

# Contents

*A Note to the Reader* xi

Introduction i

## 1. Marx as Philosopher of Freedom

- 1.1. Preliminary Remarks ii
- 1.2. Civil and Political Liberty: A Confrontation with Liberalism 21
- 1.3. The Story of Self-Enriching Alienation: A General Outline 38
- 1.4. The Paris *Manuscripts*: Human Essence Lost and Regained 44
- 1.5. *The German Ideology*: The Division of Labor and the Myth of Human Identity 53
- 1.6. *Grundrisse*: The World Market as Alienated Universalism 62
- 1.7. Self-Enriching Alienation in *Capital* and the Abandonment of Youthful Optimism 71
- 1.8. The Vision of the Future: The Transition Period and the Final Ideal 89
- 1.9. Capitalism and Freedom in the Post-Marxian Sociological Tradition: The Case of Marx Versus Simmel 99

## 2. Engels and “Scientific Socialism”

- 2.1. The Problem of “Engelsian Marxism” 111
- 2.2. From Pantheism to Communism 124
- 2.3. Political Economy and Communist Utopia 139
- 2.4. “Historical Necessity” in the World of Nations 152

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| 2.5. Freedom as "Necessity Understood"   | 167 |
| 2.6. From Freedom Lost to Freedom . . . Regained?  | 179 |
| 2.7. The Dual Legacy   | 196 |
| 3. Variants of "Necessitarian" Marxism   |     |
| 3.1. Karl Kautsky: From the "Historical Necessity" of Communism to the "Historical Necessity" of Democracy | 208 |
| 3.2. Georgii Plekhanov: "Historical Necessity" as Utopian Ideal  | 228 |
| 3.3. Rosa Luxemburg, or Revolutionary <i>Amor Fati</i>   | 246 |
| 4. Leninism: From "Scientific Socialism" to Totalitarian Communism   |     |
| 4.1. Lenin's Tragedy of Will and Fate  | 269 |
| 4.2. Lenin's Critique of "Bourgeois Freedom" and the Russian Populist Heritage                             | 279 |
| 4.3. The Workers' Movement and the Party   | 291 |
| 4.4. The Destruction of "Nomocracy" and the Legitimization of Violence                                     | 303 |
| 4.5. The Partisan Principle in Literature and Philosophy   | 309 |
| 4.6. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the State   | 322 |
| 4.7. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Law   | 346 |
| 4.8. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Economic Utopia   | 359 |
| 5. From Totalitarian Communism to Communist Totalitarianism  |     |
| 5.1. Leninism and Stalinism: The Controversy over the Continuity Thesis                                    | 398 |
| 5.2. Stalinist Marxism as a Total View of the World  | 426 |
| 5.3. "Dual Consciousness" and Totalitarian "Ideocracy"   | 454 |
| 6. The Dismantling of Stalinism: Detotalitarization and Decommunization                                    |     |
| 6.1. Preliminary Remarks   | 495 |
| 6.2. Marxist Freedom and Communist Totalitarianism   | 497 |
| 6.3. The Phases and Factors of Detotalitarization and Decommunization                                      | 508 |
| 6.4. Gorbachev's <i>Perestroika</i> and the Final Rejection of Communist Freedom                           | 536 |
| <i>Notes</i>   | 559 |
| <i>Works Cited</i>   | 619 |
| <i>Index of Names</i>  | 637 |