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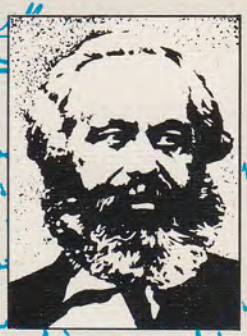

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Marx's "Critique of the Gotha Programme"

Progress Publishers
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Chapter One

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO MARX'S *CRITIQUE OF THE GOTHA PROGRAMME*

In early May, 1875, Karl Marx sent a small manuscript consisting of only 15 pages, entitled *Marginal Notes to the Programme of the German Workers' Party*, to the leaders of the working class of Germany Wilhelm Bracke, Wilhelm Liebknecht, August Bebel and Ignatz Auer. Subsequently this document became widely known under the title *Critique of the Gotha Programme*. It became a programme work of scientific socialism, second in importance only to the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

By the mid-1870s, when the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* was written, the working-class movement, which had suffered a defeat with the rout of the Paris Commune in 1871, began gradually gaining in strength. The West, in the words of V. I. Lenin, entered a period of "peaceful" preparation for the coming revolutionary transformations. Proletarian socialist parties were formed everywhere. They learned to use bourgeois parliamentarism and set up their own daily press, trade unions, educational institutions and cooperative societies. "Marx's doctrine gained a complete victory and *began to spread*. The selection and mustering of the forces of the proletariat and its preparation for the coming battles made slow but steady progress."[1]

[1] V. I. Lenin, "The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx", *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1973, p. 583.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the acknowledged leaders of the proletariat and its theoreticians and teachers, closely followed the changing situation on the European continent and in other parts of the world. They analysed and generalised the revolutionary experience of the working class, and helped the socialists of different countries to work out a correct line in creating mass proletarian parties. And that was the main task at the time. The theoreticians of scientific socialism rendered diverse assistance to young parties. In private talks and meetings with the leaders of the working-class movement, and in correspondence with them Marx and Engels touched on the most vital theoretical and practical questions of the working-class movement of the period. An important role in the genesis of the European workers' parties and the assimilation of a genuine scientific world outlook by the working class was played by their theoretical works of those years.

Marx's theoretical activity was always inseparably linked with the practice of revolutionary struggle of the working masses. The *Communist Manifesto* was brought out in response to the need for a programme for the Communist League—the first revolutionary workers' party. Marx spent over four decades on his main work, *Capital*, which gave a scientific substantiation for the proletarian movement. And the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, too, was written by Marx in response to the practical demands of the German working-class movement.

The vanguard role in the working-class movement of the time was played by the German proletariat. Neither the working class of France, bled white by the severe defeat after the suppression of the Paris Commune of 1871, nor the British proletariat, whose top leaders had been corrupted by sops from the bourgeoisie, were able to play the leading role in the

international working-class movement. Marx and Engels associated their hopes for the coming proletarian revolution with the working class of Germany.

The situation in Germany was a complex one at the time. As a result of the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 and the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, Germany was united "from above" in a counter-revolutionary way, in the most unfavourable form for the working people—with the preservation of the monarchy, economic and political privileges of the landowners and other survivals of medievalism.[1] Created by force, and headed by Prussia, the most powerful of the German states, the German Empire embodied all the negative aspects of what is called Prussianism—a police-bureaucratic apparatus, a militaristic spirit which permeated all spheres of public life, and rabid nationalism. In this connection Marx and Engels noted that Germany acquired "its *unity* in the *Prussian barracks*".[2] This, naturally, determined the character of the German Empire for many years to come, its reactionary domestic and foreign policy, the alignment of class forces in the country, and also affected the fate of the German working-class movement.

After a prolonged period of reaction following the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution, the working-class movement of Germany began to revive only in the 1860s. The more advanced workers gradually overcame the influence of the liberal bourgeoisie, which sought, during the years of reaction, to subordinate the working-class movement to itself, and to instil in the proletariat the idea of a possibility of improving

[1] See V. I. Lenin, "Reformism in the Russian Social-Democratic Movement", *Collected Works*, Vol. 17, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974, pp. 234-35.

[2] Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 17, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1968, S. 269.

their economic situation without class struggle, through setting up consumer and production cooperatives, loan- and savings banks, etc. With the development of capitalism and growing number and organisation of the proletariat, independent workers' unions began to spring up in the industrial centres of Germany despite bans and repressions. In 1860 there were 50 such unions, and six years later their number had already doubled. The workers of the most developed industrial centres—the Rhine area, Leipzig, and Hamburg, advanced the idea of setting up a workers' party.

The movement for a proletarian party originated in Leipzig, the centre of industrial Saxony, where in 1862 the union "Forward" was formed, which insistently called for the convocation of an all-German workers' congress and the founding of a workers' party. The initiative was taken up by the workers of other industrial centres. However, the movement needed a leader, a person capable of formulating the tasks of the future organisation and of heading it, an agitator who was able to stir up and inspire the masses. In search of such a personality the workers turned to the petty-bourgeois democrat and publicist Ferdinand Lassalle, a lawyer by profession.

The choice of him for the role of leader of the working-class movement was no chance occurrence. Shortly before this Lassalle won fame with his pamphlet "Arbeiter Programm" (The Programme of Working Men), in which he truthfully described the harsh living conditions of the workers' estate (he did not recognise the word "class"), stressing its special status in bourgeois society and demanding the introduction of universal suffrage. In the stuffy atmosphere of the Germany of those years Lassalle's appeal to the workers could not but find a response with the proletarians. It sounded like a call to action. Besides,

Lassalle was a brilliant speaker, possessed enormous energy and, seemingly, was ideally suited for the role of party leader.

The General Association of German Workers, headed by Lassalle, was formed on May 23, 1863. An extremely ambitious man, he became president of the Association and concentrated all the power in his hands.

The programme of the General Association of German Workers drawn up by Lassalle asserted that winning universal suffrage was sufficient for the emancipation of the workers from exploitation, and that with its aid the bourgeois state would be transformed into a "free German state". The so-called voluntary production associations, set up with the aid of the state, were proclaimed the means for the economic restructuring of society on the principles of justice. Let us recall that the state in question was Prussia, headed by Bismarck's reactionary government which relied on a strong army and police-bureaucratic apparatus. It was clearly an illusion to presume that the bourgeoisie and landowners would themselves, "peacefully", surrender power to the people. As for the workers, the programme diverted them from the class struggle, instilling in them the notion of achieving socialism without a revolutionary conquest of power.

Among the erroneous provisions of the Lassallean programme that was imposed on the workers' Association was the so-called iron law of wages, according to which a worker's wage can never rise above a bare minimum. The conclusion on the uselessness of the proletariat's economic struggle was drawn from this "law". Therefore the General Association of German Workers (GAGW) refused to take part in the work of the trade unions and denounced strikes, which inevitably led to its isolation from the main mass of proletarians and predetermined its sectarian character. No

small part in it was played by the Association's attitude to the potential ally of the proletariat in its class struggle–the peasantry–as to "one reactionary mass". On the other hand, failing to understand the deep-going contradictions between the classes of society, Lassalle included in the proletariat anyone who was useful to society, and urged not only workers but also, as he put it, "good bourgeois" to join the Association. This resulted in the workers' party being infiltrated by bourgeois elements.

Such a policy deprived the Association of the opportunity to find firm support in the broad masses of the proletariat and expand the social base of the working-class movement. This directly affected the numerical composition of the Association. It never did become a mass working-class party. Despite the efforts of its leaders and Lassalle's active propaganda, the General Association of German Workers had great difficulty in enrolling a little over 900 people by August 1863, and a year later its membership had risen to a mere 4,600. Even in such an industrial city as Berlin there were only about 40 Association members. Lassalle's successors to the post of the Association's President (Lassalle was mortally wounded in a duel on August 31, 1865) waged a bitter struggle for posts and influence in the Association, thereby aggravating the inevitable process of its degeneration into a sect isolated from the mass working-class movement.

Lassalle's erroneous programme postulates, which underlay the Association's organisational structure and practical activity, were fundamentally hostile to Marxism. The programme of the Lassallean party did not open up any revolutionary perspective before the working class and sowed in its ranks dangerous illusions on the possibility of achieving socialism without class struggle and without a proletarian revolution.

"But one can see that Izzy[1] has given the movement a Tory-Chartist character, which it will be difficult to get rid of and which has given rise to a tendency in Germany which was previously unheard of among the workers."[2] Lassalle laid the foundations of reformism and opportunism in the German working-class movement. Lassalleanism struck sufficiently deep roots in it, and as the subsequent history of the social-democratic movement showed, the struggle against it took decades. Therefore while recognising Lassalle's role in re-awakening the workers' movement in Germany "after fifteen years of slumber"[3] Marx and Engels still considered it to be equivocal. Demagogy, "cynicism in the choice of means," "strong Bonapartist leanings," and attempts at flirting with Bismarck,[4] the head of the reactionary Prussian government, to whom Lassalle promised the support of the workers in his policy of uniting Germany with "iron and blood"–all this, as Engels wrote many years later, "would certainly have led to the actual betrayal of the movement."[5]

Hence the struggle of Marx and Engels against Lassalle and Lassalleanism, far from being accidental, was profoundly principled in character. It was waged on all the fundamental questions of the Lassallean

[1] Lassalle.–*Ed.*

[2] Engels' letter to Marx of February 13, 1865, in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 42, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1987, p. 88.

[3] Marx's letter to Johann Baptist Schweitzer of October 13, 1868, in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 43, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1987, p. 133.

[4] Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898), Prime Minister of Prussia from 1862 through 1871 and Chancellor of the German Empire in 1871-1890.

[5] Engels' letter to Karl Kautsky of February 23, 1891, in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 3, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p. 39.

programme, for Marx and Engels never agreed with a single one of its points. But at the time of Lassalle's agitation for a proletarian party the working-class movement in Germany was still insufficiently developed. The German proletariat consisted primarily of handicraftsmen and apprentices. In these conditions an open attack against Lassalle by Marx and Engels could have led to very undesirable consequences. The workers, turning away from Lassalle, would have come under the influence of the bourgeoisie and reactionaries. This important tactical consideration induced Marx and Engels to refrain for the time being from making public the essence of their fundamental disagreements with Lassalle. But they were firmly convinced that the consolidated working class would break with Lassalleanism in the near future. "... It will not be very long now before it becomes not merely desirable but *necessary* to make this whole affair public," Engels wrote to Marx on January 27, 1865.[1]

Despite all its mistakes, the General Association of German Workers played a positive role in stimulating the proletarian movement after a period of stagnation. Many German Social-Democrats who subsequently became its outstanding leaders, learned lessons in class struggle in the ranks of the Association.

In the late 1860s the more class-conscious members of the Lassallean party headed by Bebel, Liebknecht and Bracke, comrades-in-arms and disciples of Marx and Engels, broke with the General Association of German Workers and began agitating among the broad masses of workers for the creation of a working-class party on the principles of Marxism. In August 1869, at the congress of German workers in

[1] Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 42, p. 69.

Eisenach, the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (SDWP) was formed.

The programme of the Eisenach party was not free of a certain influence of Lassalleanism and vulgar-democratic ideas. But it was basically a document of a Marxist, revolutionary party. It clearly proclaimed that political freedoms and universal suffrage were only an auxiliary means for the full emancipation of the working class. The proletariat must fight for the abolition of all class domination, for the elimination of the system of wage labour. The Eisenach party considered itself from the outset a contingent of the international working-class movement. It was a section of the First International; it sought to assimilate the experience of proletarian struggle in other countries and apply it to the concrete conditions of Germany.

Marx and Engels rendered constant support to the young party. Without imposing any ready recipes, they tactfully and wisely advised the Eisenach leaders on all fundamental problems, helping them to master Marxist theory. The party developed in the ideologico-theoretical and organisational aspects under their direct guidance. It speedily gained in authority not only in its own country but also on the international arena. Already in its first year the Eisenach party had 10,000 members, and its ranks continued to grow rapidly. The Eisenachers consistently opposed the militarist policy of the Prussian government, exposed the Lassallean illusions about the character of the Bismarck empire, and in 1871 headed the worldwide movement for proletarian solidarity with the Paris Commune. By the mid-1870s the Eisenach party was firmly established as the advanced contingent of the international working-class movement.

Possessing an undeniable theoretical superiority

over the Lassallean Association, the Social-Democratic Party succeeded in making the revolutionary theory of Marxism the basis of its political and economic struggle. "For the first time since a workers' movement has existed, the struggle is being waged pursuant to its three sides—the theoretical, the political and the economico-practical (resistance to the capitalists)—in harmony and in its interconnections, and in a systematic way. It is precisely in this, as it were concentric, attack that the strength and invincibility of the German movement lies," Engels wrote in the summer of 1874.[1]

One of the chief causes of the split in the German socialist movement were the differences of opinion on ways of bringing about the national unity of Germany. "Lassalle and his followers, in view of the poor chances for the proletarian and democratic way, pursued unstable tactics and adapted themselves to the leadership of the Junker Bismarck. Their mistake lay in diverting the workers' party on to the Bonapartist-state-socialist path. Bebel and Liebknecht, on the other hand, consistently supported the democratic and proletarian path and struggled against any concessions to Prussianism, Bismarckism or nationalism."[2]

With the unification of Germany the chief tactical differences dividing the Lassalleans and Eisenachers disappeared, and the years 1873-74 saw a turning point in the workers' movement of Germany. The workers and leaders of both parties became increasingly convinced by their own experience that the

[1] Frederick Engels, "Preface to *The Peasant War in Germany*", in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 2, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p. 170.

[2] V. I. Lenin, "August Bebel", *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1980, pp. 297-98.

organisational division in the ranks of the proletariat only played into the hands of the Bismarck government. The logic of struggle compelled the leaders of the Lassallean Association gradually to reject the policy of boycotting the trade unions and strikes. Now the members of both parties more and more often came out jointly against their common enemies—the bourgeoisie, landowners and the militarist state. They saw in practice that consolidation multiplies their strength ten times over and helps them to stand firm in the struggle against government repressions. Entering into direct contact, rank-and-file members came to know each other better. The contacts were followed by systematic cooperation. The Association's members often approached the positions of the Eisenachers on this or that issue, and sometimes were in full agreement with them. And the inevitable took place: against the will of their leaders the forward-looking Lassallean workers began to implement unity "from below". More and more members left the General Association of German Workers and went over to the Eisenach party. The striving for unity was also strong among the Eisenachers.

Further events developed at a fast pace. Interparty differences in the Association's leadership actually brought it to the brink of a split. Losing influence among the masses, its leaders, hoping to save the situation at any cost, proposed unity to the leadership of the Eisenach party in October 1874. "...The Lassalleans came to us," Engels wrote later, recalling the events of that autumn, "because they were *compelled* to do so ... because their leaders were scoundrels and asses, whom the masses no longer wished to follow".[1] In the circumstances the Eise-

[1] Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 38, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1968, S. 90.

nach leadership had to display firmness, adherence to principle and consistency, and invariably follow the tactical line drawn up at the Coburg Congress in the summer of 1874. It was expressed by the slogan "so far it is unity, but not unification", approved by Marx and Engels. It signified that at the first stage the parties would not merge organisationally. The way to unification would be gradually prepared in the process of united joint actions. The erroneousness of the Lassallean dogmas had to be proved in practice to all Association members before the parties could merge on the principles of scientific socialism.

