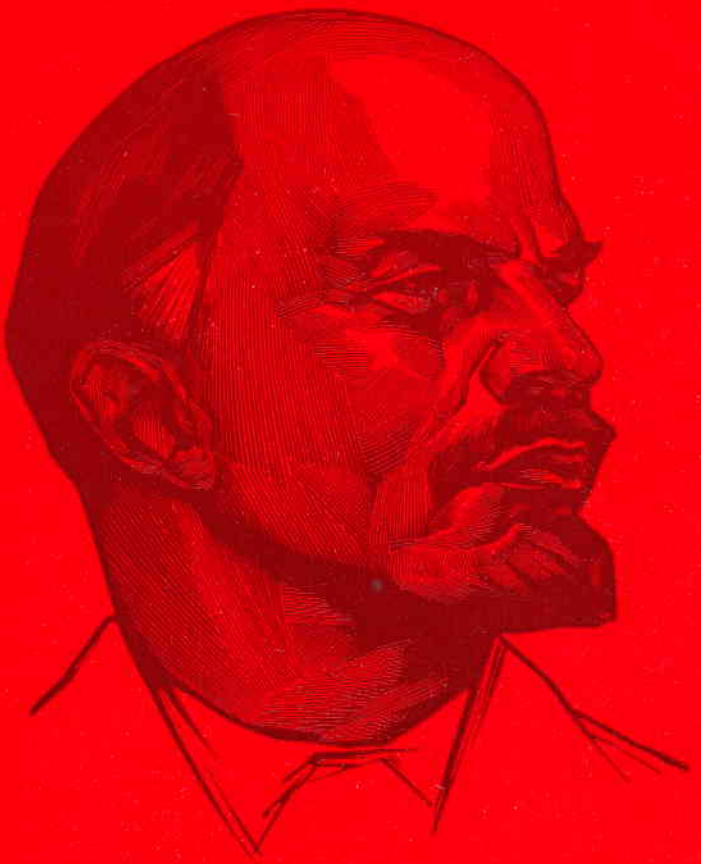
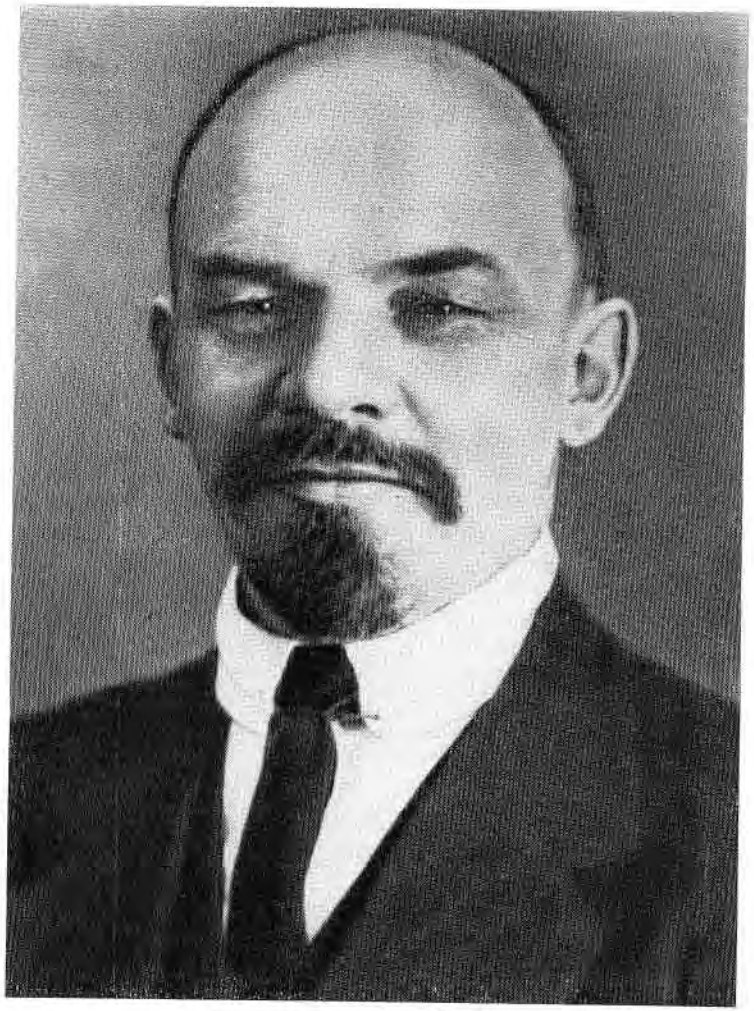
Lenin

MARXISM ON THE STATE





V. I. Lenin, approximately 1917

S. HARRISON

Workers of All Countries, Unite!

V. I. LENIN

Marxism on the State

**Preparatory Material
for the Book
The State and Revolution**

**PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
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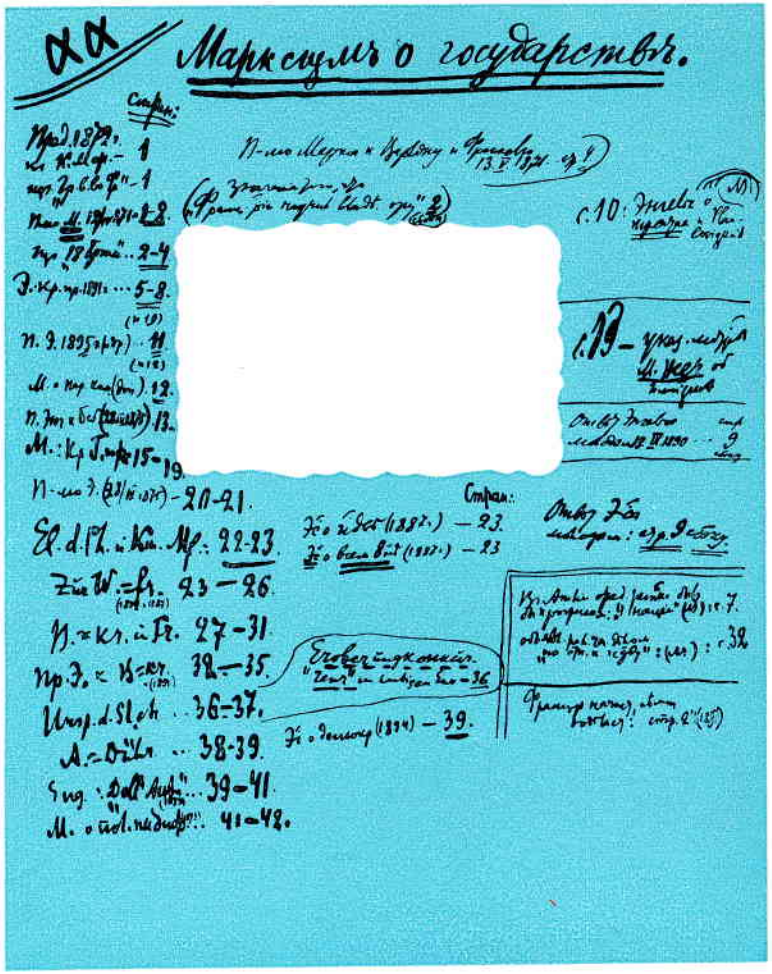
* The asterisks indicate headings given by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.—*Ed.*



Cover of V. I. Lenin's Notebook
Marxism on the State
January-February 1917
Reduced

I

MARXISM ON THE STATE[1]

* Planlessness.—*Ed.*

* *The Poverty of Philosophy* and *Communist Manifesto.—Ed.*
** *The Housing Question.—Ed.*
*** *The Civil War in France.—Ed.*
**** *The Origin of the State etc.—Ed.*
***** "Rivalry in conquest" in present-day Europe.—*Ed.*
****** Engels. "On Authority".—*Ed.*

MARXISM AND THE STATE

more precisely:
The tasks of the proletarian revolution in relation to the state.

Marx and Engels on the state and the tasks of the revolution in the political field (in its relation to the state).

A passage in *The Civil War*[3] deserves special attention. This passage is quoted, incidentally, in the last preface to the *Communist Manifesto* over the signatures of *both* authors. The preface is dated London, 24. VI. 1872 (Karl *Marx* and Frederick *Engels*). It says that the programme of the *Communist Manifesto* "has in some details become **antiquated**" (*The Communist Manifesto*, 7th edition, Berlin, 1906, p. 17[4]; with a preface by Kautsky—a *vulgar* one!—and by the authors, both of them, 24. VI. 1872, by Engels 28. VI. 1883 and 1. V. 1890 with an excerpt from the preface to the *Russian* translation, on the Russian *obshchina*,* London, 21. I. 1882, at present "Russia forms the vanguard of revolutionary action in Europe", p. 20[5]).

Exactly!!!

In what has the programme "become antiquated"? The authors reply: (((see below, **p. 27****)))

* Village community.—*Ed.*
** See p. 42 of this book.—*Ed.*

"One thing especially was proved by the Commune, *viz.*, that 'the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes' " (*The Civil War in France*, p. 19). (Edition of 1876, p. 23, the beginning of Chapter III.)[6]

This passage, taken by itself, is unclear; it leaves a kind of loophole for opportunism by providing, at first glance, the possibility of interpreting it in the sense that the "ready-made" "state machinery" cannot "simply" be "laid hold of" (in Besitz), which *means*... that no revolutions are needed, one must be cautious with them, and more attention should be paid to the idea, *not* of the seizure of power but of slow development, the growing into, and so on and so forth.

B See *Bernstein, Premises.* Stuttgart, 1899, p. VI (and p. *18*, p. *134*), where this passage is placed *side by side* with Engels's Introduction of 1895 and is interpreted as a rejection of revolution!!![7] Bernstein quotes this passage *three* times in a single book of his!!

This interpretation (I think I have come across it somewhere, only I do not remember where) is utterly wrong. Actually Marx has in mind *quite* the reverse: the revolution of the proletariat cannot "simply" lay hold of the "ready-made" state machinery; the revolution must **smash it**, this *ready-made* machinery, and replace it with a *new* one. Here is a most illuminating and decisive passage:

LETTERS FROM MARX TO KUGELMANN

piquant cf. with *Bakunin* (X. 1870, p. 113, in Steklov): "...for me it is evident that, after the actual destruction of the administrative and governmental machine, only direct revolutionary action by the people can save France...."[9]

On April 12, 1871 Marx writes to Kugelmann (*Neue Zeit*, XX, 1, 1901–1902, p. 709; in this volume there are only two letters about the Commune; the other letters to Kugelmann are in Volume XX, **2. NB**)[8]:

"If you look up the last chapter of my *Eighteenth Brumaire*, you will find that I declare that the next attempt of the French Revolution will be no longer, as

NB before, to transfer the bureaucratic-military machine from one hand to another, but *to smash* it [Marx's italics],* and this is the preliminary condition for every real people's revolution on the Continent. And this is what our heroic Party comrades in Paris are attempting."

Of great importance is *Marx*'s argument (12. IV. 1871) on the causes of the possible defeat of the Commune: "If they" (the Paris workers) "are defeated, only their 'good nature' will be to blame. They should have marched at once on Versailles.... They missed their opportunity because of conscientious scruples. They did not want to start a civil war, as if... Thiers had not already started the civil war.... Second mistake: The Central Committee surrendered its power too soon, to make way for the Commune. Again from a too 'honourable' scrupulosity!" (P. 709.)[10]

Two mistakes of the Commune:

Both mistakes consist in an insufficiency of the offensive, in an insufficiency of consciousness and resolution to *smash* the bureaucratic-military state machine and the rule of the bourgeoisie. But what does Marx admire in the Paris Commune? *Flexibility, historical initiative* and the *capacity for self-sacrifice* in these Parisians (ibid.). "Parisians storming heaven."

NB

Marx to Kugelmann 3. III. 1869 (*Neue Zeit*, XX, 2, 1901–1902, p. 412): "A very interesting movement is going on in France. The Parisians are again making a regular study of their recent

* Interpolations in square brackets (within passages quoted by Lenin) have been introduced by Lenin.—*Ed.*

revolutionary past, in order to prepare themselves for the business of the impending new revolution...." Dozens of books of all parties, the liberals, the republican democrats, the Proudhonists, the Blanquists...."When will *our country* be so far!" (413).[11] Nota bene:

NB Also *Marx* to Kugelmann 13. XII. 1870: "...But however the war may end, it has given the French proletariat practice in arms, and that is the best guarantee of the future" (p. 544, *Neue Zeit*, XX, 2, 1901–1902).[12] NB

And on 18. VI. 1871 (*Neue Zeit*, XX, 2, p. 797) Marx writes to Kugelmann that the "Address" (of the General Council, i.e., *The Civil War in France*) he, Kugelmann, had probably already received and that this "Address" was evoking a rabid hullabaloo and indignation in the press.[13]

It is clear that Marx's April letter (12. IV. 1871) provides *the same* idea that formed part of the "Address", written at the end of May, of the General Council of the International (dated 30. V. 1871).

What is called in *The Civil War* "the ready-made state machinery" is called, in the letter of 12. IV. 1871, "the bureaucratic-military machine"; what, in *The Civil War*, is expressed in the words "simply lay hold of" is formulated again more precisely, more clearly and better in the letter of 12. IV. 1871: "transfer from one hand to another". Most illuminating is the amendment which is absent in *The Civil War*: not to transfer the bureaucratic-military machine from one hand to another, but to **smash** it. The Commune *began* to do this but did not complete it, unfortunately.

This is the "preliminary condition for every real people's [NB: a profound expression!] revolution on the Continent"[14] (why on the Continent? because in Britain there was then neither a bureaucracy nor militarism).

