

Vogeler, Heinrich

"Das neue Leben. Ein kommunistisches Manifest".
(*'The New Life. A Communist Manifesto'*)
Verlag Steegemann; Hannover; 1919.

"Das neue Leben. Ein kommunistisches Manifest"; in: "Ausgewählte Schriften zur proletarischen Revolution und Kunst". Herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Dieter Pforte.
(*'The New Life. A Communist Manifesto'*; in: *'Selected Writings on the Proletarian Revolution and Art'*. Edited with an Introduction by Dieter Pforte).
Luchterhand Verlag; Darmstadt und Neuwied; 1973; 269 pages.

"Über den Expressionismus der Liebe"
(*'Concerning the Expressionism of Love'*)
Verlag Steegemann; Hannover; 1919.

"Über den Expressionismus der Liebe"; in: "Das neue Leben. Ein kommunistisches Manifest. Ausgewählte Schriften zur proletarischen Revolution und Kunst". Herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Dieter Pforte.
(*'Concerning the Expressionism of Love'*; in: *'The New Life. A Communist Manifesto; Selected Writings on the Proletarian Revolution and Art'*. Edited with an Introduction by Dieter Pforte).
Luchterhand Verlag; Darmstadt und Neuwied; 1973; 269 pages.

"Siedlungswesen und Arbeitsschule"
(*'Community Life and the Labour School'*)
Verlag Steegemann; Hannover; 1919.

"Siedlungswesen und Arbeitsschule"; in: "Das neue Leben. Ein kommunistisches Manifest. Ausgewählte Schriften zur proletarischen Revolution und Kunst". Herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Dieter Pforte.
(*'Community Life and the Labour School'*; in: *'The New Life. A Communist Manifesto; Selected Writings on the Proletarian Revolution and Art'*. Edited with an Introduction by Dieter Pforte).
Luchterhand Verlag; Darmstadt und Neuwied; 1973; 269 pages.

"Proletkult. Kunst und Kultur in der kommunistischen Gesellschaft".
(*'Proletcult. Art and Culture in a Communist Society'*)
Verlag Steegemann; Hannover; 1920.

"Proletkult. Kunst und Kultur in der kommunistischen Gesellschaft"; in: "Literatur im Klassenkampf. Zur proletarisch-revolutionären Literaturtheorie, 1919-1923. Eine Dokumentation von Walter Fähnders und Martin Rector". (Auszüge).
(*'Proletcult. Art and Culture in a Communist Society'*; in: *'Literature in the Class Struggle. Concerning Revolutionary Proletarian Literary Theory, 1919-1923. A Collection of Documents by Walter Fähnders and Martin Rector'*. [Excerpts only]).
Carl Hanser Verlag; München; 1971; 238 pages.

"Proletkult. Kunst und Kultur in der kommunistischen Gesellschaft"; in: "Das neue Leben. Ein kommunistisches Manifest. Ausgewählte Schriften zur proletarischen Revolution und Kunst". Herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Dieter Pforte. (Vollständig).
(*'Proletcult. Art and Culture in a Communist Society'*; in: *'The New Life. A Communist Manifesto; Selected Writings on the Proletarian Revolution and Art'*. Edited with an Introduction by Dieter Pforte. [Complete]).
Luchterhand Verlag; Darmstadt und Neuwied; 1973; 269 pages.

"Die Arbeitsschule als Aufbauzelle der klassenlosen menschlichen Gesellschaft";
(*'The Labour School as Germinal Cell of the Classless Human Society'*)
Verlag Hanf; Hamburg; 1921.

"Kommune Barkenhoff"; in: "Das neue Leben. Ein kommunistisches Manifest. Ausgewählte Schriften zur proletarischen Revolution und Kunst". Herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Dieter Pforte. (Auszug).
(*'The Barkenhoff Commune'* in: *'The New Life. A Communist Manifesto; Selected Writings on the Proletarian Revolution and Art'*. Edited with an Introduction by Dieter Pforte. [Excerpt only]).
Luchterhand Verlag; Darmstadt und Neuwied; 1973; 269 pages.

"Reise durch Russland. Die Geburt des neuen Menschen"
(*'Journey through Russia. The Birth of the New Human Being'*)
Verlag Reissner; Dresden; 1925.

"Reise durch Russland. Die Geburt des neuen Menschen".
Mit einem Text von Jan Vogeler und einem Nachwort von Dieter Pforte.
(*'Journey through Russia. The Birth of the New Human Being'*. With Text by Jan Vogeler and a Postscript by Dieter Pforte)
Anabas Verlag; Wissmar; 1974; 150 pages.

Wolfheim, Fritz

"Betriebsorganisation oder Gewerkschaft ?"
(*'Factory Organisation or Trades Union ?'*)
Hamburg; 1919.

"Betriebsorganisation oder Gewerkschaft ?"; in: "Die Linke gegen die Parteiherrschaft". Herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Fritz Kool.
(*'Factory Organisation or Trades Union ?'*; in: *'The Lefts against Party Domination'*. Dokumente der Weltrevolution III).
Walter Verlag; Freiburg-im-Breisgau; 1970; 640 pages.

Congress Reports, Programmatic Documents;
Appeals and Anonymous Articles

"An die linksradikalen Ortsgruppen und Genossen !"; in:
"Arbeiterpolitik"; II. Jahrgang (1917); Nr. 30.
(*'To the Left-Radical Branches and Comrades !'*; in:
"Arbeiterpolitik [*'Workers' Politics'*]; Year II (1917); No. 30).

"Die Allgemeine Arbeiterunion Deutschlands - Revolutionäre Betriebsorganisation". Herausgegeben vom Wirtschaftsbezirk Gross-Berlin der KAPD.
(*'The General Workers' Union of Germany - A Revolutionary Factory Organisation'*. Issued by the Greater Berlin Industrial District of the KAPD).
Verlag der KAPD; Berlin; 1921; 48 pages.

"Die Allgemeine Arbeiterunion Deutschlands - Revolutionäre Betriebsorganisation". Herausgegeben von der Aktionsgruppe der Rätekommunisten.
(*'The General Workers' Union of Germany - A Revolutionary Factory Organisation'*. Issued by the Action Group of Council Communists).
Berlin; 1969; 48 pages.

"An die Freunde und Mitglieder des Proletarischen Theaters !"; in:
"Kommunistische Arbeiter-Zeitung"; Berlin; Jahrgang II (1921) No. 209
(*'To the Friends and Members of the Proletarian Theatre !'*; in:
"Communist Workers' Daily"; Berlin; Year II (1921); No. 209).

"An die Freunde und Mitglieder des Proletarischen Theaters ! " in:
 "Literatur im Klassenkampf. Zur proletarisch-revolutionären
 Literaturtheorie, 1919-1923. Eine Dokumentation von Walter Fähnders
 und Martin Rector".
 ('To the Friends and Members of the Proletarian Theatre ! in:
 'Literature in the Class Struggle. Concerning Revolutionary
 Proletarian Literary Theory, 1919-1923.
 A Collection of Documents by Walter Fähnders and Martin Rector').
 Carl Hanser Verlag; München; 1971; 238 pages.

"An die linksradikalen Ortsgruppen und Genossen ! " In:
 "Arbeiterpolitik" ['Workers' Politics']; Jahrgang II (1917); Nr. 30.
 ('To the Left-Radical Branches and Comrades ! ' In:
 'Arbeiterpolitik' ['Workers' Politics']; Year II [1917]; No. 30)

"Aufruf der Bremer und Hamburger Linksradikalen vom Juli 1917"; in:
 "Syndikalismus und Linkskommunismus von 1918 bis 1923. Zur Geschichte
 und Soziologie der Freien Arbeiterunion Deutschlands (Syndicalisten),
 der Allgemeinen Arbeiterunion Deutschlands und der Kommunistischen
 Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands", von Hans Manfred Bock.
 ('To the Left-Radical Branches and Comrades ! ' In: 'Syndicalism and
 Left Communism from 1918 to 1923. On the History and Sociology of the
 'Freie Arbeiterunion Deutschlands' ['Free Workers' Union of
 Germany'], the 'Allgemeine Arbeiterunion Deutschlands' ['General
 Workers' Union of Germany'] and the 'Kommunistische Arbeiterpartei
 Deutschlands' ['Communist Workers' Party of Germany']', by Hans
 Manfred Bock.
 Hain Verlag; Meisenheim/Glan; 1969.

"Aufruf des Gründungsparteitages der 'Kommunistischen Arbeiterpartei
 Deutschlands' (KAPD) am 4. und 5. April 1920 in Berlin".
 In "Syndikalismus und Linkskommunismus von 1918 bis 1923. Zur
 Geschichte und Soziologie der Freien Arbeiterunion Deutschlands
 (Syndicalisten), der Allgemeinen Arbeiterunion Deutschlands und der
 Kommunistischen Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands", von Hans Manfred Bock.
 ('Appeal of the Founding Congress of the 'Communist Workers' Party
 of Germany' on 4th. and 5th. April 1920 in Berlin'. In:
 'Syndicalism and Left Communism from 1918 to 1923. On the History
 and Sociology of the Freie Arbeiterunion Deutschlands
 ['Free Workers' Union of Germany'], the Allgemeine Arbeiterunion
 Deutschlands ['General Workers' Union of Germany'] and the
 Kommunistische Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands ['Communist Workers'
 Party of Germany']', by Hans Manfred Bock).
 Hain Verlag; Meisenheim/Glan; 1969.

"Aus den Richtlinien der Allgemeinen Arbeiterunion Deutschlands".
 In : "Syndikalismus und Linkskommunismus von 1918 bis 1923. Zur
 Geschichte und Soziologie der Freien Arbeiterunion Deutschlands
 (Syndicalisten), der Allgemeinen Arbeiterunion Deutschlands und der
 Kommunistischen Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands", von Hans Manfred Bock.
 ('From the Guiding Principles of the General Workers' Union
 of Germany'; in: 'Syndicalism and Left Communism from 1918 to 1923.
 On the History and Sociology of the 'Freie Arbeiterunion
 Deutschlands' ['Free Workers' Union of Germany'], the 'Allgemeine
 Arbeiterunion Deutschlands' ['General Workers' Union of Germany']
 and the 'Kommunistische Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands' ['Communist
 Workers' Party of Germany']', by Hans Manfred Bock).
 Hain Verlag; Meisenheim/Glan; 1969.

"Ein Brief über proletarischer Kultur"; in: "Kommunistische
 Arbeiterzeitung"; Berlin; Jahrgang I (1920); Nr. 131.
 ('A Letter concerning Proletarian Culture'; in: 'Communist Workers'
 Daily'; Berlin; Year I [1920]; No. 131).

"Ein Brief über proletarischer Kultur"; in: "Literatur im
 Klassenkampf. Zur proletarisch-revolutionären Literaturtheorie,
 1919-1923. Eine Dokumentation von Walter Fähnders und Martin Rector".
 ('A Letter concerning Proletarian Culture'; in:
 'Literature in the Class Struggle. Concerning Revolutionary
 Proletarian Literary Theory, 1919-1923.
 A Collection of Documents by Walter Fähnders and Martin Rector').
 Carl Hanser Verlag; München; 1971; 238 pages.

"Leitsätze der Kommunistischen Arbeiterinternationale"; in:
 "Kommunistische Arbeiterzeitung (Essener Richtung)"; Jahrgang I
 (1920); Nr. 1.
 ('Policy Directives of the Communist Workers' International'; in:
 'Kommunistische Arbeiterzeitung [Essen Tendency]' ['Communist
 Workers' Daily' (Essen Tendency)]; Year I; 1920; No. 1).

"Leitsätze der Kommunistischen Arbeiterinternationale"; in:
 "Syndikalismus und Linkskommunismus von 1918 bis
 1923. Zur Geschichte und Soziologie der Freien Arbeiterunion
 Deutschlands (Syndicalisten), der Allgemeinen Arbeiterunion
 Deutschlands und der Kommunistischen Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands",
 von Hans Manfred Bock.
 ('Policy Directives of the Communist Workers' International'; in:
 'Syndicalism and Left Communism from 1918 to 1923.
 On the History and Sociology of the 'Freie Arbeiterunion
 Deutschlands' ['Free Workers' Union of Germany'], the 'Allgemeine
 Arbeiterunion Deutschlands' ['General Workers' Union of Germany']
 and the 'Kommunistische Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands' ['Communist
 Workers' Party of Germany']', by Hans Manfred Bock).
 Hain Verlag; Meisenheim/Glan; 1969.

"Leitsätze über die Rolle der Partei in der proletarischen
 Revolution"; in: "Proletarier. Monatsschrift für Kommunismus";
 Jahrgang I (1921); Heft 7.
 ('Policy Directives concerning the Role of the Party in the
 Proletarian Revolution'; in: 'Proletarians. Monthly Journal
 for Communism'; Year I [1921]; No. 7).

"Leitsätze über die Rolle der Partei in der proletarischen
 Revolution"; in: "Selbstkritik des Kommunismus". Herausgegeben von
 Günther Hillmann.
 ('Policy Directives concerning the Role of the Party in the
 Proletarian Revolution'; in: 'Communism's Self-Criticism'. Edited by
 Günther Hillmann).
 Rowohlt Verlag, Texte der Opposition; Reinbek-bei-Hamburg;
 1967; 252 pages.

"Nieder mit dem bürgerlichen Parlament ! Alle Macht den Räten ! "
 Herausgegeben von der KAPD-AAUD.
 ('Down with the Bourgeois Parliament ! All Power to the Councils ! "
 Issued by the KAPD-AAUD).
 Buchhandlung für Literatur und Antiquariat; Berlin; 1924".

"Nieder mit dem bürgerlichen Parlament ! Alle Macht den Räten ! ";
 in: "Nieder mit dem bürgerlichen Parlament ! Alle Macht den Räten !
 Wählen oder nicht Wählen ? Zwei Flugschriften der Kommunistischen
 Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands".
 ('Down with the Bourgeois Parliament ! All Power to the Councils ! "
 in: 'Down with the Bourgeois Parliament ! All Power to the Councils !
 To Vote or Not To Vote ?' Two Leaflets of the Communist Workers'
 Party).
 European Underground Press Syndicate; Marburg-an-der-Lahn; 1969;
 18 pages.

"Programm der Kommunistischen Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands".
(*'Programme of the Communist Workers' Party of Germany'*)
KAPD; Berlin; 1920; 16 pages.

"Programm der Kommunistischen Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands"; in:
"Syndikalismus und Linkskommunismus von 1918 bis
1923. Zur Geschichte und Soziologie der Freien Arbeiterunion
Deutschlands (Syndicalisten), der Allgemeinen Arbeiterunion
Deutschlands und der Kommunistischen Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands",
von Hans Manfred Bock.
(*'Programme of the Communist Workers' Party of Germany'*; in:
'Syndicalism and Left Communism from 1918 to 1923.
On the History and Sociology of the 'Freie Arbeiterunion
Deutschlands' ['Free Workers' Union of Germany'], the 'Allgemeine
Arbeiterunion Deutschlands' ['General Workers' Union of Germany']
and the 'Kommunistische Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands' ['Communist
Workers' Party of Germany']'), by Hans Manfred Bock).
Hain Verlag; Meisenheim/Glan; 1969.