Regrettably, it turned out to be fairly difficult to implement the charted line in practice. Desiring a speedy elimination of the split in the working-class movement, Liebknecht and some other Eisenach party leaders made impermissible concessions to the Lassalleans. As a result the leaders of the Association were able, firstly, to impose an immediate merger on the Eisenachers. Secondly, the Association leaders Wilhelm Hasenclever and Wilhelm Hasselmann were entrusted with drawing up the draft unity programme for the Gotha Congress. So it is not suprising that a document drawn up fully in the Lassallean spirit was issued. The draft Gotha Programme represented a step backwards compared to the 1869 Eisenach Programme.

This occurred because the leaders of the German Social-Democrats underestimated the importance of theory for the working-class movement and took a somewhat frivolous attitude to ideological questions. It seemed sufficient to them to achieve the creation of a united party to ensure the victory over the Lassalleans. That was a naive delusion. The fact that the Gotha Programme was adopted shows the importance of theoretical questions for young communist and

workers' parties and the inseparable link between a party's struggle for revolutionary unity and its deep mastering of Marxist theory. Marx stressed that if the leaders of the Lassallean Association had been firmly told at the outset "that there would be no haggling about principles, they would *have had* to be content with a programme of action or a plan of organisation for common action".[1] But the leaders of the Eisenach party deviated from an important Marxist proposition on the inseparable link between the theory and practice of the class struggle of the proletariat. They violated the democratic principle of the activity of a working-class party, for the rank-and-file members were actually denied the opportunity of tackling the question of unification or of drawing up and discussing the draft programme and Rules of the party.

When the draft Gotha Programme was published in early March 1875 in the party organs *Der Volksstaat* (SDWP) and *Der Neue Social-Demokrat* (GAGW), it aroused a justified dissatisfaction among many Eisenach party members, including Bebel (at the time of negotiations he was in prison and quite unaware of how they proceeded), Bracke, and others. On March 25 Bracke sent Engels a detailed letter on the situation in the party in the name of the Eisenach leaders who did not share Liebknecht's conciliatory position. He wrote: "For me, the adoption of this programme is impossible and Bebel, too, is of the same opinion... They betrayed their convictions for the sake of 'achieving' unity... Thereby the party is turned into a sect... All this induces me to declare open war on the draft programme... Still I would like

[1] Marx's letter to Wilhelm Bracke of May 5, 1875, in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 12.

to know what you and Marx think about this. Your experience is richer and your views are better than mine."[1]

Marx and Engels, who were living in emigration in England, were totally unaware of the negotiations with the Lassalleans. Liebknecht, carried away with the events, failed to communicate with them, and another correspondent, Bebel, was in prison. When they first read the new draft programme in the *Volksstaat* of March 7, they, in Engels' words, were quite astonished. Engels expressed his attitude to the draft Gotha Programme in the well-known letter to August Bebel of March 18-28, 1875. As though anticipating Marx's *Marginal Notes*, he listed the draft's basic fundamental flaws: 1. Acception of the historically false Lassallean postulate that "in relation to the working class all other classes are only one reactionary mass"; 2. total ignorance of the principle of the internationalism of the working-class movement; 3. recognition of the Lassallean "iron law of wages"; 4. putting forward the idea of cooperative societies with state aid as the workers' sole social demand; 5. no mention whatsoever of the role of the trade unions in the organisation of the working class; 6. advancing such hazy demands, fashionable at the time, as freedom of science and freedom of conscience, or "legislation by the people", etc. "It [the programme.–*Ed.*] is of such a character," he concluded, "that if adopted Marx and I shall *never* be able to give our adherence to the *new* party established on this basis...".[2] He called the Gotha Programme "bending of the knee to Lassalleanism on

[1] *Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, Bd. 1, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1966, S. 601-02.

[2] Engels' letter to August Bebel of March 18-28, 1875, in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 35.

the part of the whole German socialist proletariat".[1]

Engels confirmed his conclusion on this programme many years later. "With the acception of *all* the fundamental Lassallean economic phrases and demands," he wrote to Bebel in May 1891, "the Eisenachers *became in fact Lassalleans*, at least as far as their programme was concerned. The Lassalleans sacrificed nothing, literally nothing..."[2]

A few weeks after the events described above, on May 5, 1875, in reply to Bracke's letter Marx sent him his *Marginal Notes to the Programme of the German Workers' Party*. In a covering letter to Bracke Marx wrote that his *Marginal Notes* were intended also for the other leaders of the Eisenach party—Liebknecht, Bebel and Auer.

Regrettably, Marx's demand to acquaint the party's entire leadership with his critical evaluation of the Gotha Programme, was not heeded. Many years later it became known that Liebknecht, not wishing, as it appeared to him, to aggravate further the complex situation obtaining in the party, did not hand the *Marginal Notes* over to Auer and Bebel. A few months later the manuscript was sent back to Marx. Engels' letter to Bebel of March 18-28 also remained unknown to the other party members for quite a long time and was published finally 36 years later in Bebel's book *Aus meinem Leben* (From My Life).[3]

When criticising the draft programme of the party which stood in the van of the European movement Marx and Engels proceeded from the fact that by that time the ideas of scientific communism had become fairly widespread in Germany. The workers' movement of the country, as Engels stressed, had devel-

[1] Ibid., p. 36.

[2] Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 38, p. 93.

[3] A. Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben*, Part 2, Stuttgart, 1911, pp. 318-24.

oped "on the shoulders of the English and French movements", and hence was able "to utilise their dearly paid experience and ... avoid their mistakes".[1] The adoption of the programme, which contained gross errors and inexact formulations, meant a step backwards compared to the level achieved by the working-class movement, and by the development of theory itself; it meant impermissible concessions to petty-bourgeois notions, which by then had already been largely overcome by the advanced workers. The entire party should have been brought to their level, instead of dragging it back to obsolete reactionary ideas. Marx's and Engels' highly critical attitude to the draft Gotha Programme was also due to the fact that they were closely linked with the German working-class movement. "We had to expect that we would also be saddled with the secret paternity of this programme,"[2] Engels wrote.

In uniting with the Lassalleans, the Eisenach party sought to become a mass workers' party. For this they had two opportunities. One way was a direct orientation on the spontaneously evolving mass ideology—an easy way, promising prompt initial successes. But it meant adapting the party to the level of mass consciousness and in the last analysis led to the loss of its leading role, and to opportunistic time-serving. Marx and Engels suggested a different road for the German Social-Democrats—the hard road of struggle for a strictly scientific world outlook and its tireless propaganda among the masses, relying on their spontaneous attraction to socialism. "You, the party,"

[1] Frederick Engels, "Preface to *The Peasant War in Germany*", in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, pp. 169-70.

[2] Foreword by Frederick Engels to the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* by Karl Marx, in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, pp. 9-10.

wrote Engels to Bebel, "*need* the socialist science... Any, however slight, tension ... between the German party and German socialist science would be an unparalleled misfortune and shame."[1]

When sending Bracke the manuscript of his *Marginal Notes*, Marx was fully aware that in the obtaining situation the question of unification on the basis of a compromise agreement was in effect predetermined. He did not count on the publication of the document and no longer expected that his criticism of the Eisenachers' ideological concessions to the Lassalleans would decisively influence the changing of the text of the Gotha Programme. That is why he concluded his *Marginal Notes* with the biblical words: *Dixi et salvavi animam meam* ("I have spoken and saved my soul").[2]

[1] Engels' letter to Bebel of May 1-2, 1891, in: Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 38, S. 94.

[2] K. Marx, *Marginal Notes to the Programme of the German Workers' Party*, in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 30.

Chapter Two

MARX'S CRITICISM OF THE LASSALLEAN PROPOSITIONS OF THE GOTHA PROGRAMME. DEVELOPMENT OF THE MARXIST THEORY OF THE COMMUNIST TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIETY

Marx wrote the notes to the draft Gotha Programme under the impression of reading it in the *Volksstaat*. He saw in the programme everything over which he had fought implacably against Lassalle for so many years—abstractions, inaccurate and vague definitions stemming from an ignorance of economic theory, and gross, unforgivable political mistakes. And it was proposed that all this be inscribed on the banner of a party which stood at the head of the European proletariat! So the impassioned indignation exuding from the lines of Marx's manuscript is understandable. It took Marx only a month to give a thoughtful and closely reasoned opinion of the draft. He gives a detailed, comprehensive, word-by-word assessment of literally each proposition. The manuscript is notable for its irreproachable logic and lucid composition. Marx divides his notes into four main sections corresponding to the four basic items of the Gotha Programme. Within each section he singles out each particular statement of the programme in order to demonstrate its erroneousness to the Eisenach leaders in a graphic and comprehensive way. In the first section, he examines five paragraphs, in the fourth, seven; the second and third sections do not fall into any subdivisions, dealing respectively with Lassalle's "iron law of wages" and his ideas on producers' cooperative societies.

What, one would think, is the sense of criticising Lassalle's outdated century-old phrases today? But the polemical part of this work, which consists in the criticism of Lassalleanism, should not, in Lenin's words, overshadow its positive part. That is, "the analysis of the connection between the development of communism and the withering away of the state".[1]

An analysis of the mistakes and delusions of the German Social-Democrats induced Marx to formulate the programme propositions of Marxism on the future communist society. Therefore, far from becoming outdated with the passing of time, Marx's manuscript has been gaining in its theoretical and practical significance for the international working-class movement.

Marx began with an analysis of the first lines of the Gotha Programme. "Labour is the source of all wealth and all culture," asserted the document, "*and since* useful labour is possible only in society and through society, the proceeds of labour belong undiminished with equal right to all members of society."[2]

At first glance, the Lassalleans sought the fair distribution of the product of labour, so nothing seemed wrong with that. But Marx identified at least three fundamental errors made by the authors of the programme.

First, they never even stopped to think that not only labour is the source of social wealth. The obvious fact is that the source of all objects and means of labour is above all nature itself. Generally speaking, labour is also a manifestation of a force of nature, specifically that of labour power, i.e. man's natural

[1] V. I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p. 462.
[2] Karl Marx, *Marginal Notes to the Programme of the German Workers' Party*, p. 13.

capacity to work. But that was only one side of the matter. Repeating their teacher Lassalle's disquisitions on wealth, labour, and society in general, the programme's authors were unaware that these abstract phrases essentially disguised the exploitative nature of capitalism, concealing its historically transient nature. Indeed, what kind of society was the programme dealing with? That remained unclear. Hence the social conditions in which the workers were labouring were left unspecified in the programme. And their description was highly relevant in formulating the tasks of a proletarian party. Marx was deeply convinced that the party programme should above all reflect the fact that it is capitalist production relations that place the worker in direct subordination to the owner of the means of production. And next it should provide the substantiation of the need for the revolutionary elimination of the social conditions that give rise to relations of exploitation. It is only natural, wrote Marx, "that the man who possesses no other property than his labour power must, in all conditions of society and culture, be the slave of other men who have made themselves the owners of the material conditions of labour. He can work only with their permission, hence live only with their permission".[1] To overlook this fact would be an unforgivable mistake. "A socialist programme cannot allow ... bourgeois phrases to pass over in silence the *conditions* that alone give them meaning."[2] Otherwise all the programme's phrases on society and labour are meaningless. The Lassalleans' abstract disquisitions on labour in general, which dealt with labour outside its concrete historical conditions,

[1] Karl Marx, *Marginal Notes to the Programme of the German Workers' Party*, p. 13.
[2] Ibid.

played into the hands of the bourgeoisie. This was expressly emphasised by Marx, who said that the capitalists had very good grounds for ascribing "*supernatural creative power* to labour",[1] since such an approach concealed the source of their profits and masked the parasitical essence of the capitalist mode of production, under which the productive forces, science and culture develop in the interests of a narrow group of individuals who own the means of production and live at the cost of someone else's labour.

The second gross mistake of the authors of the Gotha Programme, in Marx's opinion, also stems from their ignorance of economic theory, their failure to understand that the material wealth of society is by no means created by every individual expenditure of human labour (physical and mental), but only by labour that is included in the system of the social division of labour, *by social labour*. The labour of an individual who is isolated from other people, Marx shows, cannot create either wealth or cultural values. Only the combination of all particular types of labour in a single production process produces what is called the wealth of society. Hence any production, Marx stresses, exists only as *social production*, and labour is the source of wealth only as social labour that is performed under definite relations of production. Such an approach to production was elaborated by Marx in his *Capital*. It made it possible to understand the laws of capitalist economy and to give a scientific substantiation of its inevitable downfall.

Like the bourgeois economists (for whom it was only natural), the Lassalleans approached all economic categories non-historically. Indeed, what is the "useful" labour mentioned in the programme?

[1] Ibid.

Doesn't a savage who kills an animal with a stone and collects fruits, Marx asks, do the same? But you couldn't call his catch social wealth. Marx patiently explains that individual labour, until it is included in the system of the social division of labour, creates only use values. They do not undergo the process of social evaluation—the measurement, through sale, of different expenditures on the production of goods by different producers. Consequently these products of labour do not possess a social value, and hence cannot form an element of social wealth.

Exposing the unscientific, reactionary essence of Lassallean postulates on labour, which ignore the material and social conditions in which it is performed, Marx, on his part, shows that in reality it is not labour as such taken outside specific historical conditions, but the mode of producing material wealth, that is, the way of bringing the producer together with the means of production, that forms the basis of society. Under capitalism, these two most important factors of production are separated, inasmuch as the instruments of labour are owned by the capitalist and bringing the worker together with the means of production is implemented only in the form of wage labour, in the process of exploiting the immediate producer of material wealth.

A deep-going and comprehensive analysis of the objective economic laws of capitalism enabled Marx to draw the far-reaching revolutionary conclusion that capitalism creates all the necessary objective prerequisites for its own revolutionary overthrow. This conclusion should have been stated in the programme of the proletarian party. "Instead of setting down general phrases about 'labour' and 'society'," Marx pointed out, it should have clearly demonstrated "how in present capitalist society the material, etc., conditions have at last been created which enable and

compel the workers to lift this social curse."[1]

The Lassallean phraseology about labour and society in general that was included in the Gotha Programme actually tended to slur over this major revolutionary discovery made by Marx in *Capital*, thereby diverting the working class from the road of revolutionary struggle, of the revolutionary overthrow of the system of capitalist slavery. This abstract phraseology disguised the class essence of the Lassallean political tactics, which sought to adapt the German working-class movement to the interests of the Prussian landowners. Hence Marx's sharp criticism of this point of the programme is fully understandable.

Marx considered the inclusion in the programme of the old Lassallean demand for "the undiminished proceeds of labour" the third big shortcoming of the first paragraph. It appears in the programme twice, initially in the first point, and once again in the statement: "The emancipation of labour demands the promotion of the instruments of labour to the common property of society and the cooperative regulation of the total labour with a fair distribution of the proceeds of labour."[2]

The slogan of the fair, "undiminished proceeds of labour", current in the 19th century, was a pseudo-socialistic demand that reflected the vulgar, petty-bourgeois conception of communism. Essentially, it was close, for example, to the Proudhonist idea of "labour money" certifying an individual's contribution to the production of commodities. So Lassalle and his followers were not original on this point.

