

La fine della produzione mercantile nella Critica al Programma di Gotha di Marx.

Vicende novecentesche di una teoria

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The Critique of the Gotha Programme, written by Karl Marx in 1875 and posthumously published in 1891, contains his most detailed statements on the essential features of a communist economy. One of them, the end of the exchange of commodities, was a widely accepted hallmark of the post-capitalist society among German social democrats like Kautsky and Hilferding, as well as among Russian Bolsheviks, who actually tried to apply Marxian theory in Soviet Russia. This essay follows the fortunes of Marx's theory through the entire history of the Soviet Union and of the East European "popular democracies": from Bucharin's enthusiastic case for overcoming the exchange of commodities to Lenin's retreat from war communism in favour of the New Economic Policy; from the reasons given by Stalin for the existence of market relations under socialism to the use of such relations in the Sixties - by reformers like Brusilov, Šik, as well as by GDR economists in the Ulbricht era - as a tool for getting rid of the centralised planning model. At the end of the Eighties, some of the former reformers emphasized the victory of market relations over planning. In more recent debates, some marxist authors insisted on the incompatibility between exchange of commodities and true socialism, while others held Marx's model of socialism accountable for the failures of real socialism.

Keywords: *Exchange of commodities, socialism, communism, planning, market relations*

Le Glosse marginali al Programma del partito operaio tedesco, meglio note col titolo di *Critica al Programma di Gotha*¹, sono senz'altro tra gli scritti di Marx che hanno esercitato maggiore influenza nel Novecento. In queste pagine, che Marx inviò a Wilhelm Bracke con una lettera di accompagnamento il 5 maggio 1875, e che furono pubblicate soltanto nel 1891 da Engels sulla «Neue Zeit», è contenuta una critica serrata al programma predisposto in vista del congresso di fondazione del Partito socialista operaio di Germania, in cui quell'anno confluirono il Partito socialdemocratico operaio e l'As-

¹ Per la storia delle edizioni di questo testo si veda G. Langkau, *Kritik des Gothaer Programms? Bibliographische Beobachtungen zur Fernwirkung einer ideologischen Weichenstellung*, «Beiträge zur Marx-Engels-Forschung. Neue Folge» (2008), pp. 60-93.