"Proletarisches Theater"; in: "Proletarier. Monatsschrift für
Kommunismus"; Jahrgang I (1921); Heft 7.
(*'The Proletarian Theatre'*; in: 'Proletarians. Monthly Journal for
Communism'; Year I [1921]; No. 7).

"Proletarisches Theater"; in: "Literatur im Klassenkampf.
Zur proletarisch-revolutionären Literaturtheorie, 1919-1923.
Eine Dokumentation von Walter Fähnders und Martin Rector". (Auszug)
(*'The Proletarian Theatre'*; in: 'Literature in the Class Struggle.
Concerning Revolutionary Proletarian Literary Theory, 1919-1923.
A Collection of Documents by Walter Fähnders and
Martin Rector'). (Excerpt Only)
Carl Hanser Verlag; München; 1971; 238 pages.

"Proletarier Deutschlands ! Tretet ein in die Allgemeine
Arbeiterunion, die deutsche Organisation des 'Verbandes der
Industriearbeiter der Welt'; in: "Kommunistische Arbeiterzeitung";
Hamburg; Jahrgang I (1919); Nr. 104.
(*'Proletarians of Germany ! Enroll in the General Workers Union, the
German Organisation of the "Industrial Workers of the World"*; in:
'Kommunistische Arbeiterzeitung' ['Communist Workers' Daily'];
Hamburg; Year I [1919]; No. 104).

"Proletarier Deutschlands ! Tretet ein in die Allgemeine
Arbeiterunion, die deutsche Organisation des 'Verbandes der
Industriearbeiter der Welt'; in: "Syndikalismus und Linkskommunismus
von 1918 bis 1923. Zur Geschichte und Soziologie der Freien
Arbeiterunion Deutschlands (Syndicalisten), der Allgemeinen
Arbeiterunion Deutschlands und der Kommunistischen Arbeiterpartei
Deutschlands", von Hans Manfred Bock.
(*'Proletarians of Germany ! Enroll in the General Workers Union, the
German Organisation of the "Industrial Workers of the World"*; in:
'Syndicalism and Left Communism from 1918 to 1923.
On the History and Sociology of the 'Freie Arbeiterunion
Deutschlands' ['Free Workers' Union of Germany'], the 'Allgemeine
Arbeiterunion Deutschlands' ['General Workers' Union of Germany']
and the 'Kommunistische Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands' ['Communist
Workers' Party of Germany']'), by Hans Manfred Bock).
Hain Verlag; Meisenheim/Glan; 1969.

"Richtlinien für die Allgemeine Arbeiterunion (Einheitsorganisation);
in: "Die Aktion", Jahrgang II (1921); Nr. 41-42.
(*'Guiding Principles for the General Workers' Union
[Unified Organisation]*; in: "'Die Aktion' ['Action']";
Year II [1921]; Nos. 41-42).

"Richtlinien für die Allgemeine Arbeiterunion (Einheitsorganisation);
in: "Syndikalismus und Linkskommunismus von 1918 bis 1923.
Zur Geschichte und Soziologie der Freien Arbeiterunion Deutschlands
(Syndicalisten), der Allgemeinen Arbeiterunion Deutschlands und der
Kommunistischen Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands", von Hans Manfred Bock.
(*'Guiding Principles for the General Workers' Union
[Unified Organisation]*; in: 'Syndicalism and Left Communism from 1918
to 1923. On the History and Sociology of the 'Freie Arbeiterunion
Deutschlands' ['Free Workers' Union of Germany'], the 'Allgemeine
Arbeiterunion Deutschlands' ['General Workers' Union of Germany']
and the 'Kommunistische Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands' ['Communist
Workers' Party of Germany']'), by Hans Manfred Bock).
Hain Verlag; Meisenheim/Glan; 1969.

"Thesen über den Bolschewismus"; in: "Rätekorrespondenz.
Theoretisches und Diskussionsorgan für die Rätebewegung. Ausgabe der
Gruppe Internationale Kommunisten Holland". Jahrgang I (1934); Nr. 3.
(*'Theses on Bolshevism'*; in: 'Council Correspondence. Theoretical and
Discussion Organ for the Council Movement. Edition of the Group of
International Communists of Holland'. Year I [1934]; No. 3)).

"Thesen über den Bolschewismus".
(*'Theses on Bolshevism'*).
Kollektiv-Verlag; Without Year (c. 1971); 62 pages.

"Thesen über den Bolschewismus"; in: "Die Roten Kämpfer. Ein Beitrag
zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung in der Weimarer Republik und im
Dritten Reich", von Olaf Ihlau. (Auszüge).
(*'Theses on Bolshevism'*; in: 'The Red Fighters. A Contribution to the
History of the Workers Movement in the Weimar Republic and in the
Third Reich', by Olaf Ihlau. [Excerpts Only] [Second Printing 1971]).

"Wählen oder nicht Wählen". Flugschrift der Kommunistischen Partei
Deutschlands". Berlin; 1920.
(*'To Vote or not To Vote'*; Leaflet of the Communist Party of Germany')
Berlin; 1920.

"Wählen oder nicht Wählen"; in: "Nieder mit dem bürgerlichen
Parlament ! Alle Macht den Räten ! Wählen oder nicht Wählen ?
Zwei Flugschriften der Kommunistischen Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands".
(*'To Vote or not To Vote'*; in: 'Down with the Bourgeois Parliament !
All Power to the Councils ! To Vote or Not To Vote ?'
Two Leaflets of the Communist Workers' Party').
European Underground Press Syndicate; Marburg-an-der-Lahn; 1969;
18 pages.

TECHNICAL SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Symbols employed in Formulae

- p = Labour-hours embodied in fixed means of production (individual establishments).
- c = Labour-hours embodied in circulating means of production (individual establishments).
- l = Labour-hours embodied in labour expended (individual establishments).
- P = Labour-hours embodied in fixed means of production (industrial sector).
- C = Labour-hours embodied in circulating means of production (industrial sector).
- L = Labour-hours embodied in labour expended (industrial sector).
- Pt = Labour-hours embodied in fixed means of production expended at the level of the total economy.
- Ct = Labour-hours embodied in circulating means of production expended at the level of the total economy.
- Lt = Labour-hours embodied in labour expended at the level of the total economy.
- Pu = Labour-hours embodied in fixed means of production expended by public (GSU) establishments.
- Cu = Labour-hours embodied in circulating means of production expended by public (GSU) establishments.
- Lu = Labour-hours embodied in labour expended by public (GSU) establishments.
- D = Labour-hours debited to GSU budget and charged against FIC on account of contribution made by productive establishment sector (Mixed Industrial Establishments) to reproductive accumulation in public (GSU) sector.
- G = Labour-hours credited to productive establishment sector (Mixed Industrial Establishments) and deducted from total charged against FIC on account of reproductive accumulation in public (GSU) sector.

Abbreviations

- Acc. = Accumulation
- ASHL = Average Social Hour of Labour
- ASPT = Average Social Production Time
- ASRT = Average Social Reproduction Time
- FIC = Factor of Individual Consumption
- GSU = General Social Use or Utility
- OSB = Office of Social Book-keeping
- PSIC = Press Service of International Communists
- SNL = Socially Necessary Labour
- T.PR.D. = Total Product
- TSP = Total Social Product
- TSRT = Total Simple Reproduction Time

INDEX

- Aachen: 188
 AAUD Journal: "Der Kampfsignal" ("A Call to Struggle"): 378; 382
 Ability, from Each According to his/her: 250
 abolition, of wage-labour: 278-9
 absolutism, feudal: 331
 abundance, material: 327
 acceleration, of rate of transformation of labour-power: 269
 accounting, capitalist methods of: 52
 centre: 210
 control: 62; 71
 and general denominator of: 37
 unit of: 15
 cost: 191; 193
 of labour-time: 76; 209
 of socially necessary labour: 160
 procedures: 182
 role of necessary labour in: 160
 system: 207
 accounts, settlement of: 210
 accumulation: 49; 160-1; 164; 237; 268; 325
 acceleration in velocity of: 174; 237; 319
 in agriculture: 174
 of capital: 249; 324; 327
 intensification of conditions for: 317
 extended: 154
 level of: 324-5
 Accumulation Fund: 120-5; 325
 Accumulation, or Production on an Extended Scale: 117-33
 accumulation, rate of: 121; 315
 realisation of: 160
 as social function: 117-20
 as social misery: 312
 Accumulation, Special Forms of: 125-33
 accumulation, viability for continuation of: 325
 acquisition, of bases of control prior to revolution: 331
 of social control, as aspect of class struggle: 331
 activity, autonomous: 371
 organised: 166
 productive: 171
 revolutionary: 184
 Adam Smith Institute: 220
 administration: 16; 30
 of agricultural production: 170
 autonomous, system of: 99
 capitalist: 16
 central: 13-4; 16; 19; 182
 anarchist conceptions of: 46
 centralised: 212
 Communist: 20
 costs of non-productive sector: 199
 economic: 20
 estate, directives for, in Hungarian Soviet Republic: 181
 of factories by workers: 167
 general costs of: 161
 machinery: 182
 and management, peasant, of productive resources: 176
 autonomous: 39
 independent: 209
 of peasant productive resources: 176
 and subjectively motivated managers: 339

- administrations, local authority, left-labour dominated: 303
 administrators: 30; 167
 bureaucratic: 266
 new privileged class of: 326
 usurpation of economic power by: 326
 caste of bureaucratic: 313
 state: 29; 211
 and specialised managers: 255
 advance, technological: 316
 agencies, administrative: 307
 agents, of bank capital, peasant owners as: 176
 agriculture: 169; 172
 and accumulation: 174
 in Germany, and average social level of productivity: 187
 and capitalist profitability: 187
 highly developed: 187
 and industry under Communism, in Council system: 191
 in pre-capitalist stage of social relations: 179
 and relation to total Communist production system: 191
 of Russia, backwardness of: 187
 small-scale: 169
 of Western Europe: 173
 aid, mutual: 24
 aims, bourgeois-democratic: 323
 nationalist: 323
 Alaska: 376
 Alexandrovsk: 376
 alienation: 240; 249; 286; 327
 capitalist: 279
 causes of: 223
 individual: 224; 247
 from labour process and product of labour: 312
 of labour-power as commodity: 268
 of producers: 312
 social: 247; 289
 source of: 224
 allocation, of products: 30
 All-Russian Congress of Economic Councils: 354-5
 All-Russian Economic Council: 13
 alternatives, dialectical: 295
 state-socialist, emergence of: 295
 amalgamation, of capitals: 172
 of enterprises: 174
 America: 210; 398-9
 Ammerndorf: 377
 Amsterdam: 381
 anarchism: 40; 291; 309
 Faurian, and central administration: 46
 Anarcho-Syndicalism: 39; 306
 anarchy, of social production: 17
 animal diseases: 193
 husbandry: 188
 antagonisms, social and class: 325
 intensification of: 319
 Anti-Dühring: 351
 anti-parliamentary policy: 399
 Anti-state: 333
 apparatus, of capitalist production: 17
 of command over workers: 358
 economic, organically integrated: 28
 exploitative: 39
 of ideological manipulation: 292
 of oppression: 166
 of political manipulation: 288

- of power: 210
- of production and distribution: 277
- of production, transformation to use-value production: 124
- productive: 13-4; 16; 18; 164; 169; 207
 - expansion or extension of under Communism: 118; 199; 264
 - control over: 47; 345
- public, control of: 345
- of social surveillance: 292
- statistical: 122; 160; 197
- state: 14; 16
- of state tyranny: 288
- of tyranny and coercion: 283
- appropriation: 185
- appropriators: 12
- arable cultivation: 181
 - farmer: 177
 - farming: 174
- Archangel: 375
- arena, of bourgeois economic power, extension of: 331
 - of profit-generation and accumulation, dwindling of: 297
- Army of Forced Labour: 317
- army of labour, reserve: 316
 - increase in: 316
 - of proletarians: 169
- Asia: 294
- Association of Free and Equal Producers: 12-33; 73; 107; 141; 159; 168;
 - system of: 333
 - 177; 197; 202; 222; 271; 289; 308; 334; 337; 347
- Austria: 202
 - authority, central: 14; 47
 - controlling: 329
- Average Productivity Factor: 334
- average productivity of labour: 282
 - variations from: 334
- Average Social Hour of Labour: 28; 38; 165; 203; 207; 226; 237; 249-50;
 - 255; 257-60; 262-4; 266-7; 270-3; 276; 281; 287; 291; 296; 306-7; 312-4; 333; 337; 369
 - as instrument of proletarian revolutionary coercion: 252
 - non-existence of as concrete entity: 165
 - objective mode of operation of: 326
- average social labour-hour: 61
- average social labour-time: 31; 74; 136; 168; 201; 369
- average social level of productivity, in agriculture: 187
- average socially necessary labour-time: 268
- Average Social Production Time (ASPT): 136; 145-7; 150; 154; 156; 163; 210;
 - as Basis of Production: 61-73
 - as Basis of Distribution: 74-86
- Average Social Reproduction Time (ASRT): 160-5; 176; 191; 203; 205; 208-9
 - and Communism: 165
 - conditions for: 206;
 - effects of fall in: 194
 - equivalence to money: 204
 - formula for: 192
 - foundation of: 165
 - implementation of: 193
 - material existence of: 165
 - realisation of: 194
- balance of class forces, fundamental change in: 299
- Banker's Card: 274
- bankers, of Middle Ages: 329
- base of employment, social, narrowing down of: 316; 319
 - and superstructure, disequilibrium between: 320