The scientific approach to the distribution of the social product which was elaborated by Marx enabled

[1] Karl Marx, *Marginal Notes to the Programme of the German Workers' Party*, p. 13.
[2] Ibid.

him to draw a totally different conclusion from the Lassallean paragraph. "If useful labour is possible only in society and through society," Marx logically concluded, "the proceeds of labour belong to society—and only so much therefrom accrues to the individual worker as is not required to maintain ... society."[1] That is, Marx shows that social income is never immediately at the disposal of the immediate producers. This is a law of any society, but it is manifested differently in each socio-economic formation. In capitalist society, it is the government, consisting of representatives of the propertied classes, which first lays claim to the social product, and second, the propertied classes themselves, who own the means of production and consider themselves as a support of the social order. And only then, at the end, the workers receive payment for their labour. So their income is always "diminished" under capitalism by the laws inherent in this society.

But the Lassalleans demanded introduction of the principle of the "undiminished proceeds of labour" after "the promotion of the instruments of labour to the common property of society" (how this could be accomplished without a revolution remained unclear), that is, in a socialist society of which they had an erroneous notion. However, Marx showed that this slogan was absolutely unacceptable there too. Common property is composed not only of the products of labour, but also of natural wealth (land, minerals, etc.), the achievements of culture and education, i.e. the results of centuries of development of human society. It is absurd for an individual worker to lay claim to something in whose creation he had no part whatsoever. The social product, further, is created by the diverse labour of many workers, bound by the

[1] Ibid., p. 14.

system of the social division of labour. It includes, among other things, the achievements of science, without which the development of production is unthinkable today and which, incidentally, is also public property, and many other components, which it is extremely difficult, if at all possible, to single out. Inasmuch as part of the social product, in the creation of which the given individual producer takes no part, always originally belongs to society, his claims to the total product of society are unjustified and absurd. Marx shows that never, under no circumstances, can a worker lay claim to the entire social income.

To the above Marx adds the following arguments. Since any society is a complex organism, it requires expenditures on the realisation of necessary functions—management, maintenance of law and order, etc. These expenditures, essential not only in bourgeois but also in communist society, can be met only at the cost of the social product. Hence the income of an individual worker will *always* be "diminished" in any social system. This is an objective economic law and any moral maxims regarding justice, which the Lassalleans substituted for a scientific analysis of social relations, are unacceptable here.

Marx proves the hollowness and looseness of the very notion "proceeds from labour". It may actually be interpreted both as the product of labour in its natural form, whether it be articles of food, clothing, footwear, etc., and as its value. But in the latter case, Marx notes, it should be explained what value is meant. It may be the total value of the product, including the newly expended "living" labour and the "past" labour objectified in the equipment, machinery, etc. Or it may be merely a value newly created by "living" labour, which is always less than the value of the total product. Only by answering all these

questions, Marx says, can we explain the notion "proceeds from labour". This is what the Lassalleans failed to do, owing to their lack of understanding of the inherent economic laws of capitalism.

Equally vulgar was the notion of a "fair distribution" maintained by the authors of the Gotha Programme. The workers' party programme should have reflected a genuinely proletarian approach to the question. The bourgeoisie regards relations obtaining under capitalism as fair and immutable, and indeed, they are the only possible ones under capitalism. In bourgeois society, the material conditions of production in the form of property in capital and land are in the hands of the exploiters, while the workers possess only the potential labour capacity, which may even not be realised if the owner of the capital or the land does not give them work. Such a distribution of the material factors of production results naturally in the capitalist distribution of the products of labour, under which the greater part of the national income (which is the newly created product on the national scale) goes gratis into the pocket of the exploiter in the form of profit, while the worker receives only a part of what he created by his backbreaking labour. Hence, as a result of the objective economic laws operating under capitalism, part of the product's value created by labour accrues "lawfully" to the capitalist, the owner of the means of production. Under capitalism, as Marx shows, there can be no other distribution, since the legal norms spring from the economic relations, and not vice versa as presumed by petty-bourgeois socialists, who hoped to transform the exploitative essence of capitalism through a change in the relations of distribution. This problem can only be solved by a proletarian revolution.

Therefore, Marx stressed, in an analysis and assessment of a mode of distribution one should proceed not from this mode itself, but from an analysis of the mode of production, which determines this and not some other mode of distribution. Hence the Lassallean demand for a fair distribution was an empty, meaningless phrase.

Marx also maintained that the programme of the proletarian party must indispensably contain the conclusion that "in proportion as labour develops socially, and becomes thereby a source of wealth and culture, poverty and destitution develop among the workers, and wealth and culture among the non-workers".[1] This law of all exploitative societies discovered by Marx is of particular importance under capitalism. Under its influence (Marx called it the "general law of capitalist accumulation" in *Capital*) there takes place an increasing polarisation of capitalist society into the bourgeoisie and the proletariat (which is joined today by other working strata who are in a similar economic position in capitalist countries), the basic contradiction of capitalism is aggravated and the abolition of capitalist relations becomes ever more necessary.

The lack in the Gotha Programme of fundamental theoretical propositions of revolutionary Marxism betrayed not only the theoretical weakness of its immediate authors (one would hardly have expected anything else of the Lassalleans), but also of the leaders of the Eisenach party. This, undoubtedly, caused apprehension.

The authors of the programme failed to see the contradiction between lack of the demand for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism in the programme and their requirement for a "fair distribution

[1] Karl Marx, *Marginal Notes to the Programme of the German Workers' Party*, pp. 14-15.

of the undiminished proceeds equally between all members of society". However, this link, as Marx stressed, was undeniable. If the exploiter classes are not eliminated, how is one to understand the Lassallean phrases about an equal right to the proceeds of *labour*? Should these classes be remunerated equally with the working members of society? The Gotha Programme left this question open.

The fate of another non-working category of the population that exists in any society–the ailing, aged, women who are bringing up children, etc., also remained unclear in the formula "equal proceeds of labour". Should they receive proceeds equal to those of the working members of society, and wherein lies the justice of that?–asks Marx. And if they do not receive equal proceeds with those who work, what is left then of the Lassallean slogan?

As opposed to the demand for the "undiminished proceeds of labour", Marx gave a scientific substantiation of the law of distribution of the social product in communist society. But we shall deal with this later, in a special section on communism.

In the economic demands of the Gotha Programme there also figured the "iron law of wages", which, as mentioned earlier, Lassalle considered his own discovery. In his *Critique of the Gotha Programme* Marx for the first time came out openly against this law, revealing its unscientific and reactionary nature. The "iron law of wages" was based on the Malthusian theory of population which had by that time been exposed by Marx. It essentially boiled down to the assertion that the population grows much faster than production, therefore hunger and poverty will be the eternal concomitants of humanity. This theory justified wars, which destroy part of the living, and has often since then been taken up by the most reactionary forces. They resort to it today too,

especially with regard to the Asian and African nations. The high birthrate in these countries, the present-day neo-Malthusians say, does not permit wages to rise above their bare minimum.

Following Malthus, Lassalle also linked the size of wages with the increase or decrease in the working population. Average wages under capitalism, in Lassalle's opinion, remain invariable. A worker's wage "turns" around this quantum, like a pendulum, never for long falling below or rising above it. When rising above the average, it improves the workers' condition, increases the number of marriages among them, raises the birthrate and, consequently, the available work force, which inexorably lowers it to its former level. If it falls below the average, the process moves in the opposite direction–there are less marriages, the birthrate falls, decreasing the available work force, and as a consequence wages return to their former level.

Such unscientific reasoning showed Lassalle's total lack of understanding of the source and essence of wages under capitalism. In Lassalle's view, poverty was caused not by the system of wage labour, but by human nature itself. That is why Lassalle called his "iron law" an eternal law that dominated over any social system. Moreover, without noticing it himself, he adopted the position of bourgeois political economy, which seeks to prove, as Marx writes, that "socialism cannot abolish poverty, *which has its basis in nature*, but can only make it *general*, distribute it simultaneously over the whole surface of society!"[1] (It should be noted that this argument is extremely popular in the West today among "critics" of the socialist way of life.)

[1] Karl Marx, *Marginal Notes to the Programme of the German Workers' Party*, p. 23.

Marx assessed the inclusion of the Lassallean "iron law of wages" in the programme of the workers' party as criminal levity, as a monstrous attack on the correct, truly scientific understanding of the essence of wages under capitalism, which was gradually spreading among the rank-and-file party members. By 1875, under the influence of Marx's economic theory, above all of *Capital*, the advanced workers of Germany had come to realise that wages were not the value, or price, of labour as they would appear to be, but only a masked, latent form of the value, or price, of the commodity labour power.

In disclosing the secret of the origin of surplus value, Marx explained that under capitalism a worker receives wages for only part of his labour, while the other part is not paid for by the owner of capital, though it may seem at first glance that the worker receives payment for his entire labour. This is due to the fact that the capitalist pays the worker's wages after the latter has spent his labour, and therefore the value or the price of labour power appears as the value or the price of the entire labour. But actually this is not so, for the simple reason that price is the monetary expression of the cost of a commodity. The value of any commodity is measured by the amount of socially necessary labour expended on its production. If we presume that labour is a commodity and has a value, then the magnitude of this value, as of the value of any other commodity, should be measured by the amount of labour contained in it. Such an assumption leads us to a vicious circle: labour is measured by labour.

On the other hand, if there actually existed a "value of labour" and the capitalist paid this value, he would not receive a surplus value, i.e. he would be denied the source of his enrichment. "The wage worker," Marx stresses, "has permission to work

for his own subsistence, that is, *to live*, only in so far as he works for a certain time gratis for the capitalist (and hence also for the latter's co-consumers of surplus value)."[1] The endeavour to increase this gratis labour is the axis around which the entire system of capitalist production rotates.

Thus, capitalism is based on the brutal exploitation of the workers by the capitalists, which keeps intensifying and determines the growth of the relative, and occasionally also the absolute, impoverishment of the working people as compared to the propertied classes. Hence it follows that the organisation of labour prevailing in bourgeois society and the law of wages operating in it become inoperative only after the abolition of the system of wage labour.

The size of wages, as Marx first proved, is not a fixed subsistence minimum, but an elastic magnitude, whose lower limit is set by the cost of the worker's means of subsistence, and the upper, the social limit is determined above all by the correlation of class forces in bourgeois society, i.e. by the strength, cohesion and organisation of the working class. And now, when this scientific understanding of the essence of wages under capitalism had been gaining more and more ground in the German workers' movement, the programme, as Marx noted indignantly in his *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, was turning the party back, to Lassalle's dogmas.

The dogma of the "iron law of wages" had far-reaching political consequences for the German working-class movement. Having accepted it, the authors of the Gotha Programme did not include in the draft the demand on the need for the organisation and strengthening of trade unions, they "forgot" about the importance of the proletariat's struggle for better

[1] Ibid.

living standards. Objectively this brought great harm to the entire movement, both theoretically and practically.

The working class of the capitalist countries, Marx and Engels taught, should wage a resolute struggle against the encroachments of the capitalists, who are out to reduce the worker's wages to the minimum. The trade unions are the organisation that helps him in his daily battle against capital.

In the early 1860s, when a powerful wave of strikes swept across England and other West European countries, and demands for higher wages became general there, Marx and Engels insisted on the need to discuss the questions of wages and profit, of strikes and trade unions at meetings of the General Council and the Congress of the First International.

At two meetings of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on June 20 and 27, 1865, Marx read a report, which later, in 1898, was published under the title "Wages, Price and Profit". In his report Marx came out resolutely against the bourgeois understanding of wages which spread among a certain part of the workers. Thus, the English worker John Weston defended in the General Council of the First International the erroneous thesis that the raising of wages cannot improve the workers' condition, and hence the struggle of the trade unions, in particular for higher wages, should be considered harmful.

Such a conclusion was based on the incorrect notion (incidentally, extant to this day) that the prices of commodities are determined and regulated by wages, and hence their rise directly influences the growth of prices, including those on necessaries. This concept implies that the struggle of the working class for the improvement of its economic condition cannot produce positive results.

Exposing the bourgeois, including the Lassallean and trade unionist, understanding of wages, Marx proved that the general rise of their level results in the lowering of the rate of profit, which is very unfavourable for the capitalists. But at the same time the growth of wages does not affect on the whole the prices of commodities. The general tendency of the capitalist mode of production, Marx showed, results not in a rise in the level of wages, as the proponents of capitalism would have us believe, but in its lowering and therefore it is essential for the proletariat to fight incessantly for the improvement of its economic condition under capitalism.

However, while waging a daily struggle against capital's rapacious encroachments on the workers' vital rights, the working class, Marx taught, should not overestimate the final results of that struggle. It should clearly realise that in its daily struggle it is fighting only against the consequences of the conditions that call into being relations of exploitation, that it only checks the development of the tendency that worsens its position, but does not eliminate this tendency; that it only resorts to palliatives, but does not cure the ailment.

The working class, Marx stressed, should simultaneously realise that capitalism, given all the exploitation inherent in it, creates at the same time the necessary material conditions for the economic and political restructuring of society. "Abolition of the system of wage slavery"—that is the slogan under which the working-class movement should be developed. Therefore, Marx considered the inclusion in the programme of the point on the "iron law of wages" as an outright betrayal of the theory of scientific socialism.

Lassalle and the Lassalleans also negated the Marxist theory of class struggle, obscuring the antagonistic contradictions of capitalism. They advocated recon-

ciliation of the class contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, which found its expression in the Gotha Programme point on the establishment of "producers' cooperative societies *with state aid under the democratic control of the toiling people*". This was the Lassallean programme of solving the "social question" without revolutions, without sharp class conflicts. And so, instead of the existing class struggle, Marx ironically notes, there appears a newspaper scribbler's phrase on the "social question", and instead of the revolutionary transformation of society, the "socialist organisation of the total labour", which "arises" from "state aid" to the producers' cooperative societies, which the state, not the worker, "calls into being". When Lassalle and his followers spoke of state aid, they, of course, had in mind the aid of the bourgeois state, for there was no mention of a proletarian revolution in the Gotha Programme. "It is worthy of Lassalle's imagination that with state loans one can build a new society just as well as a new railway!"[1]

The idea of "producers' cooperative societies with state aid" is evidence of the Gotha Programme's authors' total disbelief in the revolutionary potential of the proletariat. The reactionary essence of this idea consisted in that it negated the significance of the revolutionary initiative of the proletarian masses, the role of the party in leading the workers' movement and in effect diverted the workers from class struggle, inducing them to take, in Marx's words, "a retrograde step from the standpoint of a class movement to that of a sectarian movement".[2] Instilled in them was the idea of the possibility of a transition to socialism by

[1] Karl Marx, *Marginal Notes to the Programme of the German Workers' Party*, p. 24.
[2] Ibid., p. 25.

peaceful means, without the winning of state power by the proletariat. This was an ordinary petty-bourgeois illusion, but an exceptionally dangerous, reformist, opportunist illusion. Small wonder that this idea has always been eagerly taken up by the opponents of Marxism, who use it in the struggle against the workers' movement, in the fight against socialist ideology.

