

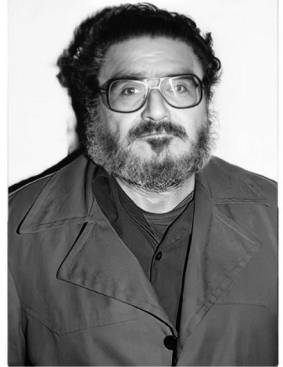
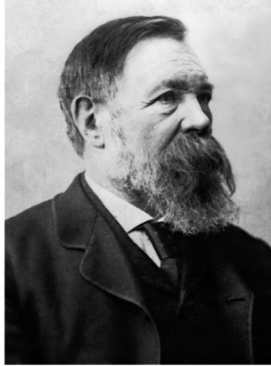
ON MARX AND ENGELS

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On Marx and Engels is a collection of seven articles written by V. I. Lenin between 1895-1919. It was first published by Foreign Languages Press Peking in 1975 during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.'

Alongside the campaign to "Criticize *Water Margin*," 1975 saw a mass call to study theory, particularly "study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat" to keep China on the socialist road. *On Marx and Engels* served to aid the Chinese people in their study of Marxist theory and their struggle against revisionism.



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Karl Marx¹

*(A Brief Biographical Sketch
with an Exposition of Marxism)*

Karl Marx was born May 5, 1818, in the city of Trier (Rhenish Prussia). His father was a lawyer, a Jew, who in 1824 adopted Protestantism. The family was well-to-do, cultured, but not revolutionary. After graduating from the Gymnasium in Trier, Marx entered university, first at Bonn and later at Berlin, where he studied jurisprudence but devoted most of his attention to history and philosophy. He concluded his course in 1841, submitting his doctoral dissertation on the philosophy of Epicurus. In his views Marx at that time was a Hegelian idealist. In Berlin he belonged to the circle of “Left Hegelians” (Bruno Bauer and others) who sought to draw atheistic and revolutionary conclusions from Hegel's philosophy.

After graduating from the university, Marx moved to Bonn, expecting to become a professor. But the reactionary policy of the government—which in 1832 deprived Ludwig Feuerbach of his chair and in 1836 refused to allow him to return to the university, and in 1841 forbade the young professor Bruno Bauer to lecture at Bonn—forced Marx to abandon an academic career. At that time the views of the Left Hegelians were developing very rapidly in Germany. Ludwig Feuerbach, particularly after 1836, began to criticize theology and to turn to materialism, which in 1841 completely gained

1 Written in 1914 by Lenin for the *Granat Encyclopedia*, the most popular encyclopedia in Russia at that time. The final sections “Socialism” and “Tactics of the Class Struggle of the Proletariat” were originally omitted by the publishers to evade Tsarist censorship, but have since been restored.

the upper hand in his philosophy (*The Essence of Christianity*); in 1843 his *Principles of the Philosophy of the Future* appeared. "One must have oneself experienced the liberating effect" of these books, Engels subsequently wrote of these works of Feuerbach. "At once we" (i.e., the Left Hegelians, including Marx) "all became Feuerbachians." At that time some Rhenish radical bourgeois who had certain points in common with the Left Hegelians founded an opposition paper in Cologne, the *Rheinische Zeitung* (the first number appeared on January 1, 1842). Marx and Bruno Bauer were invited to be the chief contributors, and in October 1842 Marx became chief editor and removed from Bonn to Cologne. The revolutionary-democratic trend of the paper became more and more pronounced under Marx's editorship, and the government first subjected the paper to double and triple censorship and then decided to suppress it altogether on January 1, 1843. Marx had to resign the editorship before that date, but his resignation did not save the paper, which was closed down in March 1843. Of the more important articles contributed by Marx to the *Rheinische Zeitung*, Engels notes, in addition to those indicated below (see *Bibliography*), an article on the condition of the peasant winegrowers of the Moselle Valley. Marx's journalistic activity made him realize he was not sufficiently acquainted with political economy, and he zealously set out to study it.

In 1843, in Kreuznach, Marx married Jenny von Westphalen, a childhood friend to whom he had been engaged while still a student. His wife came from a reactionary family of the Prussian nobility. Her elder brother was Prussian Minister of the Interior at a most reactionary period, 1850-58. In the autumn of 1843 Marx went to Paris in order, together with Arnold Ruge (born 1802, died 1880; a Left Hegelian; in 1825-30, in prison; after 1848, a political exile; after 1866-70, a Bismarck-

ian), to publish a radical magazine abroad. Only one issue of this magazine, *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, appeared. It was discontinued owing to the difficulty of secret distribution in Germany and to disagreements with Ruge. In his articles in this magazine Marx already appeared as a revolutionary advocating “merciless criticism of everything existing,” and in particular the “criticism by weapons,” and appealing to the masses and to the *proletariat*.

In September 1844 Frederick Engels came to Paris for a few days, and from that time forth became Marx's closest friend. They both took a most active part in the then seething life of the revolutionary groups in Paris (of particular importance was Proudhon's doctrine, which Marx thoroughly demolished in his *Poverty of Philosophy*, 1847), and, vigorously combating the various doctrines of petty-bourgeois socialism, they worked out the theory and tactics of revolutionary *proletarian socialism*, or communism (Marxism). See Marx's works of this period, 1844-48, in the *Bibliography*. In 1845, on the insistent demand of the Prussian government, Marx was banished from Paris as a dangerous revolutionary. He removed to Brussels. In the spring of 1847 Marx and Engels joined a secret propaganda society called the Communist League; they took a prominent part in the Second Congress of the League (London, November 1847), and at its request drew up the famous *Communist Manifesto*, which appeared in February 1848. With the clarity and brilliance of genius, this work outlines the new world outlook – consistent materialism, which also embraces the realm of social life, dialectics, as the most comprehensive and profound doctrine of development, the theory of the class struggle and of the world-historic revolutionary role of the proletariat—the creator of a new, communist society.

When the Revolution of February 1848 broke out, Marx was banished from Belgium. He returned to Paris, whence, after the March Revolution, he went to Cologne, Germany. There the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* appeared from June 1, 1848, to May 19, 1849; Marx was the chief editor. The new theory was brilliantly corroborated by the course of the revolutionary events of 1848-49, as it has been since corroborated by all proletarian and democratic movements of all countries in the world. The victorious counter-revolution first instigated court proceedings against Marx (he was acquitted on February 9, 1849) and then banished him from Germany (May 16, 1849). Marx first went to Paris, was again banished after the demonstration of June 13, 1849, and then went to London, where he lived to the day of his death.

His life as a political exile was a very hard one, as the correspondence between Marx and Engels (published in 1913) clearly reveals. Marx and his family suffered dire poverty. Were it not for Engels's constant and self-sacrificing financial support, Marx would not only have been unable to finish *Capital* but would have inevitably perished from want. Moreover, the prevailing doctrines and trends of petty-bourgeois socialism, and of non-proletarian socialism in general, forced Marx to carry on a continuous and merciless fight and sometimes to repel the most savage and monstrous personal attacks (*Herr Vogt*). Holding aloof from the circles of political exiles, Marx developed his materialist theory in a number of historical works (see *Bibliography*), devoting his efforts chiefly to the study of political economy. Marx revolutionized this science (see below, "The Marxist Doctrine") in his *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859) and *Capital* (Vol. I, 1867).

The period of revival of the democratic movements at the end of the fifties and in the sixties recalled Marx to practical activity. In 1864 (September 28) the International Working Men's Association—the famous First

International—was founded in London. Marx was the heart and soul of this organization; he was the author of its first Address and a host of resolutions, declarations and manifestoes. Uniting the working-class movement of various countries, striving to direct into the channel of joint activity the various forms of non-proletarian, pre-Marxist socialism (Mazzini, Proudhon, Bakunin, liberal trade unionism in England, Lassallean vacillations to the Right in Germany, etc.), and combating the theories of all these sects and schools, Marx hammered out a uniform tactic for the proletarian struggle of the working class in the various countries. After the fall of the Paris Commune (1871)—of which Marx gave such a profound, clear-cut, brilliant, effective and revolutionary analysis (*The Civil War in France*, 1871)—and after the International was split by the Bakuninists, the existence of that organization in Europe became impossible. After the Hague Congress of the International (1872) Marx had the General Council of the International transferred to New York. The First International had accomplished its historical role, making way for a period of immeasurably larger growth of the working-class movement in all the countries of the world, a period, in fact, when the movement grew in *breadth* and when *mass* socialist workers' parties in individual national states were created.

His strenuous work in the International and his still more strenuous theoretical occupations completely undermined Marx's health. He continued his work on the reshaping of political economy and the completion of *Capital*, for which he collected a mass of new material and studied a number of languages (Russian, for instance); but ill-health prevented him from finishing *Capital*.

On December 2, 1881, his wife died. On March 14, 1883, Marx peacefully passed away in his armchair. He lies buried with his wife in the Highgate Cemetery, Lon-

don. Of Marx's children some died in childhood in London when the family lived in dire poverty. Three daughters married English and French socialists: Eleanor Aveling, Laura Lafargue and Jenny Longuet. The latter's son is a member of the French Socialist Party.

THE MARXIST DOCTRINE

Marxism is the system of the views and teachings of Marx. It was Marx who continued and with genius consummated the three main ideological currents of the nineteenth century, belonging to the three most advanced countries of mankind: classical German philosophy, classical English political economy, and French socialism together with French revolutionary doctrines in general. The remarkable consistency and integrity of Marx's views, acknowledged even by his opponents, views which in their totality constitute modern materialism and modern scientific socialism, as the theory and programme of the labour movement in all the civilized countries of the world, oblige us to present a brief outline of his world conception in general before proceeding to the exposition of the principal content of Marxism, namely, Marx's economic doctrine.

PHILOSOPHICAL MATERIALISM

From 1844-45, when his views took shape, Marx was a materialist, in particular a follower of Ludwig Feuerbach, whose weak sides he saw, later as well, only in the fact that his materialism was not consistent and comprehensive enough. Marx regarded the historic and "epoch-making" importance of Feuerbach in his having resolutely broken away from the idealism of Hegel and in his proclamation of materialism, which already in the eighteenth century, especially in France, "was not only a struggle against the existing political institutions and

[...] religion and theology; it was just as much a struggle [...] against all metaphysics” (in the sense of “drunken speculation” as distinct from “sober philosophy”). (*The Holy Family*) “To Hegel,” wrote Marx, “the process of thinking, which, under the name of ‘the Idea,’ he even transforms into an independent subject, is the demiurgos” (the creator, the maker) “of the real world [...] With me, on the contrary, the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought.” (*Capital*, Vol. I, Afterword to the Second Edition.) In full conformity with this materialist philosophy of Marx’s, and expounding it, Frederick Engels wrote in *Anti-Dühring* (which Marx read in the manuscript): “The unity of the world does not consist in its being. [...] The real unity of the world consists in its materiality, and this is proved [...] by a long and laborious development of philosophy and natural science. [...]” “*Motion is the mode of existence of matter*. Never anywhere has there been matter without motion, or motion without matter, nor can there be. [...] Matter without motion is just as inconceivable as motion without matter.” “But if we [...] ask what thought and consciousness are and whence they come, we find that they are products of the human brain and that man himself is a product of nature, who has developed in and along with his environment; hence it is self-evident that the products of the human brain, which in the last analysis also products of nature, do not contradict the rest of nature’s interconnections but are correspond to them.” “Hegel was an idealist. To him the thoughts within his brain were not the more or less abstract images” (*Abbilder*; reflections; Engels sometimes speaks of “imprints”) “of actual things and processes, but, on the contrary, things and their development were only the realized images of the ‘Idea’ existing somewhere from eternity before the world existed.” In his *Ludwig Feuerbach*—in which he expounds his and

Marx's views on Feuerbach's philosophy, and which he sent to the press after re-reading an old manuscript written by Marx and himself in 1844-45 on Hegel, Feuerbach and the materialist conception of history – Frederick Engels writes: “The great basic question of all philosophy, especially of more recent philosophy, is that concerning the relation of thinking and being [...] the relation of mind to nature [...] which is primary, mind or nature. [...] Philosophers were divided into two great camps according to their answer to this question. Those who asserted the primacy of spirit to nature and, in the last analysis, therefore, assumed some kind of creation of the world [...] formed the camp of idealism. The others, who regarded nature as primary, belong to the various schools of materialism.” Any other use of the concepts of (philosophical) idealism and materialism leads only to confusion. Marx decidedly rejected not only idealism, which is always connected in one way or another with religion, but also the views, especially widespread in our day, of Hume and Kant, agnosticism, criticism, positivism in their various forms, regarding such a philosophy as a “reactionary” concession to idealism and at best a “shamefaced way of surreptitiously accepting materialism, while publicly denying it.” On this question, see, in addition to the above-mentioned works of Engels and Marx, a letter of Marx to Engels dated December 12, 1868, in which Marx, referring to an utterance of the well-known naturalist Thomas Huxley that was “more materialistic” than usual, and to his recognition that “as long as we actually observe and think, we cannot possibly get away from materialism,” reproaches him for leaving a “loophole” for agnosticism and Humism. Especially should we note Marx's view on the relation between freedom and necessity: “Freedom is the recognition of necessity. ‘Necessity is *blind* only *in so far as it is not understood*’” (Engels, *Anti-Dühring*). This means the recognition of objective law in nature

and of the dialectical transformation of necessity into freedom (in the same manner as the transformation of the unknown but knowable, “thing-in-itself” into the “thing for-us,” of the “essence of things” into “phenomena”). Marx and Engels considered the fundamental shortcomings of the “old” materialism, including the materialism of Feuerbach (and still more of the “vulgar” materialism of Büchner, Vogt and Moleschott), to be: (1) that this materialism was “predominantly mechanical,” failing to take account of the latest developments of chemistry and biology (in our day it would be necessary to add: and of the electrical theory of matter); (2) that the old materialism was non-historical, non-dialectical (metaphysical, in the sense of anti-dialectical), and did not apply the standpoint of development consistently and comprehensively; and (3) that these old materialists regarded the “human essence” abstractly and not as the “ensemble” of all (concretely and historically defined) “social relations,” and therefore only “interpreted” the world, whereas the point is to “change” it; that is to say, they did not understand the importance of “revolutionary, practical activity.”

