

**Univerzita Karlova v Praze**

**Husitská teologická fakulta**

Bakalářská práce

**Communism - a utopia?**

**Komunismus - utopie?**

Vedoucí práce:

Mgr. Gerald Robert Ostdiek, BA, M.A., Ph.D.

Autor práce:

Adéla Javůrková

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## **Declaration**

I declare that I developed presented bachelor's work „Communism - a utopia” individually using the sources listed below. I also declare that this work was not used to obtain different or the same university title.

In Prague on 3<sup>th</sup> May

Adéla Javůrková

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## **Annotation**

In this thesis there is worked with the hypothesis „communism is a utopia” and on the basis of historical context it is made an effort to confirm or disprove the stated proclamation. This work is divided into three main chapters consisted of several subchapters. In the first chapter, which starts with a description of the Plato’s visions of egalitarian society and ends with a presentation of social thoughts of the various French authors, there are described the earliest communist ideas, both practical and theoretical only. The second chapter, based on the literature of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, presents the conception of a communist society of these two German thinkers. The last chapter describes the immediate transfer of Marx’s and Engels’ ideas into real societies, specifically to Germany and to Russia.

## **Anotace**

V této práci je pracováno s hypotézou “komunismus je utopie” a na základě historického kontextu je usilováno o potvrzení či vyvrácení uvedeného prohlášení. Tato práce je rozdělena do tří kapitol, které se skládají z několika podkapitol. V první kapitole, která začíná popisem Platonových vizí rovnostářské společnosti a končí představením sociálních myšlenek rozličných francouzských autorů, se popisují nejranější komunistické ideje, praktické i pouze teoretické. Druhá kapitola, založená na literatuře Karla Marxe a Friedricha Engelse, představuje koncept komunistické společnosti těchto dvou německých myslitelů. Poslední kapitola popisuje bezprostřední přenesení Marxových a Engelsových idejí do skutečných společností, konkrétně do Německa a do Ruska.

## **Keywords**

Communism, utopia, society, egalitarianism, Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, violence, altruism, self - concern

## **Klíčová slova**

Komunismus, utopie, společnost, rovnostářství, Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, násilí, altruismus, sobectví

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## List of abbreviations

p.	page
Ibid.	in the same place
U.S.A.	The United States of America
e.i.	in other words



## Introduction

This work did not come into existence easily. The initial idea came after the Czech regional elections of 2012, in which the local communist party got more than 20 percent of the votes.<sup>1</sup> Regardless the relatively small voter turnout at that time encompassing just around 37 percent of the possible voters, my question was - why did those people expressed their support toward the political party that - in spite of sometimes showing rejecting the attitude of the restrictive practices of the former regime – is still named with a word that carries such a negative subtext in these days? Was it because they forgot the old grievances committed on our society from the side of so-called mediators leading the Czech people to the establishment of the egalitarian milieu? Or do they really believe it can happen?

Although I was born in 1989 and did not directly experience the time when the Communist Party ruled our country, I could not avoid getting information about that period coming to me from school, books, media or older people. I knew about one-party rule, restrictions of freedom and harsh repressions of any resistance.

Even though my knowledge of this area was rather superficial, I also knew that the original ideas of the recognized unifiers of the communist movement in the nineteenth century - Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels - that expressed the possible establishment of the communist society through the revolution of the working class, which were later reshaped into state ideologies that did not have much in common with their subsequent diverse political and sociological application. Finally my desire to deepen knowledge about this topic was decided.

Within my previous knowledge based on the transferred experiences I decided to determine a hypothesis - the communism is a utopia - and I started to work.

I read the articles, I read the books and I wrote the notes, but I still could not find at least a small indication prompting where it would be possible to find the solution to deal with my hypothesis. My seeking probably reflects the text of this work itself containing

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<sup>1</sup> Volby do zastupitelstev krajů – 2012. *Český statistický úřad*. [online]. 29. 3. 2013 [cit. 2015-03-03]. Available at: <https://www.czso.cz/csu/czso/volby-do-zastupitelstev-kraju-v-roce-2012-n-43v36bqila>

sometimes mutually heterogeneous parts proving my effort to find the answer in different fields.

But one day, when I was really desperate and I started to believe that all my endeavour spread along the blind alley, I finally found the answer rising above my whole work. And it was waiting for me the whole time.

# 1. Seeds of the Communist Ideas

To begin, I devote several paragraphs to elaborating on the meaning of *communism* and *utopia*.

The word communism is coming from the Old French term common referring to the adjectives *universal* or *common*<sup>2</sup>. In connection with this meaning, communism as the socioeconomic system of any society could naturally create the inseparable associations with many terms and phrases: collective ownership of property and thus limitation of property of individual; participation of all members in society in the form of common plan and applying of subsequent joint effort to fulfil it; disappearance of anyone's unlimited power over the life of another person collaterally with the global establishment of social equality<sup>3</sup>.

Karl Marx, one of the most noticeable thinkers interested in communism and its sociological application, describes the ideal model of the communist society as the community functioning notwithstanding the existence of state, money or social classes<sup>4</sup>.

The term utopia comes from Greek and literally means *no place*<sup>5</sup>. It was coined by Thomas More who used it as the title of his famous book where he writes about the island called *Utopia* and describes its elaborated social system endeavouring to achieve absolute contentment and bliss of the island's inhabitants<sup>6</sup>. Thus utopia refers to something that does not exist but its vision is idealistic and flawless.

The purpose of this thesis' genesis is to answer the question of whether or not it is possible to interconnect the terms utopia and communism and thus label the communist ideas as utopian.

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<sup>2</sup> Common. *ONLINE ETYMOLOGY DICTIONARY*. [online]. © 2001- 2015 [cit. 2015-03-03]. Available at: [http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=common&allowed\\_in\\_frame=0](http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=common&allowed_in_frame=0)

<sup>3</sup> Communism. *THE FREE DICTIONARY*. [online]. © 2003- 2015 [cit. 2015-03-03]. Available at: <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/Communist+Ideology>

<sup>4</sup> MARX, Karl, Friedrich Engels. *The German ideology*. New York: Prometheus Books, 1998, p. 419 - 420

<sup>5</sup> Utopia. *ONLINE ETYMOLOGY DICTIONARY*. [online]. © 2001-2015 [cit. 2015-03-03]. Available at: <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=utopia>

<sup>6</sup> MORE, Thomas. *Utopia* [online]. April 22, 2005 [eBook #2130]. [cit. 2015-05-04] Available at: <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/2130/2130-h/2130-h.htm>

## 1.1 Early sociological thinkers

During the thorough exploration of the human history it is possible to discover that the thoughts engaged in the creation of ideal societies based on sharing production facilities and egalitarian economic backgrounds do not have their roots only in Marx's era and not even in the epoch of Thomas More. They existed in different times and different places long before the writing of *Utopia* and certainly long before the modern acquaintance with the term *communism*.

In this part of my work I will introduce several groups, movements and also individuals whose ideologies and actions possibly connect with the semantic essence of communism or utopia.

### 1.1.1 Plato's ideal state

Plato was a significant personality of antiquity whose thinking relevantly influenced many fields of natural human interest. This philosopher, mathematician or educator was, inter alia, interested in the arrangement of social relations in a closed community. Plato's vision concerns the ideal functioning of society inside a state and appears in his two big works - *The Republic*<sup>7</sup> and *The Laws*<sup>8</sup>.

Plato's approach is characterized by the problems of justice and change. Plato says that a change in society always has deteriorated consequence. Therefore in *The Republic*, where as the narrator appears as his mentor Socrates, we are acquainted with the idea of the creation of a self-sufficient regime (in this work represented by the city called Kallipolis) that, because of its elaborated system of functioning interconnected with the pervasive control of its citizens and thanks to the incessant suppression of progress, is then a fixed and stable that would not require any fundamental reorganization subsequent to its founding. The society of this city is divided into three classes that could, from another perspective, be characterized according to the three features bound to division of work and

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<sup>7</sup> Plato. *The Republic*. New York: Digireads.com, 2008. ISBN 1420931695.

<sup>8</sup> Plato. *Laws*. New York: Prometheus Books, 2000. ISBN 1573927996.

specialization. On the level of classes, equality is one of the facets representing the Plato's concept of justice.

The first group is the ruling class that, through their wisdom and intellect, leads the local citizens. At the head of the ruling class the wisest of the wise- philosophers operate. The defence of their exceptional position is based on the assertion that only philosophy can lead a society to understanding how to live a good life. This statement is inevitably followed by the idea that if others render to the philosophers the leadership of their society, they will live a good life. From my point of view the important aspect related to the idea of governance of wise philosophers is the primary impulse for the creation of this thought.

The philosophers' authoritative position should first of all protect them against the polis, and thus save them from the situation of Socrates, who was forced to committing suicide, which should therefore never again be repeated.<sup>9</sup>

Another class in Plato's state are soldiers whose essence is the risk of life to defend the local community against anyone who wishes to devastate it. The last class consists of the remaining people who, within the scope of public interest and regardless of their own desires, submit to the orders of the leaders and discharge the obligations assigned to them. The arrangement of Plato's ideal Republic also metaphorically refers to the structure of the human souls - rational soul, spirited soul and appetitive soul.<sup>10</sup>

Although Plato's *The Republic* outlined the image of a fairly ordering human society functioning with an emphasis on egalitarianism among individuals within the bounds of particular classes, the necessary prerequisite for the achievement of the desired result is achieved by constant propaganda and control aimed towards the unification of, according to author, inconstant and imperfect individuals.<sup>11</sup>

In another writing, *The Laws*, Plato developed his aforementioned ideas and gave them a more practical and tangible subtext when he outlined his conception of state functioning on the principle of pervasive and consistent laws affecting almost all life situations. These invariable laws lead to the final and unifying trait of the whole community – virtue – which is created by one person who is also, unlike in *The Republic*, the sole ruler of the state.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> ARENDT, Hannah. *Between past and future*. New Jersey: Penguin Classics, 2006, p. 105 - 107

<sup>10</sup> PLATO. *The Republic*. New York: Digireads.com, 2008, p. 137 - 222

<sup>11</sup> PLATO. *The Republic*. New York: Digireads.com, 2008, p. 224 - 253

<sup>12</sup> PLATO. *Laws*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926, p. 3 - 88

## 1.1.2 Jesus as a herald of hope

One of the most significant and popular promoters of a society of thoughtfulness towards poor and oppressed people was Jesus of Nazareth. The man who, according to the New Testament Gospels of Matthew and Luke, was born in Bethlehem, a small town in the Roman province of Judea<sup>13</sup>, and lived in an epoch based on an inequality and bondage.

