

THE GOTHA PROGRAM

By Karl Marx



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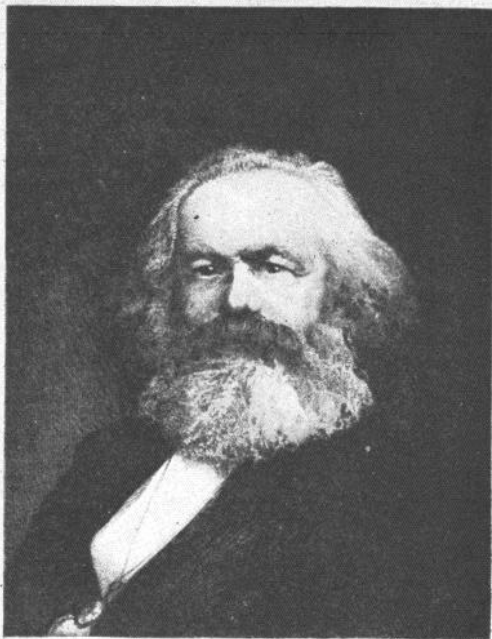
THE GOTHA PROGRAM

By

KARL MARX

TWENTY CENTS

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New York



Karl Marx.

The Gotha Program

By
KARL MARX

AND

Did Marx Err?

By
DANIEL DE LEON

Illustrated

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The sighed-for period of prosperity will not come; as often as we seem to perceive its heralding symptoms, so often do they again vanish into air. Meanwhile, each succeeding winter brings up afresh the great question, "what to do with the unemployed"; but while the number of the unemployed keeps swelling from year to year, there is nobody to answer that question; and we can almost calculate the moment when the unemployed, losing patience, will take their own fate into their own hands. Surely, at such a moment, the voice ought to be heard of a man [Karl Marx] whose whole theory is the result of a life-long study of the economic history and condition of England, and whom that study led to the conclusion that, at least in Europe, England [and, by parity of reasoning, the United States.—Publishers] is the only country where the inevitable social revolution might be effected entirely by peaceful and legal means. He certainly never forgot to add that he hardly expected the English ruling classes to submit, without a "pro-slavery rebellion," to this peaceful and legal revolution.

FREDERICK ENGELS.

November 5, 1886.

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Socialist Labor Party*

THE GOTHA PROGRAM

BY KARL MARX.

The modern revolutionist knows full well that man is not superior to principle, that principle is superior to man, but he does not fly off the handle with the maxim, and thus turn the maxim into absurdity. He firmly couples the maxim with this other, that no principle is superior to the movement or organization that puts it and upholds it in the field.....He knows that in the revolution demanded by our age, Organization must be the incarnation of Principle. Just the reverse of the reformer, who will ever be seen mocking at science, the revolutionist will not make a distinction between the Organization and the Principle. He will say: "The Principle and the Organization are one."

—DANIEL DE LEON.

Editorial Comment by Daniel De Leon.

The "Letter of Marx," printed on the 7th page of this issue, is as valuable as it is hard reading. Let it not be superficially skimmed over. Fusion always implies abandonment of principle. The point must not be overlooked in our generation.

(Daily People, Jan. 7, 1900.)

P r e f a c e .

The publication in pamphlet form of Marx's "Criticism of the Gotha Program"* will unquestionably fill a long felt want. This is not only so because the position of Marx in the realm of sociology and economics is such that whatever he has to say on any subject related to these topics is of more than ordinary interest, but because what he has to say on this particular subject is intrinsically of more than ordinary interest.

*Printed for the first time in English in the DAILY PEOPLE, Jan. 7, 1900. Translated especially for the DAILY PEOPLE. The present edition is an exact reproduction of that translation.

Moreover, as is often the case with polemics of this kind, they have as much or more value in retrospect as they had originally when applied to a contemporary issue.

The German Social Democracy, which was the immediate result of the compromises of Gotha, has been tried and found thoroughly wanting in an hour when its followers, admirers and imitators looked to it as a possible savior, or at least as a fearless champion that would go down, if necessary, attempting to stem the tide of onrushing madness. But born and reared in compromise, it was bound to remain true to its nature when the supreme test was put upon it. Hence the Eberts, the Scheidemanns and the Suedekums became the servile tools of the German junker-capitalist class during the War, holding the sponge of chloroform to the nose of the German proletariat. What the Gotha compromise accomplished above all other things—as De Leon so clearly has shown in the editorial which is published together with Marx's article in this pamphlet—was to prevent for the time being the formation of a true party of Socialism in Germany in opposition to the Social Democracy, which was throughout, and could not have been otherwise, a radical bourgeois party. In lieu of such a party of Socialism, the Social Democracy could impose its views and doctrines upon the German proletariat as genuine Socialism. Moreover, because of its size and apparent influence, it was able to assume the role of "leader" of the world rev-

olutionary forces. On the other hand, had there existed in Germany a true party of Socialism, such as Marx advocates, during the decade prior to the outbreak of the World War, the Social Democracy would at least have been subjected to challenge and criticism. We do not say that under those conditions such a sound party of Socialism would have been able to wrest the leadership out of the hands of the Social Democracy, much less prevent the disaster of the World War, but it would certainly have prevented—to a great extent at least—the smudge produced by the actions of the Social Democracy from staining the garment of Socialism. When the split finally came—as it inevitably had to come—it was too late to prevent the damage. To the Independent Socialists certainly, and to the Communists to a certain extent, attaches much of the odium that belongs to the Social Democracy. It will take years to shake this off, and by that many years retard the progress of true Socialism in Germany, and, correspondingly, elsewhere.

