

*Academician*

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HISTORICAL ROLE OF  
G. V. Plekhanov  
IN THE RUSSIAN AND INTERNATIONAL  
WORKING MOVEMENT

*Report*

*at the ceremonial meeting in Moscow ,  
dedicated to 100th anniversary from the day of birth  
G. V. Plekhanov ,  
December 11, 1956*

STATE PUBLISHING HOUSE  
POLITICAL LITERATURE

Moscow 1957

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Comrades!

The Soviet people, marking today the centenary of the birth of George V. Plekhanov, gives tribute to the memory of the first promoter of the great ideas of Marxism in Russia, uncompromising fighter for the materialistic world, one of the outstanding figures of Russian and international labor movement.

Plekhanov belongs to that brilliant cohort of fighters whose names make up the pride and glory of our people. Even in the 80 - ies of the last century, Plekhanov announced to the historic role of the Russian working class, was the founder of the first Marxist organization in our country - the group "Emancipation of Labor". He played a big role in defending and spreading the ideas of Marxism in Russia. As a theorist and publicist G. AT. Plekhanov gave many remarkable works on philosophy, economics, the history of sociopolitical teachings, on the theory of art and literature, which are a valuable contribution to the treasury of scientific socialism. And although G. AT. Plekhanov did not have to combine Marxism with the labor movement in Russia and in his activities after 1903 there were major political breakdowns, he occupies an honorable place in the history of the labor movement, in the struggle for the triumph of the ideas of Marxism.

## I.

### G. AT. PLEKHANOV - THE FIRST OUTSTANDING PROPAGANDIST OF MARXISM IN RUSSIA

Plekhanov went through a difficult and controversial way of life. He began his revolutionary activities as a populist. As a student at the Mining Institute in St. Petersburg, he establishes contacts with the workers and, together with his friends, organizes 6 December 1876 on the square in front of the Kazan Cathedral the first working demonstration in Russia, where he speaks with a revolutionary speech. In connection with the growing persecution by the tsarist government, he in January 1880 emigrated abroad, where he quickly became disillusioned with his former populist views. Thanks to the persistent study of Marxist literature, the experience of the revolutionary movement in Western Europe, realizing the apparent failure of populism, Plekhanov soon became an ardent follower of scientific socialism. "Personally for myself I can say - he wrote - that the reading of the " Communist Manifesto "of the era in my life. I was inspired " Manifesto " and immediately decided to translate it into Russian " ( G. AT. Plekhanov , Works., T. XXIV, page 178 - . 179).

During the twenty years of his revolutionary activities as a staunch supporter of scientific socialism (1883 - 1903 yy.) G. AT. Plekhanov gave a lot of excellent works against the populists, opportunists, Machists. In these years, in the apt words of Lenin, in n g m "vital spirit of the revolutionary Jacobins."

Distinguished by deep knowledge of the works of Marx and Engels and leading the tireless propaganda of the Marxist worldview, G. AT. Plekhanov made a genuine revolution in the minds of the advanced Russian revolutionary intelligentsia. The influence of his first Marxist works was so strong that it seriously changed the whole situation in revolutionary circles. Lenin noted the significance of these works, as the most important milestone in the development and dissemination of socialist ideas in Russia. Speaking of brochure G. AT. Plekhanov a " Socialism and political struggle " , V. AND. Lenin pointed out that if the " Communist Manifesto " of Marx and Engels was the first presentation of the views of *world* socialism, then this work of Plekhanov was the first presentation of the views of *Russian* socialism.

On the example of Russia, this book confirmed the Marxist truth that every class struggle is a political struggle. The leitmotif in this pamphlet against populism is the idea that socialism cannot be indifferent to the political struggle; on the contrary, it must be organically linked with it. According to Lenin, this book showed exactly how and why the Russian revolutionary movement should lead to the merging of socialism and political struggle.

Evaluating social relations in Russia from Marxist positions, Plekhanov recognized what was new in the country over the past two decades after the peasant reform; he literally " discovered " Russian capitalism and the Russian proletariat.

The great merit of G. AT. Plekhanov , *for the first time*, pointed out the historical mission of the working class of Russia as the main force capable of crushing Russian absolutism and opening the way for the progressive development of the country. "The proletariat - this is the dynamite with which history will blow Russian autocracy" - he wrote in his work "The Russian working in the revolutionary movement" (Plekhanov, Works, Vol.. III, p. 207).

Founded by Plekhanov in 1883 , a group of "Emancipation of Labor" laid the foundation for the political Marxist Labor Party in Russia, and has taken the first step towards the working-class movement. This group bore on its shoulders the great difficulties that confronted Russian revolutionaries in spreading Marxist views in Russia, exposing Narodism, its reactionary subjective-idealistic sociology, its tactics, damaging the labor movement and diverting the energy and attention of the youth from the revolutionary tasks of that time.

Consistently fighting against populists, G. AT. Plekhanov wrote the well-known work " Our disagreements " (1885 d), in which he revealed the complete inconsistency of their views and

insistently emphasized the need to create a workers' party in Russia. This book, rich in content, is distinguished by a magnificent force of argumentation, smashing polemical talent, and genuine brilliance of presentation. She aroused great interest and brought up many ardent supporters of Marxism in Russia, just as she revealed embittered enemies against him.