DIALECTICS

Hegelian dialectics, the most comprehensive, the richest in content, and the most profound doctrine of development, was regarded by Marx and Engels as the greatest achievement of classical German philosophy. They considered every other formulation of the principle of development, of evolution, to be one-sided and poor in content, and distorting and mutilating the real course of development (which often proceeds by leaps, catastrophes and revolutions) in nature and in society. “Marx and I were pretty well the only people to rescue conscious dialectics” (from the destruction of idealism, including Hegelianism) “for the materialist conception

of nature. [...]” “Nature is the test of dialectics, and it must be said for modern natural science that it has furnished this test with very rich” (this was written before the discovery of radium, electrons, the transmutation of elements, etc.!) “and daily increasing materials, and has thus proved that in the last analysis nature works dialectically and not metaphysically.”

“The great basic thought,” Engels writes, “that the world is to be comprehended not as a complex of ready-made *things*, but as a complex of *processes*, in which apparently stable things no less than the concepts, their mental reflections in our heads, go through an uninterrupted change of coming into being and passing away [...] this great fundamental thought has so thoroughly permeated ordinary consciousness especially since Hegel’s time that it is now scarcely ever contradicted in this general form. But it is one thing to acknowledge it in words and another to carry it out in reality in detail in each domain of investigation.” For dialectical philosophy, “nothing final, absolute, or sacred can endure. [...] It reveals the transitory character of everything and in everything, and nothing can endure in its presence except the uninterrupted process of becoming and of passing away, of endless ascent from the lower to the higher, of which it is itself the mere reflection in the thinking brain.” Thus, according to Marx, dialectics is “the science of the general laws of motion, both of the external world and of human thought.”

This revolutionary side of Hegel’s philosophy was adopted and developed by Marx. Dialectical materialism “no longer needs any philosophy standing above the other sciences.” Of former philosophy there remains “the science of thought and its laws—formal logic and dialectics.” And dialectics, as understood by Marx, and in conformity with Hegel, includes what is now called the theory of knowledge, or epistemology, which must

regard its subject matter in the same way – historically, studying and generalizing the origin and development of knowledge, the transition from non-knowledge to knowledge.

Nowadays, the idea of development, of evolution, has penetrated the social consciousness almost in its entirety, but by different ways, not through Hegelian philosophy. But as formulated by Marx and Engels basing themselves on Hegel, this idea is far more comprehensive, far richer in content than the current idea of evolution. A development that seemingly repeats the stages already passed, but repeats them differently, on a higher basis (“negation of negation:), a development, so to speak, in a spiral, not in a straight line; a development by leaps, catastrophes, and revolutions; “interruptions of gradualness”; the transformation of quantity into quality; inner impulses to development, imparted by the contradiction and conflict of the various forces and tendencies acting on a given body, or within a given phenomenon, or within a given society; the interdependence and the closest, indissoluble connection of *all* sides of every phenomenon (history constantly discloses ever new sides), a connection that provides a uniform, law-governed, universal process of motion—such are some of the features of dialectics as a richer (than the ordinary) doctrine of development. (See Marx's letter to Engels of January 8, 1868, in which he ridicules Stein's “wooden trichotomies” which it would be absurd to confuse with materialist dialectics.)

THE MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY

Having realized the inconsistency, incompleteness, and one-sidedness of the old materialism, Marx became convinced of the necessity of “bringing the science of society [...] into harmony with the materialist base, and

of reconstructing it on this base.” Since materialism in general explains consciousness as the outcome of being, and not conversely, materialism as applied to the social life of mankind demands that social consciousness be explained as the outcome of social being. “Technology,” writes Marx (*Capital*, Vol. I), “discloses man's mode of dealing with Nature, the immediate process of production by which he sustains his life, and thereby also lays bare the mode of formation of his social relations, and of the mental conceptions that flow from them.” In the preface to his *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Marx gives an integral formulation of the fundamental principles of materialism as applied to human society and its history, in the following words:

“In the social production of their existence, men enter into definite, necessary relations, which are independent of their will, namely, relations of production corresponding to a determinate stage of development of their material forces of production.

“The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which there correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life-process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but on the contrary it is their social being that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, or—what is merely a legal expression for the same thing—with the property relations

within the framework of which they have hitherto operated. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. At that point an era of social revolution begins. With the change in the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more slowly or more rapidly transformed. In considering such transformations it is always necessary to distinguish between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production, which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, artistic or philosophic, in short, ideological, forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out.

“Just as one does not judge an individual by what he thinks about himself, so one can not judge of such an epoch of transformation by its consciousness, but, on the contrary, this consciousness must be explained from the contradictions of material life, from the existing conflict between the social forces of production and the relations of production. [...] In broad outlines, the Asiatic, ancient, feudal, and modern bourgeois modes of production may be designated as progressive epochs of the socio-economic order.” (Cf. Marx's brief formulation in a letter to Engels dated July 7, 1866: “Our theory that the *organization of labour* is determined by *the means of production*.”)

The discovery of the materialist conception of history, or rather, the consistent continuation and extension of materialism into the domain of social phenomena, removed the two chief defects of earlier historical theories. In the first place, they at best examined only

the ideological motives of the historical activity of human beings, without investigating what produced these motives, without grasping the objective laws governing the development of the system of social relations, and without discerning the roots of these relations in the degree of development of material production; in the second place, the earlier theories did not cover the activities of the masses of the population, whereas historical materialism made it possible for the first time to study with the accuracy of the natural sciences the social conditions of the life of the masses and the changes in these conditions. Pre-Marxist “sociology” and historiography *at best* provided an accumulation of raw facts, collected sporadically, and a depiction of individual aspects of the historical process. By examining the *sum* total of all opposing tendencies, by reducing them to precisely definable conditions of life and production of the various *classes* of society, by discarding subjectivism and arbitrariness in the choice of a particular “dominant” idea or in its interpretation, and by disclosing the *roots* of all ideas and all the various tendencies, without exception, in the condition of the material forces of production, Marxism pointed the way to an all-embracing and comprehensive study of the process of rise, development, and decline of social-economic formations. People make their own history. But what determines the motives of people, of the mass of people—what gives rise to the clash of conflicting ideas and strivings? What is the sum total of all these clashes of the whole mass of human societies? What are the objective conditions of production of material life that form the basis of all historical activity of man? What is the law of development of these conditions? To all this Marx drew attention and pointed out the way to a scientific study of history as a single process which, with all its immense variety and contradictoriness, is governed by definite laws.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE

That in any given society the strivings of some of its members run counter to the strivings of others, that social life is full of contradictions, that history discloses a struggle between nations and societies, and also within nations and societies, and, in addition, an alternation of periods of revolution and reaction, peace and war, stagnation and rapid progress or decline—are facts that are generally known. Marxism has provided the guiding thread which enables us to discover the laws governing his seeming labyrinth and chaos, namely, the theory of the class struggle. Only a study of the sum total of the strivings of all the members of a given society or group of societies can lead to a scientific definition of the result of these strivings. And the source of the conflicting strivings lies in the difference in the position and mode of life of the classes into which each society is divided. “The history of all hitherto existing society,” wrote Marx in the *Communist Manifesto* (except the history of the primitive community—Engels added subsequently) “is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes. [...] The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonism. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones. Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and

more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat." Ever since the Great French Revolution, European history has most clearly revealed in a number of countries this real undersurface of events, the struggle of classes. And the Restoration period in France already produced a number of historians (Thierry, Guizot, Mignet, Thiers) who, generalizing from events, were forced to recognize that the class struggle was the key to all French history. And the modern era—the era of the complete victory of the bourgeoisie, representative institutions, wide (if not universal) suffrage, a cheap daily press with a mass circulation, etc., the era of powerful and ever-expanding unions of workers and unions of employers, etc., has revealed even more manifestly (though sometimes in a very one-sided, "peaceful," "constitutional" form) that the class struggle is the mainspring of events. The following passage from Marx's *Communist Manifesto* will show us what Marx required of social science in respect to an objective analysis of the position of each class in modern society in connection with an analysis of the conditions of development of each class: "Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie to-day, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product. The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the shop keeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the bourgeoisie, to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are therefore not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history. If by chance they are revolutionary, they are so only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat, they thus defend not their present, but their future interests, they desert their own standpoint to

place themselves at that of the proletariat.” In a number of historical works (see *Bibliography*), Marx has given us brilliant and profound examples of materialist historiography, of an analysis of the position of each individual class, and sometimes of various groups or strata within a class, showing plainly why and how “every class struggle is a political struggle.” The above-quoted passage is an illustration of what a complex network of social relations and *transitional* stages between one class and another, from the past to the future, Marx has analyzed in order to calculate the entire resultants of historical development.

The most profound, comprehensive and detailed confirmation and application of Marx's theory is his economic doctrine.

MARX'S ECONOMIC DOCTRINE

“It is the ultimate aim of this work to lay bare the economic law of motion of modern society” (that is to say, capitalist, bourgeois society), says Marx in the preface to *Capital*. An investigation of the relations of production in a given, historically defined society, in their genesis, development, and decline—such is the content of Marx's economic doctrine. In capitalist society it is the production of commodities that dominates, and Marx's analysis therefore begins with an analysis of the commodity.

VALUE

A commodity is, in the first place, a thing that satisfies a human want; in the second place, it is a thing that can be exchanged for another thing. The utility of a thing makes it a *use-value*. Exchange-value (or simply, value) presents itself first of all as the ratio, the proportion, in which a certain number of use-values of one sort

are exchanged for a certain number of use-values of another sort. Daily experience shows us that millions upon millions of such exchanges are constantly equating with one another every kind of use-value, even the most diverse and incomparable. Now, what is there in common between these various things, things constantly equated one with another in a definite system of social relations? What is common to them is that they are *products of labour*. In exchanging products people equate to one another the most diverse kinds of labour. The production of commodities is a system of social relations in which the individual producers create diverse products (the social division of labour), and in which all these products are equated to one another in exchange. Consequently, what is common to all commodities is not the concrete labour of a definite branch of production, not labour of one particular kind, but *abstract* human labour—human labour in general. All the labour power of a given society, as represented in the sum total of values of all commodities, is one and the same human labour power: millions and millions of acts of exchange prove this. Consequently, each particular commodity represents only a certain share of the *socially necessary* labour time. The magnitude of value is determined by the amount of socially necessary labour, or by the labour time that is socially necessary for the production of the given commodity, of the given use-value. “Whenever, by an exchange, we equate as values our different products, by that very act, we also equate, as human labour, the different kinds of labour expended upon them. We are not aware of this, nevertheless we do it.” As one of the earlier economists said, value is a relation between two persons; only he ought to have added: a relation disguised as a relation between things. We can understand what value is only when we consider it from the standpoint of the system of social relations of production of one particular histor-

ical formation of society, relations, moreover, which manifest themselves in the mass phenomenon of exchange, a phenomenon which repeats itself millions upon millions of times. "As values, all commodities are only definite masses of congealed labour time." Having made a detailed analysis of the twofold character of the labour embodied in commodities, Marx goes on to analyze the *forms of value* and *money*. Marx's main task here is to study the *genesis* of the money form of value, to study the *historical process* of development of exchange, from separate and casual acts of exchange ("simple, separate or accidental form of value," in which a given quantity of one commodity is exchanged for a given quantity of another) to the universal form of value, in which a number of different commodities are exchanged for one and the same particular commodity, and to the money form of value, when gold becomes this particular commodity, the universal equivalent. Being the highest product of the development of exchange and commodity production, money masks and conceals the social character of individual labour, the social tie between the individual producers who are united by the market. Marx analyzes in very great detail the various functions of money; and it is essential to note here in particular (as generally in the opening chapters of *Capital*), that the abstract and seemingly at times purely deductive mode of exposition in reality reproduces a gigantic collection of factual material on the history of the development of exchange and commodity production. "If we consider money, its existence implies a definite stage in the exchange of commodities. The particular functions of money which it performs, either as the mere equivalent of commodities, or as means of circulation, or means of payment, as hoard or as universal money, point, according to the extent and relative pre-

ponderance of the one function or the other, to very different stages in the process of social production.” (*Capital*, Vol. I.)

SURPLUS VALUE

At a certain stage in the development of commodity production money becomes transformed into capital. The formula of commodity circulation was $C - M - C$ (commodity - money - commodity), i.e., the sale of one commodity for the purpose of buying another. The general formula of capital, on the contrary, is $M - C - M$, i.e., purchase for the purpose of selling (at a profit). The increase over the original value of the money put into circulation Marx calls surplus value. The fact of this “growth” of money in capitalist circulation is well known. Indeed, it is this “growth” which transforms money into *capital*, as a special, historically defined, social relation of production. Surplus value cannot arise out of commodity circulation, for the latter knows only the exchange of equivalents; neither can it arise out of an addition to price, for the mutual losses and gains of buyers and sellers would equalize one another, whereas what we have here is not an individual phenomenon but a mass, average, social phenomenon. In order to derive surplus value, the owner of money must “find [...] in the market, a commodity, whose use-value possesses the peculiar property of being a source of value”—a commodity whose process of consumption is at the same time a process of creation of value. And such a commodity exists. It is human labour power. Its consumption is labour, and labour creates value. The owner of money buys labour power at its value, which, like the value of every other commodity, is determined by the socially necessary labour time requisite for its production (i.e., the cost of maintaining the worker and his family). Having bought labour power, the owner of

money is entitled to use it, that is, to set it to work for the whole day – twelve hours, let us suppose. Yet, in the course of six hours (“necessary” labour time) the labourer creates product sufficient to cover the cost of his own maintenance; and in the course of the next six hours (“surplus” labour time), he creates “surplus” product, or surplus value, for which the capitalist does not pay. In capital, therefore, from the standpoint of the process of production, two parts must be distinguished: constant capital, expended on means of production (machinery, tools, raw materials, etc.), the value of which, without any change, is transferred (all at once or part by part) to the finished product; and variable capital, expended on labour power. The value of this latter capital is not invariable, but grows in the labour process, creating surplus value. Therefore, to express the degree of exploitation of labour power by capital, surplus value must be compared not with the whole capital but only with the variable capital. Thus in the example given, the rate of surplus value, as Marx calls this ratio, will be 6:6, i.e., 100 per cent.

