Chapter 4: Class Society and Morality

4.1 The Advent of Classes

A. Social Classes

The English word 'class' derives from the Latin word 'classis' which referred to a group of men called to arms. According to tradition there were seven kings who ruled Rome in its earliest history, of which the sixth was Servius Tullius who ruled in the sixth century BCE. During his reign all the free and able-bodied citizens were enrolled into the army, and were divided into five different "classes" or groups according to their wealth or ability to supply their own weapons, horses, armor, etc.[1] Since that time 'class' (in one sense of the word) has referred to a section of the population determined on the basis of wealth or other social factors. Of course the word 'class' now also has other senses which do not presently concern us, such as in "my geometry class" or "the class Mammalia".

Before the discovery and elaboration of the doctrine of historical materialism by Marx, the concept of a social class was extremely vague and confused. It remains so to this day in its use in bourgeois sociology and in everyday popular use (which reflects bourgeois ideology for the most part). But as a concept (or "category") of historical materialism 'class' has a very definite and precise meaning. Lenin gave us this remarkably cogent definition:

> Classes are large groups of people differing from each other by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production, by their relation (in most cases fixed and formulated in law) to the means of production, by their role in the social organization of labor, and, consequently, by the dimensions of the share of social wealth of which they dispose and the mode of acquiring it. Classes are groups of people one of which can appropriate the labor of another owing to the different places they occupy in a definite system of social economy.[2]

Of the points mentioned in this careful definition we may isolate the second, which is the most important; providing that we do not lose sight of the other points we may say that, in brief, classes are groups of people with a distinctive common relationship to the means of production. In capitalist society, for example, the bourgeoisie (capitalist class) is the class which *owns* the means of production (factories, machines, raw materials, etc.), while the proletariat (working class) is the class which, not owning any means of production, is forced to sell its labor power to the bourgeoisie in order to survive.

B. The Law of Motion in Primitive Communal Society

Human primitive communal society lasted for tens of thousands, or perhaps even several hundreds of thousands, of years, and isolated survivals of it existed until just a decade or two ago.[3] Today it appears to be completely gone, at least in its pure form, though there are still people alive who were raised in this form of human society.

Of course in recent decades, centuries, and even millennia, it was the influence of more advanced forms of society ("civilization") which impinged upon the remaining pockets of primitive communal society, transformed it, and gradually eliminated it. But back when primitive communalism was the *only* form of society which existed—as it was for tens of thousands upon tens of thousands of years—it could hardly have been outside intervention which led to its demise. It had to be the internal development and changes within primitive communal society itself which led to the development of class society.

When and how did this happen?

> Over a vast span of time, human societies throughout the world saw little modification: they lived in small bands as hunters and gatherers. Then, about 10,000 BC, the pace of change began to accelerate. Over the next few millennia, in the "fertile crescent" of the Middle East, in the foothills of the Afghan-Iranian Plateau, and in the valleys of the Nile and the Yellow River, communities developed a capacity for producing their own food by cultivating wild grasses and domesticating certain indigenous animals. As these innovative communities became more sedentary, the population began to grow. Thus, the scene was set for the next, amazing leap forward—the development of urban-based societies and the emergence of state systems of government.[4]

And with these changes came social classes:

> Disintegration of the primitive-communal system and the emergence of class society was a lengthy process which did not occur simultaneously everywhere. According to historical evidence, class society emerged in ancient Egypt, Assyria and Babylonia at the end of the fourth and the beginning of the 3rd millennia B.C.; in India and China, in the 3rd-2nd millennia B.C.; and in Greece and Rome, in the first millennium B.C.[5]

Other sources suggest that class society emerged in the Near East as early as 5300 BCE ["B.C."]; with the Olmec culture in pre-classic Mesoamerica around 1000 BCE and with the Mississippian culture in Midwest North America between 1000 and 1200 CE ["A.D."].[6]

The *exact* dates and processes which led to the birth of class society are of course somewhat uncertain. The events we are discussing generally occurred in pre-history, before the invention of writing. Yet modern archaeology has established the approximate timetable and the general features of this development beyond any reasonable doubt.

As we remarked in section 3.1, classes were impossible in primitive communal society since the virtually complete and uniform cooperation of every member of society was necessary for everyone's survival, and because no reliable surplus was produced which would support even a small number of exploiters. But human intelligence led to the gradual improvement of tools and production techniques.

Improvements in the means of production have occurred all throughout human history. The first stone tools were invented well over two million years ago and the use of fire for warmth, protection and cooking is also of great antiquity. Fish hooks, possibly stone darts (or "arrowheads"?), and the first traces of manmade shelters show up around 50,000 years ago.[7] But it was not until the Neolithic Period, or New Stone Age, which is usually roughly dated from about 10,000 BCE to 3,000 BCE, that the really decisive technical breakthroughs occurred for the development of class society. Agriculture, settled life, the domestication of plants and animals, the use of the plow, the wheel and irrigation all began in a significant way during this period. (See Chart 4.1.)

What is often called the "Neolithic Revolution" was a great change in the way that humanity existed and how it survived, and marks the time that our ancestors entered a fundamentally new social era. There were a huge number of important basic inventions and domestications of plants and animals in this period, but the overall change in all this can be summed up as the invention of agriculture, which became the foundation of settled life.

Chart 4.1: Some of the Innovations Which Undermined Primitive Communal Society[8]

Date (BCE)	Development or Invention	Location
Before 10,000	Domestication of the dog.[9] Possibly as far back as 40,000 BCE.	Iraq
Before 10,000	Bow and arrow.	Europe
8,900	Domestication of sheep.	Iraq
8,500	Domestication of the dog in N. America.	N. America
Before 8,000	Domestication of wheat, barley & rye.	Near East
7,800	Domestication of the goat.	Persia
7,800	First farming village.	Near East
7,500	Domestication of beans.	Peru
7,500	Earliest known pottery.	Japan
7,500	Trade in obsidian, jadeite, etc., in progress.	Near East
7,500	Sophisticated house construction.	Near East
7,000	Massive water control projects in New Guinea highlands.[10]	New Guinea
7,000	Beginning of the domestication of corn (maize).	Mexico
7,000	Beginnings of agriculture in the Far East.	Thailand
6,500	Loom invented.	Near East
Before 6,000	Domestication of cattle.	Near East
6,000	First European farming villages.	Greece
5,500	First irrigation in Near East.	Near East
5,500	Domestication of sheep, goats, pigs, cattle and the dog in India.	Indus Valley
5,500	First farming villages in Egypt.[11]	Egypt
Before 5,000	Domestication of potatoes.[12]	Peru
5,000	First farming villages in China.	China
5,000	Domestication of corn, beans, squash, prickly pear and chili peppers in Mesoamerica.	Mesoamerica
Before 4,000	First steps toward writing.	Near East
Before 4,000	Domestication of the horse.	Southern Russia
4,000	Sail boats in use.	Egypt
4,000	First farming villages in India.	Indus Valley
4,000	First farming villages in Southeast Asia.	Thailand
4,000	Origin of writing.	China
4,000	Domestication of the llama.	Andes
3,600	Earliest bronze artifacts.	Thailand
3,500	First city-state: Uruk	Near East
3,500	Earliest writing in Near East.	Uruk
3,300	Domestication of rice.	China
3,300	Domestication of the silk moth.	China
Before 3,000	Invention of the plow.	Near East
Before 3,000	Invention of the wheel.	Near East
3,000	Domestication of the yam.	West Africa
3,000	First bronze tools in the Near East.	Near East
3,000	First writing in Egypt.	Egypt
2,900	Accurate calendar devised in Egypt.	Egypt
2,700	Pyramids built in Egypt.	Egypt
2,500	First Indus Valley cities.	Indus Valley
2,500	First writing in India.	Indus Valley
2,500	Domestication of olives and grapes.	Greece
2,500	Domestication of squash in North America.	Kentucky
2,200	Earliest written code of laws drawn up.	Sumer (Near East)
Before 2,000	Domestication of chicken and elephant.	Indus Valley

	2,000	First European city.	Greece
	2,000	First farming villages in Mesoamerica.	Tehuacan, Oaxaca
	2,000	First farming villages in South America.	South America
	2,000	Domestication of corn in south-west North America.	North America
	2,000	Use of large scale fishing techniques.	Boston area
	1,800	First cities in China.	China
	1,500	First public building in Mesoamerica.	Oaxaca
	1,500	Invention of ocean-going outrigger canoes leads to populating of the Pacific islands.	Oceania
	1,500	Domestication of sunflowers and other plants.	North America
Around	1,400	First empire ruling distant provinces established by the Hittites.	Near East
	1,000	Domestication of reindeer.	Northern Eurasia

It has long been thought that agriculture was first invented in the Fertile Crescent of what is now Iraq and neighboring areas, and from the point of view of the development of world history that location, along with the independent invention of agriculture in southeast Asia shortly thereafter, are still the most important places where this happened. But agriculture and settled life were actually invented in many different places and times, and recent evidence hints that the very earliest of all may have been in the New Guinea highlands.[13]

One important result of all the innovations during the Neolithic Period was to greatly increase the productive powers of human society. This allowed the production of more than the bare minimum necessary to keep the primitive clan alive, and in the form of grain allowed it to be stored for lean times. It is not correct to imagine that humans in primitive society were always on the verge of starvation. On the contrary, collective methods of hunting often led to a great excess of food and pelts, as when whole herds of animals were stampeded over cliffs. Many species, including even mastodons, mammoths and a larger species of bison than survives today were easy enough to hunt that they were eventually hunted to extinction.[14] Gathering of vegetable products also could easily produce a great excess at times. Storing and preserving food, however, was generally not possible. Thus while there was often a temporary excess of food, there was no assured or permanent excess; no *accumulation* of food and other necessities.

The innovations of the Neolithic Period led for the first time to the *possibility* of a reliable surplus capable of maintaining an exploiting, non-productive class. But there is no reason why more efficient production in itself should break down the more or less egalitarian distribution of the wealth of the social group which had always been practiced, as long as that wealth continued to be produced by everyone collectively. It is therefore a second, indirect result of the technical improvements in production which is of equal importance in the development of class society, namely the *division of labor* which these new techniques fostered and eventually required.