By all accounts, Jesus felt the pervasive injustice of his time and preached the necessity of egalitarianism and the sharing of material things. His approach is exemplified, inter alia, by the heritage of one of the New Testament miracles when Jesus fed a large crowd of people with a small volume of food. The importance of this message is proved by its mention in each of the Gospels and despite the fact that the certain details in the interpretations differ; the encouragement to mutual thoughtfulness and attention is evident throughout every account.<sup>14</sup>

This inspiration, spread by Jesus' successors, need not be seen only in terms of access by his immediate adherents but also in Jesus' prediction of the future for the distrustful. Believers received a pledge of entry to the Kingdom of Heaven, whereas infidels, enemies and opponents of his visions might expect a ruthless ending.

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<sup>13</sup> *Matthew. BibleGateway. [online]. ©1973, 1978, 1984, 2011 [cit. 2014-10-16]. Available at: <https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Matthew+1&version=NIV> 2:1;*

*Luke. BibleGateway. [online]. ©1973, 1978, 1984, 2011 [cit. 2014-10-16]. Available at: <https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Luke+1> 2:11*

<sup>14</sup> *Mark. BibleGateway. [online]. ©1973, 1978, 1984, 2011 [cit. 2014-10-16]. Available at: <https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Mark+1+&version=NIV> 6:30-44;*

*Matthew. BibleGateway. [online]. ©1973, 1978, 1984, 2011 [cit. 2014-10-16]. Available at: <https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Matthew+1&version=NIV> 4:13-21;*

*Luke. BibleGateway. [online]. ©1973, 1978, 1984, 2011 [cit. 2014-10-16]. Available at: <https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Luke+1> 9:10-17;*

*John. BibleGateway. [online]. ©1973, 1978, 1984, 2011 [cit. 2014-10-16]. Available at: <https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=John+1&version=NIV> 6:1-15*

### 1.1.3 The Essenes and the Zealots

The Essenes and the Zealots were two ancient reformatory communities standing on the basis of Judaism. Owing to their similar ideological and economical approach to living, the Czech-German philosopher and the theoretician of Marxism Karl Kautsky marked these religious groups as the notional predecessors of the emerging Christianity.<sup>15</sup>

One of the most fundamental mentions of the Essenes and the Zealots are coming from the works of the Romano-Jewish scholar Titus Flavius Josephus. When he writes about the Essenes he describes them as the Jewish sect spread all over the Roman-Judea territory<sup>16</sup>. Later findings situate them primarily to the desert around the Dead Sea, more precisely to the area known as Qumran.<sup>17</sup>

Inside this ascetic movement great emphasis was put on modesty, control and mutual interconnection among the members of the community, which affected also its economic feature. The Essenes did not have any personal property; they were freed of the need of money or trading. The majority of the members worked in agriculture and as with all outcome of labour, so too the cultivated crops were shared with others. The important community aspects were additionally shown in the condemnation of slavery, which was contrasted with an underlining of the reciprocal love and virtue<sup>18</sup>. The Essenes' beliefs were reflective of their utopian tendencies, they believed in the immortality of souls that were supposed to be freed by death. The souls of the just met in the liberating place; the souls of the sinners could not expect any satisfactory end. The limitation of their existence was probably one of the consequences of the anti-Roman rebellion from the side of the more militant offshoot of the Jewish sects called Zealots.

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<sup>15</sup> KAUTSKY, Karl. Foundations of Christianity. *Marxists Internet Archive*. [online]. 2003 [cit. 2014-12-04]. Available at: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/kautsky/1908/christ/>

<sup>16</sup> FLAVIUS, Josephus. THE WARS OF THE JEWS. *Project Gutenberg*. [online]. 2013 [cit. 2014-12-04]. Available at: <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/2850/2850-h/2850-h.htm>

<sup>17</sup> MELMUK, Petr. Dějiny textu a doby Starého Zákona. Praha: Husův institut teologických studií ve spolupráci s NO ČČSH v Praze 1- Staré Město, 2011, p. 30 - 32

<sup>18</sup> FLAVIUS, Josephus. THE WARS OF THE JEWS. *Project Gutenberg*. [online]. 2013 [cit. 2014-12-04]. Available at: <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/2850/2850-h/2850-h.htm>

The Zealots were zealous (and this adjective refers to the name of the community) worshippers of the God. Unlike other groups of the Jews, who were seeking the peaceful solutions how to deal with their inferior position, the Zealots decided to resist the Romans, within whose authority fell their ancient area, with force and violence.<sup>19</sup> The Zealots were Jewish adherents of Jesus, who determined their spiritual and social stance, and one of their leaders was his brother James.<sup>20</sup>

Although this group was finally suppressed, their apparent protest could be the inspiration lying behind the violent revolts of other discontent movements.

### **1.1.4 The Monastic Communism**

The centuries after the death of Jesus are associated with the emergence of various institutions based on egalitarian principles.

At the end of the second and in the beginning of the third century, the establishments of monasteries took place in Egypt, Asia, and Europe. The tradition of the hermit life was founded in Egypt in the third century by Saint Anthony who, after the death of his parents and the acquisition of inspiration coming from the biblical gospel, gave all of his inheritance to the poor and went into the desert near his home, where he lived an ascetic life. Over time, many others joined him. Through the observance of certain rules based on belief in God, humility and sharing, they created the foundations of monastic life.<sup>21</sup>

But the Christian tradition of establishment of organized monasteries is primarily connected with Benedict of Nursia, who founded several monasteries in his native Italy that should function on his Rule of Saint Benedict. Benedict created independently

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<sup>19</sup> BRANDON, Samuel George Frederick. *Jesus and the Zealots: A Study of the Political Factor in Primitive Christianity*. Cambridge, Great Britain: Manchester University Press, 1967, p. 26 - 64

<sup>20</sup> BRANDON, Samuel George Frederick. *Jesus and the Zealots: A Study of the Political Factor in Primitive Christianity*. Cambridge, Great Britain: Manchester University Press, 1967, p. 146 - 220

<sup>21</sup> JOHNSTON, William M. *Encyclopedia of Monasticism: A-L*. Cambridge, Great Britain: London, 2000, p. 40 - 42



functioning units based on the sharing and interconnection of liturgy, whose members would gradually give up their secular needs and focus on helping others.<sup>22</sup>

Kautsky describes the conditions of the monastic milieu as an exceptional regarding of the observance of early Christianity's value. These communities were established on the principles of common consumption, contempt of wealth and the widening of faith in preparation for the arrival of the saviour of the indigents.<sup>23</sup>

### **1.1.5 Hussites**

The Hussites were members of the revolutionary movement that was formed in the Czech lands in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Their approach to life was built on the basis of the teachings of the Czech Roman Catholic priest, university lecturer and reformer Jan Hus.

Hus preached about the necessity of reformation of the Church. Such reformation should take place, inter alia, through the confiscation of church property and subsequent reduction of its power, abolition of indulgences, and through the church members' returning to a simple way of life. Jan Hus also called for the restriction of the authoritarian power of kings and other high nobility.

His actions were ended by violent death when, during the Church's council in Constance and under the pretext of invitation to negotiations, he was arrested, then by Church process judged and eventually burned at the stake. This appalling incident occurred despite the promise of, and subsequently late effort for rectification by the Emperor Sigismund to ensure Hus' safe return to Bohemia.<sup>24</sup>

After his death Hus' legacy in Bohemia was adopted by his followers who declared the future establishment of equality throughout society based on shared property and the

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<sup>22</sup>JOHNSTON, William M. *Encyclopedia of Monasticism: A-L*. Cambridge, Great Britain: London, 2000, p. 129-132

<sup>23</sup> KAUTSKY, Karl. Foundations of Christianity. *Marxists Internet Archive*. [online]. 2003 [cit. 2014-12-04]. Available at: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/kautsky/1908/christ/>

<sup>24</sup> ŠMAHEL, František. *Husitské Čechy: Struktury, procesy, ideje*. Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2001, p. 9 - 64

disappearance of poverty and wealth. With the pressure of these spreading ideas the Hussite movement was formed.

Despite the commonly shared program embodied in the Four Articles of Prague, this movement was soon divided into three main branches - the nobility, Hussites operating in Prague and the Hussites who established as their main base a settlement called Tábor. The last group founded a community in which we can observe the communist elements in terms of their perspective towards the ownership of goods as well as overall living arrangements.

Each who wanted to belong to this movement had to submit all his property (except the clothes on their backs) to wooden tubs maintained by the community; and subsequently, he was supposed to follow the given order based on equality among all. Although the implementation of the initial idea was eventually thwarted when the Hussites from Tábor started to collect doses from rural peasants, who then suddenly formed a relationship with the lords and vassals, the entire Hussite movement pioneered the Czech longing for egalitarianism.

The heritage of Jan Hus and the subsequent Hussite movement has been maintained until these days. Jan Hus was a big critique of the unfair distribution of the Eucharist by the Catholic Church at a time when Christ's blood - in the form of wine symbolizing the divine essence, was received only by the nobility while the rest of the people received only the bread - representing Christ's physical body. Hus promoted an impartial Communion under both kinds for everyone regardless of social affiliation. And because this means that the poor suddenly got access to the spiritual essence of Christ, the chalice has maintained this meaning in today's Hussite church, and became an inevitable and appreciative symbol of this formation.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> ŠMAHEL, František. *Husitské Čechy: Struktury, procesy, ideje*. Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2001, p. 141 - 242

### 1.1.6. Anabaptists

Anabaptists is the name of the Christian reform movement whose origin dates back to the sixteenth century. This group was patterned on the primary form of Christianity; its members strived for the impartial arrangement of society based on life in community and common possession of the property. In the manner of Jesus, all members of the community alike were baptized only in adulthood.<sup>26</sup>

An Anabaptist sect that was particular about pervasive modesty was founded in Germany, where Anabaptists joined the German Peasants' war. After their defeat they were expelled from Germany as well as from other countries where they had meanwhile expanded, and thus the Anabaptists were compelled to find new refuge. One of their most significant new settlements was in Moravia, where the Hutterites, a new branch of this movement, came into existence.

The Hutterites, as well as other Anabaptist groups, have always put great emphasis on social equality and mutual interpersonal help oriented especially on destitute and suffering groups or individuals. Although the Anabaptist movement stood on good intentions, its goals to establish and preserve unconditionally egalitarian relations in the eighteenth century officially failed. The officials responsible for supervising of the communities yield to the temptation of power and began to take advantage of their rare position, which caused the destruction of the original idealistic purpose of this group.<sup>27</sup> Even though as the movement Anabaptists still exist, their larger communities fell apart, and all that remains is small, mostly familial tribes.

