

**Tentative translation**

***Disposable Time and  
The Theory of The Future Society  
—Pursuing Marx's Footsteps***

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Editorial Note: SHII Kazuo, Chair of Japanese Communist Party (JCP), gave a speech at the JCP's national meeting for directors of study and education held on June 25, 2024. The text, partially revised for editorial purposes, is as follows:

Good morning, everyone. I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to all of you for your work. I will begin today's lecture.

At the third online seminar for students hosted by the Democratic Youth League of Japan (DYLJ) on April 27, I spoke about the socialism/communism the Japanese Communist Party (JCP) endeavors for, titled "Human Freedom, Socialism, and Communism—*Das Kapital* as a Guide," based on the decisions at the 29th JCP Congress. The Speech focused on human freedom.

I received loads of positive feedback especially to my appeals to restore and expand disposable time, free time, and to create a future society where free and full development will be guaranteed for all, which is a feature of the socialism/communism we endeavor for. I feel like our appeals have resonated among young people suffering from not having enough free time and aspiring to freely develop their own potential.

At today's lecture, I am going to speak about the theoretical background of this issue, under the title of "Disposable Time and The Theory of The Future Society—Pursuing Marx's Footsteps."

In my earlier online seminar speech, I quoted classic works including Marx's *Das Kapital* and *the Economic Manuscripts* in the form of a free translation by Shii Kazuo, aiming to roughly sketch Marx's intention in order to be easily understood even by beginners. Today, However, I am going to speak based on his original texts. How did Marx think about disposable time, free time, and develop his theory of socialism/communism in that regard? I would like to walk you through his footsteps in that pursuit.

Mr. FUWA Tetsuzo, former Chair of the JCP's Central Committee and former Director of the Social Sciences Institute of the Party, has researched thoroughly on this issue for a long time and I would like to recommend you to read his works (especially *Marx's Das Kapital—Investigation, Pursuit, and Quest* published in 2015 by Shin'nihon Shuppansha Co.Ltd and *The Theory of The Future Society in Das Kapital* published in 2019 by the company). I would also refer you to a series of detailed articles recently written by the incumbent Director of the Social Sciences Institute YAMAGUCHI Tomio (especially "Marx's Pursuit of The Future Society and Free Time: from an excerpt from Dilke to Das Kapital," published in the monthly magazine "Keizai," May-July volumes of 2024). And there are also pioneering achievements by other earlier researchers on this issue, which I will mention later. So,

I will be speaking today by summarizing the works, building on them, and adding some of my viewpoints.

In today's lecture, I will proceed by referring not only to *Das Kapital*, but also to *the Economic Manuscripts* as necessary. *The Economic Manuscripts* are more difficult to plough through than *Das Kapital* in some ways, but I believe it is indispensable to examine the manuscripts to understand his theory of the future society - socialism/communism which was illustrated in Book III of *Das Kapital*. In other words, when we study the theory of the future society in *Das Kapital* based on the preparatory examination of the manuscripts, we can grasp what he meant much more thoroughly and accurately. So, I thank you for your patience and understanding in advance, as I will give you some detailed quotes from them today.

## 1. The Free and Full Development of Individuals—The Lifelong Theme Marx and Engels Explore

What was the most significant objective or feature of the socialist/communist society that Marx and Engels endeavored for?

As I mentioned at the previous online seminar, Engels exchanged letters with Giuseppe Canepa, Italian socialist, in 1894, one year before Engels' death. Canepa had asked Engels for writing a slogan that sketched out the guiding principles of the future socialist society. In reply, Engels referred him to the following sentence in *the Manifesto of the Communist Party* written in 1848 by Marx and Engels, while adding his comment that "It is almost impossible to sum up the spirit of the new age of the future in just a few words." See **Document 1**.

Editorial Note: The English translation of the quotes from Marx and Engels is from *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Collected Works* published by Progress Publishers in Moscow in 1975-2004.

### Document 1: An Association in which the Free Development of Each is the Condition for the Free Development of All

...an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.

(Marx and Engels, *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*. 1848)

Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party," *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Collected Works*, Vol. 6, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1976, p.506

### Material 1

...eine Assoziation, worin die freie Entwicklung eines jeden die Bedingung für die freie Entwicklung aller ist.

(Marx and Engels, *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei*, 1848)

Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, "Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei," *Karl Marx Friedrich Engels Werke*, Band 4, Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1956, S. 482

Letters exchanged between them in Engels' last days prove that he had been consistent throughout his life in pursuing the society which would allow "the free development of each."

Then, what did Marx state in *Das Kapital*? In Book I of *Das Kapital* which Marx wrote from 1866 to 1867, there is a characterization of "a higher form of society, a society in which the full and free development of every individual forms the ruling principle." See **Document 2**.

### Document 2: A Higher Form of Society in which the Full and Free Development of Every Individual Forms the Ruling Principle

But, so far as he is personified capital, it is not values in use and the enjoyment of them, but exchange value and its augmentation, that spur him into action. Fanatically bent on making value expand itself, he ruthlessly forces the human race to produce for production's sake; he thus forces the development of the productive powers of society, and creates those material conditions, which alone can form the real basis of a higher form of society, a society in which the full and free development of every individual forms the ruling principle.

(Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*, Book I, 1867)

[The underlines are added by Shii.]

Karl Marx, "Capital, A Critique of Political Economy," Vol.1, *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Collected Works*, Vol. 35, New York, International Publishers, 1996, pp.587-588

### Material 2

Aber soweit sind auch nicht Gebrauchswert und Genuß, sondern Tauschwert und dessen Vermehrung sein treibendes Motiv. Als Fanatiker der Verwertung des Werts zwingt er rücksichtslos die Menschheit zur Produktion um der Produktion willen, daher zu einer

Entwicklung der gesellschaftlichen Produktivkräfte und zur Schöpfung von materiellen Produktionsbedingungen, welche allein die reale Basis einer höheren Gesellschaftsform bilden können, deren Grundprinzip die volle und freie Entwicklung jedes Individuums ist.

(Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*, Buch I, 1867)

[Die unterstrichenen Stellen sind Punkte, die der Verfasser hervorheben möchte.]

Karl Marx, “Das Kapital, Kritik der politischen Ökonomie,” Erster Band, *Karl Marx Friedrich Engels Werke*, Band 23, Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1962, S. 618

In *Das Kapital*, Marx gave the socialist/communist society multifaceted characterizations, but I would like here to focus on his characterizing “the full and free development of every individual” as “the ruling principle” of the socialist/communist society. This is the only characterization throughout *Das Kapital* that he gave as “the ruling principle.”

Therefore, I would say it is “the free and full development of individuals” that Marx and Engels upheld as the most significant objective, character, and “the ruling principle” of the future socialist/communist society from their youth.

Every individual has various potentials or possibilities in him/her self. But in capitalist society, it is only a limited number of people who can develop their own potential as much as they want. In many cases, those possibilities remain buried without realizing.

How can every individual develop possibilities in him/her self freely and fully? What does the society look like, which guarantees “the free and full development of individuals”? This is a major theme Marx and Engels continued to explore throughout their lives.

I will follow their footsteps taken in the pursuit in chronological order in this lecture. I would like you to follow this issue together as if you would relive Marx’s pursuit.

## **2. The Initial Pursuit—*The German Ideology* (1845-1846) and Abolition of Division of Labor**

The initial answer Marx and Engels gave to this question was to abolish the division of labor. That means that the division of labor, binding each individual to “one exclusive sphere of activity,” is the biggest obstacle for his/her free development, and that abolishing it could alone bring about that development. Marx and Engels wrote such in *the German Ideology* co-authored in their youth of 1845-1846.

Also in this milestone work, Marx and Engels characterized the communist society as “the only society in which the genuine and free development of individuals cease to be a mere phrase,”<sup>1</sup> which is the same characterization as *the Manifesto of the Communist Party*. They saw abolition of the division of labor as a guarantee for the society. See **Document 3**.

**Document 3: To Hunt in the Morning, Fish in the Afternoon, Rear Cattle in the Evening, Criticize after Dinner**

...in communist society, where nobody has one exclusive sphere of activity but each can become accomplished in any branch he wishes, society regulates the general production and thus makes it possible for me to do one thing today and another tomorrow, to hunt in the morning, fish in the afternoon, rear cattle in the evening, criticise after dinner, just as I have a mind, without ever becoming hunter, fisherman, shepherd or critic.

(Marx and Engels, *The German Ideology*. 1845-1846)

Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, “The German Ideology,” *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Collected Works*, Vol. 5, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1976, p.47

**Material 3**

...während in der kommunistischen Gesellschaft, wo Jeder nicht einen ausschließlichen Kreis der Tätigkeit hat, sondern sich in jedem beliebigen Zweige ausbilden kann, die Gesellschaft die allgemeine Produktion regelt & mir eben dadurch möglich macht, heute dies, morgen jenes zu tun, Morgens zu jagen, Nachmittags zu fischen, Abends Viehzucht zu treiben, nach dem Essen zu kritisieren, wie ich gerade Lust habe, ohne je Jäger Fischer Hirt oder Kritiker zu werden.

(Marx, Engels, *Die deutsche Ideologie*. 1845-1846)

Die Marx-Engels-Gesamtausgabe (MEGA), Abteilung I, Band 5, S.34 und S.37

This sounds like an idyllic notion, but it had been written before their thorough research on political economy started. They overcame the notion soon after they engaged with the research. They realized that the division of labor would be needed in any society and that they had to have a different approach.

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<sup>1</sup> Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, “The German Ideology,” *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Collected Works*, Vol. 5, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1976, p.439

### 3. In the Process to Start Thorough Research on Political Economy—An Encounter with Dilke’s (anonymous) Pamphlet

The revolutions of 1848-1849 spread across Europe. Marx and Engels actively joined in these revolutions, but they ended in failure. After the failure, both of them moved to Britain and Marx started his thorough research dealing with political economy. Marx started intensively reading the economic literature by spending all day at the British Museum Library, which was collecting more and more books year by year at that time. Marx initially wrote 24 notebooks focusing on political economy in 1850-1853. They are called *the London Notebooks*.

In his studies, Marx encountered an anonymous pamphlet in July of 1851. It was the pamphlet titled “*The Source and Remedy of the National Difficulties etc. A Letter to Lord John Russell*” (1821). Marx highly appreciated this anonymous pamphlet, made detailed notes from it in the London Notebooks, and wrote “This scarcely known pamphlet (about 40 pages) .....contains an important advance on Ricardo” (*The Economic Manuscripts of 1861-1863*)<sup>2</sup>. And later in *the Economic Manuscripts*, Marx repeatedly quoted from this anonymous pamphlet while describing it as remarkable.

Marx did not know who wrote this anonymous pamphlet. A hundred years later, Japanese economist SUGIHARA Shiro found that Charles Wentworth Dilke (1789-1864), a literary critic, wrote it. Marx especially paid attention to Dilke’s following sentences. See **Document 4**.

#### Document 4: Marx’s quote from Dilke

*The Source and Remedy of the National Difficulties etc. A Letter to Lord John Russell.*  
London, 1821.

A nation is really rich only if no interest is paid for the use of capital; if the working day is only 6 hours rather than twelve. WEALTH IS DISPOSABLE TIME AND NOTHING MORE.<sup>3</sup>

(Karl Marx, *the Economic Manuscripts of 1861-1863*)

Karl Marx, “Economic Manuscripts of 1861-1863”, *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels:*

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<sup>2</sup> Karl Marx, “Economic Manuscripts of 1861-1863,” *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Collected Works*, Vol.32, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1989, p.374

<sup>3</sup> This quote is not from the so-called London Notebooks. Progress Publisher’s *Collected Works* does not include the English translation of them. The quote, taken from *the Economic Manuscripts of 1861-1863*, is cited as an alternative to the quote from the London Notebooks. The content is the same.



#### **Material 4**

...wahrhaft reich eine Nation ist, wenn kein Zins für Capital gezahlt. Wenn statt 12 Stunden nur 6 gearbeitet wird »wealth is disposable time, and nothing more.«

(Karl Marx, *Londoner Hefte*, 1850-1853)

Die Marx-Engels-Gesamtausgabe (MEGA), Abteilung IV, Band 9, S. 163

Although working 12 hours a day was common practice at that time, it argued that a society becomes rich if the working day is halved to 6 hours.

This quote from Dilke was summarized by Marx. The anonymous (Dilke's) pamphlet actually states as follows: see **Document 5**.

#### **Document 5: From the Anonymous (Dilke's) Pamphlet**

The next consequence therefore would be, that where men heretofore laboured twelve hours they would now labour six, and *this* is national wealth, this is national prosperity. ...so that wealth is liberty—liberty to seek recreation—liberty to enjoy life—liberty to improve the mind: it is disposable time, and nothing more.

*The Source and Remedy of the National Difficulties etc. A Letter to Lord John Russell*, 1821, (anonymous)

I think that these sentences tell a lot about Dilke's thought on freedom and time.

In Britain, the Industrial Revolution took place from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Then it began to shape the capitalist mode of production. In that process, various contradictions, including a deepening poverty of the working class, started to appear. Against this background, there were also various arguments about them published by ordinary citizens. Dilke's anonymous pamphlet was one of them. He saw the working class poverty as one of "the national difficulties" and examined where this poverty came from and what should be done to remedy it. He published his thought in an form of a letter to Lord John Russell who was then a member of the House of Representatives and who later became Prime Minister.

Note: For more information on Dilke's pamphlet and its relation to Marx, we refer to SUGIHARA Shiro, *Sugihara Shiro Collected Works I* (Fujiwara Shoten, 2003) and EBIHARA Ryoichi, *Capital Accumulation, Unemployment and Depression: Studies*

on *Ricardo, Marx and Malthus*, (Hosei University Press, 2004). In his *Collected Works I*, Mr. Sugihara also reveals how he discovered that the author of the anonymous pamphlet was Dilke (pp.333-334). Mr. Ebihara provides a full Japanese translation of Dilke's pamphlet as well as his commentary on the pamphlet.