At constituent congress II International in Paris in July 1889, representing the Russian followers of scientific socialism, Plekhanov, in his speech, describing the prospects for the revolutionary struggle in the country, said:

“The revolutionary movement in Russia can triumph only as the revolutionary movement of the workers ” (Plekhanov, Works, vol. IV, p. 54).

Especially important was the book G. AT. Plekhanov a " On the Question of Developing a Monistic View of History " (1895 g.). Many generations of revolutionary youth were brought up in this work. Truly enduring is the value of this book. Even now it has not lost its value and can serve as a source for studying the Marxist worldview.

In the period of the pitiful small-mindedness of liberal populists, who still had a certain influence among the youth , but already completely dilapidated ideas about " heroes " and " crowd " , the book of G. AT. Plekhanov a " On the Question of Developing a Monistic View of History " , which expounded in combat In the spirit, with sincere polemical enthusiasm, the main ideas of scientific socialism and the proletarian world outlook made a particularly great impression.

Of great importance are the provisions on the role of the individual and the masses in history, illuminated by Plekhanov both in this book and in a number of his other works of this period. In full accordance with Marxism, Plekhanov subjected to scathing criticism the views of Lavrov, Tkachev , Mikhailovsky and many other populists, who ignored the role of the popular masses and argued that “ critical thinking personalities ” , outstanding “ heroes ” who make up their role in the historical process opinion, almost some kind of " special " , " highest " kind of humanity. In the fight against purely harmful populist ideas about the " personality " and " mass " G. AT. Plekhanov, using historical facts and rich scientific argument opposed populists deployed Marxist position on these issues.

The progress of society, asserted by Plekhanov, is not determined by the wishes and ideas of individuals, even the most prominent ones, but by the development of the material conditions of society, changes in the methods of social production. Without denying the role of large personalities in the course of social development, but, on the contrary, emphasizing this role, Plekhanov noted that it is all the more significant, the more prominent personalities are associated with the masses, the better they express the interests and aspirations of the masses, the farther and deeper they see, the better they learn objective historical patterns. At the same time, Plekhanov emphasized , no large person can impose on society such relations that do not correspond to this stage of development of the productive forces, are not able to change the nature of production relations at will.

Plekhanov noted that the struggle of the masses for freedom and for their well-being represents in the centuries-old chronicle of mankind a much more magnificent spectacle than the " campaigns " of the conquerors, the " feats " of the kings, so flowery painted by feudal and bourgeois scholars . The masses of the people, Plekhanov argued, are the decisive force in history, the people are the creator, the demiurge of history.

" Who destroyed the Bastille?" - he asked. - Who fought on the barricades ah in July 1830 and in February 1848 g? Whose weapons struck absolutism in Berlin? Who overthrew Metternich in Vienna? Nar , people, people, t. e. poor working class, t. ie mainly working ... no sophistry -. he wrote - can not obliterate the fact that the decisive role in the fight against Western countries for their political emancipation belonged to *the people and only the people* "(Plekhanov, Works, Vol.. III, pp 405 -

. 406). Similarly, G. asserted . AT. Plekhanov , and in the coming socialist transformation of Russia the decisive role will belong to the working people.

Great are the historical merits of G. AT. Plekhanov and in the ideological exposing of populism. He *first* gave the Marxist criticism of his erroneous views, clearing the way for the spread of Marx ism in Russia. However, only V. AND. Lenin , who ingeniously developed Marxist theory and was closely associated with the working masses of Russia, managed to deliver a final blow to the subjective-idealistic sociology of populism and to complete its ideological defeat. It is to share B. AND. Lenin had to solve the most important task of the revolutionary struggle in Russia — to organically link socialism with the labor movement, to forge a Marxist party of a new type.

Populism was not the only enemy who stood in the way of the spread of Marxism in Russia. In the international labor movement, especially in German Social Democracy, a revisionist trend emerged, which sought to quench the revolutionary spirit of Marxism, to emasculate its revolutionary dialectic, to reject a study of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to adapt the labor movement to the interests of the bourgeoisie. The revisionists criticized the philosophical foundations of Marxism and sought to “ unite ” the economic and historical teachings of Marx with the latest bourgeois philosophies, like neo-Kantianism and Machism.

The most prominent representative of this revision of Marxism was the German Social Democrat Edward Bernstein. In Russia, the followers of the Bernstein revision of Marxism were, on the one hand, the so-called " legal Marxists " - preachers of bourgeois views on the prospects for economic development in Russia, on the other hand - the so-called " economists " - singers of amateur art and spontaneity in the labor movement.

G. AT. Plekhanov saw the danger concealed in the views of the latter-day critics of Marxism, and with intransigence came out in defense of Marxism, against Bernsteinism and its Russian varieties — Struivism and Economism. Articles G. AT. Plekhanov A , directed against Bernsht Ein, Conrad Schmidt, against P. Struve is a model of defending revolutionary Marxism against opportunists and revisionists.

With a genuine revolutionary passion wrote G. AT. Plekhanov his work against Bernstein. Bernstein is the enemy of Marxism, he died for the school of Marx; necessary revisionism fight a life-and-death question is a question of who gets to bury: Bernstein social democracy or social democracy Bernstein - these were the answers Plekhanov, Kautsky, Lafargue, Wilhelm Liebknecht, dissatisfied sharpness of his polemic and advised him soften their speeches against Bernstein.