The historical prerequisites for the genesis of capital were, firstly, the accumulation of a certain sum of money in the hands of individuals under conditions of a relatively high level of development of commodity production in general, and, secondly, the existence of a worker who is “free” in a double sense: free from all constraint or restriction on the sale of his labour power, and free from the land and all means of production in general, a worker not bound to a master, a “proletarian,” who cannot subsist except by the sale of his labour power.

There are two principal methods by which surplus value can be increased: by lengthening the working day (“absolute surplus value”), and by shortening the necessary working day (“relative surplus value”). Analyzing the first method, Marx gives a most impressive picture

of the struggle of the working class to shorten the working day and of interference by the state power to lengthen the working day (from the fourteenth century to the seventeenth century) and to shorten the working day (factory legislation of the nineteenth century). Since the appearance of *Capital*, the history of the working-class movement in all civilized countries of the world has provided a wealth of new facts amplifying this picture.

Analyzing the production of relative surplus value, Marx investigates the three main historical stages by which capitalism has increased the productivity of labour: 1) simple co-operation, 2) division of labour and manufacture; 3) machinery and large-scale industry. How profoundly Marx has here revealed the basic and typical features of capitalist development is incidentally shown by the fact that investigations into the handicraft industries of Russia furnish abundant material illustrating the first two of the mentioned stages. And the revolutionizing effect of large-scale machine industry, described by Marx in 1867, has been revealed in a number of "new" countries (Russia, Japan, etc.) in the course of the half-century that has since elapsed.

To continue. New and important in the highest degree is Marx's analysis of the *accumulation of capital*, i.e., the transformation of a part of surplus value into capital, its use, not for satisfying the personal needs or whims of the capitalist, but for new production. Marx revealed the mistake made in all earlier classical political economy (from Adam Smith on) which assumed that the entire surplus value which is transformed into capital goes to form variable capital. In actual fact, it is divided into *means of production* and variable capital. Of tremendous importance to the process of development of capitalism and its transformation into socialism

is the more rapid growth of the constant capital share (of the total capital) as compared with the variable capital share.

The accumulation of capital, accelerating the supplanting of workers by machinery and creating wealth at one pole and poverty at the other, also gives rise to what is called the “reserve army of labour,” to the “relative surplus” of workers, or “capitalist overpopulation,” which assumes the most diverse forms and makes it possible for capital to expand production at an extremely fast rate. This possibility, in conjunction with credit facilities and the accumulation of capital in means of production, incidentally furnishes the key an understanding of the *crises* of over-production that occur periodically in capitalist countries—at first at an average of every ten years, and later at more lengthy and less definite intervals. From the accumulation of capital under capitalism must be distinguished what we know as primitive accumulation: the forcible divorcement of the worker from the means of production, the driving of the peasants from the land, the stealing of communal land, the system of colonies and national debts, protective tariffs, and the like. “Primitive accumulation” creates the “free” proletarian at one pole, and the owner of money, the capitalist, at the other.

The “historical tendency of capitalist accumulation” is described by Marx in the following famous words:

“The expropriation of the immediate producers was accomplished with merciless Vandalism, and under the stimulus of passions the most infamous, the most sordid, the pettiest, the most meanly odious. Self-earned private property” (of the peasant and handicraftsman), “that is based, so to say, on the fusing together of the isolated, independent labouring individual with the conditions of his labour, is supplanted by capitalistic

private property, which rests on exploitation of the nominally free labour of others. [...] That which is now to be expropriated is no longer the labourer working for himself, but the capitalist exploiting many labourers. This expropriation is accomplished by the action of the immanent laws of capitalistic production itself, by the centralization of capital. One capitalist always kills many. Hand in hand with this centralization, or this expropriation of many capitalists by few, develop, on an ever-extending scale, the co-operative form of the labour process, the conscious technical application of science, the methodical cultivation of the soil, the transformation of the instruments of labour into instruments of labour only usable in common, the economizing of all means of production by their use as the means of production of combined, socialized labour, the entanglement of all peoples in the net of the world market, and with this, the international character of the capitalistic regime. Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolize all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labour at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder.

The knell of capitalist private property sounds.
The expropriators are expropriated.” (*Capital*,
Vol. I.)

Also new and important in the highest degree, further, is the analysis Marx gives in the second volume of *Capital* of the reproduction of the aggregate social capital. Here, too, Marx deals not with an individual phenomenon but with a mass phenomenon; not with a fractional part of the economy of society but with this economy as a whole. Correcting the mistake of the classical economists mentioned above, Marx divides the entire social production into two big sections: I) production of means of production, and II) production of articles of consumption, and examines in detail, with numerical examples, the circulation of the aggregate social capital—both in the case of reproduction in its former dimensions and in the case of accumulation. The third volume of *Capital* solves the problem of the formation of the *average rate of profit* on the basis of the law of value. The immense advance in economic science made by Marx consists in the fact that he conducts his analysis from the standpoint of mass economic phenomena, of the social economy as a whole, and not from the standpoint of individual cases or of the external, superficial aspects of competition, to which vulgar political economy and the modern “theory of marginal utility” are frequently limited. Marx first analyzes the origin of surplus value, and then goes on to consider its division into profit, interest, and ground rent. Profit is the ratio between the surplus value and the total capital invested in an undertaking. Capital with a “high organic composition” (i.e., with a preponderance of constant capital over variable capital exceeding the social average) yields a lower than average rate of profit; capital with a “low organic composition” yields a higher than average rate of profit. The competition of capitals, and the free-

dom with which they transfer from one branch to another equate the rate of profit to the average in both cases. The sum-total of the values of all the commodities in a given society coincides with the sum-total of prices of the commodities; but, owing to competition, in individual undertakings and branches of production commodities are sold not at their values but at the *prices of production* (or production prices), which are equal to the expended capital plus the average profit.

In this way the well-known and indisputable fact of the divergence between prices and values and of the equalization of profits is fully explained by Marx on the basis of the law of value; for the sum total of values of all commodities coincides with the sum total of prices. However, the equation of (social) value to (individual) prices does not take place simply and directly, but in a very complex way. It is quite natural that in a society of separate producers of commodities, who are united only by the market, the conformity to law can reveal itself only as an average, social, mass conformity to law, with individual deviations to one side or the other mutually compensating one another.

An increase in the productivity of labour implies a more rapid growth of constant capital as compared with variable capital. And since surplus value is a function of variable capital alone, it is obvious that the rate of profit (the ratio of surplus value to the whole capital; and not to its variable part alone) tends to fall. Marx makes a detailed analysis of this tendency and of a number of circumstances that conceal or counteract it. Without pausing to give an account of the extremely interesting sections of the third volume of *Capital* devoted to usurer's capital, commercial capital and money capital, we pass to the most important section, the theory of *ground rent*. Since the land area is limited and, in capitalist countries, is all occupied by individual

private owners, the price of production of agricultural products is determined by the cost of production not on soil of average quality, but on the worst soil, not under average conditions of delivery of produce to the market, but under the worst conditions. The difference between this price and the price of production on better soil (or under better conditions) constitutes *differential* rent. Analyzing this in detail, and showing how it arises out of the difference in fertility of different plots of land and the difference in the amount of capital invested in land, Marx fully exposed (see also *Theories of Surplus Value*, in which the criticism of Rodbertus deserves particular attention) the error of Ricardo, who considered that differential rent is derived only when there is a successive transition from better land to worse. On the contrary, there may be inverse transitions, land may pass from one category into others (owing to advances in agricultural technique, the growth of towns, and so on), and the notorious “law of diminishing returns” is a profound error which charges nature with the defects, limitations and contradictions of capitalism. Further, the equalization of profit in all branches of industry and national economy in general presupposes complete freedom of competition and the free flow of capital from one branch to another. But the private ownership of land creates monopoly, which hinders this free flow. Owing to this monopoly, the products of agriculture, which is distinguished by a lower organic composition of capital, and, consequently, by an individually higher rate of profit, do not enter into the entirely free process of equalization of the rate of profit; the landowner, being a monopolist, can keep the price above the average, and this monopoly price engenders absolute rent. Differential rent cannot be done away with under capitalism, but absolute rent *can*—for instance, by the nationalization of the land, by making it the property of the state. Making the land the property of the state would under-

mine the monopoly of private landowners, and would lead to a more systematic and complete operation of freedom of competition in the domain of agriculture. And, therefore, Marx points out, in the course of history bourgeois radicals have again and again advanced this progressive bourgeois demand for the nationalization of the land, which, however, frightens away the majority of the bourgeoisie, because it too closely “touches” another monopoly, which is particularly important and “sensitive” in our day—the monopoly of the means of production in general. (Marx gives a remarkably popular, concise, and clear exposition of his theory of the average rate of profit on capital and of absolute ground rent in a letter to Engels, dated August 2, 1862; also the letter of August 9, 1862.) For the history of ground rent it is also important to note Marx’s analysis showing how labour rent (when the peasant creates surplus product by labouring on the lord’s land) is transformed into rent in produce or in kind (when the peasant creates surplus product on his own land and cedes it to the lord under stress of “non-economic coercion”), then into money rent (which is rent in kind transformed into money, the *quitrent* of old Russia, as a result of the development of commodity production), and finally into capitalist rent, when the peasant is replaced by the agricultural entrepreneur, who cultivates the soil with the help of wage labour. In connection with this analysis of the “genesis of capitalist ground rent,” note should be made of a number of penetrating ideas (especially important for backward countries like Russia) expressed by Marx on the *evolution of capitalism in agriculture*. “The transformation of rent in kind into money rent is not only inevitably accompanied, but even anticipated by the formation of a class of propertyless day labourers, who hire themselves out for money. During their genesis, when this new class appears but sporadically, there necessarily develops among the more prosperous rent-pay-

ing peasants the custom of exploiting agricultural labourers for their own account, much as in feudal times, when the more well-to-do peasant serfs themselves also held serfs. In this way, they gradually acquire the ability to accumulate a certain amount of wealth and to transform themselves even into future capitalists. The old self-employed possessors of the land thus give rise to a nursery school for capitalist tenants, whose development is conditioned upon the general development of capitalist production beyond the bounds of the countryside.” (*Capital*, Vol. III) “The expropriation and eviction of a part of the agricultural population not only set free for industrial capital, the labourers, their means of subsistence, and material for labour; it also created the home market.” (*Capital*, Vol. I) In their turn, the impoverishment and ruin of the rural population play a part in the formation of a reserve army of labour for capital. In every capitalist country “part of the agricultural population is therefore constantly on the point of passing over into an urban or manufacturing proletariat. [...] (Manufacture is used here in the sense of all non-agricultural industries.) This source of relative surplus population is thus constantly flowing. [...] The agricultural labourer is therefore reduced to the minimum of wages, and always stands with one foot already in the swamp of pauperism.” (*Capital*, Vol. I) The private ownership of the peasant in the land he tills constitutes the basis of small-scale production and the condition for its prospering and attaining a classical form. But such small-scale production is compatible only with a narrow and primitive framework of production and society. Under capitalism the exploitation of the peasants “differs only in *form* from the exploitation of the industrial proletariat. The exploiter is the same: *capital*. The individual capitalists exploit the individual peasants through *mortgages* and *usury*; the capitalist class exploits the peasant class

through the *state taxes.*" (*The Class Struggles in France.*) "The small holding of the peasant is now only the pretext that allows the capitalist to draw profits, interest and rent from the soil, while leaving it to the tiller of the soil himself to see how he can extract his wages." (*The Eighteenth Brumaire.*) As a rule the peasant cedes to capitalist society, i.e., to the capitalist class, even a part of the wages, sinking "to the level of the *Irish tenant farmer*—all under the pretence of being a *private proprietor.*" (*The Class Struggles in France.*) What is "one of the reasons why grain prices are lower in countries with a predominant small peasant land proprietorship than in countries with a capitalist mode of production"? (*Capital*, Vol. III) It is that the peasant cedes to society (i.e., to the capitalist class) part of his surplus product for nothing. "This lower price" (of cereals and other agricultural produce) "is consequently a result of the producers' poverty and by no means of the productivity of their labour." (*Capital*, Vol. III) The small-holding system, which is the normal form of small-scale production, deteriorates, collapses and perishes under capitalism. "Proprietorship of land parcels by its very nature excludes the development of the social productive forces of labour, social forms of labour, social concentration of capital, large-scale cattle raising, and the progressive application of science. Usury and a taxation system must impoverish it everywhere. The expenditure of capital in the price of the land withdraws this capital from cultivation. An infinite fragmentation of means of production, and isolation of the producers themselves." (Co-operative societies, i.e., associations of small peasants, while playing an extremely progressive bourgeois role, only weaken this tendency without eliminating it; nor must it be forgotten that these co-operative societies do much for the well-to-do peasants, and very little, almost nothing, for the mass of poor peasants; and then the associations themselves become

exploiters of wage labour.) “Monstrous waste of human energy. Progressive deterioration of conditions of production and increased prices of means of production – an inevitable law of proprietorship of parcels.” In agriculture, as in industry, capitalism transforms the process of production only at the price of the “martyrdom of the producer.” “The dispersion of the rural labourers over larger areas breaks their power of resistance while concentration increases that of the town operatives. In modern agriculture, as in the urban industries, the increased productiveness and quantity of the labour set in motion are bought at the cost of laying waste and consuming by disease labour power itself. Moreover, all progress in capitalistic agriculture is a progress in the art, not only of robbing the labourer, but of robbing the soil. [...] Capitalist production, therefore, develops technology, and the combining together of various processes into a social whole, only by sapping the original sources of all wealth—the soil and the labourer.” (*Capital*, Vol. I, end of Chap. 15.)

