

**K. MARX'S  
PROLETARIAN  
SOCIALISM**

**THEORY**



# K. Marx's Proletarian Socialism: theory

*Workers of the world, unite!*

First edition

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During the past few centuries, people have created many concepts of the socialist society: from Saint-Simon's and Fourier's utopian socialism, to the so-called "Prussian socialism". Among that great variety of "socialisms", only Marx's proletarian socialism is able to confirm its scientific character, because it proves the need of transition from the capitalist formation to the communist one with mathematical accuracy, logical rigor and descriptive clarity. In this theoretical work, the author conducts a rigorous Marxist analysis of such a period of transition, which is proletarian socialism, beginning his analysis with capitalism as the starting point and ending with the laws of transition from capitalism to communism, without limiting himself by any a priori declarations and schemes.

— The editorial board of the Marxist Science (MS) web magazine.

*"In order to renovate our state apparatus we must at all costs set out, first, to learn, secondly, to learn, and thirdly, to learn, and then see to it that learning shall not remain a dead letter, or a fashionable catch-phrase (and we should admit in all frankness that this happens very often with us), that learning shall really become part of our very being, that it shall actually and fully become a constituent element of our social life."*

**V. I. Lenin**

*"Marxist-Leninists interpret the creative development of Marxism-Leninism not as a negation of its foundations, but as an enrichment of its theory with new conclusions and theses drawn from the experience of the struggle of the working class and of the development of the sciences."*

**E. Hoxha**

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## Introduction

In spite of the Russian workers' rising interest in Marxism and the existence of embryonic forms of the communist movement, such as Marxist circles, the correct definition and a scientific comprehension of the essence of socialism and communism, which are of utmost importance in Marxism, remain an unsolved issue. This issue is tied to the insufficient level of Marxist literacy among supporters of Marxism and communism, which leads many of them onto the path of revisionism, onto the path of a vulgar and primitive understanding of socialism and communism. People with such a worldview lay the basis for the popularity of bourgeois populists, who promote "renewed socialism", "new socialism", "market socialism" and so on.

When F. Engels was writing his famous "The Principles of Communism" (preparatory theses for the "Communist Manifesto"), he had with him a project of the Communist League program sent from London. And in this text we can find these extremely relevant and absolutely correct words:

***"The term 'socialism' is so vague that all the inventors of prison reform, the founders of workhouses, hospitals and cheap dining rooms can be considered socialists. And because the word 'socialism', in essence, does not express any concrete concept, and can mean everything and nothing at the same time, all the empty-headed people who chatter about universal love are trying to hide under its flag, and all people who would passionately like to do something, but cannot decide to act."***

In order to separate ourselves from the vague mass of socialists, it is necessary to have a scientifically accurate understanding of social development, the laws of this development, and to be able to apply these laws to build a communist society. The widespread tendency to unite with this vague mass, called "leftists", is one of the manifestations of Marxist illiteracy, called "left unity". The correct communist tactic isn't about uniting with everything and everyone, for everything good and against everything evil, but working among the broad masses of the working class (about 70 million proletarians in Russia alone<sup>1</sup>) based on a clear scientific program.

F. Engels wrote in a letter to Bebel dated June 20, 1873:

***"Our view, which we have found confirmed by long practice, is that the correct tactic in propaganda is not to draw away a few individuals and members here and there from one's opponent, but to work on the great mass which still remains apathetic. The primitive force of a single individual whom we have ourselves***

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<sup>1</sup> See „Labor and employment in Russia 2019. Statistical collection.”

***attracted from the crude mass is worth more than ten Lassallean renegades, who always bring the seeds of their false tendencies into the Party with them.”***

Communists must understand that they are outside the coordinates of bourgeois sociology, outside the ideological division of left and right, and that they express the class interests of the proletariat in a scientific way.

Speaking of socialism, it is important to understand that ***there is no single abstract socialism***, but there are ***a bunch of different socialisms***, which Marx divided by classes into three ideological forms and one scientific. The former include reactionary, conservative and utopian socialisms, while the only scientific form of socialism is the proletarian one. The most common form among the first three is conservative or bourgeois socialism, which is practically implemented in all modern bourgeois countries simultaneously with the state regulation of the capitalist economy. But this bourgeois socialism is directly opposed to proletarian socialism, the essence of which we aim to uncover in this pamphlet. The problem also lies in the fact that bourgeois socialism ***can pretend to be (i.e. can disguise itself as)*** proletarian socialism, and everyone who studies Marxism must be able to precisely distinguish between these two socialisms.

## **1. Capitalism as the Starting Point**

Capitalism, as life shows and as it was described by Marx, did not and could not eliminate classes and class oppression, no matter how hard the lackeys of capital try to convince people that there are no more classes and that we live in a so-called “post-industrial society”.

Capitalism is the third mode of production, after slavery and feudalism, based on class antagonism: the only difference is that it has introduced new classes in place of the old ones. Why shouldn't society after capitalism develop in the same way, why shouldn't there be a dozen more formations where some classes are replaced by others (as a kind of permanent mechanism), just as capitalist classes replaced feudal ones at one time, and feudal classes replaced slave-owning ones? Why does it have to be a society without classes? And why didn't it come right after the slave-owning mode of production, or at least the feudal one? Every communist must know the answer to these questions.

The feudal mode of production decomposed under the impact of the development of commodity production, the development of exchange and trade, the development of navigation and industry. The feudal organization of production, whether in the city or in the countryside, could not meet the needs that grew under the influence of the development of commodity production, it could not meet the new demand; nor could those needs be satisfied by a more productive manufactory, within which there was a division of labor, but where manual machinery was used. The resolution of the problem was the industrial revolution of the XVIII-XIX centuries, which replaced the manufactory with machine production and launched large-scale industry, which led to the formation of a world market and expanded the division of labor, from the limits of individual enterprises to a global scale, and thereby connected the world production into a single whole (which means the cosmopolitan destruction of the national roots of industry). Large-scale industry was expanding and at the same time communication routes and transportation (especially navigation) developed, which became fertile ground for the development of trade, especially international trade. Under the influence of all of these factors, a new social class developed – the bourgeoisie, which concentrated all means of production, all capital in its hands and thereby pushed all other classes off the stage of history, made them classes of the past, destroyed the ground under their feet, destroyed all feudal and patriarchal orders. Of course, with such gradual economic developments of the bourgeoisie, it also has gradually achieved political victories. Additionally, as it developed, the bourgeoisie rebuilt the ideas prevailing in society according to its own manners and established, as its main principle, the freedom of private property

and exploitation, which has now become naked, shameless and direct, unlike the exploitation of the past, veiled by various religious and political illusions.

The economic foundations of the bourgeois mode of production began to develop in the depths of feudalism. At a certain stage of development, these economic foundations, namely the new way of managing the productive forces, came into conflict with the prevailing feudal property relations. The latter became shackles for the development of these new productive forces, and therefore, they were destroyed, defeated, and the economic and political domination of the bourgeoisie was established instead. However, with the establishment of the bourgeois system, a discrepancy between the bourgeois property relations themselves and their productive forces was revealed.

Along with the bourgeoisie, another class of the bourgeois mode of production emerges - the proletariat. The bourgeoisie and the proletariat (the working class) are two antagonistic classes, codependent and mutually exclusive at the same time. There is no bourgeoisie without the proletariat and no proletariat without the bourgeoisie. While the bourgeoisie concentrates in its hands the whole mass of the means of production, the proletariat is deprived of them. The proletarian (the worker) has nothing but his own labor-power, which he is forced to sell to the capitalist. The capitalist hires the proletarians by purchasing their labor-power. However, things don't end with the purchase of labor-power – the worker works for the capitalist beyond the creation of the value of his own labor, creating surplus value for the latter: such is the exploitation of workers by the capitalists. The proletarian is defined by the very fact that it produces surplus value, and the capitalist is defined by his appropriation of it<sup>2</sup>.

As we can see, the capitalist mode of production begins with the organization of production: by combining the means of production with the labor-force in order to extract surplus value. Next, we have the competitive struggle between the capitalists

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<sup>2</sup> In today's society, most people are proletarians: employees of both private capitalists and the state (as a collective capitalist). Factory workers, teachers, doctors, hairdressers, programmers, taxi drivers, in general, all who are employed, either by the state or by private owners, and who are producing surplus value for them. *"Capitalist production is not merely the production of commodities, it is essentially the production of surplus-value. The labourer produces, not for himself, but for capital. It no longer suffices, therefore, that he should simply produce. He must produce surplus-value. That labourer alone is productive, who produces surplus-value for the capitalist, and thus works for the self-expansion of the capital. If we may take an example from outside the sphere of production of material objects, a schoolmaster is a productive labourer, when, in addition to be labouring the heads of his scholars, he works like a horse to enrich the school proprietor. That the latter has laid out his capital in a teaching factory, instead of in a sausage factory, does not alter the relation. Hence the notion of a productive labourer implies not merely a relation between work and useful effect, between labourer and product of labour, but also a specific, social relation of production, a relation that has sprung up historically and stamps the labourer as the direct means of creating surplus-value. To be a productive labourer is, therefore, not a piece of luck, but a misfortune"* (Marx, Capital, vol. 1).

themselves for markets, and the outcome in this struggle depends on the development of technology, on the productivity of labor, etc. In order to survive and win in the competitive struggle, capitalists are forced to improve their technology, to achieve an increase in the productivity of labor – this is why the bourgeoisie has a revolutionary effect on the development of productive forces. *“The bourgeoisie, during its rule of scarce one hundred years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all the preceding generations together. Subjection of nature’s forces to man, machinery, application of chemistry to industry and agriculture, steam-navigation, railways, electric telegraphs, clearing of whole continents for cultivation, canalization of rivers, whole populations conjured out of the ground – what earlier century had even a presentiment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labour?”* [1, p. 40]. The exploited workers begin their struggle against exploitation individually, spontaneously. They have no cohesion in the struggle against exploitation at the beginning, but the bourgeoisie unites them in its struggle against feudal domination and further against the remnants of feudalism. However, the proletariat also develops along with the development of industry. It increases numerically. The interests of different proletarians begin to coincide. The inevitable crises caused by capitalism hit workers' wages and this leads to the fact that workers begin to fight together to protect their economic interests. They have victories. The growth of industry strengthens the connection of workers from different regions and nations. Only such a connection makes it possible for the proletariat to realize its class interests and thereby leads to a class (political) struggle of the workers against the bourgeoisie. This is what the organization of the proletariat into a class, into a political party, means.

Until the emergence of capitalism, producers were scattered, isolated due to the corresponding level of the development of productive forces and of the social division of labor. This was the root of private property, private (individual, isolated) appropriation of the results of labor. Capitalist organization of labor and the Industrial Revolution (a new level of development of the productive forces) led to the association of the producers, to the fact that the producers (modern workers, proletarians) began to produce only jointly, collectively. However, private property, private appropriation, has been preserved. Labor has acquired a cooperative (social) character, and the appropriation of its results, as in the days of private production (before capitalism), has remained private. This is the main contradiction of capitalism and, at the same time, the main premise of a new, communist mode of production, in which the character of the appropriation of the results of labor is social, collective, i.e. corresponds to the social character of production.

The very nature of cooperative (social) labor implies a specific function of capital, the function of supervision and management. At the same time, the latter is the function of the exploitation of social labor.