THE EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE

Marx refers, in his letter of 12. IV. 1871, to the last chapter of *The Eighteenth Brumaire*. In this last (VII) chapter in *The*

Eighteenth Brumaire, on pp. 98 and 99 (4th ed., Hamburg, 1907), we read:

"But the revolution is thoroughgoing. It is still journeying through purgatory. It does its work methodically. By December 2, 1851, it had completed one half of its preparatory work; it is now completing the other half. First it perfected the parliamentary power, in order to be able to overthrow it. Now that it has attained this, it is perfecting the *executive power*, reducing it to its purest expression, isolating it, setting it up against itself as the sole target, **in order to concentrate all its forces of destruction against it** [p. 98]. And when it has done this second half of its preliminary work, Europe will leap from its seat and exultantly exclaim: Well grubbed, old mole! NB NB # NB

"This executive power, with its enormous bureaucratic and military organisation, with its vast and ingenious state machinery, with a host of officials numbering half a million, besides an army of another half million, this appalling parasitic body, which enmeshes the body of French society like a net and chokes all its pores, sprang up in the days of the absolute monarchy, with the decay of the feudal system, which it helped to hasten" (98). And further: The first French revolution "developed" (entwickelte) (99) centralisation, "but at the same time" it developed "the extent, the attributes and the number of agents of governmental power. Napoleon completed this state machinery". The Legitimist monarchy and the July monarchy "added nothing but a greater division of labour...." Nota bene

"Finally, in its struggle against the revolution, the parliamentary republic found itself compelled to strengthen, along with repressive measures, the resources and centralisation of governmental power. **All revolutions perfected this machine instead of smashing it.** The parties that contended in turn for domination regarded the possession of this huge state edifice as the principal spoils of the victor" (99).[15]

These are indeed remarkable passages! *French history,*

as Engels says in the Preface to the third edition of *The Eighteenth Brumaire* (Vorrede zur dritten Auflage), is of special significance for the very reason that:

"France is the land where, *more than anywhere else*, the historical class struggles were each time *fought out to a decision*, and where, consequently, the changing political forms within which they move and in which their results are summarised have been stamped in the *sharpest outline* [pp. 3–4]. The centre of feudalism in the Middle Ages, the model country of unified monarchy, resting on estates, since the Renaissance, France demolished feudalism in the Great Revolution and established the unalloyed rule of the bourgeoisie *in a classical purity* unequalled by any other European land. And the struggle of the upward-striving proletariat against the ruling bourgeoisie appeared here in an acute form *unknown elsewhere*" (p. 4). ((This Preface is marked in the fourth edition simply *F. E.* without a date. Find the third edition so as to determine the date!! Incidentally, Engels here says that *The Eighteenth Brumaire* "was in truth a work of genius".[16]))

"The state machine" is a bureaucratic-military machine in most capitalist countries (now, in 1917, we can say in *all*). In France the *universal* capitalist process emerged with "particular" "*classical* purity"—on the one hand, the formation of that machine (the Middle Ages—the absolute monarchy—the constitutional monarchy—the parliamentary monarchy or republic), on the other hand, its "reduction to its purest expression" (1917 everywhere!!) and thereby the approach of the struggle for its "*destruction*". It is the question of this "*destruction*", its "breaking" and "smashing" that is systematically *passed over in silence* by both the opportunists and the Kautskyites!!!

Marx says 18 *52*: "break" [brechen], "destruction" [Zerstörung].[17]

Marx says 18 *71*: "smash" [zerbrechen].[18]

In 1872 Engels (*The Housing Question*, 2nd edition, 1887, p. 55 at bottom) on "the dictatorship of the proletariat".[19] Marx, the same in 1875 *(Critique of the Gotha Programme)*.[20]

Marx's letter to members of the Commune, Frankel and Varlin, see *Neue Zeit, 29*, 1, p. 796 (10. III. 1911). This letter is of 13. V. 1871. Full of sympathy with the Commune, Marx says that on the affairs of the Commune he has written several hundred letters. Regarding the provinces, he writes: "Unfortunately their [the provinces'] action is only local and 'pacific' "....."The Commune seems to me to be wasting too much time in trivialities and personal quarrels" (796).[21]

"A CRITIQUE OF THE DRAFT SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PROGRAMME OF 1891"

In 1891 Engels says ("A Critique of the Draft Social-Democratic Programme of 1891", *Neue Zeit*, XX, 1, 1901-1902, page 5 and further.[22] Engels's letter to Kautsky on the dispatch of this critique is dated 29. VI. 1891[23]).

"The political demands of the draft have one great fault. It *lacks* [Engels's italics] precisely what should have been said" (p. 9). NB

And Engels makes it clear that the German Constitution is a "copy" of the constitution of 1850 and that the Reichstag (as Liebknecht said) is the "fig-leaf of absolutism" (p. 10).

"...It is an obvious absurdity to wish 'to transform all the instruments of labour into common property' on the basis of this constitution and the system of small states sanctioned by it, on the basis of the union between Prussia and Reuss-Greiz-Schleiz-Lobenstein, in which one has as many square miles as the other has square inches.

"To touch on that is dangerous, however. Nevertheless, somehow or other, the thing has to be attacked. How necessary this is is shown precisely at the present time by opportunism, which is gaining ground in a large section of the Social-Democratic press. Fearing a renewal of the Anti-Socialist Law, or recalling all manner of overhasty pronouncements made during the reign of that law, they now want the Party to find the present legal order in Germany adequate for putting through all Party demands by peaceful means."

Engels goes on to say that a "peaceful"

"developing into" can still be spoken of ("it is conceivable"—this is weaker and more cautious: it is only *conceivable*) in such countries as the democratic republics of France and the USA, and such monarchies as Britain "where the imminent abdication of the dynasty in return for financial compensation is discussed in the press daily and where this dynasty is powerless against the will of the people...."

NB: consideration and "the will of the people..."

"But in Germany where the government is almost omnipotent and the Reichstag and all other representative bodies have no real power, to advocate such a thing in Germany, when, moreover, there is no need to do so, means removing the fig-leaf from absolutism and becoming oneself a screen for its nakedness.

((The abstract into the foreground, the concrete to be played down!!)) Nota bene!

"In the long run, such a policy can only lead one's own party astray. They push general, abstract political questions into the foreground, thereby concealing the immediate concrete questions, which at the moment of the first great events, the first political crisis, automatically pose themselves. What can result from this except that at the decisive moment the Party suddenly proves helpless and that uncertainty and discord on the most decisive issues reign in it because these issues *have never been discussed?...*" (P. 10.)

NB

How well put! The gist has been tackled!

NB!

"This forgetting [p. 11] of the great, the principal considerations for the momentary interests of the day, this struggling and striving for the success of the moment regardless of later consequences, this sacrifice of the future of the movement for its present, may be 'honestly' meant, *but* it *is* and *remains* opportunism, and **'honest' opportunism** *is perhaps the most dangerous of all!* Which are these ticklish, but very significant points?"

"honest" opportunism is the most dangerous of all

"First. If one thing is certain it is that our Party and the working class can only come to power under the form of a democratic republic. **This is even the specific form for the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the Great French Revolution has already shown....**"

"...It would seem that from a legal point of view it is inadvisable to include the demand for a republic directly in the programme although this was possible even under Louis Philippe in France, and is now in Italy. But the fact that in Germany it is not permitted to advance even a republican party programme openly, proves how strong is the illusion that in that country a republic, and not only a republic, but also communist society can be established in a cosy, peaceful way.

NB

"However, the question of the republic could possibly be passed by. What, however, in my opinion should and could be included in the programme is the demand *for the concentration of all political power in the hands of the people's representatives.* That would suffice for the time being if it is impossible to go any further."

"for the time being" "if"

"Second. The reconstitution of Germany...." To wit: (a) the abolition of the division into petty states, (b) "Prussia must cease to exist and must be broken up into self-governing provinces for the specific Prussianism to stop weighing on Germany."

NB

"...What should take its place? In my view, the proletariat can only use the form of a one and indivisible republic. In the gigantic territory of the United States, the federal republic is still, on the

Again!!

whole, a necessity, although in the Eastern states it is already becoming a hindrance. **It would be a step forward in Britain where the two islands are peopled by four nations** and, in spite of a single Parliament, three different systems of legislation already exist side by side. In little Switzerland, it has long been a hindrance, tolerable only because Switzerland is content to be a purely passive member of the European state system. For Germany, federalisation on the Swiss model would be an enormous step backward. Two points distinguish a union state from a completely unified state: first, that each member state, each canton, has its own civil and criminal legislative and judicial system, and, second, that alongside a popular chamber there is also a federal chamber in which each canton, whether large or small, votes as such" (p. 11). Our union state = a transition to a unified state. And we do not have to turn back ("rückgängig machen") the "*revolution from above*" (p. 11) of 1866 and 1870 but "supplement" it with the "movement from below".

NB* "4 nations" in Britain

NB

"So, then, a unified republic. But not in the sense of the present French Republic, which is nothing but the Empire established in 1798 without the Emperor [p. 12]. From 1792 to 1798, each French department, each commune [Gemeinde], enjoyed complete self-government on the American model, and this is what we too must have. How self-government is to be organised and

NB

* NB This is especially *NB*: In Britain (1891) there are 4 nations, and *therefore* a federal republic would mean progress!!

how we can manage without a bureaucracy has been shown to us by America and the First French Republic, and is being shown even today by Australia, Canada and the other English colonies. And a provincial [regional] and communal self-government of this type is far freer than, for instance, Swiss federalism, under which, it is true, the canton is very independent in relation to the federation, but is also independent in relation to the district [Bezirk] and the commune. The cantonal governments appoint the district governors [Bezirksstatthalter] and prefects, which is unknown in English-speaking countries and which we want to abolish here as resolutely in the future as the Prussian Landräte and Regierungsräte."

"Probably few of these points should be included in the programme. I mention them also mainly to describe the system in Germany, where such matters cannot be discussed openly, and thereby to emphasise at the same time the self-deception of those who wish to transform such a system in a legal way into a communist society. Further, to remind the Party Executive that there are other important political questions besides direct legislation by the people and the gratuitous administration of justice, without which we can also ultimately get by. In the generally unstable conditions these questions may become urgent at any time and what will happen then if they have not been discussed by us beforehand and no agreement has been reached on them?"

"However, what can be included in the programme and can, at least indirectly, serve as a hint of what may

"a hint"

not be said directly is the following demand:

"Complete self-government in the provinces, districts and communes through officials elected by universal suffrage; the abolition of all local and provincial authorities appointed by the state."

NB

"Whether or not it is possible to formulate other programme demands in connection with the points discussed above, I am less able to judge here than you can over there. But it would be desirable to debate these questions within the Party before it is too late" (p. 12).

NB

+ Ibidem Engels simply writes: "5. Complete separation of the church from the state. All religious communities without exception are to be treated by the state as private associations. They are to be deprived of any support from public funds and of all influence on public schools."[24] And nothing else!! *NB*: instead of "declaring religion to be a private matter"??[25]

See p. 32, bottom, same place.

And so Engels, in 1891 (29. VI. 1891), discussing the political programme of Social-Democracy:

(1) struggles directly against *opportunism*, speaking of its growth in the Party, and defining it as the "forgetting of the major, great and main (correlations) 'points of view'";

(2) repeats the definition of the "dictatorship of the proletariat";

(3) insists on a republic (as "the specific form for the dictatorship of the proletariat");

(4) insists on the abolition of all state-appointed officials in local self-government;

(5) is against the illusion of *only* the peaceful, *only* the legal road.

A clear picture!

Theoretically especially **NB** the blending of the dictatorship of the proletariat with most complete local self-government.

The bourgeoisie adopted from the feudal + absolute monarchy

the "bureaucratic-military" state machine and developed it. The opportunists (especially 1914–1917) grew into it (imperialism, as an epoch in the advanced countries, in general tremendously strengthened that machine). The task of the proletarian revolution: to **"smash"**, break that machine and replace it with most complete self-government below, in the localities, and with the *direct* power of the armed proletariat, its dictatorship, at the top.

How are the communes to be united, linked together? In no way, say the anarchists (α). By the bureaucracy and the military caste, says (and does) the bourgeoisie (β). By an alliance, an organisation of the armed workers (*"Soviets of Workers' Deputies"!)*, says Marxism (γ).

(α) = "abolition" of the state; (β) = perpetuation (more precisely: vindication) of the state; (γ) = the revolutionary utilisation of the state (the dictatorship of the proletariat; smashing the old machine; crushing the resistance of the bourgeoisie; uniting and linking together fully democratic communes by the armed and centralised proletariat) for the *transition* to the abolition of classes, to *communism*, which leads to the *withering away of the state*.

The outcome: roughly:

Ad (α)—apoliticism; *ad* (γ)—participation in the political struggle *for* preparation for the revolutionary utilisation of the state.

In his *Premises*, p. 24, Bernstein particularly emphasises Engels's reply to the "Young" dated 13. IX. 1890 (in the *Sozial-Demokrat*[26]) setting forth the reply as follows: "Engels called the movement of the Young simply a 'revolt of men of letters, and students', accusing them of 'a Marxism distorted beyond recognition', and declaring that their reproaches and accusations of the faction were at best sheer nonsense. Let the *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung* hope that the German workers' common sense will overcome the parliamentary trend, so given to cheap successes, in Social-Democracy; he, Engels, cannot share its hopes, since he knows nothing of such a majority in the Party." (This is the wording of Bernstein, who compares it with Engels's remarks of 1887 in the preface to *The Housing Question*[27] *NB*.)

Note, incidentally, that in his critique of the Draft Erfurt Programme, Engels also wrote on the question of parity chambers:

So! ("a trap")

Remarkable!

"...It should be noted that we would be taken in good and proper by labour chambers made up half of workers and half of entrepreneurs. For years to come, the entrepreneurs would always have a majority, for one black sheep among the workers would be needed to achieve this. If it is not agreed upon that in cases of conflict *both halves* express *separate opinions* [Engels's italics], it would be much better to have a chamber of entrepreneurs and, *in addition, an independent chamber of workers*" (p. 13). (Engels's italics.)[28]

NB: Engels on trusts:

In the same critique of the draft Erfurt Programme, Engels wrote in connection with the word "*planlessness*": "When we pass on from joint-stock companies to trusts, which dominate and monopolise whole branches of industry, this puts an end not only to *private production* but also to *planlessness*" (p. 8).

General result: Marx in 1852—the task: **"to smash"** the bureaucratic-military machine.[29]

Marx in 1871—the significance of the Paris Commune: an attempt to *smash* the bureaucratic-military machine.[30]

Engels (+ Marx) in 1875 the strongest "against" the state[31] (here p. 13*).

Marx and Engels from 1872 to 1891—"the dictatorship of the proletariat". —

Look up and ascertain whether Marx and Engels spoke, *prior to 1871*, of the "dictatorship of the proletariat"?[32] I think they did not!

In the *Communist Manifesto* (1847), only the "proletarian revolution", the "communist revolution", the "forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions..." "the raising of the proletariat to the position of ruling class, the winning of the battle of democracy" (end of Chapter II) = the first step (= the first formulation!!)[33]

* See pp. 23–25 of this book.—*Ed.*

Engels in 1891—the dictatorship of the proletariat + the abolition of state officials in local self-government.[34] — ~„~ in the same year, in the introduction to *The Civil War* with special mention of the danger of the "superstitious belief in the state"[35] that reigned in Germany (see here, pp. *34–35**).

FREDERICK ENGELS'S LETTERS ON THE FRENCH WORKERS' PARTY

"*F. Engels's Letters* on the French Workers' Party" were published in *Neue Zeit*, XIX, 1 (1901, 2. I, No. 14, pp. 423–427).[36]

(((Bernstein published in *Mouvement Socialiste*[37] (No. 45) (obviously 1900) Engels's letters against the Guesdists, referring to 1881, 1882 and 1883. Re-printed in the original in *Vorwärts*[38] No. 277 and 278, 28 and 29. XI. 1900. These letters, in which Engels seemed to be defending Clemenceau, were used by the opportunists. Then Lafargue published in *Socialiste*[39] (No. 115 of 24. XI. 1900) the letters of 1886–1895, which were published in the mentioned issue of *Neue Zeit*.)))