In the articles against Bernstein, he pointed out: “ If Bernstein refused *materialism* in order not to “ threaten ” one of the “ ideological interests ” of the bourgeoisie, which is called *religion* , his rejection of *dialectics* was due to his unwillingness to frighten the same bourgeoisie with “the *horrors of a violent revolution* ” "(Plekhanov, Works, . Xi, pp. 58 - 59). Although Bernstein himself is an insignificant quantity, Plekhanov asserted, but the views expressed by him are dangerous and therefore must be ideologically crushed. Thus he energetically convinced the leaders of German Social Democracy of the need for the most decisive struggle against Bernsteinism .

G. AT. Plekhanov also insisted on their expulsion of Bernstein from the party for his revisionist views and criticized the false view among so-called “ freedom of opinion ” in the party that was widespread among German Social Democrats at that time .

" They say - wrote G. AT. Plekhanov , “ how can one exclude a person from the party for his views? That would mean chasing him for heresy . ” People who reason thus, - he continued, - forgetting that *freedom* must necessarily be complemented by the freedom of mutual convergence and divergence, and that this latter freedom does not exist where one or the other prejudice makes to go with these people who is better to separate due to differences their views ” (Plekhanov, Op., t. Xi, p. 68).

In 1901–1902 G. AT. Plekhanov wrote several articles against P. Struve, in which he sharply criticized his formula of "blunted contradiction", his rejection of the idea of social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. G. AT. Plekhanov exposed Struvist negation of Marx's theory of the impoverishment of the proletariat, speaking at the same time against the views of a number of the then British bourgeois figures - Goshen, Collette and others who argued that there is supposedly a process of "distribution of wealth in the Sun g larger plane" in a capitalist society, and that in connection with the these workers become owners and class contradictions soften. Plekhanov's criticism of these views sounds very relevant in our time, as the modern fabrications of many right-wing socialists, who also claim that the process of "deconcentrating capitalist property", "increasing the number of proprietors" and "softening class antagonisms" are allegedly taking place in bourgeois society, are like two drops of water are similar to the reformist positions of the Struvists of the early 20th century.

According to V. AND. Lenin, "the only Marxist in international social democracy who criticized the incredible vulgarities that the revisionists spoke here, from the point of view of consistent dialectical materialism, was Plekhanov" (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 15, p. 19).

The growth of the revolutionary movement in Russia, the release of the all-Russian "Iskra" political newspaper put on the agenda the question of the creation of the current revolutionary Marxist party. Of great importance in this connection was the elaboration of a party program that would set as its task to provide a Marxist analysis of the historical conditions for the development of the revolutionary labor movement in Russia, to summarize the accumulated experience of the work of local social democratic organizations.

In creating the program of the Marxist party in Russia, the merits of G. AT. Plekhanov and known. It is not by chance that V. AND. After nearly 20 years, Lenin, working out a new program of the Communist Party, which was adopted by the Eighth Congress, wrote in a draft draft of the draft program of the RCP, referring to the section on capitalism and the dictatorship of the proletariat: "To reproduce this old, Marxist program compiled by Plekhanov, in the main part of the in order to understand and "historical roots" of our world view" (Lenin Miscellany, t. XIII, p. 41).

At the same time, however, it should be emphasized that in developing this old program, which B. AND. Lenin calls Plekhanov, he himself took an active part. As is known, the initial draft submitted by G. AT. Plekhanov ohm, contained serious mistakes. AT. AND. Lenin had to sharply argue with G. AT. Plekhanov ohm. As a result of these disputes, many of the principal provisions of V. AND. Lenin and were taken G. AT. Plekhanov ohm. The controversy between them on programmatic issues in 1902 As the subsequent events showed, it was not accidental, it was an expression of the beginning of those discrepancies that later divorced V. AND. Lenin and and G. AT. Plekhanov and in different directions.

The central point of the differences was the question of the relationship between the proletariat and the peasantry in the preparation and development of the future revolution. AT. AND. Lenin, emphasizing in every way the role of the working class and its struggle as the main pillar of the social process, noted at the same time that the proletariat should play the role of a *hegemon* capable of leading its ally — the peasantry. Plekhanov, on the other hand, dissolved the special and leading role of the proletariat in the general revolutionary movement of all the working people and in fact denied the role of the peasantry as an ally of the proletariat.

AT. I. Lenin believed that the program of the revolutionary party should have a combat character, should be, in his words, "declaration of war to Russian capitalism." He proposed instead of a vague formula "the power of the proletariat" to give a clear formula "dictatorship of the proletariat." The project of the program, written by Plekhanov, according to Lenin, was distinguished by abstract wording and more resembled a "program for students", which refers to "capitalism in general, and not yet Russian capitalism" (Leninsky collection, vol. II, p. 65). So already in the very early 20 - th century, with the development program of the party, decided

in its infancy those points of disagreement between V. I. Lenin and G. A. Plekhanov, who subsequently led to two sharply different political trends in the Russian labor movement: Bolshevism and Menshevism.