As soon as the growth of capital reaches the minimum threshold at which only capitalist production is possible (together with the cooperative nature of labor), the owner of capital (the bourgeois) *is freed from physical labor* and is engaged in mental labor, namely, *the labor of supervision and management*. With the development of capitalism, the socialization of labor breaks through regional and national borders, reaches huge proportions and covers world production. The latter is carried out thanks to the capitalist credit system, about which I will say a little below. At the same time, the capitalist *already transfers the functions of supervision and management to a special category of employees* (these are managers, supervisors, directors, etc.). The latter are not proletarians, because they do not produce surplus value and receive their earnings from the surplus value appropriated by the capitalist. These workers are *hired capitalists* (in other words, functioning capitalists), because they are endowed by the owner-capitalist with part of their functions, while the latter becomes *a rentier*, that is, a capitalist living on the income of the enterprise (i.e., the results of the work of its workers), but in no way involved in its operation<sup>3</sup>. Such a capitalist, as a functionary, has become superfluous for production and is purely a parasite, sucking all the juice out of proletarians. Since the bourgeois state is a collective capitalist, there is also a special category of employees (wage capitalists) – officials who perform the functions of supervision and management. The entrepreneurial income here is the state budget, which is formed, among other things, due to the appropriation of the surplus value of the state proletarians...<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> This was described in detail in K. Marx's Capital, particularly in the 11th chapter of Volume I and in Volume III.

<sup>4</sup> "A capitalist is one of the representatives of the ruling class (the bourgeoisie), who has the means of production in his property and exists through the exploitation of wage labor, earnings coming from the extraction of surplus value. The "collective" part means that the whole state together, collectively, represents a capitalist, but not any single organ of the state, any single state enterprise, unlike a private owner, has exclusive, comprehensive power over the objects under its direct jurisdiction. If a private owner can, at his sole discretion, dispose of things belonging to him, then a state institution or enterprise, being an independent legal entity, is guided by the dictates of higher state bodies. This means that property objects in such cases are managed not by one specific person (a separate enterprise or institution as a legal entity), but by many people who are in a relationship of bureaucratic subordination (hierarchy). Thus, the subject of state capitalist property has many faces. Now let's compare the criteria of the capitalist and the capabilities of the state

1. The capitalist owns the means of production. Does the state own them? Sure. Otherwise, there would not be various state-owned enterprises that sell their commodities in the same way as private ones.

2. The capitalist hires workers, buys their labor. Does the state do this? Yes. Otherwise, all state-owned enterprises would magically produce commodities without people.

3. The capitalist has earnings in the form of surplus value. Does the state have them? Therefore, if it acquires labor power, but also has revenues that replenish the state budget, then the profit comes from exploitation, the

I will note here something important for the further train of thought. In “Capital”, Marx discovered the dual character inherent to the capitalist credit system. On the one hand, credit develops the capitalist mode of exploitation into a system of pure speculation and fraud. Since a significant part of social capital is used by non-owners and entrepreneurial activity is built in this case in a completely different way, insofar as the reproduction process here is brought to an extreme at an accelerated pace, thereby credit turns out to be the main lever of overproduction and speculation, i.e. it breaks through the shackles of the productive forces (the capitalist relations of production). On the other hand, the credit system is a *transitional form from capitalism to communism*. This point is significant to us.

The credit system, which contributes to the colossal expansion of production, tying the whole world into a single system of capitalism, leads to the emergence of such enterprises that were not possible for individual capital (in industry, railway transport, etc.): *joint-stock companies* and *cooperative factories*.

Joint-stock companies, first of all, give the capitalist enterprises *a social form*: capital here takes the form of *the capital of associated individuals* as opposed to private (individual) capital. This is the essence of “*the abolition of capital as private property within the framework of the capitalist mode of production itself*” [2, p. 434].

Secondly, in joint-stock companies, *pay for management is completely separated from entrepreneurial income*, because here, too, the function of supervision and management is separated from ownership of capital, “*hence also labour is entirely divorced from ownership of means of production and surplus labour*” [2, p. 434]. Hired overseers (managers), while not owners, perform here the functions of managing both labor and capital, thereby becoming functioning capitalists. This is the result of the highest development of the capitalist mode of production, *the necessary transitional point* to (1) the transformation of capital into the associated property of the producers themselves and (2) the transformation of all functions arising from this property into the functions of associated producers.

Joint-stock companies represent the destruction of capitalism within capitalism itself, but *a negative* destruction, because “*this expropriation appears within the capitalist system in a contradictory form, as appropriation of social property by a few; and credit lends the latter more and more the aspect of pure adventurers. Since property here exists in the form of stock, its movement and transfer become purely*

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*appropriation of surplus value, otherwise the self-entitled "true Marxists" will have to reject the labor theory of value.*

*Thus, the statement that the state is a capitalist, but a collective one, is quite logical. And this is most noticeable under state-monopoly capitalism, whether bourgeois or proletarian” ([G. Magomedov], “The state as a capitalist,” VK, January 21, 2021, [https://vk.com/marxist\\_science?w=wall-145965198\\_4283](https://vk.com/marxist_science?w=wall-145965198_4283)).*

*a result of gambling on the stock exchange, where the little fish are swallowed by the sharks and the lambs by the stock-exchange wolves. There is antagonism against the old form in the stock companies, in which social means of production appear as individual property; but the conversion to the form of stock still remains ensnared in the trammels of capitalism; hence, instead of overcoming the antithesis between the character of wealth as social and as private wealth, **the stock companies merely develop it in a new form**" [2, p. 437].*

The first breach within the old form (i.e., within capitalism) are ***the cooperative factories of the workers themselves***. They have eliminated the antagonism between labor and capital, although ***in such a form that the workers, as an association, are their own capitalist***, that is, they collectively own the means of production, they use them in order to exploit their own labor. The work of supervision here also loses its antagonistic character, because the overseers are not representatives of capital in relation to the workers, but are paid by the workers themselves (for the workers here are the capitalist). If we said earlier that a new, communist mode of production (communist property) does not arise within the limits of capitalism, then cooperative factories of workers ***show*** us how, at a certain stage of the development of productive forces, ***"a new mode of production naturally grows out of an old one"*** [2, p. 438]. These words do not mean in any way that workers' cooperative factories are communist property (a mode of production). They are no more than a transitional point, i.e. a point of development of a new mode of production from the old one. This also does not mean that this transition, this development can occur within the framework of individual (or, as Marx called them, dwarfish) cooperative factories under capitalism. ***"...Restricted, however, to the dwarfish forms into which individual wage slaves can elaborate it by their private efforts, the co-operative system will never transform capitalist society."*** [3, p. 190]. In order ***to begin the development of society from capitalism to communism*** (i.e. the transitional period from the former to the latter), the proletariat must at first expand the cooperative system ***to a national scale***, and this ***requires the conquest of power by the proletariat and the centralization of all ownership of the means of production in its hands*** (i.e. the implementation of the socialist revolution). Then the whole society will turn into ***a single cooperative factory of the workers themselves, where the workers, as an association organized into a state, are their own capitalist***.

The main contradiction of capitalism, i.e. the social productive forces that have outgrown private ownership, show that ***capitalism can no longer control them***. At the same time, these forces strive to destroy this contradiction, which forces the bourgeoisie to treat them in a way that corresponds to their communist character

more and more often, as far as possible within the framework of capitalism. This manifests in a form of socialization of large masses of means of production, that is found in various kinds of joint-stock companies. Moreover: some means of production already exclude any other form of capitalist property besides joint-stock ownership. At a certain stage of the development of capitalism, the joint-stock form also becomes insufficient, and now ***the bourgeois state is forced to take control of the means of production into its own hands*** (these are, first of all, the large means of communication: railways, telecommunications, etc.). Both the joint-stock companies and the bourgeois state ownership show that ***the bourgeoisie is incapable of managing the productive forces anymore***: in joint-stock companies, just as in the bourgeois state-owned enterprises, ***the capitalist's functions of supervision and management are performed by hired managers***. Capitalists are only engaged in parasitism...

Let us return, however, to the stages of the development of capitalism. The free competition of capitalists is the basic property of capitalism in particular and of commodity production in general. However, the development of capitalism brings this basic property to its opposite, to monopoly, to a new, ***imperialist (monopolistic) stage of capitalism***, the essential features of which were revealed by V.I. Lenin. Capitalist free competition creates large-scale production and displaces small-scale production, bringing the concentration of capital to the point of emergence of all forms of monopoly. The latter does not eliminate competition, but is its natural development, leading to a new, special stage of capitalism, in which the features of the transition stage from capitalism to a new mode of production are revealed everywhere. “...without forgetting the conditional and relative value of all definitions in general, which can never embrace all the concatenations of a phenomenon in its full development, we must give a definition of imperialism that will include the following five of its basic features: (1) the concentration of production and capital has developed to such a high stage that it has created monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life; (2) the merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of this ‘finance capital’, of a financial oligarchy; (3) the export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities acquires exceptional importance; (4) the formation of international monopolist capitalist associations which share the world among themselves, and (5) the territorial division of the whole world among the biggest capitalist powers is completed” [4, p. 266]. Another, ***most important*** feature of imperialism is that “The receipt of high monopoly profits by the capitalists in one of the numerous branches of industry, in one of the numerous countries, etc., makes it economically possible

*for them to bribe certain sections of the workers, and for a time a fairly considerable minority of them, and win them to the side of the bourgeoisie of a given industry or given nation against all the others” [4, p. 301]. Here lay the roots of **imperialist opportunism**: the perversion of Marxism to the point that it becomes anti-Marxism and serves the bourgeoisie<sup>5</sup>.*

The imperialist stage of capitalism also inevitably leads to the subordination of the bourgeois state to monopolies, to the fact that the largest capitalists become shareholders of the state, its owners, i.e. a collective capitalist. The forms of merging of monopolies and the state are very different, but their essence is the same. The transfer of enterprises to state ownership, i.e. their nationalization, does not change their capitalist character at all: these enterprises become the collective property of the owners of the state, i.e. the largest capitalists. F. Engels writes in the same way: *“But the transformation, either into joint-stock companies, or into state ownership, does not do away with the capitalistic nature of the productive forces. In the joint-stock companies this is obvious. And the modern state, again, is only the organisation that bourgeois society takes on in order to support the general external conditions of the capitalist mode of production against the encroachments as well of the workers as of individual capitalists. The modern state, no matter what its form, is essentially a capitalist machine, the state of the capitalists, the ideal personification of the total national capital. The more it proceeds to the taking over of productive forces, the more does it actually become the national capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit. The workers remain wage-workers — proletarians. The capitalist relation is not done away with. It is rather brought to a head. But, brought to a head, it topples over. State ownership of the productive forces is not the solution of the conflict, but concealed within it are the technical conditions that form the elements of that solution” [5, pp. 265-266].* The nationalization of the means of production by the bourgeois state is progressive in nature, and is a step forward on the path to communism. Under imperialism, when the bourgeois state is subordinated to monopolies, nationalization means the further development of imperialism, its acquisition of the form of **bourgeois state-monopoly capitalism**. The prefix “bourgeois” characterizes the class character of the state, because there is another, opposite to it, **proletarian state-monopoly capitalism**, discovered by V.I.

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<sup>5</sup> Opportunism in modern Russia has greatly suspended the development of the proletarian revolution, because the former’s class roots are in the movement of the petty-bourgeoisie, it is the parasitism of the petty bourgeoisie on communism. The brightest examples of modern opportunism and revisionism are M.V. Popov, I. Yarsky, R. Fatkullin, V. Sarmatov, P. Ponaiotov, A. Rudoy & Co., as well as a number of other leftist figures.

Lenin<sup>6</sup>. It was he who proved that “...*state capitalism in a society where power belongs to capital, and state capitalism in a proletarian state, are two different concepts. In a capitalist state, state capitalism means that it is recognised by the state and controlled by it for the benefit of the bourgeoisie, and to the detriment of the proletariat. In the proletarian state, the same thing is done for the benefit of the working class, for the purpose of withstanding the as yet strong bourgeoisie, and of fighting it*” [6, p. 491]. If the bourgeois state is replaced by a proletarian one, if the proletariat seizes state power, then state-monopoly capitalism will serve the ruling proletariat, it will mean a step and steps on the way to the transition period from capitalism to communism (i.e., on the way to socialism). The details regarding proletarian state capitalism and proletarian socialism will be uncovered later. Here, it is important to note the following: *it is impossible to move forward from monopoly without going to proletarian power, to the transfer of the state into the possession of the workers themselves*. No insurrection can create socialism if it has not matured economically, and it is state-monopoly capitalism that is the economic, material basis of proletarian socialism, of the transition from capitalism to communism.