These letters contain nothing that is of theoretical importance. I shall note only:

6. III. 1894:

"...Yes, but we have a republic in France, the ex-radicals will tell us. In your country it is another matter. We can use the government for socialist measures!—With respect to the proletariat, the republic differs from the monarchy only in that it is the *ready-for-use* political form for the future rule of the proletariat. You are at an advantage compared with us in already having it; *we for our part shall have to spend twenty-four hours to make it* [p. 425] [Engels's italics]. But a republic, like every other form of government, is determined by its content. So long as it is a form of bourgeois democracy it is as hostile to us as any monarchy (except for the *forms* of this hostility). It is therefore a wholly baseless illusion to regard it as essentially socialist in form. We shall be able to wrest concessions from it but never

* Ibid., pp. 56–57.—*Ed.*

to put in its charge the execution of what is our own concern, even if we should be able to control it by a minority strong enough to change into the majority overnight."[40]

Engels's Introduction to *The Class Struggles in France* dated (NB): 6. III. 1895.[41]

3. IV. 1895:

"X ... has just played me a nice trick. He has taken from my 'Introduction' to Marx's articles on France of 1848–50 everything that could serve him to defend the *tactics of peace at any price and of opposition to force and violence*, which it has pleased him for some time now to preach, especially at present when coercive laws are being prepared in Berlin. But I am preaching these tactics only for *the Germany of today*, and even then *with an important proviso*. In France, Belgium, Italy, and Austria these tactics could not be followed in their entirety and in Germany they may become inapplicable tomorrow" (Engels's italics).[42]

NB

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cf. *The Road to Power*, 2nd edition, 1910, p. 51, Engels's letter to Kautsky of 1. IV. 1895: "To my astonishment I see in the *Vorwärts* today an extract from my 'Introduction', printed without my prior knowledge and trimmed in such a fashion that I appear as a peaceful worshipper of legality at any price. So much the more would I like the whole thing to appear now in the *Neue Zeit* so that this disgraceful impression will be wiped out. I shall give Liebknecht a good piece of my mind on that score and also, no matter who they are, to those who gave him the opportunity to misrepresent my opinion without even telling me a word about it...."[43]

NB

NB

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2. VI. 1894:

"This upsurge, which has manifested itself in your socialist movement, can lead up to a decisive conflict in which you will win the first victories; the revolutionary traditions of the country and the capital, the character of your army, which has been

reorganised since 1870 on a considerably more mass basis—all this makes possible such a turn of events. But to secure victory and to smash the foundations of capitalist society, you will need the active support of the socialist party, which is stronger, more numerous, more tested and more conscious than that which you have at your disposal. In that case there would be carried out what we have foreseen and foretold for many long years: the French giving the signal, and opening fire, and the Germans determining the outcome of the battle."[44]

22. XI. 1887:

"You have probably read in L... N's speech in the K. constituency. He complains, and with good reason, that the party is *becoming more and more bourgeois*. This is the misfortune of all the extreme parties as soon as the hour draws near when they become 'possible'. But our Party cannot cross, in this respect, a certain limit, without betraying itself, *and I think that in France, as in Germany, we have already reached that line. Fortunately it is still not too late to stop*" (Engels's italics) (p. 426).[45]

27. X. 1890—against the "Young", that they are all careerists, pseudo-Marxists ("I am no Marxist," Marx said of such people)—and Marx would have said like Heine: "I have sown dragon's teeth and harvested fleas" (p. 427).[46]

Ibid., p. 794. "*Marx on Protective Tariffs*"—an unpublished speech **(the second)** by Marx on free trade, from Weydemeyer's translation (published in 1848) from the *New-Yorker Volkszeitung*.[47] On protectionism. Incidentally:

"On the whole, however, social reforms are never conditioned by the weakness of the strong; they must and will be brought to life by the strength of the weak."[48]

Marx in 1848? *before* 1848

LETTER FROM ENGELS TO BEBEL

Of *extremely* great importance in the question of the state is a letter from **Engels** to *Bebel* of *18/28. III. 1875.*[49] (Bebel. *From My Life*, Vol. II, p. 318 et seq. Stuttgart, 1911: Foreword, 2. IX. 1911.)

Here is the most important passage in full:

"...The free people's state is transformed into the free state. Taken in its grammatical sense, a free state is one where the state is free in relation to its citizens, hence a state with a despotic government. NB **The whole talk about the state should be dropped** [pp. 321–322], especially *since the Commune*, **which was no longer a state in the proper sense of the word.** The '*people's state*' has been thrown in our faces by the Anarchists to the point of disgust, although already Marx's book against Proudhon and later the *Communist Manifesto* directly declare that *with the introduction of the socialist order of society* **the state dissolves of itself [sich auflöst] and disappears.** As, therefore, the state is only a transient institution which is used in the struggle, in the revolution, to hold down one's adversaries by force, it is pure nonsense to talk of a free people's state: so long as the proletariat still *uses* the state [Engels's italics], it does *not* use it *in the interests of freedom but in order to hold down its adversaries, and as soon as it becomes possible to speak of freedom the state as such ceases to exist.* NB We would therefore propose to replace *state* everywhere by *Gemeinwesen*, NB a good old German word which can very well convey the meaning of the French word 'Commune'" (Engels's italics).

This is perhaps the most remarkable and probably the sharpest passage, so to say, "*against* the state", in Marx and Engels.

(1) "The whole talk about the state should be dropped."

(2) "The Commune was **no** longer a state in the proper sense of the word" (what was it then? evidently a transitional form from the state to non-state!).

(3) The anarchists have sufficiently "thrown in our faces" "the people's state". (Marx and Engels, it follows, were ashamed of this obvious error of their German friends; however, they considered it—and of course, *in* **those** *circumstances*, correctly considered it—an incomparably less important error than that of the anarchists. NB this!!)

(4) The state "of itself decomposes" ("dissolves of itself") Nota bene "and disappears..." (cf. later "withers away") "with the introduction of the socialist social order...."

(5) The state is a "temporary institution" which is necessary "in the struggle, in the revolution..." (necessary to the *proletariat*, of course)....

(6) The state is needed, *not for freedom* but for *suppression* (? "Niederhaltung" is not suppression, properly speaking, but a holding back from restoration, a keeping in submission) of the *adversaries of the proletariat.*

(7) When there is freedom, then there will be no state.

Usually the concepts "freedom" and "democracy" are considered identical and one is often used instead of the other. Very often, vulgar Marxists (headed by Kautsky, Plekhanov and Co.) reason precisely in that way. In fact democracy precludes freedom. The dialectic (course) of development is as follows: from absolutism to bourgeois democracy; from bourgeois democracy to proletarian democracy; from proletarian democracy to none at all.

(8) "We" (i.e. Engels and *Marx*) would propose "*everywhere*" (in the programme) to say instead of "state" "community" (Gemeinwesen), "Commune"!!! NB!!!!

Hence it is seen how Marx and Engels have been vulgarised and defiled, not only by the opportunists but by Kautsky as well.

Not a single one of these *eight* thoughts, so rich in content, has been understood by the opportunists!!

They have taken *only* the practical need of the present: using the political struggle, using the *present-day* state so as to instruct and educate the proletariat, to "extract concessions". This is correct (as against the anarchists), but it is as yet merely one-hundredth of Marxism, if one can express oneself thus arithmetically.

Kautsky has quite glossed over (or forgotten? or not understood?), in his propagandist and in general publicist work, points 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8 and Marx's "smashing" (in the polemic against Pannekoek in 1912 or 1913. Kautsky (see below,

pp. 45–47*) has already completely fallen into opportunism in this question).

From the anarchists we are distinguished (α) by the use of the state *now*, and (β) during the *revolution* of the proletariat ("the dictatorship of the proletariat"), points of the utmost importance for practice, immediately. (It is these that Bucharin *has forgotten*!)

From the opportunists by more profound, "more eternal" truths about (αα) the "temporary" character of the state, about (ββ) the *harm* of "talk" about it now, about (γγ) the not entirely state character of the dictatorship of the proletariat, (δδ) about the contradiction between state and freedom, (εε) about the more correct idea (concept, programme term) "Gemeinwesen" instead of state, (ςς) about the "smashing" (zerbrechen) of the bureaucratic-military machine. It should also not be forgotten that the undisguised opportunists of Germany (Bernstein, Kolb and so on) flatly reject *the dictatorship of the proletariat*, while the official programme and Kautsky do so *indirectly*, maintaining silence about it in their everyday agitation and *tolerating* the treachery of the Kolbs and Co.

In August 1916, it was written to Bukharin: "Let your thoughts about the state *mature*." He, however, *without letting* them mature, dashed into the press, as "Nota bene", and did so in such a way that, instead of exposing the Kautskyites, he *helped* them by his mistakes!![50] In essence, however, Bukharin is closer to the truth than Kautsky.

NB ‖ *Neue Zeit*, XIX, 1 (1900–1901) (No. 26, 27. III. 1901), p. *804:* **M. Beer** on the decline of Britain, with notes about its imperialism, *putrefaction*, and the *imperialism* of other countries. — — — NB. Also Beer: "Social Imperialism", *Neue Zeit*, XX, 1 (1901–1902), p. 209 et seq. (the Fabians) and "The Present-Day Condition of Trade-Unionism", *ibid.*, p. *43* (NB) ((*"The Imperialist-Social Era"*.)).

XIX, 2, p. 197: the article by *Walter* about "Russian imperialism..." ((from Peter I to *China* in the 20th century)).

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* See pp. 73–78 of this book.—*Ed.*

A letter from *Engels to Bebel* written 28. III. 1875. A letter from *Marx* to Bracke with a *critique of the Gotha Programme, written* more than a month later: *5. V. (May). 1875 (Neue Zeit*, IX, 1, 1891) *(1890–1891, No. 18)*.[51] ‖

At first glance Marx, in this letter, looks far more like a "champion of the state"—if this vulgar expression of our enemies may be used—than Engels does.

Engels proposes (1) to say nothing at all about the state; (2) to replace this word by "Gemeinwesen"; (3) he declares even the Commune (i.e., "the dictatorship of the proletariat") "no longer a state in the proper sense of the word"—while Marx does not utter *a sound* about all this, but, *on the contrary*, even speaks of "the *future state of communist* society"!! (*Neue Zeit*, IX, 1, p. 573.) (Here p. 16, below.) ‖ !!

At first glance the impression may be created of an arid contradiction, confusion, or divergence of views! But that is only at first glance.

Here is, in full, the decisive (on this point) passage from Marx's letter:

"'Present-day society' is capitalist society, which exists in all civilised countries, more or less free from mediaeval admixture, more or less modified by the particular historical development of each country, more or less developed. On the other hand, the 'present-day state' changes with a country's frontier. It is different in the Prusso-German Empire from what it is in Switzerland [572], and different in England [573] from what it is in the United States. 'The present-day state' is, therefore, a fiction.

"Nevertheless, the different states of the different civilised countries, in spite of their motley diversity of form, all have this in common, that they are based on modern bourgeois society, only one more or less capitalistically developed. They have, therefore, also certain essential characteristics in common. In this sense it is possible to speak of the 'present-day state', in contrast with the future, in which its present root, bourgeois society, will have died off.

"The question then arises: what transformation will the **state** undergo in *communist society?* In other words, *what social functions will remain in existence there that are analo-* ‖ NB

gous to present state functions? This question can only be answered scientifically, and one does not get a flea-hop nearer to the problem by a thousandfold combination of the word 'people' with the word 'state'.

"Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. Corresponding to this is also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the *revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*" (Marx's italics).

"Now the programme does not deal with this nor with the *future state of communist society.*"

It is clear that this is a reproach; that is clear from the following sentence: the programme "deals with" the old democratic litany, *not* with questions of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat and the future state of communist society....

"Its political demands contain nothing beyond the old democratic litany familiar to all: universal suffrage, direct legislation, popular rights, a people's militia, etc. They are a mere echo of the bourgeois People's Party,[52] of the League of Peace and Freedom"[53] (573)....

These demands, he says, have already been "realised"—only not in the German state but in others, in Switzerland and the United States. These demands are in place ("am Platze") *only* in a *democratic republic.* The programme does not call for a republic, as was done by the French workers' programmes under Louis Philippe and Louis Napoleon—that cannot be done in Germany, so there is no reason to demand, from military despotism, things that are in place only in a democratic republic... even vulgar democracy *"towers mountains above this kind of democratism which keeps within the limits of what is permitted by the police and not permitted by logic."*[54]

Very good (and very important)

in these words Marx, as it were, foresaw all the vulgarity of Kautskyism: the saccharine speeches about all sorts of good things which turn into an embellishing of reality, since they play down or leave in the shadow the irreconcilability of the democratic world and imperialism, democracy and the monarchy, and so on.

Thus, the dictatorship of the proletariat is a "political transition period"; it is clear that *the state of this period* is also a transition from state to non-state, i.e., "no longer a state in the proper sense of the word". Consequently, Marx and Engels were not at all contradicting each other on this point.

Further Marx speaks of the "future state of communist society"!! Thus, even in a "*communist* society" there will be statehood!! Is there no contradiction here?

No:

the state is needed by the bourgeoisie	I — — in capitalist society the state in the proper sense
the state is needed by the proletariat	II — — transition (dictatorship of the proletariat): the state of a transitional type (not state in the proper sense of the word)
the state is not necessary, it withers away	III — — communist society: the *withering away* of the state

Full consistency and clarity!!

Otherwise:

I — democracy only for the rich and a thin layer of the proletariat. The poor are not in a position to think of it!	I — democracy only as an exception, never complete...
II — democracy for the poor, for 9/10 of the population, forcible suppression of the resistance of the rich	II — democracy almost complete, limited only by the *suppression* of the resistance of the bourgeoisie
III — full democracy, which becomes a habit and is therefore withering away, yielding place to the principle: "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" See p. 19, in margin*	III — genuinely full democracy, becoming a habit and *therefore* withering away.... Full democracy equals no democracy. This is not a paradox but a truth!

Also bearing upon the question of the state is a highly important passage in "*Critique of the Gotha Programme*" dealing with an *economic* analysis of future society.

Here Marx criticises (pp. 565–567) the Lassallean idea of "undiminished proceeds of labour" and shows the need to deduct the fund covering the worn-out part of the means of production, a reserve fund, expenditures on administration, schools, public hygiene and so on, *and continues:*

"What we have to deal with here is a communist society, not as it has *developed* on its own foundations, but, on the contrary, just as it *emerges* from capitalist society; which is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birth-marks of the old society from whose womb it emerges. Accordingly, the individual producer receives back from society—after the deductions have been made—exactly what he gives to it. What he has given

NB

NB

* See p. 32 of this book.—*Ed.*

to it is his individual quantum of labour. For example, the social working day consists of the sum of the individual hours of work; the individual labour time of the individual producer is the part of the social working day contributed by him, his share in it. He receives a certificate from society that he has furnished such and such an amount of labour (after deducting his labour for the common funds), and with this certificate he draws from the social stock of means of consumption as much as costs the same amount of labour. The same amount of labour which he has given to society in one form he receives back in another" (566).