But there is another reason why the publication of Marx's "Criticism" is most timely just now. So far as we know it contains Marx's only direct reference to and authority for the phrase, "the dictatorship of the proletariat." As such, this letter of Marx has taken on tremendous importance to those who unthinkingly conclude that "as the Russians did it so we must do it"—i. e., seeing that the Russian revolution has found it necessary to pass through a prolonged period of Prole-

tarian Dictatorship, these obsessed or shallow thinkers cannot conceive otherwise than that every country must necessarily pass through the same tortuous stages. Such imitators of greatness naturally require that their beliefs must rest upon orthodox authority and to them Marx is a name to conjure with. So often and so loudly has the "authority" for the dictatorship been based upon Marx's "Gotha Program," that the uninitiated easily conceive the notion that his criticism constitutes a defense of the dictatorship as against its opponents. To such seekers for authority, who, of course, in most cases have never seen this criticism, the publication of this letter at this time cannot fail to act as a douche of cold water. It will prove almost a revelation, no doubt, that Marx in this connection refers to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat only offhand and incidentally, and that the "Dictatorship" is not an issue in this discussion, being merely "pulled in," as it were, to illumine a point. Marx is at that juncture ridiculing mercilessly the Lassallean notion of a "free State," showing that some of the beatitudes "demanded" by the Lassalleans are already "free" in such States as Switzerland and the United States, puncturing his argument by emphasizing that the proletarian State in the period of transition of the capitalist system into the communist system of society "can be nothing else but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat." In other words, what he desired here to emphasize is that a State is a State, whether it be proletarian or bourgeois, and that a

State is always an organ of suppression. Whether this political transition period is to be long or short, hard or easy, violent or peaceful, does not seem to concern him, for—contrary to the “dictatorship” advocates of today—he wastes neither time nor energy upon it. But what did concern him, what he did give his time and his entire life-work to, was the *abolition of capitalism*, and incidental to this event—as he clearly showed—*the State, in any form, would be abolished, or would die out.*

This is not the place for an extended consideration of what at the present time is generally and rather loosely referred to as the “dictatorship of the proletariat,” but this might be said:

Conditions may arise in Europe (especially in the industrially backward countries) which might make this “dictatorship” inevitable, or at least the proper thing. Here in the United States it is out of place, and would, in fact, become a hindrance, an encumbrance to the orderly progress of the revolution, and could very readily be turned into an instrument of reaction. To the extent the “proletarian dictatorship” elsewhere may be required to meet the emergency created by a successful military insurrection, or collapse of capitalism, to that same extent the Industrial Union fills the need here. The Industrial Union, by its very nature, bars the capitalist and his henchmen from all participation in the affairs of the Industrial Commonwealth—i. e., the capitalist will have as little chance to

vote on matters pertaining to the revolution and its fruits as King George had in the struggle with the American colonists. In the nature of things, the workers will have absolute control. That, however, is not dictatorship, except in the shallow bourgeois sense. It is the law of revolution as expressed through the useful majority in society.

De Leon once most aptly said, speaking of this very passage of Marx: "Marx is not a quotation, nor a series of quotations. His varied works and activities constitute a comprehensive standard of working class theory and practice, and it is by this standard that he must be invoked, if invoked at all. Any other course would be an injustice, not only to Marx, but to all concerned."

Marx's "Criticism of the Gotha Program" should not only be read but it should be studied. Thoroughly comprehended, it cannot fail to act as the best possible antidote to all kinds of reform programs and immediate demands, whether these be advocated by avowed bourgeois reformers or so-called "Socialists" of the Socialist party type, or yet by persons who do lip service to Russia and Communism and put on an undue amount of red paint while attempting political reform stunts, as for example, the offspring and caricature of the S. P., the Workers' party in this country.

Fusion, in the words of De Leon, always implies abandonment of principle. As the younger Liebknecht put it: "Not all unity means strength. Unity between

fire and water puts the fire out and causes the water to disappear as steam; unity between a wolf and a lamb results in the lamb finding itself inside the wolf; unity between the proletariat and the ruling class is to sacrifice the proletariat; unity with traitors means defeat." The Socialist Labor Party has ever fought fusion and compromise. Being a truly Marxian organization it will continue this fight to the dismay and terror of the enemies and exploiters of the revolutionary working class movement.

THE PUBLISHERS.

New York, August, 1922.

PREFACE BY ENGELS.

The manuscript published herewith—the accompanying letter to Bracke as well as the criticism of the proposed platform—was sent in 1875, shortly before the Gotha fusion congress, to Bracke, to be further communicated to Geib, Auer, Bebel, and Liebknecht, and later on to be returned to Marx. Since the Halle convention put the discussion of the Gotha program on the party's order of business, I would consider myself guilty of wrongful suppression were I still longer to withhold from the public this important document—perhaps the most important document bearing on this discussion.

But the manuscript has also another, and still more far-reaching significance. Here, for the first time, is clearly and definitely set forth the attitude of Marx on the course followed by Lassalle since his entrance upon the agitation, both in relation to Lassalle's economic principles and to his tactics.

The relentless vigor with which the proposed platform is analyzed, the inexorableness with which the re-

sults arrived at are pronounced and the weak points of the platform exposed—all this can no longer offend now, after fifteen years. Specific Lassalleans exist nowadays only in foreign parts, like isolated ruins, and the Gotha platform was given up in Halle by its own makers as altogether inadequate.

Nevertheless, wherever it was not essential to the subject, I have omitted some severe expressions and opinions concerning individuals, and indicated the omissions by asterisks. Marx himself would have done so were he publishing the manuscript now. The occasional vehemence of his language was provoked by two circumstances. In the first place, Marx and I were more intimately connected with the German movement than with any other; hence the decidedly backward step evidenced in this platform was particularly calculated to excite us. But in the second place, we were then, hardly two years after the Congress of the International at The Hague, involved in a most severe conflict with Bakunin and his Anarchists, who held us responsible for everything that transpired in the Labor Movement of Germany; we, therefore, had to expect that the secret fatherhood of this platform would also be ascribed to us. These considerations have passed away, and with them has passed the necessity for the passages in question.

Likewise, some passages are merely indicated by asterisks, owing to considerations having to do with the press laws. Where a milder expression had to be

chosen it is enclosed in brackets. Otherwise, the publication is faithful to the letter.

FREDERICK ENGELS.

London, January 6, 1891.

MARX'S LETTER TO BRACKE.

London, May 5, 1875.

Dear Bracke:

After reading them you will be so kind as to communicate to Geib, Auer, Bebel and Liebknecht, the subjoined critical comments on the fusion platform. I am overworked and compelled to work beyond the limits prescribed by my physician. It was therefore by no means a "pleasure" for me to write such a tape-worm. But it was necessary, so that the party friends, for whom this communication is intended, may not misinterpret the steps to be taken by me later on.....

.....It is indispensable, since outside of Germany the notion—altogether erroneous, but fostered by the enemies of our party—is entertained that we secretly from here direct the movement of the so-called Eisenach party. For instance, in a recent Russian publication, Bakunin makes me... responsible for all the platform declarations, etc., of that party.....

Aside from this, it is my duty not to recognize, even by a diplomatic silence, a platform that is in my opinion altogether objectionable and demoralizing to the party.