True, in their demand for "producers' cooperative societies" the Lassalleans mentioned "the democratic control of the toiling people" over them. Marx logically posed the question of how and whom this proclaimed democracy of theirs will control if the bourgeoisie remains in power. Consequently, the question again boils down to the necessity for the proletariat to win state power.

Marx pointed out indignantly yet another erroneous point in the draft Gotha Programme. This concerns the statement: "In present-day society, the instruments of labour are the monopoly of the capitalist class."[1] On this question the authors of the draft programme blindly followed Lassalle, who in his time attacked consciously, with the aim of supporting the Prussian Junkers, only the capitalist class, and not the landowners. The authors of the programme distorted thereby the proposition of the First International's Rules, which said that under capitalism the means and instruments of production, i.e. the main sources of life, are the monopoly of the capitalists and the landowners.[2] In fact, the landowners' role in bourgeois society is not in the least inferior to that of the capitalists, and in confirmation of this Marx cited the example of the England of his day, where already in those years the capitalist, as a rule, did not even own

[1] Ibid., p. 15.
[2] Ibid.

the land on which his factory stood.

The political danger of this Lassallean proposition consisted in that it erroneously oriented the proletariat in relation to the landowner class. As a rule, they act in close alliance with the bourgeoisie as the irreconcilable enemies of the working class. History has proved this time and again.

Lassalle's defence of the interests of the Prussian Junkers was closely associated with his assessment of the peasantry as the most reactionary class. And this dogma of his was incorporated unchanged in the draft Gotha Programme, where it was stated that in relation to the proletariat "all other classes are *only one reactionary mass*".[1] On this point Lassalle and, in his wake, the authors of the Gotha Programme distorted the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, which gave a profound analysis of the social position and role of classes in history, both in capitalist society and in a proletarian revolution. In the *Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels wrote that of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie, only the proletariat is a thoroughly consistent and revolutionary class. But this did not imply that the peasantry was reactionary. For Marx and Engels it was clear that the so-called lower middle class, which also comprises the peasantry, is by no means an enemy of the working class and does not fight against it in alliance with the bourgeoisie. Moreover, the interests of the worker and the toiling peasant intersect in that they both need liberation from capitalist and all other exploitation. Therefore in perspective, as the *Communist Manifesto* proved, the "lower middle class" becomes revolutionary in view of its "impending transfer into the proletariat".[2] Marx was deeply convinced that the working class cannot carry out its historic mission of abolishing capitalism alone, without the support of other strata of the working population. Bearing in mind the dual nature of the middle strata of the population, specifically of the middle peasantry, Marx saw the task of the Eisenach party in strengthening the alliance of the working class and the peasantry and in separating the peasantry from the liberal bourgeoisie. He resolutely opposed underestimation of the peasant question both in a bourgeois-democratic and a proletarian revolution.

[1] Ibid., p. 20.
[2] Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p. 494.

It was no chance occurrence, of course, that Marx referred to these propositions of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* in his *Critique of the Gotha Programme*. Knowing the *Manifesto* virtually by heart, Lassalle, in Marx's words, had "falsified it so grossly ... only to put a good colour on his alliance with absolutist and feudal opponents against the bourgeoisie".[1] Though it is hard to suspect the leaders of the Eisenach party who took part in drawing up the draft, of such aims, the inclusion in the programme of the thesis on the peasantry being a "reactionary mass" objectively led to the isolation of the party and the entire workers' movement from its potential allies in the class struggle.

The success of the workers' movement in a particular country depends largely on the international cohesion of the proletarian forces, on the united actions of the workers of other countries. Marx and Engels expressed eloquently the international essence of the working-class movement in the slogan, "Workers of all countries, unite!" And the workers followed this call, which was graphically demonstrated by the movement of solidarity with the Paris Commune

[1] Karl Marx, *Marginal Notes to the Programme of the German Workers' Party*, p. 22.

launched everywhere in 1871. But it would be a waste of time to look for any mention of the principle of internationalism in the draft Gotha Programme. Contrary to the *Communist Manifesto* and the entire theory of scientific socialism, the authors of the programme, inheriting Lassalle's nationalism, said not a word about the question of the international duty of German Social-Democracy with respect to the proletariat of other countries. They approached the tasks of the working-class movement, as Marx put it, from the most narrow national viewpoint: "The working class strives for its emancipation first of all *within the framework of the present-day national state*..."[1] This was a gross error.

It is altogether self-evident, Marx wrote when exposing the erroneousness of this programme point, that to be able to fight at all, the working class must first organise itself as a class at home. The immediate arena of its struggle is naturally its own country. But the struggle of the proletariat is national only in its form, Marx stressed, and not in content.

The international character of the proletarian movement stems from the common economic condition of the proletarians of the capitalist countries. The system of wage labour, i.e. the place of the working class in the system of relations of production under capitalism, and consequently international community of its class interests, are the chief factors that induce the working class to unite on the international scale. The theory of average profit and cost of production, elaborated by Marx in the 1860s, proved that these important categories of the capitalist mode of production express the objective fact of the exploitation of the working class by the aggregate capital, the capitalist class. "Here, then, we have a mathematically precise proof why capitalists form a veritable freemason society vis-à-vis the whole working class, while there is little love lost between them in competition among themselves."[1] That is why the actions of the bourgeoisie of all countries are so internationalistic when it comes to defending the interests of capital. And since this is so, writes Marx, nothing could be more baneful for a working-class party than to forget its international obligations to their brothers in the struggle.

[1] Ibid., p. 21.

It is highly significant that the German proletariat's renunciation of internationalism in the Gotha Programme was noted with satisfaction by the ruling circles of the German Empire. The Bismarckian *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* announced gleefully on March 20, 1875, a few days after the draft programme's publication: "... the social-democratic agitation has become somewhat more careful: it is renouncing the International". Marx cites this fact in order to show graphically the class essence of the Lassallean formula.

The rich experience of the international working-class movement has confirmed time and again that the international unity of the working class, its international solidarity and cohesion help the workers of different countries to stand fast in their struggle with capitalism. And, on the contrary, nationalism, whatever the form of its manifestation, has always played into the hands of the anticommunist forces, impeded the workers' movement and even thrown it back for many years.

The very theory of scientific socialism is a generalisation of the international experience of the working-class movement, an expression of the internation-

[1] Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p. 198.

al interests of the proletariat, and hence is inseparable from the principle of proletarian internationalism. That is why this crucial principle of the international working-class movement has been so vehemently attacked by the ideological opponents of Marxism.

In their attempt to "modernise" their struggle against proletarian internationalism, some of them are out to prove that in the present conditions this principle contradicts the national interests of the working class of individual countries, and represents a "survival" of the past epoch. There are also those who contend that in our day the composition of revolutionary forces waging a struggle against imperialism has greatly expanded, i.e. international solidarity has extended beyond the framework of proletarian internationalism, therefore necessitating its substitution.

Undeniably, the broad anti-imperialist coalition meets the democratic aspirations of the masses, the tasks and goals of the political struggle of the working class, of all working people. But only the working class can impart to the movement an orientation and consistency that will eliminate the very economic roots of imperialism, and channel the struggle into effective, purposeful actions.

Contrary to those who preach the need for a revision of the principle of proletarian internationalism, reality attests to the considerably greater role of international solidarity and the dependency of conditions and the course of struggle within this or that country on the correlation of world forces, on the activity of the socialist countries, and the successes of all streams of the world revolutionary movement.

The *Critique of the Gotha Programme* gave a further elaboration of a crucial question of Marxist theory, the question of the state. Marx examined it in connection with the programme's demand for a "free people's state", which was propagandised by

the Lassalleans as an ideal state structure of the future.

Like the other points of the programme the demand for a "free people's state" was borrowed from Lassalle, who had in mind "social monarchy", i.e. a monarchic state with alleviated, reconciled class antagonisms. Fully in the spirit of Hegelian philosophy Lassalle saw in the state a means of educating and developing the human race in the direction of freedom. Such an approach to the state, non-class in form but bourgeois in substance, adopted by the authors of the Gotha Programme was fraught with grave danger. The definition of the "free people's state", which allegedly expressed the interests of the masses of the people, referred to a bourgeois state. Moreover, it actually referred to the German Empire of those years which Marx graphically described in the *Critique* as "a police-guarded military despotism, embellished with parliamentary forms, alloyed with a feudal admixture, already influenced by the bourgeoisie and bureaucratically carpentered".[1] Explaining, in his turn, the meaning of the term "free state", Engels noted in his letter to Bebel that, taken in its grammatical sense, a free state is one where the state is free in relation to its citizens, hence a state with a despotic government, like the Germany of the day.

Naturally, such a government cannot be the aim of the workers, "who have got rid of the narrow mentality of humble subjects",[2] who have become conscious of their place in bourgeois society and their historical mission of doing away with the capitalist system of oppression.

[1] Karl Marx, *Marginal Notes to the Programme of the German Workers' Party*, p. 27.
[2] Ibid., p. 25.

The Lassalleans advanced this slogan as opposed to the demand for a democratic republic and the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Yet these would have been the only correct formulas for the political objectives of the working-class party. The authors of the programme failed to grasp the link between the bourgeois state and the economic basis of capitalist society. They did not notice its exploitative class essence. The Lassalleans defended a reformist policy and tactics with respect to the bourgeois state. Lacking the courage to openly advance the slogan of a democratic republic, they resorted to a naive, pitiful subterfuge, including in the programme demands that were realisable only under a democratic form of government. These were slogans calling for universal suffrage, equal elementary education, free instruction, freedom of conscience, freedom of science, etc., which did not go beyond the framework of ordinary bourgeois-democratic demands.

Marx defined these slogans as so much democratic clang that could not hide "the Lassallean sect's servile belief in the state", or, what was no better, their belief in democratic miracles. Or rather, Marx noted, the Gotha Programme was "a compromise between these two kinds of belief in miracles, both equally remote from socialism".[1] Even the most vulgar democracy, said Marx, which saw the millennium in the democratic republic, even it towered mountains above the kind of democratism, preached by the authors of the Gotha Programme, which kept within the limits of what was "permitted by the police and not permitted by logic".[2]

The bourgeois state cannot be examined separately from bourgeois society. It is not some kind of inde-

[1] Ibid., p. 28.
[2] Ibid., p. 27.

pendent entity, but, on the contrary, a direct result of the given social system. It is precisely the economic basis of society that determines the character of state power. Therefore whatever their form, all bourgeois states have one thing in common—they are based on the capitalist relations of production. In this sense, Marx notes, it is possible to speak of the "present-day state" as a type of state structure inherent in all bourgeois countries, but not at all in the sense of the Lassalleans' use of the term.

Developing Marx's thought, V. I. Lenin, in his work *The State and Revolution*, defined the essence of the bourgeois state as the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Expressing the interests of a negligible minority of the population, a bourgeois state is actually opposed to the overwhelming majority of the working population of the capitalist countries. The working-class party must proceed from this and only this class assessment of the essence of a bourgeois state. Instead of vague, empty phrases on a "free people's state" it should, as Marx shows, have set the task of transforming the state into an organ that is indeed entirely subordinated to society, i.e. to the majority of the people. And this is attainable only through the proletariat's revolutionary winning of state power. And if the German workers' party, in adopting the Gotha Programme, is not aware of this, Marx notes with regret, this only goes to show "that its socialist ideas are not even skin-deep".[1]

In concluding his critical remarks, Marx showed that the Gotha Programme fell into equally absurd errors in formulating the party's concrete tasks in the sphere of economic struggle. Thus, in the demand for a normal working day it failed, for instance, to note its duration. As for the point on restricting

[1] Ibid., p. 25.

female labour and prohibiting child labour Marx considered it superfluous in general, for the standardisation of the working day concerns all workers.

In criticising the Gotha Programme, Marx once again reminded the German Social-Democrats of how important it is for a socialist working-class movement to have a programme, a document that theoretically substantiates the party's vanguard role. The programme should elucidate the movement's supreme aim—the struggle for communism. But it should also determine the party's immediate aims—the struggle for consistently democratic demands. The programme of the workers' party should, at the same time, be directed against all forms of exploitation, social and national oppression, against all forms of nationalism, which contradicts the essence of the proletarian movement.

Marx's notes on the draft programme of the German Social-Democratic Party graphically reveal the role which the party is destined to play in achieving the unity of the workers' movement. The way to this, Marx shows, lies not through the adoption of an elastic platform that is acceptable to all, but only through uncompromising criticism of reformism and by vigorously overcoming petty-bourgeois illusions. No external circumstances should force the party to refrain from openly proclaiming the fundamental propositions in its programme. "By drawing up a programme of principles ... one sets up before the whole world landmarks by which it measures the level of the Party movement."[1] Therefore the programme of the workers' party must be scientific. That is the crucial idea, and hence the detailed criticism of the Lassallean errors and elaboration of questions that are erroneously posed in the programme.

It is above all a question of the future communist

[1] Ibid., p. 11.

society. Marx vigorously opposed a simplified notion of communism as a system fully devoid of any difficulties and contradictions. He also resolutely opposed the levelling of wages, rejecting the naive notions of socialism as general equality in distribution and consumption. In criticising the Lassallean prejudices on these questions, Marx elaborated what he saw as the key theme of this work—the development of a communist society. "The whole theory of Marx," Lenin wrote, "is the application of the theory of development—in its most consistent, complete, considered and pithy form—to modern capitalism. Naturally, Marx was faced with the problem of applying this theory both to the *forthcoming* collapse of capitalism and to the *future* development of *future* communism."[1]

The elaboration of the economic theory and practical steps of the Paris Commune provided Marx with ample material for pondering the specifics of the future society. What will it be like? Marx built his prognosis on a strictly scientific basis. He was able to look into the future (42 years were still to pass before the socialist revolution in Russia!) because he so brilliantly understood the present—the laws according to which capitalism develops and moves to its doom. "There is no trace of utopianism in Marx," wrote Lenin, "in the sense that he made up or invented a 'new' society. No, he studied the *birth* of the new society *out of* the old, and the forms of transition from the latter to the former, as a natural-historical process. He examined the actual experience of a mass proletarian movement [Paris Commune.—*L. and Yu. V.*] and tried to draw practical lessons from it."[2]

[1] V. I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, pp. 462-63.
[2] Ibid., p. 430.

Marx drew a picture of the future communist society with vivid, inspired words, which remind one of the rich and vigorous style of the *Communist Manifesto*. He realised that the road to the higher phase of communist society will be a long and complex one. The new society will inevitably go through several stages in its development. It was precisely here, in the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, that Marx gave the first systematic exposition of his teaching on the basic phases of development of the future society. In his notes on this work, V. I. Lenin summed it up as follows: "And so: I 'prolonged birth-pangs' II 'the first phase of communist society' III 'a higher phase of communist society'."[1] He repeatedly stressed that Marx and Engels "always said that the transition from capitalism to socialism would be inevitably accompanied *by prolonged birth-pangs*".[2]

This process, Marx held, would begin with a special, transition stage from capitalism to socialism, which would be "the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other".[3] With the replacement of antagonistic formations (for example, feudalism by capitalism) there was no need for such a transition stage. These were the same type of society in the sense that their basis remained unchanged—private property in the instruments and means of production and exploitation of the labour of others, whether of the serf or the wage worker. Bourgeois revolutions break out when the capitalist structure has been formed in the womb of feudalism, and the seizure of political power by the bourgeoisie consummates, as it were, the process of the emergence of capitalism.

