousness: the ways in which material, ideological, and institutional processes are said to mislead members of the proletariat and other class actors within capitalist societies, concealing the exploitation and inequality intrinsic to the social relations between classes. False consciousness legitimizes the existence of different social classes. (M27/E24)✕
1847✕	Brussels: the League of the Just (German: <u>Bund der Gerechten</u>) or League of Justice was a Christian communist international revolutionary organization. It was founded in 1836 by branching off from its ancestor, the League of Outlaws (German: <u>Bund der Geächteten</u>), which had formed in Paris in 1834. The League of the Just was largely composed of German emigrant artisans. ¶ In 1847, the League of the Just merged with the Communist Correspondence Committee (German: <u>Kommunistisches Korrespondenzkomitee</u>), an organization led by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, creating the Communist League. The new group tasked Marx and Engels with writing a political platform for itself. The resulting document was <i>The Communist Manifesto</i> . ¶ Develops concept of historical materialism and class analysis: "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles" ¶ (M28/E26).✕

1847-1850

1847✕	Brussels: Publication of <i>The Poverty of Philosophy: Answer to the Philosophy of Poverty</i> by M. Proudhon by Marx. It is a critique of political economy (M29)✕
1848✕	Europe: revolutions in the whole of Europe: France, Italy, German states, Austria, Denmark, Hungary, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Poland, Romania, Belgium, United Kingdom, Ireland. (M30/E28).✕
21 February 1848✕	Brussels: Publication of the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels. "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles." (M29/E27)✕
1848-1849✕	Paris-Köln (Cologne): Marx expelled from Belgium, goes to Paris and settles in Köln with Engels to support the German revolution. ✕
1 June 1848✕	Köln: Marx started the publication of a daily newspaper, the <u>Neue Rheinische Zeitung</u> , which he helped to finance through his recent inheritance from his father. (M30)✕
1849✕	Prussia: Engels takes part in an armed uprising (E28)✕
16 May 1849✕	Paris: Marx expelled from Köln, moves to Paris. (M31)✕
August 1849✕	London: Marx expelled from Paris moves to London (M31).✕
10 November 1849✕	London: Engels arrives in London (E28)✕
1850✕	London: Engels publishes <i>The Peasant War in Germany</i> . A class analysis of the German Peasants' War (1524–1525). (E30)✕

1852-1858

1852 to 1862✕	London: Marx European correspondent for the New-York Daily Tribune (M33-M43)✕
1852✕	<p>London: publication of <i>The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte</i> by Marx. The title refers to the Coup of 18 Brumaire in which Napoleon I, Napoleon III's uncle, seized power in revolutionary France (9 November 1799, or 18 Brumaire Year VIII in the French Republican Calendar), in order to contrast it with the coup of 1851.¶</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• → role of the individual in history: "Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past."¶• → historiographic application of Marx's "materialist conception of history".¶• → theory of the capitalist state.¶ (M33)✕
Winter 1857-1858✕	London: manuscript by Marx <i>Grundrisse der Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie</i> (Foundations of a Critique of Political Economy). Published in 1939. Its subject matter includes the prices of production, relations of production, distribution, exchange, alienation, value, labor, capitalism, the rise of technology and automation, pre-capitalist forms of social organization, and the preconditions for a communist revolution. (M39)✕

1859

1859✕	<p>London: publication of <i>A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy</i>. Later incorporated by Marx into <i>Capital</i> (Volume I, 1867), published in 1867¶</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• → critique of Adam Smith (1723–90) and David Ricardo (1772–1823)¶• → the materialist conception of history, and its associated "base and superstructure" model of society¶• → contradictions of the capitalist mode of production, how it was the precursor of the socialist mode of production and of the class struggle rooted in the capitalist social relations of production¶• → proposes an explanation of the "laws of motion" of the mode of production from its origins to its future by describing the dynamics of the accumulation of capital, with topics such as the growth of wage labour, the transformation of the workplace, capital accumulation, competition, the banking system, the tendency of the rate of profit to fall and land-rents, as well as how waged labour continually reproduce the rule of capital. Marx proposes that the driving force of capital is in the exploitation of labor, whose unpaid work is the ultimate source of surplus value.¶ <p>(M41). ✕</p>
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1861-1863

August 1861 - July 1863✕	Between August 1861 and July 1863, Marx wrote twenty-three Notebooks, which were published in German for the first time between 1967 and 1982. This material was consulted by Engels and <u>Kautsky</u> in order to publish the <u>socalled</u> Books II, III and IV of Capital. Unknown to the later Marxist tradition , these Notebooks consist of 1,472 manuscript pages, which add up to 2,384 printed pages in the German edition, and five volumes in the English edition (Marx 1989). This huge body of material, which Engels briefly described in the Preface to Book II of Capital, is an intermediate stage between the <u>Grundrisse</u> of 1857–82 and the writing of the Manuscripts of 1863–65 and Book I of Capital (which was published in 1867).¶ ✕
January 1862 and July 1863✕	London: manuscript <i>Theories of Surplus Value</i> by Marx (Capital Volume IV). It is concerned with the Western European theorizing about <u>Mehrwert</u> (added value or surplus value). This work is part of the voluminous manuscript of 1861-63.¶ (M44)✕
1864✕	London: Engels becomes a partner in his father's firm. (E44)✕