Every real advance step of the movement is more important than a dozen platforms. If, therefore, it was impossible—and the circumstances of the time did not permit it—to advance *beyond* the Eisenach platform, then you should have simply concluded an agreement for action against the common enemy. But when you formulate platforms of principles (instead of postponing this work until such time as you have become prepared for it through continued common action), then you establish landmarks by which all the world will gauge the height of the party movement. The chiefs of the Lassalleans came to you because the conditions forced them. Had you declared to them from the outset that you would not enter on any dickering in principles, then they would have been *obliged* to content themselves with a program for action, or a plan of organization for common action. Instead of this, you allow them to come armed with credentials; you recognize these credentials as binding; and thus surrender at discretion to those in need of your help. To cap the climax, they meet in a convention *before the compromise congress*, while our own party holds its convention *post festum* Everybody knows how pleased the workingmen are with the bare fact of a union, but you are mistaken if you believe that this momentary success is not bought too dearly.

Besides, the platform is good for nothing, even ir-
respective of the canonization of the Lassallean articles
of faith.....

With best greetings,

Yours,
KARL MARX.

COMMENTS ON THE PLATFORM OF THE GERMAN LABOR PARTY.

SECTION ONE.

I.

1. *Labor is the source of all wealth and of all civilization, AND SINCE useful labor is possible only in and through society, the proceeds of labor belong, unabridged and in equal right, to all the members of society.*

—THE GOTHA PROGRAM.

First part of the paragraph: "Labor is the source of all wealth and of all civilization."

Labor is *not the source* of all wealth. *Nature* is just as much the source of use-values (and these, certainly, form the material elements of wealth) as labor, which is itself only the expression of a natural force, human labor-power. The above phrase is to be found in every child's primer and is correct in so far as it is *assumed* that labor starts out equipped with the requisite materials and means.

But a Socialist platform should not let such middle

class phrases pass, and permit, by silence, the *conditions* that alone give sense thereto to be suppressed. And in so far as man stands toward Nature,—the first source of all the means and objects of labor—in the relation of proprietor, in so far as he treats Nature as belonging to him, his labor becomes the source of use-values, hence also of wealth. The capitalists have very good reasons for imputing to labor *supernatural creative powers*, because from the nature-imposed necessity of labor it follows that the man who possesses no property but his labor-power must, under all conditions of society and civilization, be the slave of those other men who have made themselves the possessors of the material conditions for labor. He can work only with their permission, hence live only with their permission.

But let us take the sentence as it runs, or rather limps. What should we have expected as the conclusion? Plainly this:

“Since labor is the source of all wealth, no one in society can acquire wealth except as the product of labor. Therefore, if he does not work himself, he lives upon the labor of others, and also acquires his share of civilization at the expense of others’ labor.”

Instead of this, another sentence is attached by means of the phrase “*and since*,” in order to draw a conclusion from this latter sentence, and not from the former.

Second part of the paragraph: “Useful labor is possible only in and through society.”

According to the first proposition labor was the source of all wealth and civilization; hence no society was possible without labor. Now we learn, on the contrary, that no "useful" labor is possible without society.

It would have been as sensible to say that only in society can useless and even publicly injurious labor become a branch of industry, that only in society can men live in idleness, etc., etc.—in short, to copy the whole of Rousseau.

And what is "useful" labor? Plainly, only the labor that produces the desired serviceable effect. A savage—and man is a savage after he has ceased to be an ape—a savage who kills an animal with a stone, who gathers fruits, etc., does "useful" labor.

Thirdly, the conclusion: "And since useful labor is possible only in and through society,—the proceeds of labor belong unabridged, in equal right, to all the members of society."

A beautiful conclusion! If useful labor is possible only in and through society, then the proceeds of labor belong to society—and the individual laborer receives only so much as is not necessary for the maintenance of the "pre-requisite" of labor,—society.

Indeed, this has been the regular claim made by **the** champions of *each succeeding social system*. First **come** the claims of the government and all that hangs **thereby**, since it is the social organ for the maintenance of the social order; next come the claims of the various sorts of private property, for the various sorts of pri-

vate property are the foundations of society, etc. It is plain, such hollow phrases can be turned and twisted at will.

The first and second parts of the paragraph can have any sensible connection only in the following form:

“Labor can become the source of wealth and civilization only as social labor,” or, what amounts to the same thing, “only in and through society.”

This proposition is indisputably correct, for, even if isolated labor (its material pre-requisites presupposed) can create use-values, it can nevertheless produce neither wealth nor civilization.

And just as indisputable is this other statement:

“In the measure that labor is developed socially, and thereby becomes the source of wealth and civilization, to that extent are developed also poverty and degradation on the side of the laborer, wealth and civilization on the side of the non-laborer.”

This is the law of all history up till now. Therefore, instead of talking in general terms about “labor” and “society,” it should have been clearly pointed out how, under present capitalist society, the conditions, material and otherwise, are at last produced, which enable, and indeed compel, the laborers to break through that social curse.

But, in fact, the entire paragraph—faulty both in style and contents—appears here only in order to inscribe the Lassalleian catchword of the “unabridged

proceeds of labor" as the watchword on the flag of the party. I shall come back later to the "proceeds of labor," the "equal right," etc., as the same thing recurs in somewhat different form.

2. *In present society the means of labor are the monopoly of the capitalist class. The dependence of the working class, flowing from this, is the cause of misery and servitude in all forms.*

—THE GOTHA PROGRAM.

This proposition is borrowed from the constitution of the International, but in an "improved" version, which makes it false.

In present society the means of labor are the monopoly of the landlords (the monopoly of land forms even the basis of the monopoly of capital) AND of the capitalists. In the passage referred to the constitution of the International mentions neither the one nor the other class of monopolists. It speaks of "*the monopoly in the means of labor, that is, in the sources of life.*" The addition, "sources of life," shows sufficiently that the soil is included under the means of labor.

The "improvement" was made because Lassalle, for reasons now generally known, attacked the capitalist class ONLY, not the landlords. In England the capitalist is in most cases not even the owner of the soil on which his factory stands.

3. The emancipation of labor demands the elevation of the means of labor to the common property of society and the cooperative regulation of the total labor of society, together with a just distribution of the proceeds of labor.

—THE GOTHA PROGRAM.

By “elevation of the means of labor to common property” is probably meant their “transformation into common property.” But this only in passing.

What are “proceeds of labor”? The product of labor or its value? And in the latter case, are they the total value of the product or only that part of the value which labor has newly added to the value of the consumed means of production?

“Proceeds of labor” is a loose notion which Lassalle has inserted in place of definite economic conceptions.

What is “just distribution”?

Do not the capitalists maintain that the distribution now prevailing is “just”? And, in fact, is it not the only “just” distribution on the basis of the present mode of production? Are economic relations regulated by theories of law or do not the legal relations, on the

contrary, arise out of the economic relations? Do not the Utopian Socialists also entertain the most variegated notions of what constitutes a "just" distribution?