"Nothing can pass to the ownership of individuals except individual means of consumption" (567). "But, as far as the distribution of the latter among the individual producers is concerned, the same principle prevails as in the exchange of commodity-equivalents: a given amount of labour in one form is exchanged for an equal amount of labour in another form" (567). This equality of right presupposes *inequality*, inequality in fact, inequality among people since one is strong, another is weak and so on (individuals "would not be different individuals if they were not unequal") (567),—one will receive more than another.

And so:

I "prolonged birth-pangs"

II "the first phase of communist society"

III "a higher phase of communist society"

"But these defects are inevitable in the **first phase** of communist society as it is when it has just emerged after prolonged birth-pangs from capitalist society. Right can never be higher than the economic structure of society and its cultural development conditioned thereby."

"In a *higher phase of communist* society, after the enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labour, and therewith also the antithesis between mental and physical labour, has vanished; after labour has become not only a means of life but life's prime want; after the productive

NB

forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more abundantly—only then can the **narrow horizon of bourgeois right** be crossed in its entirety and society inscribe on its banners: From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs!" (567).[55]

NB

And so, two phases of communist society are clearly, distinctly and accurately distinguished:

Also a form of coercion: "if he does not work, neither shall he get food"

The *lower* ("first")—the distribution of articles of consumption "proportionately" (567) to the amount of labour supplied by each to society. Inequality of distribution is still strong. "The narrow bourgeois horizon of right" has *not yet* been crossed *in its entirety*. This *NB!!*. With (semi-bourgeois) rights the (semi-bourgeois) state obviously does not fully disappear either. This is *Nota Bene!!*

NB

Labour has become a necessity, there is no coercion

The "*higher*"—"from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs". When is this possible? When (1) the antithesis between intellectual and manual labour disappears; (2) labour becomes a *prime necessity of life* (NB: the habit of working becomes a norm, without coercion!!); (3) the productive forces develop highly, and so on. It is obvious that the *complete* withering away of the state is possible only at this highest degree. This is NB.

LETTER OF ENGELS, 1875

In a letter from Engels to Bebel of *18/28. III. 1875* there are some more highly instructive passages which illuminate certain aspects of Marxism more clearly than usual:

(1) "...In the first place, Lassalle's high-sounding but historically false phrase is accepted [in the Gotha Programme]: in relation to the working class all other classes are *only one reactionary* mass. *This proposition is true only in a few exceptional cases:* for instance, *in a revolution* of the proletariat, *like the Commune*, **or** in *a country* where *not only* the bourgeoisie *has moulded* state and society *in its own image but* where *in its wake the democratic* petty bourgeoisie, *too, has* already *carried* out this remoulding *down to its final consequences*" (p. 319). (In Germany, however, you have gone together with the People's Party "for years", and you have seven political demands, "of which there is not a single one that is not *bourgeois*-democratic" (Engels's italics).

NB

(As in Switzerland)

NB

(2) "...Fifthly [Engels's fifth objection], there is not a word about the organisation of the working class as a class by means of the *trade unions*. And that is a very essential point, for *this is the real class organisation of the proletariat*, in which it carries on its daily struggle with capital, in which it trains itself, and which nowadays even amid the worst reaction (as in Paris at present) [321] can simply no longer be smashed. Considering the importance which this organisation has attained also in Germany, it would be absolutely necessary in our opinion to mention it in the programme and if possible to leave open a place for it in the Party organisation."

Precisely!

NB

(3) "...Equally lacking [in the programme] is the first condition of all freedom: that all officials should be responsible for all their official acts to every citizen before the ordinary courts and according to common law" (321).

NB

(4) "...'The elimination of all social and political inequality' is also a very questionable phrase in place of 'the abolition of all class distinctions'. Between one country and another, one province and another and even one locality and another there will always exist a *certain* inequality in the conditions of life, which it will be possible to reduce to a minimum but never entirely remove. Alpine dwellers will always have different conditions of life from those of people living on plains. The idea of socialist society as the realm of *equality* is a one-sided French idea resting upon the old 'liberty, equality, fraternity'—an idea which was justified *as a stage of development* in its own time and place but which, like all the one-sided ideas of the earlier socialist schools, should now be overcome, for it only produces confusion in people's heads and more precise modes of presentation of the matter have been found" (322).

NB

"thoughtless word" of Liebknecht's

(5) Bakunin in his work *Statehood and Anarchy* makes *us* responsible for every "thoughtless word" of Liebknecht's... (322–323)....

(6) "In general, *the official programme of a party is of less importance than what the party actually does.* But a *new* programme is after all a banner publicly raised, and the outside world judges the party by it..." (323).[56]

NB ha-ha!

Bebel replied to Engels on 21. IX. 1875, inter alia,—"*I am in full agreement with the sentence* you have passed on the draft programme, as is also proved by my letters to Bracke (334–335). I have also sharply reproached Liebknecht for his compliance..." but now the thing has been done, and "everything reduced itself to questions of education".

That Bebel *himself* somewhat earlier shared all these confused views about the "people's state" is proved by his pamphlet *Our Aims* (ed. 9, *1886*, in the "Social-Democratic Library", published without any changes from the 3rd ed. of 1872), p. 14: "And so the state must be transformed from one based on *class rule* into a *people's state*... and in this state ... comradely production must take the place of private enterprises...." And here, on page 44, he recommends *both* Marx *and* Lassalle!!! Next to each other!! Bebel did *not* then see their differences on the state.

THE POVERTY OF PHILOSOPHY

The passage in **"The Poverty of Philosophy"** (p. 182) which Engels refers to in his letter of 18/28. III. 1875 (see above, p. 13*) is evidently the following:

"The working class, in the course of development, will substitute for the old bourgeois society** an association which will preclude classes and their antagonism, and there will be no more political power proper, since political power is precisely the official expression of class antagonism in bourgeois society." (P. 182, *The Poverty of Philosophy*. Stuttgart, 1885.[57]) (Preface dated *15. VI. 1847.*)

NB

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

NB *"The Communist Manifesto"*: **"the state, i.e., the proletariat organised as the ruling class".**[58]

In *The Communist Manifesto* (XI.1847) this thought is expressed as follows:

NB: *"The Communist Manifesto" on the state*

"... In depicting the most general phases of the development of the proletariat, we traced the more or less veiled civil war, raging within existing

* See p. 24 of this book.—*Ed.*

** In the French original: *société civile.*—*Ed.*

society, up to the point where that war breaks out into open revolution, and where the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie *lays the foundation for the sway of the proletariat*" (*p. 31*, 7th ed., 1906) ((end of Chapter I)).

And at the end of Chapter II, p. 37, we read: "...We have seen above that the first step in the revolution by the working class, *is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy.*

"The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production **in the hands of the state, i.e., of the proletariat organised as the ruling class;** and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible."

"the state", i.e., the proletariat organised as the ruling class

"Of course, in the beginning, this cannot be effected except by means of **despotic inroads** on the rights of property, and on the conditions of bourgeois production; by means of measures, therefore, which appear economically insufficient and untenable, but which, in the course of the movement, outstrip themselves... and are unavoidable as a means of entirely revolutionising the mode of production..." (p. 37). And after enumerating the "measures" (§§ 1–10)* the authors continue:

NB: "despotic inroads"

"When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of an association of individuals, *the public power will lose its political character.* Political power, properly so called, is merely the organised power of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organise itself as a class, if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, do away with the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class..." (p. 38).

"the public power loses its political character"

The *Communist Manifesto* on *the modern state*: "The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie."[59]

The *Communist Manifesto* speaks of "revolution by the working class", "communist revolution", and "proletarian revolution". I think the term "dictatorship of the proletariat" is not yet used. However, it is obvious that the transformation of the proletariat into the "ruling class", its "organisation as the ruling class", its "despotic inroads on the rights of property", etc.—this *is* the "dictatorship of the proletariat...."

"*The state, i.e., the proletariat organised as the ruling class*"—this is the dictatorship of the proletariat.

NB

* These measures (§§ 1, 5, 6) speak everywhere of the "state" simply, e.g., § 6: "centralisation of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the state".

Engels also has an "*Introduction*" to a pamphlet by *S. Borkheim, A Reminder to the German Jingoists of 1806–1807* ("The Social-Democratic Library", Vol. II, No. XXIV), written on 15. XII. 1887, where, among other things, the *state* in *Germany* is spoken of: "...The state becomes more and more alien to the interests of the broad masses and turns into a consortium of agrarians, exchange brokers and big industrialists, for the exploitation of the people" (p. 7). Also there about the impending *world war*, which will lead to "universal exhaustion and the creation of conditions for the final victory of the working class..." (7) "at the end" of this war "the victory of the proletariat will either have been won or else yet [doch] be inevitable" (8).[60]

Engels on the state and war

THE HOUSING QUESTION

In *The Housing Question* (1872) there are several passages bearing upon the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the state (in connection with this), which should be mentioned:

"How is the housing question to be settled, then? In present-day society, it is settled just as any other social question is: by the gradual economic levelling of demand and supply, a settlement which reproduces the question itself again and again and therefore is no settlement. How a *social revolution would settle* this *question* not only depends on the circumstances in each particular case, but is also connected with much more far-reaching questions, one of the most fundamental of which is the abolition of the *antithesis between town and country*. As it is not our task to create utopian systems for the organisation of the future society, it would be more than idle to go into the question here. But one thing is certain: there is already a sufficient

quantity of houses in the big cities to remedy immediately all real 'housing *shortage*' [Engels's italics], provided they are used judiciously. This can naturally only occur *through the expropriation of the present owners* and *by quartering in their houses* homeless workers or workers overcrowded in their present homes. As soon as the proletariat has won political power, such a measure prompted by concern for the common good will be just as easy to carry out as are other expropriations and billetings by the present-day state" (p. 22, ed. 1887).

Here, clearly set forth is one of the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, one of the tasks of the *state* (a union of proletarians) during the *transitional period* from capitalism to full communism. Such a thing cannot be *immediately* begun without a *revolutionary use of state power*.

P. 26: note a very important remark that such questions as credits, state debts, taxes and so on are all things of *great* interest to the bourgeois, and *especially to the petty bourgeois*, but of quite little interest to the workers. Taxes ultimately enter the cost of production of labour power: "'State debts!' The working class knows that it did not make them, and when it comes to power it will leave the payment of them to those who contracted them" (26).[61]

P. 9—"...*therefore, perhaps, in the future also, the initiative will continue to rest with the French, but the decision can be fought out only in Germany*..." (and in the same spirit p. 10—from the preface dated 10. I. *1887* on the impending *revolution*, "uprising", on the revolutionary role "of the peasant sons", of the "glorious army", etc.)[62].

The same, pp. 36–37: "...In the beginning, however [after arguments on the need to abolish the antithesis between town and country], each social revolution will have to take things as it finds them *and do its best to get rid of the most crying evils with the means at its disposal.* And we have already seen that the housing *shortage* can be remedied immediately by expropriating a part of the luxury dwellings belonging to the propertied classes and by compulsory quartering in the remaining part" (36–37).

(P. 55), the Paris Commune... the Proudhonists were strongly represented in it ... but, to the *honour* of the Commune, its economic measures resulted from "simple practical necessity...."

"And therefore these measures—abolition of night work in the bakeries, prohibition of monetary fines in the factories, confiscation of shut-down factories and workshops and handing them over to workers' associations—were not at all in accordance with the spirit of Proudhonism, but certainly in accordance with the spirit of German scientific socialism. The only social measure which the Proudhonists put through was the decision *not* to confiscate the Bank of France, and this was partly responsible for the downfall of the Commune..." (55).[63]

"abolition of the state..."

The Blanquists ... proclaimed (the manifesto of the refugees of the Commune[64]) "...almost literally at that, the views of German scientific socialism on the necessity of political action by the proletariat and of its dictatorship as the transition to *the abolition of classes* and *with them of the state*—views such as had already been expressed in the *Communist Manifesto* and since then on innumerable occasions" (55–56).

Engels "went so far" as to speak of the "abolition" of the state! However, it would be ridiculous fault-finding to seize at this: the essence is in the words: together *with them*, with the classes!!

In the middle of p. 56, incidentally, inter alia: "in ... the revolution, **in the most violent of all movements,** 'to stand'?..." (Mockery of the word "stand". Moreover, the definition of revolution is quite good.)

P. 57: "... Since each political party sets out to establish its rule in the state, so the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party is necessarily striving to establish *its* rule, the rule of the working class, hence 'class rule'.

Moreover, *every* [Engels's italics] real proletarian party, from the English Chartists onward, has put forward a class policy, the organisation of the proletariat as an independent political party, as the primary condition of its struggle, and the *dictatorship of the proletariat* as the *immediate* aim of the struggle" (57).

NB

"...Moreover, it must be pointed out that the 'actual seizure' of all the instruments of labour, the seizure of industry as a whole by the working people, is the exact opposite of the Proudhonist 'redemption'. In the latter case, the *individual worker* becomes the owner of the dwelling, the peasant farm, the instruments of labour; in the former case, the 'working people' remain the collective owners of houses, factories and instruments of labour, and will hardly permit their use, at least during a transitional period, by individuals or associations without compensation for the cost. Similarly, the abolition of property in land is not the abolition of ground rent but its transfer, though in a modified form, to society. The actual seizure of all the instruments of labour by the working people, therefore, does not at all preclude the retention of the rent relation" (68).

(one of the functions of the proletarian "state", of the dictatorship of the proletariat)

"In general [69], the question is not whether the proletariat when it comes to power will simply seize by force the instruments of production, the raw materials and means of subsistence, whether it will pay immediate compensation for them or whether it will redeem the property therein by small instalment payments. To attempt to answer such a question in advance and for all cases would be utopia-making, and that I leave to others" (69).[65]

NB Regarding Engels's Introduction to *The Class Struggles in France*, **Kautsky** wrote in *Neue Zeit* (1909), XXVII, 2, p. *416* ("Der charakterlose Engels")—"... in his [Engels's] manuscript [Kautsky wrote previous to that] the revolutionary standpoint was energetically emphasised but the revolutionary passages, however, were *crossed out* in Berlin, if I am correctly informed, by Comrade Richard *Fischer*...."

In *Neue Zeit*, XVII, 2 (1898–1899, No. 28), in the polemic with Bernstein:

NB "...The German friends insisted that he (Engels) should omit the conclusion *as too revolutionary*" (Kautsky's italics) (p. 47).