SOCIALISM

From the foregoing it is evident that Marx deduces the inevitability of the transformation of capitalist society into socialist society wholly and exclusively from the economic law of motion of contemporary society. The socialization of labour, which is advancing ever more rapidly in thousands of forms, and which has manifested itself very strikingly, during the half-century that has elapsed since the death of Marx, in the growth of large-scale production, capitalist cartels, syndicates and trusts, as well as in the gigantic increase in the dimensions and power of finance capital, forms the chief material foundation for the inevitable advent of socialism. The intellectual and moral driving force and the physical executant of this transformation is the prole-

tariat, which is trained by capitalism itself. The struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, which manifests itself in multifarious forms ever richer in content, inevitably becomes a political struggle aiming at the conquest of political power by the proletariat (“the dictatorship of the proletariat”). The socialization of production is bound to lead to the conversion of the means of production into the property of society, to the “expropriation of the expropriators.” A tremendous rise in labour productivity, a shorter working day, and the replacement of the remnants, the ruins, of small-scale, primitive and disunited production by collective and improved labour – such are the direct consequences of this transformation. Capitalism finally snaps the bond between agriculture and industry; but at the same time, in its highest development it prepares new elements of this bond, of a union between industry and agriculture based on the conscious application of science and the combination of collective labour, and on a redistribution of the human population (putting an end at one and the same time to rural remoteness, isolation and barbarism, and to the unnatural concentration of vast masses of people in big cities). A new form of family, new conditions in the status of women and in the upbringing of the younger generation are being prepared by the highest forms of modern capitalism: female and child labour and the break-up of the patriarchal family by capitalism inevitably assume the most terrible, disastrous, and repulsive forms in modern society. Nevertheless “large-scale industry, by assigning as it does an important part in the socially organized process of production, outside the domestic sphere, to women, to young persons, and to children of both sexes, creates a new economic foundation for a higher form of the family and of the relations between the sexes. It is, of course, just as absurd to hold the Teutonic-Christian form of the family to be absolute and final as it would be to apply that character

to the ancient Roman, the ancient Greek, or the Eastern forms which, moreover, taken together form a series in historic development. Moreover, it is obvious that the fact of the collective working group being composed of individuals of both sexes and all ages, must necessarily, under suitable conditions, become a source of humane development; although in its spontaneously developed, brutal, capitalistic form, where the labourer exists for the process of production, and not the process of production for the labourer, that fact is a pestiferous source of corruption and slavery." (*Capital*, Vol. I, end of Chap. 13.) In the factory system is to be found "the germ of the education of the future, an education that will, in the case of every child over a given age, combine productive labour with instruction and gymnastics, not only as one of the methods of adding to the efficiency of social production, but as the only method of producing fully developed human beings." (*Ibid.*) Marx's socialism puts the question of nationality and of the state on the same historical footing, not only in the sense of explaining the past but also in the sense of a fearless forecast of the future and of bold practical action for its achievement. Nations are an inevitable product, an inevitable form in the bourgeois epoch of social development. And the working class cannot grow strong, become mature and take shape if it does not "constitute itself *the* nation," if it is not "national" ("though not in the bourgeois sense of the word"). But the development of capitalism more and more breaks down national barriers, destroys national seclusion, substitutes class antagonisms for national antagonisms. It is, therefore, perfectly true that in the developed capitalist countries "the working men have no country" and that "united action" by the workers, of the civilized countries at least, "is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat" (*The Communist Manifesto*). The state, which is organized violence, inevitably came into

being at a definite stage in the development of society, when society had split into irreconcilable classes, and when it could not exist without an “authority” ostensibly standing above society and to a certain degree separate from society. Arising out of class contradictions, the state becomes “the state of the most powerful, economically dominant class, which, through the medium of the state, becomes also the politically dominant class, and thus acquires new means of holding down and exploiting the oppressed class. Thus, the state of antiquity was above all the state of the slave-owners for the purpose of holding down the slaves, as the feudal state was the organ of the nobility for holding down the peasant serfs and bondsmen, and the modern representative state is an instrument of exploitation of wage labour by capital.” (Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, a work in which the writer expounds his own views and Marx’s.) Even the freest and most progressive form of the bourgeois state, the democratic republic, in no way removes this fact, but merely changes its form (connection between the government and the stock exchange, corruption—direct and indirect – of officialdom and the press, etc.). Socialism, by leading to the abolition of classes, will thereby lead to the abolition of the state. “The first act,” writes Engels in *Anti-Dühring*, “in which the state really comes forward as the representative of the whole of society—the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society—is at the same time its last independent act as a state. The interference of the state power in social relations becomes superfluous in one sphere after another, and then dies away of itself. The government of persons is replaced by the administration of things and the direction of the processes of production. The state is not ‘abolished,’ it withers away.” “The society that will organize production on the basis of a free and equal association of the producers will put the

whole machinery of state where it will then belong: into the Museum of Antiquities, by the side of the spinning wheel and the bronze axe." (Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.)

Finally, as regards the attitude of Marx's socialism towards the small peasantry which will continue to exist in the period of the expropriation of the expropriators, we must refer to a declaration made by Engels which expresses Marx's views: "[...] when we are in possession of state power we shall not even think of forcibly expropriating the small peasants (regardless of whether with or without compensation), as we shall have to do in the case of the big landowners. Our task relative to the small peasant consists, in the first place, in effecting a transition of his private enterprise and private possession to co-operative ones, not forcibly but by dint of example and the proffer of social assistance for this purpose. And then of course we shall have ample means of showing to the small peasant prospective advantages that must be obvious to him even today." (Engels, *The Peasant Question in France and Germany*)

TACTICS OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE OF THE PROLETARIAT

Having made clear as early as 1844-45 that one of the chief defects of the earlier materialism was its inability to understand the conditions or appreciate the importance of practical revolutionary activity, Marx, along with his theoretical work, devoted unrelaxed attention, throughout his lifetime, to the tactical problems of the class struggle of the proletariat. An immense amount of material bearing on this is contained in *all* the works of Marx, particularly in the four volumes of his correspondence with Engels, published in 1913. This material is still far from having been assembled, collected, studied and examined. We shall therefore have to confine our-

selves here to the most general and brief remarks, emphasizing that Marx justly considered that without *this* side materialism was incomplete, one-sided, and lifeless. Marx defined the fundamental task of proletarian tactics in strict conformity with all the postulates of his materialist-dialectical world outlook. Only an objective consideration of the sum total of reciprocal relations of all the classes of a given society without exception, and, consequently, a consideration of the objective stage of development of that society and of the reciprocal relations between it and other societies, can serve as a basis for correct tactics of the advanced class. At the same time, all classes and all countries are regarded not statically, but dynamically, i.e., not in a state of immobility, but in motion (the laws of which derive from the economic conditions of existence of each class). Motion, in its turn, is regarded not only from the standpoint of the past, but also from the standpoint of the future, and, moreover, not in accordance with the vulgar conception of the “evolutionists,” who see only slow changes, but dialectically. It should not be supposed, Marx wrote to Engels, “that in developments of such magnitude twenty years are more than a day—though later on days may come in which twenty years are embodied.” At each stage of development, at each moment, the tactics of the proletariat must take account of this objectively inevitable dialectics of human history, on the one hand utilizing the periods of political stagnation or of sluggish, so-called “peaceful” development in order to develop the class consciousness, strength and fighting capacity of the advanced class, and, on the other hand, conducting all this work of utilization towards the “final aim” of the movement of this class and towards the creation in it of the ability to accomplish the practical solution of great tasks in the great days in which “twenty years are concentrated.” Two of Marx’s arguments are of special importance in

this connection; one of these is contained in *The Poverty of Philosophy* and concerns the economic struggle and economic organizations of the proletariat; the other is contained in the *Communist Manifesto* and concerns the political tasks of the proletariat. The first argument runs as follows: "Large-scale industry concentrates in one place a crowd of people unknown to one another. Competition divides their interests. But the maintenance of wages, this common interest which they have against their boss, unites them in a common thought of resistance—combination [...] combinations, at first isolated, constitute themselves into groups [...] and in face of always united capital, the maintenance of the association becomes more necessary to them [the workers] than that of wages. [...] In this struggle—a veritable civil war—all the elements necessary for a coming battle unite and develop. Once it has reached this point, association takes on a political character." Here we have the programme and tactics of the economic struggle and of the trade union movement for several decades to come, for all the long period in which the proletariat will muster its forces for the "coming battle." Side by side with this must be placed numerous references by Marx and Engels to the example of the British labour movement; how industrial "prosperity" leads to attempts "to buy the proletariat", to divert them from the struggle; how this prosperity generally "demoralizes"; how the British proletariat is becoming "more and more bourgeois," so that "this most bourgeois of all nations" (Britain) "is apparently aiming ultimately at the possession of a bourgeois aristocracy and a bourgeois proletariat *as well* as a bourgeoisie"; how its "revolutionary energy" evaporates; how it will be necessary to wait a fairly long time before "the English workers will free themselves from their apparent bourgeois infection"; how the British working-class movement "lacks the mettle of the old Chartists"; how the British work-

ers' leaders are becoming a type midway between "the radical bourgeois and a worker" (in reference to Holyoake); how, owing to British monopoly, and as long as this monopoly does not burst to pieces, "the British working-man will not budge". The tactics of the economic struggle, in connection with the general course (*and outcome*) of the working-class movement, are here considered from a remarkably broad, comprehensive, dialectical, and genuinely revolutionary standpoint.

The Communist Manifesto set forth the fundamental Marxist principle on the tactics of the political struggle: "The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement." Accordingly, in 1848 Marx supported the party of the "agrarian revolution" in Poland, "that party which fomented the insurrection of Cracow in 1846." In Germany in 1848 and 1849 Marx supported the extreme revolutionary democrats, and subsequently never retracted what he had then said about tactics. He regarded the German bourgeoisie as an element which was "inclined from the very beginning to betray the people" (only an alliance with the peasantry could have enabled the bourgeoisie completely to fulfill its tasks) "and compromise with the crowned representative of the old society." Here is Marx's summary of the analysis of the class position of the German bourgeoisie in the era of the bourgeois-democratic revolution—an analysis which, incidentally, is a sample of that materialism which examines society in motion, and, moreover, not only from the side of the motion which is directed *backwards*: "Without faith in itself, without faith in the people, grumbling at those above, trembling before those below [...] intimidated by the world storm [...] no energy in any respect, plagiarism in every respect [...] without initiative [...] an execrable old

man, who saw himself doomed to guide and deflect the first youthful impulses of a robust people in his own senile interests. [...]" (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, 1848.) About twenty years later, in a letter to Engels, Marx declared that the cause of the failure of the Revolution of 1848 was that the bourgeoisie had preferred peace with slavery to the mere prospect of a fight for freedom. When the revolutionary era of 1848-49 ended, Marx opposed every attempt to play at revolution (the fight he put up against Schapper and Willich), and insisted on the ability to work in the new phase which in a seemingly "peaceful" way was preparing for new revolutions. The spirit in which Marx wanted the work to be carried on is shown by his estimate of the situation in Germany in 1856, the darkest period of reaction: "The whole thing in Germany will depend on the possibility backing the proletarian revolution by some second edition of the Peasant War." While the democratic (bourgeois) revolution in Germany was not finished, Marx devoted his whole attention, in the tactics of the socialist proletariat, on developing the democratic energy of the peasantry. He held that Lassalle's attitude was "objectively [...] a betrayal of the whole workers' movement to the Prussians", precisely because, among other things, Lassalle indulged the Junkers and Prussian nationalism. "In a predominantly agricultural country," wrote Engels in 1865, exchanging ideas with Marx on the subject of an intended joint statement by them in the press, "it is dastardly to make an exclusive attack on the bourgeoisie in the name of the industrial proletariat but never to devote a word to the patriarchal exploitation of the rural proletariat under the lash of the great feudal aristocracy." From 1864 to 1870, when the era of the completion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany, the era of the struggle of the exploiting classes of Prussia and Austria to complete this revolution in one way or another *from above*, was coming to

an end, Marx not only condemned Lassalle, who was coquetting with Bismarck, but also corrected Liebknecht, who had inclined towards “Austrophilism” and the defence of particularism; Marx demanded revolutionary tactics which would combat both Bismarck and the Austrophiles with equal ruthlessness, tactics which would not be adapted to the “victor,” the Prussian Junker, but which would immediately renew the revolutionary struggle against him, and do so *on the basis* created by the Prussian military victories. In the famous Address of the International of September 9, 1870, Marx warned the French proletariat against an untimely uprising; but when the uprising nevertheless took place (1871), Marx enthusiastically hailed the revolutionary initiative of the masses, who were “storming heaven” (Marx’s letter to Kugelmann). The defeat of the revolutionary action in this situation, as in many others, was, from the standpoint of Marx’s dialectical materialism, a lesser evil in the general course and outcome of the proletarian struggle than the abandonment of a position already occupied, than a surrender without battle—such a surrender would have demoralized the proletariat and undermined its fighting capacity. Fully appreciating the use of legal means of struggle during periods when political stagnation prevails and bourgeois legality dominates, Marx, in 1877 and 1878, after the passage of the Anti-Socialist Law, sharply condemned Most’s “revolutionary phrases”; but he attacked no less, if not more sharply, the opportunism that had temporarily gained sway in the official Social-Democratic Party, which did not at once display resoluteness, firmness, revolutionary spirit and a readiness to resort to an illegal struggle in response to the Anti-Socialist Law.

Frederick Engels²

Oh, what a lamp of reason ceased to burn,
Oh, what a heart then ceased to throb!³

On August 5, 1895, Frederick Engels died in London. After his friend Karl Marx (who died in 1883), Engels was the finest scholar and teacher of the modern proletariat all over the civilised world. From the time that fate brought Karl Marx and Frederick Engels together, the two friends devoted their life's work to a common cause. And so, to understand what Frederick Engels has done for the proletariat, one must have a clear idea of the significance of Marx's work and teaching for the development of the contemporary working-class movement. Marx and Engels were the first to show that the working class and its demands are a necessary outcome of the present economic system, which together with the bourgeoisie inevitably creates and organizes the proletariat. They showed that it is not the well-meaning efforts of noble-minded individuals, but the class struggle of the organized proletariat that will deliver humanity from the evils which now oppress it. In their scientific works, Marx and Engels were the first to explain that socialism is not the invention of dreamers, but the final aim and necessary result of the development of the productive forces in modern society. All recorded history hitherto has been a history of class struggle, of the succession of the rule and victory of certain social classes over others. And this will continue until the foundations of class struggle and class rule—private property and anarchic social production—disappear. The interests of the proletariat demand the destruction

2 Written by Lenin in the autumn of 1895.

3 N.A. Nekrasov, "In Memory of Dobrolyubov."

of these foundations, and therefore the conscious class struggle of the organized workers must be directed against them. And every class struggle is a political struggle.