In order to know what the phrase "just distribution" means here, we must regard this paragraph in connection with the first. This paragraph assumes a state of society in which "the means of labor are common property, and the total social labor is regulated cooperatively"; from the first paragraph we learn that "the proceeds of labor belong to all the members of society, unabridged and in equal right."

"To all the members of society"? Even to those who do not work? What, then, becomes of "the unabridged proceeds of labor"? Only to the working members of society? What becomes, then, of "the equal right" of all the members of society?

Obviously, "all members of society" and "the equal right" are only methods of expression. The gist of the matter consists in this, that in this communistic society every workingman must receive the "unabridged" Lassalleian "proceeds of labor."

If we now take the term "proceeds of labor" in the sense of the product of labor, then the cooperative proceeds of labor are the *total social product*.

From this is to be deducted:

First: The amount required for the replacement of the means of production used up.

Secondly: An additional portion for the expansion of production.

Thirdly: A reserve and insurance fund against mischance, disturbances through the forces of nature, etc.

These deductions from the "unabridged proceeds of labor" are an economic necessity, and their magnitude has to be determined according to the existing means and forces, in part by calculating the probabilities, but they can in no way be calculated from the idea of justice.

There remains the other portion of the total product, destined to serve as means of consumption.

Before this can be distributed among the individuals there are again to be deducted from it:

First: The general administrative expenses that do not form a part of production.

This portion is from the outset very considerably reduced in comparison with present society, and diminishes in the same measure in which the new society develops.

Secondly: That portion which is destined for the satisfaction of common wants, such as schools, provision for the protection of the public health, etc.

This portion is, from the very outset, considerably larger than in the present society and increases in the same measure in which the new society develops.

Thirdly: Funds for those unable to work, etc., in short, for what now belongs to so-called public charity.

Only now do we come to that "distribution" which the platform, under Lassallean influence, stupidly has alone in view, namely, that portion of the means of

consumption which is distributed among the individual producers of the community.

The "unabridged proceeds of labor" have in our hands changed to "abridged," although what escapes the producer as a private individual directly or indirectly benefits him as a member of society.

As the phrase, "unabridged proceeds of labor," has disappeared, so indeed the phrase "proceeds of labor" now disappears.

Within the cooperative society, based on the common ownership of the means of production, the producers do not exchange their products; just as little does the labor expended on the products appear here *as the value* of these products, as a material quality possessed by them, since now, in contradistinction to capitalist society, the separate labors form no longer indirectly, but directly, constituent parts of the total labor. The term, "proceeds of labor," even nowadays rejectable because of its ambiguity, loses thus all meaning.

What we are dealing with here is a Communist society, not as it has *developed* on its own basis, but, on the contrary, as it is just *issuing* out of capitalist society; hence, a society that still retains, in every respect, economic, moral and intellectual, the birthmarks of the old society from whose womb it is issuing. Accordingly, the individual producer gets back—after the deductions—exactly as much as he gives to it. What he has given to it is his individual share of labor. For instance, the

social labor day consists of the sum of the individual labor hours; the individual labor time of the single producer is the fraction of the social labor day supplied by him, his share of it. He receives from the community a check showing that he has done so much labor (after deducting his labor due to the common fund), and with this check he draws from the common store as much of the means of consumption as costs an equal amount of labor. The same quantity of labor that he has given to society in one form, he receives back in another form.

Evidently, there prevails here the same principle that today regulates the exchange of commodities, in so far as it is an exchange of equivalents. Substance and form have changed, because under the changed conditions no one can give anything except his labor, and because, on the other hand, nothing can go over into the possession of individuals, except individual means of consumption. But so far as the distribution of the latter among the individual consumers is concerned, the same principle prevails as in the exchange of commodity-equivalents; an equal quantity of labor in one form is exchanged for an equal quantity of labor in another form.

Equal right is here, therefore, still according to the principle, *capitalist right*, although principle and practice are no longer in conflict with each other, while the exchange of equivalents in the exchange of commodities exists only *on the average*, not in the individual cases.

Notwithstanding this progress, the *equal right* is

still tainted with a capitalist limitation. The right of the producers is *proportional* to their contribution of labor; the equality consists in this, that the right is measured by an *equal standard*: labor.

However, one person is physically or intellectually superior to the other, and furnishes, therefore, more labor in the same time, or can work a longer time; and in order to serve as a measure, labor must be determined according to duration or intensity, otherwise it would cease to serve as a standard. This *equal* right is unequal right for unequal labor. It does not recognize class distinctions, because every one is only a workingman like everybody else; but it tacitly recognizes unequal individual endowment, and hence, efficiency, as natural privileges. *It is, therefore, in its substance, a right of inequality, like all right.* According to its nature, right can consist only in the application of a common standard; but the unequal individuals (and they would not be different individuals if they were not unequal ones) can be measured according to a common standard only in so far as they are brought under the some point of view, or, are regarded from a *particular* side only. For example, in the given instance they are regarded *only as workingmen*; we see nothing more in them, we disregard everything else. Moreover, one workingman is married, the other is not married; one has more children than the other, etc., etc. Hence, with equal contribution of labor and, therefore, equal shares in the social consumption-fund, the one receives

actually more than the other, the one is richer than the other, etc. In order to avoid all these shortcomings right would have to be not equal, but unequal.

But these shortcomings are unavoidable in the first phase of Communist society, as it has just issued from capitalist society after long travail. Right can never be superior to the economic development and the stage of civilization conditioned thereby.

In the higher phase of Communist society, after the enslaving subordination of the individual under the division of labor has disappeared, and therewith also the opposition between manual and intellectual labor; after labor has become not only a means of life, but also the highest want in life; when, with the development of all the faculties of the individual, the productive forces have correspondingly increased, and all the springs of social wealth flow more abundantly—only then may the limited horizon of capitalist right be left behind entirely, and society inscribe on its banners: “From everyone according to his faculties, to everyone according to his needs!”

I went rather extensively into the “unabridged proceeds of labor” upon the one hand, and “the equal right” and “the just distribution” upon the other, in order to show how mischievous it is on the one hand to attempt to foist upon our party, as axioms, notions that at one time had a meaning, but have now become mere antiquated fustian; and, on the other hand, which pervert the realistic conception—which it has required such

labor to impress upon the party, but has now struck root in it—with the ideological flummery of justice, etc., which is so current among the Democrats and the French Utopians.

