

# *A Socialist Alternative for the Future*

EUGENE E. RUYLE

A major intellectual triumph of the nineteenth century was Marx's analysis of bourgeois society and how it contained the seeds of its own destruction, seeds which would mature and blossom into a more humane, socialist order. This future socialist order would emerge, he said, when the proletariat seized power and built upon the achievements of the bourgeoisie — the development of society's productive forces to a high degree, political freedom, and democracy — to eliminate the wage slavery which Marx saw as the cause of the misery and dehumanization of the working class. Marx's view of the future was similar to that of the father of American anthropology, Lewis Henry Morgan:

The time which has passed away since civilization began is but a fragment of the past duration of man's existence; and but a fragment of the ages yet to come. The dissolution of society bids fair to become the termination of a career of which property is the end and aim; because such a career contains the elements of self-destruction. Democracy in government, brotherhood in society, equality in rights and privileges, and universal education, foreshadow the next higher plane of society to which experience, intelligence and knowledge are steadily tending. It will be a revival, in a higher form, of the liberty, equality and fraternity of the ancient gentes (Morgan 1964: 467).

Although in many respects the twentieth century has been unkind to the revolutionary optimism of the nineteenth, the Marxist vision of a future socialist society continues to be a powerful force in the revolutionary struggles of the Third World peoples who are major subjects of anthropological research. In view of the current feeling that anthropologists should act in the interests of "their" people (as, some would argue, defined by the people themselves), it seems appropriate for anthropologists to draw upon their inventory of hundreds of

different cultural configurations and their time perspective of millions of years to explore anew the dialectical and revolutionary aspects of the Marxist synthesis: Is there a general direction to cultural evolution and human history? Have the wars, revolutions, pogroms, and concentration camps of the twentieth century disproved Marx, or merely made more imperative the implementation of the Marxist program? What sorts of institutions and cultural patterns will be needed to eliminate exploitation and oppression and guarantee the free development of the individual in the socialist society of the future?

I have discussed the first two of these questions elsewhere (Ruyle 1977); this essay is intended to stimulate thinking and discussion on the last.

### THE SOCIAL ORDER OF THE FUTURE

Socialism may be described as a nonexploitative, post-capitalist world industrial system in which strategic resources and the means of production are socially owned, democratically controlled, and rationally managed in order to produce for use rather than for profit. More important than man's control of production, however, is man's control of himself and the social order he inhabits. As long as man does not control his own social order, it towers over him like a mighty force of nature. But the history of humanity has been the history of man's increasing control of the forces of nature, and man's final triumph will be to bring his own social order under control and manage it so as to ensure the free and full development of every individual. It is only within such a socialist society that the social tensions within and between national societies can be resolved and man can come to be in harmony with himself, his fellows, and with nature.

Before examining the kinds of cultural phenomena which would characterize a socialist society, it may be well to clarify a few points, since we have all been brainwashed to a certain extent into believing such a society to be utopian and contrary to the nature of man.

It is essential to realize that the socialist society of the future, like the primitive communism of the past, will be based upon enlightened self-interest, not altruism. As humanity comes to understand how social ills are generated by systems of exploitation, individuals will realize that it is in their interest not only to avoid being exploited themselves, but also to prevent the emergence of any kind of exploitation. As the Wobblies used to say, "An injury to one is an injury to all." Thus, even if some people may wish to exploit others, they will be prevented from doing so, not just by the resistance of those being exploited, but by society as a whole. Those not being directly exploited will see that their own liberty will ultimately be threatened by the existence and growth of any exploitive system.

It may be objected that nothing will prevent the exploitation of minorities by majorities. Closer examination, however, reveals that this would be unlikely. If the spoils of such exploitation were to be equally distributed among the majority, there would not be enough benefits to justify the effort of suppressing the minority, and there would be no real point to the exploitation. If, on the other hand, the spoils were unequally distributed, this would not be a case of a majority exploiting a minority, but rather of one minority exploiting another with the support and assistance of the majority. The majority, however, would gain nothing and in fact be threatened by this, since what is today a minority exploiting another with the help of the majority would tomorrow be transformed into a minority exploiting the majority.