Human society has always had some division of labor, but in primitive communal society these divisions were along "natural" lines—that is, by age, sex, physical condition and so forth. Such "natural" divisions of labor could (and did) lead to certain inequalities, but they could not lead to different social classes. However, the division of labor introduced by the technical improvements in the means of production had the profound effect of leading to the introduction of private property and with it class society.

The domestication of plants and animals led to the first major division of labor between families. The care and maintenance of domestic animals and the production of clothing and other things from their hides, etc., required certain kinds of labor, while the growing of wheat and other crops usually required labor of a completely different sort. Agriculture required a settled or semi-

settled form of life, while animal herding often required nomadic migration in search of grazing land. A second major division of labor occurred when the making of tools (such as plows, wheels, and carts) and the construction of houses and public buildings began to be sufficiently complicated that not everyone was capable of doing it well; specialists in certain sorts of work emerged. A third major division of labor was the specialized development of trading. A fourth—and most important of all (from the point of view of the advent of classes)—was the division of mental and manual work.

A number of predominantly intellectual tasks emerged which required considerable time to be effectively pursued. Determining just when to plant crops is a crucial intellectual task in most agricultural societies, for example. Farm land must be reapportioned after floods (such as was required annually along the Nile). Other skills, such as knowledge of medicinal herbs, require specialization as knowledge accumulates. These tasks led to the first development of calendars, astronomy and mathematics, medicine, etc.,—which became the rational component of priest craft. Secular leadership, another intellectual task, was also necessary for many tasks, such as building up public granaries and storehouses, organizing irrigation projects, leadership in war, etc.[15]

The division of labor in society led in turn to the advent of private property in the means and products of production. Whereas before, all the members of society produced wealth collectively and therefore collectively "owned" and consumed that wealth, now different people produced different kinds of wealth and the tools they used and what they produced came to be considered their personal property. This led to the exchange of commodities and—most importantly—to differences in wealth, the rich and the poor. Some individuals got into debt to others and being unable to pay it off became their slaves.

Once the means of production developed to the point where individuals were capable of regularly producing more than was necessary simply to maintain themselves, slavery became feasible. Down through the ages there had been occasional conflicts between different communal clans, over territory for example (though much less frequently and usually less violently than some people maintain—see the next subsection). If prisoners were taken they had to be killed, or let go, or adopted into the clan. There were no other alternatives. But now, with the technical advances and improved efficiency of labor, they could be made use of as slaves.[16]

In summary, class society began a few thousand years ago in the Neolithic Period (different times in different places) when improvements in the means of production led to the possibility of a reliable social surplus and to the division of labor (animal herding, crop agriculture, handicrafts, intellectual skills, etc.). This led in turn to private property, private appropriation by the individual producer of what he or his family produced, and inequality of wealth. Freemen entrapped by debt and prisoners captured in war led to slavery. Society became divided into three basic classes: a small, dominant, wealthy ruling class—the slave owners (and/or those who otherwise lived off the labor of others, such as through taxes in kind); a strongly exploited and oppressed class—the slaves; and an intermediate class which aspired towards wealth, but which faced the possibility of being driven down into slavery (and which was often exploited to a degree itself, through taxes, military obligations, and sometimes corvée labor)—the freemen.

C. The Origin of Warfare

Because of the importance of warfare in human history, and to provide a background for the discussion of the ethics of revolutionary warfare later, it is appropriate at this point to discuss the origin of warfare. The bourgeoisie, as part of its perpetual campaign to prove that both human

nature and society are static, has long claimed that war is part of human nature, that it has always existed, and that it always will. One well-known bourgeois writer on warfare, John Keegan, put it this way: "Warfare is almost as old as man himself, and reaches into the most secret places of the human heart, places where self dissolves rational purpose, where pride reigns, where emotion is paramount, where instinct is king."[17]

But while warfare has its origins in prehistoric times, it is *not* as old as humanity. While there were undoubtedly occasional violent skirmishes between bands of hunter-gatherers, warfare in any real sense did not come into existence until the advent of classes. But this is a somewhat involved and contentious matter, as we will see.

There is a long tradition, going back at least to Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), of viewing primitive human existence and society as having been extremely violent, animalistic, and the life of man in such a circumstance as "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short".[18] When modern cultural anthropology first arose, the investigators were surprised to find that most people in the more primitive hunting-gathering societies that still existed were actually quite communal, quite peaceful—at least most of the time—and that daily life in these communities was generally much more pleasant and relaxed than the philosophers of the early bourgeois era had supposed. A half-century ago the humanist anthropologist Ashley Montagu wrote that

> So far as war is concerned, the Australian aborigines are completely unacquainted with it. The nearest they ever get to it is in the form of the spear-throwing duel I have described, and this can scarcely be regarded as war. In fact, it is difficult to convince an Australian aboriginal that there exist peoples who make organized attacks upon other peoples in order to kill and maim as many of them as possible as quickly as possible. The Eskimos are similarly unacquainted with war as a social activity and equally difficult to convince that other peoples practice it. The Veddahs of Ceylon are another example of such a people, and so are the Bushmen-Hottentots of South Africa. Interestingly enough, all these are food-gathering and hunting peoples, and non-agricultural. Warfare becomes a form of organized activity only at more complex levels of technical development. It is among agricultural and pastoral peoples that warfare first begins to make its appearance, and becomes increasingly highly developed with the increase in complexity of the economic activities of society. In such groups, warfare is justified on the grounds that the group against which one is making war is not, in fact, human, and that therefore they have title neither to their lives nor to their property. The names which many tribes give themselves translated into English mean 'We are human—all others are not'."[19]

Montagu's view that warfare arose after the development of agriculture, settled life, and more complex social organization in the Neolithic (or perhaps Mesolithic), is essentially correct, and has been further confirmed by archeological investigations since he wrote those lines.[20] However, he does slightly overstate his case here by extending that idea to all of the more recent hunter-gatherer societies; something like warfare was not totally unknown among some of the Inuit (Eskimo) peoples of recent centuries, for example, or among Australian aborigines some few thousands of years ago.[21]

However, in recent decades there has developed a rather major and prolonged argument in academia over the question of when warfare actually began and what level of violence should be viewed as actual warfare. A fairly good summary of this big debate is presented by Garrett Fagan, of Pennsylvania State University, in his video course entitled *Great Battles of the Ancient World.*[22] No one disputes that there has always been some level of intra-species violence among human beings, or that there were occasional murders of one individual by another, or small group violence (akin perhaps to gang fights in contemporary American cities). The question, though, is

whether this low level of violence should count as warfare or not, and whether anything that clearly *should* count as warfare occurred before the Neolithic Period.

As Fagan argues, the question of *when* war originated is therefore closely bound up with the question of *how war should be defined.* Those who want to say that warfare began during the Paleolithic rather than the Neolithic tend to define 'war' quite loosely or broadly, so as to encompass what little evidence there is for inter-human violence from that older period, while those who want to say that warfare only began in the Neolithic (or Mesolithic at the earliest) tend to define warfare as being something more recognizably like what it means today.

Fagan describes two contending schools of thought about how war should be defined in roughly the following way:

1) Defining war in *operational* terms, as what war *does*. This point of view derives from the anthropologist H. H. Turney-High in 1949, and is still favored by many military historians.[23] It draws a distinction between warfare properly so called, and what it terms "primitive warfare". True warfare is a social institution that adheres to certain universal principles, especially the existence of tactical formations, which imply a command and control structure. This theory says there is a line, called the "military horizon", separating the sort of "primitive war" that anthropologists talk about from true warfare that began only with nation states. "Primitive war" tends to be ritualized, usually quite limited in scope, sometimes merging into sport (as with spear-throwing contests), often without any recognizable point to it or ultimate goal. Most of the various stages of the traditional ritualized warfare among the "notoriously war-like" Yanomamo people of the northern Amazon basin might be examples of this.

2) Defining war in terms of *social organization and identity*. This point of view emphasizes the socially constructed nature of warfare as opposed to other forms of human violence. It especially emphasizes the importance of the individual's identification with others at not only the family and clan level, but at the tribal, and higher levels of organization (such as at the chiefdom and state levels, and possibly the religious or linguistic level). The more levels that individuals strongly identify with, the greater is the possibility of warfare between different units (clans, tribes, chiefdoms, states, religions) at that same level. The proponents of this view tend to claim that societies without war are few and far between, and even some of those are sometimes rather violent internally (with such things as wife-beating and revenge murders).[24] A key factor that makes something "war" and not simply some lesser form of violence is what they term the "calculus of social substitutability", wherein any member of a rival social group (at any level)—and not just a particular malefactor or his relatives, becomes a legitimate target. (This would, however, have the effect of making an urban gang fight a battle in an actual, full-fledged "war", which certainly seems to be stretching things.)

Both of these conceptions may have some partial validity to them, but neither seems to really hit the nail solidly on the head. A far better definition of war would explicitly bring in the aspect of struggle between two *ruling class-led* formations (especially states) for material resources. This Marxist conception is echoed, to some extent in the "social institution" emphasis of the operational definition, but also is echoed in the "social organization and identity" emphasis of the second approach above. However, most essentially, the Marxist definition of warfare brings in the concept of social classes, ruling classes that are already exploiting and oppressing their "own" people, and therefore a controlling class in society that is ready and willing to expand its rule and exploitation to other regions. But of course bourgeois academics do not wish to think in terms of social classes at all!

Garrett Fagan comments that those who favor the "operational" definition of war say that genuine warfare is a relatively late arrival on the scene for humanity, "a product of state organizations or their immediate predecessors, going back perhaps 8,000 years into the Neolithic period." But those who favor the "social-substitution" definition of war would push the origins of warfare "back tens of thousands of years into the Paleolithic period." But since even the "operational definition" school of thought claims that "primitive warfare" (if not "true warfare") probably existed before the Neolithic, there is—from our point of view—little actual difference between them when it comes to this issue.