Before going further, I will summarize the above. The development of private property, which passed through slavery and/or feudalism, led to the last form of its existence — capitalism. Private property itself, naturally, at this stage, gave rise to its opposite — the proletariat, which is the bearer of the social character of production, which is cramped in the depths of private property relations. The contradiction of capitalism is such that private property is forced to maintain its existence and, accordingly, the existence of its own opposite, its gravedigger — the proletarian class. But this is only one side of the common antagonism between private property and the proletariat, its positive side. The other negative side of this

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<sup>6</sup> At the same time, proletarian state capitalism should not be confused with proletarian socialism, as adherents of various Trotskyist, Kautskian sects diligently do. In fact, Lenin made it clear that proletarian state capitalism and proletarian socialism are not the same thing, but two stages of the transition period from capitalism to communism: “*Borne along on the crest of the wave of enthusiasm, rousing first the political enthusiasm and then the military enthusiasm of the people, we expected to accomplish economic tasks just as great as the political and military tasks we had accomplished by relying directly on this enthusiasm. We expected—or perhaps it would be truer to say that we presumed without having given it adequate consideration—to be able to organise the state production and the state distribution of products on communist lines in a small-peasant country directly as ordered by the proletarian state. Experience has proved that we were wrong. It appears that a number of transitional stages were necessary—state capitalism and socialism—in order to prepare—to prepare by many years of effort—for the transition to communism. Not directly relying on enthusiasm, but aided by the enthusiasm engendered by the great revolution, and on the basis of personal interest, personal incentive and business principles, we must first set to work in this small-peasant country to build solid gangways to socialism by way of state capitalism. Otherwise we shall never get to communism, we shall never bring scores of millions of people to communism. That is what experience, the objective course of the development of the revolution, has taught us*” (Vladimir Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 33, p. 58. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1973).

antagonism is that the proletariat, as a class, is forced to ruin itself, thereby creating its opposite — private property.

*“Within this antithesis the private property-owner is therefore the conservative side, the proletarian the destructive side. From the former arises the action of preserving the antithesis, from the latter the action of annihilating it.*

*Indeed private property drives itself in its economic movement towards its own dissolution, but only through a development which does not depend on it, which is unconscious and which takes place against the will of private property by the very nature of things, only inasmuch as it produces the proletariat as proletariat, poverty which is conscious of its spiritual and physical poverty, dehumanization which is conscious of its dehumanization, and therefore self-abolishing. The proletariat executes the sentence that private property pronounces on itself by producing the proletariat, just as it executes the sentence that wage-labour pronounces on itself by producing wealth for others and poverty for itself. When the proletariat is victorious, it by no means becomes the absolute side of society, for it is victorious only by abolishing itself and its opposite. Then the proletariat disappears as well as the opposite which determines it, private property” [7, p. 36].*

## 2. Material and Technical Prerequisites of Communism

The main material and technical prerequisite of communism under capitalism is machine production. The cooperative nature of labor arose with the emergence of manufactures, within which only the product of the collective labor of many workers became a commodity. Manufactures were a transitional period from small-scale commodity production to large-scale capitalist industry, because manufactures contributed to the specialization of the instruments of labor (and their associated improvement) and workers. The transition to large-scale capitalist industry happened due to the invention of the steam engine, the improvement of the method of melting metal and the creation of machines that produce machines. This transition was an industrial overturn (or revolution) and it marked the beginning of industrialization in the developed capitalist countries. With the transition to machine production, the division of labor has intensified, it has gone beyond the framework of a separate enterprise and has already become a division of labor between the enterprises themselves, and even more: between different industries, between different countries. From the latter it also follows that the cooperative nature of labor (or the socialization of labor) has spread to the entire globe. However, this was not done all at once. If the industrial revolution (including the transition to the ubiquitous spread of cooperative labor) began in the late XVIII – early XIX centuries in England, then this process was completed all over the globe only in the second half of the XX century.

In the 1970s, a scientific and technological revolution took place, which made a qualitative leap in the development of the productive forces of the developed capitalist countries and had a tremendous impact on the entire capitalist world. Like any scientific and technological revolution under capitalism, it strengthened the global division of labor and the associated socialization of production. A qualitative leap in the development of the productive forces manifested itself in the rapid development of information technologies<sup>7</sup> and their revolutionary effect on technology in general<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup> “...Modern information technologies are based on two material components: silicon chips and semiconductor heterostructures. It was man-made crystals, heterostructures, that determined the emergence and progress of cellular telephony and satellite communications, fiber-optic communications and LED lighting. All modern photonics, fast electronics, to a large extent "solar energy" and efficient energy saving are based on their use. Unlike chips, in this field, the pioneers and creators of the scientific foundation and the foundations of technology were primarily Russians” (Aristart Kovalev. *В мир без капитала: краткий курс Марксистской политэкономии*. ITRK, 2017. Footnote on page 38).

<sup>8</sup> The three-component system of machines with the participation of a person is replaced by a four-component one, where the person is replaced by the fourth component of the machine itself - the control mechanism.

These technologies are remarkable for the fact that the people are released from direct production, the physical labor of hundreds of workers is replaced by the mental labor of dozens, who only control the information program<sup>9</sup>. However, such production inevitably threatens capitalism with death in the long run. Namely, this leads to an increase in the organic structure of capital and, accordingly, to a decrease in the rate of profit<sup>10</sup>. That is, the newest productive forces cannot develop within the framework of the capitalist economic system. At the same time, they make it possible to ensure *the full well-being and free multilateral development of all members of society*, which is possible only if *the form of ownership of the productive forces is transferred to the entire society*. They cannot develop within the framework of capitalist ownership, which sets limits for this development because of its main goal - to ensure maximum profit. Their being is not designed for this purpose. Moreover, the share of the *intellectual abilities* of the proletarians in the overall structure of the productive forces in connection with the scientific and technological revolution has increased and is growing. The growth of these abilities causes new needs to come to life – not only do the needs *increase*, but they also *reach a new level entirely*.

In order to provide the latest technology, capitalists need capable (qualified) proletarians, which is why they are forced to stimulate the work of these proletarians with higher wages so that they can satisfy their increased and exalted needs, including getting the necessary education, the necessary qualifications.

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<sup>9</sup> “When using manual tools, before the industrial revolution of the XVIII century, a person envisioned in his head all the processes of the creation of products, based on his production experience, and embodied these processes. The labor of the worker was quite meaningful. The introduction of mechanical technology simplifies the labor of the worker, makes it less meaningful, reduces the handling of labor tools to simple algorithms. The more mechanical technology develops and qualitative changes occur in it, the less meaning there is in the labor of the worker. It comes to the complete liberation of a person from the machine and replacing him with an **information program**. A person is only required to set up the program and monitor the machine. In other words, as the productive forces of mankind develop, the creation of products becomes a matter of the means of production themselves. A person only creates information, which is materialized by the means of production in products. The intellectual labor of a person gains a decisive role in the newest productive forces. Accordingly, **science turns into an active component of the productive forces**” (Shakhban Mammaev. Modern productive forces in the context of Marxist political economy, p 15. Makhachkala: 2020).

<sup>10</sup> “Machines that produce commodities in automated production are permanent capital, a means of labor that do not create value in any way, but only transfer their value (as permanent capital) to the value of the produced commodities (recall that the value of commodities is equal to the sum of permanent capital, variable capital and surplus value). On the one hand, the entire mass of commodities is produced by automated machines that do not create new value. On the other hand, highly skilled workers also do not create new value, because they do not invest living labor into production, but only control machines. All this makes automated production, for a capitalist seeking profit, unprofitable... At the same time, full automation of all world production will be the death of capitalism, because the purchasing power of the population, which will be thrown out of the production process, will decline, and so workers will simply have nothing to buy commodities with” (ibid., p. 17).

The increase in the abilities and needs of a person is expressed in the tendency of *multilateral development of the employees*. This tendency is the strengthening of the premise of communism, where this tendency becomes the goal of social production.

In modern times, there are factors that make automated production viable in developed countries. Firstly, automation does not reach more than 30%<sup>11</sup> in their economy and due to the non-automated part of production, which has a relatively higher share in the economy, the purchasing power of the population is preserved.

Secondly, automated workplaces are integrated into existing production chains, where the majority of jobs are not automated.

Thirdly, the production of highly developed capitalist countries can be directed to the benefit of capitalists by transferring a significant part of the non-automated production to backward countries<sup>12</sup>.

The latest technologies, which have not abolished the machine period of industrial development, but have renewed it, further strengthen the prerequisites of communism and the inevitable death of capitalism...

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<sup>11</sup> According to the study by the Capgemini Research Institute conducted at the end of 2018, the share of automated production in the economies of large countries is as follows: USA — 26%; France — 21%; Germany — 17%; Great Britain - 16%; India — 15%.

<sup>12</sup> The export of capital is one of the main features of the imperialist stage of capitalism, associated with the high degree of concentration of capital achieved at this stage, which forces capitalists to use this path to increase profits. The imperialists export production to countries with cheap labor, i.e. the countries in which the development of capitalism began relatively recently. The imperialists put (or rather have long been putting) the local population of these countries in such conditions, in which producers are forced to become workers (i.e. enter into capitalist production relations) and work for low wages, thereby ensuring monopolistically high profits. The development of capitalism in dependent countries and the transfer of the bulk of capital-intensive industry there has led to a colossal growth of the factory proletariat in those countries. At the moment, the factory proletariat of the dependent countries makes up the majority of the global factory proletariat – about 80%.

### 3. The Proletarian Revolution.

The communist society emerges from the capitalist one through a long period of revolutionary transformation, a long period of transition from capitalism to communism. The replacement of a reactionary socio-economic formation (SEF) by a progressive one constitutes a social revolution. The transition from capitalism to communism constitutes the *proletarian social revolution*. Therefore, to understand marxism, we must understand the proletarian revolution.

*The proletarian revolution* is a long period of revolutionary transformation of capitalism into communism, the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which begins with the proletariat taking power. During the proletarian revolution, the proletariat demolishes all class differences, all the relations of production that serve as the basis for those differences, and all the social relations that result from those relations of production. The proletariat revolutionizes all the ideas that arise from those social relations.

The proletarian revolution is a natural and historical process; its premises lay in the fundamental contradiction of capitalism – the contradiction between the proletariat (the class of hired workers who don't own any means of production and produce surplus value; the bearer of the social character of productive forces) and the bourgeois (the private owner of these productive forces, the appropriator of the surplus value).

The proletarian revolution is an international revolution, because it can win only by means of spreading to all countries of the world. However, the character of the international proletarian revolution in the era of pre-monopolistic capitalism differs from its character in the era of imperialism.

In the era of pre-monopolistic capitalism, the proletarian revolution was developing *simultaneously* in all *capitalist countries*, where its premises have matured. But in the era of imperialism, the proletarian revolution might begin in one separate country, “while the others will for some time remain bourgeois or pre-bourgeois”. This difference in the character of the revolution between the two stages of capitalism is a result of the validity of the law of uneven economic and political development of capitalism during imperialism, which has been discovered by Lenin. According to this law, the proletarian revolution takes place *at different times* in *separate capitalist countries* and depends more on the weakness of local imperialism and the strength of the local working class (even if it does not constitute the majority of the population, but was able to turn all the non-proletarian working masses into its reserve), than it depends on the development of capitalism itself. Some comrades think that the proletarian revolution in a single country contradicts

the idea of an international proletarian revolution. There's no need to say that such people, people that have one-sided (metaphysical) thinking, have nothing in common with Marxists. The international proletarian revolution in the era of imperialism is *the combination of proletarian revolutions in separate countries*.