My guess is that when Marx encountered the idea of “disposable time,” or free time described in the anonymous pamphlet, he was strongly impressed with Dilke’s argument. I can sense it clearly from his *Economic Manuscripts*, about which I am going to talk next.

Engels described Dilke’s pamphlet as “this pamphlet of 40 pages.....which Marx saved from falling into oblivion.”<sup>4</sup> Engels meant that if Marx had not found it, it would have most likely been buried in history.

In the process of his thorough research on political economy, Marx drew the worthwhile idea of “disposable time” from “this scarcely known pamphlet,”<sup>5</sup> the pamphlet that would have been fallen into oblivion in history, and utilized it as a foundation of his own future society theory.

This is where we can see his attitude that he would absorb everything worthwhile of human knowledge without complacency to develop his own theory.

#### **4. The *Economic Manuscripts of 1857-1858*—The Initial Manifestation of Disposable Time and his Future Society Theory**

Based in London, Marx started his research on political economy and stated writing two chunks of manuscripts to prepare for *Das Kapital*; later known as *the Economic Manuscripts of 1857-1858 and 1861-1863*.

In Japan, the translation of *the Economic Manuscripts* was published in Japanese from 1981 to 1994 from Otsuki Shoten Publishers, which amount to 9 volumes. Marx revealed the secret of the capitalist exploitation of workers and the system of capitalism thoroughly in them. Also in them, he laid the idea of “disposable time” as a foundation of his future society theory by repeatedly going back to his own excerpt from Dilke.

When I read through the parts related to “disposable time” in these manuscripts on this occasion, I felt like I relived Marx’s experience in which he started

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<sup>4</sup> Friedrich Engels, “Preface to the First German Edition of Capital, A Critique of Political Economy, Vol.2,” *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Collected Works*, Vol. 36, New York, International Publishers, 1997, pp.15-16

<sup>5</sup> Karl Marx, “The Economic Manuscripts of 1861-1863,” *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Collected Works*, Vol.32, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1989, p.374

to shape his future society theory and finally reached to “the true realm of freedom” description in Book III of *Das Kapital*. I would like to briefly go over the main points by following the process of his pursuit.

Firstly, the first chunk of manuscripts, *the Economic Manuscripts of 1857-1858*, consists of 7 notebooks. The draft often called *Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy* included “II Chapter on Money” and “III Chapter on Capital” etc. Here, we can see in various ways his initial manifestation of disposable time and the future society theory which he formulated through his economic research.

### Social Development Depends on the Saving of Time

In “Note I” in “II Chapter on Money,” Marx puts forward the thesis of “social development depends on the saving of time.” This sentence is of significance as it points to the relation between “free time” and the development of the human society and between “free time” and the future society for the first time. See **Document 6**. The sentences are divided into some paragraphs and numbered by me.

#### **Document 6: Social Development Depends on the Saving of Time**

If we presuppose communal production, the time factor naturally remains essential.

1. The less time society requires to produce corn, livestock, etc., the more time it wins for other production, material or spiritual. As with a single individual, the comprehensiveness of its development, its pleasures and its activities depend upon the saving of time. Ultimately, all economy is a matter of economy of time.

2. Society must also allocate its time appropriately to achieve a production corresponding to its total needs, just as the individual must allocate his time correctly to acquire knowledge in suitable proportions or to satisfy the various demands on his activity.

3. Economy of time, as well as the planned distribution of labour time over the various branches of production, therefore, remains the first economic law if communal production is taken as the basis. It becomes a law even to a much higher degree.

(Karl Marx, *The Economic Manuscripts of 1857-1858*)

Karl Marx, “Economic Manuscripts of 1857-1858,” *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Collected Works*, Vol. 28, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1986, p.109

#### **Material 6**

Gemeinschaftliche Production vorausgesetzt, bleibt die Zeitbestimmung natürlich wesentlich.

1. Je weniger Zeit die Gesellschaft bedarf, um Weizen, Vieh etc zu produciren, desto mehr Zeit gewinnt sie zu andrer Production, materieller oder geistiger. Wie bei einem einzelnen Individuum hängt die Allseitigkeit ihrer Entwicklung, ihres Genusses und ihrer Thätigkeit von Zeitersparung ab. Oekonomie der Zeit, darin löst sich schließlich alle Oekonomie auf.

2. Ebenso muß die Gesellschaft ihre Zeit zweckmässig eintheilen, um eine ihren Gesamtbedürfnissen gemässe Production zu erzielen; wie der Einzelne seine Zeit richtig eintheilen muß, um sich Kenntnisse in angemessenen Proportionen zu erwerben oder um den verschiedenen Anforderungen an seine Thätigkeit Genüge zu leisten.

3. Oekonomie der Zeit, sowohl wie planmässige Vertheilung der Arbeitszeit auf die verschiedenen Zweige der Production, bleibt also erstes ökonomisches Gesetz auf Grundlage der gemeinschaftlichen Production. Es wird sogar in viel höherem Grade Gesetz.

(Karl Marx, *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie*. 1857-1858)

Marx-Engels-Gesamtausgabe (MEGA), Ableitung II, Band 1.1, S.103-104

The sentences include “economy of time” and “the saving of time,” and I would just remind you that economy in German has two meanings; economy and saving.

This description is located in the chapter to analyze money and market economy based on labor value theory, and prior to the chapter to analyze capital. Therefore, this description does not include an analysis from the aspect of capitalist exploitation or the class aspect. Marx here puts forward the proposition that “social development depends on the saving of time” as a proposition that represents the universal state of human society, and he expresses it in terms of the “time factor.”

So, let us read this description paragraph by paragraph.

At the outset, we can see the term “communal production,” and this means socialist/communist production. Marx started describing here that even when one assumes production in the future society, the “time factor” is of the essence.

The First paragraph. What Marx described here as “time society requires to produce corn, livestock, etc.” is essential time for people to live and function in their society, in other words, indispensable working hours for material production. The less working hours for material production we have, the more time we can allocate to other activities including “intellectual production,” or other free activities. The more time for free activities including “intellectual production” we have, the more comprehensively we can develop our society. I think this is Marx’s message to us when Marx wrote “the

comprehensiveness of its [one society's] development, its pleasures and its activities depend upon the saving of time."

The Second paragraph. Marx states, "Society must also allocate its time appropriately to achieve a production corresponding to its total needs." This means that for society to produce things corresponding to its needs, people must allocate their time appropriately, in a manner consistent with their aims. It is obvious from the context here that what should be allocated is not only time for material production, but the entirety of disposable time including the time utilized for intellectual production and free activities.

The Third paragraph. Marx emphasized here that when it comes to "communal production," or the future society, "economy of time" is "the first economic law" and that it becomes a law even to a much higher degree. That means that "social development depends on the saving of time," in other words that the law in which social development depends on expanding free time will be of more importance in the future society.

I believe that this sentence is very important as Marx discussed at length the relation between free time and the development of the human society, and between free time and the future society for the first time.

### The Relation between Disposable Time and Exploitation, and the Future Society

In "III Chapter on Capital," Marx analyzes the secret of exploiting surplus labor by the capitalist class. Then he got into the question of what the exploited surplus labor was.

In this process, Marx repeatedly used his excerpt from Dilke, "WEALTH IS DISPOSABLE TIME AND NOTHING MORE." Using this excerpt from Dilke, he found the significance of disposable time and that in class societies it takes on a confrontational and hostile character. I will now introduce some analyses I consider important in this regard.

- The Creation of "Disposable Time" Means the Creation of Time for Production of Science, Art, etc.

First of all, I would like to introduce the following passage from "Note IV" in "III Chapter on Capital." It is in this section that Marx himself begins to speak of "disposable time." Please look at **Document 7**.

<b>Document 7: Creation of Disposable Time Means the Creation of Time for Production of Science, Art, etc.</b>
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In relation to the whole of society, the production of *disposable time* [can] also [be considered] as the creation of time for the production of science, art, etc. It is by no means the course of social development that an individual, having satisfied his needs, goes on to produce his surplus, but that an individual or class of individuals are compelled to work more than is necessary for the satisfaction of their own needs; and because *surplus labour* is thus posited on the one side, non-labour and surplus wealth are posited on the other.

In reality, the development of wealth exists only in these contradictions; in potentiality, it is this very development of wealth which makes it possible to transcend these contradictions.

(Karl Marx, *the Economic Manuscripts of 1857-1858*)

[The underlines are added by Shii.]

Karl Marx, “Economic Manuscript of 1857-1858”, *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Collected Works*, Vol 28, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1986, p.328

## Material 7

In Bezug auf die ganze Gesellschaft das Schaffen der *disponiblen Zeit* dann auch als Schaffen der Zeit zur Production von Wissenschaft, Kunst etc. Es ist keineswegs der Entwicklungsgang der Gesellschaft, daß weil Ein Individuum seine Noth befriedigt hat, es nun seinen Ueberfluß schafft; sondern weil Ein Individuum oder Klasse von Individuen gezwungen wird mehr zu arbeiten als zur Befriedigung seiner Noth nöthig – weil *Surplusarbeit* auf der Einen Seite – wird Nichtarbeit und Surplusreichthum auf der andren gesetzt. Der Wirklichkeit nach existirt die Entwicklung des Reichthums nur in diesen Gegensätzen; der Möglichkeit nach ist eben seine Entwicklung die Möglichkeit der Aufhebung dieser Gegensätze.

(Karl Marx, *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie*. 1857-1858)

[Die unterstrichenen Stellen sind Punkte, die der Verfasser hervorheben möchte.]

Die Marx-Engels-Gesamtausgabe (MEGA), Abteilung II, Band 1.1, S.308

I would like to emphasize two important points from this quote.

First, how significant will “disposable time” be to the development of human beings and their society? Marx says that “disposable time” is the “time for the production of science, art, etc.” In other words, Marx sees in “disposable time” the significance of creating human's intellectual and social development.

The second is that in the class society (i.e. capitalist society), “disposable time” takes on an antithetical and hostile character. Marx states here that “surplus

labour,” that is, labour beyond what is necessary to support oneself and one's family (i.e. necessary labour), is posited on the one side. At the same time, he points out, “non-labour” - “disposable time” and “surplus wealth” - material wealth is posited on the other.

That is to say, it is made clear here that in a class society, “disposable time” takes on a hostile character, with the capitalist class usurping what the working class has created. In reality, the “development of wealth” exists “in these contradictions,” but it also reveals the prospect for transformation of society, stating that, in potentiality, it is the very “development of wealth” which makes it possible to “transcend these contradictions” and opens up the possibility for advancing into the future society.

- The Capitalist Usurps Free Time, i.e. Civilization

Marx then discusses “disposable time” in connection with exploitation in “Note VI” in “III Chapter on Capital” and makes an insightful accusation that “the capitalist usurps free time, i.e., civilization.” Look at **Document 8**.

#### **Document 8: The Capitalist Usurps the Free Time, i.e. Civilisation**

The fact that the worker must work surplus time is identical with the capitalist's not having to work; it follows that ... he (capitalist) does not work even the *necessary time*. ... Since all *free time* is time for free development, the capitalist usurps the *free time* created by the worker for society, i.e. civilization ...

(Karl Marx, *the Economic Manuscripts*, 1857-1858)

[The underlines are added by Shii.]

Karl Marx, “Economic Manuscripts of 1857-1858,” *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Collected Works*, Vol.29, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1987, p.22

#### **Material 8**

Dieß, daß der Arbeiter Surpluszeit arbeiten muß, ist identisch damit, daß der Capitalist nicht zu arbeiten braucht, ... daß er auch nicht die *nothwendige Zeit* arbeitet. ... Da alle *freie Zeit* Zeit für die freie Entwicklung ist, usurpirt der Capitalist die von den Arbeitern geschaffne *freie Zeit* für die Gesellschaft, d. h. die Civilisation

(Karl Marx, *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie*. 1857-1858)

[Die unterstrichenen Stellen sind Punkte, die der Verfasser hervorheben möchte.]

Die Marx-Engels-Gesamtausgabe (MEGA), Abteilung II, Band 1.2, S.519

This is a serious accusation. Here, Marx first accuses the capitalist of labor exploitation, in which the worker must work surplus time while the capitalist does not work even the necessary time, which is the labor necessary to support oneself and one's family. He denounces the fact that "the capitalist usurps ... free time," showing what is being stolen by exploitation is the "free time," or "disposable time" produced by the workers. He denounces this by using the term, "usurp."

Marx then puts forward the proposition that "all free time" is "time for free development." That is, he clearly states that "disposable time" guarantees "the free and full development" of human beings. If so, the usurpation of "disposal time" means "usurpation of civilization." The "disposable time" is originally time produced by the workers and should be used for their intellectual and social development, i.e. for the development of civilization. The usurpation of the disposable time is the usurpation of workers' development, and their potential to do so, which is, the usurpation of civilization. Marx's accusation is convincing for those of us struggling in the modern era.

Capital usurps "free time" and "civilization." We should keep these words of Marx in mind, and let's go forward with our contemporary struggles.

- Once Exploitation Eliminated, "Disposable Time" Will Belong to All

In "Note VII" of "III Chapter on Capital," Marx clarifies the antithetical and hostile character of "disposable time" in class society, and then reveals a grand prospect that capital will intensify its contradictions, preparing the way for the future society, and once we progress to a future society and exploitation ceases, "disposable time" will be available to all. See **Document 9**. The paragraphing and numbering are my own.