A third view, says Fagan, is the sociobiological assumption that there is a genetic basis for war built into humans, and that it has either always existed, or else has always existed since it became technologically feasible, way back into the Paleolithic or before. This viewpoint, even more than the other two, is clearly a bourgeois theory to the very core!

Are there any actual bits of archeological evidence for warfare, or something like it, during the Paleolithic or before? Actually, so far at least, little or nothing has been found. Of course some individual human (and pre-human) skeletons have been found which show evidence of broken bones, cuts, and so forth. In some cases these wounds healed and were not the cause of death; in other cases these wounds did cause death. But what caused these wounds or deaths? Was it animal attacks, accidents, or something purposely inflicted by other humans? In a few cases, it seems pretty certain that a death was caused by other humans. But even in such cases, were these from hunting accidents, or individual murders, or fights between individual humans or families, or a sacrifice, or an execution… or from something like warfare? All we can say is that there is no significant evidence for anything like warfare in the Paleolithic Period.[25]

Even in the early Neolithic Period itself (part of which is now sometimes called the Mesolithic or Epipaleolithic[26]), the evidence for warfare is scarce and limited, to say the least.[27] Only in a very few cases are there suspicious remains found together for a fairly large number of different people, and even in these cases there is the question of whether these are grave yards used over a period of time, or what.

It is true that by this time weapons and implements existed which *could* have been used in warfare (stone axes and knives, spears, spear throwers, bows and arrows, etc.), but which obviously also were used for hunting and other nonmilitary purposes, and might have been *exclusively* used for these nonmilitary purposes. According to Fagan, tools which seem to have exclusively military functions, such as daggers and maces, appear relatively late in the archeological record. And even the first of these may have served more as symbols of power and status, rather than as actual weapons of war.

The first and by far the most important archeological site yet discovered which it seems may show evidence of very early Neolithic (or Epipaleolithic?) warfare is "Site 117" (more commonly known as "Cemetery 117") near Wadi Halfa in Sudan. This is also sometimes referred to as "Jebel Sahaba", although that is a less encompassing name.[28] Because of the importance of this particular site to the issue of the origin of warfare, we will have to discuss it a bit.

At "Site 117" 59 well-preserved skeletons were found, of which 24 were associated with stone artifacts which were interpreted as projectile points. Moreover, these stone points were almost all found in what would have been areas of the body that would be ready targets for spears or similar weapons, such as the chest and back area or the lower abdomen. So it does seem to be quite plausible that at least these 24 people were killed by other humans. However, they may very well have been killed over a period of many years and not all at once, and it is unlikely that these

are all the victims of a single raid or battle (or if such a thing as "battles" even yet existed). Still, to find that 40% of these bodies were evidently killed by other humans is somewhat startling.

The next question is what is the date of these remains? The Wendorf expedition that investigated this site in 1964 had some of remains dated by the carbon-14 method which gave dates of 13,740 years BP (Before the Present) plus or minus 600 years. Some sources suggest the real date of this site may only be half as old as that, however.[29] But let us suppose that the 13,740 BP radiocarbon figure is roughly correct. The sources I have seen about this site do not say whether this date has already been recalibrated or not, to reflect the errors now known to occur in radiocarbon dating. If not, the correct date for these remains may be even earlier.[30] So is this even in the Neolithic at all, or is it actually in the "Epipaleolithic" (or Mesolithic)? The answer to this is somewhat complicated.

This site is part of what is known as the Qadan culture which existed from roughly 15,000 BP to 11,000 BP), and is believed to have been either agricultural or "protoagricultural" (i.e., where the people tended to the local plant life, watering and harvesting it, but did not necessarily plant the crops or clear fields and plant in ordered rows, etc.).[31] However, around 12,500 BP the stone sickles that were previously so common there no longer occur in the archeological record, and a reversion to a hunter-gatherer-fisher culture seems to have occurred. Since this abandonment of agriculture took place over a fairly wide area, it is assumed that this reversion occurred because of the climatic disaster then in progress as the region of the eastern Sahara became more and more arid. Alternately, a series of severe Nile floods surging through the region (but from rain far to the south) could have washed away the "farmlands" and discouraged people from pursuing an agricultural existence. But we do know that agriculture or protoagriculture existed in the area for a very long time, which suggests that the region should be counted as having entered the Neolithic Period, even if this is earlier than what is counted as the Neolithic elsewhere. The radiocarbon dating of the human remains as 13,740 BP (± 600) is well before the abandonment of agriculture in 12,500 BP. The very existence of these cemeteries itself demonstrates that there must have been settled life at this time.[32] The great stresses from the drying climate, and a consequent struggle over the dwindling habitable land in the area, may have also been a major factor in the development of this early inter-human violence.

The other known early Neolithic sites which show some hints of something like warfare, or least of defensive fortifications and the like, are all considerably later than "Site 117" (which is one of the reasons for wondering about the accuracy of the early dating of Site 117).

One of the very most ancient villages known is that at Tell es-Sultan ("Sultan's Mound") near Jericho in Palestine, which began as a settlement of hunter-gatherers of the "Natufian Culture" in about 9,000 BCE. Some other similar sites in the area may go back as far as 10,500 BCE, though some of these may have been temporary camps. This culture is also known to have engaged in protoagriculture, since among the items found are mortars and grinding stones, and many-toothed sickle blades of flint which still show signs of "sickle sheen" along their cutting edges.[33] The Natufian Culture is often called "Epipaleolithic" (or Mesolithic). However, the next archeological horizon at Jericho is known as "PPN A" or "Pre-Pottery Neolithic A" and is dated from around 8,350 BCE to 7,370 BCE. So this was definitely a settled agricultural society properly called Neolithic. By 8,000 BCE the village was surrounded by a massive stone wall which included a stone tower in the center of one side. This is the oldest walled village ever discovered. It seems that the wall must have been built to protect the village from attack by other tribes of humans—and therefore that such attacks must have been happening in the region by then. Of course such an elaborate construction also shows the existence of a considerable level of social organization by that time.[34]

A somewhat later, but still early Neolithic settlement in Anatolia (Turkey), called Çatalhöyük (or Çatal Hüyük), is said to be one of the largest and most sophisticated Neolithic sites yet discovered. It dates as far back as 7,500 BCE. The village consists of houses made of mud-bricks and constructed next to each other, with the exterior walls being more fortified, indicating—once again—that defensive measures were being taken against the possibility of outside attack.[35]

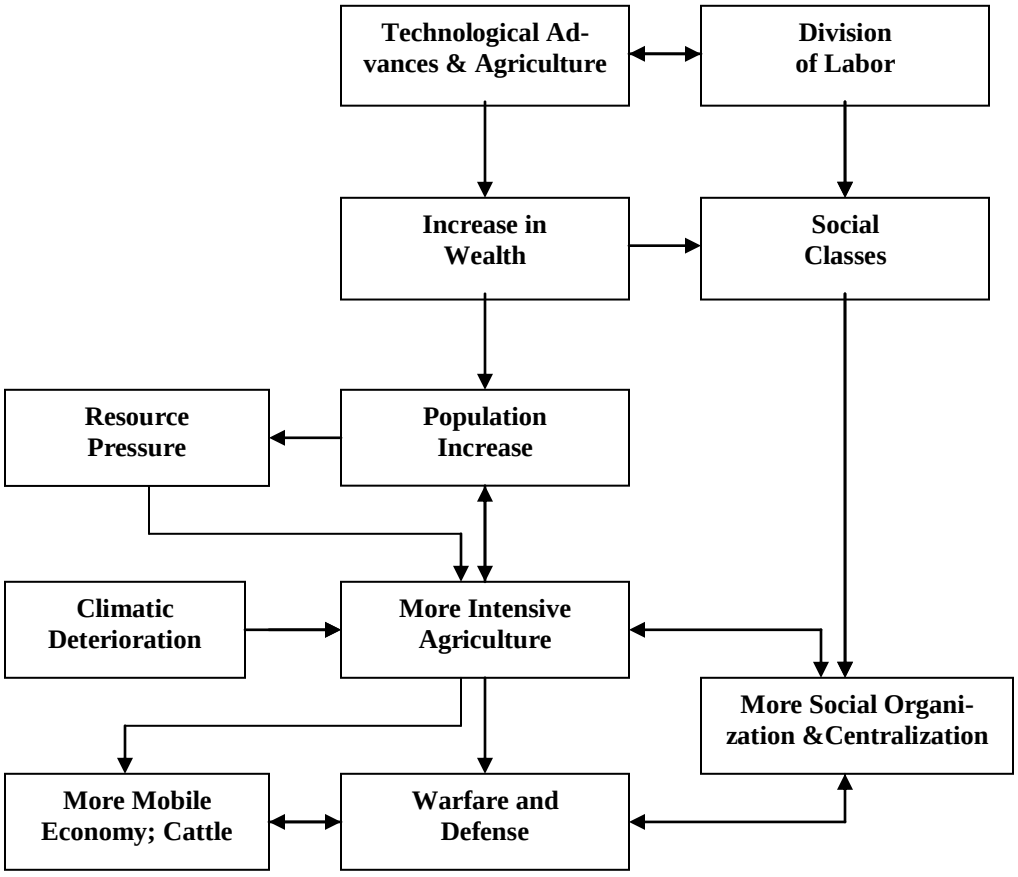
Another very early site suggesting some serious level of inter-human violence that may have approached something like "warfare" is that of the Ofnet cave in Bavaria.[36] This dates to around 6,500 BCE (Fagan, though, says only 5,000 BCE), in a period that is often counted as being in the Mesolithic for that area. There were two pits in the cave containing 38 decapitated skulls, most of which belonged to children under the age of 15. Two-thirds of the adults were women, but the male adults had suffered the greatest wounds, including some that suggested that they may have been scalped. On the other hand, the burial of these skulls was curious and resembled "a conventional burial of this date."[37] The skulls were covered in red ochre and the grave goods included pierced red deer teeth and shells. So the evidence here is limited and confusing. Was there an actual raid on this community, after which only the skulls were buried? Were the skulls perhaps the trophies from a raid of another village? (But then, why decorate and *bury* them?) Or was this simply some sort of elaborate ceremonial burial, which did not reflect any inter-human violence in the first place? In any case, once again, there was at least protoagriculture in this region at the time, settled life, and therefore already at least some form of social structure.