The law of uneven economic and political capitalist development is based on the following premises: 1) Capitalism has developed into a worldwide system of colonial (or nowadays, neocolonial) oppression and financial strangulation by a handful of developed capitalist countries of the rest of the world's population; 2) Imperialist countries are at a competitive war to divide and redistribute parts of the world, into which the whole planet is drawn; 3) The growth of contradictions within the international system of oppression of some countries and people by others, and the inevitability of military conflicts are making the international front of imperialism easily vulnerable for the revolution, and a break through this front by individual countries becomes likely; 4) This breakthrough is most likely to occur in those countries where the chain of the imperialist front is weaker and less prepared, and where it's easier for the revolution to expand; 5) Therefore, the victory of socialism in one country (or group of countries), even if it's less developed, while capitalism remains in other countries (even capitalistically more developed) is quite possible.

## 4. Proletarian Socialism or Kautskyism?

On August 24, 2018, Politsturm published an article by Pavel Ponaiotov on their website, with some interesting content and this intriguing title: “Socialism in the USSR” [8]. The author set a goal “*to find out the correct theory of the social system of the USSR.*” This is a rather complex topic that requires extensive research, and any Marxist would undertake a thorough analysis of all available facts in order to study this topic, since Marx’s dialectical method itself, when studying any object, requires us to “*look at and examine all its facets, its connections and ‘mediacies’.* *That is something we cannot ever hope to achieve completely, but the rule of comprehensiveness is a safeguard against mistakes and rigidity.*” Mr. Ponaiotov either does not know this indisputable requirement, or deliberately feeds a fairly large audience with rigid bullshit.

And this approach results from the lack of a detailed study of the production and state of the USSR (call it whatever you like: the substitution of dialectics with metaphysics, materialism with idealism, etc.), which Ponaiotov demonstrates while analyzing various kinds of “theories” that explain the social structure of the USSR in order to “prove” the “accuracy” of his scattered arguments mixed with actual facts, taken in isolation from the whole totality, about the development of Soviet society. At the same time, Ponaiotov calls the topic of socialism in the USSR one of the most important topics, “*which determines tactics and strategy of actions, reveals past experiences, gives an opportunity to set the direction for the development of society, etc.*” First of all, when talking about the USSR as an example of socialism, the Polisturmist bypasses the question of ***the dictatorship of the proletariat***, only casually saying that “*the workers are already managing the economy themselves*” (and then, when describing socialism in the USSR, proving this by the fact that the workers were sending their proposals to the administration!). And he does not say a word here about the most important thing in Marxism, about the basis of the Marxist understanding of socialism, about the dictatorship of the proletariat, although the essence of this phenomenon was revealed by Marx and Engels, before and especially after the Paris Commune, revealed quite clearly, described many times, so many times, that any Marxist cannot imagine socialism without the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was also revealed by Lenin, both before and after the October armed uprising in Russia as well.

In the same Critique of the Gotha Program, Marx points out:

“*Between capitalist and communist society there lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. Corresponding to this is also*

*a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the **revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat***" [9, p. 95]

Mr. Ponaiotov forgot (or maybe intentionally ignored) everything about the taking of power by the proletariat and the tasks of the proletariat after taking power. He did not say a word about Marx's most important conclusion that "*...the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made State machinery, and wield it for its own purposes*" [11, p. 328]. He did not say a word about the fact that the proletariat should smash the bourgeois state machine (the bureaucratic apparatus) and build **proletarian socialism** instead of it (the proletarian state machine, based on proletarian democracy), under which ***all workers to rule one by one, all workers in turn.***

There is no actual Marxist who can imagine socialism without a proletarian dictatorship, but Ponaiotov, as we see, is not a Marxist, but a typical Kautskyite. All this was spelled out by Lenin in his remarkable and well-known work "The State and Revolution" (1918). Here is what Lenin writes:

*"The workers, after winning political power, will smash the old bureaucratic apparatus, shatter it to its very foundations, and raze it to the ground; they will replace it by a new one, consisting of the very same workers and other employees, against whose transformation into bureaucrats the measures will at once be taken which were specified in detail by Marx and Engels: (1) not only election, but also recall at any time; (2) pay not to exceed that of a workman; (3) immediate introduction of control and supervision by all, so that all may become 'bureaucrats' for a time and that, therefore, nobody may be able to become a 'bureaucrat'"* [10, p. 486].

This new apparatus of which Lenin speaks, i.e. the proletarian state (or semi-state, community, commune, as Marx called it) is proletarian socialism:

*"Under socialism all will govern in turn and will soon become accustomed to no one governing"* [10, p. 493].

Above, in parentheses, I mentioned the "semi-state." Since under socialism ***all workers*** govern in turn (without any professional bureaucracy), since they do not use special force to suppress and enforce (a regular army and police), but do it themselves, to that extent, the socialist state is not a state in the proper sense of the word, but a semi-state, a dying state, but still a state – because the very functions of suppression and coercion are preserved. All this was detailed by both Marx and Lenin, and forgotten by Kautskyism at the beginning of the previous century.

Ponaiotov and Co., like the Trotskyites, are unaware of Lenin's other most important conclusion. Yes, the bourgeois state machine (the bureaucratic apparatus)

must certainly be destroyed and socialism must be built instead of it. Is this done in a day or a month? This moment is covered in detail in my article “Discussion about Trade Unions and Socialism” and lectures from the MCM class of November 14 last year, as well as in the work “What is Soviet Power?”

Lenin's conclusion is that *during the construction of socialism* (of the proletarian state, the semi-state), the dictatorship of the proletariat is *not carried out by all the workers*, but only by their advanced, conscious part – *the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat*. Here is what Lenin says in his work “The Trade Unions” (1920):

*“In the transition to socialism the dictatorship of the proletariat is inevitable, but it is not exercised by an organisation which takes in all industrial workers. Why not? The answer is given in the theses of the Second Congress of the Communist International on the role of political parties in general. I will not go into this here. What happens is that the Party, shall we say, absorbs the vanguard of the proletariat, and this vanguard exercises the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship cannot be exercised or the functions of government performed without a foundation such as the trade unions. These functions, however, have to be performed through the medium of special institutions which are also of a new type, namely, the Soviets. What are the practical conclusions to be drawn from this peculiar situation? They are, on the one hand, that the trade unions are a link between the vanguard and the masses, and by their daily work bring conviction to the masses, the masses of the class which alone is capable of taking us from capitalism to communism. On the other hand, the trade unions are a “reservoir” of the state power. This is what the trade unions are in the period of transition from capitalism to communism. In general, this transition cannot be achieved without the leadership of that class which is the only class capitalism has trained for large-scale production and which alone is divorced from the interests of the petty proprietor. But the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be exercised through an organisation embracing the whole of that class, because in all capitalist countries (and not only over here, in one of the most backward) the proletariat is still so divided, so degraded, and so corrupted in parts (by imperialism in some countries) that an organisation taking in the whole proletariat cannot directly exercise proletarian dictatorship. It can be exercised only by a vanguard that has absorbed the revolutionary energy of the class” [6, pp. 20-21].*

There is a whole abyss between the bourgeois state and the proletarian state (socialism), a whole transitional period in which the proletariat destroys the old administrative apparatus and builds a new one. This period, the duration of which

depends on many internal and external factors, is not only unknown to the Kautskyite Ponaiotov, but also to the Trotskyites, who have memorized Trotsky's anti-scientific concept of a “deformed workers' state.” In fact, it is the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the period of the construction of socialism, but not the complete dictatorship of the proletariat, since it's carried out by the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat, absorbed by the Communist Party. And there are quite a lot of such Ponaiotovs (Kautskyites) and Trotskyites. There are far more of those who equate the dictatorship of the proletariat with the leading role of the Communist Party. The articles of the sectarian webzine “Proryv” contain the idea that “*during the transition from capitalism to communism, that is, under the dictatorship of the working class, due to the mass ignorance inherited from capitalism, sometimes militant, the working class is inevitably and unconditionally under the leadership of the Communist Party*” [12]. Until the establishment of communism, the Party plays a leading role! And the fact that the leading role of the Communist Party is necessary for the workers only during the construction of a proletarian state governed by all workers is deliberately forgotten by the Proryvites in their sectarian, “scientific”-centralist interests. For them, the workers will be ignorant throughout the long transition period. Not only for them, but also for the vast mass of “Trotskyites with Stalin on their banner.”

What factors prevent the destruction of the old state machine overnight (as dreamed by Trotskyites and other anti-Marxists of the petty-bourgeois-anarchist kind) and the transfer of all power to the workers at once (to build a proletarian semi-state)?

To answer this question, let's rewind a little bit. The first step of the proletarian revolution, as already mentioned, is *the seizure of power by the proletariat*.

The proletariat uses its state power to wrest all capital from the bourgeoisie step by step, to centralize the means of production in the hands of the state, i.e. the proletariat, organized as a *collective capitalist, employing and exploiting each of its workers* on behalf of the whole society.<sup>13</sup> The dictatorship of the proletariat is the instrument that the proletariat uses for all its communist activities.

Having become their own collective capitalist, in the course of taking state power and centralizing capital in their hands, the workers begin to organize production

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<sup>13</sup> “All citizens are transformed into hired employees of the state, which consists of the armed workers. All citizens becomes employees and workers of a single country-wide state ‘syndicate’. All that is required is that they should work equally, do their proper share of work, and get equal pay. The accounting and control necessary for this have been simplified by capitalism to the utmost and reduced to the extraordinarily simple operations—which any literate person can perform—of supervising and recording, knowledge of the four rules of arithmetic, and issuing appropriate receipts” [10, p. 478].

themselves and hire their own overseers – that is, to do what the bourgeoisie was doing before the workers took power.

The proletariat must sort out the functions for the organization and management of its economy that it inherited from capitalism: to develop those functions that are necessary for the construction of socialism and communism, and discard those that ensured the domination of private property, capitalism. However, when it takes power, the proletariat itself does not become ready for socialism, for the construction of a new society. Firstly, *the proletariat carries with it all the elements instilled in it by capitalism*, first of all, the bourgeois attitude toward life. It has ahead of it a lot of *self-education* work, to get rid of everything that it inherited from capitalism. Secondly, the workers cannot start governing their state the day after the seizure of power, because they are illiterate in Marxism. Thirdly, due to the length of the working day, workers do not have enough time for self-development, study of Marxism and governing. The soviet marxist A.B. Razlatsky, regardless of his objectively-caused errors in the understanding of history, correctly emphasized that:

*“In order to realize its historic aim, the development of a classless communist society, the proletariat requires not only the seizure of power but also the maintenance of its own dictatorship on all paths of development. And for this it is absolutely essential that the proletariat understand: firstly, the key points in the social system which it must bring under its class control; secondly, the method for realizing such control, and thus those objective laws of social development which guarantee the realization of this control; and thirdly, the proletariat must also master those social laws, the use of which would allow it, taking account of its own strength, to reestablish its control should it be weakened or lost. The power of the organized proletariat thus appears as a reliable guarantee in all its undertakings; but only if it does not lose its clear sense of purpose, its focus on the movement toward communism”* [13].

To solve these problems, the proletariat must, at first, nationalize all the means of production and introduce moneyless commodity exchange (instead of monetary commodity exchange, which can be maintained only if there are two or more forms of ownership, i.e. the division of productive forces between different production sectors). At the same time, the proletarian state must increase labor productivity so that workers have more time for self-development (first of all, the study of Marxism) and the management of their state<sup>14</sup>.