<b>Document 9: Once Exploitation Eliminated, "Disposable Time" Will be Available to All</b>
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<p>1. The <i>creation of an abundance of DISPOSABLE TIME</i> apart from necessary labour time, for society in general and for each of its members (i.e. scope for the development of the full productive powers of individual, hence also of society), this creation of not-labour-time appears under the conditions of capital, and at all earlier stages, as the creation of non-labour-time, free time, for a few.</p>
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<p>2. What capital adds is that it increases the surplus labour time of the masses by all the means of art and science, because its wealth consists directly in its appropriation of surplus labour time; for its <i>direct aim is value</i>, not use value. Hence it is INSTRUMENTAL, <i>malgré lui</i>, IN CREATING THE MEANS OF SOCIAL DISPOSABLE TIME, of reducing labour time for the whole of society to a declining minimum, and of thus setting free the time of all [members of society] for their own development.</p>
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3. But its tendency is always, on the one hand, *to create DISPOSABLE TIME, and on the other TO CONVERT IT INTO SURPLUS LABOUR*. ...The more this contradiction develops, the more obvious it becomes that the growth of the productive forces can no longer be tied to the appropriation of alien SURPLUS LABOUR, and that the working masses must, rather, themselves appropriate their surplus labour. Once they have done so —and DISPOSABLE TIME has thereby ceased to possess an *antithetical* existence—then, on the one hand, necessary labour time will be measured by the needs of the social individual; and, on the other, society's productive power will develop so rapidly that, although production will now be calculated to provide wealth for all, the *DISPOSABLE TIME* of all will increase.

4. For real wealth is the developed productive power of all individuals. Then wealth is no longer measured by labour time but by DISPOSABLE TIME.

(Karl Marx, *the Economic Manuscripts*, of 1857-1858)

Karl Marx, "Economic Manuscript of 1857-1858", *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Collected Works*, Vol 29, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1987, pp.93-94

## Material 9

1. Die *Schöpfung von viel disposable time* ausser der nothwendigen Arbeitszeit für die Gesellschaft überhaupt und jedes Glied derselben, (d. h. Raum für die Entwicklung der vollen Productivkräfte des Einzelnen, daher auch der Gesellschaft) diese Schöpfung von Nicht-arbeitszeit erscheint auf dem Standpunkt des Capitals, wie aller früheren Stufen, als Nicht-arbeitszeit, freie Zeit für einige.

2. Das Capital fügt hinzu, daß es die Surplusarbeitszeit der Masse durch alle Mittel der Kunst und Wissenschaft vermehrt, weil sein Reichthum direct in der Aneignung von Surplusarbeitszeit besteht; da sein *Zweck direkt der Werth*, nicht der Gebrauchswerth. Es ist so, malgré lui, instrumental in creating the means of social disposable time, um die Arbeitszeit für die ganze Gesellschaft auf ein fallendes Minimum zu reduciren, und so die Zeit aller frei für ihre eigne Entwicklung zu machen.

3. Seine Tendenz aber immer, einerseits *disposable time zu schaffen, andererseits to convert it into surpluslabour*. .... Je mehr dieser Widerspruch sich entwickelt, um so mehr stellt sich heraus, daß das Wachsthum der Productivkräfte nicht mehr gebannt sein kann an die Aneignung fremder surpluslabour, sondern die Arbeitermasse selbst ihre Surplusarbeit sich aneignen muß. Hat sie das gethan, – und hört damit die *disposable time auf gegensätzliche* Existenz zu haben – so wird einerseits die nothwendige Arbeitszeit ihr Maaß an den Bedürfnissen des gesellschaftlichen Individuums haben, andererseits die Entwicklung der gesellschaftlichen Productivkraft so rasch wachsen, daß, obgleich nun auf den Reichthum aller die Production berechnet ist, die *disposable time*

aller wächst.

4. Denn der wirkliche Reichtum ist die entwickelte Productivkraft aller Individuen. Es ist dann keineswegs mehr die Arbeitszeit, sondern die disposable time das Maaß des Reichthums.

(Karl Marx, *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie*. 1857-1858)

Die Marx-Engels-Gesamtausgabe (MEGA), Abteilung II, Band 1.2, S.583-584

Let us read them one by one.

The First paragraph. Here, Marx first makes clear that in class society, “disposable time” takes on a confrontational and adversarial character. The “disposable time” inherently belongs to all members of society, yet under capitalism, and at “all earlier stages” of class societies before it, or in the exploitative societies that preceded capitalism, the “disposable time” appears as “non-working time, free time” for “a few,” the ruling class. It means that the ruling class monopolizes “free time” all to itself.

At this point, I would like to note that Marx defines “disposable time” as “scope for the development of the full productive powers of the individual, hence also of society.” In short, he says, the “disposable time” provides the room or venue for human development. Thus emerges the idea here that leads to the famous line from *the Value, Price and Profits*, “Time is the room of human development,” which we will turn to later.

The Second paragraph. The first paragraph we just discussed was about class society in general, whereas the second paragraph discusses what capitalism adds to it. Marx states that “it increases the surplus labour time of the masses by all the means of the art and science.”

What is important about this sentence is that Marx states that capital thereby “malgré lui”, unintentionally, increases “disposable time” of society, which means it reduces labour time for the whole of society to a declining minimum, and “thus setting free the time of all members of society for their own development.”

In other words, motivated by the “profit-first principle,” capital forces workers to produce for the sake of production in order to extract the maximum amount of profit from them. And by using “all the means of art and science” to develop the social productive forces, it increases the “disposable time” and creates the means for the “free and total development” of all i.e. the means for a future society. I think, in essence, that is what Marx discussed here.

The Third paragraph. Capital creates “disposable time,” but converts it into surplus labor, usurps it. As the contradiction intensifies, the workers could no longer be the subjects of extreme exploitation. “The working masses must, rather, themselves

appropriate their surplus labour.” In other words, exploitation by capital must be ended and progress must be made toward a future society.

“Once they have done so,” Marx continues, if the workers “themselves appropriate their surplus labour,” if they end the exploitation by capital, and if “disposable time has thereby ceased to possess an antithetical existence,” if there is no more usurpation of disposable time, what will happen? Marx states, “[S]ociety’s productive power will develop so rapidly that, although production will now be calculated to provide wealth for all, the disposable time of all will increase.” The “disposable time” of all would increase, while ensuring the abundance of necessary material wealth for all. He argues that “free time” will increase along with the increase of necessary material wealth accordingly.

Thus, Marx argues, the development of capitalism intensifies the conflict over the “disposable time.” It then prepares the way for a future society. And he states here the prospect that once we proceed to a future society and exploitation ceases to exist, the “disposable time” will be available to all, along with the abundance of necessary material wealth.

The Fourth paragraph. Marx concludes this portion with these sentences, “[R]eal wealth is the developed productive power of all individuals. Then wealth is no longer measured by labour time but by disposable time.”

What does this mean? What does Marx mean by “real wealth” here? The “real wealth” here is not material wealth, but rather “free and full development of individuals,” as he stated that “real wealth is the developed productive power of all individuals.” When you understand the “real wealth” in this way, the measure will never be “labour time” but will be “disposable time,” as Marx rightly argues here.

What is it that human labor creates? First, it is material wealth. And, based on material wealth, “time that can be freely disposed of.” Then, what is created by “freely disposable time”? The free and full development of individuals. Material wealth is the basis and foundation of “the free and full development of individuals.” Without the necessary backing of material wealth, we cannot enjoy “free time” and there can be no full development of the human beings. At the same time, true wealth lies in the “free and all-round development of individuals” created by “freely disposable time” and the free activities that make use of it. I believe this is Marx's argument.

Here, as I will discuss later, is the germ of an extremely important idea that will lead to the theory of future society discussed as the “true realm of freedom” in Book III of *Das Kapital*. Marx clarifies the relationship between the “realm of necessity” and “true realm of freedom” in Book III of *Das Kapital*. Based on labour time for material production, the “disposable time” flourishes fully. I believe that the original idea that leads to this theory is seen here.

- Free Time Transforms its Possessor into Another Subject and Becomes the Greatest Productive Force

Furthermore, in “Note VII” of “III Chapter on Capital,” Marx goes on to stipulate that “the disposable time” transforms its possessor, i.e. workers, into another subject, creating different individuals. Look at **Document 10**.

**Document 10: Free Time has Transformed its Possessor into Another Subject and Becomes the Greatest Productive Force**

Real economising – saving – consists in the saving of labour time (the minimum production costs, and their reduction to the minimum). ... The saving of labour time is equivalent to the increase of free time, i.e. time for the full development of the individual, which itself, as the greatest productive force, in turn reacts upon the productive power of labour. ... Free time – which is both leisure and time for higher activity – has naturally transformed its possessor into another subject; and it is then as this other subject that he enters into the immediate production process.

(Karl Marx, *the Economic Manuscripts*, 1857-1858)

[The underlines are added by Shii.]

Karl Marx, “Economic Manuscripts of 1857-1858,” *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Collected Works*, Vol.29, Moscow, Progress Publishers, p.97

**Material 10**

Die wirkliche Oekonomie – Ersparung – besteht in Ersparung von Arbeitszeit; (Minimum (und Reduction zum Minimum) der Produktionskosten.) ..... Die Ersparung von Arbeitszeit gleich Vermehren der freien Zeit, d. h. Zeit für die volle Entwicklung des Individuums, die selbst wieder als die größte Productivkraft zurückwirkt auf die Productivkraft der Arbeit. ... Die freie Zeit, die sowohl Mussezeit als Zeit für höhere Tätigkeit ist – hat ihren Besitzer natürlich in ein andres Subject verwandelt und als dieß andre Subjekt tritt er dann auch in den unmittelbaren Productionsprocess.

(Karl Marx, *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie*. 1857-1858)

[Die unterstrichenen Stellen sind Punkte, die der Verfasser hervorheben möchte.]

Die Marx-Engels-Gesamtausgabe (MEGA), Abteilung II, Band 1.2, S.589

The first sentence, “Real economizing ... consists in the saving of labour time,” refers to the “time factor:” the development of society depends upon the saving of time. We already discussed it earlier. I would like to focus on two points that Marx

makes here.

First, “the saving of labour time,” i.e. “the increase of free time,” is equivalent to the “time for the full development of the individual” and such “full development of the individual” itself “as the greatest productive force, in turn reacts upon the productive power of labour.”

Here the terms “productive force” and “productive power of labour” come into play. As I mentioned in the online seminar, productive force originally means the human ability to produce something useful for people by interacting with nature. So, productive force originally means “productive power of labour.”<sup>6</sup> In capitalist society, the “productive force of labour” is placed under the control of capital and appears as if it were the “productive power of capital,” wielding the power to strengthen exploitation and destroy the environment. It, however, is originally the “productive force of labour.”

In this context, workers are the main source of productive force. So, the productive force carried by individuals who have acquired sufficient “disposable time,” individuals who are thereby “fully developed,” becomes in itself “the greatest productive force.” And it “in turn reacts upon the productive power of labour,” which makes the “productive force of labor” much more powerful. Marx here explains these dynamics.

Second, Marx goes on to describe the same point in even stronger terms. “Free time – which is both leisure and time for higher activity – has naturally transformed its possessor into another subject; and it is then as this other subject that he enters into the immediate production process.” “Free time” transforms its “possessor.” It transforms a worker into a “different subject” than before. As such, the worker enters into the “immediate production process,” that is, the process of material production, as “another subject.” The workers who gain “free time” exert productive power of labor as actors empowered both physically and intellectually, which makes the production far greater.

Herein, it is important to understand the theoretical development that leads to the theory of future society in Book III of *Das Kapital*, discussing the “true realm of freedom,” which indicates the prospect for a society, where “free and full development” of all people is realized through their obtaining sufficient “disposable time,” and a society as a whole develops with great strength, generating a virtuous cycle of individual and social development.

These are the main issues related to “disposable time” and “the theory of future society” that appear in *the Economic Manuscripts of 1857-1858*. I’m freshly surprised and impressed when reading it through to find such remarkably thoughtful

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<sup>6</sup> Karl Marx, “Capital, A Critique of Political Economy,” Vol.1, *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Collected Works*, Vol.35, New York, International Publishers, 1996, p.56

discussions on the relationship between “free time” and a future society, even if it includes some yet exploratory discussions.

## 5. *The Economic Manuscripts of 1861-63* — the Full-Scale Development of the Theory on the Future Society and Disposable Time

After preparing for *the Economic Manuscripts of 1857-1858*, Marx published *the Critique of Political Economy* in 1859, which includes the theory of commodities and money. He then began work on *the Economic Manuscripts of 1861-63*. The Manuscripts consisted of 23 notebooks. Among the 9 volumes of the Japanese translation of *the Economic Manuscripts* published by Otsuki Shoten, *the Manuscripts of 1861-1863* occupies 6 volumes.

In *the Manuscripts*, Marx fully examines “what is deprived by exploitation” in relation to “disposable time,” and clarifies his vision for the future society. Therein lies a full-fledged development of theory on the “future society and disposable time,” which prepares the way for the theory of the future society later shown in Book III of *Das Kapital*.

### A Full Examination on “What is being Deprived by Exploitation”

Let us read *the Economic Manuscripts* with particular attention to two discussions related to today's theme.

Marx goes into more in-depth examination of “what is being deprived by exploitation in a section entitled “e). CHARACTER OF SURPLUS LABOUR” at the end of “2. Absolute Surplus Value, Note III” in “The Third Chapter: Capital in General” in *the Economic Manuscripts of 1861-63*. See **Document 11**. The paragraphs and their numbers are mine.