- bases, industrial and manufacturing: 315
 - of power, economic: 330
 - of social control, acquisition of: 331
- "Bearers of Light": 297
- Bolshevik intelligentsia, "old guard": 288
 - Party: 283; 286; 291
- Bolsheviks, as revisers of Marx: 356
- Bolshevism: 16; 287; 323
 - over 70 years of false example of Marxism by: 306
 - as ideological excrescence of State Socialism: 290
- book-keeping: 182
 - centre: 207
 - double-entry: 207; 210
 - procedures: 137
 - social: 128; 134; 139; 166; 207-8; 212
 - system: 25
- Book-keeping, Office of Social: 167
- bourgeoisie: 142; 274; 331
 - accumulated might of: 336
 - British: 221
 - coalescence of as a class under industrial development: 329
 - differences of revolution with proletarian: 331
 - historical forerunners of: 328
 - ideological hegemony of: 331
 - newly acceded to power: 329
 - resistance of: 210
 - and petite-bourgeoisie, liquidation of as classes: 259
 - revolutionary: 330
 - bid for political power: 328
 - state- : 302
- branches, of production: 270
 - destruction of: 316
 - of social production: 270
- Britain: 295; 315; 321
- bureaucracy, highest paid officials of: 282
 - party-cum-state: 283; 288
 - privileged administrative, economic control by: 307
 - "Soviet": 290
 - party-cum-state: 283; 288
 - state: 211
- bureaucrats, army of: 294
 - upper echelons of: 294
- bureaux, central: 24
- calamities, natural: 199
- calculation, of productivities: 333
- Canne-Meier, Henk: 379
- capital, accumulation of: 237
 - on an extended scale: 217
- bank: 176
 - concentration, law of: 222
 - industrial: 325
 - mode of deployment in production process: 319
 - organic composition of: 215-6
 - power of: 195
 - private: 19; 211; 286
 - renewal and accumulation of: 303
 - resources: 187
 - socialised economy of: 196
 - turnover, absolute: 215; 304
 - underutilisation of: 216
 - variable: 217
 - state-deployed: 301

capitalism: 16; 107; 195; 200; 269-70; 278; 285; 287; 327
 advanced: 310
 stage of decline of: 292
 British, economic foundations of: 219
 profitability of: 218
 and world: 299
 and cheapening of products: 171
 contemporary, revolution in technological foundations of: 315
 contradictions inherent to development of: 324; 329
 corporately organised: 296
 counter-revolutionary restoration of: 307
 crisis of: 304
 disguise for power of: 212
 domination of producers by productive apparatus under: 286
 Dual Crisis of: 315-22
 economic laws of: 274
 system of: 164
 fall of: 169
 free proprietors of: 347
 new features of: 329
 pregnant with new social order of: 210
 production crises of: 110
 productive base of: 325
 infrastructure of: 304
 refurbishment of social fabric of: 298
 revolutionary crises within: 311
 seedbed of crisis of: 292
 social fabric of: 319
 structural characterisation of by Marxism: 329
 validity of ASRT as value-category under: 165
 "Western": 323
 capitalist, private: 286
 capitals, amalgamation of: 172
 cartels: 35; 62; 71; 134; 348
 cartelisation, group: 168
 caste, of privileged managers, hegemony of: 293
 categories, decisive, of Communist production: 164
 fundamental, of economic life: 32
 of Average Social Reproduction Time (ASRT): 165
 cattle-farming: 188
 cause, proletarian, revolutionary outcome of: 321
 censorship, military: 184
 Central Russia, population of: 290
 centralisation: 13; 15
 Centre of Social Book-keeping: 207; 274; 333
 centre, of accounting: 210
 agricultural productive cooperatives and provincial management:
 economic, of capitalist society: 164
 centres, of world capitalism, developed: 292
 Certificates, Labour: 201; 203
 "certificate money": 203
 character, of commodities: 171
 of industrial and agricultural production: 193
 characteristics, individual, of use-values eliminated in commodity: 165
 negative, of Communism in official theory: 197
 chauvinism, "Great Russian": 323
 Chervonetz: 202
 Chicago: 202
 circuit, of Communist production and distribution, law-governed: 200
 circulation: 36; 135
 of currency: 15
 of manufactured goods: 167
 of money: 167

cities, parasitic forms of ownership characteristic of: 176
 provision of essential foodstuffs to by semi-proletariat: 190
 class, administrative-bureaucratic: 295
 bourgeois: 301
 capitalist: 279; 298; 301; 303; 305
 parasitic: 302
 exploiting and oppressing, representatives of: 290
 exploited and oppressed: 272
 fighters, of revolutionary proletariat: 302
 forces, formation of: 328
 proletarian: 166; 305; 326
 establishment of power of through Councils: 202
 revolutionary: 23; 297
 ruling: 195
 working, in embryo, negative surplus value producing: 301
 plans to split: 317
 positive surplus value consuming: 301
 surplus value generating sections of: 301
 class consciousness, raising of: 336
 control, over means of production and distribution: 269
 dictatorship: 208
 differentiation and polarisation, process of: 299
 exploitation, and social antagonism: 288
 hegemony: 297; 337
 organisation: 311
 polarisation, law of: 222
 theory of: 223
 power: 201
 praxis, revolutionary: 336
 property, abolition of: 331
 in means of production and distribution: 331
 relations, constitutional, confinement of Communist struggle to:
 exploitative: 290
 332
 rule, by minority: 295
 society, supersession of: 329
 struggle: 41; 269; 305; 324; 331; 340; 335-6
 autonomous: 336
 as material basis of revolutionary praxis: 335
 experience of: 335
 in battle of ideas: 343
 developing forms of: 336
 development of in advanced capitalist lands: 310
 forms of: 336
 new: 310
 heightened, transformation into: 332
 highest form of: 330
 independent: 335
 intensifying: 321
 qualitative outcome of: 330
 scale and intensity of: 304
 as training school for industrial occupation: 311
 transformation of: 309
 into revolutionary struggle: 336
 within confines of capitalist relations: 308
 coercion, class-derived right of: 253
 co-management, right of: 212
 combination, of free associations: 23
 combines, agrarian: 172
 command, over Soviet economy: 291
 commissariats, social: 15
 commissars, state: 200
 and statistical apparatus: 197

commodities: 278
 character of: 171
 general exchange of: 170
 production of: 27; 171
 volume of: 172
 commodity, labour-power as: 211
 market: 211
 producers: 171; 173; 192
 production: 169-70; 268; 270; 278
 capitalist, antagonistic motivations underlying: 49
 universal, money as: 165
 Commune, of Paris: 23
 communes, village: 192
 communication, modern methods of: 172
 Communism: 12-4; 17-9; 25; 145; 176-7; 185; 207; 210; 269-70; 272; 280;
 achievement of: 189
 and advocacy of mechanical modes of transition to: 261
 in agriculture: 180
 alleged way forward presented by Social Democracy: 196
 architects and builders of: 338
 and Average Social Reproduction Time (ASRT): 165
 chief technological lever of: 237
 concept of held by Marx: 289
 conception of prevalent during and after World War I: 340
 critics of: 114
 development of: 285
 direct transition to: 241
 early inceptive period of: 121
 economic construction of: 289
 foundations of: 34
 laws of: 213; 267
 establishment of: 191
 false start towards by "Soviet" Union: 289
 first demand of: 369
 free: 42
 growth of: 191
 guide to construction of: 289
 harmonious relations of: 289
 Higher Stage of: 26; 97; 101; 226; 230; 236-7; 250; 267;
 direct mechanical transition to: 239
 historical necessity for: 254
 idealist view of development of: 243
 impossibility of, attempt to prove: 196
 on the land: 179
 Lower Stage of: 226; 244-5; 248-51; 262-3
 economic foundations of: 228
 and labour: 246
 "mature" stage of: 170
 mode of transition to: 214; 216; 254; 261
 revolutionary: 236; 242
 modern proletariat as builders of: 300
 necessity for: 208
 objective legality of: 208
 perspective of: 17
 postponement of: 294
 preconditions for: 287
 production relations of: 235
 proletarian-based: 291
 science of: 37
 social-democratic: 45
 society of: 327
 state- : 12; 141; 170; 201-2; 208-9; 339
 possible inevitability of as social stage: 205
 retention of money under: 211
 Russian: 195
 theoreticians of: 170
 transition to: 289
 from Lower to Higher Stage: 231; 242-3; 249

communism, of the prison-camp: 128
 Communist Revolution, victory of: 322
 Communists, Relationship with Proletariat: 385; 388; 390; 392
 communists, state- : 45
 Community Store: 274
 "Community work", and unemployed workers: 317
 competition: 49
 capitalist: 36
 compulsion, and peasant way of life: 177
 computation, based on labour-time: 38; 71
 of labour-time: 91; 201; 203; 209
 of Factor of Individual Consumption (FIC): 208
 of probabilities: 199
 computerisation: 237
 concentration, of branches of industry: 19
 concept, of value held by socialist economists: 55-60
 conception, of Communist future: 323
 of social order: 195
 Conditions of Affiliation to Communist International ("21 Points"): 378
 conditions, of advanced technology: 272
 arable: 174
 of Communist society: 286
 necessary, for proletarian revolution: 205
 of social alienation: 250
 specific, of production: 174
 conglomerates, urban administrative: 303
 Congress of Workers' Councils: 277; 334
 conquest, of economic and political power: 23
 as stage of revolutionary process: 328
 consciousness, Communist: 167; 208
 proletarian: 192; 366
 contemporary boundaries of understanding of: 308
 revolutionary: 223
 proletarian: 221; 309
 "Injection" of into proletariat: 297
 social: 24
 and class: 335
 trade unionist forms of: 297
 consolidation, of Communist system of use-value production: 271
 consortia, agrarian: 169
 constellation of power, political: 327
 surface: 329
 construction, of Communist economy, frustration of: 313
 socialist: 13
 consumer cooperatives, compatibility with Communist distribution: 211
 value of: 211
 consumers: 19; 208
 Communist: 284
 and producers, contradiction between: 205
 Consumption, Factor of Individual (FIC): 208; 371
 consumption, according to need: 99
 free distribution for personal: 236
 free and uncompensated: 157
 fund, social: 245
 individual: 107; 117; 138; 370
 unregulated: 235
 industrial or personal: 329
 means of: 199-200
 non-remunerative: 250
 peasant: 172
 of raw and auxiliary materials: 30
 statistics: 136
 uncompensated individual: 290
 contingents, proletarian, in German and Russian Revolutions: 298

- contradiction, between consumers and producers: 205
 - internal, of "Soviet" society: 213
 - social: 232
- contradictions, class: 311; 329
 - social: 329
- control, accounting: 26
 - and social relations: 38
 - system of, for production in separate establishments: 28
 - automatic, through system of reproduction: 151
 - autonomous and self-regulating, of proletariat: 258
 - budgetary: 160
 - bureaucratic, over social life: 326
 - conscious, over expenditure of social labour-time: 270
 - economic unit of: 191
 - of economic resources, state: 227
 - first bases of proletarian: 308
 - fixed: 21
 - general system of: 168
 - gradual, and alleged peaceful acquisition of: 330
 - over labour process by proletariat: 261
 - over means of production: 209
 - workers separated from under capitalism: 344
 - over norms of economic life: 207
 - objective methods of: 144
 - plan-determined: 17
 - over product of labour: 344
 - by proletariat: 261
 - of production: 148; 168
 - of productive apparatus: 345
 - and right over means of production held by capitalist class: 344
 - and regulation, social: 148; 208
 - revolutionary, necessity for holding fast to by workers: 330
 - seizure of over productive apparatus by factory organisations:
 - social: 168; 208; 347
 - organs of: 16
 - over public (GSU) establishments: 156
 - by subjective administration, and economic process: 141-4
 - technical: 143
 - techniques, new automated forms of: 316
 - technology, micro-electronic: 315
 - unit measure of: 200
 - of economic regulation and control: 203
 - by workers, and assumption of administrative: 209
 - of industrial production: 168
- conversion, money values into labour-time units: 203
- Cooperatives, Agricultural Production, Provincial Management Centre of: 181
- cooperatives: 206-7; 212
 - consumer: 114
 - and Communist distribution, compatibility with: 211
 - value of: 211
 - distributive: 108
 - district: 181
 - formation of: 193
 - and modern technology: 179
 - peasant: 174-5; 179
 - production: 181
- cost accounting: 137; 192; 193
 - department of: 203
 - factor: 146
 - price, inherent: 160
 - intrinsic: 203
- "cost price, inherent social": 160

- costs, general, of administration: 199
- "costs, inherent, formula for" (E. Varga): 161
- costs, inherent social: 161
 - of non-productive administration: 199
- Council Communists: 275
- "Council Correspondence": 382
- Council Movement: 185
 - political and economic: 157
 - principle, differing application of with agricultural workers:
 - structure, of Russian workers: 185
- Council, Supreme Economic: 181
- council system, application of to agrarian production: 191
- Council, Workers', power of first (Petrograd): 342
- Councils: 167; 186; 275; 287; 390
 - German: 185
- Councils, Workers': 23; 341
 - and German agricultural proletariat: 189
- councils, establishment of proletarian power through: 202
- factory, in rural situation in Germany: 190
 - holding power, in Germany: 190
 - social and economic: 53
 - of workers, soldiers and sailors: 184
- counter-revolution: 186; 314
 - maintenance of proletariat's position against: 185
- countryside, industrial presence in in Germany: 189
- credit: 23
- creditors: 202
- crisis: 325
 - capitalist: 318
 - new dual form of: 319
 - reflex of in sphere of Social Capital: 316
- "Critique of the Gotha Programme": 230; 262; 280-1; 283; 289
- crop disease: 174
- crops, beet: 188
- cultivation, agricultural: 170
 - arable: 181
- currency: 15; 202
- Cuxhafen: 376
- dairy farming: 174
 - farms: 174; 188
- debit and credit, recording system of: 137
- debts, mortgage: 176
- decay, urban: 318
- decision, subjective administrative: 141
- "Decree on Nationalisation": 355
- "Decree on Workers' Control": 354
- definition of exploitation, Marxist: 344
 - of labour-time, as basis of economic regulation: 281
- "deformed workers' state": 296; 323
- degeneration, of "Soviet" society: 283
- demagogy, ideological: 288
- demand, first, of proletarian revolution: 277
 - unconditional, of workers: 208
- demands, difference of between German and Russian peasantry: 187
- democracy, autocratic forms of rule within: 212
 - mask of: 182
 - political: 344
- denationalisation, as measure to offset impending capitalist crisis: 299-300
 - to achieve intensification of exploitation: 299
- Denmark: 173
- Department of Arable Cultivation: 181
- department, of cost accounting: 203
- dependence, mutual, of commodity producers: 171

depreciation: 118; 153
 of means of production: 163-5; 204
 as statistical average: 164
 despoliation, of natural world: 327
 destruction, of power of Social Capital: 269
 revolutionary, of class enemy of proletariat: 333
 determinism, mechanical: 238
 devaluation: 202
 development, agrarian: 172
 agricultural: 170
 of agricultural economy: 172
 capitalist: 19
 of agriculture in Russia: 179
 economic, of society: 286
 independent, of ideology of communal agriculture in Germany: 187
 industrial: 172
 of productive forces: 13-4; 268
 revolutionary: 184; 198
 social: 232; 330
 inverted view of: 312
 level of: 26
 objective laws of: 309
 technical, and relation to ideology: 188
 technological, high level of: 226
 dictators, rule of: 212
 dictatorship: 167
 class: 208
 economic: 168
 Dictatorship, Economic, of the Proletariat: 166-8; 207
 dictatorship, and propaganda: 192
 fascist-type, politico-ideological foundations of: 304
 of party and state in "Soviet" Union: 296
 of political party: 201; 202
 proletarian: 201
 peasants under: 191-4
 process of construction of: 314
 Dictatorship of the Proletariat: 31; 186; 208; 218; 222; 235; 271-2; 276
 279; 287-8; 303; 306; 308; 313
 economic foundations of: 228; 254; 281
 establishment and consolidation of: 253; 293; 308
 organisational kernel of, Workers' Councils as: 337
 replacement of by rule of administrative-bureaucratic class: 295
 as rule of vast majority in "civil society": 330
 Russian, independent organs of power of: 283
 Dictatorship of the "Vanguard Party" over proletariat: 287
 "dirty-necked officialdom": 288
 disaccumulation: 334
 disappropriation: 180
 legal, of holdings in land: 180
 disciples, of Marx: 197
 discipline, labour: 181
 disease, of crops: 174
 diseases, animal: 193
 plant: 193
 disequilibrium, economic: 321
 disposal, right of, over fruits of labour: 31
 disruption, economic, in period of "War Communism" in Russia: 291
 dissemination, control of organs of ideological, by young bourgeoisie: 329
 distilleries: 188
 Distribution, Communist Mode of: 107-17
 Socialisation of: 97-102
 distribution: 14; 19-20; 27-9; 211; 273; 276
 Communist, principles of: 201; 273; 276
 on equal scale under: 112
 of consumption goods, control over: 158