These views of Marx and Engels have now been adopted by the entire proletariat which is fighting for its emancipation. But when in the forties the two friends took part in the socialist literature and the social movements of their time, such opinions were absolutely new. There were then many people, talented and untalented, honest and dishonest, who while absorbed in the struggle for political freedom, in the struggle against the despotism of kings, police and priests, did not see the antagonism between the interests of the bourgeoisie and the interests of the proletariat. These people would not even admit the idea that the workers should act as an independent social force. On the other hand, there were many dreamers, some of them geniuses, who thought that it was only necessary to convince the rulers and the governing classes of the injustice of the contemporary social order, and it would then be easy to establish peace and general well-being on earth. They dreamed of a socialism without struggle. Lastly, nearly all the socialists of that time and the friends of the working class generally regarded the proletariat only as an *ulcer*, and observed with horror how this ulcer grew with the growth of industry. They all, therefore, sought for a way to stop the development of industry and of the proletariat, to stop the "wheel of history." Contrary to the general fear of the development of the proletariat, Marx and Engels placed all their hopes on its ceaseless growth. The more proletarians there are, the greater is their strength as a revolutionary class, and the nearer and more possible does socialism become. The services rendered by Marx and Engels to the working class may

be expressed these few words: they taught the working class to know itself and be conscious of itself, and they substituted science for dreams.

That is why the name and life of Engels should be known to every worker. That is why in this collection of articles, the aim of which, as of all our publications, is to awaken class-consciousness in the Russian workers, we must sketch the life and work of Frederick Engels, one of the two great teachers of the modern proletariat.

Engels was born in 1820 in Barmen, in the Rhine Province of the kingdom of Prussia. His father was a manufacturer. In 1838 Engels, without having completed his studies at the gymnasium, was forced by family circumstances to enter a commercial firm in Bremen as a clerk. Commercial affairs did not prevent Engels from pursuing his scientific and political education. He had come to hate autocracy and the tyranny of bureaucrats while still at the gymnasium. The study of philosophy led him further. At that time Hegel's teaching dominated German philosophy, and Engels became his follower. Although Hegel himself was an admirer of the autocratic Prussian state, which he served as a professor at Berlin University, Hegel's teaching was revolutionary. Hegel's faith in human reason and its rights, and the fundamental thesis of Hegelian philosophy, namely, that the universe is undergoing a constant process of change and development, led some of the disciples of the Berlin philosopher who refused to accept the existing situation to the idea that the struggle against this situation, the struggle against existing wrong and prevalent evil, is also rooted in the universal law of eternal development. If all things develop, if institutions of one kind give place to others, why should the autocracy of the Prussian king or of the Russian tsar, the enrichment of an insignificant minority at the expense of the vast majority, or the domination of the bourgeoisie over the people, continue forever? Hegel's

philosophy spoke of the development of the mind and of ideas; it was *idealistic*. From the development of the mind it deduced the development of nature, of man, and of human, social relations. While retaining Hegel's idea of the eternal process of development,⁴ Marx and Engels rejected the preconceived idealist view; turning to life, they saw that it is not the development of mind that explains the development of nature but that, on the contrary, the explanation of mind must be derived from nature, from matter... As opposed to Hegel and the other Hegelians, Marx and Engels were materialists. Regarding the world and humanity materialistically, they perceived that just as material causes underlie all natural phenomena, so the development of human society is conditioned by the development of material, productive forces. On the development of the productive forces depend the relations into which men enter one with another in the production of the things required for the satisfaction of human needs. And in these relations lies the explanation of all the phenomena of social life, human aspirations, ideas and laws. The development of the productive forces creates social relations based upon private property, but now we see that this same development of the productive forces deprives the majority of their property and concentrates it in the hands of an insignificant minority. It wipes out property, the basis of the modern social order, it itself strives towards the very aim which the socialists have set themselves. All the socialists have to do is to realize which social force, owing to its position in modern society, is interested in bringing socialism about, and to impart to this force the consciousness of its interests

4 Marx and Engels frequently pointed out that in their intellectual development they were much indebted to the great German philosophers, particularly to Hegel. "Without German philosophy," Engels says, "scientific socialism would never have come into being." —*Lenin*

and of its historical task. This force is the proletariat. Engels got to know the proletariat in England, in the centre of English industry, Manchester, where he settled in 1842, entering the service of a commercial firm of which his father was a shareholder. Here Engels did not merely sit in the factory office but wandered about the slums in which the workers were cooped up, and saw their poverty and misery with his own eyes. But he did not confine himself to personal observations. He read all that had been revealed before him about the condition of the British working class and carefully studied all the official documents he could lay his hands on. The fruit of these studies and observations was the book which appeared in 1845: *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. We have already mentioned what was the chief service rendered by Engels in writing *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. Even before Engels, many people had described the sufferings of the proletariat and had pointed to the necessity of helping it. Engels was the *first* to say that *not only* was the proletariat a suffering class, but that, in fact, the disgraceful economic condition of the proletariat was driving it irresistibly forward and compelling it to fight for its ultimate emancipation. And the fighting proletariat *would help itself*. The political movement of the working class would inevitably lead the workers to realize that they have no way out except in socialism. On the other hand, socialism would become a force only when it became the aim of the *political* struggle of the working class. Such are the main ideas of Engels' book on the condition of the working class in England, ideas which have now been adopted by all thinking and fighting proletarians, but which at that time were entirely new. These ideas were set out in a book written in an absorbing style and filled with most authentic and shocking pictures of the misery of the English proletariat. The book was a terrible indictment of capitalism and the bour-

geoisie and created a profound impression. Engels' book began to be quoted everywhere as presenting the best picture of the condition of the modern proletariat. And, in fact, neither before 1845 nor after has there appeared so striking and truthful a picture of the misery of the working class.

It was not until he came to England that Engels became a socialist. In Manchester he formed contacts with people active in the English labour movement at the time and began to write for English socialist publications. In 1844, while on his way back to Germany, he became acquainted in Paris with Marx, with whom he had already started to correspond. In Paris, under the influence of the French socialists and French life, Marx had also become a socialist. Here the friends jointly wrote a book entitled *The Holy Family, or a Criticism of Critical Criticism*. This book, which appeared a year before *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, and the greater part of which was written by Marx, contains the foundations of revolutionary materialist socialism, the main ideas of which we have expounded above. "The Holy Family" is a facetious nickname for the philosopher Bauer brothers and their followers. These gentlemen preached a criticism which stood above all reality, above parties and politics, which rejected all practical activity, and which only "critically" contemplated the surrounding world and the events going on within it. These gentlemen, the Bauers, superciliously regarded the proletariat as an uncritical mass. Marx and Engels vigorously opposed this absurd and harmful trend. In the name of a real, human person—the worker, trampled down by the ruling classes and the state—they demanded, not contemplation, but a struggle for a better order of society. They, of course, regarded the proletariat as the force that is capable of waging this struggle and that is interested in it. Even before the appearance of *The Holy Family*, Engels had published in

Marx's and Ruge's *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbucher* his "Critical Essays on Political Economy," in which he examined the principal phenomena of the contemporary economic order from a socialist standpoint, regarding them as necessary consequences of the rule of private property. Contact with Engels was undoubtedly a factor in Marx's decision to study political economy, the science in which his works have produced a veritable revolution.

From 1845 to 1847 Engels lived in Brussels and Paris, combining scientific work with practical activities among the German workers in Brussels and Paris. Here Marx and Engels established contact with the secret German Communist League, which commissioned them to expound the main principles of the socialism they had worked out. Thus arose the famous *Manifesto of the Communist Party* of Marx and Engels, published in 1848. This little booklet is worth whole volumes: to this day its spirit inspires and guides the entire organized and fighting proletariat of the civilized world.

The revolution of 1848, which broke out first in France and then spread to other countries of Western Europe, brought Marx and Engels back to their native country. Here, in Rhenish Prussia, they took charge of the democratic *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* published in Cologne. The two friends were the heart and soul of all revolutionary-democratic aspirations in Rhenish Prussia. They fought to the last ditch for the interests of the people and of freedom against the forces of reaction. The latter, as we know, gained the upper hand. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was suppressed. Marx, who during his exile had lost his Prussian citizenship, was deported; Engels took part in the armed popular uprising, fought for liberty in three battles, and after the defeat of the rebels fled, via Switzerland, to London.

There Marx also settled. Engels soon became a clerk again, and then a shareholder, in the Manchester commercial firm in which he had worked in the forties. Until 1870 he lived in Manchester, while Marx lived in London, but this did not prevent their maintaining a most lively intellectual intercourse: they corresponded almost daily. In this correspondence the two friends exchanged views and knowledge and continued to collaborate in working out scientific socialism. In 1870 Engels moved to London, and their joint intellectual life, full of strenuous labour, continued until 1883, when Marx died. Its fruit was, on Marx's side, *Capital*, the greatest work on political economy of our age, and on Engels' side, a number of works both large and small. Marx worked on the analysis of the complex phenomena of capitalist economy. Engels, in simply written works, often of a polemical character, dealt with more general scientific problems and with diverse phenomena of the past and present in the spirit of the materialist conception of history and Marx's economic theory. Of Engels' works we shall mention: the polemical work against Duhring (analysing highly important problems in the domain of philosophy, natural science and the social sciences),⁵ *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (translated into Russian, published in St. Petersburg, 3rd ea., 1895), *Ludwig Feuerbach* (Russian translation and notes by G. Plekhanov, Geneva, 1892), an article on the foreign policy of the Russian Government (translated into Russian in the Geneva *Social-Demokrat*, Nos. 1 and 2), splendid articles on the housing question, and finally, two small but very valuable articles on Russia's economic development (*Frederick Engels on Russia*, translated into Rus-

5 This is a wonderfully rich and instructive book. Unfortunately, only a small portion of it, containing a historical outline of the development of socialism, has been translated into Russian (*The Development of Scientific Socialism*, 2nd ea., Geneva, 1892). —*Lenin*

sian by Zasulich, Geneva, 1894). Marx died before he could complete his vast work on capital. In draft, however, it was ready, and after the death of his friend, Engels undertook the arduous task of preparing and publishing the second and the third volumes of *Capital*. He published Volume II in 1885 and Volume III in 1894 (his death prevented the preparation of Volume IV). These two volumes entailed a vast amount of labour. Adler, the Austrian Social-Democrat, has rightly remarked that by publishing volumes II and III of *Capital* Engels erected a majestic monument to the genius who had been his friend, a monument on which, without intending it, he indelibly carved his own name. Indeed these two volumes of *Capital* are the work of two men: Marx and Engels. Old legends contain many moving instances of friendship. The European proletariat may say that its science was created by two scholars and fighters, whose relationship to each other surpassed the most moving stories of the ancients about human friendship. Engels always – and, on the whole, quite justly – placed himself after Marx. “In Marx’s lifetime,” he wrote to an old friend, “I played second fiddle.” His love for the living Marx, and his reverence for the memory of the dead Marx were boundless. This stern fighter and strict thinker possessed a deeply loving heart.

After the movement of 1848-49, Marx and Engels in exile did not occupy themselves with science alone. In 1864 Marx founded the International Working Men’s Association, and led this society for a whole decade. Engels also took an active part in its affairs. The work of the International Association, which, in accordance with Marx’s idea, united proletarians of all countries, was of tremendous significance in the development of the working-class movement. But even with the closing down of the International Association in the seventies the unifying role of Marx and Engels did not cease. On the contrary, it may be said that their importance as the

spiritual leaders of the working-class movement steadily grew, because the movement itself grew uninterruptedly. After the death of Marx, Engels continued alone to be the counsellor and leader of the European socialists. His advice and directions were sought for equally by the German socialists, who despite government persecution grew rapidly and steadily in strength, and by representatives of backward countries, such as the Spaniards, Rumanians and Russians, who were obliged to ponder and weigh their first steps. They all drew on the rich store of knowledge and experience of Engels in his old age.

Marx and Engels, who both knew Russian and read Russian books, took a lively interest in Russia, followed the Russian revolutionary movement with sympathy and maintained contact with Russian revolutionaries. They both became socialists after being *democrats*, and the democratic feeling of *hatred* for political despotism was exceedingly strong in them. This direct political feeling, combined with a profound theoretical understanding of the connection between political despotism and economic oppression, and also their rich experience of life, made Marx and Engels uncommonly responsive precisely from the *political* standpoint. That is why the heroic struggle of the handful of Russian revolutionaries against the mighty tsarist government evoked a most sympathetic echo in the hearts of these tried revolutionaries. On the other hand, the tendency to turn away, for the sake of illusory economic advantages, from the most immediate and important task of the Russian socialists, namely, the winning of political freedom, naturally appeared suspicious to them and was even regarded by them as a direct betrayal of the great cause of the social revolution. "The emancipation of the proletariat must be the act of the proletariat itself"—Marx and Engels constantly taught. But in order to fight for its economic emancipation, the proletariat must win for

itself certain *political* rights. Moreover, Marx and Engels clearly saw that a political revolution in Russia would be of tremendous significance to the West-European working-class movement as well. Autocratic Russia had always been a bulwark of European reaction in general. The extraordinarily favourable international position enjoyed by Russia as a result of the war of 1870, which for a long time sowed discord between Germany and France, of course only enhanced the importance of autocratic Russia as a reactionary force. Only a free Russia, a Russia that had no need either to oppress the Poles, Finns, Germans, Armenians or any other small nations, or constantly incite France and Germany against each other, would enable modern Europe to draw a breath free of the burdens of war, would weaken all the reactionary elements in Europe and strengthen the European working class. That was why Engels ardently desired the establishment of political freedom in Russia for the sake of the progress of the working-class movement in the West as well. In him the Russian revolutionaries have lost their best friend.

May the memory of Frederick Engels, the great champion and teacher of the proletariat, live forever!

Speech at the Unveiling of a Memorial to Marx and Engels⁶

We are unveiling a memorial to the leaders of the world workers' revolution, Marx and Engels.