In the nineteenth century these groups began to emigrate to America, where they maintain their existence and earlier way of life in faraway localities until these days.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> KRAYBILL, Donald B.. *Concise Encyclopedia of Amish, Brethren, Hutterites, and Mennonites*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010, p. 12 - 15

<sup>27</sup> STAYER, James M.. *The German Peasants' War and Anabaptist Community of Goods*. Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991, p. 3 - 18

<sup>28</sup> KRAYBILL, Donald B.. *Concise Encyclopedia of Amish, Brethren, Hutterites, and Mennonites*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010, p. 144

### 1.1.7. England before and after Black Death

Until the mid-fourteenth century, England was considered a country that provided for its inhabitants one very important common property - land. From time immemorial the majority of the local land had been used by anyone who had the need and will to utilize it to support oneself and one's family. The possibility to raise cattle or cultivate crops applied to all without distinction. This reality changed with the arrival of great economic and technical progress following the Black Death in 1348.<sup>29</sup>

At that time one of the biggest demand was for wool, from which a more comfortable cloth was produced than from the previously common hemp plant. Faster processing procured by weaving machines increased wools value tremendously. But the limited number of sheep, which did not allow the fulfillment of demand, led the Rich to fence in and occupy previously common ground. The miserable landless found themselves without access to the land, and because of all loss of any guarantees, they became totally dependent on the owners of the farms and workhouses. These workers went willingly for almost any salary almost anywhere.<sup>30</sup>

Into the next century, several movements were founded in England that stood up for the landless peasants and poor people in general. The ideology of these groups referred to the past relationships with the newly commercial land. The Levellers were a religious and political movement that took its name because of its demand to abolish property, redistribute wealth, reopen land, and on these ideas and consequent desire forge a truly egalitarian (i.e., Level) society. They also disagreed with church practices and looked for the establishment of religious freedom and the cancellation of the selling of tithes.

The Diggers (who called themselves True Levellers) were an association that lived according to its requirements for social arrangement and change. They established several colonies in England that functioned on the principles of common work and sharing, based on the belief that the Earth should be common to all. The best known colony of this time was established on the land of St George's Hill in Surrey; this colony's main representative

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<sup>29</sup> WYLER, Steve. *A history of community asset ownership*.. London: Development Trusts Association, 2009, p. 6 - 7

<sup>30</sup> Ibid. 8 - 16

was Gerrard Winstanley, a Protestant activist who, among other social writings, wrote *The True Levellers Standard Advanced*, which was considered as the manifesto of Diggers,.

Another movement that arose from the dissatisfaction with the existing social conditions were the Ranters. This movement took the pantheistic view of the presence of God in the world. Because they believed that God is present in every living and non-living things and therefore in every person, they refused the superiority of any and all religious or political authority.

The sharp critique of the social conditions from the side of these movements and their disobedience of those who governed their home country arouse the attention of the ruling classes, took great care in violently and often finally suppressing all such social associations.

But even though the existence of these groups generally did not last long, their enthusiasm and zeal did not remain unnoticed and thus each created huge amount of interest by those who became inspired by their socialist approach.<sup>31</sup>

## **1.2. Penetrating of Socialist Thoughts into the Modern Times**

Throughout the following decades and centuries, interest in improving social conditions naturally did not vanish. Many great thinkers expressed their outrage with the unfavourable circumstances and came up with elaborated plans, often concealed in different metaphorical indications, aimed at solving miscellaneous complicated social situations. Although the unreality of some of these solutions made it difficult to put them into the practice, they all were bringing a clear message- there was still substantial space for social thought in and about the world.

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<sup>31</sup> WYLER, Steve. *A history of community asset ownership*.. London: Development Trusts Association, 2009, p. 17 - 26

### 1.2.1. Thomas More and Tommaso Campanella

In spite of the fact that More and Campanella came from different times and different surroundings, the course of their lives and their insight into the structure of society share many similarities. Even today we should consider their writings as revolutionary works that relate to many areas of social life and alert us about diverse issues concealed therein.

Thomas More transferred into his work dissatisfaction with problematic social milieu in his native England; he followed the factors associated with the Enclosure Movement, and subsequent factory farming of sheep. In the book *Utopia*, More describes the situation in a fictional country, Utopia, in which private property does not exist and time is constantly filled by joint activities of work and also free time.

Since the local people do not produce any useless things but only what is necessary for their immediate need, their work is accomplished in only six hours.

Collectivism and shared management are inculcated in everyone since early childhood - children are given to nurseries where they are constantly exposed to education based on local principles. People prefer to eat in the communal dining halls for the better taste of local food. Cultivated crops are put into the common stocks where whoever can take what he needs and only surplus is exported. The features of More's imagined society includes classlessness - with only two exceptions: one class is that of the elected officials and the other consists of slaves, who are mainly criminals.<sup>32</sup>

Tommaso Campanella wrote his treatise 'The City of the Sun' in prison where he spent 27 years due to the charge by the Inquisition of political crime and heresy. The City of the Sun is written through dialogues and talks about the country lying somewhere on the equator whose inhabitants consist of Native American refugees.

The local state has one ruler (a high priest) and three co-rulers. Education is common for all children and controlled by the state. This control is also applied, for example, to

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<sup>32</sup> MORE, Thomas. *Utopia* [online]. April 22, 2005 [eBook #2130]. [cit. 2015-05-04]. ISBN ISO-646-US (US-ASCII). Available at:<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/2130/2130-h/2130-h.htm>

military, agriculture and farming of the public land where every citizen must sacrifice a specified length of time to the state.

In contrast to the work of Thomas More, in Campanella's book we can read about common ownership that covers everything from homes and bedrooms to food to women. Procreation of children and the whole affair of love and sex life are also controlled by the state.

Trade between citizens is not necessary; therefore trade takes place only with neighboring countries.

In the City of the Sun there are no prisons and in the matter of illegal behavior the state is usually satisfied with few punishments from a warning to the death penalty.

Through the attitude of the residents of City of the Sun, it is possible to note the author's inclination to religion. Although these citizens do not recognize any god they appreciate, for example, the meaning of the existence of Christ and his prophets.<sup>33</sup>

## 1.2.2 Robert Owen

Robert Owen was a British socialist, industrialist and humanist whose initial approach was influenced by the testimony of the adverse impact the Industrial revolution had on the working class, including the increase of social differences and deepening of class estrangement. Because of his philanthropic consciousness, Owen became a supporter of the working and marginal classes; because of his partially unrealistic expectations for reaching a fair social organization, we can call him a utopian socialist. Marx and Engels, who considered him as utopian, also used this term to describe the view of this British industrialist because of Owen's opinion that justice can be achieved without class struggle.<sup>34</sup>

At first Owen put his revolutionary ideas into practice in the New Lanark factory that he became a co-owner in 1800. This principled altruist reduced local working hours from 13

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<sup>33</sup> CAMPANELLA, Tommaso. *The City of the Sun* [online]. January 4, 2009 [EBook #2816]. [cit. 2015-01-10]. Available at:<http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/2816>

<sup>34</sup> Engels, Friedrich. Socialism: Utopian and Scientific. *Marxists Internet Archive*. [online]. 2003 [cit. 2015-02-04]. Available at:<https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1880/soc-utop/index.htm>

to 10 and a quarter hours of an actual working time per day, and he instituted a rule that in the factory children under the age of ten could not work, and older ones only with parental consent.<sup>35</sup>

Because he realized that the basis of one's world-view are mainly formed in childhood, Owen established on the factory premises both a school and also the first nursery school in the world; thereby he facilitated a good education for the children of his employees.<sup>36</sup> In order to guarantee the provision of health care, Robert Owen set up a fund to which all employees of the factory contributed, which paid for the care for not only his workers, but also other inhabitants of New Lanark. Higher living standards and better working conditions improved the lives of the workers and over time it was shown that despite the reduced working hours the factory still thrived.

Later, when Owen decided to extend his approach to the rest of English society, he entered the field of politics and tried to enforce the law banning child labour. He failed, though Parliament partly answered him four years later when it decreased child labour to twelve hours a day and banned it completely for the cotton industry.<sup>37</sup>

New Lanark was Owens base for presenting a vision of founding communities called Villages of Cooperation. These communities, forming the basic units of society, would be associations of people who would work together and thus also use together the gained rewards.

These communities with shared property were supposed to strive for economic independency and would not rely much on imports from its surroundings. Education would be free and accessible for everyone, as well as many other activities that would go on collectively. The smooth running of the system required supervision by representatives, who should be democratically elected by the local people.<sup>38</sup>

In 1824, when Robert Owen was disgusted by his failure to convince the wider English public about the benefits of his plan, he decided to leave his factory and native land and sailed to America. Here, on the ground of the former (and failed) utopian settlement of

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<sup>35</sup> PODMORE, Frank. *Robert Owen: A Biography*. Honolulu Hawaii USA: University Press of the Pacific, 2004, p. 102 - 125

<sup>36</sup> Ibid. p. 150 - 160

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. p. 183 - 211

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. p. 212 - 241



Harmony in Indiana, which Owen bought from its original inhabitants, he founded the first community according to his model: New Harmony.

But New Harmony failed, as did several other settlements based on his ideas, all of which failed to count with the power of human greed, individual selfishness, and the inability of pure selflessness to fulfill the obligations required to maintain the colony.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid. p. 284 - 346

### 1.2.3 France as a Cradle of Revolution Thinking

Robert Owen is far from the only utopian socialist. During the eighteenth and nineteenth century, ideas related to social awareness, and the desire and fervor to change the existing social order spread widely throughout Europe, and were likewise extensively followed by unrealistic perceptions of their fulfillment.

Although the below mentioned thinkers did not all live in the same period of French history, I mention all their social attitudes in a single chapter because they all came from the country that, thanks to its perceived openness, has often been fertile ground for the entirely nonconformist approaches to different fields of human interest.

François-Noël Babeuf (later known as Gracchus Babeuf) was an egalitarian French journalist who, among others, was influenced by the ideas of Jean Jacques Rousseau. Babeuf argued that, according to natural law, everybody should have unrestricted access to any and all belongings. He established the Conspiracy of Equals to fight for the equality of people regardless of their background or education. As with many other revolutionaries, Babeuf paid little attention the way of his ideas' promoting. For his passionate and maybe too ardent manners, the French government ordered Babeuf's arrest in 1796; with the outcome clear in advance, he was sentenced to death.<sup>40</sup>

Another man who dealt with the momentary social situation in France was Henri de Saint- Simon. He advocated the pooling of capital and work products to social funds as well as, for example, the expropriation of heritage and the foundation of an association of toilers that would divide incomes by great work. Saint-Simon's concept of society was based on scientific control and working for common pleasure.<sup>41</sup>

Simon's successor, Louis Blanc, was a supporter of gradual and democratic change. He inclined to the opinion that any means of production should be reallocated. Unlike Simon, Blanc would set incomes not by the great work but according to need.<sup>42</sup>

Charles Fourier was a clerk in Lyon, and a promoter of the creation of so-called phalanges, or cooperative settlements, where the common work of all classes would take

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<sup>40</sup> SERVICE, Robert. *Comrades!: a history of world communism*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007, p. 16 - 17

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. p. 17

<sup>42</sup> Ibid. p. 17

place, as well as the sharing of rewards of work so as to end inequality in these formations. Fourier was a supporter of uniform education and he pointed to the necessity of participation of each individual in the functioning of the entire system and the essential need to respect the system rules.