On the main issues discussed at the II Congress of the RSDLP, G. A. Plekhanov appeared on a par with V. I. Lenin. At the Congress, he defended the position of the dictatorship of the proletariat, supported by Vladimir I. Lenin and the question of the Party Constitution. " Lenin's project - he said in a speech on the Charter - can serve as a bulwark against them (the intellectuals who do not wish to submit to party discipline. - M. M) intrusion into the party, and for that reason alone it should vote for all opponents of opportunism " (Plekhanov, Op., V. XII, p. 427).

Giving a rebuke to the opportunists, Plekhanov proclaimed his famous position that the success of the revolution is the highest law.

At that time G. A. Plekhanov sought to preserve unity among the Social Democrats. He was annoyed by many of the Menshevik speeches at the congress, who wanted by all means to drive a wedge between him and V. I. Lenin. He wittily mocked one of them - Akimov, who was especially zealous in these attempts. In his speech at the Congress G. A. Plekhanov said: " Napoleon had a passion to breed his marshals with their wives ; other marshals were inferior to him, although they loved their wives . Tov. Akimov in this respect looks like Napoleon, - by all means he wants to separate me from Lenin. But I will show more character than the Napoleonic marshals; I will not divorce Lenin, and I hope that he does not intend to divorce me either. ( *Comrade Lenin, laughing, shakes his head negatively .* )" (Plekhanov, Soch., V. XII, p. 418).

Position G. A. Plekhanov and in the years before the Second Congress of the RSDLP and the Congress - is *the culminating point of his revolutionary activities* . During this period, he appeared as a deep Marxist theorist, tirelessly fighting for raising the political consciousness of the working class, for activating his forces, for the all-round development of the revolutionary movement in Russia.

During these years, he appeared before us as an outstanding figure in the struggle for the ideology of Marxism. " After all, without a revolutionary theory there is no revolutionary movement in the true sense of the word " , - he wrote. Great revolutionary ideas can make such a difference that they cannot be replaced by any explosives in the world. Without the day-to-day upholding of the positions of scientific socialism from its enemies, the exposure of their attacks on the ideology of the proletariat, one cannot successfully fight for the cause of the working class — such was G.'s principled position during these years . A. Plekhanov, in matters of ideological struggle. In this regard, he was head and shoulders above other leaders from the social-democratic parties of the Second International, who are known to be conciliatory to the perversions of Marxism. It is for the irreconcilability of G. A. Plekhanov, to the perversions of Marxism, Lenin especially valued him highly.

li.

## G. V. PLEKHANOV -BORETS for scientific materialist worldview

Describing the activities of G. A. Plekhanov , it is impossible not to note the importance of his theoretical legacy in the field of Marxist philosophy. He was truly a great fighter for the scientific materialistic worldview. Creation of the Marxist philosophy G. A. Plekhanov regarded as a genuine revolution in the history of ideas, as the greatest revolution in the spiritual life of mankind. Dialectical materialism, he said, is the greatest, the only philosophical system of our time that deserves this name. His appearance marked the most important turn in the history of human thought.

With all my heart I hated G. AT. Plekhanov idealism and its carriers. He was a militant materialist, a zealous champion of the materialistic worldview. In his works, he sarcastically ridiculed the stupidity of idealism, showing his official role in relation to religion. He fought against the idealistic perversions of Marxist philosophy and was deeply right when he declared that consistency in pursuing the point of view of Marxist philosophy is obligatory under the fear of betraying his own business.

Describing dialectical materialism, G. AT. Plekhanov showed that n e m organically merged materialism and dialectical method, and that the Achilles heel of the pre-Marxian materialism is his lack of ideas.

In his works G. AT. Plekhanov emphasized the revolutionary nature of Marxist dialectics. Materialistic dialectics, claimed G. AT. Plekhanov, is a great inspiring force, it makes it possible to reveal the antagonisms of the existing bourgeois society, points to its transitory character, to its inevitable death. The Marxist dialectic does not tolerate stagnation, pattern, inertia, it requires constant growth and advance, it serves social progress, justifying great upheavals in the history of mankind, changing forms of social development. Dialectics - this "revolution algebra", - often repeating G. AT. Plekhanov famous words of Herzen. That is why, he said, pathetic philistines, reformists and revisionists, emasculating his "soul live" from Marxism, hate materialistic dialectics and try to replace it with all sorts of metaphysical concepts taken from the arsenal of bourgeois philosophy.

G. did a lot AT. Plekhanov to popularize the famous provisions of Marx from the preface "To the Critique of Political Economy", which outlined the foundations of historical materialism. He made a significant contribution to the rationale of the question of why the process of production and reproduction of the material conditions of society is the basis of social life. There is not a single problem of historical materialism that would not receive its coverage in the works of G. AT. Plekhanov a.

G. AT. Plekhanov criticized numerous enemies of the materialist understanding of history. With all his strength he defends the initial position of historical materialism that social being determines social consciousness. He shatters idealistic statements about the decisive role of "reason" in public life. Emphasizing the undoubted role of human intellectual abilities in the development of science and the creation of new instruments of production, Plekhanov, however, indicates that the measure of these abilities is determined by the level of development of productive forces, the nature of production relations in society.