#### **Document 11: On What is Exploiting from Workers and the Antagonistic Nature of “Free Time”**

##### e) CHARACTER OF SURPLUS LABOUR

1. Once there exists a society in which some people live without working (without participating directly in the production of use values), it is clear that the surplus labour of the workers is the condition of existence of the whole superstructure of the society. They [the non-workers] receive two things from this surplus labour. *Firstly*: the material

conditions of life, because they share in, and subsist on and from, the product which the workers provide over and above the product required for the reproduction of their own labour capacity. *Secondly*: The free time they have at their disposal, whether for idleness or for the performance of activities which are not directly productive (as e.g. war, affairs of state) or for the development of human abilities and social potentialities (art, etc., science) which have no directly practical purpose, has as its prerequisite the surplus labour of the mass of workers, i.e. the fact that they have to spend more time in material production than is required for the production of their own material life.

2. The *free time* of the non-working parts of society is based on the *surplus labour* or *overt work*, the *surplus labour time*, of the working part. The free development of the former is based on the fact that the workers have to employ the whole of their time, hence the room for their own development, purely in the production of particular use values; the development of human capacities on one side is based on the restriction of development on the other side. ...Society thus develops in contradictory fashion through the absence of development on the mass of workers, who form its material basis. ...Thus the free time of society is produced through the production of unfree time, the labour time of workers prolonged beyond that required for their own subsistence. Free time on one side corresponds to subjugated time on the other side.

3. The form of surplus labour we are examining here — labour prolonged beyond the necessary labour time — is common to capital and all forms of society in which development has taken place beyond the purely natural relation; a development which is therefore antagonistic, making the labour of one section into the natural basis of the social development of another section...

Just as plant live from the earth, and animals live from the plants or plant-eating animals, so does the part of society which possesses free time, DISPOSABLE time not absorbed in the direct production of subsistence, live from the surplus labour of the workers. Wealth is therefore DISPOSABLE time.

(Karl Marx, *the Economic Manuscripts 1861-1863*)

[The underlines are added by Shii.]

Karl Marx, "Economic Manuscripts 1861-1863," *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Collected Works*, Vol 30, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1988, pp.190-192

## Material 11

e) *Charakter der Mehrarbeit*

1. Sobald eine Gesellschaft existiert, worin einige leben, ohne zu arbeiten (direkt in der Produktion von Gebrauchswerten beteiligt zu sein), ist es klar, daß der ganze Überbau der Gesellschaft als Existenzbedingung hat die Surplusarbeit der Arbeiter. Es ist zweierlei, was sie von dieser Surplusarbeit empfangen. *Erstens: Die materiellen Bedingungen des Lebens*, indem sie an dem Produkt teilnehmen und auf ihm und von ihm subsistieren, welches die Arbeiter über das Produkt hinaus liefern, das zur Reproduktion ihres eignen Arbeitsvermögens erheischt ist. *Zweitens: Die freie Zeit, die sie zur Disposition haben*, sei es zur Muße, sei es zur Ausübung nicht unmittelbar produktiver Tätigkeiten (wie z. B. Krieg, Staatswesen), sei es zur Entwicklung menschlicher Fähigkeiten und gesellschaftlicher Potenzen (Kunst etc. Wissenschaft), die keinen unmittelbar praktischen Zweck verfolgen, setzt die Mehrarbeit auf Seite der arbeitenden Masse voraus, d. h., daß sie mehr Zeit, als zur Produktion ihres eignen materiellen Lebens erheischt ist, in der materiellen Produktion verwenden müssen.

2. Die *freie Zeit* auf seiten der nicht arbeitenden Gesellschaftstheile basiert auf der *Mehrarbeit* oder *Ueberarbeit*, auf der *Mehrarbeitszeit* des arbeitenden Theils, die freie Entwicklung auf der einen Seite darauf daß die Arbeiter ihre ganze Zeit, also den Raum ihrer Entwicklung, zur bloßen Produktion bestimmter Gebrauchswerthe verwenden müssen; die Entwicklung der menschlichen Fähigkeiten auf der einen Seite auf der Schranke, worin die Entwicklung auf der andren Seite gehalten wird... Die Gesellschaft entwickelt sich so durch die Entwicklungslosigkeit der arbeitenden Masse, die ihre materielle Basis bildet, im Gegensatz... Die freie Zeit der Gesellschaft ist so produziert durch die Produktion der unfreien Zeit, der über die zu ihrer eignen Subsistenz erfordernten Arbeitszeit hinaus verlängerten Arbeitszeit der Arbeiter. Die freie Zeit auf der einen entspricht der geknechteten auf der andren. ...

3. Die Form der Surplusarbeit, die wir hier betrachten — über das Maß der notwendigen Arbeitszeit hinaus — hat das Capital gemein mit allen Gesellschaftsformen, worin Entwicklung über das reine Naturverhältniß hinaus stattfindet und daher antagonistische Entwicklung, die gesellschaftliche Entwicklung der einen die Arbeit der andren zu seiner Naturbasis macht. ...

Wie die Pflanze von der Erde, das Vieh von der Pflanze oder vom pflanzenfressenden Vieh lebt, so der Theil der Gesellschaft, der freie Zeit, disposable, nicht in der unmittelbaren Produktion der Subsistenz absorbierte Zeit besitzt, von der Mehrarbeit der Arbeiter. Reichthum ist daher disposable Zeit.

(Karl Marx, *Zur Kritik der politischen Ökonomie*, 1861-1863)

[Die unterstrichenen Stellen sind Punkte, die der Verfasser hervorheben möchte.]



Marx clarifies here the character of surplus labor in an exploitative society from various angles, and sums it up. What Marx is analyzing here is “a society in which some people live without working,” that is, an exploitative society, or a class society in general. I would like to discuss these points one by one.

The First paragraph. Marx formulates that in such an exploitative society, “They [the non-workers] receive two things from this surplus labour.”

The first is “the material conditions of life.” In other words, the material products by which the ruling class lives. They “share in” and “subsist on and from” the products of the surplus labor of the workers. The material products are exploited.

The second is “free time they have at their disposal.” Whether it is for the “idleness” of the ruling class, for “the performance of activities which are not directly productive” such as war and state institutions, or for “the development of human abilities and social potentialities” such as art and learning, “free time they have at their disposal” presupposes “the surplus labour of the mass of workers.” Along with material products, “free time” is exploited.

In the Online Seminar, I said that Marx drew the following conclusion from his study in the Manuscripts: “It is not merely the fruits of labour - goods and money - that are deprived by exploitation. Since all working time is placed under the control of the capitalists, the workers are deprived of the ‘time at their disposal’ - the ‘free time’ to which they are originally entitled.” This is based on the above-mentioned studies in the *Manuscripts*.

The Second paragraph. Marx then argues from various angles that in an exploitative society, the “disposable time” takes on a confrontational and hostile character. The “free time” of the ruling class is based on the surplus time and exploitation of the working class. The “free development” of the ruling class - “the development of human capacities” - is based on restrictions that stifle the development of the human capacities of the working class. Social development is founded on an antagonism, or the loss of development of the working class - a state in which the development of the working class ceases to exist. The “free time” for the capitalist class corresponds to the “subjugated time” of the working class. The scathing accusations continue. Marx, in his *Economic Manuscripts of 1857-58*, had charged that “the capitalist usurps the free time created by the workers for society, i.e. civilization.” Here, he accuses exploitative societies in general of such “usurpation” from various angles.

The Third paragraph. Marx states that the form of surplus labor examined here is common to all societies in which the development of the ruling class is based

on a laboring class, that is, to all exploitative societies. Plants live from the nutrients of the earth. Animals live from the nutrients of plants or plant-eating animals. In the same way, in a class society, the ruling class, which has “free time” - “disposable time” all to itself, lives by exploiting the surplus labor of the workers. The “free time” that is exploited and nourished by the ruling class is real wealth. I think this is why Marx concludes this section with an excerpt from Dilke: “Wealth is therefore disposable time.”

- “Disposable Time” is True Wealth and Provides the Basis for Free Development

I would like to proceed to the last quote from the Manuscripts. I believe that this is the “climax” of the theory on the “disposable time and future society” in *the Manuscripts*.

In *the Manuscripts of 1861-63*, Marx spent almost a year beginning in 1862 on a thorough review of the various works of previous economists under the title “Theories of Surplus Value.” The results were written in 11 notebooks, or 13 if “Intermezzo” and “Addenda” are included.

As part of the review, Marx created a section titled “(I) Opposition to the Economists (Based on the Ricardian Theory)” and at the beginning of the section, he examined the above-mentioned quote from Dilke. In the subsection titled, “(1) The Source and Remedy of the National Difficulties etc. A Letter to Lord John Russell, London, 1821,” he analyzed Dilke’s pamphlet. Marx discusses the issue of the “disposable time and future society” in detail. Reading this part, I cannot help but imagine that Marx must have been coming up with new ideas one after the other, later leading to his theory of future society in Book III of *Das Kapital*, or “the true realm of freedom.”

The quote is a bit long, but it is very important, and full of thoughtful and profound analysis. I believe that this section describes the achievement of the theory of future society in *the Manuscripts*. I think reading this part is essential to understand the theory on future society in *Das Kapital* because the former formed the basis of the latter. I believe you cannot understand Marx’s theory on future society unless you read relevant parts of *Das Kapital* as well as *Manuscripts*. Paragraphs and their numbers in the quote are given by me.

<b>Document 12: Disposable Time is True wealth and Scope for Free Development</b>
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1. “A nation is really rich if the working day is 6 hours rather than twelve”; “WEALTH IS DISPOSABLE TIME, AND NOTHING MORE”.
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This can now mean:

2. If everybody has to work, if the contradiction between those who have to work too much and those who are idlers disappears--and this would in any case be the result of capital ceasing to exist, of the product ceasing to provide a title to alien SURPLUS LABOUR--and if, in addition, the development of the productive forces brought about by capital is taken into account, society will produce the necessary ABUNDANCE in 6 hours, [producing] more than it does now in 12, and, moreover, all will have 6 hours of “DISPOSABLE TIME”, that is, real wealth: which will not be absorbed direct productive labour, but will be available for ENJOYMENT, for leisure, thus giving scope for free activity and development. Time is scope for the development of man's FACULTIES, etc. It will be recalled that the economists themselves justify the SLAVE LABOUR of the WAGE LABOUREES by saying that it creates leisure, free time for *others*, for another section of society--and thereby also for the society of WAGE LABOURERS.

3. Or it can also mean: The workers now work 6 hours more than the time (*now*) required for their own reproduction. ... If capital ceases to exist, then the workers will work for 6 hours only and the idlers will have to work the same amount of time. The material wealth of all would thus be depressed to the level of the workers. But all would have DISPOSABLE TIME, that is, free time for their development.

The author himself is obviously not clear about this. NEVERTHELESS, there remains the fine statement:

A nation is really rich if the working day is 6 hours rather than twelve. WEALTH IS DISPOSABLE TIME, AND NOTHING MORE. ...

4. TIME OF LABOUR, even if exchange value is eliminated, always remains the creative substance of wealth and the measure of the cost of its production. But FREE TIME, DISPOSABLE TIME is wealth itself, partly for the enjoyment of the product, partly for FREE ACTIVITY which --unlike LABOUR--is not determined by a compelling extraneous purpose which must be fulfilled, and the fulfillment of which is regarded as natural necessity or a social duty, according to one's inclination.

5. It is self-evident that if TIME OF LABOUR is reduced to a normal length and, furthermore, labour is no longer performed for someone else, but for myself, and, at the same time, the social contradictions between MASTER AND MEN etc., being abolished, it acquires a quite different, a free character, it becomes real social labour, and finally the basis of DISPOSABLE TIME--the TIME OF LABOURS of a MAN who has also DISPOSABLE TIME, must be of a much higher quality than that of the beast of

burden.

(Karl Marx, *the Economic Manuscripts*, 1861-1863)

[The underlines are added by Shii.]

Karl Marx, "Economic Manuscripts of 1861-1863," *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Collected Works*, Vol. 32, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1989, pp.390-391

## Material 12

1. „Eine Nation ist wirklich reich, wenn 6 statt 12 Stunden gearbeitet wird.“  
“*Wealth is disposable time, and nothing more.*”

Es kann dieß nun heißen:

2. Wenn alle arbeiten müssen, der Gegensatz von Ueberarbeiteten und Müssiggängern wegfällt — und dieß wäre jedenfalls die Consequenz davon, daß das Capital aufhörte zu existieren, daß Produkt nicht mehr Titel auf fremde *surpluslabour* gäbe — und ausserdem die Entwicklung der Productionskräfte, wie das Capital sie hervorgebracht hat, in Betracht gezogen wird, so wird die Gesellschaft die nöthige abundance in 6 Stunden producieren, mehr als jetzt in 12, und zugleich werden alle 6 Stunden „disposable time“, den wahren Reichtum haben; Zeit, die nicht durch unmittelbar productive Arbeit absorbiert wird, sondern zum enjoyment, zur Musse, daß es zur freien Thätigkeit und Entwicklung Raum gibt. Die Zeit ist der Raum für die Entwicklung der faculties etc. Man weiß, daß die Oekonomen selbst die slavelabour der wageslabourers dadurch rechtfertigen, daß sie die Musse, freie Zeit für *andre*, einen andren Theil der Gesellschaft — und damit für die Gesellschaft — der wages labourers schafft.

3. Oder es kann auch heißen: Die Arbeiter arbeiten jetzt 6 Stunden Zeit hinaus über das was sie zu ihrer eignen Reproduction (*jetzt*) brauchen. ... Hört das Capital auf, so arbeiten sie nur mehr 6 Stunden, und die Müssiggänger müssen ebenso viel arbeiten. Der materielle Reichthum für alle würde dadurch auf das Niveau der Arbeiter herabgedrückt. Aber alle hätten *disposable time*, freie Zeit zu ihrer Entwicklung.

Der Verfasser ist sich offenbar selbst nicht klar. Nevertheless bleibt immer der schöne Satz: „Eine Nation ist wirklich reich, wenn 6 statt 12 Stunden gearbeitet wird. *Wealth is disposable time, and nothing more.*” ...