Although the real establishment of phalanges was not too successful, Fourier's ideas based on opposition to capitalist system inspired many of his successors, among whom may be included Karl Marx.<sup>43</sup>

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon is the author of the famous verdict: "*Property is theft*" (Proudhon, 2010)<sup>44</sup>. This revolutionary anarchist rejected the authority of the centralized French state and, on the contrary, became a supporter of the idea of establishing a federation of helping each other but separated units of shared property, or communes. As with several of the previously mentioned authors and many of his successors, Proudhon held the opinion that the good of all should be superior to the good of the individual.<sup>45</sup>

Another noticeable French socialist was Louis-Auguste Blanqui. This socialist preached about the needful inevitability of a violent revolution and the establishment of a dictatorship promoting the interests of the proletariat.

Blanqui planned to completely reform the French social order, remove the prerogatives of aristocratic and middle-class society, and directly implement the desired arrangement of society-communism.<sup>46</sup>

The ideas of these French thinkers, as well as many other European socialists meet through the establishment of the transnational organization labour movement and socialist parties called International Workingmen's Association or the First International. This organization, which consisted primarily of Marxists and anarchists, was founded in the year 1864. Together with his colleague Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx participated in its General Council for many years and provided a crucial impulse to its establishment. The founding of this movement also filled Marx's and Engels' desire, displayed at the end of

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid p. 17 - 18

<sup>44</sup> PROUDHON, Pierre-Joseph. *What is Property?: An Inquiry into the Principle of Right and of Government* [online]. Retrieved on April 21, 2010 from etext.lib.virgini [cit. 2015-10-03]. p. 28

<sup>45</sup> SERVICE, Robert. *Comrades!: a history of world communism*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007, p. 17 - 18

<sup>46</sup> Ibid. p. 18

the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*: “Proletarians of all countries, Unite!”<sup>47</sup> In 1871 the First International participated in provisional regime known as the Paris Commune.<sup>48</sup>

After The Franco-Prussian War and the collapse of the Second Republic there was in Paris pressure to establish new government. While one part of the French army agreed on the Franco-Prussian peace and underwent sanctions, which included the loss of Alsace and Lorraine, which were allocated to the newly created the German Empire, the Paris part of the army rose to a new fight because of the financial burden of the peace. Although the Paris rebellion and left-leaning government of the Paris Commune lasted only from March 1871 to May of the same year when it was bloodily suppressed, its significance as the first leftist revolution held by a majority of working people is undeniable.

First International split in 1872 because of disagreements between its two leading groups and by the year 1876 this organization fell completely apart, yet it became the fundamental establishment whereby the sundry of socialist ideas were interconnected.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> MARX, Karl a Friedrich ENGELS. *Manifesto of the Communist Party* [online]. 2010. [cit. 2015-03-03]. Available at: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/Manifesto.pdf> p. 66

<sup>48</sup> SERVICE, Robert. *Comrades!: a history of world communism*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007, p. 28

<sup>49</sup> SERVICE, Robert. *Comrades!: a history of world communism*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007, p. 28 - 29

## 2. Communism in Rendition of Marxism

Karl Heinrich Marx and Friedrich Engels can be considered as the two main unifiers of the communist movement in the nineteenth century. Although both were German, they spent the majority of their productive lives abroad where the social milieu was more open to their attitudes and the promotion of their revolutionary ideas.

In the year 1842 Friedrich Engels moved to England to be closer to events that resembled the beginning of class struggle and revolution. He lived there, with longer or shorter breaks, until the end of his life. Karl Marx at first moved to France where his wife was born. After a short time in Brussels that he spent with his friend Engels, he moved to England as well. However, their interest was often directed mainly towards Germany.<sup>50</sup>

Among the most distinctive publications of Marx and Engels definitely belongs *The Communist Manifesto*, also known as *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*<sup>51</sup>.

Although they wrote, either together or separately, many other works that could be included among the notable socio-political, philosophical or historical pieces, *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* was created to sort out the main goals and principles of their ideas in a single document and to clarify the orientation that determined the development of their other works. Therefore, though in the course of time they re-evaluated some of their thoughts and opinions contained in the Manifesto, it remains the main carrier of their legacy.

For this reason, I use the *Manifesto* as starting point to introduce the socio-political concepts of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid. p. 24 - 27

<sup>51</sup> MARX, Karl a Friedrich ENGELS. *Manifesto of the Communist Party* [online]. 2010. [cit. 2015-03-03]. Available at: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/Manifesto.pdf>

## 2.1 The Premier Manifestos

The first edition of the Communist Manifesto, written in German, was printed in London at the end of February 1848 by a German emigrant and member of the Communist League J. E. Burghard. Another German version was published in the same year in which misprints and punctuation were corrected. This version was later taken as the official basis for other editions the *Manifesto*, which was published in other languages shortly thereafter.

The first English version was released in the year 1850, a Russian edition came out in Geneva in 1869. Michail Bakunin translated it, and his text was full of inaccuracies and mistakes. Another important figure of the Communist movement in The Russian empire, Georgi Valentinovich Plekhanov, translated his own version, which was published in the year 1882.

Other important verses that should not be overlooked are Polish (1882), Italian (1883) and French (1882). This last translation was printed in *L'Egalité*, another French edition was reissued in *Le Socialiste* in 1885 and both of them was written by Marx's daughter Laura Lafarge. During the years immediately following the publication of the first Manifesto this pamphlet was translated into nearly thirty languages.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> MARX, Karl a Friedrich ENGELS. *Manifesto of the Communist Party* [online]. 2010. [cit. 2015-03-03]. Available at: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/Manifesto.pdf> p. 2 - 13

## 2.2 The central ideas of the Communist Manifesto

The spread of the socialist ideas in nineteenth century, including the central thoughts of the Communist Manifesto can be connected to the industrialization, which left unbalanced the arrangement of social relations and the importance of possession of the means of production. The authors of Manifesto begin by referring to the disappearance of multiclass society that occurred with the arrival of industrialization which, by bringing constant novelty in production and advancing progress at high-speed, altered society to consist of only two classes - the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

Engels offers a definition of these two classes in the English edition of Manifesto from the year 1888. First he explains what is the bourgeoisie: “*By bourgeoisie is meant the class of modern capitalists, owners of the means of social production and employers of wage labour.*”<sup>53</sup> (Engels 1888) This definition refers to the immense power of this class that, by owning the means of production also owns those who work for them. The fact that the bourgeoisie “*cannot exist without constantly revolutionising the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society*”<sup>54</sup> makes evident how closely the existence of this class, that did not grow up on traditional social relations and solid bonds but on the basis of increasing capital, is tied with its property.

For this reason in the Manifesto appears to give words bourgeoisie and capital gain the same meaning.

Due to bourgeoisie’s significant proportion on the functioning of worldwide societies, Marx and Engels named their whole era after this class - bourgeois epoch.

The proletariat is, according to this description, “*the class of modern wage labourers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labour power in order to live.*”<sup>55</sup> Thus the proletariat class is necessarily dependent on the

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<sup>53</sup> MARX, Karl a Friedrich ENGELS. *The Communist Manifesto* 1888 [online]. 2005 [cit. 2015-03-03]. Available at: <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/61/61.txt>

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> MARX, Karl a Friedrich ENGELS. *Manifesto of the Communist Party* 1848 [online]. 2010. [cit. 2015-03-03]. Available at: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/Manifesto.pdf>

volition and actions of owners of factories and machines, who gain by standing in opposition to them.

Industrialization and the progress that is interconnected with it spread constantly around the world and thus also increase the number of members of the bourgeois class. But simultaneously, the proletariat is also growing in size, “*The lower strata of the middle class — the small tradespeople, shopkeepers, and retired tradesmen generally, the handicraftsmen and peasants — all these sink gradually into the proletariat...*,”<sup>56</sup>” but this fact has also the negative consequences for its members. Due to an inevitable denser concentration of labourers at particular workplaces, the individuality of these people is unmercifully blurred, which can cause the disappearance of their self-awareness and dignity, which subsequently enables the bourgeoisie to treat them as mere things.

Furthermore, the authors write in Manifesto, “*The bourgeoisie keeps more and more doing away with the scattered state of the population, of the means of production, and of property. It has agglomerated population, centralised the means of production, and has concentrated property in a few hands.*”<sup>57</sup>” Especially the owing of a majority of public assets and means of production by bourgeois minority is a big obstacle standing between bourgeoisie and proletariat and they are unstoppably broaden together with the growth of bourgeois capital.

Along with the on-going diffusion of industrialization, globalization also spreads, and hence shows that the two-class division of society has arisen all over the world.

The writers of the Manifesto, however, swear that the current unjust arrangement will not last long and they predict upcoming events. According to Marx and Engels the long felt injustice will begin to stir the proletariat class all over the world and through its organizations and associations, formed in factories and other workplaces, and holding the interest of exploited workers, will rise up to revolt against the existing circumstances.

The fight of these organizations for an equitable society will start at the national level but in the course of time these groups from diverse countries would eventually unite and form a great internationalist group. With the creation and interconnection of this worldwide movement help would come to those who have always intensively pointed out

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.



the miserable social arrangement, who woke up working class from lethargy and arose it to action at the national level- communists.

The difference between communists and the proletariat lies mainly in their concept of the establishment of impartial social arrangements. While the proletariat primarily concerns itself with this issue in the frame of its own nearest social milieu, communists would see it from the transnational perspective and thus they would serve the interests of the proletariat movement as a whole.

In Marx and Engels' eyes, the communists would globally demand an expropriation of ambiguously extended bourgeois property that is also the means for the exploitation of poor workers.<sup>58</sup>

In his book *Capital in the Twenty First Century*, French economist Thomas Piketty also express the interest in social inequality and the negative effects resulting from the majority ownership of the world's capital by a human minority. Piketty draws attention to income from capital that tends to return to the capital's owner. This fact is connected with another observation by Piketty that if the capital income exceeds economic growth, imbalance in wealth and income distribution in society and the resulting inequality are inevitably deepened as well as the differences between the classes of owners and workers.<sup>59</sup>

Marx and Engels supposed that changes associated with dissatisfaction and subsequent rebellion of the proletariat will the most effectively take place in the most developed and thus also the most inegalitarian countries. After the establishment of government of the proletariat the labour of children will disappear and the local systems will contrarily focus on children's development in the form of provision of public and free education and upbringing. In these states a highly progressive tax would be established, along with a universal obligation to work as well as the cancellation of inheritance law. All property of emigrants and opponents of the newly raised ratios will be confiscated.

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<sup>58</sup> MARX, Karl a Friedrich ENGELS. *Manifesto of the Communist Party* 1848 [online]. 2010. [cit. 2015-03-03]. Available at: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/Manifesto.pdf>

<sup>59</sup> PIKETTY, Thomas a Arthur GOLDHAMMER. *Capital in the twenty-first century* [online]. viii, 685 pages [cit. 2015-08-03]. ISBN 978-067-4430-006.