+ *Neue Zeit*, XXVII, 1 (2. X. 1908), pp. 6–7, Engels's letters to Kautsky on Engels's Introduction to the *Class Struggles*.[66]

cf. also (in greater detail; with excerpts from Engels's letters to Kautsky) in *The Road to Power*.

THE CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE

The Civil War in France (Leipzig, 1876). Dated **30. V. 1871** (cf. here, the middle of p. 2),*—all of Chapter III, or almost all, deals with the question of the state and with explanation of why the working class cannot "simply" lay hold of the "ready-made state machinery"[67] (see above, p. 1**).

organs of "state power" "...The centralised state power, with its ubiquitous organs of standing army, police, bureaucracy, clergy, and judicature..." ((originated in the Middle Ages and developed further in the 19th century...)). With the development of class antagonism between capital and labour "state power assumed more

* See p. 10 of this book.—*Ed.*
** Ibid., p. 8.—*Ed.*

and more the character of a public force for the suppression of labour, of a machine of class rule. After every revolution which marks an advance in the class struggle, the **purely repressive** character of the state power stands out in bolder and bolder relief...." NB

((Further this is analysed in detail: the revolution of 1830,—1848 and so on. The Second Empire.)) ((Incidentally (after 1848/49): "...State power" = "the national war-engine of capital against labour...."))

"...The direct antithesis to the empire was the Commune." "The Commune was a specific form of the Republic" p. 45, ed. 3 (precisely "a republic that was not only to remove the monarchical form of class-rule, but class-rule itself").

The Civil War, edition of 1876, particularly NB:
p. 28, line 2 from bottom — ("smashes")
„ „ „ 18 „ top — ("amputate")
„ „ „ 13 „ „ — ("destruction")
p. 29: the state = "a parasitic excrescence".*

Thus, the Commune = **"a specific form"** of the proletarian socialist republic. *In what* precisely was this manifested? What precisely was that "specific form"?

((1)) "The first decree of the Commune, therefore, was the *suppression of the standing army*, and the substitution for it of the armed people...." p. 46, ed. 3 — suppression of the standing army

((2)) "...The Commune was formed of the municipal councillors, chosen by universal suffrage in the various wards of Paris, responsible and *revocable at any time*. The majority of its members were naturally working men, or acknowledged representatives of the working class." — democratically chosen institution responsibility and { *revocability* / at any time }

in 1876 they wrote Commune
in 1891 " " Kommune

* See pp. 45–46 of this book (points ((12)) and ((14))).—*Ed.*

"*not* a parliamentary, but a working body", *both* legislative *and* executive power

((3)) "...The Commune was to **be a working, not a parliamentary, body,** executive and legislative at the same time...."

the police stripped of political attributes and turned into revocable executives

((4)) "...The police, which until then had been the instrument of the Government, was at once stripped of all its political attributes, and turned into the responsible and at all times revocable agent of the Commune."

all officials, the same

((5)) "...So were the officials of all other branches of the administration...."

"ordinary workmen's wages"

((6)) "...From the members of the Commune downwards, the public service and to be done at workmen's *wages*."

abolition of privileges of (high) dignitaries of state

((7)) "...The privileges and the representation allowances of the high dignitaries of state disappeared along with the high dignitaries themselves..." (26–27). p. 46, ed .3

"break" the power of the priests

((8)) "...Having once got rid of the standing army and the police, the instruments of the physical force of the old Government, the Commune proceeded at once to break the instrument of the spiritual suppression, the power of the priests..." (the disestablishment and disendowment of churches).

((9)) "...The judicial functionaries lost that sham independence...." They "were thenceforward to be elective, responsible, and revocable..." (27).

((10)) "...In a brief sketch of national organisation which the Commune had no time to develop, it states explicitly that the Commune was to be the political form of even the smallest village...." The communes were also to elect the "National Delegation" in Paris (28).... p. 47, ed. 3

"national organisation" according to communes

((11)) "...The few but important functions which still would remain for a central government were not to be suppressed, as has been intentionally misstated, but were to be discharged by Communal, and therefore strictly responsible agents...."

a "central government" of "Communal", i.e., strictly responsible officials

((12)) "...The Unity of the nation was not to be broken, but, on the contrary, to be organised by the Communal Constitution and to become a reality by the *destruction of the state power* which claimed to be the embodiment of that unity independent of, and superior to, the nation itself, from which it was but a *parasitic excrescence*. While the merely repressive organs of old governmental power were to be *amputated*, its legitimate functions were to be wrested from an authority usurping pre-eminence over society itself, and restored to the responsible agents of society..." (28).

"Communal Constitution" = the "*destruction*" of the "statehood" that was a parasitic excrescence

See p. 31 here*, how Bernstein "brought this close" to Proudhon!

((13)) "...Instead of deciding once in three or six years which member of the ruling class was to represent and repress [ver- und

not the *old parliamentarianism* but

* See p. 48 of this book.—*Ed.*

"the people constituted in Communes"

zertreten] the people in Parliament, universal suffrage was to serve the people, constituted in Communes, as individual suffrage serves every other employer in the search for the workers, foremen and accountants for his business." p. 47, ed. 3

"new historical creation"

((14)) "...It is generally the fate of *new historical* creations to be mistaken for the counterpart of older and even defunct forms of social life, to which they may bear a certain likeness. Thus, this *new Commune, which breaks* [*bricht*—smashes] *the modern state power*, has been mistaken for a reproduction of the mediaeval Communes ... for a federation of small States (Montesquieu, the Girondins) ... for an exaggerated form of the ancient struggle against over-centralisation...." p. 48, ed. 3

"this *new* Commune, which breaks the modern state power..."

Marx on the "parasitic excrescence", "the state" Exactly!

((15)) "...The Communal Constitution would have restored to the social body all the forces hitherto absorbed by *that parasitic excrescence, the 'state'*, feeding upon, and clogging the free movement of, society. By this one act it would have initiated the regeneration of France...." p. 48, ed. 3

((16)) "...In reality, the Communal Constitution would have brought the rural producers under the intellectual lead of the central towns of their districts, and there secured for them, in the urban working men, the natural trustees of their interests.—The very existence of the Commune *involved, as a matter of course, local self-government*, but no longer as a counterpoise to the *now superseded state power*" (29). p. 48, ed. 3

"now superseded state power"

((17)) "The Commune made that catchword of bourgeois revolutions, cheap government, a reality, by **destroying** the two greatest sources of expenditure—**the army and state functionarism**" (30). p. 49, ed. 3

NB: destroyed the army and state functionarism

((18)) "*The multiplicity of interpretations* to which the Commune has been subjected, and the multiplicity of interests which expressed themselves in it, show that it was a *thoroughly flexible political form*, while all previous *forms of government* had been essentially repressive. Its true secret was this: it was essentially a *working-class government* [Marx's italics], the result of the struggle of the producing against the appropriating class, *the political form at last discovered, under which the economic emancipation of labour could be accomplished*" (30). p. 49, ed. 3

the Commune = *a working-class government*

NB the Commune = "the political form at last discovered"

((19)) "...Except on this last condition, the Communal Constitution would have been an impossibility and a delusion...."

"...The Commune aimed at the expropriation of the expropriators..." (31).[68]

The Commune had saved the Paris middle class. It was right in telling the peasants that its victory was their only salvation; ...3 months of free communication of "Communal Paris" with the provinces would

NB || have led to a "general rising of the peasants" (35). [p. 53, ed. 3] The Commune was the genuine representative "of all the healthy elements of French society..." (35). [p. 53, ed. 3]

The vulgar Bernstein has reduced everything to "municipation" and local self-government. The idiot!!

"...Its [the Commune's] special measures could but betoken the tendency of a government of the people by the people" (36) [p. 53, ed. of 1891, 3rd. ed.] — the abolition of the nightwork of journeymen bakers; the prohibition of fines; the surrender of all closed factories to associations of workmen....[69]

(NB) **Bernstein's** appraisal:

In his *Premises*, p. 134, Bernstein quotes these passages (No. 12 and No. 13 and No. 15 in my notes) from *The Civil War*, and declares: "As far as its political content is concerned", this "programme" "displays, in all its essential features, the greatest similarity to the federalism—of *Proudhon*". (Ha-ha!)

"...In spite of all the other points of difference between Marx and [!!] the 'petty-bourgeois' Proudhon on these points, their lines of reasoning run as close as could be" (136). And further: the importance of the "municipalities" is growing, *but* "it seems doubtful to me whether the first job of democracy would be such an abolition [Auflösung, literally "disbandment, dissolution"] of the modern states and such a complete transformation [Umwandlung, overturn] of their organisation as is visualised by Marx and Proudhon (the formation of a National Assembly from delegates of the provincial or district assemblies, which, in their turn, would consist of delegates from the communes), so that consequently the previous mode of national representation would disappear altogether" (136). After all, one cannot get along without control by the central bodies!!!

From this comparison of the most important of Marx's ideas about the Commune, it will be clearly seen that Marx spared no effort to emphasise the necessity of "abolishing" (the army

and the officials) and "destroying" that state power, "smashing the modern state power" and so on, destroy, smash and eliminate (beseitigen)—what? *Not* the state, but the "modern state power", the "ready-made state machinery" and in the first place, officialdom and the army. In calling the "state" a parasitic excrescence, Marx "*almost*" speaks of the destruction of the state. What is important here, however, is not the term but the *essence*.

Marx's fundamental idea: the conquest of *political power* by the proletariat does **not** mean the taking over of a "ready-made" state machinery, *but* (I) its "smashing" and destruction, and its *replacement* by a **new** one. What kind of new one?

approximately in this way:

(I)

Marx studies the *experience* of the Commune; he does not invent this "new" power, but studies *how* revolutions themselves "*discover*" ("*at last discover*") [p. 49, ed. 3] it, how the working-class movement itself *approaches* this task, and how *practice* sets about accomplishing it.

{ II } { the substitution of the army by the armed people }

...(III) *Doing away with the bureaucracy*, including the judiciary: (α) getting rid of the "hohe Staatswürdenträger", "the high dignitaries of state"; (β) reducing the rest to performing purely executive functions; (γ) revocability; (δ) ordinary workmen's wages.

(III)

...The replacement of a *parliamentary* people's representation ("not parliamentary", p. 46, ed. 3) by a "communal" ("a Communal Constitution"), i.e., legislative and *executive* at one and the same time....

(IV)

...*Local self-government* without inspection and supervision by the state from above....

(V)

(VI) ... *Complete democracy* in general....

I The condition for all this: the awakening (by a revolutionary conflagration, revolutionary activity) of the toiling masses, of the *majority* of the population, *their* active participation *instead* of the officials in state affairs,—proletarian guidance, they

II must be guided by organised and centralised proletarians.

The condition for all this: reducing the working day to 8–6–4 hours;—combining the productive labour of *all* with the participation of *all* in "state" administration.

cf. the blatant vulgarity of Kautsky against Pannekoek in *Neue Zeit*, XXX, 2, p. *732* (NB)

III The Russian Revolution has *approached* this very device, on the one hand, in weaker fashion (more timidly) than the Paris Commune; on the other hand, it has shown **in broader fashion** the "Soviets of Workers' Deputies", of "Railwaymen's Deputies", "Soldiers' and Sailors' Deputies", of "Peasants' Deputies". This *Nota bene*.

cf.: *Neue Zeit*, XXX, 2 (1912), cf. pp. 723–725 and 732, *Kautsky's* polemic with Pannekoek. Very important! *Kautsky* here = reformist (and swindler); *Pannekoek* unclear, but searching for revolutionary tactics.

NB: particularly p. 723: § IV, 1: "The destruction of the state"....

Changes after 1871? They are all such, or their general nature or their sum is such, that bureaucracy has *everywhere* soared (both in parliamentarianism, within it,—in local self-government, in the joint-stock companies, in the trust and so on). That is the first thing. And second: the workers' "socialist" parties have, by $^3/_4$, "grown into" a *similar* bureaucracy. The split between the social-patriots and the internationalists, between the reformists and the revolutionaries has, consequently, a still more

profound significance: the reformists and the social-patriots "*perfect*" the bureaucratic-state machine (cf. Marx, p. 3, bottom, *here**), while the revolutionaries must "*smash*" it, this "bureaucratic-military state machine", smash it, replacing it by the "Commune", a new **"semi-state".**

One could, probably, in brief and drastically, express the whole matter thus: *replacement* of the old ("ready-made") state machine **and parliaments** by *Soviets of Workers' Deputies* and **their** trustees. Therein lies the essence!! What about the non-worker population? He who does not work, neither shall he eat (let alone run the state)!! (The opportunists will object, just as Bernstein did in 1899, that this is "a primitive democracy". *On the basis* of socialism, "primitive" democracy will become non-primitive!)

Nota bene

Will the "utilisation" of the modern state power and parliaments remain or not remain? No, reply the anarchists.—Yes, and *in the old way*, in exactly the same way that led to the catastrophe of 1914, reply the direct and indirect (Kautskian) opportunists.

Yes, we reply, **but not in the old way,** but *only à la* Karl Liebknecht, i.e., (α) *for* revolutionary action *at the head*, not at the tail, of the movement; — (β) for service to the mass revolutionary movement; — (γ) under its control; (δ) in a constant link between legal and illegal work; — (ε) in a constant struggle, to the end, to a split with the opportunists and the *bureaucrats* of the working-class movement.

The same *with the anarchists:* writers, journalists, Jouhaux and Co.!

The bourgeois state **admits** workers and Social-Democrats into its institutions, into *its own* demo- *NB*

* See p. 11 of this book.—*Ed.*

cracy, in a way, and only in such a way that it (α) filters them by filtering away the revolutionaries; (β) wears them down by turning them into officials; a "strategy designed to wear down" our opponents and enemies; *a strategy designed to wear down the opponent from the other side!!* (γ) wins them through bribery: "*you will train them and we shall buy them...*" (δ) besides gross bribery, practices a refined form, including *flattery*, to win them over, and so on—(ε) keeps them busy, engulfs in "work", chokes them under reams of "papers", the foetid air of "reforms", large and petty; (ς) perverts them with the philistine comfort of a "culturally" bearable philistine life....

A struggle against this along the whole line. How to struggle? *Not* by rejecting participation (in bourgeois *life?*)—that is possible *only* at exceptional moments—but by creating a trend in the party *for* such a struggle. Karl Liebknecht was not alone; he *grew* up in the Left-wing *trend* of German Social-Democracy. The Bolsheviks are not "incidental", but *grew* out of the struggle against opportunism in 1894–1914!!

ENGELS'S INTRODUCTION TO *THE CIVIL WAR*

Engels's introduction to 3rd ed. of *The Civil War* dated 18. III. 1891 also published in *Neue Zeit*, IX, 2 (1890–1891), p. 33 gives an abundance of excellent material *just* on this question.[70] Note specially the following:

p. 4. In France, after every revolution, the workers were *armed*,—"for the bourgeois, who were at the helm of the state, the *first commandment* was the *disarmament of the workers*. Hence, after every revolution won by the workers, a new struggle ending in the defeat of the workers...."

pp. 7–8: the excellent summary of the *measures* of the Commune (with dates).