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<sup>14</sup> It must be noted here that Lenin paid special attention to the fact that the vanguard of the proletariat has to teach each of its members to govern the state in turn. He considered that the new form of power has the following task: *“union of the most vigorous, active, class-conscious part of the oppressed classes, their vanguard, which must*

*“Until these conditions are present, the proletariat will have to preserve (temporarily) the old management system, the bourgeois state machine (or bureaucratic apparatus), but not in any way for the purpose of mastering it (this the proletariat a priori cannot do), but for its gradual breakdown (which will happen as the proletariat gradually creates the above conditions). It is precisely this that determines the fact that during this period it is not the universally organized proletariat that governs, but its advanced, conscious, Marxist-literate part — the vanguard of the proletariat, which is absorbed by the Communist Party. We will have to manage in the old way for a while”* [14]. This is the period of the construction of socialism, which was revealed by Lenin: a kind of transitional period within the entire transitional period.

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*educate every member of the working population for independent participation in the management of the state, not theoretically but practically”* (Vladimir Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 27, p. 154. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1974).

## 5. The Socialist Revolution and its laws

The period of transition described above in general terms from the bourgeois state (capitalism) to the proletarian state (socialism), which begins with *the seizure of power by the proletariat* and ends with *the construction of the proletarian semi-state*, is the period of the *socialist revolution*. The latter is the first stage of the entire social revolution of the proletariat. It develops into a communist revolution (the second stage of the proletarian revolution) with the construction of a new state machine of the proletariat. The socialist revolution (i.e., the period of the construction of socialism) has its own political and economic laws (its own materialistic dialectic). These laws were discovered by Marx, Engels and Lenin. They will be discussed in this section.

### **The objective law of the Socialist Revolution in the economic domain**

When the proletariat only takes state power, the economy passes into its hands, where all the productive forces of society are divided between different production sectors, that is, there is a multiplicity in the economy: there is property belonging to the proletarian state, the bourgeois private property and the petty-bourgeois property. The other types of property depend on the degree of development of the society in which the proletariat has won. In any case, the task of the proletariat is *to overcome this multiplicity, the division of productive forces between different production sectors*<sup>15</sup>.

The more production sectors and commodity producers in general there are, the more commodity circulation between them is developed, that is, the exchange of goods through money is developed. The latter (as a special kind of commodity) is in free circulation and never falls out of the sphere of circulation – for its functioning, the fragmentation of commodity producers and their universal social connection is necessary. Money is essentially a universal expression of the materialized socially necessary labor, i.e., of value.

The process of overcoming commodity circulation by the proletariat is of a gradual character: it is the process of nationalization of all ownership of the means of production by the proletarian state. Initially, the proletariat expropriates capitalists through: nationalizing all large-scale private industry (factories, mines, power plants, etc.); nationalizing private automobile, railway, water and air transport;

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<sup>15</sup> “...the first step in the revolution by the working class, is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy. The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i.e., of the proletariat organised as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible” [1, p. 52].

nationalizing private means of communication (television, telecommunications, including mobile communications, large social networks, etc.); nationalization of all banks and subordination to a single central bank (through the nationalization of banks and the creation of a single state bank; all banking transactions will be simplified “by turning the banking apparatus into an apparatus of uniform accounting and general bookkeeping”); nationalization of wholesale and large-scale retail trade, etc.

At the same time, the petty bourgeoisie gets cooperated. The cooperative (artel) is an intermediate form of ownership between the individual petty-bourgeois property and the proletarian state property.

Thus, *in the very beginning*, the proletarian state, expropriates the capitalists and cooperates the petty bourgeoisie, reduces all forms of ownership to only two: large-scale production into a state form, and small-scale production into a cooperative form. Since there is a capitalist (monetary) commodity exchange between these two production sectors, the proletarian state develops capitalism in the framework it needs. *The development of capitalism without capitalists* (for the proletarian state is the only capitalist, a collective one) is at the same time the *development of the proletariat*, its increase in numbers, the building up of the capital of the proletarian state, the creation of conditions for raising cooperative property to the level of the proletarian state. Capitalism (namely capitalist commodity exchange) is, therefore, used by the proletariat to *overcome capitalism* and build socialism.

As long as *all* property has not become the property of the proletarian state, capitalism also persists, i.e., the *proletarian state-monopolistic capitalism*, which was mentioned earlier, functions here. However, this is *not quite capitalism* anymore, although it is *not yet socialism* either. This is an intermediate period, *the threshold of socialism*. Based on the degree of nationalization of property by the proletariat, *the construction of socialism has two stages*: the first one is from the seizure of power by the proletariat to the expropriation of capitalists, and the second one is from the expropriation of capitalists to the destruction of capitalist (monetary) commodity exchange.

Since the workers, organized into their own state, are their own collective capitalist, in so far as they act in an organized manner, as a single class of the proletariat, just like a separate capitalist in bourgeois society: the proletariat, just like the owner, hires overseers (managers) and accountants to achieve its goals, stimulates their work. The proletariat also stimulates each individual proletarian. However, the goal of the proletariat as a collective capitalist, both in the construction of socialism and under socialism, differs from the goal of capitalists in bourgeois

society. If the goal of bourgeois production is maximum profit, then for the proletariat, the goal in production is *maximum production efficiency* or, more precisely, *ensuring the full well-being and free all-round development of all workers*.

The establishment of a single proletarian state ownership of all the means of production is both an economic and a political basis for the transition to proletarian socialism, i.e., it is the beginning of a long transition period from capitalism to communism. In the presence of one single production sector (proletarian state property), *the whole society* turns into *a single cooperative factory of the proletariat*: there is no objective need in view of this availability of commodity circulation and money, respectively. “*Within the collective society based on common ownership of the means of production, the producers do not exchange their products*” [9, p. 85]. The absence of capitalist (monetary) commodity exchange under socialism does not mean, of course, that there is no commodity exchange at all. But more on that later.

Proletarian state property operates in accordance with a premeditated plan for the development of the national economy. It is significant to understand here that a premeditated plan is not a measure of *the nature of the economy*: both a capitalist monopoly and a capitalist state can develop by following a premeditated plan. The measure is precisely *the ruling class*. However, the economy, developed systematically by the proletariat, has a tendency: the growth of the productivity of labor is *always* ahead of the growth of wages. This tendency proceeds from the main goal of proletarian production. Since during the construction of socialism other economic sectors are preserved in addition to state production, and there is a capitalist (monetary) commodity exchange between them, then the law of value is also applicable here. But its sphere of action is gradually limited and overcome by the proletariat. The planned nature of the proletarian economy makes it possible to systematically distribute the workers’ surplus value for the reproduction of the capital of the proletarian state (i.e. the reproduction of labor power with the help of public consumption funds, and the amortization for the depreciation of means of production) and its expansion, as well as for the maintenance of the state apparatus.

Gradually destroying the antagonism between labor and capital in the course of its economic activities, the proletariat also destroys contradictions between nations, national discord and inequality, creating conditions for the full flourishing of all nations on the basis of fraternal (international) friendship.

## **The objective law of the Socialist Revolution in the domain of state building**

Together with socialist measures in the national economy, the proletariat conducts socialist measures in the state structure. These events have been described more vigorously in the previous paragraph about Marxism and Kautskyism. Here it is necessary to supplement and add only a few points to summarize.

1. During the period of the breakdown of the old administrative apparatus and of building a new one, the vital thing for the proletariat is *class proletarian control* over the gradually broken down bourgeois administrative apparatus: otherwise, if this control becomes the right of some special group (politically independent), and not of the whole class, then the dictatorship of the proletariat is lost, and hence, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is established. The group that controls the entire management apparatus becomes the ruling bourgeoisie (the collective capitalist).

Proletarian class control is necessary for the proletariat during the construction of socialism, when it is forced to perform a number of functions on a capitalist basis, due to the fact that society is not ready for another way to implement them.

First of all, this control is carried out through the leadership role of the Communist Party, as mentioned above. The Marxist-literate workers, united in the Communist Party, nominate their members to the governing bodies (Soviets) – and the proletariat elects them, appoints (approves) them as their authorized representatives. The latter are in essence the managers hired by the proletariat. However, when all the workers become as Marxist-literate as them, then the whole class of the proletariat itself will govern the state, appoint to any position and remove its representatives (which is socialism)<sup>16</sup>. If we talk about the criteria of Marxist literacy, the criteria of the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat, then the main criterion is the *actual development of society in accordance with all the laws of the socialist revolution*.

The interests of the proletariat are personified in its leaders. Leaders are more or less stable groups of people who: (1) have the greatest experience (knowledge) in the theoretical and practical activities of the Communist Party; (2) have the greatest authority in the party based on this experience; (3) have the greatest influence on

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<sup>16</sup> “The further development of the Soviet organisation of the state must consist in every member of a Soviet being obliged to carry out constant work in administering the state, alongside participation in meetings of the Soviet;—and furthermore in each and every member of the population being drawn gradually both into taking part in Soviet organisation (on the condition of subordination to organisations of the working people) and into serving in state administration” (Vladimir Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 27, p. 155. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1974).

other party members based on authority; (4) hence, they are elected to the most responsible positions in the party and, accordingly, in the government.

Since the bourgeois state machine that is being destroyed (under the rule of the vanguard of the proletariat) persists during the period of transition, the *trade unions* will defend the economic rights of workers, i.e., protect them from their own state. During this period, trade unions should exercise workers' control and take over the work of organizing and managing production. As all proletarians will increasingly be involved in the management of the state, the trade union management of production will eventually be replaced by state bodies of economic management.

Bureaucratic (“top-down”) methods cannot offer conscious participation of the participants of production in the affirmation of labor discipline, therefore, it is the trade unions that will affirm this discipline (until the bourgeois state machine is destroyed). Trade unions “*will long remain an indispensable ‘school of communism’ and a preparatory school that trains proletarians to exercise their dictatorship, an indispensable organisation of the workers for the gradual transfer of the management of the whole economic life of the country to the working class (and not to the separate trades), and later to all the working people*” [15, pp. 50-51]. During the construction of socialism, trade unions, although they protect the interests of workers of different professions from their state, are fundamentally opposed in nature to trade unions under bourgeois power. In the former case, trade unions are organs of the ruling class, they are fused with the state apparatus. Here we find the following duality: “*On the one hand, their main function is to protect the interests of the masses of the working people in the most direct and immediate sense of the term; on the other hand, as participants in the exercise of state power and builders of the economy as a whole they cannot refuse to resort to pressure*” [16, p. 382].

The proletarian control of the state apparatus isn't limited by the role of the advanced workers (communists) who are elected and delegated to the Soviets, or by the role of trade unions. In addition to those, the proletariat creates many more mechanisms, “levers” for this control (sudden checks, inspections, etc.). However, the most significant role during the construction of socialism is the role of the vanguard of the proletariat.

2. The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in no way means that the **proletarian class struggle** has ceased. It changes its forms, it is carried out in completely new conditions and becomes more acute during the construction of socialism and under socialism, all the way up to the complete destruction of classes, the withering away of the proletariat and its state.

The proletariat, which has just taken power, is being subjected to gigantic resistance by the bourgeoisie, which is deprived of power. It uses all available means: sabotage, speculations, terror, uprisings. The latter especially begin to manifest themselves during the expropriation of capitalists. The bourgeoisie also has its vanguard, its advanced part, which infiltrates into the leading force of society during the construction of socialism, into the party of the proletariat. That is the way the bourgeoisie tries to protect its interests, to organize itself. Moreover, it starts with legal opportunities and loopholes within the proletarian party. When attempts to push through their class interests are broken by the communists, the advanced bourgeois (bourgeois counter-revolutionaries) turn to double-dealing: by verbally confessing loyalty to the party line, they actually do the opposite (which is sabotage). By the method of double-dealing and disguise, they are trying to make a career for themselves in the party, to move up to the highest organs of the party. It is through the party that bourgeois counter-revolutionaries are trying to get their hands on the posts necessary for them in the state apparatus.