[1] V.I. Lenin, *Marxism on the State*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1984, p. 31.
[2] V. I. Lenin, "Prophetic Words", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p. 498.
[3] K. Marx, *Marginal Notes to the Programme of the German Workers' Party*, p. 26.

With the transition to communism fundamental changes take place in property relations themselves. Private capitalist ownership must be abolished, and social ownership of the means of production, including the land, natural wealth, etc., should be established in its stead. This process cannot even begin under capitalism, though it is the extensive socialisation of production under the reign of capital, as irrefutably proved by Marx, that creates the material prerequisites for it. Therefore the proletariat's seizure of power as a result of a revolution is only the beginning of the formation and establishment of the socialist system. The new society must transform property relations. And this inevitably presupposes suppression of resistance by the exploitative classes, which never—as the Paris Commune clearly showed—voluntarily surrender their privileges and the riches they have amassed at the expense of the labour of others. Hence Marx does not merely speak about the transition from capitalism to socialism, but about a prolonged revolutionary transformation of the former into the latter. And this period should correspond to the political transition period, i.e. a special form of state power capable of implementing this revolutionary transformation. Marx named this form. "Corresponding to this is also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*."[1] This conclusion, first so clearly formulated by Marx in the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, sums up, in Lenin's words, "the whole of his revolutionary teaching".[2]

[1] Ibid., p. 26.
[2] V. I. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974, p. 233.

Forty years after the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* was written, Karl Kautsky, the ideologue of the German Social Democracy, who later renounced Marxism and went over to the positions of opportunism, called Marx's conclusion on the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat an accidental slip of the tongue, an alien interpolation into Marxism, made by Marx in a letter written in 1875, as he referred to the work *Critique of the Gotha Programme*.[1] Actually, Marx's works repeatedly mention the dictatorship of the proletariat. Its necessity was stated in the *German Ideology* (1845-46), an early joint work by Marx and Engels. The idea of the inevitability of a socialist revolution and the transformation of the proletariat into the dominant class runs through the first programme document of the international working-class movement–*Manifesto of the Communist Party* (1848). True, the question of what should replace the bourgeois state in the course of a proletarian revolution was not yet resolved in it. But an analysis of the events of the 1848-49 revolution soon made it possible for Marx to draw an extremely important conclusion in his work *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1852): all the foregoing revolutions merely perfected the bourgeois state machine; a socialist revolution must destroy the apparatus of exploitation, oppression and suppression of the working people. In 1871 when analysing the example of the Commune, Marx posed the question of a state of a new type, of the specific features inherent in the dictatorship of the proletariat (*The Civil War in France*). In the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* Marx clearly states that the dictatorship of the proletariat of the Paris Commune type will

[1] K. Kautsky, *Die Diktatur des Proletariats*, 2nd ed., Vienna, 1918, p. 60.

replace the bourgeois state machine. This summed up many years of research and thought.

No "free state" demanded by the Lassalleans would be capable of overcoming the resistance of the overthrown but not yet eliminated exploitative classes in the inevitable fierce class struggle of the transition period, and begin setting up the foundations of a socialist economy, drawing into socialist construction the broad non-proletarian masses of the working people of town and countryside. The solution of these problems is the function of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The transition period, in Marx's view, is followed by a more prolonged historical stage, which he called the first, lower phase of communism as distinct from the second, higher phase of its development. In characterising the first phase, that which is today usually called socialism, Marx said: "What we have to deal with here is a communist society, not as it has *developed* on its own foundations, but, on the contrary, just as it *emerges* from capitalist society; which is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birth marks of the old society from whose womb it emerges."[1]

What are these "marks"? Private ownership has been eliminated, but its survivals have remained in the consciousness of people, for example, the striving for personal gain at the expense of other members of society, etc. But that is not all. The most important thing is that the level of development of the productive forces in a society that sets out on the road of communist construction is still insufficient to ensure the full satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of all members of society, which is

[1] K. Marx, *Marginal Notes to the Programme of the German Workers' Party*, p. 17.

the supreme goal of communism.

Therefore at this stage of development the principle of distribution according to labour performed will be in force as the sole possible one in the given social conditions, with the level of development of the productive forces which the new society inherits from the old. Marx expressed the essence of this principle as follows: "the individual producer receives back from society–after the deductions have been made–exactly what he gives to it."[1]

At this stage the character of labour of the members of society may vary a great deal. First, the division of labour into manual and mental, and differences between town and countryside continue to exist. Second, it should be taken into consideration that people differ by nature, and their living conditions vary, too. One possesses a greater capacity for work, another, for instance, has a bigger family, etc. Hence the labour contribution of one worker is not equal to that of another, and even if they performed equally well, in the end the one who has less children, etc., will possess more. Thus the equal right is applied, as it were, to unequal individuals. "But these defects," Marx writes, "are inevitable in the first phase of communist society as it is when it has just emerged after prolonged birth-pangs from capitalist society."[2]

Marx concretely analysed distribution according to labour performed. He explained in detail what deductions from the aggregate social product must be made by society before distributing it among the workers.

In contradistinction to the Lassallean demand for the "undiminished proceeds of labour", Marx substantiated in the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*

[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid., p. 19.

the economic necessity of deducting from the social product, first, cover for replacement of the means of production used up (equipment, production premises, etc.), second, reserve or insurance funds to provide against accidents, dislocations caused by natural calamities, wars, etc. Further, a part of the aggregate social product goes to cover the general costs of administration, for social production is impossible without a scientifically substantiated administration. Another part of the funds must go for the upkeep of schools, health services, and for setting up funds for those unable to work, since a socialist society, as distinct from captalism, is concerned with the fate of the aged, ailing, etc. The crux of the matter, consequently, does not lie in that everybody in a communist society should receive the "undiminished proceeds of labour" (Marx notes that they "have already unnoticeably become converted into the 'diminished' proceeds"), but in the planned distribution of the aggregate social product, in a strictly scientific definition of the proportions of this distribution. "Instead of Lassalle's hazy, obscure, general phrase ('the full product of his labour to the worker'), Marx makes a sober estimate of exactly how socialist society will have to manage its affairs."[1]

The problems of distribution and consumption, Marx says in his *Critique*, are strictly dependent on the achieved level of production. Consideration for this dependency guards against excessive "rushing ahead" in social development, against attempts to introduce the principles of communist distribution of the product without the adequate level of development of the productive forces. Foreseeing such attempts, the failure of which may be considered

[1] V. I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 469.

predetermined, Marx wrote: "Any distribution whatever of the means of consumption is only a consequence of the distribution of the conditions of production themselves. The latter distribution, however, is a feature of the mode of production itself."[1] Thus, the distribution of material wealth depends in all conditions on the mode of production. That is the law for any society, including the communist one.

Only in its second, higher phase, "after the enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labour, and therewith also the antithesis between mental and physical labour, has vanished; after labour has become not only a means of life but life's prime want; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of cooperative wealth flow more abundantly—only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be crossed in its entirety and society inscribe on its banner: From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs!"[2]

In this concise but exhaustive description of the higher phase of communism Marx for the first time gave a scientific definition of the conditions of transition from socialism (phase I) to communism (phase II). "The great significance of Marx's explanations," Lenin wrote, "is that here, too, he consistently applies materialist dialectics, the theory of development, and regards communism as something which develops *out of* capitalism. Instead of scholastically invented, 'concocted' definitions and fruitless disputes over words (What is socialism? What is communism?), Marx gives an analysis of what might be called the

[1] K. Marx, *Marginal Notes to the Programme of the German Workers' Party*, p. 19.
[2] Ibid.

stages of the economic maturity of communism."[1]

In the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* Marx gave a general outline of the state's evolution towards communism. He said that the state withers away in communist society. What did he mean by that? He presumed that the state in its proper bourgeois sense, as an apparatus of violence, must wither away. From the same standpoint he writes about the elimination of classes in the future society, having in mind, of course, the division of society into antagonistic classes. At the time, in 1875, Marx did not have factual material for an exhaustive characterisation of the class structure of a new society and the form of statehood in it, but, as a great realist, he was perfectly aware that the processes of the withering away of the state and changing of the class structure of society would be determined above all by the level of society's economic development and by the level of public consciousness, and that these processes, as well as the building of the new society as a whole, would be prolonged and complex ones.

[1] V. I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 476.

Chapter Three

HISTORICAL LESSONS OF THE *CRITIQUE OF THE GOTHA PROGRAMME*

Marx's notes on the draft programme of the German Social-Democratic Party, highly principled and strictly scientific in nature, were a lesson for the leaders of the Eisenach party. The ideological impact of the *Critique* was felt already at the Gotha Unity Congress in October 1875, when Liebknecht and some other Social-Democrats, who were acquainted with Marx's and Engels' assessment of the draft programme, attempted to delete the most glaring mistakes from the programme. However, they failed to do so. Though the wording of certain original propositions was changed, the most important points were left untouched. Therefore the programme adopted by the congress, by which the German Social-Democrats were guided until 1891, remained on the whole confused, eclectic and Lassallean in character.

Nevertheless, the Gotha Programme was enthusiastically hailed by the German workers. For them its adoption signified elimination of the split in the German workers' movement. The programme was interpreted solely in a revolutionary sense by the workers. This circumstance permitted Engels to note half a year after the Gotha congress: "The programme is luckier than it deserves to be. Workers, the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois read into it what should have

been but is not there."[1] "*It is this circumstance alone* that made it possible for Marx and me not to dissociate ourselves publicly from such a programme. So long as our opponents and likewise the workers view this programme as embodying our intentions we can afford to keep quiet about it."[2]

Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* influenced the growing European working-class movement through diverse channels. The champions of its ideas were German socialists close to Marx and Engels and socialists from other countries who often met with the leaders of the proletariat and were acquainted at least with the content if not the full text of the work. The propositions of the *Critique* were also expressed in other works of the founders of Marxism–in Engels' *Anti-Dühring*, in his *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, and in various articles of that period. As a result, though the Gotha Programme served as a model for the programmes of many European workers' parties that were formed in the late 1870s and early 1880s–the Social-Democratic League of Denmark, the Flemish Socialist Party, the Czechoslavic Social-Democratic Workers' Party, the Swiss Social-Democratic Party, the Social-Democratic League of the Netherlands and others–the Lassallean propositions on the peasantry as a reactionary mass, on the "iron law of wages" and on "producers' cooperative societies" were not included in the text of some of these programmes.

Regrettably, the compromise unification of the Eisenachers with the Lassalleans could not but result

[1] Engels' letter to Wilhelm Bracke of October 11, 1875, in: Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 34, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1966, S. 156.

[2] Engels' letter to August Bebel of October 12, 1875, in: Marx, Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1982, p. 280.

in a certain lowering of the ideological level of German Social-Democracy itself. It was not by chance that Marx noted with bitterness two years later: "a rotten spirit is making itself felt in our Party".[1] The compromise with the Lassalleans led also to conciliation with other vacillating elements–reformists, and Dühring with his followers. The struggle against these views, alien to the proletariat, as well as against the remaining survivals of Lassalleanism, was an indispensable condition for the further development and consolidation of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany, as the party of the German Social-Democrats was called after the Unity Congress.

The growing influence of Marx's and Engels' ideas of scientific socialism in the party and the strengthening of its Marxist core posed with time the question of a review of the Gotha Programme. This occurred at the 1891 Erfurt Congress.

During its preparation a discussion was reopened on the programme questions. On the one hand, left anarchist elements–the so-called group of the "Young"–attempted to impose reckless adventurist tactics on the party, calling for an immediate revolution and abolition of the state. On the other hand, it was attacked by the reformists headed by Georg Vollmar, the leader of the Bavarian Social-Democrats, who denied in general the need for a revolution and advocated the idea of a gradual evolutionary growing of capitalism into socialism. Engels had good grounds to fear that the activisation of these forces, one of whose ideological sources was Lassalleanism, might affect the character of a new party programme. At that responsible moment the question was being decided whether the German socialists would finally

[1] Marx's letter to Friedrich Adolph Sorge of October 19, 1877, in: Marx/Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 290.

have a militant Marxist programme or they would be offered, in Engels' words, "yet another rotten programme"[1] like the Gotha Programme. Engels decided to publish the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* without delay. It was published in January 1891 in the *Neue Zeit*, the theoretical organ of German Social-Democracy, with a foreword written by Engels. Marx's letter to Wilhelm Bracke of May 5, 1875 was printed together with the *Critique*. True, Engels was compelled to tone down the sharpest passages, but the very fact of the *Critique*'s publication despite the opposition of German Social-Democratic leaders was a big victory.

The impact of Marx's work was immediate and widespread. It was reprinted in the main local organs of German Social-Democracy. Special articles were devoted to it. Many socialist and democratic newspapers of other countries also published and commented on the *Critique*. Shortly afterwards it was put out in Swedish, and a French translation of it appeared in 1894.

Thanks to Engels' timely publication of the document, the Erfurt Congress adopted a programme that was on the whole Marxist in character. It came close to the demands made by Marx and Engels on the party's programme documents. The erroneous Lassallean dogmas were at last removed from the programme and the political and economic demands of the working-class party were sufficiently clearly formulated; it scientifically substantiated the inevitable downfall of capitalism and its replacement by socialism, and distinctly stated that for this the proletariat must win political power.

At the same time the Erfurt Programme contained

[1] Engels' letter to Paul Lafargue of February 10, 1891, in: Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 38, S. 28.

serious concessions to opportunism. The programme lacked such principal points as the proposition on the dictatorship of the proletariat and the demand for the overthrow of the reactionary monarchic system in Germany and the establishment of a democratic republic as a necessary prerequisite for the subsequent winning of state power by the proletariat. In his work *A Critique of the Draft Social-Democratic Programme of 1891* which appeared only in 1901-02, Engels assessed this as the "forgetting of the great, the principal considerations for the momentary interests of the day", as "sacrifice of the future of the movement for its present".[1] The subsequent history of German Social-Democracy confirmed the correctness of this assessment.

Like the Gotha Programme in its time, the Erfurt Programme served as an example for the Social-Democratic parties of other countries. And, correspondingly, their programmes also lacked the crucial demand for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the late 19th century the centre of the international working-class movement shifted to Russia. It was here that the antagonistic contradictions of capitalist society were revealed in all their ugliness, putting a socialist revolution on the order of the day. But for its preparation the Russian Marxists needed a strong militant organisation, capable of leading the workers in the storming of tsarism. They needed a revolutionary programme of action that would meet the demands of the new historical period. The decisive role in the elaboration of the programme of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party was played by V. I. Lenin, who developed the teaching of Marx and Engels. Thanks to his persistence and adherence

[1] Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 435.

to principle, for the first time in the history of the international working-class movement since the death of Marx and Engels, a revolutionary programme was adopted in 1903 at the Second Congress of the RSDLP which proclaimed the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat the crucial task of the working-class party.