"As almost only workers, or recognised representatives of the workers, sat in the Commune, its decisions bore a decidedly proletarian character. Either they decreed reforms which the republican bourgeoisie had failed to pass solely out of cowardice, but which provided a necessary basis for the free activity of the working class—such as the realisation of the principle that *in relation to the state*" (Engels's italics)"religion is a purely private matter--or the Commune promulgated decrees which were in the direct interests of the working class and in part cut deeply into the old order of society. In a beleaguered city, however, it was possible to make at most a start in the realisation of all this" (p. 8). NB

The members of the Commune split into a Blanquist majority and a Proudhonist minority (p. 10). Just like all "doctrinaires" (11), they *were obliged* to do (when they were in power) the "reverse of that" which they had been taught by classroom doctrine (p. 11).

Proudhon hated association. The chief measure of the Commune was "an organisation of large-scale industry and even of manufacture which was not only to be based on the association of the workers in each factory, but also to combine all these associations in one great union; in short, an organisation which, as Marx quite rightly says in *The Civil War*, must necessarily have led in the end to communism, that is to say, the direct opposite of the Proudhon doctrine" (p. 11).

Engels evidently had the following in mind (p. 8): "On April 16 the Commune ordered a statistical tabulation of factories which had been closed down by the manufacturers, and the working out of plans for the operation of these factories by the workers formerly employed in them, who were to be organised in co-operative so- NB

cieties, and also plans for the organisation of these co-operatives in one great union."

And the Blanquists? Their school = a conspiracy, strict discipline, the revolutionary energy of a "handful".... "This involved, above all, the strictest, dictatorial centralisation of all power in the hands of the new revolutionary government. And what did the Commune, with its majority of these same Blanquists, actually do? [Pp. 11–12]. In all its proclamations to the French in the provinces, it appealed to them **to form a free federation** of all French Communes with Paris, a national organisation which for the first time was really to be created by the nation itself. *It was precisely the oppressing power of the former centralised government, army, political police, bureaucracy,* which Napoleon had created in 1798 and which every new government had since then taken over as a welcome instrument and used against its opponents—it was **this power which was to fall everywhere,** just as it had already fallen in Paris."

Is this not "federalism"? No, that would simply be finding fault with the wording

NB

α—β*:

(α—) "From the very outset the Commune had to recognise that the working class, once in power, could not go on managing with the *old state machinery*; that in order not to lose again its only just won supremacy, this working class must, on the one hand, *do away* with all the old *repressive machinery* previously used against it itself, *and on the other, safeguard itself* against its *own deputies and officials* (—β), by declaring them all, without exception, subject to recall at any moment. What had been the characteristic attribute of the former state?" (p. 12) transformation of the "servants of society", "Diener der Gesellschaft", and its organs into "Herren über dieselbe", "masters of society". "This can be seen, for example, not only in the hereditary monarchy, *but equally so in the democratic republic.*" For instance, in North America, two "gangs" of political speculators (here there is neither dynasty, nobility, nor standing army, nor bureaucracy "with permanent staffs and rights to pensions") (p. 12). The nation is powerless against these two "cartels of politicians" (p. 13)....

impossible with the "old" state machinery

NB:
(1) "do away with" the repressive machinery ((troops; the police; the bureaucracy))
(2) "safeguard itself against its own deputies and officials"

"Against this transformation of *the state and the organs of the state* from servants of society into masters of society—an inevitable transformation *in all previous states*—the Commune used *two infallible means.* In the first place, it filled all posts—administrative, judicial and educational—by election on the basis of universal suffrage of all concerned, subject to the right of recall at any time by the electors. And, in the second place, it paid all officials, high or low, only the wages received by other workers. The highest salary paid by the Commune to anyone was 6,000 francs. In this way

two "infallible means":

1) the right of recall at any time

2) wages of ordinary workers

* α—β: This passage is cited by Karl Kautsky in his reply to Bernstein, *p. 22*, "Bernstein and the Social-Democratic Programme" (see p. 47 here). (See p. 79 of this book.—*Ed.*)

an effective barrier to **place-hunting and careerism** was set up, even apart from the binding mandates to delegates to representative bodies which were added besides."

NB: "shattering of the former state power and its replacement by a *new one...*"

"This shattering [Sprengung] of the former state power and its *replacement by a* **new** *and truly democratic* **one** are described in detail in the third section of *The Civil War*. But it was necessary to dwell briefly here once more on some of its features, because in Germany particularly the *superstitious belief in the state* has passed from philosophy into the general consciousness of the bourgeoisie and even of many workers. According to the philosophical conception, the state is the 'realisation of the idea', or the Kingdom of God on earth, translated into philosophical terms, the sphere in which eternal truth and justice are, or should be, realised. And from this follows a *superstitious reverence* **for the state** and everything connected with it, which takes root the more readily since people are accustomed from childhood to imagine that the affairs and interests common to the whole of society could not be looked after otherwise than as they have been looked after in the past, that is, through the state and its lucratively positioned officials. And people think they have taken quite an extraordinarily bold step forward when they have rid themselves of belief in hereditary monarchy and swear by the democratic republic. In reality, however, the state is nothing but a machine for the oppression of

NB: "superstitious belief in the state"

NB: "a superstitious reverence for the state", etc.

NB

NB

one class by another, and indeed in the democratic republic no less than in the monarchy; and at best an evil inherited by the proletariat after its victorious struggle for class supremacy, whose worst sides the victorious proletariat, just like the Commune, *cannot avoid having to lop off* at once as much as possible until such time as a generation reared in new, free social conditions is able *to throw the entire lumber of the state on the scrap heap*" (13).

down with the entire "lumber of the state" (rubbish) (junk)

"Of late, the German[71] philistine has once more been filled with wholesome terror at the words: Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Well and good, gentlemen, do you want to know what this dictatorship looks like? Look at the Paris Commune. That was the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" (p. 14).

((End of introduction. Date: 20th anniversary of the Paris Commune, 18. III. 1891.[72]))

It must be admitted that Engels, both here and in the letter of 18/28. III. 1875,[73] sets forth in far more popular style than Marx most important thoughts on the dictatorship of the proletariat and on the *form* (or, more precisely, on the necessity of a new form) of the state power that the proletariat *will win*. To gain and keep state power, the proletariat should not take over the old and ready-made state machine, transfer from old hands into new ones, but *smash* the old one and **create** ("neue geschichtliche Schöpfung") ("new historical ‖*creation*"‖: see here p. 29*) a new one.

NB: "throw the entire lumber of the state on the scrap heap"

* See p. 46 of this book.—*Ed.*

"national war" = "governmental humbug"

"The Civil War", ed. *3*, p. 67:
"The highest heroic effort of which old society is still capable is national war; and this is now proved to be a mere governmental humbug, intended to defer the struggle of classes, and to be thrown aside as soon as that class struggle bursts out into civil war".[74]

bourgeois and proletarian revolutions

The Eighteenth Brumaire, ed. *4*, pp. 10–11,—bourgeois revolutions (of the 18th century) go from success to success, they are "short-lived", etc.; "proletarian revolutions, revolutions of the 19th century, criticise themselves constantly, 'deride with unmerciful thoroughness the inadequacies etc. of their first attempts ... recoil from the indefinite prodigiousness of their own aims...'" (11).[75]

F. ENGELS. *THE ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY, PRIVATE PROPERTY AND THE STATE*

Sixth Edition, Stuttgart, 1894.
(Preface to the 4th Edition, 16. VI. 1891)

"...The *state* is, therefore, by no means a power forced on society from without; just as little is it 'the reality of the ethical idea', 'the image and reality of reason', as Hegel maintains. Rather, it is a product of society at a certain stage of development; it is the admission that this society has become entangled in an insoluble contradiction [pp. 177–178] with itself, that it has split into irreconcilable antagonisms which it is powerless to dispel. But in order that these antagonisms, these classes with conflicting economic interests, might not consume themselves and society in fruitless struggle, it became *necessary to have a power, seemingly standing above society*, that would alleviate the conflict and keep it within the bounds of 'order'; and this power, arisen out of society but placing itself above it, and alienating itself more and more from it, is the state" (178).

"As distinct from the old gentile [tribal or clan] order, the state, *first*, divides its subjects *according to territory*..." (this division seems "natural" to us, but it cost a prolonged struggle against the old organisation according to gentes, tribes....)

"The second distinguishing feature is the establishment of a *public power* which no longer directly coincides with the population organising itself as an armed force. This special, public power is necessary because a *self-acting armed organisation of the population* has become *impossible* since the split into classes [178].... This [179] public power exists in every state; it consists not merely *of armed men* but also of *material adjuncts, prisons*, and institutions of coercion of all kinds, of which gentile [clan] society knew nothing.... Sometimes this public power is weak (*in parts* of North America).... It grows stronger, however, in proportion as class antagonisms within the state become more acute, and as adjacent states become larger and more populous. We have only to look at our *present-day Europe*, where *class struggle* and *rivalry in conquest* have turned up the public power to such a pitch that it threatens to swallow the whole of society and even the state" (179).[76]

NB: armed population

"self-acting armed organisation"

"armed men + prisons + institutions of coercion"

NB: "rivalry in conquest" in present-day Europe

What is the difference between rivalry in conquest and imperialism?—In their foreign policy of *annexation*—none.—*Consequently*, in 1891 Engels recognised *both* rivalry in conquest *and* "defence of the Fatherland" in Germany!! ("Socialism in Germany" in *Neue Zeit*, 1891–1892, year of publication X, 1).—Yes, but in 1891 war *on the part of* Germany *would have been* defensive. That's the point. There has *always* been rivalry in conquest, in *all* states, because all states are instruments of class domination. But *not* all wars between states have been caused by rivalry in conquest!! That's one point. And *not* in all cases, on *both* sides. And that's another.

...The public power has to be supported by *taxes*—and *state debts*....

"...Having public power and the right to levy taxes, the officials now stand, as organs of society, *above* society. The free, voluntary respect that was accorded to the organs of the gentile [clan] constitution does not satisfy them, even if they could gain it..." (179) special laws proclaiming their sanctity and immunity, ... the shabbiest police official has more "authority" than the organs of the clan, but even the head of the military power and so on may well envy the elder of a clan, who enjoys the "unstrained respect" of society.

NB

"Because the state arose from the need to hold class antagonisms in check, but because it arose, at the same time, in the midst of the conflict of these classes, it is, as a rule, the state of the most powerful, economically dominant class, which, through the medium of the state, becomes also the politically dominant class, and thus acquires new means of holding down and exploiting the oppressed class...." The ancient, feudal state ... and likewise ... "the modern representative state is an instrument of exploitation of wage labour by capital. By way of exception, however, periods occur in which the warring classes balance each other so nearly that the state power, as an ostensible mediator, acquires, for the moment, a certain degree of independence of both..." (180). (The absolute monarchy of the 17th and 18th centuries; Bonapartism of the First and Second Empires, Bismarck.)

Usually, qualification. In a democratic republic "wealth exercises its power indirectly, but all the more surely ...": (1) "*direct* corruption of *officials*" (America); (2) "*alliance between government* and Stock Exchange" (France and America).

Universal suffrage is also a weapon of bourgeois domination. Universal suffrage = "the gauge of the maturity of the working class. It [this suffrage] cannot and never will be anything more in the present-day state" (182).

universal suffrage = only a gauge of maturity

"...The state, then, has not existed from all eternity. There have been societies that did without it, that had no idea of the state and state power. At a certain stage of economic development, which was necessarily bound up with the split of society into classes, the state became a necessity owing to this split. We are now rapidly approaching a stage in the development of production at which the existence of these classes not only will have ceased to be a necessity, but will become a positive hindrance to production. They will fall as inevitably as they arose at an earlier stage. Along with them the state will inevitably fall. Society, which will reorganise production on the basis of a free and equal association of the producers, **will put the whole machinery of state where** it will then belong: into a museum of antiquities, by the side of the spinning-wheel and the bronze axe" (182).[77]

ANTI-DÜHRING

Anti-Dühring, 3rd ed. (1894). (Preface 23. V. 1894), pp. 301–302:

"...*The proletariat seizes state power and turns the means of production in the first instance into state property.* But, in doing this, it abolishes itself as the proletariat, abolishes all class distinctions and class antagonisms, and abolishes also the state as a state. Society thus far, operating amid class antagonisms, needed the state, that is, an organisation of the particular exploiting class, for the maintenance of its external conditions of production, and, therefore, especially, for the purpose of forcibly keeping the exploited class in the conditions of oppression deter-

mined by the given mode of production (slavery, serfdom or bondage, wage labour). The state was the official representative of society as a whole, its concentration in a visible corporation, but it was this only insofar as it was the state of that class which itself represented, for its own time, society as a whole: in ancient times, the state of slave-owning citizens; in the Middle Ages, of the feudal lords; in our own time, of the bourgeoisie. When at last it becomes the real representative of the whole of society, it renders itself unnecessary. As soon as there is no longer any social class to be held in subjection, as soon as class rule, and the individual struggle for existence based upon the present anarchy in production, with the collisions and excesses arising from these, are removed, nothing more remains to be held in subjection, and a special repressive force, a state, is no longer necessary. The first act by which the state really comes forward as the representative of the whole of society—the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society—is, at the same time, its last independent act as a state. State interference in social relations becomes, in one domain after another, superfluous, and then dies down of itself. The government of persons is replaced by the administration of things, and by the conduct of processes of production. The state is not 'abolished'. *It withers away*. This gives the measure of the value of the phrase 'a free people's state', both as to its justifiable use for a time from an agitational point of view, and as to its ultimate scientific insufficiency; and also [p. 302] of the so-called anarchists' demand that the state be abolished overnight" (p. 303, *Anti-Dühring*, 3rd ed.).[78]

NB In his preface to *On International Topics from "The People's State"* (3. I. *1894*) Engels writes that the word "Social-Democrat" "today" "may perhaps pass muster" (mag passieren) (p. 6), "inexact [unpassend, unsuitable] though it [the word "Social-Democrat"] still is for a party whose economic programme is not merely socialist in general, but downright communist, and whose ultimate political aim is *to overcome the whole state* and, consequently, *democracy as well*" (7).[79]

F. ENGELS. "ON AUTHORITY"

Frederick Engels: *Neue Zeit*, XXXII, 1 (1913–1914), pp. 10, 37. (Printed in 1873.)

Frederick Engels. "On Authority", "On the Authoritarian Principle" (37–39).[80]

Authority presupposes **"subordination".** Small-scale production is being ousted by large-scale production. "Is it possible to have organisation without authority?" (37).

"Supposing a **social revolution** dethroned the capitalists. .... Will authority in **this** case have disappeared or will it only have changed its form?" (38).