Therefore the unfair social order created by the Industrial Revolution would be replaced by an egalitarian society within which the free development of individual will be subjected by the free development of all.<sup>60</sup>

## 2.3 Widened view on Marx and Engels' works

The Communist Manifesto was one of the springboards for the development and popularization of the ideas of the fathers of the communist movement. However, among the works of Marx and Engels it is possible to find many other writings that demonstrate the wide range of interests of both men, and that could have deep impact on the thinking of their later followers as well.

### 2.3.1 Karl Marx's social concept

The central theme of Marx's work is his approach to the perception of social reality that he presented as scientific socialism<sup>61</sup>. But the problem with this connection can already appear upon a closer analysis of the word *scientific*. According to the Etymology Dictionary, this word comes from the latin term *scientia* meaning knowledge referring to previous experiential acquiring of some information or skills from the surrounding world<sup>62</sup>. Marx historical materialism, as the base of his scientific approach, is actually founded on his observation of the world functioning when he says that in every epoch of human

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<sup>60</sup> MARX, Karl a Friedrich ENGELS. *Manifesto of the Communist Party* 1848 [online]. 2010. [cit. 2015-03-03]. Available at: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/Manifesto.pdf>

<sup>61</sup> First used in ENGELS, Friedrich. *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* 1970 [online]. 2003 [cit. 2015-08-03]. Available at: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1880/soc-utop/index.htm>

<sup>62</sup> Scientific. ONLINE ETYMOLOGY DICTIONARY. [online]. © 2001-2015 [cit. 2015-03-03]. Available at <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=scientific>

history world advancement has been enabled by the conflict of two different classes distinguished by material funds.<sup>63</sup>

Although Marx sees funds as something that we can possess, and thus comes from our world, his interpretation of them put them to the zone of metaphysics. *Funds* are suddenly something that moves with society, that moves the world, and thus are something that we can manipulate but their substance remain the same. And thus even though the possession of material goods means changes and this then also causes social transformation, their use by Marx makes him more philosopher than scientist.

The term *scientific socialism* was already used in connection by Marx's French predecessor Pierre-Joseph Proudhon.<sup>64</sup> In his own work, Marx considers Proudhon's writings quite often, sometimes he appreciates his approach, sometimes he does not agree with it.

Probably the most renowned piece reflecting Marx's attitude toward Proudhon is his critical book with the title *The Poverty of Philosophy*<sup>65</sup> that was written in response to Proudhon's *The System of Economic Contradictions, or The Philosophy of Poverty*<sup>66</sup>. Here, Marx criticizes Proudhon's excessive openness to the actions of the bourgeois class as well as his insufficiently justified resistance to workers unions.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> MARX, Karl. A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy: Preface. 1993. *Marxists Internet Archive* [online]. 2009. vyd. 2009 [cit. 2015-13-03]. Available at: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1859/critique-pol-economy/>

<sup>64</sup> PROUDHON, Pierre-Joseph. *What is Property?: An Inquiry into the Principle of Right and of Government* [online]. Retrieved on April 21, 2010 from [text.lib.virginia](http://text.lib.virginia) [cit. 2015-10-03]. Available at: <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/pierre-joseph-proudhon-what-is-property-an-inquiry-into-the-principle-of-right-and-of-governmen.pdf>

<sup>65</sup> MARX, Karl. *The Poverty of Philosophy: Answer to the Philosophy of Poverty by M. Proudhon. 1847.* [online]. 2009 [cit. 2015-13-03]. Available at: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/Poverty-Philosophy.pdf>

<sup>66</sup> PROUDHON, Pierre-Joseph. *The System of Economic Contradictions, or The Philosophy of Poverty.* GLOUCESTERSHIRE: Dodo Press, 2009. ISBN 1409979733.

<sup>67</sup> MARX, Karl. *The Poverty of Philosophy: Answer to the Philosophy of Poverty by M. Proudhon. 1847.* [online]. 2009 [cit. 2015-13-03]. Available at: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/Poverty-Philosophy.pdf> p. 25

Marx's approach to the philosophy of Friedrich Hegel is notably unbalanced. Although Karl Marx often criticizes this German thinker, Hegel's great influence on him is more than clear.

Inter alia, Marx disagree with the Hegel's view of state supremacy over the civil society. The state, whose existence is used by the governing class (bourgeoisie) to suppress of resistance of the weaker classes (mainly proletariat), is according to Marx naturally more reliant on society than society on the state. Marx's attitude to the existence of any state arrangement is so negative that his view of the establishment of an ideal society is connected with the uselessness of any kind of this official superior and united element that is, anyway, only the instrument of class oppression.<sup>68</sup>

Nevertheless, the Hegelian influence on Marx is undeniable in many other ways. Marx agrees with Hegel that the most important driving force for progress that gradually reaches some sort of higher development stage of historical change is the dialectical effect of the opposing powers.<sup>69</sup>

This dialectic is, in Hegel's case, represented by the existence of the spiritual essence that expresses clear and general ideas. This idea has need for self-realization and its own advancement, which is implemented by the conflict of opposing elements. From this conception Hegel derives three basic laws of the world progress known as the triad - thesis as the intellectual statement, antithesis as its negation and synthesis as the area of clash of the previous two, their blending and creating of the new thesis.<sup>70</sup>

Unlike Marx, Hegel does not recognize the significant importance of material things and he says that the object is just a materialization of its clear idea.<sup>71</sup> For the reasons mentioned above, Hegelian philosophy is called an idealistic dialectic.

Marx on the other hand was a dialectical materialist because he took the basis of the dialectical conflict from the materialistic point of view and marked its essence as the

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<sup>68</sup> MARX, Karl. Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right. *Marxists Internet Archive: 1843* [online]. 2000 [cit. 2015-08-03]. Available at: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1843/critique-hpr/>

<sup>69</sup> MARX, Karl. A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy: Preface.1993. *Marxists Internet Archive* [online]. 2009. vyd. 2009 [cit. 2015-13-03]. Available at: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1859/critique-pol-economy/>

<sup>70</sup> HEGEL, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich, Allen W WOOD a H NISBET. *Elements of the philosophy of right*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991, p. 152

<sup>71</sup> Ibid. 26

existence of private ownership of means of production.<sup>72</sup> While Hegel adverts to the superiority of abstractness<sup>73</sup>, he says that everything exists regardless actual reality, Marx is emphatic about the historical origin of all.<sup>74</sup>

Both authors then consistently referred to the fact that the world is moving through various stages to the final establishment of the ideal conditions where the dialectical contradictions will not exist anymore.

In his *A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*<sup>75</sup> Marx expresses his ideas on the existence of religion. He uses there the famous verdict “*religion is the opium of the people*<sup>76</sup>” and furthermore he writes that religion creates an imaginary world full of illusions that diverts one's attention both from its own sake as well as from the outside world. In this writing he also points to the necessity of the birth of modern state through revolution and says that Germany, his homeland, is not yet ready for this revolution due to its social and economic underdevelopment.

The *Economic-Philosophical Manuscripts* ranks among the works fundamentally representing Marx's economic view - especially because here he first and most thoroughly explained his central terms such as the *money domination*<sup>77</sup> or the *alienation of a man*<sup>78</sup>.

*Capital: Critique of Political Economy* is a significant work that also enhances the knowledge of Marx's approach to the functioning of the economy in society. Here, Marx

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<sup>72</sup> MARX, Karl. *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy: Preface*. 1993. *Marxists Internet Archive* [online]. 2009. vyd. 2009 [cit. 2015-13-03]. Available at:  
<https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1859/critique-pol-economy/>

<sup>73</sup> HEGEL, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich, Allen W WOOD a H NISBET. *Elements of the philosophy of right*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991, p. 152

<sup>74</sup> MARX, Karl. *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy: Preface*. 1993. *Marxists Internet Archive* [online]. 2009. vyd. 2009 [cit. 2015-13-03]. Available at:  
<https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1859/critique-pol-economy/>

<sup>75</sup> MARX, Karl. *A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right: 1844*. *Marxists Internet Archive* [online]. 2009 [cit. 2015-13-03]. Available at:  
<https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1843/critique-hpr/intro.htm>

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> MARX, Karl. *Economic & Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* [online]. 2009 [cit. 2015-13-03]. Available at:  
<https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/Economic-Philosophic-Manuscripts-1844.pdf>.  
p. 55

<sup>78</sup> Ibid. p. 29

reveals his list of economic thinkers who could have at least to some extent influenced his own opinions; among them we see David Ricardo a primary representative of the political economy in England from the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth century.<sup>79</sup>

Ricardo was a well-educated man, politician, economist and a nifty trader without a stronger relationship to money that he regarded only as means of survival. In the Ricardo's best-known work *On the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*<sup>80</sup>, he built on the economic theory of his Scottish predecessor Adam Smith by dealing with several unreal situations, Ricardo explains his economic views.

His principle of comparative cost is notable, whereon he demonstrates that trade between countries can take place even if one of the trading sides has minimum production cost compared the other.<sup>81</sup>

In his labour theory of absolute value, Ricardo tries to figure out the key solution for the distribution of wages and profits and formation of prices. But because he did not rely on the existing research and his theory lacked a foothold in the form of actual data, he often got himself into an inexplicable point<sup>82</sup>. But still, from Ricardo's presentation Marx later derived his theory of surplus value.

In *Capital*<sup>83</sup> the author deals with the relationship between work and wages. He refers to the exploitation of workers arising by the difference between great work and real wages, which Marx called by the previously mentioned term *surplus value*. Exploitation

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<sup>79</sup> MARX, Karl. *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy* [online]. 1999 [cit. 2015-13-03]. Available at: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/>

<sup>80</sup> RICARDO, David. *On the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* [online]. 1821 [cit. 2015-05-05]. Available at: <http://socserv.mcmaster.ca/econ/ugcm/3ll3/ricardo/Principles.pdf>

<sup>81</sup> RICARDO, David. *On the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* [online]. 1821 [cit. 2015-05-05]. Available at: <http://socserv.mcmaster.ca/econ/ugcm/3ll3/ricardo/Principles.pdf>. p. 245

<sup>82</sup> TAKENAGA, Susumu. Structure of the theory of value of David Ricardo. [online]. s. 1-42 [cit. 2015-13-03]. Available at: <https://www.google.cz/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=4&ved=0CDoQFjAD&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.ricardosociety.com%2Fapp%2Fdownload%2F5779153415%2FTakenaga%2BPaper.pdf%3Ft%3D1422331287&ei=ljRIVdC4EMquswHP74H4Dw&usq=AFQjCNHYInLK30DrGWQch5519WCWH2mU LQ&sig2=WFpMM1Af73elXnrhMxRgPQ&bvm=bv.92291466,d.bGg&cad=rjt>

<sup>83</sup> MARX, Karl. *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy* [online]. 1999 [cit. 2015-13-03]. Available at: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/>

takes place due to the avariciousness of employers and their unwillingness to sufficiently appreciate the work of their subordinates.