For ages and ages humanity has suffered and languished under the yoke of an insignificant handful of exploiters, who tormented the millions of toilers. But while the exploiters of an earlier period—the landlords—robbed and oppressed the peasant serfs, who were disunited, scattered and ignorant, the exploiters of the new period, the capitalists, saw facing them among the downtrodden masses the vanguard of these masses, the urban, factory, industrial workers. They were united by the factory, they were enlightened by urban life, they were steeled by the common strike struggle and by revolutionary action.

It is the world-historic merit of Marx and Engels that they proved by scientific analysis the inevitability of the collapse of capitalism and its transition to communism, under which there will be no more exploitation of man by man.

It is the world-historic merit of Marx and Engels that they indicated to the proletarians of all countries their role, their task, their mission, namely, to be the first to rise in the revolutionary struggle against capital and to rally around themselves in this struggle *all* the toilers and exploited.

We are living in happy times, when this prophecy of the great socialists is beginning to be realized. We see the dawn of the international socialist revolution of the

6 Speech delivered on November 7, 1918.

proletariat breaking in a whole series of countries. The unspeakable horrors of the imperialist butchery of nations are everywhere evoking a heroic upsurge of the oppressed masses, and increasing tenfold their strength in the struggle for emancipation.

Let the memorials to Marx and Engels again and again remind the millions of workers and peasants that we are not alone in our struggle. Side by side with us the workers of the more advanced countries are arising. Stern battles still await them and us. In common struggle the yoke of capital will be broken, and socialism will be finally won!

The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism⁷

Throughout the civilised world the teachings of Marx evoke the utmost hostility and hatred of all bourgeois science (both official and liberal), which regards Marxism as a kind of “pernicious sect”. And no other attitude is to be expected, for there can be no “impartial” social science in a society based on class struggle. In one way or another, *all* official and liberal science *defends* wage slavery, whereas Marxism has declared relentless war on wage slavery. To expect science to be impartial in a wage-slave society is as foolishly naïve as to expect impartiality from manufacturers on the question of whether workers’ wages should be increased by decreasing the profits of capital.

But this is not all. The history of philosophy and the history of social science show with perfect clarity that there is nothing resembling “sectarianism” in Marxism, in the sense of its being a hidebound, petrified doctrine, a doctrine which arose away from the high road of the development of world civilization. On the contrary, the genius of Marx consists precisely in the fact that he furnished answers to questions the foremost minds of humanity had already raised. His doctrine emerged as the direct and immediate *continuation* of the teachings of the greatest representatives of philosophy, political economy and socialism.

7 Published in March 1913 in Bolshevik monthly *Prosveshcheniye (Enlightenment)* and dedicated to the thirtieth anniversary of Marx’s death.

The Marxist doctrine is omnipotent because it is true. It is complete and harmonious, and provides men with an integral world conception which is irreconcilable with any form of superstition, reaction, or defence of bourgeois oppression. It is the legitimate successor to the best that was created by humanity in the nineteenth century in the shape of German philosophy, English political economy and French socialism.

On these three sources of Marxism, which are at the same time its component parts, we shall briefly dwell.

I

The philosophy of Marxism is *materialism*. Throughout the modern history of Europe, and especially at the end of the eighteenth century in France, which was the scene of a decisive battle against every kind of medieval rubbish, against feudalism in institutions and ideas, materialism has proved to be the only philosophy that is consistent, true to all the teachings of natural science and hostile to superstition, cant and so forth. The enemies of democracy therefore exerted all their efforts to “refute”, undermine and defame materialism, and have advocated various forms of philosophical idealism, which always, in one way or another, amounts to an advocacy or support of religion.

Marx and Engels defended philosophical materialism in the most determined manner and repeatedly explained the profound erroneousness of every deviation from this basis. Their views are most clearly and fully expounded in the works of Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach* and *Anti-Dühring*, which, like the *Communist Manifesto*, are handbooks for every class-conscious worker.

But Marx did not stop at eighteenth-century materialism: he advanced philosophy. He enriched it with the achievements of German classical philosophy, especially

of Hegel's system, which in its turn led to the materialism of Feuerbach. The main achievement was *dialectics*, i.e., the doctrine of development in its fullest and deepest form, free of one-sidedness, the doctrine of the relativity of human knowledge, which provides us with a reflection of eternally developing matter. The latest discoveries of natural science—radium, electrons, the transmutation of elements—have remarkably confirmed Marx's dialectical materialism, despite the teachings of the bourgeois philosophers with their “new” reversion to old and rotten idealism.

Deepening and developing philosophical materialism, Marx completed it, extended its knowledge of nature to the knowledge of *human society*. Marx's *historical materialism* was the greatest achievement of scientific thought. The chaos and arbitrariness that had previously reigned in views on history and politics were replaced by a strikingly integral and harmonious scientific theory, which shows how, in consequence of the growth of productive forces, out of one system of social life another and higher system develops—how capitalism, for instance, grows out of feudalism.

Just as man's knowledge reflects nature (i.e., developing matter), which exists independently of him, so man's *social knowledge* (i.e., his various views and doctrines—philosophical, religious, political and so forth) reflects the *economic system* of society. Political institutions are a superstructure on the economic foundation. We see, for example, that the various political forms of the modern European states serve to strengthen the rule of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat.

Marx's philosophy is a complete philosophical materialism, which has provided humanity, and especially the working class, with powerful instruments of knowledge.

II

Having recognized that the economic system is the foundation on which the political superstructure is erected, Marx devoted most attention to the study of this economic system. Marx's principal work, *Capital*, is devoted to a study of the economic system of modern, i.e., capitalist, society.

Classical political economy, before Marx, evolved in England, the most developed of the capitalist countries. Adam Smith and David Ricardo, by their investigations of the economic system, laid the foundations of the *labour theory of value*. Marx continued their work. He provided a proof of the theory and developed it consistently. He showed that the value of every commodity is determined by the quantity of socially necessary labour time spent on its production.

Where the bourgeois economists saw a relation between things (the exchange of one commodity for another) Marx revealed a *relation between people*. The exchange of commodities expresses the tie between individual producers through the market. *Money* signifies that this tie is becoming closer and closer, inseparably binding the entire economic life of the individual producers into one whole. *Capital* signifies a further development of this tie: man's labour-power becomes a commodity. The wage-worker sells his labour-power to the owner of the land, factories and instruments of labour. The worker spends one part of the day covering the cost of maintaining himself and his family (wages), while the other part of the day the worker works without remuneration, creating for the capitalist *surplus value*, the source of profit, the source of the wealth of the capitalist class.

The doctrine of surplus value is the corner-stone of Marx's economic theory.

Capital, created by the labour of the worker, crushes the worker by ruining small proprietors and creating an army of unemployed. In industry, the victory of large-scale production is immediately apparent, but we observe the same phenomenon in agriculture as well; the superiority of large-scale capitalist agriculture increases, the employment of machinery grows, peasant economy falls into the noose of money-capital, it declines and sinks into ruin under the burden of its backward technique. In agriculture, the decline of small-scale production assumes different forms, but the decline itself is an indisputable fact.

By destroying small-scale production, capital leads to an increase in productivity of labour and to the creation of a monopoly position for the associations of big capitalists. Production itself becomes more and more social—hundreds of thousands and millions of workers become bound together in a systematic economic organism – but the product of this collective labour is appropriated by a handful of capitalists. The anarchy of production grows, as do crises, the furious chase after markets and the insecurity of existence of the mass of the population.

While increasing the dependence of the workers on capital, the capitalist system creates the great power of combined labour.

Marx traced the development of capitalism from the first germs of commodity economy, from simple exchange, to its highest forms, to large-scale production.

And the experience of all capitalist countries, old and new, is clearly demonstrating the truth of this Marxian doctrine to increasing numbers of workers every year.

Capitalism has triumphed all over the world, but this triumph is only the prelude to the triumph of labour over capital.

III

When feudalism was overthrown and “free” capitalist society appeared on God’s earth, it at once became apparent that this freedom meant a new system of oppression and exploitation of the working people. Various socialist doctrines immediately began to arise as a reflection of and protest against this oppression. But early socialism was *utopian* socialism. It criticized capitalist society, it condemned and damned it, it dreamed of its destruction, it had visions of a better order and endeavoured to convince the rich of the immorality of exploitation.

But utopian socialism could not point the real way out. It could not explain the real nature of wage-slavery under capitalism, nor discover the laws of capitalist development, nor show what *social force* is capable of becoming the creator of a new society.

Meanwhile, the stormy revolutions which everywhere in Europe, and especially in France, accompanied the fall of feudalism, of serfdom, more and more clearly revealed the *struggle of classes* as the basis and the driving force of all development.

Not a single victory of political freedom over the feudal class was won except against desperate resistance. Not a single capitalist country evolved on a more or less free and democratic basis except by a life-and-death struggle between the various classes of capitalist society.

The genius of Marx consists in the fact that he was able before anybody else to draw from this and consistently apply the conclusion that world history teaches. This conclusion is the doctrine of the *class struggle*.

People always were and always will be the foolish victims of deceit and self-deceit in politics until they learn to discover the *interests* of some class or other

behind all moral, religious, political and social phrases, declarations and promises. The supporters of reforms and improvements will always be fooled by the defenders of the old order until they realize that every old institution, however barbarous and rotten it may appear to be, is kept going by the forces of certain ruling classes. And there is *only one* way of smashing the resistance of those classes, and that is to find, in the very society which surrounds us, and to enlighten and organize for the struggle, the forces which can—and, owing to their social position, *must*—constitute the power capable of sweeping away the old and creating the new.

Marx's philosophical materialism alone has shown the proletariat the way out of the spiritual slavery in which all oppressed classes have hitherto languished. Marx's economic theory alone has explained the true position of the proletariat in the general system of capitalism.

Independent organizations of the proletariat are multiplying all over the world, from America to Japan and from Sweden to South Africa. The proletariat is becoming enlightened and educated by waging its class struggle; it is ridding itself of the prejudices of bourgeois society; it is rallying its ranks ever more closely and is learning to gauge the measure of its successes; it is steeling its forces and is growing irresistibly.

The Marx-Engels Correspondence⁸

The long-promised edition of the correspondence of the famous founders of scientific socialism has at last seen the light. Engels bequeathed the work of publishing it to Bebel and Bernstein, and Bebel managed to complete his part of the editorial work shortly before his death.

The Marx-Engels correspondence, published a few weeks ago by Dietz, Stuttgart, consists of four big volumes. They contain in all 1,386 letters by Marx and Engels covering an extensive period, from 1844 to 1883.

The editorial work, i.e., the writing of prefaces to the correspondence of various periods, was done by Eduard Bernstein. As might have been expected, this work is unsatisfactory both from the technical and the ideological stand point. After his notorious “evolution” to extreme opportunist views, Bernstein should never have undertaken to edit letters which are impregnated through and through with the revolutionary spirit. Bernstein’s prefaces are in part empty and in part simply false—as, for instance, when, instead of a precise, clear and frank characterization of the opportunist errors of Lassalle and Schweitzer which Marx and Engels exposed, one meets with eclectic phrases and thrusts, such as that “one can justly question whether Marx and Engels always judged Lassalle’s policy rightly” (Vol. III), or that in their tactics they were “much nearer” to Schweitzer than to Liebknecht (Vol. IV). These attacks are devoid of content except to serve as a screen and embellishment for opportunism. Unfortunately, the eclectic attitude to Marx’s ideological

8 Unpublished article by Lenin written at the end of 1913.

struggle against many of his opponents is becoming increasingly widespread among present-day German Social-Democrats.

From the technical standpoint, the index is unsatisfactory—only one for all four volumes (For instance, Kautsky and Stirling are omitted); the notes to individual letters are too scanty and are lost in the editor's prefaces instead of being placed in proximity to the letters they refer to, as they were by Sorge, and so forth.

The price of the publication is unduly high—about 20 rubles for the four volumes. There can be no doubt that the complete correspondence could and should have been published in a less luxurious edition at a more reasonable price, and that, in addition, a selection of passages most important from the standpoint of principle could and should have been published for wide distribution among workers.

All these defects of the edition will, of course, hamper a study of the correspondence. This is a pity, because its scientific and political value is tremendous. Not only do Marx and Engels stand out before the reader in clear relief in all their greatness, but the extremely rich theoretical content of Marxism is unfolded in a highly graphic way, because in the letters Marx and Engels return again and again to the most diverse aspects of their doctrine, emphasizing and explaining—at times discussing and persuading each other—what is newest (in relation to earlier views), most important and most difficult.

There unfolds before the reader a strikingly vivid picture of the history of the working-class movement all over the world—at its most important junctures and in its most essential points. Even more valuable is the history of the *politics* of the working class. On the most diverse occasions, in various countries of the Old World and the New, and at diverse historical moments, Marx and Engels discuss the most important matters of prin-

ciple concerning of the *presentation* of the *political* tasks of the working class. And the period covered by the correspondence was a period in which the working class separated from bourgeois democracy, a period in which an independent working-class movement arose, a period in which the fundamental principles of proletarian tactics and policy were defined. The more we have occasion in our day to observe how the labour movement in various countries suffers from opportunism in consequence of the stagnation and decay of the bourgeoisie, in consequence of the attention of the labour leaders being engrossed in the trivialities of the day, and so on—the more valuable becomes the wealth of material contained in the correspondence, displaying as it does a most profound comprehension of the *basic* transformatory aims of the proletariat, and providing an unusually flexible definition of the given tasks of the tactics from the standpoint of these revolutionary aims, without making the slightest concession to opportunism or revolutionary phrase-mongering.

If one were to attempt to define in a single word the focus, so to speak, of the whole correspondence, the central point at which the whole body of ideas expressed and discussed converges—that word would be *dialectics*. The thing that interested Marx and Engels most of all, the thing to which they contributed what was most essential and new, the thing that constituted the masterly advance they made in the history of revolutionary thought, was the application of materialist dialectics to the reshaping of all political economy from its foundations up—to history, natural science, philosophy and to the policy and tactics of the working class.

We intend in the following account, after giving a general review of the correspondence, to outline the more interesting remarks and arguments of Marx and Engels, without pretending to give an exhaustive account of the contents of the letters.