With the nationalization of all bourgeois property by the proletariat and the cooperation of the petty bourgeoisie (in other words, with the completion of the first stage of the construction of socialism), the bourgeois counter-revolutionaries lose their entire class base — there are no more capitalists. Of course, this does not mean that there is no more class struggle or that it has weakened. The only chance left for bourgeois counter-revolutionaries is the bourgeois state machine (the bureaucratic apparatus, namely the professional officialdom, professional army and professional militia) which is not fully destroyed yet. It's precisely the bourgeois state machine on which the bourgeois counter-revolutionaries are betting, aiming *to conduct a bourgeois coup d'etat (to take power) and restore capitalism* (note that capitalism cannot be restored by itself, only the bourgeoisie can do it, but for that it must take power first). Therefore, with the expropriation of the capitalists, the class struggle escalates even more — the chances of a counter-revolution are strong up to the complete destruction of the bourgeois state machine. Here it is worth understanding that the bourgeois state machine, inherited by the proletariat from the old state, *cannot in itself* be the cause of counter-revolution. But it can serve as a good *lever* in the hands of counter-revolutionaries to accomplish a bourgeois coup d'etat<sup>17</sup>. In addition, the presence of capitalist (monetary) commodity exchange between the state and cooperatives provides some kind of material support for counter-revolutionaries: with a monetary system, such a bourgeois phenomenon as

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<sup>17</sup> A good example of this is the March coup of 1953, enacted by the counter-revolutionary opposition in the USSR. See the article "[On the bourgeois counter-revolution in the USSR.](#)"

corruption is natural (which is a manifestation of the contradiction between the individualist nature of the bourgeoisie and the collective ownership of the state property).

At the same time, since every national bourgeoisie is a branch of the international bourgeoisie, the counter-revolutionaries receive active support from foreign capital, especially after the expropriation of the capitalists.

Any weakening of the strength, power, and influence of the vanguard of the proletariat over the broken bourgeois state machine leads to the victory of the bourgeois counter-revolution, to the victory of the bourgeoisie in the class struggle.

To sum up, we can outline the following. Before the bourgeoisie is touched by the proletarian power, it mainly tries to infiltrate the ruling proletarian party in order to change the vector of development. With the beginning of the expropriation of the capitalists, uprisings are inevitable, covered up by counter-revolutionaries in the party. With the completion of the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, the main emphasis is on the accomplishment of the bourgeois coup d'etat. At the same time, sabotage, terrorist acts against representatives of the proletariat are being carried out everywhere. To fight the bourgeoisie, the proletariat uses the purge of the party, uses the available punitive organs and other methods of influence.

**3.** During the construction of socialism, the function of *coercion of* officials to perform the necessary to the proletariat work is extremely important. Since the bourgeois state machine persists, to the extent that this coercion is carried out by communist officials (advanced workers elected to responsible posts), they themselves work and force the bulk of officials (among whom there are also bourgeois elements) to work for the workers and in their interests. If the control of the vanguard workers over the bulk of the bureaucrats weakens, then the bourgeois part of these bureaucrats inevitably uses this to usurp power and realize their private (bourgeois) interests.

**4.** It is vital for the proletariat to establish its own *system of education and upbringing* during the construction of socialism, through which workers will be taught natural sciences, first of all, Marxism, and receive Marxist education (including education in the spirit of the proletarian internationalism and patriotism). For the transition to socialism, it is necessary that all workers rise in the level of Marxist literacy to their vanguard, so that *they all become the vanguard and therefore cease to be it*, so that all workers begin to govern themselves in turn. By developing its production, the proletariat increases labor productivity: in order for workers to master state governing, it is necessary to reduce working hours, and this cannot be done without increasing labor productivity. Universal military training of

workers also belongs to the system of education and upbringing that the proletariat is building. This also includes the educational role of trade unions mentioned above, and the role of all kinds of media, cultural institutions, etc.

However, the proletariat receives the most important, the most necessary education in the course of the *proletarian class struggle, the suppression of the bourgeoisie and the coercion of officials*. It is the school of the proletarian dictatorship, the school of socialism.

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All the above laws will be systematized below. It is important to understand that these laws, as well as the subsequent ones that will be described, are not unconditional, absolute, but operate in specific economic conditions.

In the economic part, during the construction period, *the country's economy is gradually being transformed into a socialist way* under the influence of the following laws of the socialist revolution:

- 1) gradual nationalization by the proletariat of all ownership of productive forces;
- 2) gradual reduction of capitalist commodity exchange (commodity circulation);
- 3) planned management of the national economy in accordance with the main goal of the proletariat.

In the political part, *the bourgeois system of government (based on the bureaucratic apparatus) is being gradually destroyed and replaced by a socialist system of government (based on proletarian democracy)* under the influence of the following laws of the socialist revolution:

- 4) class proletarian control over the state;
- 5) suppression of the class enemies of the proletariat;
- 6) forcing officials and accountants into doing the necessary work;
- 7) establishing their own system of education and upbringing.

All seven of the above patterns represent seven particular forms of manifestation of the same general objective law of the socialist revolution, operating in two areas: the basis and the superstructure. Therefore, it should be noted and understood that they are all interdependent, unthinkable in separation from each other.

## 6. On the issue of the development phases of communism

When talking about socialism, the majority of people think of it as the first phase of communism. This statement is used as the base for various constructs, mainly speculative ones.

If we admit communist society as a classless society and socialism as the first phase of a communist society respectively, then it inevitably follows that socialism is the first phase of a classless society. As such, communist society is a certain mode of production, which is, to be precise, based on social ownership of the means of production. We also know from Marx that the period of transition from capitalism to communism has its own state, namely the dictatorship of the proletariat. Based on this logic, the following timeline is deduced: capitalism, then the transitional period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, then communism (the first phase, socialism, and then the highest phase).

With the help of this definite logic, speculative philosophers (mainly M.V. Popov with the approval of Smirnov and other reviewers) conclude: *“Being the first phase of a classless communist society, i.e. a classless society in its first phase, **socialism cannot be considered as a class society**. That’s why one cannot agree with the statement that socialism is a class society. The revolutionary transition from class society to classless society **does not take place on the path from incomplete to full communism, but in the process of transition from capitalism to socialism...** A classless society in its first phase cannot be considered a class society in any way, because **socialism is communism that develops on its own basis, and there are no two different modes of production, class socialism and classless communism. There are only two phases of one classless communist society**”* [17, pp. 196-197]. According to this neo-Hegelian logic, classes under socialism are themselves interpreted as an imprint of capitalism associated with the emergence of communism from it (or, *“the negation of communism in itself”*). Namely, the working class, the peasantry and the proletarian intelligentsia are preserved. Such a scheme does not imply commodity production or private ownership of production, neither in the first nor in the highest phase, instead there is only one social property, although it is expressed in two forms (state and cooperative). Popov incorporates the Soviet reality into this scheme, stating that in the mid-30s the first phase of a classless communist society was built in the USSR. But since our topic concerns only the theory of proletarian socialism, we will not touch on this issue.

There is another interpretation of socialism and communism presented by zhumeikinians (trotskyites from the former “Left Wing”). They recognize socialism

as the first phase of communist society: *“Everything is extremely simple: leftists like Yarsky, Yulin, Marina Burik, Potapenkov, and dozens of others are mixing up the concepts of socialism and communism, the communist society at the first phase and at the highest stage of its development, respectively”* [18]. At the same time, socialism is considered a separate mode of production: *“Socialism is primarily a mode of production, just like capitalism, as well as feudalism and slavery, previously, were modes of production with their own specific relations of production, the development of productive forces, etc”* (ibid.). At the same time, this very “socialist mode of production” is different from the communist mode of production: *“In the communist mode of production we already observe, in addition to social property, those things that leftists are trying to attribute to socialism. Such as — the inexistence of the commodity form, money, state, division of labor, ‘social inequality,’ unequal distribution, etc”* (ibid.). In general: ***“Socialism is the same old capitalism in all respects, except for private property, which is replaced with social property. It is the conversion of private property for the benefit of the people that is the step, the transition that ensures the emergence and development of communism, the new communist mode of production, with all its features... Socialism is a mode of production, it is the socio-economic system based on it, which arises and prevails as a result of the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is a necessary transition between the capitalist and communist mode of production, different from the former only because private property is replaced with social property in the interests of the whole people”*** (ibid.).

Ponaiotov also “reveals” the essence of socialism, in which workers receive benefits from receipts according to the work they put in, overcoming *“the division of labor, the difference between the city and the countryside, the lack of products needed for abundance and universal equality, the imbalance in production, social and cultural differences, etc.”* At the same time, there is no exploitation, as *“the workers themselves already manage the economy, the means of production are in the hands of society, all productive forces are centralized and managed according to a unified plan, and the benefits are distributed according to labor. This incomplete, not yet fully developed communism with the remnants of previous formations is what we call socialism.”* The source of all these arguments is, firstly, Marx’s “Critique of the Gotha Programme” and, secondly, Lenin’s “The State and Revolution”. Here is an excerpt about the phases from Marx’s work:

*“Within the collective society based on common ownership of the means of production, the producers do not exchange their products; just as little does the labour employed on the products appear here as the value of these products, as a material quality possessed by them, since now, in*

*contrast to capitalist society, individual labour no longer exists in an indirect fashion but directly as a component part of the total labour. The phrase "proceeds of labour", objectionable even today on account of its ambiguity, thus loses all meaning.*

*What we are dealing with here is a communist society, not as it has developed on its own foundations, but on the contrary, just as it emerges from capitalist society, which is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birth-marks of the old society from whose womb it emerges. Accordingly, the individual producer receives back from society—after the deductions have been made—exactly what he gives to it. What he has given to it is his individual quantum of labour. For example, the social working day consists of the sum of the individual hours of work; the individual labour time of the individual producer is the part of the social working day contributed by him, his share in it. He receives a certificate from society that he has furnished such and such an amount of labour (after deducting his labour for the common funds), and with this certificate he draws from the social stock of means of consumption as much as the same amount of labour costs. The same amount of labour which he has given to society in one form he receives back in another.*

*Here obviously the same principle prevails as that which regulates the exchange of commodities, as far as this is the exchange of equal values. Content and form are changed, because under the altered circumstances no one can give anything except his labour, and because, on the other hand, nothing can pass to the ownership of individuals except individual means of consumption. But, as far as the distribution of the latter among the individual producers is concerned, the same principle prevails as in the exchange of commodity-equivalents: a given amount of labour in one form is exchanged for an equal amount of labour in another form.*

*Hence, equal right here is still in principle — bourgeois right, although principle and practice are no longer at loggerheads, while the exchange of equivalents in commodity exchange only exists on the average and not in the individual case.*

*In spite of this advance, this equal right is still constantly encumbered by a bourgeois limitation. The right of the producers is proportional to the labour they supply; the equality consists in the fact that measurement is made with an equal standard, labour. But one man is superior to another physically or mentally and so supplies more labour in the same time, or can work for a longer time; and labour, to serve as a measure, must be defined by its duration or intensity, otherwise it ceases to be a standard of measurement. This equal right is an unequal right for unequal labour. It recognises no class distinctions, because everyone is only a worker like everyone else; but it tacitly recognises the unequal individual endowment and thus productive capacity of the workers as natural privileges. It is, therefore, a right of inequality, in its content, like every right. Right by its nature can exist only as the application of an equal standard; but unequal individuals (and they would not be different individuals if they were not unequal) are measurable by an equal standard only insofar as they are made subject to an equal criterion, are taken from a certain side only, for instance, in the present case, are regarded only as workers and nothing more is seen in them, everything else being ignored. Besides, one worker is married, another not; one has more children than another, etc., etc. Thus, given an equal amount of work done, and hence an equal share in the social consumption fund, one will in fact receive more than another, one will be richer than another, etc. To avoid all these defects, right would have to be unequal rather than equal.*

*But these defects are inevitable in the first phase of communist society as it is when it has just emerged after prolonged birth-pangs from capitalist society. Right can never be higher than the economic structure of society and its cultural development which this determines.*

*In a higher phase of communist society, after the enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labour, and thereby also the antithesis between mental and physical labour, has vanished; after labour has become not only a means of life but life's prime want; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of common wealth flow more abundantly—only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be crossed in its entirety and society inscribe on its banners: From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs!” [9, pp. 85-87].*

In the same work, Marx speaks about the ***period of revolutionary transformation of capitalism into communism***, to which there corresponds a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. It was also emphasized above that this transitional period is the period of the proletarian revolution. At the same time, we have researched this transition period as a whole (Chapter 3) and even the laws of the transition period to this transition period (Chapter 4).

