finitely presents a structural totality, an "organic whole"[42]. This holds true both for the individual "epochs" ("types of production") into which universal history is divided, as well as for universal history as such (as "the economic formation of society", as "the social process of production")[43]. In another context Marx himself quotes with approval a Russian reviewer who praises him for the "disclosure of the particular laws that regulate the origin, existence, development, and death of a given social organism"[44]. Indeed, Marx's dialectics of the "social laws of nature", as Hegel's dialectics of the substance which becomes a subject, goes back to Aristotle's entelechy, which was inspired by the development of organisms. On this model Aristotle believed to have discovered the self-realization of the essence (out of the mere possibility) in phenomena. It does not matter how much this Aristotelian immanent teleology in turn reflected through Plato primitive forms of thought. At any rate, the category which was crucial for Marx's conception of history was taken from biology - neither from mechanics nor from sociology.

Like an organism history exhibits an inner purpose (telos). The entire process is dominated by a tendency and an aim, a meaning - however immanent -, which transcends an explanation in terms of specific events and their causality. Time itself, in this conception, is understood as a driving force, giving direction and attaining fulfilment. Mankind on its part enters history as the mute animal species of homo sapiens. But in the course of history it frees itself increasingly from the bonds of nature, progressively acquiring control over environment. Replacing the interplay of chance more and more by conscious actions, man constructs out of the raw materials of nature his mighty cultural edifice. "Just as the savage wrestles with nature in order to satisfy his wants, in order to maintain his life and reproduce it, civilized man must do the same, in all forms of society and under all possible modes of production"[45]. "The true realm of freedom which, however, can flourish only upon that realm of necessity as its basis"[46], begins only beyond "the sphere of material production". Freedom grows for Marx, as well as for Hegel, out of that necessity which is understood and agreed to by man in the historical process of mankind's self-loss and self-conquest.

While Hegel sees in the entire development of the universe and of mankind but one great process of self-elevation and liberation, maintain-

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42) Karl Marx, Zur Kritik der politischen Ökonomie, Zürich 1934, Einleitung p.225.

43) Marx, "A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy", Preface. Selected Works. Vol.I, New York, p.357.

44) Marx, Capital, Vol.I, ed.E. and C.Paul, New York 1938, Preface to Second German Edition, p.872.

45) Marx, Capital, Vol.III, p.954.

46) Ibid., p.954 f.