Aside from the above, it was altogether a mistake to make much of the so-called *distribution*, and to lay on this the chief emphasis.

The distribution of the means of consumption is but the result of the distribution of the factors of production. But the distribution of the latter is a characteristic of the very mode of production. For example, the capitalist mode of production rests on this, that the material factors of production are allotted to the non-workers in the form of capital and landed property, while the mass of the people are owners only of the personal factor of production: labor-power. Given such a distribution of the elements of production, there results automatically the present distribution of the means of consumption. Given the common ownership of the material factors of production, there follows in the same way a distribution of the means of consumption different from the present. Utopian Socialism (and from it, again, a section of the Democracy) followed the capitalist economists in regarding and treating distribution as independent of production, and hence represented Socialism as turning chiefly around the question of distribution. After the true relationship has long been made clear, why again this backward step?

4. *The emancipation of work must be the work of the working class, opposed to which all other classes ARE ONLY ONE REACTIONARY MASS.*

—THE GOTHA PROGRAM.

The first part of the sentence is taken from the introductory words of the statutes of the International, only it is "improved." In those statutes it is stated: "The emancipation of the working class must be the work of the workmen themselves." Here, on the contrary, "the working class" has to emancipate—what? "The work." Comprehend who can.

As recompense for such a statement there is inserted the counter statement, a Lassallean citation of purest water: "Opposed to which [the working class] all other classes *form only one reactionary mass.*"

The Communist Manifesto declares: "Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is *really a revolutionary class.* The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product."

The bourgeoisie is here conceived as a revolutionary class, as the bearer of large industry, in contradis-

tion to the feudal and the intermediate strata, who would retain all social privileges and who are the reflex of the outgrown methods of production. Therefore, they do not, *together* with the *bourgeoisie*, form only one reactionary mass.

On the other hand, the proletariat is revolutionary as against the bourgeoisie, because it, rising upon the foundation of large industry, seeks to remove the capitalist character from production, which the bourgeoisie in turn seeks to perpetuate. But the Manifesto adds that the "lower middle class . . . become revolutionary only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat."

From this standpoint it is therefore again nonsense to say that they, together with the bourgeoisie, and on top of that the feudal class, "form only one reactionary mass" as opposed to the working class.

Did we at the last elections shout at the artisans, the small manufacturers, etc., and the *peasants*: "Over as against us you together with the bourgeoisie and the feudal lords from only one reactionary mass"?

Lassalle knew the Communist Manifesto by heart, as his faithful followers knew his writings which were to bring salvation. If he therefore grossly falsified the Manifesto, that happened only that he might gloss over his alliance with the absolutist and feudalist opponents as against the bourgeoisie.

In addition to that, his philosophical dictum is now dragged in by the hair in the above paragraph, without

the least connection with the garbled citation from the statutes of the International. It is therefore simply a piece of impertinence, and not at all displeasing to Bismarck—one of those cheap crudities in which the Marat of Berlin indulges.

5. *The working class strives for its emancipation next of all WITHIN THE CONFINES OF THE PRESENT-DAY NATIONAL STATE, conscious that the necessary result of its efforts—which is common to the workingmen of all civilized countries—will be the international fraternization of peoples.*

—THE GOTHA PROGRAM.

Lassalle, contrary to the Communist Manifesto and to all earlier Socialism, regarded the labor movement from the narrowest national standpoint. He is being followed up in that respect, and this after the activity of the International!

It is self-evident that the working class, in order to be able to fight at all, must organize itself at home as a *class*, and that the home country is the immediate scene of action of its struggle. In so far its class struggle is, not in essence, but as the Communist Manifesto states, “in form,” national. But the “confines of the present-day national State,”—for instance, those of the German Empire—are again, economically, “within the confines” of the world market, politically, “within the confines” of the State system. The first worthy mer-

chant knows that German trade is at the same time foreign trade, and the greatness of Herr Bismarck consists also of course in a kind of *international* politics.

And to what does the German Labor Party reduce its internationalism? To the consciousness that the result of its endeavors will be the "*international fraternization of peoples*"—a phrase borrowed from the bourgeois league of peace and freedom, which is supposed to pass as an equivalent for the international fraternization of the working classes in their common struggle against the ruling classes and their governments. Of the *international functions* of the German working class not a word is said! And thus the working class is to oppose its own bourgeoisie which, with the bourgeoisie of all other countries and Bismarck's policy of international conspiracy, is leagued against it.

As a matter of fact that avowal of internationalism in the program is *immeasurably below* that contained in the party of free trade. This latter party also claims that the outcome of its efforts is the "international fraternization of peoples." But that party also *does* something in order to make commerce international, and in no way rests satisfied with the consciousness that all peoples carry on trade among themselves at home.

The international activity of the working classes in no wise depends upon the existence of the "International Association of Workingmen." This latter was only the first attempt to furnish a central body for that activity; an attempt which, because of the impulse

given, was of a lasting character, but which, in its *first historical form*, was no longer fulfillable after the fall of the Paris Commune.

Bismarck's "North German" paper was entirely in the right when it, to the satisfaction of its master, stated that the German Labor Party in its new program abjured internationalism.

II.

6. *Starting from these principles, the German Labor Party aims with all lawful means to ESTABLISH THE FREE STATE—AND—Socialist society; the abolition of the wage system WITH THE IRON LAW OF WAGES—and—of exploitation in every form; the removing of all social and political inequality.*

—THE GOTHA PROGRAM.

Of the “free” State I shall speak later.

So the German Labor Party must henceforth believe in Lassalle’s “iron law of wages”! And in order that it may not be passed over unnoticed, you commit the absurdity to speak of the “abolition of the wage system” (it should read: “system of wage-labor”) *with* the “iron law of wages.” If I abolish wage-labor, I, of course, abolish also its laws, be they made of iron or of sponge. But Lassalle’s warfare against wage-labor turns almost entirely around this so-called law. Hence, in order to prove the Lassallean sect has triumphed, the “wage-system” must be abolished “with the iron law of wages,” and not without it.

It is well known that of the "iron law of wages" nothing belongs to Lassalle but the word "iron," borrowed from Goethe's "eternal, iron, great laws." The word *iron* is the shibboleth by which the faithful recognize one another. But if I take the law with Lassalle's label, and therefore in his sense, I must also take it with his demonstration. And what is this? As Lange showed, shortly after Lassalle's death, it is the Malthusian theory of population (preached by Lange himself). But if this theory is correct, then I can *not* abolish the law, even if I abolish wage-labor a hundred times, since in that case the law controls not only the system of wage-labor, but *every* social system whatsoever. Relying on this very law, the economists have proven for the past fifty years and more that Socialism cannot abolish *nature-imposed* misery, but can only *generalize* it, distribute it simultaneously over the whole body of society!