Very often, those who have never read (or, to be more precise, never studied) the works of Marx and Engels can state such nonsense that allegedly Marx equated socialism with communism, considering them as one social system. In fact, this is a lie.

Long before writing the Critique of the Gotha Program, Marx analyzed the essence of socialism in the work “Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850,” in opposition to the various unscientific (idealist) ***conceptions*** of socialism. In this work, he pointed out that the revolutionary proletarian socialism is ***the real movement*** of the proletariat in ***the transition period from capitalism to communism***:

*“...socialism is the declaration of the permanence of the revolution, **the class dictatorship of the proletariat** as the necessary transit point to the abolition of class distinctions generally, to the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionizing of all the ideas that result from these social relations” [19, p. 127].*

But here, a problem arises. If socialism is a phase of communist society, then it must begin after the transition period, after the revolutionary transformation of capitalism into communism. But Marx, it seems, calls socialism precisely the transitional period. It is also clear that, during this very period, the proletariat deals

with the remnants of capitalism, after which a communist society is established, where there is no commodity production, no classes, and no state.

1. If we assume that first there is a *capitalist society*, then a *transition period* (the transformation of capitalism into communism), and then a *communist society* in which there are *two phases*, the question arises: why does Marx say that the first phase of communist society *is just emerging* from capitalism and therefore bears the birthmarks of capitalism? This question arises naturally.
2. This means that communist society, i.e., the first phase of this society immediately follows after capitalism and there is no transition period between capitalist and communist societies, since the latter *is just emerging* from the former.
3. However, should we overlap the two points: the first phase of communist society is itself the transitional period. Then again, since the first phase is *of a communist society*, then it should follow only after the transitional period to it. So, what now?

Marx proves in “Capital” that during the transitional period *a communist society develops from a capitalist society*. *The revolutionary transformation of capitalism into communism*, which Marx also speaks about in the “Critique of the Gotha Program”, is the same thing, it also corresponds to the transitional period. It is only in this context that Marx speaks about *phases*! For a phase is a moment, a separate stage in the course *of development and change* of something. *During the transitional period*, i.e. during its development from capitalism, *communist society has two phases*. *Having passed through both phases* of development (and having already created *its own basis* for communism, at the highest phase), society *transitions* to a communist society, a full-fledged socio-economic formation, *developed on its own basis*.

So, it is the transitional period that has two phases (the "first" and "highest" phases of the development of communist society in the context of *its development from capitalism*), the first of which has more remnants of capitalism, while the highest has more signs of communism. Therefore, it is impossible to single out any individual, unique socialist relations of production and, in general, a socialist mode of production. Relatively speaking: we have point A (capitalism), point B (communism), and distance C (socialism, the transitional period) between them. Let us say that C is a hundred meters long, then, up to fifty meters, C has more signs of A, and after fifty meters, signs of B prevail; because of this, it is impossible to

distinguish any correspondences or common laws, since at first they tend to be capitalist, but then they become communist.

Let us make another analogy: if you are moving from point A to point B, then, on your way to the middle point between them, when asked "Where are you?", you will answer that you are closer to A (but not at A), and after you have walked more than half the way, you will answer that you are closer to B (but not at B), when asked the same question.

The difference between the initial period of socialism (the first phase), in which the mode of production has more remnants of capitalism, and the capitalist socio-economic formation itself, is that the antagonism between labor and capital *has been destroyed* here, but only in the form of workers, as an association or as a state, being their own collective capitalist. The proletariat, organized into a state, owns the means of production and uses them for the hiring and exploitation of each individual proletarian (because the latter does not cease to be one). This has already been said in the previous sections and there is no point in repeating myself. We now need to understand what Lenin says in his wonderful work "The State and Revolution", a must-read work for every communist.

It must be said that Marxism, through the efforts of the "Emancipation of Labor" (Osvozhdeniye Truda) group, came into Russia in a very distorted form. This is also the reason why Russian Marxists identified socialism with communism. Lenin, due to confusion in terms, had to distinguish between socialism and communism: "*...But the scientific distinction between socialism and communism is clear. What is usually called socialism was termed by Marx the "first", or lower, phase of communist society. Insofar as the means of production becomes common property, the word 'communism' is also applicable here, providing we do not forget that this is not complete communism. The great significance of Marx's explanations is that here, too, he consistently applies materialist dialectics, the theory of development, and regards communism as something which develops out of capitalism. Instead of scholastically invented, 'concocted' definitions and fruitless disputes over words (What is socialism? What is communism?), Marx gives an analysis of what might be called the stages of the economic maturity of communism.*" However, Lenin makes a mistake here by confusing the highest phase of communist society in the transition period with communism itself, which follows after the transition period. Hence the huge confusion in the understanding of socialism and communism that we have now – everyone interprets the so-called phases of communist society in their own manner and taste, without any understanding of these phases' scientific essence, without

understanding that Marx describes exactly the transition period from capitalism to communism, in which the second develops from the first.

## 7. The nature of property under socialism

Finally, let's get to the point: socialism itself. I already mentioned the main conditions for the transition to proletarian socialism as the proletarian state machine and the united proletarian state property for means of production. It was also said that the transition to socialism requires destroying capitalist exchange, which is based on the division of productive forces between different sectors of production.

First things first, we need to elaborate on *the nature of property*. It is clear that the united proletarian state property is the only form of ownership under socialism. That is, it is the common property of all workers taken as a whole. However, the crucial thing to understand here is that *state property is not equal to social property*. We have the state property remaining insofar as the class that owns this state remains, and a class cannot be the whole society. In the case when all members of society become representatives of the same class, a self-negation of this class, i.e. the transition to classless society, will happen. A class is a part of society. Therefore, state property will always be *the collective (common) private property of the ruling class*. Under socialism, the proletariat *educates all the members of society who are able to work into proletarians* (into the owners of the state and ownership) – this is the *beginning of the process of socialization of property*, i.e. the transformation of property of the means of production from private (specifically, state) into social property. Essentially, that is how the *communist society develops from a capitalist society*: as all the members of society are educated into representatives of the same class, i.e. into proletarians; as all the members of society are educated into owners of the state, into proletarians; a society with a state develops into a society without a state; as all the members of society are educated into the owner of all means of production, into proletarians, a private property society develops into a society of social property. All the transformations mentioned above are essentially *the same transformation*, namely, the revolutionary transformation of capitalism into communism.

It has already been said that with the common property over the means of production, producers (workers) cannot exchange any products of their labor with each other. There isn't basis for capitalist (monetary) commodity exchange. However, this doesn't mean there is no commodity exchange at all. Let's repeat once again: each individual proletarian stays a proletarian in view of the fact *he doesn't own the means of production* (they belong to *all proletarians together and none of the proletarians taken individually*), so he sells his *labor force as a commodity to his capitalist* (which is all the proletarians together, the proletarian state) and

*produces surplus value* for this capitalist<sup>18</sup>. So, this form of commodity exchange remains, and a worker sells his labor force as a commodity to his state and gets in return *a certificate* (where the hours worked by the worker enroll) for purchasing products from social stocks (this is the non-monetary, socialist commodity exchange). Without the fact that there is a capitalist-worker relationship (when the purchaser of labor is on one side and the seller is on the other) this form of commodity exchange is impossible. This form of commodity exchange is possible only in certain conditions which I indicated above, the existence of a unified proletarian state property. This is why Marx writes that “*the individual producer receives back from society – after the deductions have been made – exactly what he gives to it. What he has given to it is his individual quantum of labor. For example, the social working day consists of the sum of the individual hours of work; the individual labor time of the individual producer is the part of the social working day contributed by him, his share in it. He receives a certificate from society that he has furnished such-and-such an amount of labor (after deducting his labor for the common funds); and with this certificate, he draws from the social stock of means of consumption as much as the same amount of labor cost. The same amount of labor which he has given to society in one form, he receives back in another.*”

Here, obviously, *the same principle prevails as that which regulates the exchange of commodities, as far as this is exchange of equal values. Content and form are changed, because under the altered circumstances no one can give anything except his labor, and because, on the other hand, nothing can pass to the ownership of individuals, except individual means of consumption. But as far as the distribution of the latter among the individual producers is concerned, the same principle prevails as in the exchange of commodity equivalents: a given amount of labor in one form is exchanged for an equal amount of labor in another form.*

Hence, equal right here is still in principle – *bourgeois right*, although principle and practice are no longer at loggerheads, while the exchange of equivalents in commodity exchange exists only on the average and not in the individual case...

*...Right can never be higher than the economic structure of society and its cultural development conditioned thereby.”*

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<sup>18</sup> If any single proletarian had means of production in his individual property, then he would cease to be a proletarian, and he would instead become a petty or big bourgeois (depending on the conditions of production). That's why proletarians remain as proletarians and together they form the class of proletarians, i.e. proletariat (hence “the dictatorship of the proletariat”). However, since the entire class of proletarians, i.e. the proletariat, organized into the state (!), relates to the means of production as their owner, hires each proletarian in the name of the entire society and appropriates the surplus value produced by every proletarian, it is a collective capitalist.

The capitalist-worker relationship is a capitalist production relationship, but in our case, at the first phase of development of communist society, it is brought to its extreme, because the workers themselves are the capitalist here, and *it is in their collective hands that the material conditions of production*, in the form of ownership of capital and ownership of land, *are found*. However, the production relationship itself here determines the *bourgeois method of distribution*, i.e., *bourgeois right*. “*The vulgar socialists (and from them in turn a section of the Democrats) have taken over from the bourgeois economists the consideration and treatment of distribution as independent of the mode of production and hence the presentation of socialism as turning principally on distribution*” [9, p. 88]. Even today vulgar socialism interprets the first phase of communist society as a period in which the mode of production is communist (social property) and the mode of distribution is bourgeois!<sup>19</sup> In their opinion, this allegedly consists of the transitional nature of socialism that there are signs of communism, communist property, and there are remnants of capitalism, bourgeois law.