"In this Programme," Lenin wrote subsequently, "the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat is stated in clear and definite terms, and, moreover, is linked up with the struggle against Bernstein, against opportunism."[1]

In their distorted, vulgar understanding of Marxism, the opportunists belittled the role of the party in the working-class movement and, while extolling trade unionism, reduced to naught the significance of the political struggle. In 1896-98, the German Social-Democrat Eduard Bernstein published a series of articles under the general title "Problems of Socialism", which in 1899 were compiled in the book *Die Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Sozialdemokratie* (The Premises of Socialism and the Tasks of Social-Democracy), where he openly proposed a revision of the fundamental propositions of Marxism in an attempt to substitute a liberal-reformist doctrine for Marxism. Bernstein's famous formula "movement is everything, the end goal—nothing" signified, in effect, renunciation of the revolutionary struggle by the working class, tending to disarm the working class ideologically, paralyse its revolutionary energy, and instil in it the idea of reconciliation with the conditions of capitalist exploitation, of restricting its tasks to the winning of bourgeois parliamentarism.

[1] V. I. Lenin, "A Contribution to the History of the Question of the Dictatorship", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1982, p. 340.

In exposing the revisionism of Bernstein and his Russian followers Lenin defended the key proposition of Marxism on the dictatorship of the proletariat as an indispensable and basic political condition of the transition to socialism. And one of the most important programme documents of Marxism, used by Lenin in drawing up the RSDLP Programme, was the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*. While working on the party programme, Lenin clarified and corrected a number of inaccurate formulations that were proposed by one of its authors, G. V. Plekhanov. Instead of a general phrase on the liberation of all mankind, Lenin noted, "it would be better to use the formulation given by Marx in his criticism of the Gotha Programme: the abolition of division into classes and of the inequality arising therefrom".[1] In the spirit of this and other Marxist propositions Lenin gave a more precise definition of several postulates of the draft programme on the future socialist society, which were incorporated later in the RSDLP Programme in Lenin's interpretation.

In a number of articles written in connection with the drawing up of the party programme, Lenin described the economic system of the future society, stressing on the transfer of the land, instruments of production, factories, mines, etc., into the hands of the whole society, and abolition of private ownership of the means of production. The formulation of the goal of socialist production given in the Programme of the Russian Social-Democrats developed further the ideas on socialism contained in the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*. It should be noted that while criticising Plekhanov for his narrow interpretation of this goal (satisfaction of the needs of society and

[1] V. I. Lenin, "Notes on Phekhanov's Second Draft Programme", *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 52.

ensurance of the well-being of all its members), Lenin referred to the formula of the Erfurt Programme as the more correct one—"the greatest well-being and all-round harmonious perfection".[1]

At the beginning of the century the question of transition to socialism was not as yet an urgent one. For revolutionary practice it was then sufficient to have a clear idea of the fundamental difference between the future society and capitalism, and of the most important features of the new social system. There was no need for a more detailed description of socialism, to say nothing of communist society. In those times, the meaning of the term "socialism" often extended beyond the framework of the first, or lower, phase of communism, and the term was applied more generally to denote a society born of the proletarian revolution. It was no accident that even in *The State and Revolution*, written on the eve of the socialist revolution, Lenin said, on the one hand, that "politically, the distinction between the first, or lower, and the higher phase of communism will in time, probably,be tremendous", and on the other hand, noted that "it would be ridiculous to recognise this distinction now, under capitalism".[2] Such an approach to the analysis of the future socialist society can be seen in almost all of Lenin's works written before 1914.

The First World War aggravated the economic and political contradictions of capitalism, and created a revolutionary situation in many belligerent countries.

The victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia in February 1917 put the proletarian revolution on the order of the day. The time had come when the ideas theoretically substantiated in

[1] Ibid., p. 21.
[2] V. I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 470.

the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* were to pass the practical test in the revolutionary struggle of the popular masses. This required a deeper and more detailed elucidation of the questions of the theory of revolution and of future socialism itself. Therefore Lenin increasingly centred his attention on an analysis of the problems of a socialist society, and not only on the general features of the communist formation as a whole.

Of major importance was an analysis of the material prerequisites of socialism created in the process of the development of imperialism. Lenin's conclusion that "state-monopoly capitalism is a complete *material* preparation for socialism, the *threshold* of socialism, a rung on the ladder of history between which and the rung called socialism *there are no intermediate rungs*",[1] was very important for defining the prospects of the struggle for socialism. Especially if one took into consideration various reformist and revisionist theories of a "peaceful", evolutionary growing of capitalism into socialism. For instance, during the First World War, Karl Kautsky advanced the theory of "ultra-imperialism", according to which capitalist society was undergoing a new phase in its development and approaching a single international association of imperialist states, which would do away with wars and militarism and ensure a lasting peace without any social or other conflicts.

Lenin's analysis of the contradictions of capitalism bore out the impossibility of overcoming acute inter-imperialist contradictions, though he by no means excluded the possibility of temporary alliances between monopolies or imperialist states that might be sufficiently firm. Hence an exceptionally

[1] V. I. Lenin, "The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 363.

important conclusion was drawn on the possibility of the victory of socialism first in a few or even in one country, not necessarily the most highly developed one. Lenin formulated this proposition in the articles "On the Slogan for a United States of Europe" (1915) and "The Military Programme of the Proletarian Revolution" (1916), which was a new word in the theory of Marxism. He predicted that the emergence of the communist formation on an international scale would be a gradual process. First one or several countries would fall away from the capitalist system, then more and more nations would embark on the road of socialist construction, the system of socialist states thereby growing and developing. The development of the world socialist system has confirmed this prediction of Lenin's.

In the socialist literature of the time, largely under the influence of the opportunists, the examination of the future society was generally restricted to the economic side of the matter. Naturally, not without reference to the works of Marx and Engels. In criticising this downright vulgar economism, into which some Russian revolutionaries, too, lapsed, Lenin stressed the need for not only the economic foundation—socialist production—but also "a democratically organised state, a democratic army, etc".[1] Hence there appeared new aspects of the analysis of socialism as a phase of the communist formation, namely, questions of the correlation between the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism, the development of the state, classes and national relations. The elaboration of these problems also enriched Marx's teaching on socialism, which was

[1] V. I. Lenin, "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up", *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974, p. 325.

expounded in the *Critique of the Gotha Programme.*

Lenin's work *The State and Revolution*, which he completed literally a few weeks before the October Socialist Revolution, was the most significant contribution to the theory of the communist transformation of society. It was extremely important at the moment to formulate the immediate tasks of the proletariat, and to outline the prospects for socialist construction. No less important was to systematically expound and defend the genuine views of Marx and Engels on these questions, which were distorted by the opportunists, the followers of Bernstein and Kautsky. While the former came out openly against revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Kautskyites' revision of Marxism was more refined, and hence much more dangerous.

Playing the role of Bernstein's critic, Kautsky presented Marx's views on the state in such a way as if the winning of state power by the working class were possible without the destruction of the bourgeois state machine. He left the solution of this question to the distant future on the pretext that it was impossible to predict the concrete forms of destruction of the bourgeois state. The danger of such a position at a time when the working class of Russia was on the verge of putting an end to the autocracy, was obvious. In this connection Lenin noted: "A gulf separates Marx and Kautsky over their attitudes towards the proletarian party's task of training the working class for revolution."[1]

In *The State and Revolution,* attention is focused on an analysis of the processes of the transition period and of socialism. Following the classics of Marxism, Lenin makes the winning of state power

[1] V. I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 484.

by the proletariat the central question of revolution. It is the key, basic condition for ensuring the proletariat's victory over the bourgeoisie, a fundamental regularity of the transition period from capitalism to socialism. Capitalism, as proved by Marx and Engels, produces its own grave-digger—the working class. Within the bourgeois economy there also mature the material and technological prerequisites of the new system—an adequate level of development of the productive forces, the uniting of separate industries into a single social organism, a ready mechanism of social management, as Lenin called it.[1] But all these individual elements do not by themselves change the nature of the capitalist system. The radical change in social development that will open up the road to socialism can only result from the active political struggle of the working class in alliance with the other strata of working people, a struggle that leads to the ousting of the bourgeoisie from state power. That is the pivotal idea of Lenin's work.

He makes a deep-going and comprehensive study of the question of the need for a transition period after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. A socialist revolution, Lenin shows, does not end with the seizure of power by the working class. The new master of society is faced with the colossal tasks of rooting out the centuries-old heritage of the past, of the total abolition of exploitation, and of reorganising production and establishing completely new relations between people in all spheres of social life. Not a single revolution had heretofore faced such tasks. This is what determines the sharpness of the revolutionary struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie, and excludes the possibility of a smooth, evolutionary transition to social-

[1] Ibid., p. 431.

ism, of a voluntary surrender of their positions by the dominant classes. The transition of society to socialism, Lenin warns, is inevitably "a period of an unprecedentedly violent class struggle in unprecedentedly acute forms".[1] Therefore, he stresses, it is important not only to grasp the idea of the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but also to realise that this type of state must exist for quite a long time, until the threat of the restoration of the old regime has been fully eliminated.

In the transition period there takes place the revolutionary transformation of society and all its foundations. First of all, capitalist private property on which the system of wage labour is based, is abolished. The political and state system is also transformed, a new social consciousness is formed and the struggle is waged against the private-ownership mentality inherited from capitalism. Lenin predicted that the transition from capitalism to communism inevitably gives rise to a great variety of forms of a proletarian state, whose essence however, is the same—the dictatorship of the working class. In revolutionary Russia this was the republic of Soviets, born of the creativity of the people during the first Russian revolution. In other socialist countries there appeared and continue to appear other forms of working-class power. But essentially they belong to the same type as the Russian republic. Thus the practice of socialist construction has confirmed the general regularities of the transition to socialism discovered by Marx in the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* and developed by Lenin with regard to the conditions of the 20th century.

Enriching and complementing Marx's ideas on the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin reveals to the full the democratic essence of the new type of state.

[1] Ibid., p. 417.

He shows that the proletarian revolution creates a type of state totally new in its class content, which ensures genuine democracy for the working people. For the first time they receive an opportunity for unrestricted far-ranging participation in all spheres of social life. At the same time Lenin makes it clear that a society that has just emerged from capitalism cannot immediately provide full, unrestricted democracy. As long as the resistance of the former exploiters has not been suppressed and they continue threatening the new power, the rights and freedoms of this category of the population must necessarily be restricted. This does not imply, however, that the proletarian state is undemocratic. (And this is what bourgeois ideologues and revisionists of all hues are wont to repeat today.) Indeed, which is more democratic? The power of a handful of the wealthy and the rightlessness of the millions? Or the suppression of this truly negligible minority of the population, but genuine freedom and all the vital rights for the working majority? Resolving this question, Lenin concluded: "Democracy for the vast majority of the people, and suppression by force, i.e. exclusion from democracy, of the exploiters and oppressors of the people—this is the change democracy undergoes during the *transition* from capitalism to communism."[1]

Another contribution to the Marxist theory on the state made by Lenin was his detailed elaboration of the functions of the proletarian state. Understandably, Marx defined them in a most general way. The leader of the Russian revolution was faced with the task of their concrete implementation. In defining the functions of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat Lenin proceeded from its class essence. In

[1] V. I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 467.

antagonistic societies the need for a state was associated above all with the tasks of suppressing the resistance of the oppressed, exploited classes. The dictatorship of the working class plays a very different role. As long as the former oppressors have not laid down arms, it exercises, naturally, dictatorial functions as well. But Lenin saw the essence of the new form of state (and was never tired of stressing it) not only in violence and primarily not in violence. The proletarian state is faced by colossal constructive tasks in all their magnitude—the reconstruction of social life on socialist principles, organisation of strict accounting and control, and creation of the foundations of a socialist economy. Therefore, elaborating on Marx's idea of the withering away of the state in communist society, Lenin said that the dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer a state in the proper sense of the word.[1] His term "transitional state" did not imply, of course, the weakness of state power, but revealed its class character and functional purpose. Lenin considered Marx's term "withering away of the state" an extremely apt one as it expressed the gradual, prolonged and spontaneous nature of the process.

You cannot abolish the state by resolutions or decrees, Lenin stressed in his polemics with the anarchists. Its fate is most closely connected with the intrinsic development processes in communist society, with changes both in its economic foundation and in the form of political structure. Hence, it is so important, in Lenin's view, to understand the scientific laws of development of the communist mode of production. That is why he assesses Marx's singling out, in the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, of the basic stages of social development after revolution—the transition period, and the lower and higher phases of

[1] Ibid., p. 468.

communism—as a conclusion of tremendous scientific importance. This differentiation makes it possible to understand and theoretically substantiate the difference between socialism and communism, and to grasp the common features that make them the phases of one and the same social formation.

Socialism and communism, Lenin held, are based on one type of mode of production. They are related by the key factor—social ownership of the means of production. The difference between these phases springs from the difference in the level of development of the productive forces and in the character of social labour. Hence also the difference in the principle of distribution of material wealth—according to labour performed under socialism, and according to needs under communism. Defining socialism as "*not* complete communism",[1] Lenin called the notions of the new system as a society of plenty, which appears immediately "in a ready form" after the revolution, utopian, hare-brained and ignorant. At its first stage communism cannot be fully mature and free from the traditions and imprints of the past. Therefore the principle of distribution according to work done is the only just one at the given level of development of the productive forces, and at the given level of development of social consciousness. Preserving on the whole the description of the main features of the first phase of communism which Marx gave in the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, Lenin writes: "Every member of society, performing a certain part of the socially-necessary work, receives a certificate from society to the effect that he has done a certain amount of work. And with this certificate he receives from the public store of goods a corresponding quantity of products. After a deduction is made of the

[1] Ibid., p. 476.

amount of labour which goes to the public fund, every worker, therefore, receives from society as much as he has given to it."[1] Thus, Lenin stresses the correctness of the law discovered by Marx of the direct correspondence of relations of distribution to the level of economic development of society.

Socialism is an historically lengthy stage in the development of the communist formation. Like Marx, Lenin does not specify the date of its conclusion. The lengthy process of socialist construction is due to the complexity and scale of the tasks facing it, since all aspects of social life have to undergo a radical change, but this by no means implies that the process is slow. On the contrary, Lenin predicted, socialism will be an exceptionally dynamic system. "*Only* socialism will be the beginning of a rapid, genuine, truly mass forward movement, embracing first the *majority* and then the whole of the population, in all spheres of public and private life."[2]

Lenin paid a particular attention to the development prospects of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It will inevitably change and become perfected, in his view, along with the development of the whole of society in the direction of greater democratism. Whereas in the transition period the state exercises, among others, the function of suppression, this task in the main disappears at the first stage of the development of communist society. But this does not mean that the need for a state vanishes in general. Only the functions of the state change. Priority is given to economic and organisational tasks, namely, an all-round accounting and control over the amount of labour and consumption, and guidance of communist construction. A no less important role is played by

[1] Ibid., p. 470.
[2] Ibid., p. 477.

the educational function of the socialist state.

Relying on Marx's description of the higher phase of communism, Lenin explained in greater detail what should be understood by complete communism. On the one hand, a high level of production at this stage of social development ensures an abundance of material wealth and gives each member of society an opportunity of enjoying it according to his needs. But this in turn presupposes the highest possible productivity of labour, its maximum efficiency, i.e. a very high level of consciousness of the people. "We give the name of communism to the system under which people form the habit of performing their social duties without any special apparatus for coercion, and when unpaid work for the public good becomes a general phenomenon."[1] But the way to such a society lies only through socialism, through the utmost development of socialist democracy. Whereas it is possible to come to socialism bypassing the capitalist stage, it is impossible to come to communism bypassing socialism. Only through the strengthening and all-round development of the principles of socialism, through its mature condition will society reach the higher phase of communism. The development of socialist democracy will then result in the participation of all members of society in running the state.