But all this is not the main thing. *Disregarding entirely the false* Lassallean conception of the law, the truly revolting retrogression consists in this:

Since Lassalle's death the scientific knowledge has made way in *our* party that wages are not what they *seem, namely, the value or price of labor*, but only a disguised form for the *value or price of labor-power*. Thereby the whole capitalist theory of wages, hitherto prevailing, together with all the criticism hitherto directed against it, was once and for all overthrown, and

the fact clearly established that the laborer is only permitted to work for his living, i. e., *to live*, so long as he works a certain time gratis for the capitalist (hence also for those who share the surplus-value with the latter); that the pivot around which the entire capitalist system of production turns, is to increase this unpaid labor either by lengthening the working day, or by developing the productive powers of labor, or by straining the laborer to more intense exertion, etc., etc.; that, therefore, the system of wage-labor is a system of slavery, and indeed slavery, which, moreover, grows harder in proportion as the productive powers of labor are developed in society, no matter whether the laborer's pay is better or worse. And now after this conception has become more and more accepted in our party, you turn back to the dogmas of Lassalle, although you must know that Lassalle *did not know* what wages were, but, following the capitalist economists, he took the appearance for the essence.

It is just as if among slaves who had at last penetrated the mystery of slavery, and had risen in rebellion, a slave, imbued with superannuated notions, inscribed on the program of the rebellion: "Slavery must be abolished, because under the system of slavery the slaves' food can never exceed a certain low maximum."

Is not the mere fact that the representatives of our party were capable of committing such a monstrous outrage against the correct understanding prevailing among the rank and file of the party, enough to show

with what . . . frivolity . . . they went at the drawing up of this compromise program!

Instead of the vague phrase at the conclusion of the paragraph: "to remove all social and political inequality," it should have been said that with the abolition of all class distinctions all social and political inequality springing from them will disappear of its own accord.

III.

7. *The German Labor Party, in order to pave the way for the solution of the Social Question, demands the establishment of productive cooperative associations WITH STATE AID, UNDER THE DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF THE WORKING POPULATION. The productive cooperative associations ARE TO BE CALLED INTO EXISTENCE in such proportions in industry and agriculture THAT FROM THEM WILL ARISE THE SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION OF THE TOTALITY OF PRODUCTION.*

—THE GOTHA PROGRAM.

After the Lassallean "iron law of wages" there follows the cure-all of the prophet. The path thereto is being broken in a worthy manner. In place of the existing class struggle a newspaper-scribe's phrase steps up: "The Social Question," toward the solution of which the path is being broken. Instead of arising from the revolutionary transforming process of society, the "Socialist organization of the totality of production" arises from "the State aid" which the State gives to the productive cooperatives, and which it, not the worker,

“calls into being.” This is really worthy of the imagination of Lassalle, that one can build a new society with the aid of State loans as easily as one can build a new railroad.

For shame’s sake the “State aid” is placed—under the democratic control of the “working population.”

First of all, “the working population” in Germany consists, in its majority, of peasants, and not of proletarians.

Secondly, “democratic” in German means “rule of the people.” But what is the meaning of “the popular control of the working population”? And this with a working population which, in making such demands upon the State, expresses its complete consciousness that it neither rules nor is ripe for rulership!

It is superfluous to enter upon a criticism here of the “prescription” written by Buchez, under Louis Philippe, in opposition to the French Socialists, and accepted by the reactionary workingmen of the “ateliers.” Nor does the chief offense lie in the fact that the specific panacea was written into the program, but rather in that the standpoint of the class movement is abandoned and one goes back to that of a sectarian movement.

That the workingmen desire to create the conditions of cooperative production upon a social scale, and first of all, among themselves, upon a national scale, means only that they are working upon the transforma-

tion of the present conditions of production, and has nothing in common with the creation of cooperative societies by means of State aid. But so far as the present cooperative societies are concerned, they have value **ONLY** in so far as they are independent creations of workingmen, fostered neither by governments nor by the bourgeoisie.

SECTION TWO.

I come now to the democratic section.

A—Free Foundation of the State.

First of all, according to Part II, the German Labor Party aims at “the free State.”

Free State—what does that mean?

It is in no way the aim of the workingmen, who have emancipated themselves from what has been called “the subject’s limited intelligence,” to make the State free. The *State* is almost as “free” in the German Empire as in Russia. Liberty consists in this, that the State is transformed from an organ superior to society into one subordinate to it; and even today State institutions are more or less free in proportion as they limit the “freedom of the State.”

The German Labor Party shows—at least, if it adopts this platform—that its Socialist ideas are not even skin-deep; since, instead of treating the society existing (and this applies to every future society) as the *basis* of the existing State (or of any future State in case of a future society), it, on the contrary, treats the State as having independent existence, which possesses its own *intellectual, moral, and free or unfree foundations.*

The thing is made worse by the reckless misapplication of the words "*present State*," "*present society*," and the still more reckless misconception of the nature of that State to which the demands of this platform are addressed !

"Present society" is capitalist society, which exists in all civilized countries, more or less free from feudal alloy, more or less modified through the peculiar historical development of each country, more or less developed. ~~On the other hand, the~~ "*present State*" changes with the boundary line of each country. It is different in the Prusso-German Empire from Switzerland; different in England from the United States. "*The present State*" is therefore a fiction.

In spite, however, of their manifold differences of form, the different States of the different civilized countries have this in common, that all of them stand upon the basis of modern capitalist society, though their capitalistic development be more or less advanced. Hence they also have certain essential characteristics in common. In this sense one may speak of the present "*State institution*" as distinguished from that of the future, in which its present roots, capitalist society, will have decayed.

What, then, is the change which the institution of the State will undergo in a communistic society? In other words, what social functions, analogous to the present functions of the State, will remain there? This question can be answered only by proceeding scientific-

cally; the problem is not brought one flea's leap nearer its solution by a thousand combinations of the word "people" with the word "State."

Between the capitalist and the communist systems of society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. This corresponds to a political transition period, whose State can be nothing else but *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*.

But the platform applies neither to the latter, nor to the future State organization of communist society.

Its political demands contain nothing but the old democratic litany that the whole world knows: "universal suffrage," "direct legislation," "administration of justice by the people," "arming of the nation," etc. They are a mere echo of the middle-class People's Party, of the League for Freedom and Peace; they are all demands that, so far as they are not of an exaggerated phantastic conception, are *realized now*. Only the State, in which they are found, is not situated within the boundary lines of the German Empire, but in Switzerland, the United States, etc. This sort of "Future State" is present State, though existing outside the limits of the German Empire.