4. Time of labour, auch wenn der Tauschwerth aufgehoben, bleibt immer die schaffende Substanz des Reichthums und das Maaß der Kost, die seine Produktion erheischt. Aber free time, *disposable time* ist der Reichthum selbst — theils zum Genuß

der Producte, theils zur free activity, die nicht wie die labour durch den Zwang eines äusseren Zwecks bestimmt ist, der erfüllt werden muß, dessen Erfüllung Naturnotwendigkeit oder sociale Pflicht, wie man will.

5. Es versteht sich von selbst, daß die time of labour selbst, dadurch, daß sie auf normales Maaß beschränkt, ferner nicht mehr für einen andren, sondern für mich selbst geschieht, zusammen mit der Aufhebung der socialen Gegensätze zwischen master and men etc., als wirklich sociale Arbeit, endlich als Basis der *disposable time* einen ganz andren freiern Charakter erhält, und daß die time of labour eines man, der zugleich der man of disposable time ist, viel höhere Qualität besitzen muß als die des Arbeitsthiers.

(Karl Marx, *Zur Kritik der politischen Ökonomie*, 1861-1863)

[Die unterstrichenen Stellen sind Punkte, die der Verfasser hervorheben möchte.]

Die Marx-Engels-Gesamtausgabe (MEGA), Abteilung II, Band 3.4, S.1387-1388

I think this part is the “climax” of the *Manuscripts*, so I quoted it at all lengths. Let us read them one by one.

The First paragraph. Here Marx begins with the excerpt from Dilke. “A nation is really rich if the working day is 6 hours rather than twelve”; “WEALTH IS DISPOSABLE TIME, AND NOTHING MORE.” These sentences have already become familiar to us all.

The Second paragraph. Marx discusses what will happen if we transition from capitalism and proceed to a future society, “[i]f everybody has to work, if the contradiction between those who have to work too much and those who are idlers disappears - and this would in any case be the result of capital ceasing to exist.” In that case, the “disposable time” no longer takes on a confrontational and hostile character. In other words, there will be no “usurpation” of “free time” as is done under capitalism. Furthermore, if the development of the productive forces brought about by capital is taken into account, Marx argues, the following changes will take place. One is that “society will produce the necessary ABUNDANCE in 6 hours, [producing] more than it does now in 12.” It will produce “the necessary ABUNDANCE” in half the time. And the other is that “all will have 6 hours of 'DISPOSABLE TIME', that is, real wealth.” Here, Marx describes “disposable time” as “real wealth.” This time is available for enjoyment, leisure, or other activities, giving scope for free activities and development. The sentence “Time is *scope* for the development of man's FACULTIES, etc.” reappears here.

I think the notion about producing “the necessary abundance” in short time (half the time) is very important. Marx sees the utmost importance in creating the

“necessary abundance” in the shortest possible time. And he emphasized that everyone should have “disposable time” i.e. “true wealth.”

The Third paragraph. Marx goes further to discuss this from another angle. If capital ceases to exist, the worker who used to work twelve hours will work only six hours, the necessary working hours. The “material wealth” would, accordingly, be pushed down to the “level of the workers” - the level of six hours' worth of work. Instead, everyone would have “disposable time” – “free time for their development.” Marx then quotes Dilke as saying, “A nation is really rich if the working day is 6 hours rather than twelve,” calling it a “fine statement” and emphasizes that “a nation is really rich” only in such a case.

In other words, I think it is very noteworthy that Marx regards here a society as “really rich” when everyone has “disposable time” and “free time for their development,” even if the total amount of “material wealth” in the society decreases. Of course, “the necessary abundance” is necessary as the foundation for human beings to survive. Without it, there can be neither “free time” nor free development of human beings using it. In that sense, of course, this is the foundation, but even if the total amount of “material wealth” decreases, a society is “really rich” when each worker receives “necessary abundance,” and above all, has “disposable time” and can freely and fully develop their abilities. Marx speaks of these ideas.

The Fourth paragraph. Marx goes further here to say that “free time, disposable time is wealth itself, partly for the enjoyment of products, partly for free activity.” I would like to take a deeper look at what he means by this.

Here Marx says, “TIME OF LABOUR, even if exchange value is eliminated, always remains the creative substance of wealth and the measure of the *cost* of its production.” By the phrase “even if exchange value is eliminated,” he refers to a post-capitalist society. Marx's vision was that in the future society, the value of exchange, money would disappear. Even if money were to disappear, labor time would still be the “creative substance of wealth” and “the measure of the *cost* of its production.”

What is important here is that Marx then uses the conjunction “but” and says that “FREE TIME, DISPOSABLE TIME is wealth itself, partly for the enjoyment of the product, partly for FREE ACTIVITY.” The word “wealth” here is used in a different sense from one used in the previous sentence.

As I mentioned earlier, when we think about what human labor produces in the first place, it is first of all material wealth. It is also “disposable time,” which is based on material wealth. In *Das Kapital*, Marx analyzes the dual nature of labor, concrete useful labor and abstract human labor, which produces use value and value, both of which are material wealth. Marx states here that labor time is “the creative substance of wealth” and “the necessary measure of the *cost* of production of wealth” even in the future society. Here, by “wealth” I think he means material wealth.

What, then, does “disposable time” produce? The “free and full development of individuals.” “Free time,” as Marx said here, “unlike labour - is not determined by a compelling extraneous purpose.” It gives people the room for free activity and development, creating “the free and full development of individuals.” What greater wealth can there be for a society than “the free and all-round development of the human beings”? There is no such thing. Society is composed of human beings. There is no greater wealth than the full development of human’s own abilities. With this in mind, I believe that Marx said, With this in mind, Marx said, “Disposable time is wealth itself.”

The Fifth paragraph. What then happens to “time of labour” itself - the time of labor for material production? Marx says that “time of labour” itself, by abolishing “the social contradictions between MASTER AND MEN etc.,” by abolishing capitalist exploitation and by advancing to socialism and communism, “acquires a quite different, a free character.” In other words, in the future society, labor for material production will regain its free and human character.

Furthermore, “at the same time,” Marx continues, “[T]he TIME OF LABOUR of a MAN who has also DISPOSABLE TIME must be of a much higher quality than the labor time of the beast of burden.” The quality of the working hours of “the beast of burden” - those who only work, eat, and sleep - is completely different from that of the working hours of those who fully develop their abilities with “disposable time.” It must have a higher quality.

As I mentioned earlier, Marx in his *Manuscripts of 1857-1858* wrote, “Free time ... has naturally transformed its possessor into another subject; and it is then as this other subject that he enters into the immediate production process.”<sup>7</sup> The same idea is expressed here by using the term of the “higher quality” of “time of labour.” A person who has sufficient “disposable time” can use that time to make full use of their latent abilities and become a “fully developed” person. With this in mind, I believe that Marx said that the labor time carried out by such a person “must be of a much higher quality than that of the beast of burden.”

The prospect of labor regaining its human character in the future society was expressed in the founding declaration of the International Workingmen's Association, or the International, written by Marx in October 1864, shortly after he wrote the *Manuscripts of 1861-63*. See **Document 13**.

### **Document 13: Labor Regaining its Human Character**

...like slave labour, like serf labour, hired labour is but a transitory and inferior form,

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<sup>7</sup> Karl Marx, “Economic Manuscripts of 1857-1858,” *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Collected Works*, Vol. 32, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1989, p.97

destined to disappear before associated labour plying its toil with a willing hand, a ready mind, and a joyous heart.

(Karl Marx, “Inaugural Address of the Working Men’s International Association,” 1864)

Karl Marx, “Inaugural Address of the Working Men’s International Association,” *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Collected Works*, Vol.20, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1985, p.11

### **Material 13**

...daß wie Sklavenarbeit, wie Leibeigenenarbeit so *Lohnarbeit* nur eine vorübergehende und untergeordnete gesellschaftliche Form ist, bestimmt zu verschwinden vor der assoziierten Arbeit, die ihr Werk mit williger Hand, rüstigem Geist und fröhlichen Herzens verrichtet.

(Karl Marx, “Inauguraladresse der Internationalen Arbeiter-Assoziation,” 1864)

Karl Marx, “Inauguraladresse der Internationalen Arbeiter-Assoziation,” *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels Werke*, Band 16, Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1962, S.11-12

Labor for material production will also regain its human character. In a society where producers take the leading role, where people are united by their own will and produce by their own will, labor itself will become much more enjoyable. This is what Marx envisioned.

- The Theory of Future Society in *the Manuscripts* was a Full-Fledged Preparation for the Theory in *Das Kapital*

To summarize the key points we’ve reviewed in *the Economic Manuscripts* above: when we overcome capitalism and advance to a future society - a socialist/communist society, the following changes will occur in relation to “disposable time.”

First, everyone will be able to have abundant “disposable time” or “free time.”

Second, “disposable time” provides scope for free human development, creating a “fully developed human being” which is “wealth itself.”

Third, in a future society, “time of labour” itself, the “basis” of “disposable time,” will also have a “free character” as well as a “much higher quality.”

This was the theory of the future society that Marx arrived at in *the Manuscripts*. It became the preparation for the theory of future society in Book III of *Das Kapital*. Moreover, *Das Kapital* does not necessarily include all of the



propositions from *the Manuscripts* I mentioned today. Propositions such as “social development depends upon the saving of time,” “the capitalist usurps the free time created by the workers for society, i.e. civilization,” and “Disposable time is true wealth,” do not appear in the text of *Das Kapital*. Therefore, I recommend that in order to understand the theory of future society, you grasp relevant parts of *Das Kapital* and *Manuscripts* I mentioned today as a set. I think that only by studying both of them as a set will we be able to fully grasp the theory of future society that Marx sought.

## 6. Value, Price and Profits (1865) -- Time is the Room of Human Development

So far, this lecture has been watched by viewers at 2,300 Internet access points throughout the country. I believe that this is the first time in the history of our party that we are studying *the Manuscripts* along with *Das Kapital* with such a large audience.

In June 1865, while writing *Das Kapital*, Marx attended a meeting of the International Working Men's Association to refute some of the arguments against the wage struggles of labor unions. In his speech, Marx provided a clear elucidation of the secret of capitalist exploitation and argued that “time is the room of human development.” That was based on his work in *the Manuscripts*, as I made it clear today. Please look at **Document 14**.

### Document 14: Time is the Room of Human Development

Time is the room of human development. A man who has no free time to dispose of, whose whole lifetime, apart from the mere physical interruptions by sleep, meals, and so forth, is absorbed by his labour for the capitalist, is less than a beast of burden. He is a mere machine for producing Foreign Wealth, broken in body and brutalized in mind. Yet the whole history of modern industry shows that capital, if not checked, will recklessly and ruthlessly work to cast down the whole working class to the utmost state of degradation.

(Karl Marx, *Value, Price and Profit*, 1865)

[The underlines are added by Shii.]

Karl Marx, “Value, Price and Profit,” *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Collected Works*, Vol.20, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1985, p.142

### Material 14

Zeit ist der Raum zu menschlicher Entwicklung. Ein Mensch, der nicht über freie Zeit verfügt, dessen ganze Lebenszeit — abgesehen von rein physischen Unterbrechungen durch Schlaf, Mahlzeiten usw. — von seiner Arbeit für den Kapitalisten verschlungen wird, ist weniger als ein Lasttier. Er ist eine bloße Maschine zur Produktion von fremdem Reichtum, körperlich gebrochen und geistig verroht. Dennoch zeigt die ganze Geschichte der modernen Industrie, daß das Kapital, wenn ihm nicht Einhalt geboten wird, ohne Gnade und Barmherzigkeit darauf aus ist, die ganze Arbeiterklasse in diesen Zustand äußerster Degradation zu stürzen.

(Karl Marx, *Lohn, Preis und Profit*, 1856)

[Die unterstrichenen Stellen sind Punkte, die der Verfasser hervorheben möchte.]

Karl Marx, “Lohn, Preis und Profit,” *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels Werke*, Band 16, Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1962, S.144-145

This is a passage from what was later compiled into a booklet entitled *Value, Price and Profits*<sup>8</sup>.

“Time is the room of human development” and a person who is deprived of all “disposable time” and merely eats, sleeps, and works is “less than a beast of burden” - in other words, not a human being worthy of living as a human being. This is a very intense and harsh accusation.

Note that Marx makes the proviso that “capital, if not checked,” will recklessly and ruthlessly work to cast down the whole working class to the utmost state of degradation. In other words, Marx is calling for the fight to “check” the unlimited exploitation of capital through social regulation, i.e., the reduction of working hours. Marx also said that it is “a duty to themselves and their race” to fight for laws to shorten working hours or, failing that, to prevent excessive work by raising wages dramatically.<sup>9</sup> Through struggle, we must win and expand “disposable time” and aim for a society in which all human beings can develop freely. I think this is what Marx was calling for in this sentence.

## 7. Book III of *Das Kapital* (written in 1865) – Historical View of

<sup>8</sup> This work became widely known under a different title – *Wages, Price and Profit*. It was provided by the German translator who published it in *Die Neue Zeit* in 1898. The original title under which Marx’s daughter Eleanor Marx-Aveling first published the speech in London in 1898 was *Value, Price and Profit*. The English translation here follows the title adopted by *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Collected Works*, Vol.20, published by Progress Publishers.

<sup>9</sup> Karl Marx, “Value, Price and Profit,” *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Collected Works*, Vol.20, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1985, pp.141-142

## Surplus Labor and Theory of Future Society

Marx's exploration of “disposable time and future society” in *the Economic Manuscripts* is condensed and brought to fruition in *Das Kapital*. Which part of *Das Kapital* did this lead to? I will explain this next.

In the chapter entitled “Trinity Formula” in Chapter 48, Part VII, Book III of *Das Kapital*, drafted by Marx in 1865 and later edited by Engels, we see Marx’s historical view on surplus labor and his theory of future society.