The above analysis assumes enlightened self-interest, that all men will be aware of the operation of the social system and of their own interests within such a system. The teachings of class society, of course, tell us that this is impossible, that the masses are by nature unconcerned with the workings of society and are too stupid to realize what is good for them. Scientific socialism rejects this notion and instead places its faith in the ability of the working class to come to grips with the real conditions of its existence and to act accordingly.

That such faith is not misplaced is indicated, first of all, by the fact that the genetic material of the working class is essentially the same as that of the ruling class (neo-racists such as Jensen (1969), Herrnstein (1971), and Shockley (1972) have argued to the contrary, but their ideas are generally rejected by physical anthropologists and human geneticists — see Brace, Gamble, and Bond 1971; Mead, Dobzhansky, Tobach, and Light 1968; and Ashley Montagu 1975). Thus, if the ruling class has the innate ability to manage the affairs of mankind, so must the working class. Any observed differences are the result of differential enculturation.

Further, the history of the international working class indicates that it has again and again attempted to take control of its own destiny and improve its conditions of existence. Such attempts have failed solely because of ruthless oppression by the ruling class. Regrettably, the past struggles of the working class are not generally publicized, so that the American working class, in particular, has been cut off from its own history by the bourgeois-controlled education system and media. Thus, any apparent lack of revolutionary potential within the working class is the result of class rule and not its cause.

### GUARANTEED EMPLOYMENT

The basic precondition for the emergence of capitalism is a class of "free laborers" (or wage slaves), people who are legally free but who

lack access to the means of production and are therefore compelled (economically) to sell their labor in order to exist. The capitalist system ensures that there will always be an oversupply of labor and this competitive disadvantage of the seller of labor permits capitalist exploitation. As Marx put it:

“If,” says Wakefield, “all the members of the society are supposed to possess equal portions of capital... no man would have a motive for accumulating more capital than he could use with his own hands. This is to some extent the case in new American settlements, where a passion for owning land prevents the existence of a class of labourers for hire.” So long, therefore, as the labourer can accumulate for himself — and this he can do so long as he remains possessor of his means of production — capitalist accumulation and the capitalistic mode of production are impossible. The class of wage-labourers, essential to these, is wanting (1965: 767).

The first task of a socialist revolution will be to free the class of wage slaves from their economic bondage and to guarantee employment and a decent income for all. This will prevent exploitation and oppression in the working place and give to the working man a new security and a new dignity.

It is important to understand that work is not something imposed on man, but rather that it is often a source of satisfaction in itself. Labor is the human essence; man realizes his own species nature only by imposing his will on the environment. Man, therefore, fulfills himself in labor. In bourgeois society labor is a stigma of the lower classes, and therefore disesteemed, but in socialist society this stigma will be removed and man’s “labor instinct” will find expression. Even in bourgeois society there is evidence that man does find satisfaction in the labor process itself: (1) the bourgeois themselves work very hard in our society, even though they are not economically compelled to do so. True, this effort is directed toward maintaining an exploitive system, but in the minds of the bourgeois themselves, it is for the good of society; (2) members of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat engage in spare-time labor — gardening, home repair, hobbies, and so forth — trying to get the satisfaction here that they do not have in their vocation; (3) even alienated wage labor can be a source of satisfaction (workers on assembly lines and even garbage workers are sometimes reported as taking pride in their work); (4) feelings of uselessness and aimlessness are common among retired people who are no longer able to do any productive work. All these considerations indicate that just as exercise is necessary for the health of the body, so the satisfactions gained from productive labor are necessary for the health of the psyche.

Most individuals will find employment in what might be called free

corporations. These corporations will be organized along the lines of Vanek’s “participatory economy,” (1971) with the workers electing and controlling management. The corporations will operate the factories, farms, schools, hospitals, and other productive facilities owned by society, for the benefit of society, while providing their workers with an income. Some individuals may be self-employed as entrepreneurs meeting economic needs which are not met by the free corporations.