By their intensive work, misused employees permit the continuous extension of the property of their superiors but since they are dependent on them, they do not have any will to resist it. Over time, their work becomes subject of trade as well as any other commodity. In *Capital* Marx again points out the weapon that should knock the bourgeoisie on its knee, the weapon the bourgeoisie invented itself - revolution.<sup>84</sup>

The first part of the book *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy* was published in the year 1867 when Karl Marx was still alive. The second (1883) and third part (1894) were issued after his death by Marx's collaborator Friedrich Engels. The fourth part was published between the years 1905 and 1910 by the Czech-German politician, philosopher and Marxist theoretician Karl Kautsky<sup>85</sup>, whose contribution to the meaning of socialist movements in nineteenth and twentieth century is mentioned below.

### **2.3.3. Friedrich Engels' stance**

Friedrich Engels was Marx's dedicated collaborator and supporter who was always ready to create a motivational and financial background for his friend. Although Engels can be considered the back seat of this pair, his significant contribution to the formation of social awareness and establishment of basic picture of the communist movement in the nineteenth century is unquestionable.

Among his works we can find many of those that complete the picture of his approach of the creation and functioning of the new social organization. In 1847, before the publication of the *Manifesto* Engels wrote *The Principles of Communism*<sup>86</sup> that can help understand the basic terms and relations appearing in the works of Marx and Engels.

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> PACK, Spencer J. *Aristotle, Adam Smith and Karl Marx: on some fundamental issues in 21st century political economy*. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, 2010, p. 134

<sup>86</sup> ENGELS, Friedrich. *The Principles of Communism*. *Marxists Internet Archive* 1847[online]. 2005 [cit. 2015-13-03]. Available at: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1847/11/prin-com.htm>

*The Housing Question* is a book created by the connecting of three articles that were written in the year 1872 for German magazine *Volksstaat*. In this work Engels links the capitalist mode of production, subsequent creation of the capitalist organization of society and resulting lack of accommodation for workers. Engels' solution of the housing shortage that lies in the social revolution of the proletariat and the establishment of the government, inspired V.I. Lenin. In *The Housing Question*<sup>87</sup>, Engels analyses the social environment of Germany and engages in criticism of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon. In 1872 Engels wrote an article with the title *On Authority*<sup>88</sup>. This paper was created to counter the anarchist tendencies in socialist movements and link the existence of authority that is here an instrument of abuse of others, with the capitalist organization of society. Several articles that were first published as one book in 1878 with the title *Anti-Dühring*, initially titled *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science*<sup>89</sup>, were directed against the eccentric philosopher, economist and professor Eugen Dühring.

In his writings, this socialist thinker criticized the outside of capitalism and liberalism as well as the overall attitude of Karl Marx who, because of his large workload, did not have a time to respond to this criticism. Therefore Engels took charge of this task.

From the first pages of *Anti-Dühring*, it is clear that Engels does not have any sympathy towards Dühring, and that he deeply despise this German thinker. This work is divided into three parts - Philosophy, Political Economy and Socialism, and in each of them Engels, in response to the papers of Eugene Dühring, also explains the main pillars of Marxist philosophy<sup>90</sup>.

*Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* was originally the part of *Anti-Dühring* but for its inalienable fullness (in terms of the quantity of Marxist footnotes, it was also published separately in 1880. As the title suggests, in this writing Engels deals with the difference between two outcomes of conception of the socialist idea. It should not be so surprising

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<sup>87</sup> ENGELS, Friedrich. *The Housing Question*. *Marxists Internet Archive: 1872* [online]. 1995 [cit. 2015-13-03]. Available at: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1872/housing-question/>

<sup>88</sup> ENGELS, Friedrich. *On Authority*. *Marxists Internet Archive: : 1872* [online]. 1972 [cit. 2015-13-03]. Available at: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1872/10/authority.htm>

<sup>89</sup> ENGELS, Friedrich. *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science: 1878* [online]. 2010 [cit. 2015-13-03]. Available at: [https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/anti\\_duhring.pdf](https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/anti_duhring.pdf)

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.



that as an advocate of scientific socialism he emphasizes the weaknesses of utopian socialism. Engel's findings and opinions here rely on the history of development of socialist thinking. The interesting parts of this writing concern the evolution of the concept of dialectics and the relevance of relations of production on the social crisis caused by the Industrial revolution. His opinions are here as well as in many of his writings were greatly inspired by the approach of Marx.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Engels, Friedrich. Socialism: Utopian and Scientific. *Marxists Internet Archive*. [online]. 2003 [cit. 2015-02-04]. Available at:<https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1880/soc-utop/index.htm>

## 2.4 Collective Actions of Marx and Engels

The article *England's Seventeenth-Century Revolution*<sup>92</sup> was written in reaction to a pamphlet by the French historian Francois Guizot titled *Pourquoi la revolution d'Angleterre a-t-elle reussi?*<sup>93</sup> Here, Marx and Engels present their interest in the English revolution that occurred in the seventeenth century. They criticize Guizot's incomprehension of the historical context of this event and his comparison of it with the development of the French Revolution from the Nineteenth Century.

But as well as Guizot also Marx and Engels consistently suggested that the revolutionary period in England in the seventeenth century was a landmark of the transition from feudal to capitalist society.

*Strategy and tactics of the class struggle*<sup>94</sup> was originally a letter that Marx and Engels wrote together in September 1879 as a response to the article of German Social-Democratic leadership with the headline *Retrospects on the Socialist Movement in Germany*<sup>95</sup>. In their writing Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels protect the proletariat from the interference of sapient and haughty intellectuals without social empathy and tolerance. On the contrary, they advocate the idea that working class movements should win the battle for themselves on their own.

It's indubitable that Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels zealous promotion of communist ideas, whose practical social use should have followed socialism, raised this socioeconomic system to a new level of social placement. The thought of its official, socially extension and actual social utilization suddenly seemed more attainable than ever before.

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<sup>92</sup> MARX, Karl a Friedrich ENGELS. England's 17th Century Revolution. *Marxists Internet Archive* [online]. 1850 [cit. 2015-13-03]. Available at: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1850/02/english-revolution.htm>

<sup>93</sup> GUIZOT, Francois M. *Pourquoi La Revolution D'Angleterre A-T-Elle Reussi?: Discours Sur L'Histoire de La Revolution D'Angleterre (French Edition)*. HardPress Publishing, 2013. ISBN 1314334611.

<sup>94</sup> MARX, Karl a Friedrich ENGELS. Strategy and Tactics of the Class Struggle. *Marxists Internet Archive* [online]. [cit. 2015-09-04]. Available at: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1879/09/17.htm>

<sup>95</sup> This article was not found.

### **3. Communist Ideas as the Foundation of Political programmes**

The thought of government by poor and oppressed people was so impressive that it quickly spread to different parts of the world, where in various forms it settled down and went to work on the political level. The first country that tried to deal with the formal vision of a communist society was the native land of Marx and Engels, which naturally enjoyed the exceptional interest of these two thinkers, Germany. But the first successful seizing of the communism as the base of political regime and also as the driving idea of power occurred in Russia, which then tried, whether casually or not, to inspire many other countries.

This chapter has pretensions to briefly describe the integrating of the concept of an egalitarian society in various interpretation utilized in the twentieth century, and thus also widen the perspective within its purview to seek a possible answer to the elementary question of this work: is communism a utopia?

#### **3.1 The German socialism and the Second International**

The Socialist Workers' Party of Germany, a predecessor of today Social democratic Party of Germany, was created in 1875 by the union of two different movements – the General German Workers' Association and the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany. The Socialist Workers' Party of Germany developed under the supervision of Marx and Engels, who saw the German environment as suitable for putting some of their social, political or economical ideas into practice.

Despite the aversion of Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, who was a great supporter of Anti-Socialist Laws aimed at eliminating the spread of socialist ideas in Germany and, indirectly, the growing influence of the Socialist Workers' Party that, among many objections to its ideology, was also suspected of organizing two unsuccessful attacks on the monarch William I.

This political group was the largest and the most influential party of the Second International - the socialist organization established during the eighties of the nineteenth century to unite labour and socialist parties with the ideas of the First International. One

principle difference between these two supranational establishments is the Second International's members non-acceptance of anarchists within their movement and their exclusion from state parties. Engels and his then close co-worker Kautsky were among its influential figures.<sup>96</sup>

Kautsky, who was born in Prague and later lived in Vienna, London and Stuttgart, was a sworn socialist and later significant holder of the Marxist reform legacy. Beside his participation in editing or translating Marxist literature, he was also a writer whose work reflected his disapproving attitude towards the expansion of capitalism. In 1883 he established the monthly *Die Neue Zeit* that became a popular socialist journal<sup>97</sup>; in the year 1890 he wrote the political program of the newly emerging *Social democratic Party of German*, known as the Erfurt program, which was approved by Engels and accepted at the party congress in Erfurt in 1891. This text referred to the necessity of the acquisition of rights for working class, not by the violent revolution but by legal means and involvement in state affairs<sup>98</sup>.

In the year 1912 states of the Second International agreed to cooperate in the formation of peaceful opposition to war. But mutual cooperation among the various transnational movements in this regard seemed impossible and thus also the Second International collapsed during the First World War in 1916.<sup>99</sup>

The Social Democratic Party of Germany, despite its then huge popularity in Germany, was divided into three groups - the left wing, coming from Spartacus League later formed the Communist Party of Germany, insisted on a violent and revolutionary solution to the current social circumstances. Apart seeking to gain rights for working-men, the actions of this wing also included opposition to the Germany's involvement in World War I. In January of 1919, the Communist party caused a revolt in Berlin that later led to

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<sup>96</sup> SERVICE, Robert. *Comrades!: a history of world communism*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007, p. 36 - 42

<sup>97</sup> KAUTSKY, John H a Karl KAUTSKY. *Karl Kautsky: Marxism, revolution*. New Brunswick, U.S.A.: Transaction Publishers, 1994, p. 223 - 231

<sup>98</sup> KAUTSKY, Karl. The Erfurt Program. *Marxists Internet Archive* [online]. 1891 [cit. 2015-15-04]. Available at: <https://www.marxists.org/history/international/social-democracy/1891/erfurt-program.htm>

<sup>99</sup> SERVICE, Robert. *Comrades!: a history of world communism*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007, p. 43 - 44

the arrest and execution of its two leaders - Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. Karl Leviné, another official of the Communist Party of Germany, attempted a coup when several months later when, on the 13th April, he got to the Council Republic, nationalized the banks, and started to form a Red Army in Bavaria. But this movement was also broke apart and Karl Leviné was executed on the 5th June.

Another part of the former party consisted of the centrist group that founded the Independent Social-Democratic Party. This group was led by Karl Kautsky and characterized by its attachment to the right wing of the former party that kept the name the Social Democratic Party of Germany.