### Historical view on the issue of surplus labor

First, Marx provides a historical summary of the issue of surplus labor. Please take a look at **Document 15**. The paragraphs and their numbers are mine.

#### **Document 15: Historical Summary of the Issue of Surplus Labor**

##### Chapter 48 Trinity Formula

We have seen that the capitalist process of production is a historically determined form of the social process of production in general. ...

1. Surplus labour in general, as labour performed over and above the given requirements, must always remain. In the capitalist as well as in the slave system, etc., it merely assumes an antagonistic form and is supplemented by complete idleness of a stratum of society.
2. A definite quantity of surplus labour is required as insurance against accidents, and by the necessary and progressive expansion of the process of reproduction in keeping with the development of the needs and the growth of population, which is called accumulation from the viewpoint of the capitalist.
3. It is one of the civilising aspects of capital that it enforces this surplus labour in a manner and under conditions which are more advantageous to the development of the productive forces, social relations, and the creation of the elements for a new and higher form than under the preceding forms of slavery, serfdom, etc.
4. Thus it gives rise to a stage, on the one hand, in which coercion and monopolisation of social development (including its material and intellectual advantages) by one portion of society at the expense of the other are eliminated; on the other hand, it creates the material means and embryonic conditions, making it possible in a higher form of society to combine this surplus labour with a greater reduction of time devoted to material labour in general.

(Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*, Book III, 1894)

## Material 15

### ACHTUNDVIERZIGSTES KAPITEL

#### Die trinitarische Formel

Wir haben gesehen, daß der kapitalistische Produktionsprozeß eine geschichtlich bestimmte Form des gesellschaftlichen Produktionsprozesses überhaupt ist. ...

1. Mehrarbeit überhaupt, als Arbeit über das Maß der gegebenen Bedürfnisse hinaus, muß immer bleiben. Im kapitalistischen wie im Sklavensystem usw. hat sie nur eine antagonistische Form und wird ergänzt durch reinen Müßiggang eines Teils der Gesellschaft.

2. Ein bestimmtes Quantum Mehrarbeit ist erheischt durch die Assekuranz gegen Zufälle, durch die notwendige, der Entwicklung der Bedürfnisse und dem Fortschritt der Bevölkerung entsprechende, progressive Ausdehnung des Reproduktionsprozesses, was vom kapitalistischen Standpunkt aus Akkumulation heißt.

3. Es ist eine der zivilisatorischen Seiten des Kapitals, daß es diese Mehrarbeit in einer Weise und unter Bedingungen erzwingt, die der Entwicklung der Produktivkräfte, der gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse und der Schöpfung der Elemente für eine höhere Neubildung vorteilhafter sind als unter den frühern Formen der Sklaverei, Leibeigenschaft usw.

4. Es führt so einerseits eine Stufe herbei, wo der Zwang und die Monopolisierung der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung (einschließlich ihrer materiellen und intellektuellen Vorteile) durch einen Teil der Gesellschaft auf Kosten des andern wegfällt; andererseits schafft sie die materiellen Mittel und den Keim zu Verhältnissen, die in einer höhern Form der Gesellschaft erlauben, diese Mehrarbeit zu verbinden mit einer größern Beschränkung der der materiellen Arbeit überhaupt gewidmeten Zeit.

(Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*, Buch III, 1894)

Karl Marx, "Das Kapital, Kritik der politischen Ökonomie Dritter Band," *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels Werke*, Band 25, Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1964, S.826-827

Here Marx gives a historical summary of the issue of surplus labor. Immediately after these passages Marx introduces the main thesis of his theory of future society - "the true realm of freedom" and "the realm of necessity." Therefore, understanding the meaning of this part is also a prerequisite for understanding the subsequent sections of the theory on future society. Let us read them one by one.

The First paragraph. Marx begins by discussing surplus labor in general. Surplus labor in general must always exist in any society as “labour performed over and above the given requirements” - labor that goes beyond what is necessary for one's own and one's family's livelihood. In class society, Marx then said, surplus labor takes an “antagonistic form.” In other words, it creates “complete idleness of a stratum of society” - that is, people who live without having to work. Marx argues here in terms of this “antagonistic form,” surplus labor in capitalism, no matter how freely it is contracted, is forced labor, just like in slavery. The fact that surplus labor takes an “antagonistic form” in class society has been emphasized many times in *the Manuscripts*, as we have already seen.

The Second paragraph. Marx continues to discuss surplus labor in general. In any society, including a future society, a certain amount of surplus labor is required. It is necessary for (1) “insurance against accidents” - insurance against disasters, accidents, illness, etc., and (2) “the necessary and progressive expansion of the process of reproduction in keeping with the development of the needs and the growth of population” - expanded reproduction in response to the development of people's needs and the growth of the population. Thus, Marx states that a certain amount of surplus labor will be necessary for “insurance” and “expanded reproduction” in any society.

The Third paragraph. Here, Marx goes on to discuss the special character of surplus labor under capitalism. Capitalism “enforces this surplus labour in a manner and under conditions which are more advantageous” to 1) the development of the productive forces, 2) social relations, and 3) the creation of the elements for a new social form than under the preceding forms of slavery, serfdom, etc. Marx considers this as “one of the civilising aspects of capital.”

Marx here introduces the phrase “the civilising aspects of capital.” In explaining this, he refers not only to “the development of the productive forces,” but also to the development of “social relations,” and “the creation of the elements for a new and higher form” of society. I would like to draw attention to this fact. In capitalist society, just as in previous exploitative societies such as under slavery or serfdom, surplus labor is exploited from those who work. But capital enforces surplus labor “in a manner and under conditions which are more advantageous” to the above-mentioned points.

What does this mean? Among many elements included in the “civilising aspects of capital,” I would like to introduce the following passage from the Chapter “Historical tendency of capitalist accumulation” in Section 7, Chapter 24, Part VII, Book I<sup>10</sup> of *Das Kapital*. Please refer to **Document 16**.

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<sup>10</sup> Chapter 32, Part VIII, Book I of “Capital,” Vol.1, in *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Collected Works*, Vol. 35, New York, International Publishers, 1996

### **Document 16: How the Next Form of Society is Prepared amid the Development of Capitalism**

Hand in hand with this centralisation, or this expropriation of many capitalists by few, develop, on an ever-extending scale, the co-operative form of the labour process, the conscious technical application of science, the methodical cultivation of the soil, the transformation of the instruments of labour into instruments of labour only usable in common, the economising of all means of production by their use as the means of production of combined, socialised labour, the entanglement of all peoples in the net of the world market, and with this, the international character of the capitalistic régime.

(Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*, Book I, 1867)

Karl Marx, "Capital, A Critique of Political Economy," Vol.1, *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Collected Works*, Vol. 35, New York, International Publishers, 1996, p.750

### **Material 16**

Hand in Hand mit dieser Zentralisation oder der Expropriation vieler Kapitalisten durch wenige entwickelt sich die kooperative Form des Arbeitsprozesses auf stets wachsender Stufenleiter, die bewußte technische Anwendung der Wissenschaft, die planmäßige Ausbeutung der Erde, die Verwandlung der Arbeitsmittel in nur gemeinsam verwendbare Arbeitsmittel, die Ökonomisierung aller Produktionsmittel durch ihren Gebrauch als Produktionsmittel kombinierter, gesellschaftlicher Arbeit, die Verschlingung aller Völker in das Netz des Weltmarkts und damit der internationale Charakter des kapitalistischen Regimes.

(Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*, Buch I, 1867)

Karl Marx, "Das Kapital, Kritik der politischen Ökonomie, Erster Band," *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels Werke*, Band 23, Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1962, S.790

Marx lists here the positive aspects of capitalism, aspects that will become the forming elements of the new society. In *Das Kapital*, Marx analyses the capitalist mode of production in terms of both "affirmative recognition" and "the recognition of the negation of that state, of its inevitable breaking up" to prove the inevitability of the transition to the future society. The quote above corresponds to the side of "affirmative recognition." Following this sentence, the side of "recognition of its inevitable breaking up" is discussed - how the working class struggle to change this system in the midst of capitalist accumulation develops and how opportunities to change the old society become ripe. Marx concludes this part with the sentence, "The knell of

capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated.”<sup>11</sup> When Marx speaks of the “the civilising aspects” of capitalism, I believe he includes the entirety of the various aspects of the “affirmative recognition” of capitalism mentioned here.

The Fourth paragraph. Marx says that capital will create a stage in which “coercion and monopolisation of social development” by one portion of society (capitalists) at the expense of the other (workers) are eliminated. That is socialist/communist society. Under capitalism, capital on one hand exploits and usurps “material and intellectual advantages” from workers, but on the other hand creates the potential of a future society in which such exploitation is eliminated. Marx points to the inevitability to overcome the system of exploitation of surplus labor.

Marx, on the other hand, said that capital “creates the material means and embryonic conditions, making it possible [in a future society] to combine this surplus labour with a greater reduction of time devoted to material labour in general” - creating the conditions that will make it possible to drastically reduce labor time for material production.

Marx thus makes clear that capitalist production plays a role in preparing the transition to a future society, both in terms of the necessity of overcoming the system of exploitation of surplus labor and in terms of the conditions that make possible a drastic reduction in working hours.

### The Main Theory of the Future Society – “the True Realm of Freedom” and “a Realm of Necessity”

Marx, then, proceeds with the main thesis of his theory of future society - how human life will change in a new society. This is the part that we have been highlighting as the most brilliant part of the future society theory in *Das Kapital*.” Please refer to **Document 17**. The paragraphing and its numbers are added by me.

#### **Document 17: “the True Realm of Freedom” and “a Realm of Necessity”**

1. In fact, the realm of freedom actually begins only where labour which is determined by necessity and mundane considerations ceases; thus in the very nature of things it lies beyond the sphere of actual material production.
2. Just as the savage must wrestle with Nature to satisfy his wants, to maintain and reproduce life, so must civilised man, and he must do so in all social formations and under all possible modes of production. With his development this realm of physical necessity expands as a result of his wants; but, at the same time, the forces of production

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<sup>11</sup> Karl Marx, “Capital, A Critique of Political Economy,” Vol.1, *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Collected Works*, Vol. 35, New York, International Publishers, 1996, p.750

which satisfy these wants also increase.

3. Freedom in this field can only consist in socialised man, the associate producers, rationally regulating their interchange with Nature, bringing it under their common control, instead of being ruled by it as by the blind forces of Nature; and achieving this with the least expenditure of energy and under conditions most favourable to, and worthy of, their human nature.

4. But it nonetheless still remains a realm of necessity. Beyond it begins that development of human energy which is an end in itself, the true realm of freedom, which, however, can blossom forth only with this realm of necessity as its basis.

5. The shortening of the working day is its basic prerequisite.

(Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*, Book III, 1894)

Karl Marx, "Capital, A Critique of Political Economy," Vol.3, *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Collected Works*, Vol 37, New York, International Publishers, 1998, p.807

### Material 17

1. Das Reich der Freiheit beginnt in der Tat erst da, wo das Arbeiten, das durch Not und äußere Zweckmäßigkeit bestimmt ist, aufhört; es liegt also der Natur der Sache nach jenseits der Sphäre der eigentlichen materiellen Produktion.

2. Wie der Wilde mit der Natur ringen muß, um seine Bedürfnisse zu befriedigen, um sein Leben zu erhalten und zu reproduzieren, so muß es der Zivilisierte, und er muß es in allen Gesellschaftsformen und unter allen möglichen Produktionsweisen. Mit seiner Entwicklung erweitert sich dies Reich der Naturnotwendigkeit, weil die Bedürfnisse; aber zugleich erweitern sich die Produktivkräfte, die diese befriedigen.

3. Die Freiheit in diesem Gebiet kann nur darin bestehn, daß der vergesellschaftete Mensch, die assoziierten Produzenten, diesen ihren Stoffwechsel mit der Natur rationell regeln, unter ihre gemeinschaftliche Kontrolle bringen, statt von ihm als von einer blinden Macht beherrscht zu werden; ihn mit dem geringsten Kraftaufwand und unter den ihrer menschlichen Natur würdigsten und adäquatesten Bedingungen vollziehen.

4. Aber es bleibt dies immer ein Reich der Notwendigkeit. Jenseits desselben beginnt die menschliche Kraftentwicklung, die sich als Selbstzweck gilt, das wahre Reich der Freiheit, das aber nur auf jenem Reich der Notwendigkeit als seiner Basis aufblühen kann.

5. Die Verkürzung des Arbeitstags ist die Grundbedingung.

(Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*, Buch III, 1894)

Karl Marx, "Das Kapital, Kritik der politischen Ökonomie Dritter Band," *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels Werke*, Band 25, Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1964, S.828



I would like to offer some explanations based on what we have read so far in *the Economic Manuscripts*.

The First paragraph. Marx divides the time of human life in society into the time devoted to material production - a “realm of necessity,” and the rest of the time a - the time each person is “free to dispose of” - “the true realm of freedom.” As we have already discussed, Marx believed that the “time at one's disposal,” as distinguished from the time for material production, is the time in which human development takes place, and that human freedom lies in the “free and full development” of each person cultivated through the use of this time. This is why he named this time “the true realm of freedom.”

On the other hand, Marx called the time devoted to material production a “realm of necessity.” The reason why he called it a “realm of necessity” is because, as he discusses here, it is labor time “determined by necessity and mundane considerations.” What is meant by “necessity” here is the challenges of living. “Mundane considerations” [äußere Zweckmäßigkeit] refer to the various needs of social life. Working hours that are determined by such factors, and that are inevitably necessary and forced in order to maintain the lives of oneself, one's family, and society, cannot be said to be truly free activities of human beings. Therefore, Marx named this time a “realm of necessity.”