Let us take an example: cotton mills—railways—a ship at sea.... Unthinkable without authority.

"When [p. 39] I counter the most rabid anti-authoritarians with these arguments, the only answer they can give me is the following: Oh, that's true, except that here it is not a question of authority with which we vest our delegates, *but of a commission!* These people imagine they can change a thing by changing its name. This is how these profound thinkers mock at the whole world.

"We have thus seen that, on the one hand, a certain authority, no matter how delegated, and, on the other hand, a certain subordination, are things which, independently of all social organisation, are imposed upon us together with the material conditions under which we produce and make products circulate.

"We have seen, besides, that the material conditions of production and circulation inevitably develop with large-scale industry and large-scale agriculture, and increasingly tend to enlarge the scope of this authority. Hence it is absurd to speak of the principle of authority as being absolutely evil, and of the principle of autonomy as being absolutely good. Authority and autonomy are relative things whose spheres vary with the various phases of the development of society.

"Had the autonomists contented themselves with saying that the social organisation of the future would allow authority only within the bounds which the conditions of production make inevitable, one could have come to terms with them. But they are blind to all facts that make authority necessary and they passionately fight the word.

"Why do the anti-authoritarians not confine themselves to crying out against political authority, the state? All socialists are agreed *that the state and, with it, political authority*, will disappear as a result of the coming social revolution, that is, that *public functions will lose their political character and become mere administrative functions of* **watching over** the social **interests.** * But the anti-authoritarians demand that the **political state** [NB: some term!!] be abolished at one stroke, even before the social relations that gave birth to it have been destroyed. They demand that the first act of the social revolution shall be the abolition of authority.

"Have these gentlemen ever seen a revolution? A revolution is certainly the most authoritarian thing there is; it is an act whereby one part of the population imposes its will upon the other part by means of rifles, bayonets and cannon, all of which are highly authoritarian means. And the victorious party must maintain its rule *by means of the terror which its arms inspire in the reactionaries*. Would the **Paris Commune** have lasted *more than a day* if it had not *used the authority of the armed people against the bourgeoisie?* Cannot we, *on the contrary, blame* it *for having made too little use of that authority?* Therefore, one of two things: either the anti-authoritarians don't know what they are talking about, in which case they are creating nothing but confusion; or they do know, and in that case they are betraying the cause of the proletariat. In either case they serve only the reaction" (39).

End of Engels's article.

* Bukharin quotes *only* [ ] and leaves out the further!! [81]

K. MARX ON POLITICAL INDIFFERENCE

Marx's article (written in 1873) in this same Italian collection of 1874 is entitled: "*Political Indifference*".

Marx begins by ridiculing the Proudhonists in their claims that the workers should not wage a political struggle because this means recognising the state! they should not go on strike! not "fight for concessions"! not fight for reduction of the working day and for factory legislation! This would mean "agreeing to a compromise"!! and so forth.

"If the political struggle of the working class assumes *revolutionary forms*, if the workers replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with *their own revolutionary dictatorship*, they commit the dreadful crime of offending against principles, because in order to satisfy their miserable, crude requirements of the moment, *in order to break the resistance of the bourgeoisie, the workers* impart *to the state a revolutionary and transient form instead of laying down their arms and abolishing it.** The workers must not set up trade unions because, by so doing, they perpetuate the social division of labour as it exists in bourgeois society, and it is this very division of labour that disunites the workers and actually forms the basis of their slavery..." (40). "In a word, the workers should fold their arms and stop wasting time taking part in the political and economic movement...", wait for "social liquidation" as a priest waits for heaven, and so forth.

"In their daily life the workers must be the humblest servants of the state, but in their hearts they should vehemently protest against its existence and prove their profound theoretical contempt for it by buying and reading pamphlets on the abolition of the state; they must offer no resistance to the capitalist system save for declamations about the society of the future in which this hated system will cease to exist!

"There can be no doubt that if the apostles of political indifference expressed themselves so clearly, the working class

* Ridicule of the Proudhonists and Bakuninists.[82]

would send them to the devil; it would see this merely as an insult on the part of bourgeois doctrinaires and misguided noblemen who are so foolish or so naive as to deny it every practical means of struggle under the pretext that weapons for the fight have to be taken from contemporary society and that the unavoidable conditions of this struggle do not, alas, correspond to the idealistic fantasies which these doctors of the social sciences have deified under the title of *freedom, autonomy, anarchy*" (41).[83]

(There follows a criticism of Proudhon's economic "principles".)

((“these philanthropic sectarians”—ibid.))

Another class must rise to the administration. That's the essence of it.

Not *that* kind of democracy!!

Particularly profound remark of Marx in **"The Civil War"**, that the Paris Commune was **not** a parliamentary institution [p. *28* here, see point 3*] "but a working, legislative and executive body".

The proletariat needs—for it is capable of being both the form and also the instrument of the socialist revolution—*not* present-day, not bourgeois democracy but democracy of a *different* kind, proletarian democracy. What is the difference? Economically, in the fact that bourgeois democracy is a sham, and so on.

Politically, in the fact that **(1)** proletarian democracy is complete, universal, unlimited (quantity is being transformed into quality: the complete democracy is *not* the same *qualitatively* as incomplete democracy); **(2)** not a parliamentary but a "working" institution: "working" in what sense? (α) in the economic: its members are workers; (β) in the political: not a "talking shop" but a job to be done, not disintegration but integration. **(3)** Integration of the legislative and executive functions—**transition** to the *destruction of the state* in the sense that it is *not* a special organ or special organs that will manage the affairs of state, but *all* its members.

"Primitive" democracy on another, higher basis

In what way? A special and *new* kind of "direct legislation by the people", which Engels rejected under capitalism.[84] What is necessary now is the *integration* of "administration" and *manual* work, a *change*, not only of factory work, but also *from* factory (agricultural, manual in general) work *to* administration.

K. Kautsky (p. 43, here, *NB**) vulgarises: not even a shadow of an idea about *any other type* of democracy.

KAUTSKY. *THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION*

First ed. **1902**, 2nd **1907** (1st ½-yr) with a preface about the *Russian Revolution*. Nevertheless the author all the time speaks about the **"state"** *in general* (p. 158 and others, Russ. transl., II, § 8), about "the conquest of political power" by the proletariat (about "the proletarian revolution", about "the proletarian regime"...) *without mentioning* the task of "smashing the bureaucratic-military machine", of "destroying the state", *without* even *a word about fighting "the superstitious belief in the state"....*

I: Social reform and social revolution

II: The day after the social revolution

Kautsky speaks about the "struggles for the possession of state power" (p. 32, Russ. transl., I, § 4) (Um den Besitz dieser (politischen) Macht, 1st ed., p. 20), the "efforts to conquer the **machinery** of state" (p. 34, ibid.!!) (Bestreben die *Staatsmaschinerie zu erobern*, 1st ed., p. 21).

NB: A step back from 1852–1891 to 1847

II, § 2: "Expropriation of the expropriators"—*everywhere* it speaks simply about the **state**!!

* See p. 44 of this book.—*Ed.*

* See pp. 67–70 of this book.—*Ed.*

"Parliamentarism is in need of a revolution in order to become viable again" (? inexact) (p. 72, I, § 6).

"Democracy is indispensable as a means of **ripening** the proletariat for the social revolution. But it is not capable of preventing the social revolution" (p. 74, ibid.).

= I, § 7: "Forms and Weapons of Social Revolution" ("Formen und Waffen der sozialen Revolution"): at the beginning it mentions "Machtmittel des modernen Großstaates: seine Bureaukratie und Armee" ("instruments of the might of the modern large state: its bureaucracy and the army") (German 1st edition, p. 47; Russ. transl., p. 77) *and yet not a word* about **smashing** ("zerbrechen") **these Machtmittel!!!**

("The political strike = perhaps the most revolutionary weapon of the proletariat..." (Russ. transl., p. 83; German 1st edition, p. 51).... There may be "civil war" (Russ. transl., p. 79; German 1st edition, p. 48) but *not* armed uprisings ("bewaffnete Insurrektionen"), the troops themselves becoming "unreliable" (p. 79), "unzuverlässig" (p. 49).)

and that's all!!

far too little!

In the 2nd pamphlet the *clearest* (!) passage is this: "Still, it goes without saying that we shall not achieve supremacy under the present conditions. Revolution itself presupposes long and deep-going struggles, which, in themselves, will change our present political and social structure" (Russ. transl., II, § 1, p. 97). ("Und doch ist es selbstverständlich (p. 4), dass wir nicht zur Herrschaft kommen unter den heutigen Verhältnissen. Die Revolution selbst setzt lange und tiefgehende Kämpfe voraus, die bereits unsere heutige politische und soziale Struktur verändern werden".) In 1890, I (Kautsky) was against the inclusion in the programme of measures for the transition from capitalism to socialism... (Russ. transl., II, § 1, pp. 95–96; German 1st edition, p. 3).

NB

"The proletariat would realise the democratic programme" (II, § 2, Russ. transl., 99–101), and its listed §§! And that's all! *Not a word about the peculiar form of combining democracy with the dictatorship of the proletariat!!*

NB

In the German original: "It (the proletariat) would realise that democratic programme, for which the bourgeoisie once stood" (II, § 2, 1st ed., p. 5).

Precisely **not** "which", **not** that democratic programme....

Such "monopolies" as the trusts "are already today very extensive and dominate in a high degree the whole economic life and develop with great rapidity" (II, § 2, Russ. transl., 104).

NB re the question of imperialism

Incidentally, Kautsky has *such passages* ("Revolutionary Perspectives", *Neue Zeit*, 24. II. 1904, XXII, 1, p. 686): "Struggle between two parts of the troops"... "would be only a special form of the general premise, 'that the troops are unreliable'".... "But have we grounds for making further investigations concerning this special form? Speculation on the problems of the future and the means for solving them has significance only when it can have an influence on the practice and theory of the present.... Since we have no intention of engaging in propaganda in the army and inciting it to insubordination—no

opportunistic against agitation among the troops

= And side by side, phrases and phrases: "revolutionary idealism" "above all" (Russ. transl., 91) (German 1st edition, p. 56: "revolutionärer Idealismus" "vor allem"), "idea of revolution" (ibid.). The *English workers* are "**scarcely more than petty-bourgeois**" (p. 91) ("*kaum noch etwas Anderes als kleine Bourgeois*", 1st edition, p. 56).

!!

Plausible and . . . . . convenient!

one throughout German Social-Democracy even thinks of that today—the question as to what forms this insubordination could and should assume is not open to discussion. . . ."

KAUTSKY. *THE ROAD TO POWER*

1st ed.: 1909, 2nd ed. **1910** ((112 pp.)).
Subtitle: "Political Speculations on the Growing into Revolution". (Preface to 2nd ed.: 1. VII. 1910.)

Subject of pamphlet: **political** revolution

Preface to 1st ed., 1st line: "Discussion of the question of the *political revolution*..." (quot. from 2nd ed., p. 5).... "On the whole = supplement ... to the pamphlet on the social revolution" (p. 6).

NB

Chapter I: "The Conquest of Political Power". Pamphlet's 1st sentence... Social-Democracy "is a *revolutionary* party" (K. Kautsky's italics) (p. 15).

P. 16 (in setting forth the views of *Marx and Engels* this is NB)... there is a possibility "to win and firmly retain only this! not to smash state power". "It is becoming increasingly more obvious that revolution is possible only as a *proletarian* revolution" (K. Kautsky's italics) (p. 18).... It is impossible to win political power "without a political revolution, without changing the essence of the state power" (18–19)... p. 20: "For they (Marx and Engels) moulded the concept of the *dictatorship of the proletariat* [K. Kautsky's italics]... the concept of undivided political rule of the proletariat, as the only form in which it can implement its political power" (20).

and that's all!

How exactly?

and that's all?

and not a word about what it consists in

In the whole of Chapter I (pp. 15–21) not a word either about "smashing" the military-bureaucratic state machine, or fighting the superstitious belief in the state, or replacing

the parliamentary institutions and officials by proletarian institutions of the Paris Commune type.

Chapter II about predicting the revolution ... that in the revolutionary struggle we must be prepared for the possibility of defeats, that we would be "traitors" (p. 26) if we were, from the very outset, "convinced of the inevitability of defeat. . . ." (Sic!)

Revolution due to war may be caused by weaker side placing the proletariat in power (29) ... but also: "Revolution, as a result of war, may likewise come about through an uprising of the popular masses, when the army is broken and tired of bearing the burden of war..." (29).

Kautsky in 1909: "we may appear to be more moderate than we really are"

And that's all! Not a word in Chapter II about making *revolutionary* use of *every* revolutionary situation! Nothing! Cf. with Engels in *Anti-Dühring*, passage concerning revolution and violence!![85]

Chapter III on "growing into" the "state of the future"... against the "reformists" (33) and "revisionists" (34) and Ch. 4.

— — Chapter 4 (on will: lie)—nothing.

Chapter V: "*Neither revolution at any price, nor legality at any price....*" Incidentally, from the article of 1893 against the anarchists (and in the 1873 insurrection in Spain)—and the attempted assassinations of 1878 in Germany, 1884 in Austria, 1886 in America.[86] The danger said to be in that, "but the present situation is fraught with the danger *that we may easily appear to be* **more 'moderate'** than *we really are*" (59)... if the masses lose confidence in Social-Democracy as a revolutionary party, they will turn to anarchism (syndicalism in France)... (60).

NB: Sic!!!

!!!

"We know that historical situations cannot be created arbitrarily and that our tactics should be adjusted to them" (60).

"...Observation of the present situation leads me to the conclusion ... that we have every reason to presume that we have now entered a period of struggle for state institutions and state power..." (61).

NB P. 50: From Engels's letter to Kautsky (3. I. 1895): "...*A revolutionary conflict would be inevitable* if Germany were a Romance country."[87] NB

Chapter VI: "*The Growth of Revolutionary Elements*".

Knows the role of the bureaucracy and army — Incidentally: "Its (the ruling regime's) own instruments, the bureaucracy and the army" (63).

imperialism — Chapter 7: "*Softening of Class Antagonisms*" (71–79). P. 76: Imperialism ... "the annexing of overseas empires to the territory of a European state"....

On the question of pacifism NB — "The imperialism of a great power, however, stands for a policy of conquests and hostility towards other great powers.... It is not workable without increased armament...." The propertied classes, despite the distinctions between them, "all agree in their readiness to make sacrifices to militarism.... The proletariat [p. 76] alone [!!NB] forms an opposition".

Chapter 8: "*The Aggravation of Class Antagonisms*". Cartels, trusts, "artificial monopolies" (80) ... "foreign workers with underdeveloped needs" (81).... High cost of living (83).

On the question of pacifism! — "Idle talk about peace in the Suttner manner does not advance us a single step forward. Modern armaments are above all a result of *colonial policy* and *imperialism*; it is useless carrying on peace propaganda so long as this policy continues to exist" (90).