In addition, there will be a socialist industrial army, composed of all those unable or unwilling to find employment in the non-governmental economy. In some ways, this socialist industrial army will be similar to the industrial reserve army (the reserve army of unemployed) of bourgeois society. Unlike the industrial reserve army, however, the socialist industrial army will be a productive part of the economy and will provide a decent living for those in it. The socialist industrial army will serve a variety of economic functions: (1) it will act as an auxiliary labor force for the agricultural and industrial corporations during times of peak manpower demand, such as planting or harvesting; (2) it will act as an emergency relief force during natural disasters such as floods or earthquakes; (3) it may be used to perform various essential, unskilled and perhaps unpleasant tasks, such as street cleaning, garbage collecting, etc. If these are insufficient to fully occupy the work force of the socialist industrial army, additional work can be created. Recruits for the socialist industrial army will come from three basic sources.

First, all those who are unable or unwilling to find employment in the free corporations. It will be an employer of last resort, so to speak. Second, all youth, upon completion of formal compulsory schooling. They will have to serve a few years in the socialist industrial army. The time thus spent will be an essential part of the education of all individuals. It will give them a few years of additional maturity and work experience before they continue their education or embark on a career of their own choosing. Although work assignments will be based primarily upon social need, every effort will be made to take individual preferences and aspirations into account. Third, all individuals who are employed in the free corporations or are self-employed. They will be obliged to spend a part of each year — about a month, for example — in the socialist industrial army. This practice will inhibit the emergence of elitism by ensuring that everyone in a responsible position continues to have contact with, and to identify with, the masses. (The practice has been instituted in China for party cadres to serve this purpose.)

The socialist industrial army will perform a variety of important tasks, but its social functions will be more important than its economic ones. Since it will guarantee employment and an income to everyone, it will give the individual the kind of economic security which is the

prerogative of the very wealthy today, and create a new dignity which is totally lacking in class society.

### SOCIALIST DISTRIBUTION

A major goal of socialism is economic equality. This concept requires some explanation since it is usually misinterpreted and misunderstood. It does not mean that everyone will receive an identical amount of money, nor that everyone's consumption habits will be the same. Rather, it means that everyone will receive a roughly equal return on his labor and have the freedom to determine both his hours of work and the nature of his income expenditure.

The idea that everyone should have a roughly equivalent return on his labor will perhaps seem unfair to people reared in bourgeois society, since it may be felt that a skilled worker, such as a doctor, should be rewarded more highly than an unskilled worker, such as a hospital porter. This argument may seem reasonable in bourgeois society, where the costs of acquiring skills are largely borne by the individual. It makes little sense, however, in a socialist society where the cost of education is borne by society. If a medical student is supported at a decent level throughout his years at medical school, there need be no monetary incentive to enter the profession. Certain differentials in labor time may be desirable, however. For example, the hours of labor may be less for a doctor since he must spend time keeping up with new developments in medicine. Similarly, some occupations which are undesirable may have fewer mandatory labor hours. Thus, for example, if the standard work week is twenty-five hours, doctors may spend only fifteen seeing patients so that the remainder may be spent in reading journals; garbage collectors may work only twenty hours to offset the disagreeable nature of the job.

Another point is that individuals vary in the amount of time they want to spend working and in the standard of living they desire to work for. For example, one person may wish to cut his working hours in half and reduce his living standard in order to give himself more time for fishing; another may wish to increase his working hours and spend his greater income in expensive restaurants and nightclubs. There is no reason why individual preferences of this sort cannot be accommodated within the framework of a socialist society, as long as they are indeed based on the free choices of individuals. What cannot be tolerated is that those individuals who work least should be able to spend more money on luxuries, and that people should go fishing because they cannot find employment. Differentials in access to luxuries cannot be allowed to become associated with differentials in power and prestige.

An important aspect of the socialist economy will be the abolition of bourgeois money and its replacement by socialist accounting through socialist credit cards serving as media of exchange and stores of value. The form of money in bourgeois society permits and encourages the concealment of fraud, embezzlement, theft, and other ill-gotten gains. This will be impossible with socialist credit cards.

The socialist credit card could be quite similar to bourgeois credit cards, although there will be only one card, bearing the individual's photograph, name, place of residence and occupation, next of kin, and other essential information. It would serve as an identity card, driver's license, library card, fishing license, etc. Misuse could be prevented by requiring fingerprints when the card is used.