I. GENERAL REVIEW

The correspondence opens with letters written in 1844 by the 24-year-old Engels to Marx. The situation in Germany at that time is brought out in splendid relief. The first letter is dated the end of September 1844 and was sent from Barmen, where Engels's family lived and where he was born. Engels was not quite 24 years old at the time. He was bored in the family surroundings and straining to break away. His father was a despot, a pious manufacturer, who was outraged at his son's continual running about to political meetings and at his communist views. Were it not for his mother, whom he loved very much, Engels wrote, he would not have spent at home even the few days still remaining until his departure. What petty reasons, what superstitious fears were put forward by the family against his departure, he complained to Marx.

While he was still in Barmen—where he was delayed a little longer by a love affair—Engels gave way to his father and worked for about two weeks in the factory office (his father was a manufacturer). “Huckstering is horrible,” he wrote to Marx. “Barmen is horrible, the way they waste their time is horrible, and above all things it is horrible to remain, not merely a bourgeois, but a manufacturer, a bourgeois who actively opposes the proletariat. [...]” He consoled himself, Engels goes on to say, by working on his book on the condition of the working class (this book appeared, as is known, in 1845 and is one of the best works of world socialist literature). “One can while being a communist remain in

outward conditions a bourgeois and a huckstering beast of burden as long as one does not write, but to carry on wide communist propaganda and at the same time engage in huckstering and industry will not work. I am leaving. Add to this the drowsy life of a thoroughly Christian-Prussian family—I cannot stand it any longer. Here I might in the end become a German philistine and introduce philistinism into communism.” Thus wrote the young Engels. After the Revolution of 1848 the exigencies of life obliged him to return to his father’s office and to become a “huckstering beast of burden” for many long years. But he was able to stand firm and to create for himself, not Christian-Prussian surroundings, but entirely different, comradely surroundings, and to become for the rest of his life a relentless foe of the “introduction of philistinism into communism.”

Social life in the German provinces in 1844 resembled Russian social life at the beginning of the twentieth century, before the Revolution of 1905. There was a general urge for political life, a general seething indignation in opposition to the government; the clergy fulminated against the youth for their atheism; children in bourgeois families quarrelled with their parents over their “aristocratic treatment of servants or workers”.

The general spirit of opposition found expression in the fact that everybody declared himself to be a Communist. “The Police Commissary in Barmen is a Communist,” Engels writes to Marx. I was in Cologne, Düsseldorf, Elberfeld—he related— and wherever you turn you stumble over Communists! “One ardent Communist, a cartoonist [...] named Seel, is going to Paris in two months. I shall give him your address; you will all like him for his enthusiastic nature, his love of music, and he could very well be useful as a cartoonist.”

“Miracles are happening here in Elberfeld. Yesterday [this was written on February 22, 1845], we held our third communist meeting in the largest hall and the best restaurant of the city. The first meeting was attended by 40 people, the second by 130 and the third by at least 200. The whole of Elberfeld and Barmen, from the moneyed aristocracy to the small shopkeepers, was represented, all except the proletariat.”

This is literally what Engels wrote. Everybody in Germany at that time was a Communist—except the proletariat. Communism was a form of expression of the opposition sentiments of all, and chiefly of the bourgeoisie. “The most stupid, the most lazy and most philistine people, whom nothing in the world interested, are almost becoming enthusiastic over communism.” The chief preachers of communism at that time were people of the type of our Narodniks, “Socialist-Revolutionaries”, “Popular Socialists”, and so forth, that is to say, well-meaning bourgeois who were more or less furious with the government.

And under such conditions, amidst countless pseudo-socialist trends and factions, Engels was able to find his way to *proletarian* socialism, without fearing to break off relations with the mass of well-intentioned people, ardent revolutionaries but bad communists.

In 1846 Engels was in Paris. Paris was then seething with politics and the discussion of various socialist theories. Engels eagerly studied socialism, made the acquaintance of Cabet, Louis Blanc and other prominent socialists, and ran from editorial office to editorial office and from circle to circle.

His attention was chiefly focussed on the most important and most widespread socialist doctrine of the time—Proudhonism. And even before the publication of Proudhon’s *Philosophy of Poverty* (October 1846; Marx’s famous reply, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, appeared in 1847), Engels, with ruthless sarcasm and

remarkable profundity, criticised Proudhon's basic ideas, which were then being particularly advocated by the German Socialist Grun. His excellent knowledge of English (which Marx mastered much later) and of English literature enabled Engels at once (letter of September 16, 1846) to point to the example of the bankruptcy of the notorious Proudhonist "labour-exchange bazaars" in England. Proudhon *disgraces* socialism, Engels exclaimed indignantly—it follows from Proudhon that the workers must *buy out* capital.

The 26-year-old Engels simply annihilates "true socialism". We meet this expression in his letter of October 23, 1846, long before the *Communist Manifesto*, and Grun is mentioned as its chief exponent. An "anti-proletarian, petty-bourgeois, philistine" doctrine, "sheer phrase-mongering", all kinds of "humanitarian" aspirations, "superstitious fear of 'crude' communism" (*Loffel-Kommunismus*, literally: "spoon communism" or "belly communism"), "peaceful plans to bestow happiness" upon mankind—these are some of Engels's epithets, which apply to all species of pre-Marxist socialism.

"The Proudhon Associations' scheme," wrote Engels, "was discussed for three evenings. At first I had nearly the whole clique, with Grun at its head, against me. [...] The chief point was to prove the necessity for revolution by force." (October 23, 1846). In the end he got furious, he wrote, and pressed his opponents so that they were obliged to make an open attack on communism. He demanded a vote on whether they were Communists or not. This greatly horrified the Grunites, who began to argue that they had assembled to discuss "the good of humanity" and that they must know what communism *really was*. Engels gave them an extremely simple definition so as to permit no opportunities for digressions and evasions. "I therefore defined," Engels wrote, "the objects of the communists in this way: (1) to achieve the interests of the proletariat in opposition to

those of the bourgeoisie; (2) to do this through the abolition of private property and its replacement by community of goods; (3) to recognize no means of carrying out these objects other than a democratic revolution by force.” (Written one and a half years before the 1848 Revolution.)

The discussion concluded with the meeting’s adopting Engels’s definition by thirteen votes against the votes of two Grunites. These meetings were attended by some twenty journeymen carpenters. Thus the foundations of the Social-Democratic Labour Party of Germany were laid in Paris sixty-seven years ago.

A year later, in his letter of November 23, 1847, Engels informed Marx that he had prepared a draft of the *Communist Manifesto*, incidentally declaring himself opposed to the catechism form originally proposed. “I begin: What is communism?” wrote Engels. “And then straight to the proletariat—history of its origin, difference from former workers, development of the contradiction between proletariat and bourgeoisie, crises, results [...] In conclusion the Party policy of the communists.”

This historical letter of Engels’s on the first draft of a work which has travelled all over the world and which to this day is true in all its fundamentals and as actual and topical as though it were written yesterday, clearly proves that Marx and Engels are justly named side by side as the founders of modern socialism.

The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx⁹

The main thing in the doctrine of Marx is that it brings out the historic role of the proletariat as the builder of socialist society. Has the progress of world events confirmed this doctrine since it was expounded by Marx?

Marx first advanced it in 1844. The *Communist Manifesto* of Marx and Engels, published in 1848, already gives an integral and systematic exposition of this doctrine, which has remained the best exposition to this day. Subsequent world history clearly falls into three main periods: (1) from the revolution of 1848 to the Paris Commune (1871); (2) from the Paris Commune to the Russian revolution (1905); (3) since the Russian revolution.

Let us see what has been the destiny of Marx's doctrine in each of these periods.

I

At the beginning of the first period Marx's doctrine by no means dominated. It was only one of the very numerous factions or trends of socialism. The forms of socialism which did dominate were in the main akin to our Narodism: incomprehension of the materialist basis of historical movement, inability to single out the role and significance of each class in capitalist society, concealment of the bourgeois nature of democratic reforms behind diverse, quasi-socialist phrases about the "people", "justice", "right", and so on.

9 Published in *Pravda* on March 1, 1913.

The Revolution of 1848 struck a deadly blow at all these vociferous, motley and flashy forms of *pre-Marxian* socialism. In all countries the revolution revealed the various classes of society *in action*. The shooting of the workers by the republican bourgeoisie in the June days of 1848 in Paris finally established the fact that the proletariat *alone* is socialist by nature. The liberal bourgeoisie dreaded the independence of this class a hundred times more than it did any kind of reaction. Craven liberalism grovelled before reaction. The peasantry were content with the abolition of the remnants of feudalism and joined the supporters of order, only wavering at times between *workers' democracy and bourgeois liberalism*. All doctrines of *non-class* socialism and *non-class* politics proved to be sheer nonsense.

The Paris Commune (1871) completed this development of bourgeois changes; the republic, i.e., the form of political organisation in which class relations appear in their most unconcealed form, owed its consolidation solely to the heroism of the proletariat.

In all the other European countries, a more tangled and less complete development also led to the same result—a bourgeois society that had taken definite shape. Towards the end of the first period (1848–71)—a period of storms and revolutions—*pre-Marxian* socialism *died away*. Independent *proletarian* parties came into being: the First International (1864–72) and the German Social-Democratic Party.

II

The second period (1872–1904) was distinguished from the first by its “peaceful” character, by the absence of revolutions. The West had finished with bourgeois revolutions. The East had not yet risen to them.

The West entered a phase of “peaceful” preparation for the era of future change. Socialist parties, basically proletarian, were formed everywhere and learned to make use of bourgeois parliamentarism and to create their own daily press, their educational institutions, their trade unions and their co-operative societies. The Marxian doctrine gained complete victory and *spread*. The process of the selection and gathering of the forces of the proletariat and of the preparation of the proletariat for the impending battles made slow but steady progress.

The dialectics of history were such that the theoretical victory of Marxism compelled its enemies to *disguise themselves* as Marxists. Liberalism, rotten to the core, tried to revive itself in the form of socialist *opportunism*. The period of the preparation of forces for great battles the opportunists interpreted as renunciation of these battles. They explained improvements in the slaves’ conditions which facilitated the struggle against wage slavery as the sale by the slaves of their right to liberty for a few pennies. They cravenly preached “social peace” (i.e., peace with the system of slave-ownership), the renunciation of the class struggle, and so forth. They had very many adherents among socialist members of parliament, various officials of the workers’ movement, and the “sympathizer” intellectuals.

III

The opportunists had scarcely had their fill of singing the praises of “social peace” and the non-necessity of storms under “democracy” when a new source of great world storms opened up in Asia. The Russian revolution was followed by the Turkish, the Persian and the Chinese revolutions. It is in this era of storms and their “repercussion” in Europe that we are now living. Whatever may be the fate of the great Chinese republic,

against which various “civilized” hyenas are now gnashing their teeth, no power on earth can restore the old serfdom in Asia, or wipe out the heroic democracy of the masses in the Asian and semi-Asian countries.

Certain people who were inattentive to the conditions of preparation and development of the mass struggle, were driven to despair and to anarchism by the lengthy delays in the decisive struggle against capitalism in Europe. We can now see how short-sighted and faint-hearted this anarchist despair is.

The fact that Asia, with its population of eight hundred million, has been drawn into the struggle for these same European ideals should inspire us with courage and not despair.

The Asian revolutions have again shown us the spinelessness and baseness of liberalism, the exceptional importance of the independence of the democratic masses, and the same sharp demarcation between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie of all kinds. After the experience both of Europe and Asia, whoever now speaks of *non*-class politics *and* non-class socialism, deserves to be simply put in a cage and exhibited alongside the Australian kangaroo.

After Asia, Europe has also begun to stir, although not in the Asian way. The “peaceful” period of 1872–1904 has passed completely, never to return. The high cost of living and the oppression of the trusts are leading to an unprecedented intensification of the economic struggle, which has aroused even the British workers, who have been most corrupted by liberalism. Before our eyes a political crisis brewing even in that extreme “diehard”, bourgeois-Junker country, Germany. Feverish arming and the policy of imperialism are turning modern Europe into a “social peace” which is more like a barrel of gunpowder than anything else. And at the same time the decay of *all* the bourgeois parties and the maturing of the proletariat are steadily progressing.

Each of the three great periods of world history since the appearance of Marxism has brought Marxism new confirmations and new triumphs. But a still greater triumph awaits Marxism, as the doctrine of the proletariat, in the period of history that lies ahead.

Marxism and Revisionism¹⁰

There is a well-known saying that if geometrical axioms affected human interests attempts would certainly be made to refute them. Theories of the natural sciences which conflict with the old prejudices of theology provoked, and still provoke, the most rabid opposition. No wonder, therefore, that the Marxian doctrine, which directly serves to enlighten and organize the advanced class in modern society, indicates the tasks of this class and proves the inevitable replacement (by virtue of economic development) of the present system by a new order—no wonder that this doctrine had to fight at every step in its course.

There is no need to speak of bourgeois science and philosophy, which are officially taught by official professors in order to stultify the rising generation of the possessing classes and to “coach” it against foreign and internal enemies. This science will not even hear of Marxism, which it declares refuted and annihilated. Young scientists who build their careers by refuting socialism and decrepit elders who preserve the traditions of all sorts of outworn “systems”, attack Marx with equal zest. The progress of Marxism and the spread and establishment of its ideas among the working class inevitably increase the frequency and intensity of these bourgeois attacks on Marxism, which only becomes stronger, more tempered and more vigorous every time it is “annihilated” by official science.

10 Written no later than April 3 (16), 1908. Published in a symposium titled *Karl Marx (1818-83)*.

But even among doctrines which are connected with the struggle of the working class and current mainly among the proletariat, Marxism by no means consolidated its position all at once. In the first half-century of its existence (from the 1840s on) Marxism was engaged in combating theories fundamentally hostile to it. In the first half of the forties Marx and Engels settled accounts with the radical Young Hegelians whose viewpoint was that of philosophical idealism. At the end of the forties the struggle invaded the domain of economic doctrine, in opposition to Proudhonism. The fifties saw the completion of this struggle: the criticism of the parties and doctrines which had manifested themselves in the stormy year of 1848. In the sixties the struggle was transferred from the domain of general theory to a domain closer to the direct working-class movement: the ejection of Bakuninism from the International. In the early seventies the stage in Germany was occupied for a short while by the Proudhonist Mühlberger, and in the latter seventies by the positivist Dühring. But the influence of both on the proletariat was already absolutely insignificant. Marxism was already gaining an unquestionable victory over all other ideologies in the working-class movement.