Much attention G. AT. Plekhanov devoted the history of philosophy and the history of socio-political ideas. Plekhanov's encyclopedic erudition makes his works on questions of philosophy and sociology a rich storehouse of scientific thought. He was particularly interested in the history of materialistic ideas. The materialism of antiquity, the philosophy of Bacon, Spinoza, the 18th century French materialism, the teachings of Feuerbach, the materialistic views of Belinsky, Chernyshevsky received in his works in-depth coverage.

Plekhanov revealed the idealistic, anti-scientific character of the views of neo-Kantians, Machists, Bergsonians and many other bourgeois philosophers of the second half of the XIX century. This is the range of his many-sided studies on the history of philosophy.

Of great interest is the criticism of Plekhanov of contemporary bourgeois philosophy and sociology, which has not lost its relevance in our day. He showed the reactionary nature of the rejection by many bourgeois sociologists of the laws of social development, progress in society, spoke out against the metaphysical "theories" that established that historical phenomena are only individually and therefore cannot be the subject of scientific study and foresight. G. AT. Plekhanov brilliantly showed the inconsistency of the eclectic "theory of factors". Even today, many representatives of bourgeois sociology adhere to the "theory of factors", deny progress in society, repeat the old arguments, long ago disproved by G. AT. Plekhanov ohm.

With profound irony, he ridiculed every kind of contemporary "refuters" of materialism. And now many bourgeois philosophers and sociologists are stubbornly trying to "refute" materialism. In this field, even Mr. Dulles decided to test his strength. In his book, "War or Peace" it requires to do away with

materialism, " completely reject it " , because, they say, this theory is rough, not Prizna e t personality denies lofty ideals.

At one time, G. wrote wittily about similar " subversives " of materialism . AT. Plekhanov . He compared their idea of materialism with the reasoning of a certain titular counselor, who believed that the meaning of Darwin's theory was reduced to the outrageous position that she, a respectable official, was no more than a bonnet-like monkey. Apparently, Mr. Dulles has the same understanding of materialism as the titular counselor understands Darwin's theory.

How many other failed attempts have been made and are being made by bourgeois ideologues to weaken and overthrow Marx's teachings, how many spells are pronounced about the " obsolescence of Marxism " , about the " crisis of Marxist philosophy " , and so on! Most recently, the Italian newspaper " Messadzhero " broadcast that Russian de " it is necessary to have the courage to leave alone Marx and Lenin " .

Pathetic pygmies! They are trying to put their hands on the great revolutionary doctrine, the correctness of which is confirmed by life, the experience of history, especially the experience of the last forty years, the doctrine, under the banner of which hundreds of millions of people have united! ( *Applause* ).

Plekhanov's great ideological legacy is also on the theory of literature and art. His research in the field of art criticism is a major contribution to the development of the Marxist theory of aesthetics. And let them make a lot of mistakes in this area, if not always he is consistent in these works - his work on aesthetics, his struggle against decadent views, his analysis and popularization of the aesthetic views of Russian revolutionary democrats, his appreciation of the work of major Russian and Western European writers his criticism of the decadent bourgeois art of the late 19th - and early 20th - century are great ideological wealth.

Considering the problems of the theory of literature and art, G. AT. Plekhanov first of all proceeded from the fact that the scientific basis of this theory can only be a materialistic understanding of history. Plekhanov criticized bourgeois concepts about the " eternal " laws of art and literature. He demanded a class approach and historicism in aesthetic theory. He comprehensively substantiated the provisions on the indissoluble connection of literature and art with life, about the high social role of fiction and art. Plekhanov made serious demands on literary criticism, believing that it should be different in philosophical depth - to be scientific and at the same time journalistic in the best sense of the word, that is , to be relevant, to proceed from the needs of life, call forward , to express the point of view of advanced social forces and classes.

Not all e written G. AT. Plekhanov in dialectic and historical materialism is correct and has successfully passed the test of time. They made serious mistakes in the interpretation of certain issues . These include: an error regarding the notion of " experience " , expressed in confusing understanding of experience with materialism and empirio-criticism, an error in likening sensations to hieroglyphs, which brought to the Marxist theory of knowledge certain elements of agnosticism. Major lack of work G. AT. Plekhanov and on the issues of materialistic dialectics is his misunderstanding of dialectics as the logic and theory of knowledge of Marxism, insufficient underlining of the meaning of Marxist dialectics as a science, insufficient attention to the problems of modern natural science. As you know, in front of Marxist philosophy in the late 19th - and early 20th - century faced with new issues related to the revolution in natural science, to new discoveries in the field of the structure, and so on. Etc. The rapid process of the development of science was accompanied by the breaking of the old concepts and ideas. . Su e is the required new generalizations from the point of view of dialectical materialism. Unfortunately, G. AT. Plekhanov did not pay attention to these questions, walked past them.

The Marxist answer to all the epistemological questions posed in connection with the revolution in natural science, a comprehensive criticism of the so-called " physical idealism " , an unfolded materialistic generalization of everything that natural science gave for the entire period after the death of Marx and Engels, was given by V. I. Lenin , who developed program of purification of science from idealistic perversions. A new stage in the development of dialectical materialism in the post-Marxian era is associated with the name of the great Lenin.



The works of Plekhanov for 20 years, starting with the formation of the Emancipation of Labor group until the II congress of the RSDLP, played a significant role not only in Russian, but also in the international labor movement. At the time, the authority of G. AT. Plekhanov was very tall. In his face, Engels saw the ardent defender of the ideas of Marxism, a herald of scientific socialism on Russian soil. G. AT. Plekhanov and F. Engels knew each other personally, were in correspondence with each other.