"Then the door will be thrown wide open for the transition from the first phase of communist society to its higher phase, and with it to the complete withering away of the state."[2]

[1] V. I. Lenin, "Report on Subbotniks Delivered to a Moscow City Conference of the R.C.P.(B.). December 20, 1919", *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, pp. 284-85.
[2] V. I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 479.

Lenin's characterisation of the stages of society's development towards communism, given in *The State and Revolution*, acquires fundamental importance today, when the centuries-old systems are crumbling, when the face of entire continents is being transformed and renewed. The peoples who have thrown off the yoke of colonialism are faced most dramatically with the choice of ways of social development, forms of transition to socialism and means of ensuring the consolidation of socialist relations. Yet these problems acquire an even greater importance in the practical building of socialism and communism. It is the Marxist-Leninist theory of the communist transformation of society that enables the builders of the new society to correctly chart goals, soberly assess what has been achieved, and pose new tasks.

Many countries have today taken the road of socialist development. Their experience confirms in practice the correctness of the laws governing the communist transformation of society discovered by Marx, Engels and Lenin.

The practical experience of socialist construction shows that it is equally wrong to disregard both the qualitative distinction of the higher phase of communism from the lower one and things that they have in common. The most difficult and simultaneously the most important thing to do in practice is to know precisely at each particular moment the stage of development of a society that is building communism. Only then can serious mistakes be avoided, which occasionally throw a society many years back.

When speaking of the stages of economic maturity of communism, Marx, Engels and Lenin did not possess the factual material for determining the concrete forms of transition to communism. True, in examining the first phase of communism–socialism, Lenin

introduced a new concept for its characterisation–a "developed socialist society".[1] But he spoke of it only in order to compare the first shoots of socialism with the future. Life did not yet provide practical material for a more detailed description of developed socialism.

The real course of socialist construction has enriched the theoretical conceptions of the ways and forms of society's transition to communism. The concept of developed socialist society has also been specified today. In particular, the practice of building socialism in the USSR has shown that the conclusion of the transition period, marked by the full victory of socialist relations at the end of the 1930s, by no means completed the socialist stage of development or signified the transition to communist relations of production. A long period of consolidating and perfecting the socialist way of life began. This necessarily presupposed not only the full, but also definitive victory of socialism, which was achieved when socialism extended beyond the framework of one country and became a world system.

However, it does not signify that this stage of development of socialist society is free of problems, difficulties, contradictions. Without them there can be no real, live development of a social organism. The socialist countries face a prolonged period of the all-round perfection of socialist society, of fuller and more effective use of all the possibilities and advantages of socialism for the further advance towards

[1] V. I. Lenin, "Original Version of the Article 'The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government' ", *Collected Works*, Vol. 42, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, p. 78; "Report on the Work of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars Delivered at the First Session of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, Seventh Convocation, February 2, 1920", *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 331.

communism. This process will inevitably have its own periods and stages of growth, which it is impossible to specify today. They will be defined in the course of communist construction. But it is clear already now that communist construction is carried out not through renouncing the principles of socialism, but through their fullest realisation.

In the process of building socialism, as predicted by Lenin, the content of socialist democracy was enriched, historically conditioned restrictions gradually disappeared, and forms of implementing people's power grew in diversity. Socialist statehood also underwent qualitative changes. Having fulfilled its historic mission in defending the class interests of the proletariat and creating the basis of socialist economy in the course of building socialism in the USSR, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat gradually grew over into a state of the whole people, which expresses the interests of not only the proletariat, but of all the strata of working people.

The function of suppressing the exploitative classes, characteristic of the dictatorship of the proletariat, disappeared in the state of the whole people. But all the other economic and organisational and educational functions inherent in the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat have not only preserved but have developed further. The socialist state of the whole people carries out a tremendous amount of work in the organisation of the entire national economy, building the material and technical base of communism, and transforming the socialist relations of production into the communist ones. It continues to exercise strict control over the measure of labour and the measure of consumption, defends the rights and freedoms of its citizens as well as law and order and socialist property, and carries out the function of defence of the socialist homeland. This state educates the people in the spirit of conscious discipline and a communist attitude to work, since building a communist society implies moulding of a harmonious man, both physically and intellectually, who has organically assimilated the communist world outlook, whose knowledge is diversified, and who has a natural desire to give all his powers for the good of society.

Only a highly developed and flourishing diversified economy and a high sense of social duty in all citizens make it possible to go over to distribution according to the communist principle, to step forward into a world where the measure of wealth is no longer material benefits, but disposable time that is used for rest and leisure, scientific and artistic creativity, and active participation in socio-political life. This stage will be marked by the total disappearance of statehood and a transition to communist public self-government.

The transition will be implemented through enhancing the role of the Soviets and other similar forms of state power in running the state, through strengthening the public principle of their activity, and through increasing the role of work collectives and public organisations in tackling all questions of production, and of social and cultural life. Precisely these elements go to form communist self-government.

Communism represents the highest form of organisation of social life. It is a highly organised society of free, socially conscious working people in which labour for the good of society will become the prime vital requirement of everyone, a necessity recognised by one and all, and the abilities of each will be employed to the greatest benefit of the people. Communism is unthinkable without strict order, without proper organisation in all spheres of human activity,

in planning and management. The crux of the matter is that in communist society the public organisations which regulate human activity will lose their political, state character. Communist self-government does not signify that in the future society there will be no place for the principle of subordinating the interests of the minority to those of the majority, or for certain measures of influencing persons who violate the principles of the communist way of life. But there will be no longer any need for a special state apparatus for this. The state, as predicted by Marx in his *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, will wither away.

Life shows convincingly that notwithstanding the great variety of historical conditions, and the changes in concrete situations in the struggle for socialism, the basic principles of the science on socialism and communism, set forth by Marx in the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* and further developed by Lenin, retain their force and vitality.

Several basic groups can be singled out among the pseudo-socialist theories, which either oppose scientific socialism or attempt to "complement", to "renew" it.

An acute ideological struggle over the problems of the socialist reconstruction of society has been waged between Marxism-Leninism and Social-Democracy over the decades. Contemporary Social-Democracy is a major ideological and political force in the developed capitalist countries, especially in Western Europe. It is also endeavouring to promote its influence in the developing countries. When speaking of socialism, the revisionist leaders of Social-Democracy do not have in mind a society fundamentally opposed to capitalism but a kind of hybrid which comprises elements of both socialism and capitalism, the latter

being characterised by them as a transformed capitalism, devoid of class antagonisms peculiar to the times of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

The theoreticians of Social-Democracy consider the problem of the individual, his liberation from all forms of alienation as the key problem of the socialist movement. Their ideal is "democratic socialism", which is incompatible, in their view, with the practice of existing socialism. They attack most violently the Marxist proposition on the dictatorship of the proletariat as the primary law of socialist construction, which they declare as incompatible with democracy. These arguments were long since exposed by Lenin and are being refuted by the actual development of socialist society. Drawing alluring pictures of the coming "liberation of man", the Social-Democrats in effect ignore the social conditions in which it can take place. They close their eyes to the simple fact that so long as the basis of capitalism—private ownership of the means of production—is preserved, man remains the object of ruthless exploitation on the part of capital and the bourgeois state.

Scientific socialism is also opposed by various kinds of "Left" radical conceptions of socialism and communism. The protest of the "Left" against the lies and hypocrisy of capitalist civilisation is not backed up by their clear understanding of the essence of social antagonisms and the role of the main contending forces. Hence the "Left" extremists' negation of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the communist transformation of society and existing socialism, their failure to understand the correlation of the two phases in the development of the communist formation and the tasks of the transition period. This explains, for example, the assertion that while there still exist countries that have not thrown off the chains of capitalism, it is impossible to build social-

ism and communism, even if a revolution has taken place somewhere. Objectively, this postulate is oriented on an artificial obstruction of the revolutionary process. On the other hand, the "Left" forces advance demands for the immediate introduction of communism (first of all with respect to relations of distribution) and a speedy transition to socialism. The danger of such calls to peoples who are taking the first steps on the road of building a new society is obvious.

Various socialist doctrines which have gained ground in young developing countries that have relatively recently thrown off the yoke of colonial oppression, sprang up under the impact of the successes of socialist construction in the socialist countries and were undoubtedly influenced by Marxist-Leninist ideas. "A study of Marx and Lenin," wrote Jawaharlal Nehru, "produced a powerful effect on my mind and helped me to see history and current affairs in a new light."[1] At the same time the general economic backwardness of these regions of the world and insufficent development of social relations objectively hampered the embracing of the theory of socialism in its classic Marxist-Leninist form. That is why eclectic theories, comprising elements of different socialist teachings–from the proletarian to the pre-feudal one–have gained currency in the developing countries. The combination of genuine socialist ideas with various kinds of national, religious, tribal and other views produces an extremely motley picture. Abstract notions on equality and justice that go back to the times of the emergence of the world religions or the pre-class society are oddly mixed with ideas borrowed from most diverse sources

[1] Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, The Signet Press, Calcutta, 1946, p. 17.

(utopian socialism, anarchism, social-democratism, scientific socialism, etc.).

In addition, in an attempt to keep their former colonies in the orbit of their influence, the ideologues of imperialism are persistently advocating the version of a specific road of development of young African states, different from that of other nations. Special political theories are elaborated for them that are based on African realities and intended to replace the theory of scientific socialism, which is allegedly unsuitable for the peoples of that continent. This theory, in turn, is being interpreted as a kind of dogmatic scheme that can be applied mechanically to the development of all countries and peoples.

The peoples of former colonies and dependent countries are destined to play a great role in the revolutionary renewal of the world. "That majority," Lenin wrote in 1919, "which up till then had been completely outside the orbit of historical progress, because it could not constitute an independent revolutionary force, ceased, as we know, to play such a passive role at the beginning of the twentieth century... The period of the awakening of the East in the contemporary revolution is being succeeded by a period in which all the Eastern peoples will participate in deciding the destiny of the whole world, so as not to be simply objects of the enrichment of others. The peoples of the East are becoming alive to the need for practical action, the need for every nation to take part in shaping the destiny of all mankind."[1]

The teaching of Marx and Lenin on the transition period is especially topical for young developing

[1] V. I. Lenin, "Address to the Second All-Russia Congress of Communist Organisations of the Peoples of the East. November 22, 1919", *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 160.

states that have thrown off the yoke of colonial oppression. The experience of all socialist countries has irrefutably shown that this period is historically inevitable, despite the opposite assertions of the ideological adversaries of Marxism. Elements of socialism–radical changes in the forms of ownership, in class and national relations–cannot appear even in the most highly developed capitalist society, and the struggle for their establishment inevitably leads to the confrontation of different social forces.

Communism opens up the way for all peoples to a society of equality, justice and genuine humanism. Its construction is undoubtedly a very complex and prolonged process. In his time, Engels wrote about the possibility of specific "social and political phases" of the colonial countries' development towards socialism.[1] And the experience of socialist construction in the USSR and other European, Asian and American countries confirms Lenin's conviction that all peoples will arrive at socialism, but will do so in different ways and forms. Traditions, customs, the heredity of a long history cannot but imprint specific features on this process. "Only by a series of attempts–each of which, taken by itself, will be one-sided and will suffer from certain inconsistencies–will complete socialism be created by the revolutionary co-operation of the proletarians of *all* countries."[2] This problem is being solved today in the fundamental direction charted out by Marx in the *Critique of the Gotha Programme.*

[1] Engels' letter to Karl Kautsky of September 12, 1882, in: Marx/Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 331.

[2] V. I. Lenin, " 'Left-Wing' Childishness and the Petty-Bourgeois Mentality", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p. 346.

Glossary of Terms

A

Absolute deterioration of the condition of the proletariat (absolute impoverishment), a decline in the standard of living of the proletariat under capitalism as compared with the preceding period. It is manifested in a higher cost of living, the fall of real wages in different periods (e.g. during economic crises), growing of unemployment, intensification of labour, etc.

Aggregate (total) social product, the sum total of material benefits (means of production and consumer goods) produced in all branches of material production over a definite period of time (usually a year).

Alienation, an objective social process in antagonistic class societies when man's activity and its results are transformed into an independent force, dominating over and hostile to him.

Anarchism (Gr. *anarchos*, rulerless), a petty-bourgeois trend hostile to Marxism which arose in the 1840s-60s. Its main idea is the negation of any state power and the preaching of the so-called absolute freedom of the individual. Among its principal ideologists in different periods were Max Stirner, Pierre Joseph Proudhon, and Mikhail Bakunin. Marx and

Engels persistently opposed all the varieties of anarchism.

Associations of employers, class organisations of the bourgeoisie, set up with the aim of raising profits, curtailing the rights of the working people, fighting foreign rival firms, and exerting pressure on governments to make them pursue a domestic and foreign policy in the interest of monopoly capital.

Austro-Prussian war of 1866, completed the struggle for supremacy over the German states between Austria and Prussia in favour of the latter.

B

Basic contradiction of capitalism, the contradiction between the social character of production and the private capitalist form of appropriation of the products of labour; reflects the deep antagonism between labour and capital.

Basic economic law of capitalism, the law of surplus value, which determines the stimuli, motive forces and aims of capitalist production, as well as the ways and means of attaining them.

Basic economic law of socialism, the law regulating socialist economy whose essence lies in ensuring the maximum well-being and comprehensive development of all members of society through the steady growth and improvement of socialist production.

Bonapartism, a policy of maneuvering between conflicting classes in the conditions of an unstable balance of class forces; usually the counter-revolutionary dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie supported by the military and by the reactionary strata of backward peasantry.

Bourgeois-democratic revolution, a social revolution marked by broad participation of the popular masses. Its basic aim is to abolish feudalism or its survivals and to establish a bourgeois state, and also to win national independence in dependent countries and colonies.

C

Capital, value which produces surplus value as a result of the exploitation of hired labour power, i.e. a self-valorising value. Capital is not a thing but a social relation of production between the main classes of bourgeois society—the capitalists, who own the means of production and use them as a means of exploitation, and the wage workers, who are deprived of the means of production and thus have to sell their labour power to the capitalists and thereby enrich them.

Chartism, the first mass political revolutionary movement of workers in Great Britain which arose in the 1830s-1850s under the slogan of the People's Charter; it took its name from the Charter.

Circulation (in economics), a form of exchange of the products of labour through buying and selling, typical of commodity production.

Classes, social, large groups of people differing from each other by the place they occupy in a system of social production, by their relation to the means of

production, by their role in the social organisation of labour and by the dimensions of the share of social wealth of which they dispose and the mode of acquiring it.

Colonialism, a policy of developed capitalist states aimed at the conquest, economic subjugation and exploitation of the peoples of less developed countries, at perpetuating their role of raw materials appendages of the advanced capitalist countries.

Commodity, a product of labour intended not for immediate consumption but for sale or exchange.

Communism, the highest form of organisation of human society based on highly developed productive forces and relations of production; the second phase of the communist mode of production.