costs of: 108
 equal measure of: 290
 forcible, of land: 187
 forms of: 26
 fundamental principles of: 201
 for individual or personal consumption: 273; 274; 276-7; 285
 free: 291
 sector of: 314
 sphere of: 313
 of land, Russian example of: 188
 to peasants: 180
 of means of production: 277
 and production, alienative class-based relations of: 272
 Communist problems of: 343
 smooth operation of: 206
 relative to labours performed: 162
 of social product: 74
 sphere of: 26
 state-communist method of: 84
 of surplus value under capitalism: 279
 system of, circumscribed by mode of production: 26
 of total product: 200
 district cooperatives: 181
 division of labour: 162; 269
 divorce, of producers from control over means of production: 270
 of labour-time expended from labour-time embodied in use-values:
 268
 doctrines, Social Democratic: 166
 dogmas, Leninist: 321
 Domination, Form of over Working Class under State Communism: 357-65
 domination, of working class: 344; 345
 drought: 193
 drug abuse: 318
 duality, dialectical: 232
 Düsseldorf: 379
 ECCI, identity of KPD's viewpoint with: 377
 Economic Congress of Workers' Councils: 119; 130; 133
 Economic Council, Supreme: 181
 Economic Process, and Control by Subjective Administration: 141-4
 and Objective Methods of Control: 145-55
 economics, of Communism: 281
 economists: 161; 172
 bourgeois: 37
 Communist: 32
 Marxist: 39; 197; 200
 Social Democratic: 134
 socialist, value concept held by: 55-60
 state-communist: 134
 economy, agrarian: 173; 177
 agricultural: 169-70; 172; 182
 backward: 187
 complete reorganisation of: 194
 concentration of: 198
 development of: 172
 capitalist, development of: 198
 organic concentration of: 198
 Communist: 21; 27; 39; 163; 167; 306
 categories of: 197
 collapse of with non-administration of ASRT: 208
 development of: 198
 agricultural: 172
 first foundations in production of: 311
 foundations of: 315
 criticism of official theory (E.Horn): 197

preconditions for administration of: 197
 realisation of: 291
 and rising productivity: 194
 control over: 290
 right of by Workers' Councils: 313
 of use-value production: 314
 domestic, of peasant: 171;
 closed: 173; 189
 destruction of in West European agriculture: 173
 self-sufficient: 179
 fundamental categories of: 364
 highly developed: 273
 industrial: 163
 peasant: 171; 340
 socialised: 111
 and capital: 196
 value-engendered: 110
 edifice, of Communism: 280; 285
 completion of: 285
 education: 29
 health: 53
 higher: 57
 system: 157
 elements, bourgeois: 166
 backward proletarian: 313
 managerial-bureaucratic: 314
 non-proletarian: 166
 embryo, of Communist society: 211
 employees, state: 182
 employers, private: 22
 employment, productive: 163
 narrowing down of social base of: 320
 schemes, expenditure of state monies on behalf of: 320
 end-product, collective, over-emphasis upon in interpretation of SNL: 161-2
 energies, creative, of victorious proletariat: 197
 Engels, Friedrich: 37; 322
 England: 173; 210
 and factory committees: 385
 enlightenment, educational, of workers: 182
 enrichment, cultural and/or intellectual: 284
 enslavement, of creative human labour by wage-labour relationship: 327
 enterprises: 19; 21
 amalgamation of: 174
 farming: 175
 individual farm: 174
 industrial: 22
 mature: 21
 'mature' industrial: 23
 ownership of: 175
 environment, capitalist, mature social and class: 322
 equality, as economic concept: 347
 establishment, of Communist society: 170; 339
 productive, calculation of production time by: 162
 productivity of, effect on depreciation: 164
 of proletarian power through Councils: 202
 reproduction of, effect of rising productivity upon: 164
 Establishments, Public or GSU, Mode of Social Control over: 156-9
 establishments, agricultural: 168
 amalgamation of: 210
 farm, and rationalisation of: 194
 farming: 206
 GSU (public): 87-9
 industrial: 79; 163; 168; 177; 204; 207; 311

GSU-type: 210
 organisation of: 206
 separate: 333
 unprofitable: 321
 workers' control of: 168
 in sphere of production, occupation of: 166; 170; 191
 distribution, occupation of: 337
 administration, occupation of: 337
 public, separation from state: 210
 underproductive, application of accumulation fund to: 122
 estate ownership, large-scale, in Germany: 187
 estates, German, and agricultural specialisation: 187
 landed: 179-80
 large: 181
 disappropriated, in Hungary: 182
 separate: 181
 ethics, personal: 285
 Europe: 321
 Central: 20
 Eastern: 294
 Western: 173; 179-80; 193; 287
 and agricultural revolution: 179
 exchange: 16; 167; 273;
 change of economic unit of: 204
 individual: 111
 money as medium of: 209
 relations: 38
 social process of: 171
 Executive Committee of the Communist International: 375; 377
 expansion, of productive apparatus in Communist future: 199
 expenditure, of labour: 30
 expenditures, state: 318
 experience, generalisation of into scientific theory: 335
 experts, economic: 17-8
 exploitation: 14; 30; 168-9; 282; 286
 through agency of state: 360
 and alienation: 286
 capitalist forms of: 294
 elimination of: 60
 Marxist definition of: 344
 through socialised management: 196
 exploiter, state as: 22
 expression, concentrated, of economic change: 328
 expropriation: 20; 23
 of factory owners: 353
 expropriations, autonomous ("wildcat"): 354
 fabric, of capitalism, ameliorative maintenance of: 325
 crisis-ridden: 325
 reform of: 325
 Factor of Individual Consumption (FIC): 100; 102; 120; 131; 133; 139; 141;
 Factor, Productivity: 163; 164; 168
 factors in production, subjective and objective: 285
 factories, administration of disappropriated: 142
 command of: 13
 managed by old proprietors in German Revolution: 185
 occupation of by proletariat: 185
 possession of by proletariat: 166
 radicalisation of in German Revolution: 391
 seizing of control over: 354
 sugar: 188
 factory, boot and shoe: 204
 organisations, combination of into Workers' Councils: 340-1

Factory Organisations: 374
 social power of: 167
 family circle: 171
 peasant: 176
 farm enterprises, individual: 174
 establishments, rationalisation of: 194
 implements, absence of in German agrarian households: 188
 farmer, arable: 177
 chicken: 178
 as specialist: 173; 178
 vegetable: 178
 farmers: 173; 174
 livestock: 174
 farming, arable: 174
 cattle: 188
 dairy: 174
 enterprises: 175
 establishments: 206
 and industry, small- and middle-scale: 187
 scientific methods of: 187
 vegetable: 173
 farms, dairy: 174
 farmsteads, individual: 192
 fascism, West European, of inter-war period: 318
 February revolution: 342
 federalism: 212
 fertilisers, artificial: 172; 174; 192
 feudalism, and oriental despotism, unstable equilibrium between: 287
 fields, arable: 188
 potato: 188
 finance-capital: 36
 perfected form of: 135
 First Congress of Workers' Councils (Soviets): 355
 "First Land of Socialism": 293
 fluctuations, in class struggle: 278
 of market, dependence of peasant upon: 173
 food supplies, alleged dependence of proletariat upon peasantry for: 177
 foodstuffs, essential supplies of to cities: 190
 threatened hoarding of by peasantry: 190
 force, social, new adjuncts of: 329
 and violence, social role played by: 333
 forces, of nature: 284
 productive, development of: 13-4
 revolutionary, strength of: 190
 social and class: 328
 form, definitive, of workers' revolutionary organisational structure: 340
 inverted: 290
 specific, of labour: 160
 formation, social: 28
 dominant exploitative: 329
 forms, of class rule, displacement of: 297
 of control, revolutionary dictatorial: 272
 of feudal absolutism, takeover of by young bourgeoisie: 329
 of labour, differentiated wage-scales in remuneration of: 281
 of labour-power: 25
 political and economic: 342
 subordinate, of production: 174
 various, of distribution: 26
 formula, of Average Social Reproduction Time (ASRT): 192
 of $(P + C) + L$, mode of operation of: 68-73
 for Varga's "inherent costs": 161
 fortifications, of Kronstadt: 293
 fortress, capitalist, transformation of into prison-house: 338

foundation, of Average Social Reproduction Time (ASRT): 165
 for elimination of wage-slavery: 345
 essential, of Communist production: 345
 of proletarian power: 343
 of social production: 167
 of value-based forms of production, social precondition for: 277
 foundations, economic, of British capitalism: 219
 of capitalist rule: 345
 of Communist society: 201; 346
 of economic power: 314
 of State Socialism: 294
 founts, of social production: 272
 France: 173; 202; 398
 occupation of Rhineland and Ruhr by: 378
 free and equal producers: 144
 free associations, of socialist society: 23
 freedom, human concept of: 43
 proletarian, enemies of: 307
 social, realm of: 230
 "From Each according to his Ability, to Each according to his Need": 272
 Front of Anti-Capitalist Struggle: 337
 front, of common struggle: 189
 Front, political, pseudo-Marxist: 318
 "full employment": 316
 fund, of social consumption: 245
 "Fundamental Principles of Communist Production and Distribution",
 funds, insurance: 199
 Russian Language Edition of: 326
 fusion, of class struggle with Marxism: 335
 nuclear: 238
 General Social Book-keeping, system of: 134-55; 166-8
 General Social Labour: 87-95; 98-105
 General Staff, Thatcherite: 317
 General Trades Union Movement of Germany (ADGB): 373
 General Workers' Union of Germany (AAUD): 374
 founding of: 374
 Germany: 173; 185; 202; 210
 Civil War in: 186; 189
 Communist Party of (KPD): 374
 imperial rule of: 184
 industrial presence in countryside of: 189
 large-scale estate ownership in: 187; 188
 and March Action: 391; 394-6
 Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry: 220
 Goldmark: 202; 204
 goods, manufactured, circulation of: 167
 consumption: 115
 being qualitatively equal: 369
 and services, staple: 290
 Gorter, Herman: 378-9
 Gotha: 198
 "Gotha Programme, Critique of the": 62; 230; 262
 Government of People, supersession of by Administration of Things: 333
 government, Soviet: 179
 Greater London Council (GLC): 303
 group cartelisation: 168
 economic: 162
 Group of International Communists of Holland: 380-1
 formation of: 379
 group, production: 162-4
 ASPT for group identical with ASRT: 164
 computation of ASPT by: 162-3
 simultaneous reproduction of: 163
 groups, production: 168
 social: 23; 176; 186
 Trotskyist: 296

GSU budget: 151
 GSU or public establishments: 87-9; 109; 210
 Mode of Social Control over: 156-9
 economic organisation of: 109
 guild(s): 38; 90; 122; 137; 163
 guild socialism: 207; 209
 English: 205
 Gulag Archipelago: 323

Hamburg: 184; 190; 373-4
 harvesting: 174
 health service(s): 29; 157; 199
 hectare, yield per: 172
 hegemony, proletarian, in society: 337
 social, of state-sponsored petite-bourgeoisie: 297
 Heidelberg (Second) Congress of KPD: 374
 Heligoland: 376
 Higher Stage of Communism: 271-2; 275-6; 280; 291; 335
 history, connection with future: 206
 modern Russian: 323
 motive contradiction of: 230
 social science of: 309
 Trotsky's: 342
 Hitler, Adolf: 219-20
 hoarding, by peasantry, effect on prices: 190
 holdings, devaluation of due to inflation: 202
 industrial, concentration of: 174
 large-scale: 180
 legal disappropriation of: 180
 middle-scale: 180
 small-scale: 180
 Holland: 173; 341; 378; 381
 homelessness: 318
 Hour, Average Social, of Labour: 24; 27; 28; 165
 as unit of economic regulation: 112
 hour of labour, individual, as measure for individual consumption: 371
 hours, labour- : 203
 housing: 124
 Hungarian Soviet Republic: 80; 143
 Hungary: 80-1; 122; 142; 161; 179; 182; 323
 and agrarian revolution: 179
 Soviet: 180-3
 husbandry, animal: 188

idea superstructure: 328
 ideology, bourgeois, of "free individual conscience": 331
 proletarian: 305
 indexes: 203
 individual, as producer: 270
 and consumption: 274; 277
 industries, integration of: 30; 206
 key: 203
 industry: 167; 170; 172; 188
 agricultural, and Council system: 191
 appropriation of: 189
 and bourgeois proprietors of: 169
 branches of: 27
 and farming, small and middle: 187
 capitalist: 22
 development of: 169
 small-scale: 168
 inflation: 201-2
 as economic policy of Bolsheviks: 360

"inflation method", ineffectuality of as "Soviet" economic lever: 365
 purposefully pursued as applied method: 361
 infrastructure, of capitalism, destruction of: 316
 of capitalist economy: 269
 instability in: 320
 organisational: 206
 initiatives, autonomous: 335
 instability, capitalist: 317; 328
 response of Social Capital to: 317
 institutions, existing social: 330
 instrument, of distribution: 273
 of economic regulation and control: 272
 of production and distribution, state ownership of: 287
 instruments, of production: 164
 of capitalist state: 210
 insurance funds: 199
 integration, economic: 191
 intellectuals: 35
 'anarchistic': 291
 Communist: 209
 socialist: 209
 intelligentsia, administrative, state-sponsored professional: 295
 bourgeois and petit-bourgeois: 251
 professional: 225; 256; 258-9; 260
 in Bolshevik Party: 291
 usurpation of power by: 314
 "Soviet" professional, ideology of: 306
 intensity of labour: 278; 304
 disappearance of as economic category under Communism: 285
 interests, of proletariat, opposed by old workers' organisations: 195
 "International Communist Movement": 282
 International, Communist, Third Congress of: 384
 inventories, total social: 149
 investment, industrial, new conditions of: 315
 iron, production of: 204
 Italy: 202; 398
 and factory occupations: 385