But one thing has been forgotten. Since the German Labor Party expressly declares that it is acting "within the present national State," ITS State, the Prusso-German Empire, it should not have forgotten the main thing, namely, that all these fine dainties rest on the recognition of the so-called sovereignty of the

people, hence that they are in place only in a *democratic republic*—its demands were certainly otherwise and for the greater part absurd, since one demands only what he has not got.

But since you are not in a position—and wisely so, for the circumstances demand caution—to demand the democratic republic, as the French labor programs did during the reigns of Louis Philippe and Louis Napoleon, you should not have resorted to the subterfuge of demanding things that have a meaning only in a democratic republic from a State that is nothing else than a military despotism adorned with parliamentary forms alloyed with feudalism, influenced by the capitalist class, bureaucratically constructed and police-protected.

Even vulgar democracy, which sees the millennium in the democratic republic and has no inkling of the fact that the class struggle is to be definitely fought out under this final form of State organization of capitalist society—even vulgar democracy stands mountain-high above that kind of democracy that keeps within the limits of what the police permit and logic forbids.

You clearly show that you certainly mean by “State” nothing else but the Government machine, i. e., the State in so far as it constitutes a distinct organism, differentiated from society through the division of labor, when you use the words: “The German Labor Party demands *as the economic foundation of the State* a single progressive income tax, etc.” Taxes are the foundation of

the governmental machinery and of nothing else. In that "future State" existing in Switzerland this demand is pretty well realized. An income tax presupposes the different sources of income of the different social classes, hence capitalist society. It is, therefore, not at all strange that the financial reformers of Liverpool—capitalists, with Gladstone's brother at their head—make the same demand as this platform.

B.—The German Labor Party demands as the intellectual and moral foundation of the State:

I.—Universal and equal popular education by the State. Universal obligatory attendance at school; free tuition.

—THE GOTHA PROGRAM.

“Equal public education?” What do you imagine these words mean? Do you think that in present society (and this is the society we are concerned with) education can be *equal* for all classes? Or is it demanded that the higher classes also, forcibly, be reduced to the modicum of education—common school—that alone is compatible with the economic circumstances of, not only the wage workers, but also of the peasants?

“Universal obligatory attendance at school. Free tuition.” The former is to be found even in Germany; the latter in Switzerland and in the United States. If in some of the states of the United States even the higher institutions of learning are “free,” that means practically only that the educational expenses of the higher classes are defrayed by the general treasury.

Incidentally, this same thing holds good with regard to the "free administration of justice," demanded in clause A, section 5. Criminal justice is to be had free everywhere; civil justice turns almost exclusively around conflicts over property, and, accordingly, affects almost entirely the possessing classes. Are they to conduct their litigation at the expense of the common treasury?

The paragraph pertaining to schools should at least have demanded technical schools (theoretical and practical) in conjunction with public schools.

"Public education by the State" is entirely to be rejected. To determine by a general law the means for maintaining public schools, qualifications of the teaching staff, branches of instruction, etc., and, as happens in the instance of the United States, supervision of these legal requirements by government inspectors to see that they are fulfilled, is an altogether different thing from appointing the State as educator of the people. Moreover, the government and the church must equally be excluded from any influence upon the school. But in the Prussian-German Empire the case is just the other way about; there is just the State which needs a very severe education by the people. One does not help his case any with the lame excuse that he has in mind a "future State"; we have seen what the outcome of that has been.

The entire program, however, despite its democratic trimmings, is tainted through and through with the Lassallean sectarian beliefs on subjection of the

State; or, what is no better, with beliefs in democratic miracles; or rather, it is a compromise between these two sorts of miracle-working beliefs, both of them equally foreign to Socialism.

“*Freedom of science*”—that is found in one of the paragraphs of the Prussian Constitution. Why also here?

“*Freedom of conscience*”! If one at this juncture of the “Kultur kampf” (the struggle of the liberal bourgeoisie against clerical political influence in the State) desired to bring home to liberalism its old slogans, that could really only be done in this form: “Everyone must be permitted to satisfy his religious. . . . needs. . . . without the Prussian police poking its nose into them.” But in that case the Labor Party would have to declare its consciousness that “bourgeois freedom of conscience” is nothing else than toleration of all possible kinds of *religious freedom of conscience*, and that it, moreover, was striving to free the conscience from the religious superstition. But one does not like to rise above the bourgeois level.

I have reached the end, for that addition which now follows in the program forms no characteristic part thereof. I may therefore say briefly:

II.—“*Normal working day.*”

The Labor Party of no other country has limited itself to such an indefinite demand, but has always fixed upon the length of the working day which it considered normal for the given conditions.

III.—“*Restriction of woman, and prohibition of child, labor.*”

The fixing of a normal working day must first of all include the restriction of woman labor, in so far as this relates to duration, intermission, etc., of the working day; otherwise it can only mean the exclusion of woman labor from branches of industry which are particularly detrimental to the health of women or which are dangerous to the morals of the female sex. If that was meant, it should have been stated.

“*Prohibition of child labor*”! Here it was absolutely necessary to state the age limit.

General prohibition of the labor of children is irreconcilable with the existence of large industry, and is therefore an empty, pious wish.

The introduction of the same—if possible—would be reactionary, since, with a rigid regulation of the working time according to the different age periods and the other precautionary measures for the protection of children, an early combining of productive labor with instruction is one of the mightiest means of the transformation of present-day society.

IV.—“*State supervision of factories, workshops, and home industry.*” As against the Prussian-German State it was absolutely necessary to demand that the inspectors could only be removed by the courts; that any workingman could report them to the court for violation of duty; and that they must belong to the medical profession.

V.—“*Regulation of prison labor.*”

A paltry demand in a general labor program. At all events it should have been clearly stated that common criminals should not be treated like cattle, and that their only means of redemption, productive labor, should not, for fear of competition, be denied them. That is certainly the least that one could expect of Socialists.

6.—“*An effective employers' liability law.*” It should have been stated how an “effective” liability law was to be conceived.

Incidentally, in considering the normal working day, that part of factory legislation which deals with health and safety measures was overlooked. The law providing for employers' liability comes into operation only when these regulations are violated.....

Dixi et salvavi animam meam.

DID MARX ERR?

BY DANIEL DE LEON

[DAILY PEOPLE, JULY 9, 1911.]