Communist distribution, a principle of distribution of material benefits at the higher phase of the communist mode of production in accordance with the formula "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs".

Communist labour, the scientifically organised labour of free and conscientious workers which is equipped with the most advanced technical facilities and yields the highest productivity; labour as the prime inner need of man.

Communist League (1847-52), the first international proletarian organisation founded by Marx and Engels in London; the embryo of revolutionary party of the working class.

Communist mode of production, a mode of production of material wealth based on public ownership of the means of production; it passes through two development phases—socialism and communism.

Competition, struggle between private commodity producers, capitalists or their associations for the most profitable terms of production and marketing and for the highest profits.

Consumer goods, part of the aggregate social product which goes to satisfy both personal and collective needs in the sphere of non-productive consumption.

Consumption, utilisation of the social product in order to satisfy people's requirements in the production sphere as well as their personal requirements.

Cooperative societies, associations of workers, office workers, of small producers, including peasants, set up with the aim of achieving common goals in various economic fields.

D

Democracy, a form of political organisation of society which recognises the people as the source of power, acknowledges its right to participate in state affairs and affords a wide range of civil rights and freedoms. In a class society, democracy invariably represents the dictatorship of the ruling class.

Depreciation, the gradual transfer of the value of the means of labour, as they wear out, to the manufactured product, and use of this value for reproduction (or renewal) of the means of labour.

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Dialectical materialism, Marxist-Leninist philosophy, the science of the most general laws of the evolution of nature, society, and consciousness; a scientific philosophical world outlook and general methodology of cognition of the objective world and revolutionary action.

Dictatorship of the proletariat, the power of the working class established after the accomplishment of a socialist revolution and aimed at building socialist society with subsequent transition to communist society.

Distribution, a phase (stage) of social reproduction, a link between production and consumption; it comprises the distribution of workers and means of production among various branches of the economy, as well as the distribution of consumer goods and products of labour.

Division of labour, isolation of various types of labour in society when the producers specialise in particular types of products.

E

Economic interests, objective incentives of people's activity which reflect the relation between the workers' position in the system of social production and their material requirements.

Economic laws, objective laws which regulate the production, exchange, distribution and consumption of material benefits at different stages of the development of human society.

Economism, an opportunist trend in Russian Social-Democracy opposed to revolutionary Marxism; it advocated a purely economic struggle of the working class and fully renounced its political struggle, as well as the leading role of the proletariat in revolution.

Eisenachers, the, see *Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany*.

Exploitation, gratuitous appropriation of the results of the labour of others by the owners of the means of production.

F

First International (International Working Men's Association) (1864-76), the first mass international organisation of the proletariat, founded and led by Marx and Engels.

First World War, 1914-18, an imperialist war between two coalitions of capitalist powers headed by Germany and Austria-Hungary, on the one hand, and by Great Britain, France and Russia, on the other.

Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, a war between France and the German states headed by Prussia in which France suffered defeat and which completed the unification of Germany under the supremacy of Prussia.

G

General Association of German Workers, the first national organisation of German workers set up on

May 23, 1863 at the Leipzig congress of workers' societies; it was greatly unfluenced by Ferdinand Lassalle.

General law of capitalist accumulation, one of the most important laws of capitalism which reflects how the process of accumulation of capital affects the condition of the working class. According to this law, the growing enrichment of the capitalist class is accompanied by the relative (as against the class of capitalists) deterioration of the condition of the proletariat and sometimes also by its absolute deterioration.

I

Imperialism, the highest and last stage of monopoly capitalism, the eve of the socialist revolution.

Instruments of production (of labour), machinery, apparatus, engines, etc., directly employed in the production process.

Insurance fund, a monetary fund out of which the state pays compensation for material damages caused by natural calamities, accidents, etc.

International Working Men's Association, see *First International.*

Internationalism, the international solidarity of the working class and of all working people in their struggle to abolish capitalism and build communism.

"Iron law of wages", a variant of the bourgeois concept of the subsistence minimum. It asserts that

the worker's wage under capitalism fluctuates around the minimum physical subsistence level. Usually associated with Ferdinand Lassalle.

J

Junkers, big landed aristocracy in Germany, mainly in East Prussia.

L

Labour, man's purposeful activity in creating the material and cultural wealth to satisfy the needs of society as a whole and of each of its members.

"Labour money", paper notes, which were intended, according to some utopian socialists and petty-bourgeois economists of the 19th century, including P. J. Proudhon, to directly express the labour time contained in commodities and to fully replace metallic money.

Labour power, man's capacity to work, the totality of his physical and intellectual abilities used in the process of labour.

Labour productivity, efficiency of the production activity of people measured by the quantity of the output produced in the sphere of material production per unit of labour time, or by the time spent to produce a unit of output.

Lassalleans, see *General Association of German Workers.*

Living labour, labour power in action, purposeful expenditure of human physical and intellectual energy in the production process.

M

Malthusianism, a theory of population according to which the condition of the working masses under capitalism is determined not by the social system, but by the "eternal" laws of nature which allegedly make inevitable a growing gap between the population, which increases in geometrical progression, and the means of subsistence increasing in arithmetical progression. It takes its name from Thomas Malthus, an English economist and clergyman.

Management of social production under socialism, conscious regulation of socialist social production with the aim of raising its efficiency, increasing labour productivity, and ensuring the dynamic, planned, and proportionate development of the economy and higher living standards.

Material and technical base of communism, the sum total of the material elements of productive forces, technological processes and forms of labour organisation which ensure high-efficiency production in all branches of the socialist economy, the well-being of the whole people, and conditions for the harmonious development of the individual.

Means of production, material factors of the process of labour, the sum total of means and objects of labour employed in production.

Mode of production, an historically determined mode of producing material wealth; the unity of productive forces and relations of production; the base of a socio-economic formation. The replacement of one mode of production by another is effected in a revolutionary way.

Monarchy, a form of government under which the supreme power is fully or partly vested in the hands of a single, often hereditary head of state, the monarch.

Monopolies, capitalist, amalgamations or unions of monopolists dominating a certain branch of the national economy in order to obtain monopoly superprofits.

N

National income, the value newly created over a year by the whole of society; part of the value of the aggregate social product left after deducing the costs of the means of production expended during a year.

National wealth, the aggregate of material boons possessed by society.

Non-capitalist path of development, the historical process of the transition of countries from the pre-capitalist stage of development to socialism bypassing capitalism.

Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, a reactionary daily published in Berlin from 1861 to 1918; in the 1860s-80s, an official organ of the Bismarck government.

O

Opportunism, an ideological and political trend in the working-class movement which promotes dissemination of bourgeois ideology in the working-class movement, and endeavours to subordinate its real interests to the interests of capital. Right-wing opportunism comprises reformist theories and tactical principles replacing one another, which are aimed at the direct subordination of the working-class movement to the interests of the bourgeoisie and renounce the vital interests of the working class for the sake of temporary and partial advantages. "Left" opportunism is an unstable mixture of ultra-revolutionary theories and adventuristic tactics which play on the revolutionary enthusiasm of the popular masses and incite the revolutionary working-class movement to ill-considered action, senseless sacrifices and defeats.

Ownership, an historically determined social form of appropriating material wealth, primarily the means of production. Five forms of ownership: primitive-communal, slave-owning, feudal, capitalist, and socialist, are known to mankind. The exploitative socio-economic formations (slave-owning, feudal, and capitalist) are based on private property. Counterposed to the private exploitative forms of property there exists a qualitatively different public socialist property.

P

Paris Commune of 1871, the first proletarian revolution during which the first working-class government was established and existed from March 18 to May 28, 1871.

Past labour, labour objectified in the means of production and consumer goods.

Period of transition from capitalism to socialism, an historical period which begins with the seizure of political power by the working class in alliance with the toiling peasantry, and ends when the first phase of communist society, socialism, has been built.

Petty-bourgeois socialism, theories which criticise capitalism and advance utopian plans of building a new society without a socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Price, the value of a commodity expressed in terms of money.

Price of labour power (under capitalism), the value of the commodity labour power expressed in terms of money, which appears in the form of wages.

Price of production, in capitalist economy, the price of commodity which equals production costs plus average profit on the entire advanced capital; the converted form of the value of the commodity, an axis round which market commodity prices fluctuate.

Private labour, the labour of isolated, outwardly independent commodity producers which is based on private ownership of the means of production.

Private property, a form of appropriation under which the means of production belong to private individuals.

Product for oneself (under socialism), part of the social product distributed among the workers en-

gaged in material production according to labour performed.

Product for society (under socialism), part of the social product concentrated in the hands of society and used to satisfy its overall social needs.

Product of labour, a useful thing or service, a result of the process of labour.

Production, the process whereby the material benefits necessary for the existence and development of society are created.

Profit, a converted form of surplus value which appears as surplus of returns over expenditures of capital and which is appropriated gratuitously by the capitalist.

Proletariat, a class of wage workers deprived of the means of production and compelled to live by selling their labour power to the capitalists.

Proudhonism, a variety of petty-bourgeois socialism based on the philosophical and sociological views of Pierre Joseph Proudhon, a French socialist. He maintained that class exploitation in bourgeois society can be abolished through economic reforms in the sphere of circulation, namely, by introducing non-monetary commodity exchange and interest-free credit.

Public (social) ownership of the means of production, the economic foundation of socialism; arises as a result of socialist revolution through the nationalisation of big private capitalist property and transformation of the petty private property of peasants, handicraftsmen, etc., on socialist principles.

R

Rate of profit, the ratio of surplus value to the entire advanced capital in percentage terms. It camouflages capitalist exploitation, since profit appears as a product of the entire advanced capital rather than a result of appropriating the unpaid labour of the workers.

Reformism, a political trend in the working-class movement which emerged in the last quarter of the 19th century. It denies the necessity of class struggle, socialist revolution, and the dictatorship of the proletariat, preaches class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and views reforms within the framework of bourgeois jurisdiction as the means to eliminate the injustices of the capitalist system.

Relations of production, relations among people evolving objectively in the process of the production, distribution, exchange and consumption of material wealth.

Relative deterioration of the condition of the proletariat (relative impoverishment), the tendency for the working class's share in the national income of capitalist society to decline, the growth of social inequality under capitalism.

Reserve funds, strategical raw materials, fuel, certain types of machinery and equipment, grain, food, and some other products stored up by the state for the needs of defence.

Revisionism, an opportunist trend within the working-class movement which undertakes a revision of the fundamental propositions of Marxism-Lenin-

ism under the guise of creatively interpreting the new phenomena of reality.

Revolution of 1848-49, a bourgeois-democratic revolution in major European countries, of which the proletariat was an active participant for the first time in history.

Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP), the original name of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), founded at the First Congress of the RSDLP in 1898.

S

Scientific socialism, scientific communism, one of the three component parts of Marxism treating of the general laws, ways and forms of class struggle of the proletariat, of socialist revolution, and the building of socialism and communism. The terms are often used in their broad meaning to denote Marxism-Leninism in general.

Sectarianism (in the working-class movement), a "Left" opportunist trend in the communist movement which leads to the isolation of the party from the popular masses. It proceeds from an erroneous assessment of the situation and a dogmatic approach to certain propositions of Marxism-Leninism.

Social character of labour, a social form of labour which arises in the mutual exchange by people of various types of activity or its products.

Social consumption funds, part of the national income which goes to satisfy the needs of the members

of socialist society over and above their wages, i.e. gratis or on favourable terms, and which is distributed through the system of state funds spent on free education, medical care, social security, etc.

Social-Democracy, a general name for socialist parties set up in various countries in the second half of the 19th century.

Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany (the Eisenachers), the first Marxist working-class party in Germany founded by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht at the Eisenach Inaugural Congress in 1868.

Social income, see *National income*

Social labour, see *Past labour*

Social revolution, a transition from an historically outdated socio-economic formation to a more progressive one.

Social wealth, see *National wealth*

Socialisation of production, the process of merging of separate production processes in various branches into one social production process.

Socialism, a socio-economic system characterised by the domination of social ownership of the means of production, elimination of exploitation of man by man, and establishment of the power of the working people; the first, or lower, phase of the communist mode of production.

Socialist democracy, a form of the power of the people in socialist society which implies broad parti-

cipation of the popular masses in the management of society.

Socialist revolution, a social revolution which effects the transition from the capitalist socio-economic formation to the communist mode of production.

Socio-economic formation, human society at a definite stage of historical development. Its basis is a definite mode of production, and its essence lies in the relations of production. Historically there are five basic socio-economic formations: the primitive-communal, slave-owning, feudal, capitalist, and communist.

Soviets, mass political elective organisations of the working class which sprang up during the 1905-07 Revolution in Russia.

State of the whole people, a form of the socialist state, the political organisation of the whole people, with the working class playing the leading role.

Surplus value, value created by the unpaid labour of the wage worker over and above the value of his labour power and gratuitously appropriated by the capitalist.

T

Theory of average profit and of price of production, a theory conceived by Marx which explains the mechanism of price-formation in capitalist society and the conversion of value into the price of production.

Theory of ultra-imperialism, a bourgeois and right-wing opportunistic theory formulated by Karl Kautsky, a leader of the Second International. The formation of a united world cartel, Kautsky maintained, would eliminate inter-imperialist contradictions and thereby remove the danger of world wars between capitalist countries.

Trade unionism, a trend in the workers' and trade-union movement; in the narrow sense, a form of reformist ideology which restricts the aims of the working-class movement to trade-union struggle for improving the economic position and working conditions of various groups of workers organised in trade unions.

Trade unions, mass, non-party organisations of the working class, set up, as a rule, on the occupational principle.

U

Use value, the usefulness of an item, its ability to meet a requirement of man or society.

Utopian socialism, theories and teachings on a just social structure that arose prior to scientific socialism and were not backed up by the knowledge of the laws of social development and its motive forces.

V

Value, an objectified labour of commodity producers embodied in a commodity; it is determined by the amount of labour that is socially necessary for the production of this commodity, and measured by the socially necessary time, i.e. time required to produce the commodity in the socially normal conditions of production with the average level of skill and labour intensity characteristic of the society in question.

Der Volksstaat, the central organ of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party, published in Leipzig from 1869 to 1876.

W

Wage labour, the labour of workers in capitalist enterprises, who are deprived of the means of production and have to sell their capacity for work, i.e. labour power, to the capitalists.

Wages under capitalism, the value (and correspondingly the price) of labour power expressed in terms of money.

Wages under socialism, a form of payment in accordance with the quantity and quality of labour performed.

Working class, see *Proletariat*

Working day, the time of day during which the worker is engaged at an office or enterprise.

World socialist system, a social, economic and political community of sovereign socialist states enjoying equal rights,which are tied closely together in economic, scientific, and technological cooperation, the international socialist division of labour, and the world socialist market.

Y

"Young", the, a semi-anarchist opposition within the German Social-Democratic Party in the early 1890s.

In addition to publishing works by Marx, Engels and Lenin, Progress Publishers also issues pamphlets on individual works of Marxism-Leninism for those studying Marxist-Leninist theory. In this pamphlet the Soviet scholars L. and Yu. Vasin elucidate the main content of Karl Marx's brilliant work *Critique of the Gotha Programme,* which played a tremendous role in the elaboration of the theory of scientific communism, the strategy and tactics of the working-class movement, and the Marxist teaching on the party and the state.

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