The use of such credit cards would immediately remove all incentive for theft from individuals or stores, since there would be no money to steal and whatever the store sold could be acquired easily through a credit card purchase. There remains, it is true, the possibility of chronic overdrawing of accounts; some individuals might consistently spend more than they earn. Such individuals could be counseled by financial officers of the government and, if necessary, sanctions could be imposed. What is more likely, however, is that individuals who failed to respond to counseling would be regarded as untrustworthy deviants, much as thieves and liars were regarded in primitive communist societies. Unless such behavior became widespread, there would be no need for harsh punishment to make an example of such individuals in order to protect private property and ensure respect for essentially unjust laws. These harsh punishments are necessary, of course, in class societies because of widespread poverty and extreme differentials of wealth. With these removed, the incentive for crimes against property would be removed.

Another important aspect of socialist distribution will be that many goods and services will be freely distributed according to need or desire. The economic principle here is that goods or services, for which the demand is essentially inelastic, could be distributed free, with a saving in accounting costs (see Mandel 1970: Chapter 17). The demand for goods such as salt, staple grains, and work clothing does not increase with a decrease in price, so that eliminating price would decrease the cost of distribution without increasing the cost of production. The free distribution of some services could actually decrease social costs. This is the case in medical care, since individuals who receive free medical care are more likely to have checkups and to consult doctors early in their illnesses, so that disorders are detected and treated early and medical costs reduced. Preventive care would be substituted for curative care. To a certain extent this socialist principle is already operative in bourgeois society, for example in police protection,

which, in theory at least, is available to all according to need, not ability to pay taxes.

## WORLD GOVERNMENT

In order to get away from the popular misconception of socialism as a centralized system run by the state, it is necessary to draw a distinction between government, the management of the collective affairs of society; and the state, a special instrument which monopolizes legitimate violence. Marxists, in defining the state as the executive committee of the ruling class, tend to obscure this distinction while making an even more important point: in class societies, both the government and the state are controlled by the ruling class and are used as instruments of class rule. With the elimination of class rule, the state is expected to wither away. Yet society will continue to have concerns which must be handled collectively, and government will not disappear. One aspect of government is the management of violence, which is the ultimate means of enforcement of every social order. We shall discuss this special problem of controlling the police and military below.

Under socialism, society's collective affairs will be administered through institutions of parliamentary democracy remarkably similar to those of bourgeois democracy. The important differences are these: (1) there will be no privileged minority with interests antagonistic to the majority and with greater power to influence governmental decision making, and (2) there will be special mechanisms to prevent governmental officials and bureaucrats from acquiring entrenched power.

In order to prevent buildups of bureaucratic power, all legislative, judicial and higher administrative officials will be elected directly by popular vote at regular intervals, subject to instant recall by their constituencies, and paid on the same scale as ordinary workers. Special privileges such as multiple residences, private airplanes and yachts, fleets of limousines, and personal servants will be abolished.

The structure of socialist democracy is shown in Figure 1. Every individual has dual representation, electing officials in both his place of work and his place of residence. General decisions about allocation of resources — what and how much is to be produced — and about the labor process itself will be made at the appropriate level. Each of the levels may have a tripartite separation of powers into legislative, executive, and judicial similar to bourgeois democracies. At the top will be a bicameral World Congress which will regulate the use of resources of our "Spaceship Earth" and generally regulate the nature of relationships between lower level social groupings.

We may turn now to a consideration of the role of police and

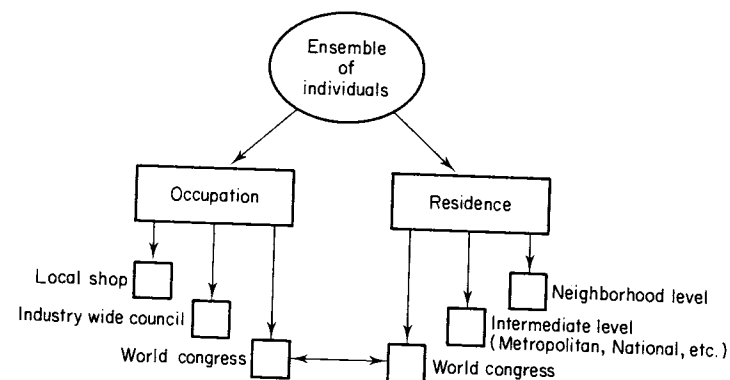


Figure 1. Structure of socialist democracy

military forces in socialist society. In bourgeois society, such specialists in violence protect the wealth and privileges of the ruling class by protecting the property structure on which bourgeois rule rests. As a result, they are continually called upon to intervene in fundamental class antagonisms between rich and poor.