For commodity exchange, labor vouchers are used here, which are not money. Money is a *commodity* and is in *free circulation*. Unlike money, labor vouchers *are not a commodity* and *are assigned to specific workers* (they cannot be bought or sold)<sup>20</sup>. The only place where it's possible to use money for the proletarian state is a

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<sup>19</sup> For example, Anton Pannekoek (repeating the error of many) writes: “*Common ownership is the right of disposal by the workers themselves; the working class itself — taken in the widest sense of all that partake in really productive work, including employees, farmers, scientists — is direct master of the production apparatus, managing, directing, and regulating the process of production which is, indeed, their common work*” (Anton Pannekoek, “Public Ownership and Common Ownership.” *Western Socialist*, November 1947). This is absolutely incorrect. While classes persist, property has a class-character (i.e., it's not of social, but of a private character, because any class is just a part of society, not the whole society). Under social (common) property there can be no working class, because social property is the property of all members of society, and all cannot be part of a class (then it wouldn't be a class, but a classless society of free producers). Under proletarian socialism the only form of property is the united proletarian state property over the means of production. The pervert Anton Pannekoek regards state property in a classless manner, doesn't account for which class is the ruling class, i.e., which class is the owner of the state and is thus the owner of the state property. Under socialism, the entire proletariat owns the state. What's different is that the bourgeois state is based on its bourgeois-bureaucratic system of government, while the proletarian state is based on the opposite of that, on the proletarian-democratic system of government (which, by the way, was being built in Lenin and Stalin's USSR). Only when the proletariat educates all the members of society into proletarians (i.e., into the owners of the state and property), society will rise above the state and the state will begin to wither away. That is how the transition from proletarian state property to social (common) property over the means of production will happen (i.e., transition from proletarian socialism to communism). Engels also wrote about this: “*The first act by virtue of which the state really constitutes itself the representative of the whole of society—the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society—this is, at the same time, its last independent act as a state*” [5, p. 268]. And, by the way, social property is not possible whatsoever in the boundaries of a single country, unlike proletarian state property. *From a comment under the following post: [https://vk.com/wall212495509\\_3131](https://vk.com/wall212495509_3131).*

<sup>20</sup> “*The producers may, for all it matters, receive paper vouchers entitling them to withdraw from the social supplies of consumer goods a quantity corresponding to their labour time. These vouchers are not money. They do not circulate*” (Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Collected Works*, vol. 36, p. 356. Lawrence & Wishart, 2010).

“*The question — Why does not money directly represent labour time, so that a piece of paper may represent, for instance, x hours' labour, is at bottom the same as the question why, given the production of commodities, must*

foreign trade with capitalist countries, for which it will need to convert labor vouchers (labor hours worked by workers) into currency. With the society developing from capitalism to communism, the lack of monetary commodity exchange is also overcome because the workers learn to produce all the necessary value and surplus that they need.

Part of the working time put in by workers (i.e. surplus time) is appropriated by the collective capitalist (proletarian state) for:

- a) depreciation of the means of production;
- b) expansion of production;
- c) workers' insurance against accidents, natural disasters, etc;
- d) maintenance of the proletarian state (including the pay of officials employed by workers, military needs, etc., the costs of which will decrease as society develops from capitalism to communism);
- e) public consumption funds (free medicine, healthcare, rest, the costs of which will increase as society develops from capitalism to communism);
- f) provision of disabled society members.

So the character of the relations of production *does not yet* correspond to the level of development of the productive forces.

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*products take the form of commodities? This is evident, since their taking the form of commodities implies their differentiation into commodities and money. Or, why cannot private labour — labour for the account of private individuals — be treated as its opposite, immediate social labour? I have elsewhere examined thoroughly the Utopian idea of 'labour money' in a society founded on the production of commodities... On this point I will only say further, that Owen's 'labour money,' for instance, is no more 'money' than a ticket for the theatre. Owen presupposes directly associated labour, a form of production that is entirely inconsistent with the production of commodities. The certificate of labour is merely evidence of the part taken by the individual in the common labour, and of his right to a certain portion of the common produce destined for consumption. But it never enters into Owen's head to presuppose the production of commodities, and at the same time, by juggling with money, to try to evade the necessary conditions of that production"* (Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Collected Works, vol. 35, footnote on p. 104. Lawrence & Wishart, 2010).

## Conclusion

All laws of the development of nature in general and of society in particular, including socialism, are objective in nature and are independent of the will of people. The laws of social development from capitalism to communism are not created, are not formed and do not change according to the will of people, but on the contrary, this very will, the consciousness of people is created and changed by the action of the laws. To be more precise, *people make their own history, change economic conditions* (and the laws operating in them) and *thereby* change their will, consciousness and intentions. Along with that, people can study the laws of nature and laws of society, mind them and use them for their own good.

The national economy in socialism is developed by the workers according to a premeditated plan, in accordance with its main goal, which remains the same as during the construction of socialism.

Socialist planning of the national economy is divided into indicative planning, i.e., strategic planning, and detailed planning. The former means planning in the long and medium terms on an aggregate level (i.e., the establishment by workers of the vector of economic development and common goals, in other words, more simply: five-year plans). The latter means planning in the short term (be it a month, a week or even a day, everything depends on the dynamics of the development of production and consumption of goods of certain industries) on the local level, taking into consideration the specifics of the economy of the region as part of the country. And finally, in socialism all calculations will be carried out by workers in the accepted units of specific labor time which take into account both direct and indirect labor (the tools and methods of labor).

All production of consumer goods will be planned based on consumption norms. Schematically, this can be depicted as follows:

1. Calculation of the average consumption rate based on the entered indicators (these include: ethnic and regional affiliation, gender, age, type of activity by industry, the presence of physical characteristics, including disability).

2. Calculation of individual consumption rates.

The second point is especially important for cases of some deviations in the consumption trend associated with various reasons, if, for example, a man being in a certain group goes on sick leave, changes his job etc. Based on these deviations, measures will be formed to meet the needs of people from certain groups during some unforeseen situations.

The planning of the production of means of production will take place taking into account the planning described in the previous paragraph, and taking into account

the indicative plan for the development of productive forces, and the impact of changes in one industry on others will change in the tables of the intersectoral balance, designed just for this. In order to avoid a shortage, we should raise the issue of the realization of commodities by the consumers (more specifically about this below). Both technical limitations and limitations in information (it is impossible to fully predict the necessary development for any time range) can cause imbalances in production and consumption at the local level<sup>21</sup>.

Based on this, summing up all the degrees of realization and dividing them into positive and negative in accordance with certain classified groups of commodities, it'll be possible to understand production of which goods will be optimal, in which the degrees of realization (both excess and deficit) will approach zero. Through economic planning, learning from our mistakes and carefully fixing them, it'll be possible to minimize all the shortcomings that'll decrease over time but not completely avoid them.

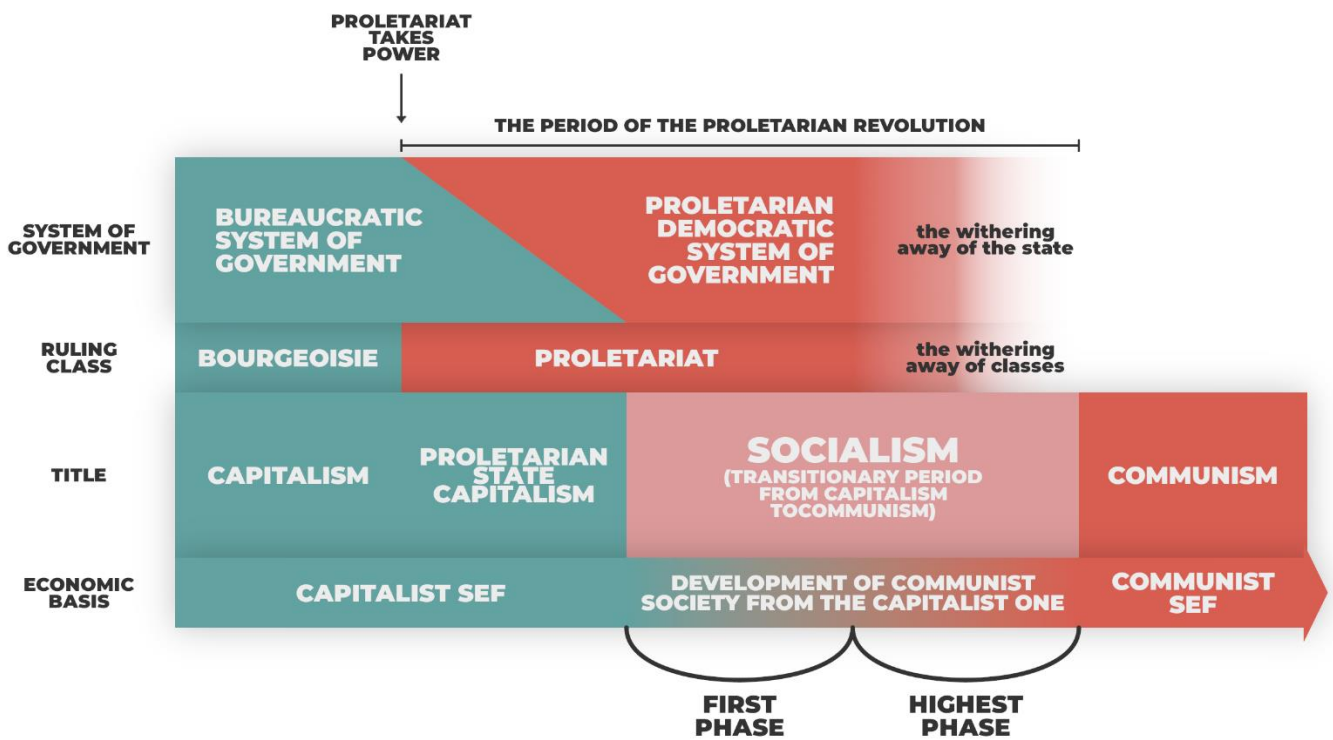
Long story short, in socialist and later under communist planning the amount of time that will be devoted to the production of certain items will be determined by the use value (degree of social utility) of the latter. The only difference is that under socialism, commodity exchange is preserved: the amount of concrete labor that the proletariat has given to society, he receives back in a different form. The commodity exchange of labor power for the product of production is carried out here not by exchange value, but by use value, because the labor time required for the production of products is determined by their use value. At the same time, with the development of productive forces under socialism, the value of the means of production and individual consumer goods decreases, and the value of labor power increases. The cost of means of production and consumer goods, due to automated processes, more and more displaces variable capital from the organic structure of capital, which is, in essence, the tendency to overcome the commodity form of products and accordingly labor power. It's in this way that moneyless commodity exchange will gradually be overcome.

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<sup>21</sup> For example there is too much of commodity A and a deficit of commodity B in some city, while it's the other way around in a neighboring city. For this reason planned logistics and calculations of the degree of realization of commodities are necessary. What does the latter mean? It means what percentage of commodities were consumed. In the case of surplus, the degree of realization will be positive (out of 100 commodities 90 were used, and so the degree of realization is 90%, 100 minus 90), and in the case of deficit it's negative. If the former is pretty clear, the former should be examined more closely. Let's say that we have 100 commodities and they have all been bought up, however a couple more people, say, 20, came to the productive point, and they need, respectively, 20 more commodities (there will be accounting for the "owed" commodities, directly on site), then the degree of realization will be negative, -20% (100 minus 120).

At the highest stage of the development of communist society from capitalist society, the proletariat educates all members of society into proletarians and thereby puts society above the state. “The first act by virtue of which the state really constitutes itself the representative of the whole of society — the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society — this is, at the same time, its last independent act as a state. State interference in social relations becomes, in one domain after another, superfluous, and then dies out of itself; the government of persons is replaced by the administration of things, and by the conduct of processes of production. The state is not ‘abolished.’ It dies out.” [5 p 292]. The process of the death of the proletarian state begins at the highest phase of the development of communist society and ends with the construction of a full-fledged communist SEF. *“That is why we are entitled to speak only of the inevitable withering away of the state, emphasising the protracted nature of this process and its dependence upon the rapidity of development of the higher phase of communism, and leaving the question of the time required for, or the concrete forms of, the withering away quite open, because there is no material for answering these questions”* [10, p. 474]. The proletariat thereby ceases to be a proletariat and all workers become free and equal workers of a classless society.

So *at the highest stage* of the development of society from capitalism to communism, a *revolutionary leap takes place, marking the transition from capitalism to communism, from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom.*



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