The relationship between agriculture, settled life, classes, other factors, and warfare needs to be discussed a little further. Fortified settlements spread around the eastern Mediterranean and throughout Europe from 8,000 to 4,000 BCE.[38] Speaking of what is called the "Linear Pottery" culture which existed about 8,000 years ago in northwestern Europe, archeologist John M. Howell remarks:

> Can a model be formulated to account for some of the striking changes seen in the middle Neolithic? Yes. The underlying stimulus for change may have been an interaction of climatic decline and natural resource pressure. By the end of the early Neolithic much of the best alluvial soil had been claimed by Linear Pottery immigrants. In effect the frontier had been closed, and expansion no longer provided an easy outlet for population pressure. At the same time the technology needed for exploiting virgin land on the plateau (such as the heavy plow) was lacking. In such a situation deterioration of the climate might well have led to warfare. Hostilities would have resulted in the centralization of sites in defensible positions and in the construction of fortifications.
>
> Various pieces of evidence suggest that this model captures at least some of the truth. The evidence for a more warlike society comes not only from the massive fortifications but also from the diversity of arrowhead types that proliferated in the middle Neolithic. Indeed at some sites, such as Crickley Hill in the English Cotswolds, arrowheads found in the rubble of a burned palisade offer unmistakable proof of hostilities….
>
> Thus it seems that resource pressure—in particular demographic pressure on arable land—was one of the driving forces of social and cultural change during much of the Neolithic period in northwestern Europe. Population pressure appears to have been one of the key factors in causing the remarkable centralization and fortification of settlements that appeared during the mid-Neolithic….
>
> The crucial significance of arable land for social structure is perhaps not surprising in an early agricultural society.[39]

I don't dispute that a climatic change may have been a factor here, but it must have been quite secondary; after all, climatic changes had been occurring periodically for hundreds of thousands of years during the Paleolithic without leading to warfare. It seems clear that the technological advances of the early Neolithic were what resulted in the subsequent population increase and the pressure on natural resources. These advances also led to the accumulation of wealth, the advent of social classes, and gradually more complex social structure. And *all* these things led to social conflict and war. (See Chart 4.2 below.)

Chart 4.2: Influences between technology, classes, warfare and the related social characteristics that took place during the mid-Neolithic period in northwestern Europe.[40]



The traditional view has been that agriculture came first, and led to permanent settlements, which were then fortified as circumstances required. Certainly some agriculture or proto-agriculture had to exist, and the *possibility* for the expansion of agriculture had to exist before large and truly permanent settlements could be built. That is, domesticated grain plants had to be available, at least. More recently, however, some archeologists have argued that in many cases the need for defensible settlements may have been as much, or more, the *cause* of the turn to serious agriculture, rather than exclusively the effect of it.[41] In any case, elaborate fortified settlements were only possible after technology had advanced to the point that accumulated wealth and social classes had come into existence.

While the beginnings of warfare occurred in the Neolithic (or perhaps the Mesolithic) with the beginnings of agriculture, settled life, and somewhat more complex social organization, it did not truly blossom (if that is the right word for so grotesque a thing) as a major and persistent social phenomenon until the Bronze Age, which began around 3,500 BCE. The Bronze Age

> saw the development of many new weapons—the penetrating axe, armor, helmet, composite bow, the wheel and chariot—and gave birth to a number of tactical innovations—phalanx formations, increased mobility, pursuit, emergent staffs and rank structures. It would be incorrect to conclude, however, that new weapons were responsible for the great increase in the scale of warfare that characterized this period of human history. Improved weaponry, by itself, would have produced only a limited increase in the scale of warfare unless accompanied by new types of social structures capable of sustaining large armies and providing them with the impetus and means to fight on a heretofore unknown scale. **The military revolution of the Bronze Age was rooted more in the development of truly complex societies than in weapons and technology.**
>
> What made the birth of warfare possible was the emergence of societies with fully articulated social structures that provided stability and legitimacy to new social roles and behaviors. The scale of these fourth millennium urban societies was, in turn, a result of an efficient agricultural ability to produce adequate resources and large populations. It is no accident that the two earliest examples of these societies, Egypt and Sumer, were states where large-scale agricultural production was first achieved. **The revolution in social structures that rested upon the new economic base was the most important factor responsible for the emergence of warfare.**[42]

But who says so; is this the commentary of Marxist writers? Not at all, it is the considered opinion of many military historians today, and in this case the words of two establishment authors writing for the U.S. Army War College!

Brian Ferguson, of Rutgers University, sums up the origin of warfare this way: "So it is around the world: the multiple archaeological indicators of war are absent until the development of a more sedentary existence and/or increasing sociopolitical complexity, usually in combination with some form of ecological crisis…. Then, signs of war become multiple and unambiguous."[43] Ferguson adds that once warfare developed under these conditions, it did have a tendency to "diffuse outward as time went on, even to simple hunter-gatherers." But it seems fair to say that there is little or no evidence that warfare originally developed in hunter-gatherer (primitive communal) society.

The American Museum of Natural History volume, *People of the Stone Age*, sums up the matter this way:

> In mobile [hunter-gatherer] societies, all members of a group probably performed the same activities. But as societies became sedentary, individual group members began to specialize in such skills as tool-making, food production, hunting, or fishing. At the same time, there was a growing need for greater social organization, and groups began to lay claim to resource areas in which other groups were not allowed to operate. Instead of roaming freely, without territorial boundaries, more and more groups came to occupy specific regions, and the risk of conflict arose for the first time, although as long as populations remained small and resources were rich, there were probably few disputes. The first acts of aggression that can be traced in the archaeological record belong to the early, sedentary farming societies in central Europe: fortified settlements, battle-clubs, and ceremonial axes tell their own story.[44]

Finally, we will give a summary of the origin of warfare from an older Soviet book, *Marxism-Leninism on War and Army* (1972), which—on this question at least—still sounds quite valid overall:

> The history of class society abounds in military clashes and conflicts. In the past 5,500 years mankind was plunged into war more than 14,000 times. In the first half of [the 20th Century] alone there were two destructive world wars. [And, I might add, the world came very close to a nuclear world war on several occasions in the last half of the 20th Century, which might even have destroyed human civilization entirely. –S.H.] All social progress in antagonistic formations brings bloodshed and suffering to the people. In the words of Marx, this progress was like a "hideous pagan idol, who would not drink the nectar but from the skulls of the slain".[45]
>
> But, wars are no fatal inevitability in human social development, they are a socio-historical phenomenon. There was a time when people did not know wars, and a time will come when wars will have been done away with once and for all.
>
> As all socio-historical phenomena, the emergence of wars, their nature and place in history are subject to the laws of social development revealed by Marxism-Leninism.
>
> As distinct from pre-Marxist theories and the anti-scientific views of modern bourgeois ideologists, the founders of Marxism proved that the history of society is a logical, natural process. It is based on the historically determined nature and level of development of the social productive forces. The objective relations of production, which do not depend on the will of people, and which in their aggregate comprise the social system, are built on this material foundation. The character of the social contradictions and the way in which they are resolved depend on economic relations. The economic system ultimately determines all social, political and ideological relations, including also the conditions for the emergence of wars.
>
> In class society war has become a means of resolving the antagonistic contradictions of social development….
>
> War emerged as a socio-political phenomenon at a definite stage of social development, namely, with the disintegration of the primeval system and the emergence of the slave-owning mode of production, when private ownership of the means of production appeared, when society was divided into antagonistic classes, and the state emerged. Private property bred social violence. The exploiter classes legalized organized armed struggle aimed at winning material gains, enslaving people and enhancing the economic and political rule of those classes….
>
> Thus, *as a socio-historical phenomenon, serving the political aims of definite classes, war first emerged in exploiter society; it is the product and constant concomitant of class antagonistic society.*[46]

D. The Sweep of History, and the Here and Now

Any system of exploitation of one class by another may be considered a form of slavery, in a broad sense of the term. And any kind of slavery—be it chattel slavery, feudal bondage, wage slavery, or whatever—should meet with our complete revulsion. Nevertheless it must be realized that the advent of class society (which initially meant the ancient forms of chattel slavery) represented a progressive development for humanity historically.

Primitive communal society had no systematic exploitation of human by human, nor did it have warfare. But despite this absence of exploitation, social oppression, and organized mass butchery that characterizes class society, life was by no means idyllic in the pre-class era. Hobbes overstated the case with his rhetoric about how life then was nasty, brutish and short; and yet, there is actually some truth to those claims. In general, humanity did suffer an existence that was at least often harsh and actually quite precarious by modern standards, one where privation was by no means uncommon, and one which had considerable insecurity.[47] Indeed, at one point around 160,000 years ago, the total population of humanity apparently fell to a few thousand people and our species almost went extinct.[48] The average lifespan during this entire epoch was fairly short, and life, while it lasted, was very circumscribed in its possibilities. The potential

development of every human being was restricted within incredibly narrow bounds.[49] Production was severely restricted and as the means of production were gradually improved the primitive communal relations of production acted more and more as fetters. To escape such an existence has meant the world for humanity—even though that escape was possible only through the medium of class society with its vicious exploitation and nearly perpetual warfare lasting for thousands of years.

Humanity existed in its primitive classless state for many tens or hundreds of thousands of years (depending on whether you also include the similar primitive communalism of our recent hominid ancestors). Class society has existed for 8 or 10 thousand years and will surely not survive more than another few hundred years at the very most. Viewed in the broad sweep of human history, class society is a brief interlude now nearly over. It is but a stepping stone from primitive communalism or "primitive communism" in which people lived a natural, somewhat animal-like existence, to a new communist society in which humanity and human civilization will have truly flowered for the first time. If humanity does make it to communist society, no doubt people then will say that despite the agony of the process it was worth it. But on the other hand, we can no longer be certain that humanity will survive the capitalist era at all—and if it doesn't, then the era of social classes will have turned out to be a long drum role toward our extinction.

In any case, even if the period of class society is but a brief moment in the overall history of humanity, it is still the hard reality of today. And for ethics the advent of class society and its evolution and continued existence to the present time are of crucial significance.