1867-1875

1867✕	London: Publication of Capital Volume I by Marx. It examines capitalism as a historical epoch and a mode of production, and seeks to trace its origins, development, and decline. (M49)✕
7 January 1863✕	Manchester, Mary Burns dies at the age of 41 (E42)✕
28 September 1864✕	London: foundation of the International Workingmen's Association (First International). Marx elected to the General Council (M46)✕
1869✕	London: Engels retires from business and focuses on study (E49)✕
18 March to 28 May 1871✕	Paris: establishment of the Paris Commune government. (M53)✕
June 12, 1871✕	London: publication of <i>The Civil War in France</i> by the First International written by Marx ¶ • → theory of the state¶ • → transition to a socialist society¶ (M53)✕
May 1875✕	London: Manuscript Critique of the Gotha Programme by Marx. Published in 1891¶ It discusses the "dictatorship of the proletariat", the period of transition from capitalism to communism, proletarian internationalism and the party of the working class. It is notable also for elucidating the principles of "To each according to his contribution" as the basis for a "lower phase" of communist society directly following the transition from capitalism and "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" as the basis for a future "higher phase" of communist society.¶ (M57)✕

1878-1893

1878✕	London. Engels publishes <i>Anti-Dühring</i> . It is an <u>encyclopaedic</u> survey of our conception of the philosophical, natural-science and historical problems and deals with <u>dialectics</u> . (E57)✕
12 September 1878✕	London, Lizzie Burns dies at the age of 51 (E57)✕
1880✕	London. Engels publishes <i>Socialism: Utopian and Scientific</i> . The work was primarily extracted from a longer polemic work published in 1878, <i>Anti-Dühring</i> . (E60)✕
1881✕	London: Marx and Engels began to contemplate a course of development in Russia that would lead directly to the communist stage without the intervening bourgeois stage. This analysis was based on what Marx and Engels saw as the exceptional characteristics of the Russian village commune or <u>obshchina</u> . (M62/E61)✕
1883✕	London. Engels manuscript <i>Dialectics of Nature</i> . Published in 1925. It applies Marxist ideas – particularly those of dialectical materialism – to nature (E63).✕
14 March 1883✕	London, England: Marx dies (M64/E62)✕
1884✕	London: Engels publishes <i>The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State</i> . The book is an early historical materialist work and is regarded as one of the first major works on family economics. (E64).✕
July 1893✕	London: Engels prepares and published <i>Capital Volume II. The Process of Circulation of Capital</i> ¶ <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • → The Metamorphoses of Capital and Their Circuits¶ • → The Turnover of Capital¶ • → The Reproduction and Circulation of the Aggregate Social Capital.¶ (E72)✕

1894-1910

October 1894✕	<p>London: Engels prepares and published <i>Capital Volume III. The Process of Capitalist Production as a Whole</i>¶</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• → The conversion of Surplus Value into Profit and the rate of Surplus Value into the rate of Profit¶• → Conversion of Profit into Average Profit¶• → The Law of the Tendency of the Rate of Profit to Fall¶• → Conversion of Commodity Capital and Money Capital into Commercial Capital and Money-Dealing Capital (Merchant's Capital)¶• → Division of Profit Into Interest and Profit of Enterprise, Interest Bearing Capital.¶• → Transformation of Surplus-Profit into Ground Rent.¶• → Revenues and Their Sources¶ <p>Marx's only full draft of Volume III of Capital was written in the <i>Economic Manuscript of 1864–1865</i>. ¶</p> <p>(E73)✕</p>
5 August 1895✕	London, England: Engels dies (E74)✕
1905–1910✕	Berlin: Karl <u>Kautsky</u> published a first edited version of Marx's manuscript <i>Theories of Surplus Value</i> from (1862-1863) in three volumes.✕

Conclusions

Marx and Engels have developed a comprehensive, coherent and integral theoretical framework.

- It is comprehensive because it has produced concepts of how to look at the most important dimensions of a society: a world-view, economics, politics, social relations including relations with nature, and culture. There are other important aspects of a society, but these dimensions are essential to make a framework comprehensive.
- It is coherent because its concepts don't contradict each other. They are consistent and logical.
- It is integral because the concepts of the different dimensions are not just lumped together but are related to each other from a basic concept. In Marxism "class analysis" and the labor theory of value form the basic concepts.

The Unknown Marx is not a new Marx

The Unknown Marx is not a Marx that has abandoned this comprehensive, coherent and integrale framework after and produced something new, something different, something unknown. It is Unknown because the manuscripts from August 1861 and July 1863 were unknown to scholars beyond Engels and Kautsky.

But when it comes to the core of Marxist economic theory - the labor theory of value - even Dussel acknowledges that this is not different from the known Marx.

Capital Volume 1 was published in 1867, when Marx was still alive. It contained the key concepts from 1861-1863.

These key Marxist concepts have not been revoked by Marx in later years

- ❑ The concept of surplus value. Living labor is the only source of value. Surplus value in capitalism is the difference between the value that living labor creates in production and value paid by the capitalist to the worker in the form of wages.
- ❑ The social theory of class. A class is defined by its relation to the means of production.
- ❑ The philosophical theories of dialectical materialism and historical materialism: history is driven by productive forces. Capitalism is the last phase and communism is the end phase.
- ❑ The political theory of the state: the state is the instrument of repression by the ruling class.
- ❑ The cultural theory of modernity: scientific knowledge is objective, ethics and religion are not part of knowledge.

The practical implications of Marxist theory

- ❑ The concept of surplus value. Profit is by definition injustice (appropriation of surplus value). Nationalizing the means of production and a planned economy is the way to eradicate this unjust, because the source of surplus value is private ownership of means of production and the market mechanism that regulates the production, distribution and financing of goods and services.
- ❑ The social theory of class: class struggle ends when communism has abolished classes.
- ❑ The philosophical theories of dialectical materialism and historical materialism: communism is the inevitable outcome of world history.
- ❑ The political theory of the state. The capitalist state should be destroyed. It cannot be reformed. Revolution is the answer.
- ❑ The cultural theory of alienation: the educational system is secular and religion is not part of knowledge.

Next episode: A decolonial view of Marxism