By the nineties of the last century this victory was in the main completed. Even in the Latin countries, where the traditions of Proudhonism held their ground longest of all, the workers' parties actually based their programmes and their tactics on a Marxist foundation. The revived international organization of the working-class movement—in the shape of periodical international congresses—from the outset, and almost without a struggle, adopted the Marxist standpoint in all essentials. But after Marxism had ousted all the more or less integral doctrines hostile to it, the tendencies expressed in those doctrines began to seek other channels. The forms and motives of the struggle changed, but the

struggle continued. And the second half century of the existence of Marxism began (in the 1890s) with the struggle of a trend hostile to Marxism within Marxism.

Bernstein, a one-time orthodox Marxist, gave his name to this trend by making the most noise and advancing the most integral expression of the amendments to Marx, the revision of Marx, revisionism. Even in Russia, where, owing to the country's economic backwardness and the preponderance of a peasant population oppressed by the relics of serfdom, non-Marxist socialism has naturally held its ground longest of all, it is plainly passing into revisionism before our very eyes. Both in the agrarian question (the programme of the municipalization of all land) and in general questions of programme and tactics, our social-Narodniks are more and more substituting "amendments" to Marx for the moribund and obsolescent remnants of the old system, which in its own way was integral and was fundamentally hostile to Marxism.

Pre-Marxian socialism has been smashed. It is continuing the struggle not on its own independent ground but on the general ground of Marxism—as revisionism. Let us, then, examine the ideological content of revisionism.

In the domain of philosophy revisionism followed in the wake of bourgeois professorial "science". The professors went "back to Kant"—and revisionism trailed after the neo-Kantians;¹¹ the professors repeated the banalities that priests have uttered a thousand times against philosophical materialism—and the revisionists, smiling condescendingly, mumbled (word for word after the latest *Handbuch*) that materialism had been

11 *Neo-Kantianism* – a trend in bourgeois philosophy that arose in Germany in the latter half of the nineteenth century. It was a resuscitation of the more reactionary, idealist concepts of Kant's philosophy and opposed dialectical and historical materialism with the slogan of "Back to Kant!"

“refuted” long ago. The professors treated Hegel as a “dead dog”, and while they themselves preached idealism, only an idealism a thousand times more petty and banal than Hegel’s, they contemptuously shrugged their shoulders at dialectics—and the revisionists floundered after them into the swamp of philosophical vulgarization of science, replacing “artful” (and revolutionary) dialectics by “simple” (and tranquil) “evolution”. The professors earned their official salaries by adjusting both their idealist and “critical” systems to the dominant medieval “philosophy” (i.e., to theology)—and the revisionists drew close to them and endeavored to make religion a “private affair,” not in relation to the modern state, but in relation to the party of the advanced class.

There is no need to speak of the real class significance of such “amendments” to Marx—that is self-evident. We shall simply note that the only Marxist in the international Social-Democratic movement who criticized the incredible banalities uttered by the revisionists from the standpoint of consistent dialectical materialism was Plekhanov. This must be stressed all the more emphatically since thoroughly mistaken attempts are being made in our days to smuggle in the old and reactionary philosophical rubbish under the banner of criticism of Plekhanov’s tactical opportunism.¹²

Passing to political economy, it must be noted first of all that the “amendments” of the revisionists in this domain were much more comprehensive and circumstantial; attempts were made to influence the public by adducing “new data on economic development”. It was

12 See *Studies in the Philosophy of Marxism* by Bogdanov, Bazarov and others. This is not the place to discuss the book, and I must at present confine myself to stating that in the very near future I shall prove in a series of articles, or in a separate pamphlet, that *everything* I have said in the text about neo-Kantian revisionists essentially applies also to these “new” neo-Humist and neo-Berkeleyan revisionists. —Lenin

said that concentration and the ousting of small-scale production by large-scale production do not occur in agriculture at all while they proceed very slowly in commerce and industry. It was said that crises had now become rarer and of less force, and that the cartels and trusts would probably enable capital to do away with crises altogether. It was said that the "theory of collapse," the collapse to which capitalism is heading, was unsound owing to the tendency of class antagonisms to become milder and less acute. It was said, finally, that it would not be amiss to correct Marx's theory of value in accordance with Böhm-Bawerk.

The fight against the revisionists on these questions resulted in as fruitful a revival of the theoretical thought in international socialism as did Engels's controversy with Dühring twenty years earlier. The arguments of the revisionists were analysed with the help of facts and figures. It was proved that the revisionists were systematically prettifying modern small-scale production. The technical and commercial superiority of large-scale *production* over small-scale production not only in industry, but also in agriculture, is proved by irrefutable facts. But commodity production is far less developed in agriculture, and modern statisticians and economists are, as a rule, not very skillful in picking out the special branches (sometimes even operations) in agriculture which indicate that agriculture is being progressively drawn into the *exchange* of world economy. Small-scale production maintains itself on the ruins of natural economy by a perpetual deterioration in nourishment, by chronic starvation, by the lengthening of the working day, by deterioration in the quality of cattle and in the tending of cattle, in a word, by the very methods whereby handicraft production maintained itself against capitalist manufacture. Every advance in science and technology inevitably and relentlessly undermines the foundations of small-scale production in capi-

talist society; and it is the task of socialist political economy to investigate this process in all its often complicated and intricate forms, and to demonstrate to the small producer the impossibility of his holding his own under capitalism, the hopelessness of peasant farming under capitalism, and the necessity of the peasant moving over to the standpoint of the proletarian. On this question the revisionists sinned from the scientific standpoint by superficially generalizing facts selected one-sidedly and without reference to the system of capitalism as a whole; from the political standpoint they sinned by the fact that they inevitably, whether they wanted to or not, invited or urged the peasant to adopt the standpoint of the master (i.e., that of the bourgeoisie), instead of impelling him to adopt the standpoint of the revolutionary proletarian.

The position of revisionism was even worse as far as the theory of crises and the theory of collapse were concerned. Only for a very short time could people, and then only the most shortsighted, think of remodeling the foundations of the Marxian doctrine under the influence of a few years of industrial boom and prosperity. Facts very soon made it clear to the revisionists that crises were not a thing of the past: prosperity was followed by a crisis. The forms, the sequence, the picture of the particular crises changed, but crises remained an inevitable component of the capitalist system. While unifying production, the cartels and trusts at the same time, and in a way that was obvious to all, aggravated the anarchy of production, the insecurity of existence of the proletariat and the capitalist oppression, thus intensifying class antagonisms to an unprecedented degree. That capitalism is moving towards collapse—both in the sense of individual political and economic crises and of the complete collapse of the entire capitalist system—has been made very clear, and on a very large scale, precisely by the newest giant trusts. The

recent financial crisis in America and the frightful increase of unemployment all over Europe, to say nothing of the impending industrial crisis to which many symptoms are pointing—all this has resulted in the recent “theories” of the revisionists being forgotten by everybody, even, it seems, by many of the revisionists themselves. But the lessons which this instability of the intellectuals had given the working class must not be forgotten.

As to the theory of value, it need only be said that apart from hints and sighs, exceedingly vague, in Böhm-Bawerk, the revisionists have contributed absolutely nothing, and have therefore left no traces whatever on the development of scientific thought.

In the domain of politics, revisionism was really trying to revise the foundation of Marxism, namely, the doctrine of the class struggle. Political freedom, democracy and universal suffrage remove the ground for the class struggle—we were told—and render untrue the old proposition of the *Communist Manifesto* that the workers have no country. For, they said, since the “will of the majority” prevails under democracy, one must neither regard the state as an organ of class rule, nor reject alliances with the progressive, social-reformist bourgeoisie against the reactionaries.

It cannot be disputed that these arguments of the revisionists amounted to a fairly harmonious system of views, namely, the long-known liberal bourgeois views. The liberals have always said that bourgeois parliamentarism destroys classes and class divisions, since the right to vote and the right to participate in state affairs are shared by all citizens without distinction. The whole history of Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century, and the whole history of the Russian revolution in the beginning of the twentieth, clearly shows how absurd such views are. Economic distinctions are not mitigated but aggravated and intensified under the

freedom of “democratic” capitalism. Parliamentarism does not remove, but lays bare, the essence of the most democratic bourgeois republics as organs of class oppression. By helping to enlighten and to organize immeasurably wider masses of the population than those which previously took an active part in political events, parliamentarism does not make for the elimination of crises and political revolutions, but for the maximum intensification of civil war during such revolutions. The Paris events in the spring of 1871 and the Russian events in the winter of 1905 showed as clear as clear could be how inevitably this intensification comes about. The French bourgeoisie without a moment’s hesitation made a deal with the enemy of the whole nation, with the foreign army, which had ravaged its fatherland, in order to crush the proletarian movement. Whoever does not understand the inevitable inner dialectics of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy—which leads to an even sharper decision of the dispute by mass violence than formerly—will never be able on the basis of this parliamentarism to conduct propaganda and agitation that are consistent in principle and really prepare the working-class masses for victorious participation in such “disputes”. The experience of alliances, agreements and blocs with social-reformist liberalism in the West and with liberal reformism (the Constitutional-Democrats) in the Russian revolution convincingly showed that these agreements only blunt the consciousness of the masses, that they do not enhance but weaken the actual significance of their struggle by linking the fighters with the elements who are least capable of fighting and most vacillating and treacherous. French Millerandism¹³—the biggest experiment in applying revi-

13 *Millerandism* – an opportunist trend named after the reformist Millerand, a member of the French Socialist Party who in 1899 entered the reactionary bourgeois government, in which he cooperated with Galiffet, the butcher who had suppressed the

sionist political tactics on a wide, a really national scale —has provided a practical appraisal of revisionism that will never be forgotten by the proletariat the world over.

A natural complement to the economic and political tendencies of revisionism was its attitude to the final aim of the socialist movement. "The movement is everything, the final aim is nothing"—this catchphrase of Bernstein's expresses the substance of revisionism better than many long arguments. To determine its conduct from case to case, to adapt itself to the events of the day and to the chops and changes of petty politics, to forget the basic interests of the proletariat and the main features of the entire capitalist system, of capitalist evolution as a whole; to sacrifice these basic interests for the real or supposed advantages of the moment —such is the policy of revisionism. And it patently follows from the very nature of this policy that it may assume an infinite variety of forms, and that every more or less "new" question, every more or less unexpected and unforeseen turn of events, even though it changes the basic line of development only to an insignificant degree and only for the shortest period of time, will always inevitably give rise to one or another variety of revisionism.

The inevitability of revisionism is determined by its class roots in modern society. Revisionism is an international phenomenon. No socialist who is in the least informed and thinks at all can have the slightest doubt that the relation between the orthodox and the Bernsteinians in Germany, the Guesdites and the Jaurèsites (and now particularly the Broussites) in France, the Social-Democratic Federation and the Independent Labour Party in Britain, the Brouckères and Vanderveldes in Belgium, the Integralists and the Reformists in Italy, the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks in Russia, is everywhere essentially of the same kind,

Paris Commune.

notwithstanding the vast variety of national conditions and historical factors in the present state of all these countries. In essence, the “division” within the present international socialist movement is now proceeding along *one* line in all the various countries of the world, which testifies to a tremendous advance compared with thirty or forty years ago, when trends of various kinds in a single international socialist movement were combating one another in the various countries. And the “revisionism from the Left” which has now taken shape in the Latin countries, as “revolutionary syndicalism,”¹⁴ is also adapting itself to Marxism while “amending” it: Labriola in Italy and Lagardelle in France frequently appeal from Marx wrongly understood to Marx rightly understood.

We cannot stop here to analyse the ideological content of *this* revisionism, which as yet is far from having developed to the extent as opportunist revisionism has, it has not yet become international, has not yet stood the test of a single big practical battle with a socialist party in any single country. We shall therefore confine ourselves to the “revisionism from the Right” described above.

Wherein lies its inevitability in capitalist society? Why does it go deeper than differences in national peculiarities and degrees of capitalist development? Because in every capitalist country, side by side with the prole-

14 “*Revolutionary syndicalism*”— a petty-bourgeois semi-anarchist trend that made its appearance in the labour movement of a number of West-European countries at the close of the nineteenth century. The syndicalists saw no need for the working class to engage in political struggle, they repudiated the leading role of the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat. They believed that by organizing a general strike of the workers the trade unions (in France—*syndicats*) could, without a revolution, overthrow capitalism and take over control of production.

tariat, there are always broad strata of the petty bourgeoisie, small masters. Capitalism arose and is constantly arising out of small production. A whole series of new “middle strata” is inevitably created by capitalism (appendages to the factory, homework, and small workshops scattered all over the country to meet the requirements of big industry, such as the bicycle and automobile industries, etc.). These new small producers are just as inevitably being cast into the ranks of the proletariat. It is quite natural that the petty-bourgeois world outlook crops up again and again in the ranks of the broad workers’ parties. It is quite natural that this should be so and always will be so right up to the outbreak of the proletarian revolution, for it would be a profound error to think that the “complete” proletarianization of the majority of the population is essential before such a revolution can be achieved. What we now frequently experience only in the domain of ideology—disputes over theoretical amendments to Marx—what now crops up in practice only over individual partial issues of the working-class movement as tactical differences with the revisionists and splits on this basis, will unfailingly have to be experienced by the working class on an incomparably larger scale when the proletarian revolution intensifies all controversial issues and concentrates all differences on points of the most immediate importance in determining the conduct of the masses, and makes it necessary in the heat of the fight to distinguish enemies from friends and to cast out bad allies, in order to deal decisive blows at the enemy.

The ideological struggle waged by revolutionary Marxism against revisionism at the end of the nineteenth century is but the prelude to the great revolutionary battles of the proletariat, which is marching forward to the complete victory of its cause despite all the waverings and weaknesses of the petty bourgeoisie.