4.2 Primitive Class Society and Morality

A. What is So Special About Class Society?

In section 3.3 we stated the "Fundamental Principle of Ethics in Primitive Communal Society". But why does this principle apply only in classless society? Why is the advent of classes so significant for ethics? The answer is simple.

With the advent of class society a fundamental cleavage in human interests occurs. No longer are everyone's most basic interests the same. On the contrary, we now find the interests of the rulers, the exploiting minority, diametrically opposed to the interests of the ruled, the exploited majority.

In fully developed slave society, for example, the slaves and the slave masters have no common, collective interest in providing everyone with plenty of good food, nice clothing, fine shelter, excellent protection and health care, etc. Instead, it is in the interests of the slave owner to restrict the consumption of his slaves as far as possible (consistent with their ability to continue to work) so as to maximize the goods and services he himself may obtain from their labor. Likewise the slaves have no objective interest whatsoever in providing food and other things for their master; their interests lie more in seeing their master dead (together with all his fellow slave masters).

We said that in classless society what is good and what is right is that which is in the common, collective interests of the people. Now we see why the qualifying phrase 'in classless society' had to be used; for in class society the people *as a whole* effectively *have no common, collective interests*. (See, however, section 7.2 below.) Or, at the very least, the opposed classes no longer share many of their most essential interests.

Although the advent of classes has cleaved the prior collective interests of the people, it has not cleaved the collective interests *within* the various classes. All the slaves in slave society, for example, continue to have common, collective interests (most notably in the abolition of slavery, as well as such subordinate collective interests as in the better treatment of slaves while slavery still exists, e.g., more and better food and housing, less work, a secure family life, better education, etc.). And the slave owners as a class also have their own collective interests (such as the continuation of the slave system; mutual respect for each other's slaves and other property; keeping the slaves generally ignorant, unorganized, and unable to rise up against them; etc.). This is why in class society *classes* themselves are the replacement for "the people as a whole" as the locus of morality.

If all human beings, at all times and places had the same common, collective interests, then the explication of morality would be completely simple: Morality would everywhere and always be whatever is in accordance with the common, collective interests of the people as a whole. On the other hand, if things were always this simple, it is doubtful that moral concepts would have arisen at all! There would have been little need for such convoluted forms of ideology. (See the discussion of ideology in another section.)

Many thinkers of the Enlightenment knew that at bottom morality must rest on people's common interests. (See chapter 8 for more on this.) But no one before Marx and Engels noticed what the advent of classes meant for this view. Engels, in criticizing Feuerbach's ethics, emphasized first what Feuerbach and all his predecessors seemed not to have paid any attention to, that society "is split into classes with diametrically opposite interests". Engels then continues:

> In short, the Feuerbachian theory of morals fares like all its predecessors. It is designed to suit all periods, all peoples and all conditions, and precisely for that reason it is never and nowhere applicable. It remains, as regards the real world, as powerless as Kant's categorical imperative. In reality every class, even every profession, has its own morality, and even this it violates whenever it can do so with impunity. And love [Feuerbach's main ethical theme—JSH], which is to unite all, manifests itself in wars, altercations, lawsuits, domestic broils, divorces and every possible exploitation of one by another.[50]

Voltaire once remarked that "There is but one morality, as there is but one geometry."[51] That sounded fairly sensible once, but looks pretty foolish now that we have not only a variety of non-Euclidian geometries but also an obvious variety of class moralities.

B. How Different are the Various Class Moralities?

If each class has its own morality, the question arises as to how much difference there is among them. Marx and Engels never denied that there were common elements in these different class moralities. On this point Engels comments

> But when we see that the three classes of modern society, the feudal aristocracy, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, each have a morality of their own, we can only draw the one conclusion: that men, consciously or unconsciously, derive their ethical ideas in the last resort from the practical relations on which their class position is based—from the economic relations in which they carry on production and exchange.
>
> But nevertheless there is [a] great deal which the three moral theories mentioned above have in common—is this not at least a portion of a morality which is fixed once and for all?—These moral theories represent three different stages of the same historical development, have therefore a

common historical background, and for that reason alone they necessarily have much in common. Even more. At similar or approximately similar stages of economic development moral theories must of necessity be more or less in agreement. From the moment when private ownership of movable property developed, all societies in which this private ownership existed had to have this moral injunction in common: Thou shalt not steal. Does this injunction thereby become an eternal moral injunction? By no means. In a society in which all motives for stealing have been done away with, in which therefore at the very most only lunatics would ever steal, how the preacher of morals would be laughed at who tried solemnly to proclaim the eternal truth: Thou shalt not steal![52]

Some bourgeois critics of Marxism seize upon this issue to try to shoot down MLM ethics. Most of them say, "Aha! Marxists are ethical relativists," and make their assault from that perspective. (This theme will be addressed in detail in section 11.4.) But a few others take the opposite approach, saying that in effect the Marxist view that ethics is class based is a sham since when you get down to the details you find that these supposedly different class moralities are essentially the same. As usual, these diametrically opposed attacks are both wrong, and the truth lies in the middle where only those with some appreciation for dialectics can discover it. I will discuss this second critical approach here, because it will provide us some valuable background when we get to discussing the "fundamental problem" of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ethics in chapter 7.

Here, for example, are the remarks of one of the professional anti-Marxist superstars, John Plamenatz:

> Marx and Engels have been accused [!!] of holding that in societies divided into classes, morality is always class morality. This could be interpreted in either of two senses; that in a class society there are no moral standards common to all classes; or that, besides those common to all classes, there are others peculiar to particular classes. I shall take it that the second interpretation is the correct one, not only because it attributes to Marx and Engels a more reasonable belief, but also because it is in keeping with much that they say.
>
> Their denial that there is an "eternal and immutable" moral law does not of course commit them to holding that all (or even most) aspects of morality in societies divided into classes are class morality. In *Anti-Dühring* Engels refers to three types of morality in the society of his own day: a Christian morality, surviving from the past, a bourgeois morality presently dominant, and a proletarian morality of the future. He admits that these three moralities have much in common but also denies that what is common to them is "eternally fixed". He denies that there is an "eternal, ultimate and forever immutable moral law". Is he denying merely that moral rules are self-evident or *a priori* truths, or is he also denying—what thinkers as different as Hume and Rousseau, have asserted—that there are important social rules indispensable to any society, however it is organized, because human capacities and needs, and also social conditions are everywhere in important respects the same? I shall take it that he is not denying what Hume and Rousseau asserted. Certainly, he has no need to do so to make the distinction he wants to make between "class morality" and "truly human morality"….
>
> [Engels'] assertion that "morality has always been class morality" is presumably not to be taken literally. Engels knew that there were primitive societies without classes, and he did not suppose them to be without morality as well. He probably meant only that, where there are classes and class conflicts, morality has an important element of class morality about it. The "truly human morality", of which proletarian morality is already the prefigurement, is the morality of the future classless society. It is, presumably, different from the moralities of primitive societies in which classes have not yet appeared, and different, too, from what is common to the moralities of all societies, even though it includes it, or a part of it….[53]

Plamenatz's underlying motive here, as he goes on to admit, is to rescue bourgeois morality, and specifically to show that bourgeois morality "is only to some extent a morality that favors bourgeois class interests".[54] We will get into that issue in section 5.1; at present I will ignore his motive and just address his interpretation of Marx and Engels.

The bourgeois mind simply cannot understand Marxism, even when it seems to want to! While Plamenatz is apparently trying to be oh so fair, and oh so reasonable, he manages to interpret nearly *everything* wrong in the above passage. About the only thing he gets right is the blatantly obvious point that, yes, when Engels says that "morality has always been class morality" he is referring only to class society. (Good grief! Can it be imagined he meant anything else?) On the key points, however, we have a conscious bourgeois interpreter at work, which is to say a distorter or a falsifier. Probably he is being honest about it—that is not the issue; but it is just that he cannot help interpreting Marx and Engels in a bourgeois fashion because that is all that makes any sense to him.

In the first paragraph quoted Plamenatz attributes to Marx and Engels what he says is the "more reasonable belief" that in addition to moral standards subscribed to by one class or another there are also moral standards subscribed to jointly by all classes. In the next paragraph he points out the comment by Engels which can be interpreted in this fashion (and which I quoted above at the beginning of this subsection). But actually Engels' formulation is somewhat misleading here. While it is true that the moralities of different classes have in common certain similar or even identical formulations of moral maxims, it is nevertheless also true that the *actual class content* of these maxims is often quite different according to the different *understandings* by different classes of how these similar or identical words are to be interpreted in specific cases. Thus actually, not only is the fundamental principle of ethics different for each class, in reality their respective schemes of ethics in general are much more different than they appear to be on the surface. Class moralities are not simply different class "frostings" on a common cake!

For example, in the case of the injunction or maxim which Engels referred to, "Thou shalt not steal", it first appears that all classes are in full agreement on this—since they all use more or less the same phrase. But the actual content of that injunction is very different for different classes. The bourgeoisie does not at all consider it stealing to systematically expropriate the surplus value produced by the workers in their factories and other workplaces, while the class conscious proletariat does not at all consider it stealing to "expropriate the expropriators" (in Marx's phrase) and take back all that has been stolen from them when the revolution comes. From the proletarian point of view virtually *everything* the bourgeoisie owns has come—directly or indirectly—through stealing the products of the labor of others. So what we mean when we say that stealing is wrong is virtually the total opposite of what the bourgeoisie means when it uses those very same words!

In the second paragraph quoted, Plamenatz gives a bourgeois interpretation to Engels by claiming that Engels is not denying the "Hume-Rousseau principle" that there are *specific* important social rules indispensable to any society. But no citation is given in Engels for this claim, nor are any of these supposed specific universal social rules "indispensable to any society" actually listed. Moreover, once again Plamenatz does not grasp that even if such abstract universal formal rules do exist, their *actual meaning or content* must of necessity vastly differ in societies ruled by different social classes.