Jan Appel: 281; 283; 289-90; 338

Kamchatka and Gulag Archipelago, slave-camps of: 289
 KAPD, Founding Congress of: 375
 Kapp-Lüttwitz putsch: 375
 Khrushchev, N.: 323
 Kiev shipyard workers: 373
 KPD, traitorous stance adopted by towards Ruhr struggle: 375
 Kremlin: 322
 Kronstadt: 322
 Kurman, Piet: 379

labour, alienated, characteristics of as commodity: 245
 average social hour of: 24; 165; 207
 by brain: 165
 camps: 293
 and Communist production system: 191
 deployment of: 164
 discipline: 181
 division of: 162
 elimination of coercive element in under Communism: 246-7
 equivalents: 137
 expenditure: 30

force, recruitment from peasantry in Germany: 189
 social: 25
 functions of: 27
 "free": 285
 free and unalienated: 297
 by hand: 165
 human, direct: 285
 expansive power of: 268
 immiserated: 293
 intellectual: 252
 intensity: 181; 247; 269; 282
 average: 150
 and level of wages: 211
 manual: 252
 as machine: 79
 movements, reformist, capitalist-inspired: 311
 Social Democratic or reformist: 304
 of peasantry: 178
 personal: 26
 objective productivity of: 231
 process: 170; 268
 and product of labour: 270
 direct and open relationship of producers in: 307
 divorce of workers from control over: 313
 private control of: 286
 socialisation of: 348
 socialised: 346
 subjective and objective factors in: 285
 temporality of: 218
 of producers: 270
 product of: 27; 199; 307
 rights over: 346
 productivity: 215; 229; 247
 acceleration of: 249
 and Communist production: 250
 low level of: 282
 realised: 247
 resources, distribution of: 132
 self-sufficient: 346
 separation from product of labour: 345
 social: 171; 173
 order of Communist: 166
 socialisation of: 178
 socially necessary: 160-2
 accounting role of: 160
 regulatory role: 160
 underutilisation of: 216
 undiminished proceeds of: 199
 use-value producing: 162
 'labour, undiminished proceeds of': 200
 Labour Certificates: 51; 55; 116; 138-9; 141; 149; 151; 154; 158; 201; 203;
 207; 228; 249; 259; 271-3; 275; 277; 290; 312
 and Communist economy: 256
 individual variations in: 264
 "Labour Front": 317
 cutting of wage-rates through: 317
 Labour Left: 303
 Labour Movement, constitutional: 320
 Labour Party: 217; 296; 320
 left wing of: 295; 297
 labour-hour: 25; 39; 75; 116; 164; 203
 as unit of economic regulation: 372
 Labour-Hour Units: 237; 249; 264-5; 267; 274-5; 333
 labour-hours expended, accrued to any one unit of production: 152
 per annum, account taken of in depreciation: 164

labour-hour values: 274
 labour-hours: 271; 275; 333
 "labour-money": 15; 75
 labour-power: 27-9; 48; 51; 56; 108; 151; 270; 345
 cheap: 189
 as commodity: 278
 commodity character of: 248
 exploitation of: 324
 forms of: 25
 price of: 248
 Marx's analysis of: 58
 rate of transformation into realised labour: 236
 reproduced: 111
 reproduction of: 59
 skilled: 57
 right of disposal of by capitalist class: 344
 transformation of into capital: 327
 unskilled: 57
 as value-based commodity: 211; 245
 labour-powers, individual, common element in: 247
 labour-time: 24-5; 27; 30; 42; 160; 204
 abstract: 279
 accounting: 209
 control: 61
 average: 65
 social: 35; 66-7; 73; 201
 as basis of economic regulation and control: 312
 computation of: 91; 201; 203
 in Communist society: 312
 individual: 27-8
 as measure of individual consumption: 27
 of part taken by individual in common labour: 27
 of surplus value: 313
 of value: 313
 measurement of: 313
 realised: 65
 units, conversion from money values: 203
 labour-times, expended, divorce of from those embodied in commodities: 268
 labours performed, relative to distribution: 162
 relative to production: 162
 land: 178; 182
 and Communism: 179
 distribution, Russian example of: 187; 188
 to peasants: 180
 forcible distribution of: 187
 legal title to: 182
 ownership, in Germany, and production relations: 187
 large scale, in Germany: 188
 prices: 189
 private: 179
 property in: 187
 "law of value", alleged applicability under Communism: 312
 laws, economic: 207
 of production and distribution: 206
 of motion applicable to Communist system: 42
 of nature: 165
 of social development, scientific understanding of: 309
 of social revolution: 341
 of value: 278
 leaders, stratum of professional TU and reformist political: 305
 leadership, of Social Democracy: 186
 of workers' organisations: 195
 Left-Radical Group (Linksradikale Gruppe): 374
 Left Radicals, Hamburg: 373

- Leichter, Otto: 306
 Lenin, economic principles advocated by: 369
 opposition to KAPD's standpoint: 377
 Leningrad: 377
 Leninism: 213; 223; 280; 312; 321
 as counterfeit Marxism: 310
 classical: 293
 level, of productivity: 268
 technological: 311
 of technology: 174
 of social development: 26
 levels, high, of technological development: 226
 Liebknecht, Karl: 374
 life conditions, of working class, dual crisis in: 316
 polarisation of: 316
 proletarian, transformation of: 337
 economic, control over: 207
 organisation of: 26
 social, preservation of: 335
 lightning or amelioration of intensity of labour: 269
 literature, economic: 210
 livestock, peasant: 177
 rearing: 173
 livestock farmers: 174
 loans, bank: 203
 Lords of Social Capital: 304
 Lower Stage, of Communism: 270-1; 273; 275-6; 279-81; 333
 Luxemburg, Rosa: 374
- machinery, of administration: 182
 depreciation of: 163
 productive application of: 174
 of state, maintenance of on behalf of Social Capital: 298
 of suppression: 32
 wear and tear on: 30
- machines and tools, depreciation of: 204
 Magdeburg: 188
 maintenance engineers of capitalism: 298
 "maintenance works of capitalism", administration of: 302
 maintenance, of non-labouring population: 160
 "Man of Light" (Lenin): 293
 "Man of Steel" (Stalin): 297
 management and administration of production, by producers: 203
 independent: 209
 peasant, of productive resources: 176
 centralised: 142; 212
 common, of district: 181
 industrial: 193
 of peasant productive resources: 176
 private economic: 196
 provincial, centre of agricultural production cooperatives: 181
 socialised, and exploitation: 196
- managers and administrators, subjectively motivated: 339
 managers, caste of bureaucratic: 313
 manipulation, administrative, of economic categories and processes: 294
 political: 318
- marginal utility, theory of: 196
 market: 163; 167; 170-1; 189; 278
 and capitalist productivity: 163
 and product: 165
 as indicator of demand: 111
 commodity: 211
 fluctuations: 173
 mechanism: 37; 109-12; 115; 123; 196; 265
 producer for, peasant as: 177
 relations, free: 110
 strengthening of peasant position in: 177

- marketing, bulk: 179
 Marx, Karl: 34; 280-1; 283; 287; 289; 290; 322; 335-6
 Marx and Engels, disciples and successors of: 322
 Marxism: 17; 280; 306; 310; 312; 336
 no distinction between "mature" and "immature" establishments:
 ideological misrepresentation of: 219
 methodological foundations of: 323
 Social Democratic revision of: 348-51
 revolutionary: 214
 heritage of: 304
 scientific: 309
 "marxism", vulgarised and distorted: 297
 "Marxism-Leninism": 213; 306
 Marxists: 302; 309-10
 revolutionary: 309
 tasks in proletarian revolution: 315
 Marx's "Critique of the Gotha Programme": 195-212
 mask, of democracy: 182
 mass force and coercion, means of: 337
 mass, of realised profit: 217
 mass strike: 342
 masses, "guarantee" of interests of through democratic bodies: 211
 self-initiative of: 40
 material, planned procurement of: 168
 materials, auxiliary: 27
 raw: 27; 167
 materiality, specific: 165
 meadows, grazing: 188
 means, collective: 174
 of mass force and coercion: 337
 of individual consumption: 284
 of life, independent: 329
 means of production: 23; 25; 29; 164; 167; 180
 accounting of: 53
 agricultural: 182
 circulating: 49
 collective: 48
 consumed: 200
 control over: 208-9
 depreciation of: 163
 as statistical average: 164
 and distribution: 269; 272
 circulating (C): 276
 fixed (P): 276
 control over by revolutionary force: 331
 held in common: 277
 private or state form: 331
 private ownership of: 286
 end of as private property: 196
 fixed: 53; 153; 164
 necessity for social control over: 346
 obsolete: 163
 and raw materials: 187
 right of control over: 344
 separation of workers from control over: 344
 social uses: 208
 statistical average: 164
 means of social production: 332
 and distribution, control over: 287
 of survival: 271
 of wealth production, economic: 332
 measure, of product individually consumed: 27
 for individual consumption, individual hour of labour as: 371
 measures, socio-economic: 177

mechanism, of control, weakest link in: 314
 of market: 196
 medium, of distribution: 273
 of economic regulation and control: 273
 metals, precious: 15
 metamorphosis, social: 165
 method, dialectical: 324
 Marxist, of cognising social reality: 349
 methods of control, objective, and economic process: 145-55
 of communal operation: 187
 scientific, of farming: 187
 theoretical, of Marx: 201
 Militant Tendency: 296
 mines: 22
 Minotaur of Value: 279
 misery, social: 293
 mode of distribution, capitalist and Communist, distinction between: 113
 Communist: 253
 of labour: 284
 of operation of Formula (P + C) + L: 68-73
 of production, capitalist, wastefulness of: 163
 Communist: 163; 190; 196; 210; 253; 305
 discrediting of: 291
 economic resources for launching: 332
 as envisaged by Lenin: 349
 exploitative: 325
 objective conditions for: 193
 in Russia, as product of historical conditions: 295
 mode of social production, classless and non-antagonistic: 306
 mode of social regulation: 291
 modernisation and renewal, programmes of: 315
 Money, from, to Labour-Time Computation: 201-4
 money: 27; 50-1; 61; 197; 278-9
 abolition of: 201; 203; 209
 attempts to retain use of under Communism: 209
 circulation of: 167
 as concrete form of value: 313
 equivalent values for conversion to ASRT: 204
 and market: 35
 retention of under state communism: 211
 as universal commodity: 165
 values and conversion to labour-time units: 203
 money-relations: 282
 retention of, as medium of exchange: 282; 307
 money-value: 204
 monopoly, state: 12
 morality, social: 285
 mortgage debts: 176
 Moscow: 377
 motivator, ideological and political: 296
 Movement, Council: 185
 Social Democratic: 22
 movement, bourgeois revolutionary: 331
 Communist, factional strife within: 379
 new, and radicalised workers: 341
 of revolutionary workers: 340
 parliamentary-reformist: 223
 errors committed by: 399
 proletarian revolutionary: 213
 syndicalist: 311
 of working class: 309; 339
 old workers', need to struggle against: 341
 vanguard of: 190
 West European: 206

movements, proletarian revolutionary: 322
 German and Russian: 293
 Murmansk: 375
 National Socialism: 219
 National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP): 219
 Nationalisation and Socialisation: 352-3
 contradiction between: 356
 nationalisation: 19-21; 23; 191; 351; 353-5
 autonomous: 186
 social democratic, Bolshevik defenders of: 127
 state: 197; 218
 wildcat: 186
 nationalism: 211
 nations, industrial: 204
 Nature: 43-4; 269; 271; 284; 327
 despoliation of: 289
 enemy of: 334
 and Human Society, World of: 310
 laws of: 165
 vagaries of: 174
 Navy, German: 184
 needs, consumption: 115
 satisfaction of, conversion of production to: 123
 socially ameliorative, of capitalist system: 319
 staple, satisfaction of: 124
 Needs, to Each according to his: 26
 "Negation of the State and State Socialism" (H.Cunow): 22
 Neo-Leninism: 321
 Neo-Trotskyism, as left Social Democracy: 296
 Neukölln, barricades of: 322
 New Economic Policy, of Lenin: 288
 "New Workers' Publishing House" ("Neue Arbeiterverlag"): 381
 norms, of control, subjective: 307
 of practice, idea content in: 324
 North Sea, battle of: 184
 Norway: 376-7
 obligation, revolutionary, of industrial organisations: 369
 occupation, of factories by proletariat: 185
 of Rhineland and Ruhr by France: 378
 officials, senior company and state: 301
 senior ranks in "Soviet" bureaucracy, graded salary scales of:
 state-employed administrative, wages of: 301
 state-sponsored petit-bourgeois, remuneration of: 303
 of state-sponsored petite-bourgeoisie: 303
 Office of Social Book-keeping: 145; 149; 167
 operation, communal methods with common land ownership in Germany: 187
 of formula (P + C) + L: 68-73
 productive, of economy: 162
 oppression, apparatus of, growth of economic system into: 28
 by state apparatus: 166
 means of: 22
 order, Communist, growth of preconditions for out of capitalism: 210
 proletarian: 168
 social, of Communist labour: 166
 conception of by revolutionary proletariat: 195
 organisation, agricultural: 180
 autonomous, and peasantry: 192
 of Communist production: 30
 economic, GSU or public type: 140
 of economic life: 26

of industrial establishments: 206
 military: 333
 of proletariat not new form of state: 333
 of peasants: 206
 of production for social use: 332
 social, of production: 26; 29
 proletarian form of: 306
 organisations, agricultural, supply of productive essentials to: 192
 cooperative, of peasants: 192
 factory, social power of: 167
 independent role of: 186
 industrial: 209
 revolutionary obligation of: 369
 federalised: 41
 of industrial workers: 208
 and leadership: 195
 old, against interests of proletariat: 195
 Leninist: 311
 locally based: 136
 neo-Leninist: 311
 productive, combinations of: 192
 Trotskyist: 297; 311
 organism, productive, as organic whole: 212
 organs, centralised economic: 198
 oriental despotism, and feudalism, unstable equilibrium between: 287
 overheads, swollen non-productive: 319
 owners, factory: 20
 peasant: 176
 ownership, common: 187; 346
 of enterprises: 175
 forms of, in cities: 176
 private, of means of production: 34; 170
 social: 34; 39; 346
 parameters, of economic development, control over: 326
 of social life, control over: 326
 Paris: 23
 Commune: 23
 parliament: 358
 economic, or supreme economic administration: 91
 as facade of democratic deception: 332
 parliamentarism: 397
 parliaments, historical task of: 386
 parties, Leninist: 311
 neo-leninist: 311
 parliamentary: 391
 Trotskyist: 311
 party, bourgeois political, against power of feudal absolutism: 331
 Party, Communist: 13
 of Germany (KPD): 374
 of Russia: 13; 356
 party, dictatorship of: 201; 202; 255
 ideologues and manipulators, hegemony of: 293
 "party of the new type": 293
 party, political, as organ of bourgeois class ideology: 331
 as organisational weapon of bourgeoisie: 331
 as product of bourgeois revolution: 331
 and state administrative bureaucrats: 279
 and state bureaucracy: 288
 structure, hierarchical: 292
 "party, vanguard, of the working class": 256; 260
 payments, social security: 319-20
 unemployment: 319-20