Engels was interested in the works of G. AT. Plekhanov, in the last years of his life, read them both in translation and in Russian. He was familiar with his works. "Socialism and political struggle", "Our disagreements", "On the development of a monistic view of history", etc. Engels was also interested in translating his articles into foreign languages. He recommended to the Bulgarian comrades who published the collection "Social Democrat" to translate and print in Bulgarian some works of G. AT. Plekhanov.

Name G. AT. Plekhanov belongs not only to the Russian working class, it is known to the advanced strata of the working people of all countries. His work against the German and French opportunists, against the Bernsteinians and Millerandists, against the anarchists, against the reactionary bourgeois philosophical views that had spread in England and in France, in Germany and Italy, made him widely known among the social democrats of European countries in the 90s of the 19th century and in the early years of the 20th century. He was personally acquainted and conducted an active correspondence with Jules Guesde and Zhores, with Labriola and Lafargue, with Wilhelm Liebknecht and Bebel, with Kautsky and Eleonora Marx, with Mehring and Rosa Luxemburg, with Clara Zetkin and D. Blagoev and many other figures of the international labor movement.

Thanks to Plekhanov and his participation in the series of international congresses of the Second International, Russian Social Democracy was associated with European Social Democratic parties. The undoubted merit of G. AT. Plekhanov is his role in strengthening the international ties of the Russian and Western Social Democrats.

After the II Party Congress G. AT. Plekhanov begins to lose his position as one of the authoritative leaders of Russian Social Democracy. His hesitations and wastes from revolutionary Marxism, his transition to the position of opportunism in tactics, which culminate in a defensive position during the First World War and a negative attitude to the Great October Socialist Revolution, begin.

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## MENSHEVISTIC PERIOD IN THE ACTIVITY OF G. V. PLEKHANOV

Chronological date - 1903 city of - the beginning of the fall political G. AT. Plekhanov is by no means accidental. It was at this time begins to escalate the whole situation in Russia, there comes a band of revolutionary action by the working class, the Sun g more clearly felt the approach of a great revolutionary storm in the country.

During this period, when life inevitably require the transition to a direct revolutionary action, when the social-democracy in the sun e more specific arose revolutionary tasks and the need to organize the struggle of the masses, G. AT. Plekhanov begins to pass.

Plekhanov, who was for many years in exile, divorced from the Russian reality, accustomed to arms theoretical polemics and who did not know the true feelings of the working masses in Russia, leaving little revolutionary e, and he entirely e noticeable shifts to opportunistic position. He was familiar with the working-class movement in Russia at a time when it still was not widespread and was of mostly spontaneous, when the party still existed. In the early 20 - th century no longer knew Plekhanov Russian workers and peasants did not understand the enormous changes that have occurred in their minds for the past one and a half - two decades. He was also cut

off from the Social Democratic organizations, grown up in work centers in Russia. He did not understand that the center of the international labor movement had moved to Russia, that history had set the greatest revolutionary tasks before the Russian working class.

This deep mind, the Marxist theorist, was helpless in the face of developing revolutionary events. His performances in the press entirely more penetrating theoretical resonant. They are entirely more cut off from life. So more and more felt inability G. AT. Plekhanov applied the Marxist dialectic to revolutionary reality.

When the theoretical preparation of the social democratic movement was primarily developed in Russia, G. AT. Plekhanov acted fully armed. When the working class of Russia came up against the task of revolutionary action, Plekhanov was not up to par. He continued to remain only a theorist and propagandist, at a time when the labor movement demanded from its leaders not only theorists, but also the organizers of the masses, political commanders.

In this political leader, military leader of the revolutionary workers' movement, perfectly combines the full depth theoretical analysis, and organizer of genius, made by V. I. Lenin - the political leader and head of the working class of a new era of social development. (*Applause*).

The erroneous political positions of Plekhanov after the Second Congress of the RSDLP and his opportunistic views were primarily the result of his failing to understand the nature of the new era, the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, the lack of understanding of the revolutionary tasks of the labor movement, and the significance of the proletariat's leadership as a bourgeois democratic as well as socialist revolution. A new era in public life, which came in the late 19th - and early 20th - century, meant extreme aggravation of all the contradictions of capitalist society. With all the inexorability, she posed new and important problems to the workers, both in matters of policy and tactics of the labor movement, and in the field of Marxist theory. New perspectives opened up before the working class, the revolutionary movement was rising to a higher level. These questions raised by life itself could only be solved on the basis of the creative application of Marxism. The world historical merit of the Russian and world proletariat belongs to V.I. Lenin, who was a great creative successor of Marxism in the new era!

Although V. I. Lenin in the early 20th century still did not give a comprehensive analysis of imperialism (as we know, he did later, in 1916), but all his works from the beginning of this century have already imbued with a sense of a new era, awareness of new laws of social development, understanding the severity of class antagonisms. Hence the struggle of V.I. Lenin for the party of a new type, hence the Leninist theory of the socialist revolution, his theory of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry under the guidance of the working class, hence the further comprehensive development of the Marxist doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

G. AT. Plekhanov, however, did not understand the new historical epoch, the new tasks of the working class, in fact remained in its old positions. Its conciliation at the Mensheviks soon after the II Congress of the Party, for its concessions in connection with the line taken them to transfer into the hands of the Menshevik newspaper "Iskra", discrepancies occurring between V. I. Lenin and G. AT. Plekhanov on software issues, began to join the biggest differences with the Bolsheviks on the fundamental issues of tactics in connection with the outbreak of the 1905 revolution.