Despite the fact that Plamenatz has interpreted Engels otherwise, Engels did in fact mean what he said, that in class society every morality *is a class morality*, and that while these different moral systems do have *some* common elements (though more so in words than in actual content),

overall they are very profoundly opposed to each other. If Engels had held the quite different view that only a small part of morality is class morality, he would have said so. And in any case, the point of view I am championing in this book is that every morality (every moral system) in class society is *fundamentally* based on the interests of one class or another, interests which are in many respects profoundly different than and often very hostile to those of opposing classes.

Now to be sure, if two classes have a shared, common interest, there will be elements of their two moralities which are the same. But the Marxist standpoint is, as I just quoted Engels himself as putting it, that our "society is split into classes with diametrically opposite interests", and therefore the shared interests between classes—certainly between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie—are essentially non-existent except on a very abstract level. (This residue of very abstract commonality will be discussed in chapter 7.)

C. Morality and Social Pressure vs. Enforcement by Law and Violence

We discussed the biological and cultural social regulators in section 3.1C. But with the rise of social classes and class society the cultural social regulators became tremendously expanded and elaborated. In addition to custom and social pressure, which were the dominant forms of social regulation in primitive communal society, there was now added a huge ruling class-based ideological structure, including a much more prominent and explicit moral code based on ruling class interests, elaborate religious institutions one of whose primary purposes is to reinforce the ruling class ideology, formal systems of laws, and behind those laws and all that ideology, agencies of force and violence—the police and military—to maintain social control.

Here is the description from a history of social anthropology by H. R. Hays of the situation before classes arose:

> [Bronislaw Malinowski's] method of complete immersion in the life of a group and intensive study of every aspect of its activities in relation to one another and to the environment has become the standard approach of field workers [in anthropology].
>
> The coherence of his method is exemplified in his analysis of crime and punishment. The Trobrianders [natives of the Trobriand Islands in the Solomon Sea in the southwest Pacific near New Guinea—JSH] had no judicial or police system whatever. If any member of the village behaved badly, was stingy or unjust, the whole village knew of it and his behavior was discussed and condemned. If a more serious breach of custom and morals took place, such as one Malinowski witnessed when the son of a chief was discovered in adultery with another man's wife, the offended party and his clan relatives loudly and publicly accused and insulted the criminal in the village plaza. After this particular ritual of casting out, the transgressor left the village, and his father, the chief, suffered a great loss of prestige….
>
> It was clear that the need for status and prestige and the compulsion to fulfill reciprocal obligations were the true source of moral sanctions, ruling, as they did, the whole emotional life of the Trobrianders. Petty offenses were held in check by social disapproval, the latter being ritualized in more serious cases by the public accusation. The individual, too deeply shamed, had no other resources than ending his or her life.[55]

With the advent of social classes this all changed in a fundamental way. Where there is exploitation and oppression there must also be institutions to maintain this against the will of those who are exploited and oppressed. These institutions must be far more powerful than those needed to ensure a generally harmonious existence in primitive communal society. The most blatant of these are the police and other agencies of force. But even the ideological component here had to be greatly intensified. People had to be indoctrinated to believe such things as that

their low lot in life was ordained by the gods and that they would be rewarded in the "afterlife" for their present misery, that the King ruled by divine right, that it was the ordinary person's absolute obligation to follow the moral and legal codes laid down from above, and so forth.

It is true, however, that some of this change from social pressure to moral and religious ideology and physical force as the primary means of social control came about because of additional side effects of the development of class society. H. R. Hays, for example, continues by saying:

> In a sense the morality of the Trobrianders therefore was the morality of the small group or village where everybody knew everybody's business and disapproval would be deeply felt. Even in a contemporary American village something similar occurs. Law-enforcement machinery has a minimum of cases and is scarcely necessary. The rare crime of violence is an abnormality and is very often the result of an intrusion from a larger, more impersonal community.[56]

Though there is undoubtedly some truth to this attribution of the growth of impersonal cities as a partial explanation for the fundamental change in the social controls in society, this is focusing more on a secondary point, or an indirect accompanying aspect of the most fundamental cause, the advent and development of class society itself. After all, over the course of most of the history of class society *most* people lived in rural areas or small towns, and police, military forces, and very extensive religious and moral indoctrination were nevertheless required all along to keep the masses under control.

Over time and with the further development of class society things have continued to change for the worse. Modern bourgeois society, especially as it exists in the contemporary United States, has carried the trend towards more and more laws, more and more police, more and more prisons, and so forth, to an amazing extreme. As of 2004, more than 1,400,000 people were in jail or prison in the U.S., and 3.2% of all U.S. adult residents were incarcerated or on probation.[57] Religious indoctrination is also being tremendously intensified in this country at the present time, along with the ruling class patriotic and moral ideology that almost always accompanies it. But things can (and probably will) get worse; there is always the possibility of systematic fascism, for example. Think of the forms of social control used in Nazi Germany!

In a future communist society (assuming humanity survives to get to it) this whole elaborate structure of force and ideological indoctrination will once again be unnecessary as a means of social control. There will still *need* to be mechanisms of social control, just as there was in primitive communal society. But these will once again mostly be a matter of custom and social pressure. It is, after all, much easier to "control people" if the control is genuinely in their own collective interests, and is carried out by those people themselves, rather than by the armed agents of an alien exploiting class. Even the social pressure itself will be more humane in communist society than it was in primitive communal society. Mental health care will be an alternative to the suicide that H. R. Hays mentioned, for example.

Of course the side effects of class society which contribute to crime or other intolerable social disorder, such as the present impersonal nature of many inter-human relationships in the big cities, will also have to be changed, and social life in general will have to be made more human once again. (More on this in chapter 8.)

4.3 The Nature of the Collective Interests of a Social Class

A. Material Interests are Primary

We have determined that in class society the members of each class have common, collective interests upon which their class morality rests. What is the nature of these collective interests? As the examples which immediately spring to mind indicate, these collective class interests are primarily concerned with the practical necessity of getting a living, with providing food, shelter, clothing, protection, and the other necessities (and luxuries) of life, i.e., with economics and the economic relations among people.

Even the *non-material* interests that people have, such as education, intellectual curiosity, friendship and love, and so forth—while they may often be of deeper psychological importance to us—are closely tied in with our material interests and how we go about satisfying them. So it is the material interests, which form the basis of our existence and upon which all other interests depend, that are primary.

B. Collective Interests vs. Individual Interests

In section 2.9C I discussed the abstract semantic issue of whether groups of people may be properly said to have collective interests, and came to the firm conclusion that they indeed can. But in this section, I will be more concrete about this matter, and try to bring out the general nature of collective interests and what they mean for moral systems.

[This subsection omitted for now.]

C. The Fundamental Principle of Morality in Class Society

We saw in chapter 2 that the word 'good' means (in its most general sense) "answering to certain interests". And, as also noted in that chapter, this formulation immediately leads to the questions "What interests?" and "Whose interests?" Here we see once again that if all human beings at all times and places had the same interests we could easily answer "human interests". But there are, as we have discussed in this chapter, deeply conflicting human interests based primarily on the different class positions of different individuals. In class society there can be no serious talk of "human interests" divorced from class interests, and attempts to do so by bourgeois apologists are merely attempts to fool people (though they are often also fooled themselves).

That which is in the interests of the members of one class is not (in general) that which is in the interests of the members of opposing classes. Therefore in class society no single morality is possible; no supra-class morality which encompasses everyone. Instead each class has its own morality based on its own collective interests which are primarily material (economic) interests. Since there are in class society conflicting class interests, which are interests of the most fundamental sort concerning livelihood, life and death, there must therefore be conflicting class moralities. With the advent of classes, society is split into conflicting groups based on class position, and therefore the old common morality is split into conflicting class moralities.

We may formalize this conclusion as follows, in what we shall call the "Fundamental Principle of Ethics in Class Society": **For each class in class society, what is considered good, or right, or just, is that which is in the collective interests of the members of that class.** And likewise, **for each class in class society the word 'good' means (in morals) "answering to the collective (primarily material) interests of the members of that class".**

Thus in class society, society is split into classes, human morality is split into class moralities, and even the meanings of moral terminology (such as 'good') are split into class meanings. In more ways than one is humanity torn apart by social classes![58]

Moral terminology is such that it is framed in universal terms; that is, each class *appears* to speak not just for itself, but for all humanity. Moral rules are generally laid down as absolutes. But this is the whole point of moral terminology! If people spoke just in terms of their own class interests, all the cards would be face-up on the table. This would not suit those whose interests lie in exploiting and fooling the others. Thus ideological systems (such as morality and law) were invented and perfected *in order to confuse things* and *in order to hide the real truth of class oppression.*

4.4 The Social Evolution of Class Society and Morality

[Omitted in the excerpt.]

Notes

[1] B. M Boguslavsky, et al., *ABC of Dialectical and Historical Materialism*, (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1976), p. 298. Of course in that period of history only *men* were true "citizens", and we are only talking about men here in talking about those "called to arms".

[2] Lenin, "A Great Beginning" (1919), LCW 29:421.

[3] One of the last significant examples of primitive communal society was that of the !Kung San (or "Bushmen") people of southern Africa. (The "!" in their name represents one of the clicking sounds that exists in their language.) Their hunter-gatherer form of existence still continued into the later decades of the 20th century, but is now virtually entirely gone. As of the early 1990s there were also very small numbers of traditional hunter gatherers on some of the remote Andaman Islands in the Bay of Bengal. The Onge tribe on Little Andaman Island, for example, had about 100 members left at that time. [See: *The Illustrated History of Humankind: Vol. 2, People of the Stone Age*, Göran Burenhult, general editor, (NY: American Museum of Natural History/HarperCollins Publishers, 1993), p. 188.]

[4] Barry Cunliffe, Foreword to the book *Old World Civilizations: The Rise of Cities and States*, vol. 3 of the American Museum of Natural History series, *The Illustrated History of Humankind*. (See previous footnote.)

[5] B. M. Boguslavsky, et al., op. cit., p. 302.

[6] John E. Pfeiffer, *The Emergence of Society: A Prehistory of the Establishment*, (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1977), p. 103.