Thus, the police have a dual appearance in class society, as friends of the rich and enemies of the poor. For example, in Westchester, a suburb of New York, where the inhabitants are wealthy and "respectable," one is likely to find that the police are truly public servants, with little antagonism between them and the people, and little "police brutality." The same police, however, in the ghettos of Harlem or Bedford-Stuyvesant, are a force standing above the people, an army of occupation so to speak.

With the replacement of class society by a classless, socialist society, the major sources of crime, conflict, and tension will disappear and with them the need for an oppressive instrument of social control. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that all crime and conflict will disappear, and some kind of police force will probably continue to be necessary. In their interaction with the people, however, these police will be more like the police in Westchester than the police in Harlem.

The structure of the socialist police force will include local police and higher level agencies, with a world police force at the top. All of these will be trained, professional police officers charged with law enforcement. In addition, there will be local volunteer forces recruited from the general population. Such local militias will serve a variety of functions.

First, they will discourage any attempts to dominate the community from outside. Ideally, of course, there should not be any need for this in a socialist order, but realistically, social systems are at best imperfect, and the best protection against outside domination is democratic

control of the means of violence. This will be particularly true in the difficult transition period, while socialist institutions are still in the "shakedown" stage.

Even after the military need for local militias has passed, they will play other economic and psychological roles. It will give those members of the population who have a need to handle guns and use the instruments of violence a chance to do so without endangering society. It will provide a sense of local independence and freedom from outside domination. Finally, the local militia can be used in disaster relief, much as our own national guard is now used.

The question arises, of course, of whether there is a possibility that the police or militia might use their special access to the means of violence to set themselves up above society. To a large extent, this is a baseless worry. The problem of civilian control over the police and military has already been solved in bourgeois society. There may be corruption in the New York police force, for example, but there is no real fear that the police will take over New York City, or that the United States Army will take over the United States. Similarly, there is no real possibility that socialist police or militia will take over a socialist society.

## THE FAMILY

As Engels suggested, socialism "will transform the relations between the sexes into a purely private matter which concerns only the persons involved and into which society has no occasion to intervene" (Marx and Engels 1968: 80). It will be up to the individual to freely enter into whatever kind of sexual and domestic relations with whatever like-minded individuals he chooses. Each individual, male and female, will have his own role in social production and his own independent income, so that the economic bases for sexual oppression and repression, "the dependence... of the woman on the man and of the children on the parents," will be removed and the material base for sexual equality and freedom will be laid. The only role of the government will be to ensure that no one is either exploited, oppressed, or abused in a domestic relationship.

One anticipates that "the family" will persist, but that it will take a variety of forms, depending upon the personalities of the individuals concerned. Domestic arrangements will vary from independent individuals living alone with perhaps nonresident primary and accessory "spouses" similar to some Australian tribes, or perhaps the "visiting lover" arrangement of the Nayar, through nuclear and extended families (which will probably be most common), to communal domestic

situations similar to some experimental communal living arrangements of today.

Society, of course, will have an interest in the raising of children and will ensure that all children are well cared for, well fed, well clothed, and well housed. The freedom of the growing child to develop his own potential will be protected, regardless of the domestic arrangements of his parents.

Both parents will have ample time off work to adequately care for the child throughout his early years. There will also be adequate nursery and child-care facilities which may be freely used so that parents are not unduly burdened by child care.

There may also be some sort of godparenthood or "big brother" institution in which a nonparental guardian is appointed or selected to generally look after the interests of the child from birth throughout his life.