In the head of this party stood Friedrich Ebert, who participated in the suppression of the revolt in January 1919.<sup>100</sup>

### **3.2 Unforeseen Development in Russia**

Although Marx and Engels aimed their ideas mainly at developed states with advanced economics and general overview, the socialist movements in these countries at the beginning of the twentieth century often lacked the appropriate conditions in that they could adequately evolve their social intentions.

But in Russia, where there was a huge number of oppressed and often illiterate people who simply did not, in their enormous and corrupt country, have a chance to achieve their own rights, proved to be an ideal environment for the growth of communist ideas.

Over time there was established in Russia many revolutionary movements that, at least seemingly, fought for the rights of the local people. These organizations subsequently requested the transfer of the Imperial and aristocratic land into the hands of the poor landless, or they called for the emancipation of the exhausted working men and they avidly and devotedly opposed the authoritarian regime of the Romanov dynasty.

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<sup>100</sup> COURTOIS, Stéphane, Nicolas WERTH, Jean-Louis PANNÉ, Andrzej PACZKOWSKI, Karel BARTOŠEK a Jean-Louis MARGOLIN. *Černá kniha komunismu: zločiny, teror, represe*. Praha: Paseka, 1999, p. 242 - 245

But the Emperor managed to deal with the rebels. Because of the thorough activities of the state police, Okhana, that provided detection and punishment of the opponents of the totalitarian country, the members of revolutionary groups were powerless and their the hope they presented to have a chance to establish a better society seemed slowly to disappear in despair.<sup>101</sup>

### 3.2.1 Tenacious Plekhanov

In this unfavourable time for the local socialists, a Russian Marxist philosopher Georgi Plekhanov came up with the suggestion to take over the idea of the socialist movement emerging in Germany and to choose factory workers as the centrepiece of interest. He founded the Marxist organization called Emancipation of Labour, which became a member of the Second International and later, when he with his collaborators left Russia and arrived in Geneva, he started to create a plan to defeat the Russian authoritarian regime. Eventually this unit became the strongest Russian revolutionary group though it was mainly controlled from abroad.

The first effort to transform the Emancipation of Labour to an official political party with the name Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party took place in 1898. Although this attempt was suppressed during the Congress in Minsk, the members of the organization did not give up trying similar actions. The Second Congress, held in 1903, brought an unexpected incident: one of the high-members of the organization put Plekhanov's social concept to the background and began to present his own conception as the only correct one. The name of this rebel was Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, later known as Lenin.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>101</sup>COURTOIS, Stéphane, Nicolas WERTH, Jean-Louis PANNÉ, Andrzej PACZKOWSKI, Karel BARTOŠEK a Jean-Louis MARGOLIN. *Černá kniha komunismu: zločiny, teror, represe*. Praha: Paseka, 1999, p. 44 - 55

<sup>102</sup> SERVICE, Robert. *Comrades!: a history of world communism*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007, p. 46 - 49

### 3.2.2 Leninism

Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov was a Russian revolutionary activist who left Russia when his banishment to Siberia expired, where he had been sent after previous time spent in jail for continuing subversive activities. He then joined the Emancipation of Labour and founded a newspaper called *Iskra*. Lenin was responsible for the division of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party that, during the above mentioned Congress, split up into two groups - Bolsheviks (who were the majority and whose membership included Lenin) and the Mensheviks (who were in the minority).

The Bloody Sunday – so named after, in St. Petersburg in January 1905 when state forces violently suppressed a peaceful gathering of working men, brought to Russia a real time of revolt. Worker's Councils (soviets) were established through the land, which Lenin decided to interconnect with his Bolsheviks. The soviet of St. Petersburg, led by Leon Trotsky, was among the most significant such soviets. During this year other strikes, diversely big and with the various impulses, broke and finally they led to the October Manifesto, which later enabled the creation of the local parliament – The Imperial Duma. During this year Lenin wrote down several works in order to clarify the Bolsheviks revolutionary tactic aimed towards the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and criticizing the moderate Mensheviks or outlining his concept of revolution.

Even though the Emperor finally promised to establish a parliamentary system in Russia, the October Manifesto did not satisfy Bolsheviks, Mensheviks, or other party Socialist- Revolutionaries. The Bolsheviks started to stimulate other revolutions but in December 1905 the imperial army repressed their efforts and many of them, headed by Lenin, had to return abroad.

During this second expulsion from Russia, Lenin again started to intensely promote his unconventional approach. As a deep admirer of narodnik, the Russian socialist movement that exerted its own type of fight against monarchy; direct struggle to weaken the ruling dynasty by use of terrorism, Lenin intended, with a little success, to spread this violent tendencies among the members of his organization.

His radical opinion about wage-worker cooperation with peasantry, rather than the middle class who functioned partly as a rural bourgeoisie, did not meet with a positive response as

he had expected. Many socialists saw the middle class as stronger than the uncultured peasants, and they logically preferred more powerful alliance with them.

At the Fourth Party Congress in 1906, the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks reunited again but their views of the Russian future were still not entirely identical. Even though both groups repudiated the peaceful path of social changes as insufficiently effective, and both promoted the idea of revolution, their visions of the final arrangement differed considerably. The Mensheviks promoted the need for cooperation with other parties for the purpose of overthrowing the Empire and using democratic means in a statewide election, which they wanted so as to avoid the dictatorship of the proletariat. Meanwhile more and more individual Bolsheviks ostentatiously turned towards only one goal: working class leadership.

The Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party was at that time a successful movement composed of several different socialist groups that had their representatives in the biggest cities all over the Russia. But with the increasing success of this organization, so to Okhana, the state police, intensified its action. It used its agents to get to the centre of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party; and in response to the spreading resistance against the Empire, Okhana started to arrest members of the party. This brought many disappointments to the movement and deepened the radicalism of some socialists - especially Lenin's followers. But for their idea to establish an intolerant centralism in Russia, they came to have more and more enemies.

In the year 1912, when another round of restlessness among the workers broke out, Lenin's branch of Bolsheviks held its own congress in Prague. Here they established their own leadership called the Central Committee whose membership included, inter alia, Lenin's later successor Joseph Stalin.

In July 1914 war broke out, which ended many disagreements among the different groups of Russian socialists - for a while. On one side of the struggle stood the Central Powers consisting of Germany, Austria- Hungary and the Ottoman Empire. Against them fought the Allies, which consisted of France, The United Kingdom and Russia. For its pervasive character, this conflict started to concern many societies all over the world.

The Second International was disjointed in its attitude to this conflict, sometimes called the First World War, elsewhere the Great War. Some called for the end of the cruel warfare, including groups from France, Germany, Switzerland and also some Bolsheviks,



Mensheviks or other Socialist Revolutionaries from Russia. These fractions organized an anti-war conference in the Swiss village Zimmerwald in September 1915 but with minimum participation of their socialist allies who did not necessarily perceived the war as evil.

Among other supporters of this conflict, Lenin saw in it the potential trigger of the final uprising of the European proletariat against the bourgeoisie. His dream soon appeared to come true. The social environment in Russia, financially disconcerted by the Great War, started to feel the coming civil unrest and talk began about the possible end of the Empire.

In February 1917 local turmoil entered a new dimension when a group of protesting women textile workers joined the army. After the abdication of the Emperor Nicholas II, who saw no chance for saving his empire, the Provisional Government with leadership of Mensheviks and Socialist- Revolutionaries was appointed. This Government spoke out against the war and the Central Powers. Immediately after the victory of the revolutionary forces, civil liberties in all areas of life were declared.

But Bolsheviks did not want to stand aside. After some disturbances caused by Stalin in the house of the Provisional Government, Lenin, who was at that time in Switzerland, decided to come home. Back in Russia, Lenin immediately began to promote his ideas of the transfer of the means of production into the hands of workers and the land into the hand of peasants. According to Lenin, these two groups together with soldiers should create the organs of the local government.

Meanwhile efforts continued for creating more favourable environment in Russia. Alexander Kerensky, a Socialist- Revolutionary politician, headed a ministry responsible for improving of economic conditions in post-revolutionary Russia but he was not successful. The country still faced the inability to organize a system that would provide the wished for welfare, or even ensure basic living needs for the citizens of the country. This fact helped the Bolsheviks, whose popularity increased.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> SERVICE, Robert. *Comrades!: a history of world communism*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007, p. 49 - 67

Lenin, who for his controversial opinions again fled abroad, was at that time in Helsinki where he wrote *The State and Revolution*<sup>104</sup> to which he imprinted ideas that are, at least at first glanced, inspired by the thoughts of Marx and Engels. In this work, Lenin described the function of the state as the use of force to oppress some class and contrasted this with an outline of a possible arrangement of the future ideal society. He insisted on the creation of a revolutionary party that, thanks to its knowledge of Marxism, will awake the consciousness of the workers. This party would be well organized, and the minority would always have to obey the majority. Over time, when the proletariat is ready, it would take power into its hands. Proletarian government would be strengthened by suppressing the rights of middle classes and by distribution of resources according to capabilities and great work of each member of society. The proletariat would eventually create an environment that would enable another stage of society that would be full of natural and automatic equality and sharing - communism. The ideas described in this work became the characteristic feature of Bolshevism<sup>105</sup>

In October 1917 Lenin secretly returned to Petrograd from where he decided to lead Bolshevik revolution. Because he was afraid of being arrested by government forces, he had to operate in secrecy. After two meetings of the Central Committee on the 10th and the 16th of October, it was decided to attempt a coup, which took place on October 25th. Because of their attempt to lead the country according to socialist principles was unsuccessful, the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries who had held ruling positions were removed, and the Bolsheviks established the new government called, by Trotsky's suggestion, the Council of People's Commissars - i.e., Sovnarkom.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> LENIN, V.I. *The State and Revolution: The Marxist Theory of the State & the Tasks of the Proletariat in the Revolution 1918* [online]. 1999 [cit. 2015-20-04]. Available at:

<https://www.marxists.org/ebooks/lenin/state-and-revolution.pdf>

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> SERVICE, Robert. *Comrades!: a history of world communism*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007, p. 68 - 69

### 3.2.3 Bolsheviks in power and other development in Russia

Since the beginning of their reign, the Bolshevik's authoritarian tendencies began to appear. What the party did not get through the democratic vote they took by force. The activities of enemies and opponents of the regime were banned or violently suppressed. The Checa, or secret police, permeated the country with suspicion, paranoia and fear. The Bolshevik party was held to be the only supporter of the proletariat, and other parties were identified as internal foes.