Position occupied by G. AT. Plekhanov on the question of the driving forces of the Russian revolution, was fundamentally erroneous and caused great harm to the labor movement. He did not understand the identity and characteristics of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia takes place under conditions of acute class struggle, when there are more developed proletariat, than was the case during the period of the bourgeois revolutions of the 19th - century in the West. Plekhanov, like all the Mensheviks, schematically approached the question of the driving forces of the revolution, the conclusions of the leading role in it the liberal bourgeoisie of the general of the bourgeois character of the revolution, thereby relegating the role of the

proletariat to the role of a simple accomplice. Like fire, Plekhanov was afraid that the proletariat would not scare the liberal bourgeoisie from the revolution, which would die without it, by its revolutionary nature. This was actually the line of subordination of the proletarian movement to the liberal bourgeoisie.

The line of the Bolsheviks, the line of Lenin, was fundamentally different. I. Lenin made the most important provisions that the proletariat can and must play the role of the leader of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia and, as the hegemon of this revolution, can and should lead the broad masses of the peasantry, which is its ally. He put forward a brilliant statement about the transformation of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. The profound theoretical and political substantiation of these fundamentally new installations by V.I. Lenin was a model of creative Marxism, a brilliant development of Marxist theory.

G. AT. Plekhanov did not understand and did not appreciate the role of the peasantry in the upcoming bourgeois-democratic, and then socialist revolution, did not see the potential revolutionary opportunities that lurked in the struggle of the peasantry for will and land. He did not understand that in the new historical conditions the peasantry from the bourgeois reserve, as it was before, became a natural ally of the proletariat.

The greatest merit of V.I. Lenin lies in the fact that he advanced and substantiated the doctrine of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry under the leadership of the working class in the struggle for the bourgeois-democratic, and then the socialist revolution. The experience of the revolution in Russia, the building of socialism in the USSR, the experience of the countries of people's democracy in Europe and Asia shows that if the Marxist-Leninist party tirelessly follows the precepts of V. I. Lenin, it constantly strengthens the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, it wins victories, seeks serious success in socialist construction. It is necessary to go off this path, break the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, bring to oblivion the need to constantly strengthen it. failures, breakdowns become inevitable.

After the temporary defeat of the revolution, a period of reaction began. In these difficult years (1908 -1912 years.) Plekhanov shows fluctuations between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks, repeatedly moving away from the Mensheviks. When views began to spread that supposedly it was time to liquidate the underground organizations of the party, Plekhanov, leading the group of so-called " Menshevik Party members, " sharply spoke out against liquidationism. In the period of growth of decadent moods, ideological waverings G. AT. Plekhanov again raises the banner of the struggle for materialism. During these years he wrote the work " Militant Materialism " , " Fundamental Problems of Marxism " , article on Chernyshevsky, Tolstoy, against the religious quest.

Later, after a certain positive role in the struggle against Machism, against liquidationism, G. AT. Plekhanov and there is a new, grave political fall. He committed a direct betrayal of the cause of the working class in 1914, when, not understanding the imperialist nature of the war, he began to preach the slogan of " defending the fatherland " that was reactionary at the time, when he retreated from the principles of proletarian internationalism. The Bolsheviks took the only correct position in relation to the imperialist war. This was a consistent position, until the end of proletarian internationalism. The experience of history has clearly shown that any deviation from the principles of proletarian internationalism costs the labor movement a lot of sacrifice and blood. The experience of history testifies to the great righteousness of Lenin, who defended the principles of proletarian internationalism.

When in 1917 the most crucial period in the history of Russia came, when the workers and peasants were called upon to tell their decisive word about the fate of their homeland, when the masses under the leadership of the Bolshevik party headed by V.I. Lenin rushed into the battle for the overthrow of capitalist society, to the struggle against imperialism, when the workers and peasants inscribed the most magnificent in the history of Russia and all of humanity with their heroic feat in accomplishing the Great October Socialist Revolution Page, G. AT. Plekhanov was among the opponents of the October Revolution.

That same G. AT. Plekhanov, who, in the years 1883–1903, spoke so remarkably about the strength of the masses, about the imminent victory of the workers' revolution in Russia, which with ardent anger and

revolutionary intolerance destroyed revisionists, Bernsteinists, struvists and other defenders of bourgeois society, turned away from the workers and peasants. Plekhanov did not understand the October Revolution heralded "death" of the revolution, spoke of untimely socialist revolution in Russia, e.g. irregularities.

Such is the deepest tragedy of a man who, having devoted his life to a revolutionary cause, found himself in the unforgettable October days aloof from the revolution!

You can not move a single step from revolutionary Marxism, without passing the working class position, correctly argued in his time Plekhanov. On the other hand, he said, it is impossible to deviate from the position of the proletariat in politics or tactics, without altering, in the final analysis, the worldview of Marxism.