[7] Carl Zimmer, *Smithsonian Intimate Guide to Human Origins*, (Smithsonian Books, 2005), p. 131. Whether the bone and stone tips which are sometimes considered to be "arrowheads" actually are that is quite uncertain. Arther Ferrill, in his article "Neolithic Warfare", comments that

> "It is possible that the bow and arrow and the sling go back into the Paleolithic Age, perhaps as far back as 50,000 years ago, but again there is no definite proof of their use that early. Stone darts, sometimes called "arrow heads," were made during the Paleolithic Age, but they were not necessarily attached to arrows fired from a bow. They may have been points inserted in spearheads or throwing darts. No one knows where the bow and arrow were invented, but it appears most likely that they first came into use at the end of the Paleolithic Age (12,000 to 10,000 BC), after the period of the cave paintings." [This article from around 2003 was published in *MHQ: The Quarterly Journal of Military History*, and is posted in draft form at: http://www.historicaltextarchive.com.]

[8] The data in Chart 4.1 is taken primarily from John E. Pfeiffer, op. cit., pp. 42-3. Other sources include: George Constable, *The Neanderthals*, (NY: Time-Life Books, 1973), p. 1512; Andrew M. T. Moore, "A Pre-Neolithic Farmer's Village on the Euphrates", *Scientific American*, vol. 241, #2, Aug. 1979, p. 62; Michael A. Hoffman, *Egypt Before the Pharaohs: The Prehistoric Foundations of Egyptian Civilization*, (NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979). This chart was mostly prepared around 1979-1980, and of course needs to be updated with more recent date estimates for many of the innovations listed.

[9] Wolves may have in essence "domesticated themselves" to become dogs. The theory is that some wolves hung around human camps looking for garbage and handouts, and that people came to appreciate their presence because of the warnings they gave when other animals or humans approached the camp. Those wolves that best fit into this mutually beneficial lifestyle were more likely to have offspring and survive, which may have in turn gradually led to a closer relationship between these proto-dogs and human beings.

[10] David Hurst Thomas, in his Preface to volume 2, *People of the Stone Age*, of the magnificent American Museum of Natural History series, *The Illustrated History of Humankind,* Göran Burenhult, general editor, (NY: HarperCollins, 1993).

[11] The very first farming villages in Egypt were almost certainly along the Nile, and therefore have long-since been washed away by the floods that occurred annually (before the construction of the Aswan High Dam in modern times). The earliest *known* farming village in Egypt was at Faiyum, an oasis about 50 miles southwest of Cairo. Gertrude Caton-Thompson first studied the site in the 1920s and found well-preserved wheat and barley in granaries, which were dated to about 5200 BCE. Willeke Wendrich and her colleagues re-excavated the site in 2007 and found considerably more evidence which seems to fully confirm that the site was a well-established year-round settlement. None of the remains of domesticated plants and animals (including pigs) was native to Egypt; they were instead domesticated in the Fertile Crescent of the Near East around 11,000 years ago and were developed into a "technological package" that was spread to other regions over the next couple millennia. [See: Thomas H. Maugh II, "Oldest known farming village discovered in Egypt", a *Los Angeles Times* report reprinted in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, Feb. 13, 2008, p. A-11.

[12] "But nowhere is prouder of its potatoes that Peru, where they were domesticated more than 7,000 years ago. The country is home to up to 3,500 different varieties of edible tubers, according to the International Potato Centre, whose headquarters is near Lima." [*The Economist*, "Llamas and mash", March 1st, 2008, p. 42.]

[13] David Hurst Thomas, ibid., comments that massive water-control projects in the New Guinea highlands have recently been found to date from around 7,000 BCE ("B.C."), and that the cultivation of food plants in that area may date long before that time.

[14] Dean Snow, *The Archeology of North America*, (NY: Viking Press, 1976), especially pp. 24-28. Although the author is evidently not a Marxist, this fine book illustrates very well the historical materialist method as applied to the study of primitive North America. I should also mention that there are still those who believe that the extinction of such a large part of the megafauna of North America was due to climatic changes, or other natural causes. I don't take their claims seriously, but this is not the place to get into that argument.

[15] I don't wish to overstate my case here; not *every* form of specialization which accompanied technical developments necessarily played a great role in the rise of social classes.

In his book, *The Planet of Reason (A Sociological Study of Man-Nature Relationship)*, (Moscow: Progress, 1977 (1973)), I. Laptev notes that one of the first forms of work specialization must have been that of fire-tender for primitive humans who used fire for warmth and cooking but who hadn't learned to start fires at will. "Being unable to create fire at any given moment, men were compelled to maintain it constantly. Thus appeared special groups of fire watchers and fuel collectors. The provision of food for the 'custodians of the fire' was the concern of the whole tribe. This division of functions seems to be the first example of specialization, later playing a definitive role in the establishment of society." (P. 19) However Laptev is wrong if he is intimating that this simple kind of division of labor led to classes. Fire tending was not such a highly skilled task that only a few well-trained people could do it or requiring that those who did it must always be the same people.

[16] Just because slavery was now *possible*, it does not follow that it was always resorted to; the old alternatives of killing or adoption into the tribe still existed. Ashley Montagu remarked that

> "Property rights in persons, such as slaves, have varied in different non-literate [primitive] societies, but as a rule these rights have been quite severely limited, and the most frequent manner in which chattel slavery originates is in the inability of men to pay their debts, who then surrender themselves or their wives or children to the creditor, until by their labor thus pawned the debt is discharged (Northwest California, West Africa). In general in non-literate societies slaves are treated as members of the family. Children taken in raids were

made members of the family and brought up as members of the tribe with all the rights and privileges of a full member." [Ashley Montagu, *Anthropology and Human Nature*, (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1963 (1957)), pp. 64-5.]

The really vicious forms of slavery existed certainly, but primarily in the large states such as Greece, Persia and Rome, and in the rising capitalist empires, such as was directed against Native Americans and Blacks kidnapped from Africa, especially.

[17] John Keegan, *A History of Warfare*, (NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), p. 3.

[18] Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*.

[19] Ashley Montagu, ibid., p. 59.

[20] It is a common dogma, arising from the common bourgeois tendency towards epistemological agnosticism, that a lack of evidence proves nothing either way in a dispute. Actually, in general, a lack of evidence is evidence of a lack, when the dispute is over whether or not something *exists*. A lack of evidence that there is any such thing as a unicorn, for example, is in fact evidence that there are no unicorns. And in our case, a lack of evidence for the existence of warfare before the Neolithic Period is in fact evidence for the absence of warfare before that time. Of course this assumes people have been looking for evidence one way or the other, which in fact they have been. Is it absolutely conclusive evidence? Of course not. But considerable investigations have already occurred, and it is even true that the bias of many of the investigators has been that evidence of warfare in the Paleolithic would be found. Their failure to actually find it is definitely significant.

[21] Some Inuit peoples (formerly called Eskimos) did engage in primitive warfare, at least on rare occasions. H. H. Turney-High says for example: "The old way of making war among the Bering Eskimo was to lie in wait around a village until night, then to steal to every house and barricade the doors from the outside. The men of the village being thus confined, the attackers could leisurely shoot them with arrows through the smoke holes." [*Primitive War: Its Practice and Concepts*, 2nd ed. (Columbia, SC: 1971), p. 174; quoted in Arther Ferrill, *The Origins of War: From the Stone Age to Alexander the Great*, (NY: Thames and Hudson, 1985), p. 30.]

There is also now some evidence of small group collective violence among aborigines in northern Australia from 8,000 BCE and evidence of larger group combats beginning around 4,000 BCE. [R. Brian Ferguson, "The Causes and Origins of 'Primitive Warfare' on Evolved Motivations for War", *Anthropological Quarterly*, vol. 73, #3, July 2000, posted at http://muse.jhu.edu/demo/anthropological_quarterly/v073/73.3ferguson.pdf] Ferguson comments that "This was a time of massive ecological crisis, with rising sea levels drowning the rich plain that once connected Australia to New Guinea. Socially, we see signs of increasing complexity and cultural divisions…. Why war became such an institutionalized pattern is suggested by historic observations: their reliance on water holes in dry seasons, sources that sometimes disappear in droughts, gave them an extremely concentrated and valuable resource to fight over."

[22] Garrett G. Fagan, *Great Battles of the Ancient World* (video course), (Chantilly, VA: The Teaching Company, 2005), Lecture 2.

[23] H. H. Turney-High, op. cit.

[24] Raymond C. Kelly, *Warless Societies and the Origins of War*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000).

[25] The Wikipedia entry on "Primitive Warfare" sums up the situation for the Paleolithic this way: "The most common weapons used by early man were simple in form and easy to produce. Originally, such weaponry consisted of clubs and spears. These were heavily used for hunting as early as 35,000 BC, but there is little evidence that there was much of what we could consider war in that era. Of the many cave

paintings from this period, none depict people attacking other people. There is no known archaeological evidence of large scale fighting during this period of social evolution."
[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prehistoric_warfare (Accessed 7/3/07.)]

However, some more bourgeois writers, while agreeing that there is no evidence of warfare before the Upper Paleolithic (which began 35,000 years ago), are inclined to say that there might be some limited evidence during that period:

> "There is no evidence for the practice of war before the late Paleolithic Age (35,000 to 12,000 BC). A few weapons are known to have been used much earlier. Stones and clubs, man-made pebble choppers, and the spear were available hundreds of thousands of years ago, perhaps millions. They were definitely used in hunting game and probably in attacks by man on man, but there is no clear evidence. The famous Paleolithic cave paintings of France and Spain, dating from the period of 30,000 to 20,000 years ago, show no certain scenes of man killed by man. Mainly they depict animals, several thousand of them. Only about 130 of the figures have been identified as possibly men, and many of them are dubious, simply as men. Even so, the vast majority of the 130 are shown in peaceful scenes. A tiny number appear to be pictures of men dying from wounds inflicted by spears or arrows, but they are so badly drawn that not a single one can be certainly identified as a wounded or dead man." [Arther Ferrill, "Neolithic Warfare", draft of an article that was published in *MHQ: The Quarterly Journal of Military History*, date unknown, and available in this draft form online at: http://www.historicaltextarchive.com/print.php?artid=167]

[26] The Paleolithic, or "Old Stone Age", is said to have lasted from about 2.5 million years ago to roughly around 10,000 BCE. The Neolithic, or "New Stone Age", was originally put forward as the period following the Paleolithic until the dawn of the Bronze Age around 3,500 BCE. The Paleolithic was characterized by chipped stone tools, while the Neolithic had many polished stone tools. However, with more information about how things developed in particular areas the time categories have become somewhat more complicated. The Neolithic is now said to have started and ended at different times in different places, and originally to have begun around 8,500 BP at Jericho in the Levant.