Through their violent takeover of power, the Bolshevik caused the birth of the civil war. Soon, two primary opposite standing armies were established - the Red Army supporting the regime and the White Army consisted, inter alia, of former officials and the nobility. The offensive against the peasantry, that at first had obtained the lands of its former masters, was soon labelled a self-interested anti-regime force, had appearance of requisitions of their crops and drains to the Red Army. The collecting of requisitions was soon organized by the centralized system, and aimed at every district or village. Quotas was set according to estimations of expected crops. Because these were impossible to fulfil, there were harsh punishments from the side of the regime, and several hundreds uprising of the peasantry all over the country, starting in summer 1918 and ending in the spring 1921 with the arrival of the Russian famine.<sup>107</sup>

But the Bolshevik attacks did not avoid the working class either. The imperfection of the economic system dictated rations that would not cover basic life needs, causing strikes, hunger marches or factory occupations. One culminating event took place from 22nd to 24rd February in Moscow where the working-men clashed with the Red army, some of them were killed and many arrested.

The restlessness in Petrograd from February 1921 continued despite the cruel efforts to suppress it. The local assembly under the influence of the Mensheviks and another political party, the Essers, demanded the cancellation of the Bolshevik dictatorship, free elections to the soviets, freedom of the press and the liberation of political prisoners.

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<sup>107</sup>COURTOIS, Stéphane, Nicolas WERTH, Jean-Louis PANNÉ, Andrzej PACZKOWSKI, Karel BARTOŠEK a Jean-Louis MARGOLIN. *Černá kniha komunismu: zločiny, teror, represe*. Praha: Paseka, 1999. p. 71 - 120

This uprising aroused not just many soldiers of the Red Army who spontaneously joined, but also sailors of the two battle cruisers anchored in the nearby naval base Kronstadt. In spite of the strong potential to influence the current conditions, both uprising were soon suppressed. The Petrograd revolt started on the 7th March and ended two days later with the arrest of thousands of working-men as well as members of the political parties. The uprising in Kronstadt was, because of the weapons on both sides of the fight, more violent. The fight began on 8th March, and caused the deaths of thousands of people and the Bolshevik victory meant death warrants, jail, or camps to thousands more.<sup>108</sup>

The offensive against the peasantry and the lack of Bolshevik interest to take a critical stand against the own regime's practices caused two big famines - the first took place in the beginning of the twentieth century during Lenin's rule and it lead to the defeat of the strongest resistance against the regime. The second famine occurred in 1933, primarily in Ukrainian territory during the governance of Joseph Stalin and it was just one frightful affair representing the continuing anti-human practises of the local regime and a symbol of the governance of this dictator.

Joseph Stalin came to the leadership of the Soviet Union in 1924. He did not take over Marxist Leninist international view on communist revolution. Even though in the first edition of the book *Foundation of Leninism* from April 1924 Stalin refuses the idea of revolution in one country, in a re-edition from November 1926 this notion is replaced by its own complete opposite. This intentional change of history brought the idea of the communist revolution in a single country and displayed the new Russian dictator as man who, despite his national orientation, governed the international Soviet Union (including besides Russia in the course of time also the Eastern parts of the Poland, Baltic republics, Ukraine or Belorussian Republic) as a single empire. These two contradictory facts were well displayed in his merciless treatment toward the foreign communist politics, united in the Third International, whose countries Stalin attempted to influence from his position of ruler of the superior state.

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<sup>108</sup>COURTOIS, Stéphane, Nicolas WERTH, Jean-Louis PANNÉ, Andrzej PACZKOWSKI, Karel BARTOŠEK a Jean-Louis MARGOLIN. *Černá kniha komunismu: zločiny, teror, represe*. Praha: Paseka, 1999, p. 105 - 110

Joseph Stalin proved his inspiration by Lenin's authoritarian system and gave it an even more severe meaning. The Great Purge, a five year plan including forced collectivization with horrible consequences and the previously mentioned famines, represented the ongoing Bolshevik intentional terror against the local citizens and against the citizens of the territory newly attached during Stalin's era. It lasted until the death of this dictator.<sup>109</sup>

The adjustment of the different historical connections between the eras of Lenin and Stalin must necessarily bring an evaluation of these two Russian periods, which both tried to hide tyranny under the promises of a future establishment of an egalitarian society.

Even though Lenin realized that the establishment and maintenance of an equal nationwide social conception in Russia could be almost impossible without its spread into nearby countries, while on the contrary Stalin was a sworn nationalist oriented mainly on his home land, their cruel attitudes brought disappointment to the former supporters of the new regime as well as pervasive fear of oppressions in the local social majority. The fact is that the violence that was supposed to be initially used only as necessary amidst the fight to achieve the immediate goals of the revolution, was not avoid from the first indication of restlessness among the workingmen. This reminds us that the original idea carrying the thought of the ideal society was lost to Russia.

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<sup>109</sup>COURTOIS, Stéphane, Nicolas WERTH, Jean-Louis PANNÉ, Andrzej PACZKOWSKI, Karel BARTOŠEK a Jean-Louis MARGOLIN. *Černá kniha komunismu: zločiny, teror, represe*. Praha: Paseka, 1999, p. 123 - 124

### 3.3 The Communist Ideas as the Support of the State Control

The first efforts to extend Soviet power took place soon after the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. The Bolsheviks assembled from Hungarian former war captives. This group, lead by Béla Kun, entered Hungary in October 1918, where it established the local communist party on 4th November.

Thanks to the financial help of the Russian communists and the connection with the social-democratic party, and despite the first problems with the local government, this movement managed to established the Council of the Republic in March 1919.

Shortly thereafter, revolutionary tribunals were established to deal with counter-revolutionary troops and former high-ranking officials or judges. The Hungarian Council of the Republic fell apart after a discrepancy in its government led Béla Kun to flee the country; and the final disintegration of this short lived communist republic happened in the beginning of August 1919.

Other unsuccessful Bolsheviks attempts to repeat the Great October Socialist Revolution took place in the course of the twenties in Bulgaria, Estonia, China and Germany. In spite of Bolshevik assistance, the local uprisings were suppressed by the local government.

But the communists did not stay in forced seclusion for a long and under the leadership of the Soviet Union they soon strongly revolted again; and World War II created suitable conditions for enabling the widening of forcible Soviet influence throughout Europe.

But Marxism-Leninism was just one of the many form that communism acquired in modern times. The connection of communist ideals and a state program were the subject of consideration in diverse periods of the twentieth century by many different groups of thinkers and thus communism took different appearances varying for example by the terminal goal of the ideology or by the target group of interest.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>110</sup>COURTOIS, Stéphane, Nicolas WERTH, Jean-Louis PANNÉ, Andrzej PACZKOWSKI, Karel BARTOŠEK a Jean-Louis MARGOLIN. *Černá kniha komunismu: zločiny, teror, represe*. Praha: Paseka, 1999, p. 242 - 253

## Conclusion

Coming back to the beginning, I again need to dismantle the definition of the word: 'communism.' The word's common or perhaps universal base as the socioeconomic idea most closely connected to human association could refer to the establishment of an egalitarian society without division of people.

This clear form is, in Plato's works, regulated on parity in the level of diverse classes; by contrast, Karl Marx's communist idea has the appearance of society with common ownership of means of production, without money and without the need of any control.

My concept of communism, based on the words common or universal sense, is linked with the vision of an interconnected society consisting of individuals who abandon the fulfillment of their selfish needs in favor of society-wide delight. In order to reshape this communism into a social system, it is necessary that every member of the particular group observe the previously determined orientation on society. This orientation should be underpinned by the utmost endeavour of the specific person, and thus the imaginary sphere where all these selflessnesses meet does not have to be unconditionally unbalanced. The essentiality alone to 'try to be oriented' comes from natural human characteristics - if we sacrifice something under the achievement of general good, we usually expect advantage from our sacrificing, or at least we expect a similar action from others.

To achieve the most of all possible results, it is necessary to undergo this sacrificing *voluntarily* because only in this case can the individual feel the true pleasure of the enjoyment of someone else. And on contrary, if someone violently forces someone else to observe the values he respects, the idea itself loses its original existence - even if the forceful persuasion is successful; and it is changed into something artificial whose clean form is hidden under the sediment of committed grievances and false beliefs.

If the original idea is used to violently conquer other people and to restrict the freedom of the human spirit, even if it happens in the name of future good, it inevitably makes it impossible to get to know this idea.

Thus, communism as a socioeconomic system based on the idea of general sharing could in its ideal appearance probably emerge as the idea of some kind of opened society where, after the fulfillment of unitary conditions, anyone has the possibility to enter or disembark;

and where every fully-fledged member of the group would be indispensably aware of maintaining the given order.

As Marx called for a communist society without state control emerging from the enchanting of the original bourgeois milieu, I am impelled to oppose Marx because, unless it is used as the necessary defence against the straight danger, the violence thus realized automatically gives instruction and permission for its future repetition.

Although the way of being within communist societies that are similar to Owen's Harmony or Anabaptists' associations can become unsustainable when faced with a strong manifestation of human egoism, their establishment alone can indicate the existence of human delight in the idea of sacrifice to fulfill the personal needs of others.

Coming back to the introductory hypothesis - is communism a utopia? It does not have to be. But another question inevitably follows - is the existence of people unacquainted with the weight of egoism a utopia?



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## **Summary**

This thesis deals with the evolution of the communist ideas and their sociological application.

The first chapter begins with the Plato's sociological thoughts, then continues with the description of the approach of Jesus of Nazareth or the attitudes of the Essenes and the Zealots - two communities that adopted the Jesus' desire for the establishment of egalitarian society. This chapter also focuses on the acceptance of social visions among Anabaptists groups or Hussites and it ends with the depiction of adoption of communist ideas in France in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The first chapter connects different communist theories and thoughts and indicates that the egalitarian approach pervades all human history.

The second chapter concentrates on the ideological approach of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. It is mainly engaged in the description of genesis and content of their important works.

The last chapter begins with the description of immediate takeover of the Marx's and Engels' ideas in Germany. The failure of this vision's practical application was accompanied with the inconsistency among the local socialists. The whole work closes the subchapter about the miserable development of the communist ideas in Russia.



## **Shrnutí**

Tato práce se zabývá vývojem komunistických idejí a jejich společenskou aplikací.

První kapitola začíná Platónovými společenskými myšlenkami, poté pokračuje popisem přístupu Ježíše z Nazareta či postojů Esejců a Zélótů - dvou komunit, které adoptovaly Ježíšovu touhu po založení rovnostářské společnosti. Tato kapitola se také soustředí na akceptaci sociálních vizí mezi Anabaptistickými skupinami či mezi Husity a končí vykreslením osvojení komunistických idejí ve Francii na začátku devatenáctého století. První kapitola propojuje rozdílné komunistické teorie a myšlenky a naznačuje, že rovnostářský přístup prostupuje celou lidskou historií.

Druhá kapitola se soustředí na ideový postoj Karla Marxe a Friedricha Engelse. Zabývá se především popisem vzniku a obsahu jejich důležitých děl.

Závěrečná kapitola začíná popisem bezprostředního uchycení Marxových a Engelsových idejí v Německu. Neúspěch praktického uplatnění této vize zde byl provázen neshodou mezi místními socialisty. Celou práci uzavírá podkapitola o nešťastném vývoji komunistických idejí v Rusku.