P, C and L, computation of: 334
 peasant agriculture: 167
 and highest level of production: 173
 and productivity of labour: 171
 and factor of market compulsion: 177
 as capitalist: 179
 cooperatives: 174-5; 179
 contemporary: 177
 economy: 171; 340
 ideology and relation to technological development: 188
 middle: 169; 176; 172; 183-4
 owners: 176
 poor: 182; 187
 population, and recruitment to agrarian proletariat: 189
 producer and the market: 177
 proprietors: 176
 Russian: 179
 small: 169; 172; 176; 183-4
 status of: 176
 peasantry, problems of autonomous organisation of: 192
 conservatism of: 190
 and hoarding of foodstuffs: 190
 and labour process: 178
 and proletariat: 177
 independent: 171
 peasants, attitude to land distribution in Russia and Hungary: 179-83
 cooperative organisation of: 192
 French: 179
 measures to compel support to proletariat: 190
 middle, and German Revolution: 186
 of old stamp: 172
 organisation of: 192; 206
 cooperative, in village communes: 192
 and proletarian dictatorship: 191
 prosperous: 182
 responsibilities of, in Communist society: 192
 Peasants and the Revolution: 175-8
 peasants, role of in Germany: 186
 small, and German Revolution: 186
 "pegging" of wages, against productivity and intensity of labour: 317
 achieved through "Labour Front" unions: 317
 people, working, rule of minority over: 212
 Peoples Economic Council: 142
 period, post-war: 201
 of economic change: 328
 of reproduction, time-span of: 194
 revolutionary: 185
 1917-23: 341
 of transition: 272
 petite-bourgeoisie: 274
 professional intelligentsia as leading stratum of: 308
 state-sponsored: 295; 297-8; 304
 higher echelons of: 302-3
 polarisation of: 302
 top echelons of: 302
 Petrograd: 377
 phase, first, of Communist society: 245
 philosophy, bourgeois: 232
 plan, social: 27
 plant diseases: 193
 Poland: 323
 polarisation: 299; 302
 policy, of accumulation: 277
 price: 161; 174; 179; 182; 208

pollution, industrial: 318
 population, agricultural: 188
 landed: 188
 maintenance of non-labouring section of: 160
 peasant, recruitment of to agrarian proletariat: 189
 potash: 203
 production of: 204
 "potash-hour": 204
 potato fields: 188
 potential, value-generating, quantitative aggregate of: 318
 potentialities, value-generating, inadequacy of: 319
 power, administrative: 18; 292
 apparatus of, of proletarian dictatorship: 210
 assumption of by proletariat: 208
 of capital: 195
 through Councils: 167; 202
 of creative human labour: 269
 and disguise of capitalism: 212
 to dispose of property: 181
 expansive, of human labour: 268
 organisational, of industrial proletariat: 191
 political: 16
 process of developing proletarian: 335
 proletarian: 202; 293
 establishment of: 201
 decisive factor in struggle for: 209
 failure of: 209
 foundations of: 343
 maintenance of: 209
 strategic aim of: 346
 of proletariat, maintenance of through Workers' Councils: 198
 rights of workers without: 344
 of Social Capital, destruction of: 335
 social: 30; 290
 assumption of: 123
 of class: 201
 of factory organisations: 167
 state: 15
 of state, curbed: 205
 of Workers' Councils in Germany: 190
 Russian, in 1905: 342
 usurpation of by professional petite-bourgeoisie: 337
 powers, dictatorial, over state apparatus: 292
 practice, of Council principles: 192
 norms of: 324
 revolutionary: 190
 pragmatic surface of: 324
 social: 236; 340
 praxis, proletarian-revolutionary: 335
 revolutionary: 309; 311; 342
 preconditions, economic: 21
 predeterminism, idealist: 242
 preparation, of soil: 174
 Press Service of International Communists (PSIC): 379
 price: 67-8; 77; 211
 cost: 160; 201
 determination of: 35; 134
 formation: 110
 process of: 112
 policy: 78; 118; 161; 174; 179; 182; 208
 social cost: 160
 prices, effect of hoarding on: 190
 fixed, imposed upon German peasantry: 190
 land: 189

"prices policy": 279; 306-7
 money-based: 294
 principle, clear and open, of relationship of producer to product: 108
 principles, of Communist production: 201
 of social labour: 347
 "principle" of "Communist" economy: 282
 printing press: 201
 prison-state: 16
 privatisation, of nationalised industries: 319
 programme of, by Thatcher Government: 319
 privileges, social: 292
 problems, of Communist economic life: 339
 production: 340
 and distribution: 343
 of divided proletariat: 186
 process, of concentration: 172
 economic: 21
 and control by subjective administration: 141-4
 and objective methods of regulation: 145-55
 labour: 170
 division of: 162
 socialised: 346
 objective revolutionary: 336
 production: 23; 28; 164
 productive: 18
 proletarian-revolutionary, theory of: 222
 revolutionary: 186; 242; 335
 social, of exchange: 171
 unitary revolutionary: 330
 of value-generation: 248
 processes, technical-organisational: 18
 procurement, planned, of materials: 168
 producer, and social product, relationship between: 30; 205; 286
 commodity: 171; 173; 192
 individual: 27; 200
 peasant, and market: 177
 producer-consumers: 38
 individual: 275
 Personal Control Number: 274
 producer-distributors: 197
 Producers, Association of Free and Equal: 12; 16; 18-9
 producers, autonomous interests of: 144
 conscious control over productive apparatus by: 286
 and consumers, contradiction between: 205
 control of management and administration of production by: 203
 over instruments of production by: 293
 over proceeds of their labour by: 293
 direct and open relationship towards labour process by: 307
 domination over: 144
 free: 346
 mandatory demand from: 147
 freely associating: 25; 271
 power of: 314
 individual, contribution to common store: 273
 initiative of: 30
 equal powers of control of: 286
 personal "account" at Centre for Social Book-keeping: 274
 participation in production as equals: 286
 and production: 168
 relation to social product: 28
 relationship to social product, establishment of: 182; 209
 and right of control over production and distribution by: 121
 subsistence needs of: 227

- Product Codes: 274
- product, exchange into money at market level: 165
 - control over: 344
 - individually consumed: 200
 - of labour, division between labour and: 345
 - divorce of producers from control over: 313
 - of labour, labour separated from: 345
 - rights of disposal over: 346
 - origin to completion of: 160
 - quantity of unremunerated: 208
 - relationship between producer and: 30
 - right of disposal over: 345
 - social: 12; 21; 26; 29-30; 51; 167; 345
 - entitlement to: 203
 - producers' relationship to: 182; 205; 209
 - social distribution of: 74; 116
 - socially produced, conditions imposed upon consumption of: 262
 - specialised: 174
 - specific: 173
 - total: 26
 - distribution of: 200
- product-exchange, entry of into system of social book-keeping: 149
- product-hours: 109
- production: 14-5; 17-20; 25; 27-8; 161
 - agrarian: 339-40
 - application of Council system to: 191
 - difference between industrial and: 193
 - agricultural: 172
 - administration of: 170
 - and cooperatives: 181
 - transition into industry: 193
 - average social time of: 164; 168
- Production Budget, Labour-Hour as Foundation of: 134-40
- production budget, complications in: 120
 - capitalist, end of: 196
 - mode of: 170
- categories of: 27
- characteristics of, industrial and agricultural: 193
- collective: 27
- commodity: 27; 169-70; 171
 - development and extension of: 328
- Communist: 193
 - decisive category of: 164
 - essential foundation of: 345
 - first inceptive stage of: 124
 - first principle of: 262
 - organisation of: 30
 - principles of: 30
 - problems of: 340
 - system of: 168
- concentration of: 170
- conditions, natural: 193
 - specific: 174
- and consumption: 197
 - material freedom in: 285
- control of management and administration of by producers: 203
 - over: 143
- controlled by reproduction: 145
- cooperatives: 181
- Production Cooperatives, Agricultural, Provincial Management Centre of: 181
- production cost factor: 146
- production, difference between industrial and agrarian: 193
 - and distribution: 271
 - alienative class-based relations of: 272

- Communist, problems of: 343
 - first principle of: 266
- control over: 313
- economic laws of: 206
- mutual interdependence of: 107
- retention of control over by workers: 326
- smooth operation of: 206
- spheres of: 314; 333
- systems of, control over: 251
- edifice of: 18
- establishment: 162; 163
- of exchange value: 268
- of exchange-values in form of use-values: 270
- expansion of: 199
- on extended scale: 117
- fluctuations in: 194
- formula, categories comprising: 152
- foundations of: 28
 - in Russia: 339
- group: 163-4; 168
 - single: 162
- industrial: 13; 173-4
 - and agrarian, difference between: 193
 - and agricultural, character of: 193
- instruments of: 164
- iron: 204
- manager: 167
 - and administrator of: 167
- management by workers, sham appearance of in Hungary: 182
- means of: 15; 17; 23; 25-7; 29
 - circulating: 49; 53; 152
 - in Communist accumulation (reproduction): 276
 - fixed: 53; 152; 153; 164
 - in Communist accumulation (reproduction): 276
 - private ownership of: 170
- mode of, new: 346
- natural conditions of: 192
- objective forces of: 232
 - means of: 241
 - and use-values: 249
 - process of: 154
- organisation of: 29
 - around specialised product: 174
- planned: 17; 30; 63; 254
 - for social use: 255
 - system of: 209
- potash: 204
- process: 16; 23; 25; 28; 29; 164
 - differing depreciation periods within: 153
- Production Process, Domination of Producers by: 84-6
- Production Process, General: 48-60
- production process, objective: 182
 - relations: 17; 170
 - agrarian: 189
 - capitalist and state-socialist: 279
 - interconnection with peasant ideology: 188
 - in Germany, and land ownership: 187
 - and reproduction, formula for: 148
 - sphere of: 313
 - small-scale: 168
 - social: 17; 19; 21; 346
 - apparatus of: 48; 343
 - control of: 168
 - foundations of: 167
 - regulation and control over: 138
 - relations of: 232
 - system of: 30

socialised: 52
 sphere of: 26
 subordinate forms of: 174
 surplus, of peasant: 171
 system of: 26; 30
 Communist, integration of labour under: 191
 Production Time and Reproduction Time: 162-3
 production time: 25; 162-4
 average: 204
 social: 163; 210
 capitalist: 163
 times: 163; 333
 total, relation to agriculture: 191
 of use-values: 270
 use-value: 326
 of value and surplus value: 268
 productivities, separate, per establishment: 334
 productivity: 29; 271
 average social level of: 187
 capitalist: 163
 and market: 163
 Productivity Factor: 70; 150; 163-4; 168
 productivity, given level of: 172
 increase of: 172; 175; 334
 agricultural: 174
 and intensity of labour, increases in: 315
 of labour: 12
 under Communism: 285
 peasant: 171
 of peasant agriculture, highest level: 173
 rising, in Communist economy: 194
 of separate establishment: 164
 per sector: 334
 static: 171
 unit measure of: 146
 products, and fixed prices: 190
 cheap, of capitalism: 171
 common characteristic of: 366
 flow of: 191
 physical: 29
 social, stock of: 14
 professions, intellectual: 57
 profit: 77; 112; 179; 279
 absolute realised, rate of: 217
 per cycle, rate of: 315
 generation of: 324
 and loss: 15
 motive: 107; 339
 non-productive measures by state and inflation: 320-1
 rate of, tendency to fall per cycle of investment: 237
 per unit of time: 216
 realised mass of: 217
 realisation, level of: 324-5
 as reified form of surplus value: 313
 temporal, rate of: 311
 profitability, absolute, rate of: 318
 of agriculture: 187
 of British capitalism: 218
 measures to raise: 320
 profit-making, intensification of conditions for: 317
 extension of quantitative ground-base of: 319
 proletarians, army of: 169
 proletariat: 17; 23; 30; 169; 283; 305; 314; 321; 330; 332
 advanced levels of consciousness within: 310
 agricultural, level of proletarian consciousness of: 192

agrarian: 176; 184; 187; 189
 and Councils: 189
 and German Revolution: 186
 and assumption of power: 208
 and bourgeoisie as polar classes: 329
 British: 214
 class dictatorship of: 330
 interests of: 305
 as class without independent economic resources: 330
 class-motivated revolutionary sector of: 306
 dictatorship of the: 166; 186; 208; 210
 economic dictatorship of: 166; 167; 207
 economic foundations of the rule of: 330
 and effective power, failure of: 209
 and food supplies: 177
 forcible seizure of control by: 330
 forms with which to seize control: 198
 German: 292; 385
 agrarian: 190
 agricultural, and Workers' Councils: 189
 Proletariat by Hand and Brain: 327
 proletariat, hegemony of: 302
 industrial: 176; 189; 291
 and commercial, positive surplus value producing: 301
 organisational power of in Councils: 191
 interests opposed by old workers' organisations: 195
 and occupation of factories: 185
 organising role of leadership within: 305
 and possession of factories: 166
 potentially revolutionary, class camp of: 309
 levels of consciousness within: 309
 productively engaged sections of: 337
 relations with peasantry: 177
 and resort to arms: 333
 revolutionary: 39; 195
 army of: 338
 class camp of: 309
 organised in Councils: 333
 section of: 185
 world view of: 308
 right of control over economy: 313
 road to power of: 332
 Russian: 292; 296
 self-activity of: 191
 state: 301-2
 strength of: 207
 struggle of: 209
 and supply to agricultural organisations: 192
 system of social book-keeping as weapon of: 207
 understanding of historical mission of: 308
 usurpation of leading role in revolution from: 297
 victorious, and creative energies of: 197
 victory of: 329
 propaganda, Bolshevik: 291
 intensive, for eradication of utopian illusions: 207
 of economic dictatorship of the proletariat: 192
 of Social Democracy: 195
 property, of capitalist class, in means of production and distribution: 277
 power to dispose of: 181
 holders, small, expropriation of under capitalism: 202
 landed, small-scale: 180
 personal: 182
 private, abolition of: 196
 and land: 187

- elimination of: 346
- social: 166
- in social resources: 278
- socialised: 185
- state: 17; 181; 182; 211
- proportion, of social product: 29
- of total product: 30
- proprietorialism: 240
- proprietors, bourgeois, of industry: 169
- small-scale independent, diminishment of: 329
- pseudo-revolutionaries: 322
- publications, Marxist: 342
- purchase, bulk: 179
- railways: 22
- rainfall: 193
- Rasch, Fritz: 378
- rate, of absolute capital turnover, increase in: 315
- of absolute realised profit: 217
- of accumulation: 320; 334
- of profit: 274
- average: 297; 319
- measures to raise: 317
- historical tendency to fall: 298
- per cycle of investment: 315; 320
- increase in: 315
- intrinsic tendency to fall: 319
- temporal: 319; 320
- tendency to fall per cycle of investment: 303
- tendentially falling per circuit of capital: 304
- rationalisation: 52; 78; 193
- of farming establishments: 194
- realisation, of accumulation: 160
- reality, Marxist method of cognising: 349
- realm, of social freedom: 230; 285
- of necessity: 285
- rearing, of livestock: 173; 174
- recession, major, in mid-1960's: 315
- redundancy, historical: 303
- reformism: 19; 309; 386
- petit-bourgeois: 309
- reforms, social: 19
- socio-economic: 242
- "Regulation and Control, Economic, in a Socialist Society" (O. Leichter): 36; 52; 56-8; 64-5; 75-6; 90-2; 306
- regulation and control, economic, objective norm of: 296
- of Communist society: 280-1
- system of economic: 313
- universal unit of: 307; 314
- economic: 306
- regulation, according to administrative norms: 287
- economic: 160; 210; 290
- method of: 26
- unit of control: 203
- non-monetary system of: 111
- of production: 17
- social, and accounting control: 38
- and social control, problem of: 208
- time-based: 43
- unit measure of: 200
- "regulation" by arbitrary decree: 283
- regularisation, of social relations: 202
- relation, of producers to social product: 28