The Mesolithic and Epipaleolithic are terms which are now often used to cover the boundary period between the Paleolithic and the Neolithic, often by borrowing some time from each. In areas where there was a major glacial impact during the last Ice Age (such as in northern Europe, the term Mesolithic is generally used and is fairly well defined. It lasted there from around 8,000 BCE until the introduction of farming (which occurred at different times in different areas).

In areas such as the Near East, where there was no glaciation, the term Epipaleolithic is sometimes used instead of Mesolithic. In the Near East, agriculture and settled life already existed by around 8,500 BCE, and the Mesolithic/Epipaleolithic is therefore not nearly so well-defined in that region. However, in the Levant (Near East) the Mesolithic/Epipaleolithic 1 (or Kebaran Culture) is now said to have started around 20,000 or 18,000 BCE and lasted until around 12,150 BCE. The Mesolithic/Epipaleolithic 2 (Natufian Culture) began around 11,000 to 9,000 BCE and lasted until the beginning of the Neolithic in that region (around 8,500 BCE).

With regard to America the term "Paleo-Indian" is used for what would be called the pre-Neolithic in the Old World. With regard to Mesoamerica the term "Archaic" is used for what would be called the early Neolithic in the Old World, and the term "Pre-Classic" is used for the mid to late Neolithic.

[Information from various places including the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and Wikipedia entries for the various terms (at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki).]

[27] The same Wikipedia entry referred to in the previous note sums up the situation for the Neolithic this way: "Although the Neolithic occurred at different times in different places around the globe, very little evidence exists generally for warfare during this time period. Compared to the subsequent Bronze and Iron Ages, the Neolithic is characterized by small towns, stone versus metal technology, and a lack of social hierarchy. Towns are generally unfortified and built in areas difficult to defend. Skeletal and burial remains do not generally indicate the presence of warfare." The one possible major exception to this—depending on when it is dated—is the "Cemetery 117" site discussed below.

[28] What is known as "Cemetery 117" is actually three prehistoric cemeteries in roughly the same area, two of which—on opposite sides of the Nile!—are referred to as Jebel Sahaba, and the third of which is called

Tushka. These were discovered and excavated by a team led by Fred Wendorf in 1964 as part of the UNESCO High Dam Salvage Project to investigate archeological sites which were about to be flooded by the Aswan High Dam then being constructed.

[29] "Known as Cemetery 117 it is at least seven thousand years old." [*Wikipedia*, article on "Prehistoric Warfare", at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prehistoric_warfare (Accessed 7/3/07.)] See also: http://touregypt.net/ebph3.htm (Accessed July 3, 2007.)

[30] The best source of information on the Internet about radiocarbon calibration issue is the Radiocarbon Web-Info site at http://c14.arch.ox.ac.uk/embed.php?File=calibration.html

[31] "Grinding stones and blades have been found in great numbers with a glossy film of silica on them, possibly the result of cut grass stems. Sadly, as stone preserves better than straw baskets or satchels, the extent of agriculture from this period can not be determined. It may not have been true agriculture as we know it, but rather a sort of systematic 'caring for' the local plant life (watering and harvesting, but as yet no planting in order rows and the like). Yet even this would put the Paleolithic Egyptians on almost the same technological level as the early Neolithic peoples in Europe. Some of the sites also give evidence that fishing was abandoned by the people living there, possibly because farmed grains (barley, most likely), together with the large herd animals still hunted, created a diet that was more than adequate." [From the web site "Upper Paleolithic: 30,000-10,000 BC", at http://touregypt.net/ebph3.htm]

[32] "Mobile hunter-gatherers seldom have permanent burial grounds, so grave fields, where a society's dead are all buried inside a defined area, are a sure sign of a population with a high degree of sedentism." [Göran Burenhult, ed., *People of the Stone Age*, op. cit., p. 82.] The Qadan culture, which stretched "from the Second Cataract of the Nile to Tushka (about 250 km upriver from Aswan)" not only had cemeteries but also shows evidence of ritual burial. [See: http://touregypt.net/ebph3.htm]

[33] The information about Jericho and the Natufian Culture comes primarily from Göran Burenhult, ed., *People of the Stone Age*, op. cit., pp. 20-24.

[34] The information about the "PPN A" culture at Jericho comes primarily from the Wikipedia article on Jericho at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jericho (Accessed on July 3, 2007.)

[35] See the Çatalhöyük entry on the Wikipedia site, and comments about the fortified outside walls of the village in Arther Ferrill, *The Origins of War: From the Stone Age to Alexander the Great*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), pp. 30-31.

[36] Most of the information in this paragraph comes from Nick Thorpe, "Origins of war: Mesolithic conflict in Europe", *British Archaeology*, #52, April 2000, online at: http://www.britarch.ac.uk/BA/ba52/ba52feat.html This particular author paints a lurid picture of the Ofnet event, and seems to me to be ready to jump to lots of unjustified conclusions.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Arther Ferrill, *The Origins of War*, p. 27.

[39] John M. Howell, "Early Farming in Northwestern Europe", *Scientific American*, Nov. 1987, pp. 122 & 126.

[40] This chart is modified and expanded from one by John M. Howell, op. cit.

[41] For more discussion on this point see James Mellaart, *The Neolithic of the Near East* (San Francisco: 1975), p. 277; and, Arther Ferrill, op. cit., pp. 27-30. Ferrill points out that at Jericho, the earliest of all known Neolithic settlements, traces of domestic forms of barley and emmer wheat have been found in early Neolithic deposits, as well as carbonized seeds of lentils and figs. Clearly agriculture is associated with

virtually all major settlements of this period, and the question of which came first—the settlement or the agriculture—is a bit like the old chicken/egg puzzle. To a considerable degree, they co-evolved.

[42] Richard A. Gabriel and Karen S. Metz, *A Short History of War: The Evolution of Warfare and Weapons*, Professional Readings in Military Strategy, No. 5, Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, June 30, 1992, Chapter 1, bold type in original. Available online at: http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/gabrmetz/gabr003a.htm

[43] R. Brian Ferguson, op. cit.

[44] Göran Burenhult, ed., *People of the Stone Age*, op. cit., p. 81.

[45] Internal quote from Marx from the volume: K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Britain*, (Moscow: 1962), p. 406.

[46] *Marxism-Leninism on War and Army*, a collective work with no authors or editors named, (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1972), from Chapter One: "War as a Socio-Political Phenomenon", pp. 13-15, italics in the original. In the parts of this passage that I have omitted here, the authors talk about Marx and Engels' views about warfare among people in primitive (pre-class) society, and how it differs from war in class society. I think that both the authors, and perhaps Marx and Engels, were too ready to believe in the reality of what is now often called "primitive warfare". This, however, is not a central issue to be dealt with in this book.

[47] There is a variety of evidence to support this claim. For example, "Mary Ursula Brennan of New York University has examined dental remains 35,000 to 30,000 years old and reports frequent hollows in tooth enamel, sensitive indicators of starvation or gastroenteritis and other diseases often resulting from malnutrition." [John E. Pfeiffer, "Cro-Magnon Hunters Were Really Us, Working Out Strategies for Survival", *Smithsonian*, Oct. 1986, p. 80.]

[48] As of 2005 the oldest known remains of *Homo sapiens* date to around 195,000 years ago in what is now Ethiopia. At about 160,000 years ago the Earth's climate was undergoing massive swings, and the areas inhabited by early human beings shifted rapidly between being quite wet and quite dry. As one science writer describes the situation: "Clues from our genes suggest that this change was especially hard on our ancestors. By measuring variations in the DNA of living humans, scientists can estimate how many ancestors gave rise to them. Around the time that the Herto [area of Ethiopia] people lived, the population of our entire species may have dwindled down to a few thousand individuals." From Carl Zimmer, *Smithsonian Intimate Guide to Human Origins*, (Smithsonian/HarperCollins, 2005), p. 115.

[49] There is a tendency these days to go overboard in the correction of Hobbes, and to claim that life in primitive communal society was always really quite comfortable and nice. Richard B. Lee, for example, is guilty of this Rousseauian idealism in his description of the life of the !Kung San people. (See section 3.4.)

[50] Frederick Engels, "Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy" (1886), section III, reprinted in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, (Moscow: Progress, 1970), pp. 359-360.

[51] Voltaire, quoted in Rudolf Flesch, ed., *The New Book of Unusual Quotations*, (NY: Harper & Row, 1966), p. 239.

[52] Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring* 1876-1878), Chapter IX; MECW 25:87.

[53] John Plamenatz, *Karl Marx's Philosophy of Man*, (Oxford, England: Clarendon Press/Oxford University Press, 1975), pp. 249-250.

[54] Ibid., p. 251.

[55] H. R. Hays, *From Ape to Angel: An Informal History of Social Anthropology*, (NY: Capricorn, 1964 (1958)), pp. 320-1.

[56] Ibid.

[57] "Corrections Statistics", U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, online at: http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/correct.htm (accessed Nov. 26, 2006).

[58] Of course I am speaking a little loosely here! Actually, class society came into being long *before* the English language did, and therefore before English moral terminology did. In saying, therefore, that moral terminology in class society "is split into class meanings" I am making no claim that English words such as 'good' might once have had classless moral meanings.

The extent to which genuinely moral terminology (i.e., beyond direct talk of interests) existed in pre-class society is a fascinating question. Unfortunately I have not been able to find much about this in the literature. It would take an excellent linguist with detailed knowledge of one or more pre-class societies and their languages to properly answer this question. I strongly *suspect*, however, that the edifice of moral language is largely a creation of class society.