## RELIGION

When a primitive communist society worships its gods, it is in fact worshipping itself. Sacredness, in this Durkheimian view, is not a quality inherent in things, but rather a quality projected onto things by society. When an Australian aborigine worships his totemic ancestors, he is merely expressing in a different symbolic idiom the same truth about the interdependence and oneness of humanity and nature which ecologists express in the symbolic idiom of science. In addition to this sort of life-affirming religion, there are also magico-religious beliefs and practices which serve as an adjunct to social production and reproduction, coming into play when the force of rational social production is unable to control nature. Under conditions of primitive communism, then, religion is overwhelmingly a positive force.

In class society, religion takes on a new function, that of social control. With the emergence of the Church monopoly over access to the sacred and supernatural, religion comes under the control of the ruling class and is used to legitimize the differentials of wealth and power which emerge from class rule. As White (1959: 323) argued:

The function of the church in civil society is to preserve the integrity of the sociocultural system of which it is a part by (1) offensive-defensive relations with neighboring nations, (and) (2) keeping the subordinate class at home obedient and docile.

In addition to its role in legitimizing the status quo, religion also serves to divert the attention of the oppressed classes from the

inequities of life and their own misery. As Marx put it:

Religious distress is at the same time the expression of real distress and the protest against real distress. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of a spiritless situation. It is the opium of the people (Selsam and Martel 1963: 227).

With the elimination of class rule, the forces which tend to warp and distort religion in class society will also be eliminated. As the roots of religion as a form of "false consciousness" disappear in a socialist society, religion itself will become transformed from an opiate into its original function, an affirmation of man's feeling that life itself is sacred. The criticism of religion by scientific socialism is not for the purpose of destroying but of liberating it. Marx continues:

The abolition of religion as the illusory happiness of the people is required for their real happiness. The demand to give up the illusions about its condition is the demand to give up a condition which needs illusions. The criticism of religion is therefore in embryo the criticism of the vale of woe, the halo of which is religion (Selsam and Martel 1963: 227).

As this "living flower" is cultivated, the feelings of sanctity, which free individuals feel with regard to nature and social products (art, music, cathedrals, etc.), will find expression in a variety of communal bodies of like-minded individuals; a return, in a sense, to the variety of pagan cults which characterized the ancient and primitive worlds, but on a newer and higher plane. When the wellsprings of religion are properly appreciated as lying within man, and cult members see that no one is going to prevent them from worshipping as they wish, they will also realize that their own worship can neither be enhanced by forcing it upon others nor diminished by others ignoring it. In the religious tolerance of the socialist society of the future, there will be no established church and none of the god-mongering of class society; neither will there be the militant atheism which characterizes the self-styled socialist states.

One function in which society as a whole may play a role is in affirming the sacredness of human labor. Sacredness, it should be emphasized again, is a quality bestowed on things and processes by humanity. The ensemble of individuals operating over generations determines what is sacred to the society. Since the human essence lies in social labor, it is entirely appropriate to bestow sanctity on certain forms of labor; service in the socialist industrial army may well take on the aspect of a sacred as well as a social duty, affirming the individual's obligation to work and his interdependence and brotherhood with his fellows. Further, the service of youth in the socialist industrial army

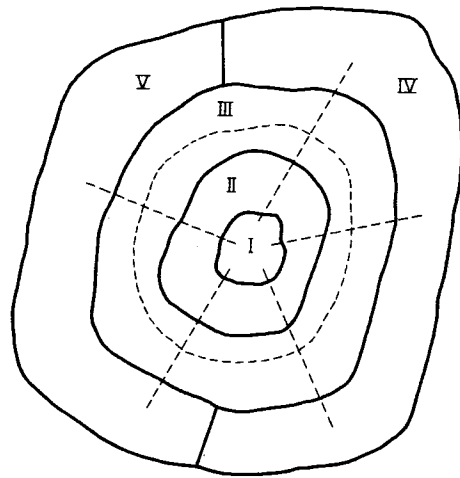
may take on the aspect of a rite of passage, indicating the transition from childhood to responsible adulthood.