- relations, alienated social: 304
- capitalist: 286; 309-10
- institutionalised forms of: 308
- class-divided: 331
- displacement of: 329
- classless Communist economic: 286; 307
- Communist: 279; 286
- first principle of: 285
- in production and distribution: 290
- social: 236
- cultural and institutional: 228
- economic: 176
- agrarian: 180
- in production and distribution: 329
- framework of existing social: 330
- material social: 328
- money-based: 256
- of production: 17
- and distribution: 272
- alienative class-based: 272
- transformation of: 328
- social: 28
- and class in Tsarist system: 287
- of individual producers: 27
- of production and distribution, new: 327-8
- regularisation of: 202
- relationship, between producer and social product: 18; 28; 30; 31; 42; 106-9; 129
- of producer(s) to labour process and product of labour: 240; 281
- to products of labour: 30 284
- of wage-labour: 327
- Remuneration Factor: see Factor of Individual Consumption (FIC)
- remuneration, individual: 210
- of labour-power: 57
- rent: 176
- agricultural: 171
- Reproduction, as Function of Individual Capitalist Groups: 48-55
- reproduction, conditions for: 210
- definition of: 53
- of establishment: 164
- on extended scale: 36; 49; 277
- as necessary process: 200
- of next generation of wage-workers: 278
- period, time-span in agricultural sector: 194
- process: 48; 50-2; 54; 56-60; 150
- labour-time accounting in: 55
- of production group: 163
- simple: 117; 129; 277
- of socially necessary labour: 162
- Reproduction Time, Average Social: 176; 191
- reproduction time: 207
- lowest, as reflected in production process: 164
- social average, in agricultural sector: 191
- Republics, Russian and Hungarian Soviet: 307
- Reserve Army of Labour, increasing numbers of: 316
- numerically swelling: 337
- resistance, armed, absence of in Hungarian Revolution: 180
- of bourgeoisie to proletarian dictatorship: 166
- resources, capital: 187
- control of economic: 330
- economic: 330
- independent: 330
- of society: 308
- financial: 173

- productive, peasant administration of: 176
- social: 156
- state control of economic: 227
- using up of: 28
- restoration, of capitalist relations: 268
- revolution: 19; 177; 180; 208
- revolution, aborted proletarian: 305
- agrarian: 179
 - in Western Europe: 180
 - in Hungary: 180
 - in Russia: 179
- Revolution, in Austria: 384
- bourgeois: 283; 288; 328
 - institutional forms inherited from: 332
- bourgeois-democratic: 223
- Communist: 230; 323; 335
 - strategic implications of: 315-22
 - strategy of: 336
 - subjective instrument of: 310
 - preconditions for victory of: 304
 - task of anarcho-syndicalism of subverting: 308
 - victory of: 322; 295
- development of: 198
- essential content of: 327
- experience of: 18
- Revolution, February, in Russia: 342
- Revolution, German: 184; 189; 384
 - role of agrarian proletariat in: 184-90
 - peasants in: 186
 - stalemate in: 185
- revolution, onset of proletarian: 331
 - organisation of: 340
 - and peasants: 176
 - political, and class holding power: 328
 - proletarian: 31; 176; 183; 186; 209; 293; 302; 304; 309; 321-2
 - 324; 329-32; 343
 - and existing constitutional superstructure: 332
 - Communism as outcome of: 309
 - content and historical purpose of: 306
 - danger to by syndicalism and anarcho-syndicalism: 305-15
 - to class aims of: 332
 - necessary conditions for: 205
 - essence of: 333
 - essential tasks of: 347
 - first demand of: 277
 - forerunners of: 298
 - launching of: 335
 - long-term threat to: 308
 - negation of: 292
 - negative transformation from Communist into state-
 - most radical form of: 332
 - objective strategy for: 310
 - praxis of: 311-12
 - realisation of Communist tasks of: 305-15
 - science of: 306
 - social hegemony of: 303
 - strategic course of: 308
 - trap for: 332
 - subjective elements in: 336
 - theory and practice of: 306
 - vehicle of: 303
 - victory of: 291; 330
- Revolution, Russian: 34; 39-41; 47; 61; 198; 255; 353; 396
 - (1917): 19; 189; 198; 339; 384
- anti-tsarist: 283

- First (February): 342
- foundation of: 339
- problem posed by: 354-7
- as proletarian revolution, delusive appearance of: 288
- sole achievements of: 380
- two lessons from: 366-7
- revolution, social laws of: 341
 - meaning and purpose of: 128
 - stages in development of: 328
 - state-socialist form of: 308
 - strategy of proletarian: 322
 - victorious proletarian: 294
 - violent: 242
 - workers' organisational weapons of: 341
- "revolution, technological": 316
- revolutionaries, professional: 214
 - proletarian: 292; 314
- revolutionism, petit-bourgeois: 309
- revolutions, proletarian: 292
 - subversion of in the future: 295
 - social: 330
- Rhineland: 377
- right, bourgeois: 244; 245; 253
 - of disposal, socially exercised: 346
 - of distribution amongst unequals on basis of equal measure: 244
- rights, elimination of unequal: 372
 - of workers: 345
 - over product of labour: 346
 - or power, workers without under capitalism: 344
- Road to Communism: 322-38
 - "false start" upon: 326
- role, of machinery under Communism: 285
 - of money, replacement of: 333
 - of socially necessary labour: 160
- Rühle, Otto: 378
- Ruhr: 377
- rule, capitalist, foundations of: 345
 - imperial, of Germany: 184
 - of minority class over working people: 212
 - of Social Capital: 268
 - social life under: 325
 - of minority over working people: 212
- Russia: 12-4; 20; 23; 81; 107; 142; 180; 202; 286-7; 295; 376
 - agrarian revolution in: 179
 - backwardness of agriculture in: 187
 - and capitalist development of agriculture: 179
 - inappropriateness of peasant slogans in Germany: 187
 - Communist Party of, as despotic instrument of power: 380
 - socio-economic backwardness of: 295
 - Tsarist, conditions prevalent in after World War I: 295
- sailors, ineptive role in German Revolution: 184
 - revolutionary, absence of resistance to: 184
- salaries, exorbitant, paid to bureaucracy: 282
- scales, remuneration: 282
- Saxony: 188
- Schroeder, Karl: 378
- science, agrarian: 172
 - Marxist, foundations of: 336
 - revolutionary: 335
 - of historical development: 321
 - of transition to Communism: 335
- sciences, mechanical: 18
- scientists, bourgeois: 196
- sea-lords, of German Navy: 184
- section of population, non-labouring: 160

- sector, agricultural: 170
 - industrial: 335
- sects, Leninist: 214
 - Trotskyist: 214; 296
- Seefeld: 377
- seizure of control over economy, as conscious revolutionary act: 330
 - over economic resources: 333
- self-administration: 168
- self-awareness: 25
- self-liberation, of proletariat: 293
- semi-proletariat: 190
- "Senator Schröder", steamship, hi-jacking of: 376
- serf, feudal: 31
- service, health: 29; 199
 - public: 277
- settlements, compromise, manipulated by TU negotiators: 306
- share, in product, individual: 28
- shoe and boot factory: 204
- shops and warehouses, cooperative: 203
- Siberia: 376
- situation, post-revolutionary, in infant Soviet Republic: 291
 - revolutionary: 302
- slogans, peasant: 187
- Sneevliet: 382
- Social Capital: 271; 297; 301; 303-4; 306; 312; 316; 318; 320-1; 324-5
 - class framework of: 304
 - compromises with, manipulated by reformist leaders: 305-6
 - contradictions in value-generation suffered by: 319
 - crisis-ridden world of: 327
 - crushing of power of: 338
 - as dominant controlling class: 299
 - economic interests of: 321
 - elimination of power of: 334
 - first breaches in power of: 308
 - growing isolation of: 298
 - immediate crisis of: 300
 - interests of attacked from rear by inflation: 321
 - Left Wing of: 320
 - longer-term interests of: 317
 - power of: 299-300
 - revolutionary destruction of the power of: 326
 - weakening sources of economic power of: 326
- socialisation: 16; 19; 21
 - of labour: 178
 - Marxist aim of: 357
 - process of: 21
- socialism: 17; 22; 34
 - alleged way forward: 196
 - German trade-unionist: 206
 - gradual development towards offered by nationalisation: 353
 - guild: 205; 207; 209
 - illusory vision of presented by Lenin: 349
 - petit-bourgeois: 214
 - prevalent (World War I) conception of: 340
 - reformist-parliamentary: 225
 - state-: 21-2; 127
- "socialism", straitjacket of imposed by Moscow: 323
- "Socialist Camp of Nations": 322
- "Socialist Sixth of the World": 326
- Socially Necessary Labour: 160-5
 - assumed accounting role of: 160
 - regulatory role of: 160
 - invalid conception of as against ASRT: 162
 - reproduction of: 162

- socially necessary labour-time: 280
- society, alienative, establishment and consolidation of: 290
 - bourgeois: 22
 - capitalist: 210; 269; 302
 - British: 299
 - operational surface of: 319
 - civil power of: 166
 - class-divided: 296; 329
 - dissolution of: 300
 - revolutionary transformation of: 327
 - classless: 284
 - first form of: 258
 - Communist: 17; 19; 26; 200; 285; 288; 304; 313; 326
 - anarchist misconceptions regarding: 42
 - economic centre of: 164
 - embryonic: 211
 - establishment of: 310; 339
 - by proletariat: 297
 - exchangeless character of: 253
 - first phase of: 245
 - foundations of: 201; 252; 346
 - mode of production of: 196
 - peasants' responsibilities in: 192
 - products in motion within: 191
 - revolutionary construction of: 335
 - role of unit of economic regulation in: 367-72
 - structure of: 196
 - transformation of: 30
 - cooperative, benefits to individuals: 200
 - credit side of, in system of social book-keeping: 139
 - division into hostile and antagonistic classes: 328
 - emergent Communist: 313
- Society of Free and Equal Producers, proclamation of: 304
 - Marxist perspective of: 293
- society, of freely associating producers: 307
 - higher development of: 125
 - money-based, substitution of use-value producing for: 314
 - overthrow of existing: 202
 - post-revolutionary: 307
 - socialist: 21; 22
 - Socialist or Communist: 288
 - "socialist", Bolshevik concept of: 294
 - Soviet: 288
 - state-socialist, incipient tendency towards: 295
 - transformation of: 212; 346
 - Tsarist: 295
- society's common store: 273
- sociologists: 114
- soil, preparation of: 174
- solidarity, relative weakness of in German agricultural proletariat: 189
- solipsism: 240
- source, of value and surplus-value: 279
- Soviet Hungary: 118; 180; 182
- Soviet, Petrograd (1905): 342
- Soviet Russia: 118
- "Soviet" Communism as greatest confidence trick in history: 290
- "Soviet" hierarchy, leaders of: 282
- "Soviet" party and state bureaucracy, misrepresentation of Communism by:
 - ideologues of: 280
- "Soviet" primitive accumulation: 282
- "Soviet" society: 277-8
 - administrative-bureaucratic economic foundations of: 296
- "Soviet" state: 292

- "Soviet" State Socialism: 280; 283
 - as alternative to restoration of capitalism: 296
- "Soviet" Union: 278; 280; 286; 288; 290; 295; 326
 - as graveyard of revolutionary hopes: 289
 - as historical anachronism: 322
 - as historical forerunner of State Socialism: 296
 - as ideological midwife of State Socialism: 296
 - as melting-pot of developing nations: 323
 - in 1919-21: 291
- Sovietologists: 213
- Soviets: 13; 384
 - disarming of by Russian (Bolshevik) state apparatus: 32
- Spain: 398
- Spandau: 377
- Spartakusbund (Spartacist League): 374
 - Central Committee of: 393
- specialisation, in German agriculture: 172-3; 175
 - relationship to ideology: 187-8
- specialists, use of by farmers: 178
- speculation, utopian: 206
- sphere, of agriculture: 278
 - of distribution: 273
 - for personal consumption: 287
 - of production (accumulation): 276
- spheres, of production and distribution: 273
- springs, of cooperative wealth: 272
 - of productive wealth: 276
 - of social wealth: 284
- staff, technical: 137
- stage, first inceptive, of Communist production: 124
 - of revolutionary process, preparatory: 331
 - of social development, bourgeois-democratic: 323
- Stalin, J.V.: 241; 288; 323
- state, two antagonistic classes-in-embryo in wings of: 299
 - apparatus: 292
 - bourgeois, framework of: 332
 - bourgeoisie, administrative-bureaucratic: 303
 - bureaucracy: 294
 - ever-growing army of: 300
 - capitalist, destruction of: 308
 - encirclement of: 338
 - fortress of: 338
 - central: 286; 336
 - process of accession to: 329
 - control, corporate framework of: 317
 - forms, of property in means of production and distribution: 277
 - framework of: 304
 - legislation to "peg" wages: 278
 - machine, central: 303
 - machinery, of repression: 333
- State Manipulation, Administrative-Bureaucratic, power of: 300
- state nationalisation: 277; 294
 - as economic form of state socialism: 299
 - negation of: 289
 - ownership: 277
 - specific conditions for measurement of value-generation: 313
 - power, corporate organs of: 303
 - proletariat, as future exploited and oppressed class: 299
 - property: 277
 - repressive corporate, dominant role of "labour front" within: 317
 - structure of: 317
- "State of the Workers": 289