The more important leaders of the Proletariat, in its councils, and the press, fall one after another victims of the courts, and ever more questionable figures step to the front. *It partly throws itself upon doctrinaire experiments, "cooperative banking" and "labor exchange" schemes; in other words, it goes into movements, in which it gives up the task of revolutionizing the old world with its own large collective weapons and on the contrary, seeks to bring about its emancipation, behind the back of society, in private ways, within the narrow bounds of its own class conditions, and, consequently, inevitably fails.*

KARL MARX.

* *

Show not the *goal*,
But also show the *path*. So closely tangled
On earth are path and goal, that each with th' other
Their places ever change, and other *paths* forthwith
Another *goal* set up.

FERDINAND LASSALLE.

DID MARX ERR?

A New York correspondent inquires:

“Does not the course of events in Germany prove that even so great a man as Marx erred when he objected to the unity of the two Socialist parties in Germany? Does not the course of events prove that the unity of the two parties was beneficial, after all?

Does it? Let's see.

Marx objected to the unity that was brought about in Germany upon a platform which he characterized as bearing evidence that the Socialism of its framers was only “skin deep.”

Had Marx's advice been taken, or objections heeded, the result would, true enough, have been that such a large mass movement as the present one, known as the Social Democracy, would, probably, not now be seen in Germany. That, in a way, would seem to be a disadvantage. Would it, on the whole, have been that?

Had Marx's advice been taken, or objections heeded, the evolution of party formations in Germany would probably have taken the course of developing two parties out of the elements that now make up the Social Democracy.

With an eye solely to what would have been the

types of each party, one would have consisted of radical, or revolutionary, bourgeois with a program exclusively intent upon removing the relics of feudality, still left obstructing the path of capitalism, or bourgeois rule. The planks of that program, framed, consciously or unconsciously, by the ultimate goal, would have been a series of demands for what is known as "bourgeois freedoms"—"free press" and "free speech," "responsible executive officers," larger measure of "civic rights," etc., etc., etc. The other party would have consisted of Socialists, engaged solely and exclusively with the Socialist issues of organizing the proletariat and other useful members of the land for the conquest and overthrow of the Political State, and its substitution with the Industrial or Socialist Administration.

The separation of the radical or bourgeois revolutionary forces in Germany, with an immediate mission to perform—their separation from the Socialist forces, with a mission to perform that had first to await the event of the performance of the bourgeois mission—might, and perhaps might not (we incline to the belief that it would), have had for its consequence results that would have greatly redounded to the benefit of the Socialist Movement in Germany, and, through Germany, everywhere else.

With such a separation of forces belonging to different revolutionary stages, both sets would have been unhampered—each unhampered by the other.

Revolutionary bourgeois forces, called together by

their own immediate class interests, and warmed with the idealism of their own class, usually have carried out their program, substantially if not completely. It is not probable that, in Germany, a revolutionary bourgeois political party could have "wiped the slate clean," as it did here in the United States. The condition of the contiguous nations, especially to the east and the southeast, make against such a consummation. It is possible that a German bourgeois revolutionary party might have fallen short even of the mark reached by France. More probable is the supposition that it would have reached the present British mark, where feudalism, though not abolished, is reduced to a minimum.

On the other hand, with a political channel offered to the radical bourgeois elements, together with their nondescript affinities to exercise themselves in, a political party of Socialism in Germany could have planted, and would have had to plant itself upon its own ground, drawing its recruits and its inspiration from THAT source. Being the legitimate successor of a revolutionary bourgeois political movement, such a party of Socialism could have made but slow progress, at first. Its day of growth would have had to wait for the revolutionary bourgeois first to get in the saddle himself. Its path would have been arduous; it would have been traduced as "wild-eyed," "Anarchic," etc., etc.; it would have been pronounced "incomprehensible" and "impossible," seeing that the "comprehensible" and "impossible" and "possible" goal, held out by the bourgeois

party, was certainly in sight, and would as certainly be considered all-sufficient. Nevertheless, in the measure that the bourgeois "got there" the Socialist task would have been easier. With the serious feudal impediments out of the way, and gotten out of the way without Socialist sidetrack, the political party of Socialism in Germany would have had a clear path before it, immediately after the bourgeois triumph, with problems to grapple with, which, however serious, and difficulties to overcome, which, however tough, would be problems and difficulties germane to the great issue that itself raised, and, therefore, aidful in clarifying and promoting the same.

Things, however, happened otherwise.

The signal for revolution—sounded in Germany nearly two generations ago—was sounded, not by the bugle from which, historically, the signal was due, to wit, the radical bourgeois bugle. The signal came from a bugle that belonged to a later revolutionary stage, to wit, the Socialist stage. Sounded by men of tall intellectual and moral stature, the call took and kept the right of way—with consequences inevitable. The bourgeois movement was kept from "coming to a head." Bourgeois "demands" were, to use a medical term, "scattered." All the same—exactly as happens with the physical body, in which impurities, that have been prevented from "coming to a head," and have been "scattered," are not thereby removed, but reappear elsewhere—the "scattered" bourgeois "demands" were

bound to bob up and did so bob up again. They bobbed up on the only spot possible—the Social Democratic camp. Thus the spectacle is explained of German Social Democrats—themselves, no doubt, Socialist, and not bourgeois, radicals—handling, and compelled by exigencies to handle, issues foreign to the Socialist program; issues that appertain to Socialism only in the same sense that all conquests for civilization which were made, or should have been made, by previous social systems concern Socialism.

To us it seems that such a development is injurious rather than beneficial to the progress of both the desirable bourgeois and the Socialist programs. For this view there is the confirmation of Socialists, besides bourgeois authorities. No less a Socialist authority than Engels considered it to be "the misfortune" of the German Social Democracy that there was no radical bourgeois party in Germany to draw to itself, and away from the Social Democracy, the radical bourgeois sentiments of the land. On the other hand, a leading bourgeois member of the Reichstag, and who, though a foe, had nothing but respect for the Social Democracy, sorrowfully declared at a recent Reichstag election that the Social Democracy impeded the success of needed [bourgeois] reforms. Nor could it be otherwise. The "ultra radicalism" of Socialism scares away bourgeois supporters from their own demands advocated under the Socialist banner, and thereby operates as a drag upon needed bourgeois reforms; and, contrariwise, the

necessity to carve a path for bourgeois demands can not choose but dull the edge of the Socialist sword.

We are not so sure that Marx erred when he discountenanced the unity, upon a platform of "skin deep Socialism," of a party of pure Marxists with one that exhaled bourgeois sentimentality. We rather incline, even at the risk of the charge of "hero-worship," to the belief that Marx was right—as usual.