The Second paragraph. Such a “realm of necessity” is necessary under all modes of production in human society. As people develop, their desires expand, and so they act as a force to expand the “realm of necessity.” At the same time, the productive forces also expand, so they act as a force to shrink the “realm of necessity.”

The Third paragraph. So where is freedom in the “realm of necessity?” Is there no freedom in the “realm of necessity?” Yes, there is. Marx argues that if we advance to a future society - a socialist/communist society, great changes will be made in the “realm of necessity” as well.

The first is that human beings will not be governed by their interactions with nature but will be able to “rationally regulate” it and “bring it under their common control.” In my recent online seminar, I mentioned that one of the characteristics of a capitalist economy is a “post festum” [out-of-control] economy. In a capitalist society, planned control of production is possible only within each individual business, and on a social scale, competition is enforced and “production for production's sake” is carried out anarchically, which leads to various disturbances of production, for example, in the form of economic crises or environmental destruction. “Social reason” only comes into play after “the festival” is over. With socialism/communism, we can be free from this situation and create a society in which “social reason” works throughout. This is our vision. This is what Marx meant when he said, “rationally regulating their interchange

with Nature, bringing it under their common control.”

Where can you find the second change? It is in that “with the least expenditure of energy,” or with the shortest working hours, and “under conditions most favourable to, and worthy of, their human nature,” people engage in material exchanges with nature by labor in the form of reclaimed human character. I mentioned earlier one phrase in the “Inaugural Address” of the International Workingmen’s Association, in which Marx wrote about the changes in labor in the future society: “...associated labour plying its toil with a willing hand, a ready mind, and a joyous heart.” The material exchanges with nature are carried out through labor that restores such a human character. Only in this respect, Marx said, could there be freedom in the “realm of necessity.”

The Fourth paragraph. Thus, if we advance to a future society, we will have much more freedom in the “realm of necessity,” but Marx says that this is still the “realm of necessity.” In other words, this labor is still obligatory labor, forced by “necessity” and “mundane considerations.” At the other shore of this realm, that is, beyond the “realm of necessity,” the “true realm of freedom” begins. A time in which people are freed from all external obligations, in which they become completely the master of their time, and in which the “development of human energy” becomes an end in itself. Marx called this “the true realm of freedom.” He saw in this the greatest quality, the greatest brilliance, and the greatest appeal of socialist and communist societies, that human society would put an end to the usurpation of “freely disposable time” by capital and become one in which everyone would be able to fully share a “realm of freedom.”

It is important to understand accurately that Marx states that “the true realm of freedom” can “blossom forth only with this realm of necessity as its basis.” The implication is, first of all, that the material wealth created in the “realm of necessity” is the “basis” for the “true realm of freedom” - free human activity in the “freely disposable time” and the “free and full human development” realized through that activity.

Furthermore, through labor in the “realm of necessity” – “wrestle with nature” and “material exchanges with nature” - human beings create material wealth as well as “free time,” and through such activities, human beings also develop the ability to “enjoy” them (material wealth and “free time”), i.e., the subjective ability to utilize and make meaningful use of them in a humane way. This is also implied in Marx’s argument of the “basis” of freedom here.

The Fifth paragraph. Marx concludes this discussion with the simple statement that “The shortening of the working day is its basic prerequisite.”

Why do working hours decrease in a future society? I know some of you may have this question. The answer is actually found in Marx's later writings. Marx wrote

about it in a thoughtful manner in Book I of *Das Kapital*, which he wrote in 1866-1867. This will be explained later.

The theory of future society, powerfully presented here, shows the prospect of a socialist/communist society in which humanity's potential will be realized without limit. The “true realm of freedom,” which can only flourish on the “basis” of the “realm of necessity,” will act on the “realm of necessity” to make this “realm” smaller and the “true realm of freedom” larger, making the working hours shorter and the “time at one's disposal” longer. This will bring about a virtuous cycle. In this virtuous cycle between the “true realm of freedom” and the “realm of necessity,” Marx saw a future in which “human freedom” would fully flourish.

Note: In the former Soviet Union and elsewhere, this vital idea of Marx's has been completely erased and sealed from the theory of future society, and even trampled on.

The theoretical fallacy is not limited to the fact that they saw the goal of communist society in the distribution of products, “from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.” The fundamental theoretical fallacy lies in the fact that they limited Marx's theory of the future society to the sphere of material production, or, in the term of *Das Kapital*, to the “realm of necessity.” It was “a very big mistake to cut off the most brilliant part of the future history of humankind.” (Fuwa Tetsuzo, “How to Read Karl Marx’s *Critique of the Gotha Programme*,” in “Classic Studies in Marx's Theory of Future Society,” p.78) This is not unrelated to the fact that in the former Soviet Union, a system of human oppression that had nothing to do with socialism was created and collapsed due to Stalin's serious mistakes.

This theoretical fallacy, which took Lenin's *State and Revolution* (1917) as its starting point, was subsequently used by Stalin as a “theoretical” tool to rationalize the transformation of Soviet society into a despotic state. If they had set “human freedom” and “free and full human development” as the main goal of the post-revolutionary social construction, as Marx thought, how could it have degenerated into a despotic state that forced workers into slave labor under severe repression and surveillance and made prison labor a part of the national economy?

Japanese Communist Party boldly overcame the once internationally accepted “settled theory” of socialism and communism, by revising its program at the 23rd Party Congress in 2004. The present program of the Party shines the light on the brightest of Marx's theory of the future society, a society in which “human freedom” will flourish and “the free and full human development” will be realized by rescuing, further exploring and developing the original brilliance of Marx's theory of the future society. It is also a solid theoretical basis for our party's firm rejection of despotism built on the denial of “human freedom,” as in the society of the former Soviet Union.

### Importance of Understanding *Das Kapital* and the *Economic Manuscripts* as a Set

I believe that this description in *Das Kapital* is a condensed version of Marx's work on "freely disposable time and future society" studied in his *Economic Manuscripts*.

In addition, I would like to point out that while various considerations and propositions about "freely disposable time and future society" were developed in *the Economic Manuscripts*, not all of them are necessarily reflected in *Das Kapital*.

This is just my impression, but I think it has something to do with the fact that Book III of *Das Kapital* is compiled by Engels. If Marx himself had been able to complete Book III of *Das Kapital*, I am speculating here, he would have included an appropriate discussion of "freely disposable time and the future society" which he developed so extensively in *the Manuscripts*. I think that the discussion in *the Economic Manuscripts* could have been incorporated more into the historical summary of the issue of surplus labor and future society, which is described at the end of Book III of *Das Kapital*.

Therefore, when we study Marx's works, it is important to grasp the relationship between *Das Kapital* and *the Economic Manuscripts*. In terms of the relationship between *Das Kapital* and *the Manuscripts*, we regard *Das Kapital* the authentic text to convey Marx's thought. However, what is written in the *Manuscripts* are also Marx's words, and if an idea that is developed in the *Manuscripts* is consistent with the basic ideas and basic propositions of *Das Kapital*, then I think it is necessary to grasp *Das Kapital* and *the Manuscripts* as a set. As far as "freely disposable time and future society" is concerned, it is clear from what we have already seen that what Marx says in *the Manuscripts* and what he says in *Das Kapital* are in complete agreement with each other in terms of their basic ideas.

Of course, generally speaking, it is not easy to study *the Economic Manuscripts*. It is usually difficult to just obtain a copy. However, after exploring Marx's footsteps, I came to the conclusion that it is not possible to grasp an overall picture of the theory of future society fully without referring to the clarification in *the Manuscripts* and in *Das Kapital* as a set. This is also the reason why I have taken the trouble to introduce the relevant passages from *the Manuscripts* and *Das Kapital* today. I hope you will make use of today's lecture for your study.

## **8. Completed Text of Book I of *Das Kapital* (written 1866-67) - Continuation of the Description of Book III**

Next, I would like to look at the completed text of Book I of *Das Kapital*. The reason why we are going from Book III to Book I is that Marx wrote the draft of Book

III in 1865, and then he wrote the completed text of Book I. He wrote the text of Book I in 1866-67. In terms of order, Book I came later.

The theory of future society elucidated in the Draft of Book III of *Das Kapital* was inherited into the completed text of Book I. An important development and supplement to Book III can also be found there.

### The Provision “Time at Your Disposal” Comes into Play in a Variety of Ways

The stipulation “time at your disposal” appears in various forms in the Book I texts. For example, look at Chapter 8, Part III, Book I<sup>12</sup>, “The Working Day.”

First, in a passage that denounces the “soul of capital,” the impulse of capital to absorb as large a quantity of surplus labor as possible, Marx paradoxically states, “If the labourer consumes his disposable time for himself, he robs the capitalist.”<sup>13</sup> Marx accuses capital of usurping the “time at his disposal” created by the workers.

Then comes the definition of the “time at one's disposal” as “time for education, for intellectual development, for the fulfilling of social functions and for social intercourse, for the free-play of his bodily and mental activities.”<sup>14</sup> Marx believed that the human being not only develops intellectually as an individual, but also fulfills various social roles and engages in various social interactions to realize one's free and full development. He was not talking about developing one's abilities through one's own efforts. It is about fulfilling one's social role and developing one's abilities through multifaceted interactions with others. This was Marx's vision.

Furthermore, Marx, speaking of the changes in the workers created by the reduction of working hours, cites the report of one Inspector of Factories, saying, “By making them masters of their own time [The Factory Acts] have given them a moral energy which is directing them to the eventual possession of political power.”<sup>15</sup> The workers' becoming “masters of time” - having “free time” - empowers them both mentally and physically, giving them the energy to move toward the acquisition of political power and to grow up as agents of change. See note below.

This description is deeply connected to the point made in *the Manuscripts of 1857-1858* that free time “transformed its possessor into another subject,” or to the point made in *the Manuscripts of 1861-1863* that “THE TIME OF LABOUR of a MAN who has also DISPOSABLE TIME must be of a much higher quality than that

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<sup>12</sup> Chapter 10, Part III, Book I of “Capital,” Vol.1, in *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Collected Works*, Vol 35, New York, International Publishers, 1996

<sup>13</sup> Karl Marx, “Capital, A Critique of Political Economy,” Vol.1, *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Collected Works*, Vol 35, New York, International Publishers, 1996, p.241

<sup>14</sup> Karl Marx, “Capital, A Critique of Political Economy,” Vol.1, *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Collected Works*, Vol 35, New York, International Publishers, 1996, p.270

<sup>15</sup> Karl Marx, “Capital, A Critique of Political Economy,” Vol.1, *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Collected Works*, Vol 35, New York, International Publishers, 1996, p.307

of the beast of burden.”

(Note: In the “Additions” to “2) Absolute Surplus Value, in Chapter III: Capital in General” in *the Manuscripts* of 1861-1863, Marx included numerous excerpts from *the Factory Reports* by Inspectors published in 1843-61 which he utilized in *Das Kapital*. Some of the excerpts in *the Manuscripts* are presented below.

The factory Acts “have put an end to the premature decrepitude of the former long-hour workers; *by making them masters of their own time* they have given them a moral energy which is directing them to the eventual possession of political power” (*Reports of the Inspectors of Factories, 31<sup>st</sup> Oct. 1859, [p.] 47*).

“A still greater boon is, the *distinction* at last made clear *between the worker’s own time and his master’s. The worker knows now when that which he sells is ended, and when his own begins*; and by possessing a sure foreknowledge of this, is enabled to pre-arrange *his own minutes for his own purposes!*” (l.c., p.52).<sup>16</sup>

### How Can a Socialist/Communist Society Enable a Drastic Reduction in Working Hours?

What I consider extremely important in the theory of future society developed in the completed text of Book I of *Das Kapital* is the discussion in Chapter 15, Part V, “Changes of Magnitude in the Price of Labour Power and in Surplus Value.”

This chapter of *Das Kapital* itself is devoted to a quantitative study of how the size of surplus value depends on three factors: the length of the working day, the productivity of labor, and the intensity of labor. In this context, the issue of working hours in socialist/communist societies unexpectedly appears. It is, still, a thoughtful study of how the transition to a socialist/communist society makes possible a drastic reduction in working hours.

The main argument of the future society theory in Book III of *Das Kapital*, which I introduced earlier, ended with the statement, “The shortening of the working day is its basic prerequisite.” How, then, can a future society make possible a drastic reduction in working hours? The answer is actually written here. Please look at **Document 18**. The paragraphing and its numbers are the ones I have given.

#### **Document 18: The Transition to a Future Society Will Allow for a Drastic Reduction in Working Hours**

1. Only by suppressing the capitalist form of production could the length of the working

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<sup>16</sup> Karl Marx, “Economic Manuscript of 1861-1863”, *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Collected Works*, Vol 30, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1988, p.224

day be reduced to the necessary labour time. But, even in that case, the latter would extend its limits. On the one hand, because the notion of “means of subsistence” would considerably expand, and the labourer would lay claim to an altogether different standard of life. On the other hand, because a part of what is now surplus labour, would then count as necessary labour; I mean the labour of forming a fund for reserve and accumulation.

2. The more the productiveness of labour increases, the more can the working day be shortened; and the more the working day is shortened, the more can the intensity of labour increase. From a social point of view, the productiveness increases in the same ratio as the economy of labour, which, in its turn, includes not only economy of the means of production, but also the avoidance of all useless labour. The capitalist mode of production, while on the one hand, enforcing economy in each individual business, on the other hand, begets, by its anarchical system of competition, the most outrageous squandering of labour power and of the social means of production, not to mention the creation of a vast number of employments, at preset indispensable, but in themselves superfluous.