- statistics: 14; 17-8; 44; 200
 - consumer: 114
 - consumption: 15; 45
 - limits of: 114
 - "...organised application of" (M. Block): 111
 - production: 15
 - system of: 135
 - valuelessness of as means of economic regulation: 128
- state administration: 22; 170; 340
 - incorporation of large-scale industry into: 352
 - administrators: 29; 211
 - apparatus, Russian: 32
 - authority: 107
 - bureaucracy: 211
 - capitalism: 360
 - commissars: 200
 - control of economy by through statistical apparatus: 197
- State Communism: 12-4; 31; 80; 82; 201-2; 208-9
- state communism, concept of: 80
 - incompatibility with Marxism: 33
 - inevitability of with failure to apply system of ASRT: 205
 - retention of money under: 211
 - Russian: 195
 - wage-labour continued under: 339
 - system of: 141
 - seen as vast engine of oppression: 85
- state, control over capitalist economy through: 195
 - employees: 182
 - equating of with society: 351
 - higher taxation upon German peasants by: 171
 - hypocritical character of: 210
 - industrial units operated through: 19
 - instruments of capitalist: 210
 - nationalisation: 197; 255
 - power: 205
 - proletarian: 273
 - property: 15; 142; 181-2
- State Socialism: 22; 127; 215; 221; 254-5; 257-8; 267; 278-9; 286; 288; 294
 - 305; 312; 318; 322; 351
 - administrative-bureaucratic: 287
 - birth as new mode of production: 299
 - as class-divided mode of production: 302
 - characteristic social product of: 299
 - destructive heritage of: 290
 - economic structure of: 280
 - historical cul-de-sac of: 280
 - mechanical administration characteristic of: 294
 - as negative example of Communism: 280-90
 - as new antagonistic mode of production: 296
 - social and class base of: 302
 - "Soviet" Union as prototype model for: 318
 - substitution for Communism: 314
 - system of: 307; 314
 - transitional forms to: 282
 - zenith of: 323
- state-sponsored petite-bourgeoisie: 307; 318
 - as consumers of surplus value: 300
 - higher echelons of: 299
 - higher paid local authority officials as part of: 299
 - middle levels of state bureaucracy as part of: 299
 - senior scientific/technical personnel as part of: 299
 - ideological influence exercised by organisations of: 307
 - lower levels of: 299
 - junior civil servants as part of: 299
 - state and local authority utility workers as part of: 299
 - teachers as part of: 299

non-value-generating character of: 300
 organisations of: 307
 polarisation of: 299
 usurpation of leading role in Communist Revolution by: 300
 state structure, corporate: 321
 supersession of: 289
 withering away of: 210
 states, capitalist: 201
 steam-engine: 24
 stock-book: 24; 25
 stock, total, of surplus value: 274
 stocks, for social consumption: 27
 strata, professional petit-bourgeois: 315
 strategy, class-founded revolutionary: 337
 developmental, of proletarian revolution: 324
 of proletarian revolution, in developed capitalist terrain: 324
 of proletarian revolutionary forces: 310
 revolutionary: 310
 stratum, intermediate: 298
 of lower-level state-sponsored petite-bourgeoisie: 301
 of privileged bureaucrats: 287
 of professional intelligentsia, state-socialist: 295
 strength, of proletariat: 208
 of revolutionary forces: 190
 strike, mass, pamphlet on by R. Luxemburg: 342
 structure, economic, production dependent upon organisational integrity of:
 of "Soviet" state socialism: 280 191
 federalised: 212
 of Communist society: 196; 280
 of Councils: 185
 organisational, of system of social book-keeping: 208
 Workers' Councils as definitive form of: 340
 unitary, development of capitalist industry towards: 19
 struggle, of agricultural workers on common front: 189
 class: 166
 in sphere of ideas: 343
 in defence of new mode of production: 333
 framework of independent: 335
 of proletariat for system of labour-time computation: 209
 military forms of: 333
 revolutionary: 310
 for control of social life: 332
 strategic deployment of: 336
 uselessness of trades-unions for: 374
 of semi-proletariat to win wider base for revolution: 190
 violent, against old workers' movement: 341
 workers, transformation of motivation underlying: 341
 subordination, of producer to productive apparatus: 286
 subsistence, means of: 26-7
 minimum: 112
 suffrage, universal: 350
 sugar factories, in Saxony, rationalised organisation of: 188
 superstructure, capitalist: 332
 cultural: 328
 institutional: 328
 parliamentary-democratic: 304
 surplus value-consuming: 318
 institutional and ideological: 229
 social: 229
 supply and demand: 110; 278
 suppression, machinery of, strongest under central state apparatus: 32
 Supreme Congress of Workers' Councils: 264

Supreme Economic Council: 85
 surplus output, of peasant: 177
 surplus-value: 49; 164; 196; 269; 301; 324
 diminishing total available: 325
 founts of: 298
 generation: 324
 fundamental level of: 325
 increasing mass of with fewer workers: 316
 mass of available: 325
 negative: 301
 non-productive deployment of: 325
 measures for: 321
 positive: 301
 state-deployed: 300; 320
 total: 303
 stock of: 325
 transformation into profit: 324
 Syndicalism: 209; 291; 306-7; 309
 attempted theoretical base for (O. Leichter): 306
 as spontaneous ideology of proletariat: 308
 idea-content and programme of: 308
 "syndicalism", seizure of industry in Russian Revolution termed as: 291
 syndicalists: 309; 311-2
 possible post-revolutionary diversionary role to be played by: 315
 syndicates: 38; 348
 system, accounting, between separate industrial establishments: 207
 of accounting control for production: 28
 capitalist: 192
 economic: 164
 of Communism: 272
 of exploitation: 278
 ground-base of: 328
 "overhead running expenses" of: 325
 Communist, construction of: 333; 337
 economic foundations of: 281; 337
 laws of motion applicable to: 42
 of production: 168
 and distribution: 276; 306; 333
 production relations of: 315
 role of Councils in construction of: 337
 Faurian: 136
 of labour-time computation: 203
 non-capitalist economic: 286
 of planned use-value production: 28
 profit-generating, quantitative base of: 297
 of production, capitalist: 17
 Communist: 168
 relations, bases within: 331
 of social book-keeping: 25; 141; 167; 276-7
 social, of production: 30
 replacement by new mode of: 327
 state-capitalist: 129
 Tsarist: 287
 of use-value production, Communist: 333
 tables, conversion: 203
 tactics, revolutionary: 257
 task, of new Communist order: 166
 tasks, essential, of proletarian revolution: 347
 revolutionary: 189
 discharge of: 321
 taxation, indirect: 92
 taxes: 189

and state: 171
 Taylor system: 144
 techniques, cybernetic and computer: 238
 recording and storage, computerised: 274
 and tools of production, objective: 268
 technology: 72-3
 contemporary: 368
 level of: 174
 modern: 175
 and cooperatives: 179
 new, effect on rate of absolute capital turnover: 319
 application of: 315
 as cause of dual form of crisis: 316
 temporality theory: 322
 terrain, developed capitalist: 295
 national: 335
 social: 323
 tendency, Bolshevik: 19
 Thatcher, M.: 218
 era: 218
 Government: 300; 303
 Thatcherism, as bourgeois response to threatening social instability: 317
 theoreticians, of Communism: 289
 proletarian revolutionary, team of with Jan Appel: 290
 of state communism: 170
 theory, of accumulation and crisis, Marxist: 322
 Marxist economic: 136
 official, of Communist economy, criticism by E. Horn: 197
 and practice: 307
 fusion of: 336
 of proletarian revolutionary process: 222
 scientific, as generalisation of practice: 310
 fusion with class practice: 309
 growth out of practice: 310
 Third Congress of the Communist International: 378
 Third Communist International: 322
 threat, counter-revolutionary, to future proletarian revolutions: 298
 Thuringia: 98; 190
 time: 24; 27; 29
 Time, Average Social Production (ASPT): 164; 210
 time(s), production: 162; 163; 164;
 Time, Average Social Reproduction (ASRT): 162-3; 176
 time(s), reproduction: 115; 207
 title, legal of land: 182
 tokens, paper: 27
 tools: 28; 173; 178
 and machines, depreciation of: 204
 necessary: 171
 and techniques of production, objective: 268
 Tory Party: 217
 Total Productivity Factor, calculation of: 334
 tractors, as tool of accumulation in agriculture: 174
 trade, internal: 179
 trade-union socialism, German: 206
 traders, mercantile, of Middle Ages: 329
 trades-unions: 16; 195; 278
 historical tasks of: 386
 leaderships of: 387
 movement of: 397
 representatives of: 224
 uselessness of for revolutionary struggle: 374
 traditions, as inhibiting factor in development of agriculture: 193
 bourgeois-liberal: 219
 transfer-accounting: 137

transformation, of labour-power into realised productive labour: 270
 social, degree of encompassed by revolution: 328
 transition, from capitalism to Communism: 280-1
 to Communism: 275; 283
 co-theoreticians of: 338
 revolutionary: 292
 from Lower to Higher Stage of Communism: 285
 revolutionary, to Communist society: 292; 310
 to State Socialism: 287
 transport: 160; 172
 Trondheim: 376
 Trotsky, L.D.: 323; 342; 359
 and militarisation of labour: 359
 history of: 342
 Trotskyism: 312; 321
 as left Social Democracy: 296
 trusts: 348
 Tsarism: 322
 peculiar features of political and state system of: 295
 Tsarist Russia: 323
 turnover, of capital, absolute rate of: 297
 tyranny, class-based: 306
 posing as Communism: 288
 unemployment: 318
 conditions making for increase in: 320
 unification, of free associations: 22
 unit, of economic exchange, change in: 204
 of economic regulation and control: 191; 203; 276
 universal: 271; 273
 objective, absence of in "Soviet" economy: 283
 "values": 274
 units, industrial: 19; 30
 United Nations General Assembly: 323
 United States of America: 295
 Unity Congress, between Eisenachers and Lassalleans (1875): 198
 Unity Programme (1875): 199
 unity, forging of revolutionary: 337
 of employed and unemployed workers: 337
 uprising, in German Revolution, part played by semi-proletariat: 190
 of sailors, in German Revolution: 184
 US capitalism, hegemony of: 216
 US Foreign Secretary: 323
 use-value: 162; 271; 274-5
 producing labour: 162
 produced: 268
 system of planned production based upon: 28
 use-values: 21; 24; 28; 152; 170; 273; 279; 281; 333
 individual characteristics of: 165
 partially completed: 138
 usurpation, of power, state-socialist: 302
 utopia: 205; 207
 utopianism, alleged, of Council Communists: 205-12
 definition of: 206
 utopians, latter-day: 271
 petit-bourgeois idealist: 273
 Valhalla, capitalist, twilight of: 336
 value: 24; 62; 67; 269; 278
 concept of held by socialist economists: 55-60
 of labour-time, measurement of: 313
 necessary: 164; 279
 and surplus: 269

- production: 279
- realisation, substantive level of: 324
- surplus: 164
- and surplus value, generation of: 236
- value-based relations: 269
- value-generation: 247; 250; 270
 - non-substantive level of: 324
- values, moral and ethical: 228
- vanguard party, of classical Leninism: 293
 - Leninist ideology of: 297
- "vanguard party of the revolutionary proletariat": 303
- "vanguard party of the working class": 308
- vanguard of revolutionary movement, position of semi-proletarians in: 190
- Varga, E.: 79-84; 141; 142-3; 160-1; 180-2
 - "Inherent Costs", formula for: 161
- vegetable farmers: 178
 - farming: 173
- village communes: 192
- vision, of classless Communist future: 293
- volume, of commodities: 172
- Vulkan-Werft, Hamburg, strike at: 373
- wage, as exchange for capacity to labour: 329
- wage-labour: 269-70; 279-80; 282; 345
 - abolition of: 277; 346
 - capitalist: 278; 289
 - commodity character of: 286
 - continuation of under new guise: 195
 - elimination of: 211
 - relationship of under capitalist production: 246
 - in "Soviet" society: 278
 - non-abolition of: 286
- wage, nominal: 78
 - as price of commodity labour-power: 278
 - real, or actual: 78
 - relative: 78
 - tariffs: 56
- wage-rates: 278-9
- wage-slavery: 297; 334
 - abolition of: 345
 - capitalist: 311
 - foundations for elimination of: 345
- wage-worker(s): 12; 14; 339
 - promotion of misery for: 320
- wage-workers, cause of: 345
 - class of propertyless: 297
- wages: 59; 111; 163; 278-9; 345
 - and prices policy: 283
 - of lower-paid state-sponsored petite-bourgeoisie: 301
- "wages in kind", Bolshevik form of: 367
- wages, level of: 211
 - system: 277
- war, civil, in Germany: 185-6
- War Clauses: 373
- warehouses and shops, cooperatives of: 203
- warships, of German Navy, desertions from: 184
- waste, caused by capitalist mode of production: 163
 - of productive resources: 163
- wealth, residual, and Communism: 260
 - self-created: 25
 - sources of: 330

- weapon, class: 309
 - of proletariat, system of social book-keeping as: 207
- weapons, organisational, of workers' revolution: 341
- wear and tear, on machinery: 30
- Wedding, barricades of: 322
- Weichsel: 342
- "welfare politics": 316
- "Welfare State", beginning of end of: 317
- welfare state: 218
- Western Europe: 173; 179-80; 193
 - and agrarian revolution: 179:
 - modern economic conditions of agriculture in: 187
- wing, Bolshevik, of Social Democracy: 348
- Work, to Each according to his: 250
- work, inapplicability of SML to each separate activity: 162
 - and those unable to: 199
- worker, agricultural: 181; 189
 - craft: 346
 - individual: 140
 - reproduction of: 59
- worker-producers: 268; 270; 272; 275; 287; 326
 - class of, by hand and brain: 300
 - historic class mission of, as architects of Communism: 300
 - individual: 281
 - victory of in struggle against despoliation: 334
- workers, absence of right of control under capitalism: 345
 - agricultural: 182; 188-9
 - and social consciousness: 181
 - decrease in value-producing numbers of: 317
 - domination over: 345
 - economic control by: 311
 - educational enlightenment of: 182
 - by hand and brain: 310; 332
 - industrial: 182; 189
 - leading role of in revolution: 166
 - organisations of: 208
 - and proletarian consciousness: 192
 - organisations of: 208
 - intellectual: 221
 - liberation of: 113
 - lowest-paid: 282
 - masses of: 196
 - needs of: 113
 - newly proletarianised intellectual, growing militancy of: 300
 - higher echelons of: 300
 - role in winning new class supporters: 300
 - productive associations of: 41
 - productive, distributive and administrative: 282
 - productively engaged: 316-7
 - radicalised, new movements of: 341
 - revolutionary: 293
 - without rights or power: 344
- Russian: 185; 287
 - under Russian state capitalism: 339
 - semblance of production being managed by: 182
 - and separation from control over means of production: 344
 - skilled: 80
 - spontaneous activity of: 197
 - and strengthening of state power: 22
 - unemployed: 337
 - growth in numbers of: 317
 - unskilled: 80
 - value and surplus value producing: 316-7
 - and wage demands: 181
 - wages of: 163

- workers' administration of factories: 167
 - of industry, forbidden by Bolsheviks: 359
 - assumption of administrative control: 209
 - control: 185
 - of industrial establishments: 168
 - introduction of autonomous: 291
- Workers' Council, of 1905, power of: 342
- Workers' Councils: 13; 23; 33; 73; 89; 130; 140; 222; 272; 332; 337; 374;
 - as combination of factory organisations: 343
 - and factory organisations: 340-1
 - formative role of: 335
 - German: 185
 - as highest socio-political expression of Communist system: 159
 - and maintenance of power: 198
 - as Organisational Foundation of Communist Production: 339-43
 - relinquishment of control over productive forces by: 256
- workers', independent initiatives, elimination of by Bolsheviks: 367
- movement, transformation of: 341
 - parliamentary errors committed by: 399
 - revolutionary: 340
- organisations, leadership of: 195
 - outmoded, against interests of proletariat: 195
- revolution, organisational weapons of: 341
- right to assume economic command: 370
- "Workers' State": 293
- workers' struggles, motivation underlying: 341
- working class: 196; 201
 - average standard of living of: 226
 - economic division within between employed and unemployed: 389
 - objective interests of: 323
 - organisation in time of revolution: 340
 - domination of: 344
 - illusion of spontaneous Communism: 346
 - movement: 339
 - victorious: 195
- Works Councils, Russian: 354
- works, public: 320
- world capitalism: 288; 294
 - developed heartlands of: 294
- world-view, proletarian, Syndicalism as embryonic stage of development of: 308
- World War I: 298
- World War II: 215
 - post-expansionary phase of: 215

yield, net: 181

Zaandam: 378

Zinoviev, G: 377