Plekhanov himself - in all its activities, e.g. a beautiful take-off in the years 1883 - 1903, in the fall in 1905 - 1907 years, in a. The rise in 1908 - 1912 years. and a deep fall in 1914 - 1917 years. - is a clear confirmation of the correctness of the Marxist provisions put forward by him about the organic connection between theory and practice, the connection between philosophy and politics.

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Comrades! It is well known with what respect and love attitude V. I. Lenin to G. AT. Plekhanov at. Despite sharp disputes and discrepancies with him on issues of principle, V. I. Lenin sought to preserve him for the party, making considerable efforts to keep him from sucking in Menshevik quagmire.

Never V. I. Lenin did not put G. AT. Plekhanov, on the same footing with his other ideological opponents, highly valued in Plekhanov his mind, his vast knowledge, his struggle for Marxist philosophy.

Of great interest is in connection with the letter V. I. Lenin and G. AT. Plekhanov have written to them on the occasion of the base in the fall of 1905 in St. Petersburg legal Social Democratic newspaper "New Life". Lenin is trying to convince Plekhanov in view of the revolutionary events in Russia and the availability of ground for "common work" to enter the editorial board of this newspaper.

In his letter to V. I. Lenin writes about the mind "at abnormality" that the best strength to Russian. "The village stands apart from the work" (Lenin, Vol. 344, p. 314).

Referring to Plekhanov, Vladimir I. Lenin emphasizes that in modern conditions "politically separate us now would be highly undesirable, it is inappropriate, extremely harmful for social democracy" (ibid, p. 315). At such a moment, that Russia is experiencing continued Vladimir I. Lenin, "your vast knowledge and vast political experience terrible need Russian proletariat" (ibid, p. 316). So convinced V. I. Lenin, Plekhanov did not depart from the general revolutionary work. Unfortunately, G. AT. Plekhanov, influenced by his Menshevik friends, influenced by the leaders of the Second International, did not heed the proposal of V. I. Lenin and did not even respond to his letter.

In December 1906, when the most controversial controversy between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks took place, Lenin noted that the theoretical works of Plekhanov "mainly criticizing the Narodniks and the opportunists — remain a firm acquisition of p. - D. of the whole of Russia, and no "factionalism" will blind a person who has at least some kind of "physical mental strength", until the importance of these acquisitions is forgotten or denied" (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 11, p. 375).

In subsequent years, V. I. Lenin, sharply criticizing Menshevik opportunism G. AT. Plekhanov, also repeatedly noted his inability to apply the Marxist dialectic to reality, despite Plekhanov's constant references to it. After the disastrous 1914, when Plekhanov took up a defensive position, V. I. Lenin drastically changed his attitude towards him. However, even during these years he did not cease to appreciate highly the works of Plekhanov in the first period of his activity, especially his philosophical works.

In 1921, describing the work as a whole philosophy of Plekhanov, Vladimir I. Lenin wrote: "... it seems to me appropriate to note for the younger members of the party that you can not become conscious, a

*real communist without having to learn - just study - Sun g*, written by Plekhanov in philosophy, for it is the best in all the international literature of Marxism ” (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 32, p. 73).

In the present historical period, when socialism has become a mighty force when the developed world socialist system has entirely g greater impact on the entire course of human history, when the Marxist doctrine celebrates its greatest victories, the name of the first promoter of Marxist ideas in Russia - G. AT. Plekhanov and we remember with special respect and warmth.

Now, when the imperialist reaction convulsively seeks to delay the forward course of history and unfolds one after another monstrous slanderous campaigns against the forces of socialism, against the USSR and the countries of people's democracy, when the dark forces of imperialism organized a counter-revolutionary rebellion in Hungary and aggression against Egypt, once again showing an animal grin colonialism and the counter-revolution, - it is impossible not to recall the beautiful words of Plekhanov, tell them in his time: " to try to slow the modern socialist movement considerable make the most grievous sin against humanity and culture " (Plekhanov, Soch., vol. the XI, p. 61).

Created by V.I. Lenin and his battle colleagues, our party has traveled a glorious and heroic path. No ordeal, no enemy attacks did not diminish the revolutionary spirit, e g a will to win. On the contrary, they strengthened and hardened it as the militant vanguard of the people.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, our country became a powerful socialist power, a haven of peace in the sun e m the world, a beacon of hope and all the oppressed ! ( *Applause* ).

The revolutionary, liberation ideas of Marxism, raised by V.I. Lenin , by the whole activity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to a new, highest level, are invincible!

The Marxist-Leninist teaching lives and flourishes as the most advanced worldview of mankind, as the ideology of freeing the working people from all types of economic, social and spiritual enslavement.

The great achievements of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in a wise activity of the Communist Party of China, in the affairs of the communist and workers' parties of other socialist countries, in the heroic struggle of Communist Party of France, Italy and other countries of the Marxist-Leninist theory creatively enriched, develops, Sun e longer turning into a mighty a unifying force for all fighters for peace, socialism and freedom of nations! ( *A fruit* ).

Long live the immortal teachings of Marx - Lenin, illuminating the people the path to peace and socialism! ( *Applause* ).

Long live the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union — the faithful keeper of the revolutionary traditions of our people, a consistent fighter for the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism! ( *Prolonged applause* .)