#### MISCELLANY

As an anthropologist, I have been concerned primarily with analyzing the social structural sources of dissatisfaction in class society and in designing a social structure which would eliminate this dissatisfaction. Since the sources of social discontent in bourgeois society lie in the wage slavery of the overwhelming majority of the population — and it is on this wage slavery that the wealth and privileges of the bourgeoisie are based — I have been most concerned with describing the institutions which would eliminate wage slavery and exploitation. I have been less concerned with other aspects of the future society, because I feel that once wage slavery has been eliminated and economic and political freedom and democracy have been established, it will be possible to apply a variety of proposals which, to the extent that they do not take into account the politico-economic realities of capitalism, are at present simply utopian. It may be well, however, to consider very briefly how certain specific problems could be solved under socialism.

Take the problem of automobiles. It is often said that the automobile dominates American life. In a sense this is true, but this sort of thinking is best considered as a variant of what Marx (1965: 72) called the "fetishism of commodities" in which the products of human labor "appear as independent beings endowed with life, and entering into relations with one another and the human race." It is not the automobile that dominates America; the automobile is simply a product of human labor. Rather it is those who profit from the sale of automobiles — the owners of the automobile, steel, oil, and rubber companies — that dominate America through the instrument of the automobile. Once this domination is understood and eliminated, we can begin to apply proposals to bring automobiles under human control, such as the proposal of Goodman (1964: 145–155) to ban private automobiles from Manhattan.

Or take the problem of urban planning. It is difficult to anticipate how urban the future population will be. I would imagine that it would be highly urbanized, to about the same degree as contemporary industrial societies. After all, cities are exciting places, centers of the arts and intellectual life, with an array of speciality shops, services, and restaurants which simply cannot exist without a large population. There is no reason why this would be any less true in a socialist society, and in a socialist society most of the reasons for not living in cities would be eliminated: pollution, crime, automobile congestion, high rents, and so forth.



- Rapid transit system
- I Urban area: multiple unit and high density dwellings
  - II Green area: parkland and some farm corporations
  - III Suburbs: small farms and decentralized industry
  - IV Agricultural: farm corporations
  - V Miscellaneous: extractive industries, recreation, open areas for hermits and social discontents, wilderness

Figure 2. Land use in a socialist metropolitan area

On the other hand, perhaps the urbanization trend would be reversed, and more people would choose to live on small, partially self-sufficient farms of one to ten acres. With a decentralized industrial base, imaginative programming in the mass media, and rapid transit, this would certainly be feasible without anyone suffering from rural isolation.

Any mixture of these two possibilities could be accommodated under a land-use plan such as that diagramed in Figure 2. The suburban area where farms and decentralized, nonpolluting factories would be intermingled, could be expanded or contracted according to the number of people who wished to live in a semirural atmosphere; so, too, could the urban area.

One thing which would be essential would be the regulation of the human population in order to maintain a stable rate of use of resources. It is clear that the population must stop growing at some point, and that point could only be decided after the revolution. I would imagine that the human population would decrease for a few centuries after the establishment of socialism, and then stabilize. My reasoning is based upon the doubt that the entire world population could use up resources at the rate the average American family does,

so it will be necessary to either reduce living standards or decrease population, or both. But perhaps new energy sources will be developed which will enable a larger population to be sustained at an even higher level.

Finally, it should be noted that regional and international cultural diversity will continue. The basic institutions described above will everywhere be modified to fit existing cultural traditions. Existing diversity in language, music, art forms, literature, clothing, religious beliefs, and so forth will, of course, continue within a general international framework of liberty, equality, and fraternity.

### CONCLUDING REMARKS

I have presented a number of proposals for a set of institutions which would enable humanity to manage its affairs in such a way as to eliminate exploitation and oppression and to permit the free development of the human potential. It is entirely appropriate for intellectuals to draft such rough plans for the future, but it must be kept in mind that the responsibility for building socialism lies with the working class, and it is they who will ultimately determine its form.

Finally, although I have suggested that socialism is inevitable barring some sort of catastrophe, this does not mean that it will come about automatically. Socialism must be built by the conscious activity of man, and it is hoped that the proposals in this essay will help create the kind of consciousness necessary for the construction of a socialist society. On this note, we may conclude by quoting Marx's XIth Thesis on Feuerbach: "The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world in various ways; the point, however, is to *change it*" (Selsam and Martel 1963: 318).

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