3. The intensity and productiveness of labour being given, the time which society is bound to devote to material production is shorter, and as a consequence, the time at its disposal for the free development, intellectual and social, of the individual is greater, in proportion as the work is more and more evenly divided among all the able-bodied members of society, and as a particular class is more and more deprived of the power to shift the natural burden of labour from its own shoulders to those of another layer of society. In this direction, the shortening of the working day finds at last a limit in the generalization of labour. In capitalist society spare time is acquired for one class by converting the whole life-time of the masses into labour time.

(Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*, Book I, 1867)

[The underlines are added by Shii.]

Karl Marx, “Capital, A Critique to Political Economy,” Vol.1, *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Collected Works*, Vol 35, New York, International Publishers, 1996, pp.530-531

## Material 18

1 . Die Beseitigung der kapitalistischen Produktionsform erlaubt, den Arbeitstag auf die notwendige Arbeit zu beschränken. Jedoch würde die letztre, unter sonst gleichbleibenden Umständen, ihren Raum ausdehnen. Einerseits weil die Lebensbedingungen des Arbeiters reicher und seine Lebensansprüche größer. Andererseits würde ein Teil der jetzigen Mehrarbeit zur notwendigen Arbeit zählen, nämlich die zur Erzielung eines gesellschaftlichen Reserve- und Akkumulationsfonds

nötige Arbeit.

2. Je mehr die Produktivkraft der Arbeit wächst, um so mehr kann der Arbeitstag verkürzt werden, und je mehr der Arbeitstag verkürzt wird, desto mehr kann die Intensität der Arbeit wachsen. Gesellschaftlich betrachtet, wächst die Produktivität der Arbeit auch mit ihrer Ökonomie. Diese schließt nicht nur die Ökonomisierung der Produktionsmittel ein, sondern die Vermeidung aller nutzlosen Arbeit. Während die kapitalistische Produktionsweise in jedem individuellen Geschäft Ökonomie erzwingt, erzeugt ihr anarchisches System der Konkurrenz die maßloseste Verschwendung der gesellschaftlichen Produktionsmittel und Arbeitskräfte, neben einer Unzahl jetzt unentbehrlicher, aber an und für sich überflüssiger Funktionen.

3. Intensität und Produktivkraft der Arbeit gegeben, ist der zur materiellen Produktion notwendige Teil des gesellschaftlichen Arbeitstags um so kürzer, der für freie, geistige und gesellschaftliche Betätigung der Individuen eroberte Zeiteil also um so größer, je gleichmäßiger die Arbeit unter alle werkfähigen Glieder der Gesellschaft verteilt ist, je weniger eine Gesellschaftsschicht die Notwendigkeit der Arbeit von sich selbst ab- und einer anderen Schicht zuwälzen kann. Die absolute Grenze für die Verkürzung des Arbeitstags ist nach dieser Seite hin die Allgemeinheit der Arbeit. In der kapitalistischen Gesellschaft wird freie Zeit für eine Klasse produziert durch Verwandlung aller Lebenszeit der Massen in Arbeitszeit.

(Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*, Buch I, 1867)

[Die unterstrichenen Stellen sind Punkte, die der Verfasser hervorheben möchte.]

Karl Marx, "Das Kapital, Kritik der politischen Ökonomie, Erster Band," *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels Werke*, Band 23, Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1962, S.552

Marx here provides a thoughtful discussion of what will happen to working hours if capitalism is abolished - and why they can be radically shortened - if we move to socialism and communism.

The First paragraph. First, Marx states that as the exploitation of the worker by capital will cease - capital's usurpation of "time at its disposal" from the worker is eliminated, the working day will be limited to necessary labor, greatly reducing the working day.

However, Marx makes the following proviso: "But, even in that case, the latter [the necessary labour time] would extend its limits." This is because, first of all, the living conditions of workers will become better, and their demands will become greater. In line with this, necessary labor will increase. Second, part of the surplus labor will be incorporated into the necessary labor, into the labor required to earn "a fund for reserve and accumulation." A "fund for reserve" here refers to the social



financial resources for, for example, social security, education, unforeseen accidents, disasters, and so on. This will become increasingly necessary in the future society. A “fund for accumulation” refers to the financial resources needed for expanded reproduction.

Note: Marx included the fund for reserve and accumulation in the future society in the necessary labor. In this regard, Fuwa Tetsuzo points out in *Reading All Three Books of the Capital*, New Edition, as follows.

“There is a problem here that needs to be studied. In several passages in *Das Kapital*, which we will be reading shortly, Marx discusses the problems of the reserve fund and the fund for accumulation in the future society. However, this part is probably the only place in which he categorizes the fund for accumulation, i.e., labor for the expansion of material production, into necessary labor, aside from the reserve principal. For example, chapters 49 and 50 of Book III discuss the fund for reserve and accumulation in communist societies, both of which should belong to ‘surplus labor.’ ... Of course, Marx’s point that the relationship between “necessary labor” and “surplus labor” changes considerably in a communist society is very important in itself. In terms of content, I would like to examine Marx’s points in various places in the course of the lecture when they are available...” (p.105). For Fuwa’s further discussion of this issue, please refer to the sections “The Significance of ‘Surplus Labor’ in Human History” and “Once Again, ‘Necessary Labor’ and ‘Surplus Labor’ in the Future Society” in the same publication.

If exploitation by capital is eliminated, the scope of necessary labor will be expanded. But even taking this into account, a drastic reduction in working hours will be possible because capital’s usurpation of “time at its disposal” will be eliminated. That is what the first paragraph is about.

The Second paragraph. Here Marx is talking about “economy of labour.” It is emphasized that the productivity of labor is also increased by the economy of labor - the avoidance of all useless labor. Here, Marx accuses capitalism, which enforces “economy” only within individual business, of producing gross waste through its anarchic system of competition.

Marx describes two aspects of capitalist waste here. The first is the “most outrageous squandering of labour power and of the social means of production.” Capitalism produces endless waste, including recurrent economic crises, mass production, mass consumption, and mass waste, and the resulting environmental destruction. The second is a “vast number of employments [Funktionen], at present indispensable, but in themselves superfluous.” For example, under capitalism, a vast financial and economic system is created. Even though they are “indispensable” under capitalism, a significant portion is “superfluous in themselves” and will become unnecessary in the future society.

In the future society, such wasteful spending will be eliminated, leading to the prospect that working hours will be much shorter from this aspect as well, since the labor time wasted on wasteful spending will be eliminated. Based on this clarification of *Das Kapital*, the JCP went further to clarify the significance and prospect for the elimination of wasteful spending in the future society in the Central Committee Report to the 26th Party Congress in 2014, 10 years ago.

The logic here is that working hours can be drastically shortened in the two aspects: by eliminating exploitation and by eliminating waste.

Note: The Central Committee Report to the 26th Party Congress stated that “A future society will eliminate such wasteful components inherent in the current capitalist economy, including the problems mentioned above. That will enable the Japanese economy, even with its present strength, to ensure the minimum standards of wholesome and cultured living to all Japanese citizens, and to realize significantly shorter working hours. And that will lay the foundation for the human development of all members of society, and pave the way for a dramatic progress of the society and economy.” (January 15, 2014).

The Third paragraph. “[As] the work is more and more evenly divided among all the able-bodied members of society, and as a particular class is more and more deprived of the power to shift the natural burden of labour from its own shoulders to those of another layer of society [the working class],” or, to put it another way, the less a particular class can monopolize “the time at its free disposal,” or, in other words, the less antagonistic the character of the “time at its disposal” becomes, the less time is needed for material production - the “realm of necessity” - and the greater the “true realm of freedom” - the portion of time that is acquired for the free intellectual and social activity of individuals. Marx makes this clear.

Thus, in this section of the completed text of the Book I of *Das Kapital*, Marx clarifies the mechanism by which a drastic reduction of working hours will be possible in the future society. This is a continuation, so to speak, of the theory of the future society in Book III of *Das Kapital*, which concludes with the statement, “The shortening of the working day is its basic prerequisite.” I would like to draw your attention to the fact that the answer to the question, “How will the working hours be drastically reduced in the future society?” is found here in the completed text of the Book I of *Das Kapital*.

## 9. Marx's Proposal as a Guideline for the Modern Labor Movement

I would like to conclude the lecture by addressing a few additional issues.

Marx's suggestion that "time at one's disposal" is the "true wealth" for human beings and society is not something that will become an issue only in the future society. I would like to emphasize that it is important to use this as a guideline for the struggle in today's Japan as well.

When it comes to the regulation of working hours, Japan is unusually falling behind other developed capitalist countries. In terms of annual working hours, Japanese work on average 400 to 600 hours more than workers in European countries. Death by overwork remains a major social problem in Japan. The International Labor Organization (ILO) has adopted 18 conventions on working hour regulations, but Japan has not ratified any of them, including the first convention (the eight-hour working day) adopted by the ILO's first Conference in 1919. I believe this shows the relentless greed of the "profit-first" principle of Japan's business circle and large corporations.

In the United States and Europe, the fight for shortening the working day began as an effort to "protect the lives and health of workers" as seen by the history of the Factory Acts in the mid-19th century in the United Kingdom. The unremittingly long working hours were damaging workers' health and shortening their life expectancy, and this serious situation became a social problem which led to workers' struggles, and the Factory Acts were realized to "protect workers' lives and health."

Today, however, the working hours issue is not only about health, but also about the need to enrich the totality of workers' free time, as the ILO proposes "decent working time," which includes the issue of family-friendly working hours that are compatible with both work and family responsibilities, as well as the issue of working hours promoting gender equality - the need to improve working hour regulations together with greater gender equality. In this way, the fight for shorter working hours is developing internationally, as well as in Europe and the United States.

In Japan, the battle over the working hours issue has been very important. This has taken many forms, such as "end deaths from overwork," "end overtime without pay," "regulate exploitive enterprises," and so on. I believe that these struggles are based on the workers' earnest demands, "Don't take away my free time" and "I want more time for myself," as well as their desire "not to allow workers' health to be destroyed." In the course of this struggle, as part of the efforts to protect workers' lives, activists even created a technical term, "karoshi (death by overwork)" to denounce the long working hours in Japan, making the situation known both domestically and internationally, which I believe is a struggle that is significant from a global perspective.

At the same time, I believe that there is now a strong need in Japan to further enrich and develop the movement to "enrich workers' free time as a whole," based on

the results and achievement of these past struggles both domestically and internationally. Both men and women need free time to enrich their lives with their families while fulfilling their familial responsibilities. They need free time to participate in various social interactions and movements. They also need free time for their own intellectual development. In other words, we need a qualitative development of the movement to reduce work hours with the aim of increasing the amount of time that can be used freely, which Marx called “disposable time.”

In this respect, ZENROREN [National Confederation of Trade Unions] has recently proposed a direction that emphasizes the expansion of workers' overall free time for living, in addition to the maintenance of workers' health, as the content of the working hour reduction demands. I think this is a very important and pioneering aspect.

I would like to take this opportunity to call on all of you to take up the fight to win and expand “free time” as one of the most important elements of this struggle, which is connected to the creation of a future society.

## **10. Conclusion: Let us Study “Communism and Freedom” as a Strategic Issue and Talk about it Widely!**

Since the year of 2022, while I was compiling *the Centennial History of the Japanese Communist Party (JCP)* and giving two commemorative speeches on the anniversary of the party's founding in 2022 and 2023, I examined from various angles the reason why the JCP has not been successful in its party building activities since the 1980s. I have been searching with all party members for ways to break the trend.

Looking back on this period, I am convinced that the JCP's Program and Constitution, its political and theoretical orientation, and the dedicated grassroots efforts of everyone in the entire party were, on the whole, extremely pioneering and accurate. Why, in spite of this, did the downward trend continue? At the last party congress, we clarified, as a point of reflection for the central committee, that there was a weakness in our subjective response, namely, the existence of a “blank period” in the expansion of the party membership. At the same time, however, I think it is unquestionably true that the biggest objective factor behind the retreat was the “problems of socialism and communism,” which were exposed by the collapse of the former Soviet Union and Eastern European regimes.

“There is no freedom in socialism/communism.” How can we turn this negative image, which still exists in the minds of many people, into a positive one? This is a big challenge, but I do not think it is a difficult task. As I have discussed today, if we go back to the original position of Marx and Engels, we can see clearly

that “human freedom” is what they pursued all their lives.

How can we convey this to the people in an easy-to-understand manner? From this standpoint, we wrote into the resolution of the 29th Party Congress a theory of the future society characterized by human freedom flourishing in every sense of the word from “three angles” - freedom from the profit-first principle, the freedom of human beings to develop freely and fully, and the enormous potential of a developed capitalist country to transition to socialism. Today, we have closely examined the second of the three angles.

In my lecture at the “Student Online Seminar,” I made an effort to further develop our theory of future society in which “human freedom” will flourish, based on the Party Congress resolution. The contents will soon be compiled and published in book form titled *Communism and Freedom: Das Kapital as a Guide* (Shin’Nihon Shuppansha). I hope it will be widely read.

I am convinced that if all the members of the Party carefully study and widely discuss the results of the Party's theoretical exploration of “communism and freedom,” that is, the new theory of socialism and communism that has been detailed in the Party Program, the Congress decisions, and the “Online Seminar” lectures based on them, it will become a decisive force for building a stronger and larger Party, and create a great potential for opening a new era with the further advance and breakthrough of the JCP. I myself have devoted all of my energy to this lecture because I want to make the Party stronger and bigger no matter what it takes. I gave today's lecture in the hope that it would help achieve this goal.

As its name indicates, the Japanese Communist Party is a political party that upholds communism as its ideal, and we are a group of communists. Let us hold this ideal high at a time when the contradictions of capitalism, such as the inequality between the rich and the poor and the climate crisis, are becoming increasingly rampant. I would like to conclude my lecture by making a strong appeal to all of us to learn and discuss the issue of “communism and freedom” as a strategic issue for promoting progressive social transformation in Japan, while working to meet the urgent demands of the people. (End)