NB — "...The very policy of imperialism may become the starting point of the ruling system's downfall" (96).

Chapter 9: "*The New Epoch of Revolutions*" (97–112).

Growth of armaments (97)... sharpening of "national antagonisms" (100).... "This situation would long ago have led to war, as the only [NB] alternative to revolution ... were not the revolution a still more inevitable consequence of war than of an armed peace..." (100).

"revolutionary period of 1789–1871" for "Western Europe"; "a similar period ... from 1905 ... for the East" (104). "A world war is approaching with menacing rapidity. But the experience of the last decades has shown that war means revolution" (105). "It (the proletariat) can no longer talk of *premature* revolution".... "This revolutionary period" (112) (which "we have entered") (112).... "The revolutionary era is beginning...." (112) (End of the pamphlet.)

NB

Sic!!

Summing up: All the time about the "revolution", especially the "political revolution", and *nothing* about its concretisation by Marx and Engels in 1852, 1871, 1891.[88] Nothing about "smashing", about the "parasite-state", about replacing parliamentary bodies by working bodies.

Precisely the specific features of the political revolution of the proletariat are slurred over.

That's how Kautsky prepared loopholes for himself. 1910 (2nd ½) already finds him swinging round (by ½): "The strategy of attrition"!! *Neue Zeit*, XXVIII, 2 (1910, IV–IX) and ... falling to the level of reformism against Pannekoek: **Neue Zeit**, *XXX, 2* (1912, IV–IX) (*Neue Zeit*, XXX, 2).

Kautsky versus Pannekoek: *Pannekoek's* articles headed: **"Mass Action and Revolution"** (NB). NB

In the opening lines *Pannekoek* points to **"The Lessons of the Russian Revolution"** (p. 541).... Imperialism: ...armaments, high cost of living, etc. "Political domination, conquest of state power.... Aim of every revolutionary class.... Conquest

of political power." NB. "The conditions and methods of this political revolution need to be examined in greater detail" (542). Wherein lies the strength of the bourgeoisie? (1) Intellectual superiority.... (2) Organisation: "*This organisation of the ruling class is the state power*" (Pannekoek's italics) (543). "It appears as a sum total of officials".... "It is something in the nature of an enormous polyp".... Then "still stronger instruments of power" (of the state): "police and army"... (Pannekoek's italics everywhere).

No. 1

Kautsky's — first — quotation — (p. 724) —

The proletariat must "win state power".... **"The struggle of the proletariat is not merely a struggle against the bourgeoisie for state power, but a struggle against state power** [544]. The problem of the social revolution can be formulated briefly as follows: the power of the proletariat to be raised to a level exceeding the power of the state; *but* **the content of this revolution is the destruction of the instruments of power of the state and their dislodgement** [literally: dissolution, **Auflösung] with the aid of the instruments of power of the proletariat"** (544). (This is followed by $1^1/_2$ pages of drivel concerning the significance of knowledge and organisation!! Horses eat oats!!) Further about "the illusion of parliamentary conquest of power".... "Formally", the conquest of political power consists of two parts: 1) "Conquest of political rights for the masses".... 2) "Winning the majority of the people over to socialism" (545).... The proletariat will resort to mass action from its simplest form (demonstrations) to the "most powerful [!???] form—the mass strike" (546)... as was the case in X. 1905 in Russia[89] (547).... **"The struggle ceases only when, as the end result of it, the state organisation is completely destroyed.**

No. 2

Kautsky's second quotation

Wrong!!

lapsed into reformism!!

wrong!! What about XII. 1905?[90]

No. 3

No. 3. Kautsky's 3rd quotation

The organisation of the majority will then have demonstrated its superiority by destroying the organisation of the ruling minority" (548).

"...The organisation of the proletariat, which we consider to be its most important instrument of power, should not be confused with the form of the present organisations and unions.... *The essence of that organisation is somewhat spiritual*" (548)... "this spirit will create new forms of activity" (549) (and several lines down, mention of "the law on socialists") (549).... All this "in the revolutionary period" (549) (NB).

Pannekoek against Kautsky

Unhappy *word* which K. Kautsky meanly picked on

"The military?... The nation's sons [549], unreliable instrument for the bourgeoisie...."

"At the end of the revolutionary process nothing remains of this power (the material power of the bourgeoisie and the state)..." (550).

Further, a discourse on "action of the masses". K. Kautsky, he says, differentiates between this and "the street" (586). By "action of the masses", however, "we" understood not this, but a "*decidedly new form of activity by the organised ((NB)) workers*" (586) (Pannekoek's italics). "Mass actions" = "political actions by the organised [NB] working class outside parliament" (ibid.) "we mean".

Wrong!

definition of mass actions

Wrong!

But, we are told, "it is not ruled out that sudden powerful uprisings of the million-strong unorganised masses against the government may break out in the future" (587).

not enough. What is a revolution?

On p. *591* Pannekoek *corrects himself*, saying that action by the organised masses "quickly attracts" the "*un*organised" and turns the struggle into an action of "the whole proletarian class". According to K. Kautsky, though, action by the masses is "incalculable", meaning that "everything

quite correct!! is going the old way, gradually gaining in volume"... "*the theory of inactive expectancy*" (591)... with us the doctrine of "revolutionary activity", with K. Kautsky "passive radicalism" (592)... in practice "all too often" "approaching revisionist tactics".

correct!

§ 4: "The struggle against war" (609–616). Kautsky describes the population's fear of "invasion".... The working class "must" come out and will come out against war, in order to prevent it. K. Kautsky "*refuses to see the process of revolution*" (616).

This is true!

Kautsky answers Pannekoek

Replying to Pannekoek, K. Kautsky talks banalities about the "instinct of the mass" (as if that's the point!), about "vulgar Marxism", and picks on the "spiritual" (the "alchemy" of Pannekoek's) (688). Under exceptional law, he says, there were "secret" organisations (690).... "But no one so far has discovered that the growth and improvement of the organisation of the proletariat may under such conditions exceed the measure that is achievable under freer conditions" (690).

sidestepping the question of illegal organisations *(the cheat)!*

"...The wisdom we recommend is that which Frederick Engels recommended to us in his last work, his political testament" (692).

re Engels's "testament"[91]

Cf. Bernstein. *Premises*. 1899, p. 26: Engels's political "testament"!!!

Cheat and scoundrel!!

(And further, just as fraudulently, re Pannekoek's "spiritualising" (692) of the organisation, that it is "not clear" what he wants, that he wants to "make" a revolution (697) and so on.)

Forged the testament themselves

Then § IV: "The Conquest of State Power", 1. "*Destruction of the State*". This is the main thing. K. Kautsky "quotes" No. 1, No. 2 and No. 3 (here 45–46*)—p. 724—and "concludes":

Chapter IV, § 1 the crux of vulgarisation of Marxism

* See pp. 74–75 of this book.—*Ed.*

"...Up to now the antithesis between the Social-Democrats and the anarchists has been that the former wished to win state power while the latter wished to destroy it. Pannekoek wants to do both...."

"...What does Pannekoek want to destroy in this organisation, thus described? Centralism?... (quotation from *Marx:* "Revelations about the Cologne Communist Trial", p. 81, *1850:* "the most resolute centralisation of power in the hands of the state authority"). "If Pannekoek is of the same opinion, then what does he mean by his phrase: 'complete destruction of the state organisation'? [724] Perhaps [725] he wants to abolish the state functions of the officials? But we cannot do without officials even in the party and the trade unions, let alone in the state administration. And our programme does not demand the abolition of state officials, but that they be elected by the people.... We are discussing here not the form the administrative apparatus of the 'future state' will assume, but whether our political struggle abolishes [literally: dissolves—auflöst] the state power *before we have captured it* [Kautsky's italics]. Which ministry with its officials could be abolished?" **(Education? Justice? Finance? War?)** "No, not one of the present ministries will be removed by our political struggle against the government.... I repeat, in order to prevent misunderstanding: we are not discussing here the form the future state will be given by the victorious Social-Democrats, but how the present state is changed by our opposition" (725).

"quotation" from Marx!! He happens to be quoting the *wrong* thing!!

A cheat, for Pannekoek speaks precisely about **"revolution"!**

"...Its object (the object of the mass strike) cannot be to *destroy* the state power [Kautsky's italics]; its only object can be to make the government compliant on some specific question, or to replace a government

A gem of reformism!

hostile to the proletariat by one willing to meet it halfway [entgegenkommende]..." (726).

"...But never, under no circumstances, can it [that is, the "proletarian" "victory" over a "hostile government"] lead to the *destruction* [Kautsky's italics] of state power; it can lead only to a certain *shifting* [Verschiebung] of the balance of forces *within state power*..." (727).

the main point and summation:

NB Here he already speaks of revolution!!

Adds up to socialism *without* revolution!! Or revolution **without** destruction of political power, of the "state machine" of the bourgeoisie!!

"...The aim of our [732] political struggle remains, as in the past, the conquest of state power by winning a majority in parliament and by raising parliament to the rank of master of the government. But not destruction of state power. How otherwise can Pannekoek introduce the socialist method of production if not by aid of legislative measures ... state control ... of branches of industry ... (and so on)? By what means can Pannekoek regulate these relations other than with the aid of proletarian state power? And whence will it appear, if every kind of state power is to be destroyed by the action of the masses?... I adhere to the opinion which I formulated a year ago, when concluding my series of articles on mass action in the following manner: '...Building up the organisation, winning all positions of power, which we are able to win and hold securely by our own strength, studying the state and society and educating the masses: other aims we cannot consciously and systematically set either to ourselves or to our organisations'" (733).

A gem of idiocy!!

This is the *complete* **wreck** *of Marxism!!* All the lessons and teachings of Marx and Engels of 1852–1891 are *forgotten* and distorted. "The military-bureaucratic state machine must be *smashed*," Marx and Engels taught. Not a word about this. The philistine utopia of reform struggle is substituted for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Socialism is implemented in a reformist way; the mass strike for reforms—this is what it all amounts to. Not a word about fighting the "superstitious belief in the state", about the proletariat creating, *not* parliamentary, but "working, executive and legislative" representative bodies. And this in August 1912—after *The Road to Power*!—on the eve of the Basle Manifesto!![92] in a special reply to the article on *revolution*, on the "political revolution"!! Neither advocacy of revolution nor a working-up of its issues.

Bernstein in *Premises* accuses Marxism of "Blanquism" (Chapter II, b) and emphatically rejects the "dictatorship of the proletariat"; on the question of the Paris Commune, however (quoted by me *above, p. 31**), he idiotically confuses with Proudhon, fraudulently *evades*, absolutely sidesteps the question of "smashing" the state machine. (Cf. Bernstein, p. 183 on "the dictatorship of the proletariat" = "dictatorship of club orators and writers", p. 137 on primitive democracy, without paid officials, etc., and its decline in the "free" [ha-ha!!] development of the trade unions, Webb!!)

Bernstein on the "Paris Commune"...

(Kautsky evaded it)

Kautsky, too, in his book against Bernstein evaded the question, saying: "We can quite safely leave the solution of the problem of the proletarian dictatorship to the future" (p. 172). A gem! Ha-ha-ha!! "Quite safely"!! You'd hardly get on with the Junkers and the Rockefellers, etc., without a dictatorship, but I wouldn't "swear" that the class rule of the proletariat will take the "form of a class dictatorship". Democracy, however, will not eliminate the need for the class rule of the proletariat (p. 172).

All this adds up to: I am *for* the dictatorship of the proletariat, but I do not wish to insist on it or go into it. Neither for nor against!!!!

Cf. Engels on revolution in *Anti-Dühring!!*[93] What a vulgarisation of Marxism!!

* See p. 48 of this book.—*Ed.*

P. 180: We don't know either *when* or *how* the proletariat will achieve political rule, whether in a single crash, in a number of catastrophes or in gradual development . . . but we are a "party of social revolution". . . .

In connection with Bernstein's reference to Marx's words to the effect that the working class cannot *simply* lay hold of the *ready-made* state machinery, K. Kautsky quotes α—β (see above, p. 33 in this notebook*) and lets it go at that (p. *22*). As much as to say, *simply* and *ready-made* you cannot, but generally you can!

K. MARX. *REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN GERMANY*[94]

Stuttgart, 1907, 2nd Edition

P. 117: "Now, insurrection is an art quite as much as war or any other, and subject to certain rules of proceeding, which, when neglected, will produce the ruin of the party neglecting them. Those rules, logical deductions from the nature of the parties and the circumstances one has to deal with in such a case, are so plain and simple that the short experience of 1848 had made the Germans pretty well acquainted with them. Firstly, never play with insurrection unless you are determined to go through with it [literally: 'prepared to face the consequences of your play']. Insurrection is a calculus with very indefinite magnitudes, the value of which may change every day; the forces opposed to you have all the advantage of organisation, discipline and habitual authority; unless you bring strong odds against them you are defeated and ruined. Secondly, the insurrectionary career once entered upon, act with the greatest determination, and on the offensive. The defensive is the death of every armed rising; it is lost before it measures itself with its enemies. Surprise your antagonists while their forces are scattering, prepare new successes, however small, but daily; keep up the moral ascendancy which the first successful rising has given to you; rally to your side those vacillating elements which always follow the strongest impulse, and which always look out for the safer side; force your enemies to a retreat before they can collect their strength against you; in the words of Danton, the greatest master of revolutionary policy yet known, *de l'audace, de l'audace, encore de l'audace!*" (118).[95]

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIV*

Translated from the German

* See pp. 54–55 of this book.—*Ed.*

II

PLANS, SYNOPSES AND NOTES FOR THE BOOK "THE STATE AND REVOLUTION"[96]

1

PLANS FOR THE BOOK

1

The Marxist Theory of the State

Historico-dogmatic (α) or logical (β) exposition—which to choose?

(α) Development (chronological) of Marx's and Engels's views. 1847, 1848, 1852, 12. IV. 1871, 1872, 1873, 1875, 1878 *(Anti-Dühring)*, 1891 *(A Critique of the Erfurt Programme)*, (1891: preface to *Bürgerkrieg**) 1894, (1895)

(β) The state in clan society . . . / The state in class society . . . } introduction }

*Entfremdung***; How the bourgeoisie dominates in a democratic republic.

Engels 1887. Engels 1894 (*Ursprung****).

The state and revolution (and socialism).

1847 and 1848.

1852: experience of the French revolutions.

Experience of the Commune. . . . 1871; 1872; 1873; 1875.

The transition from capitalism to socialism:

economically: Critique of the Gotha Programme: 2 phases of communist society

politically: transition from state to *non-state.*

* *Civil War.—Ed.*

** Alienation.—*Ed.*

*** *Origin.—Ed.*

Plekhanov in 1894 *nil.*

K. Kautsky versus Pannekoek 1912.
(*Nil* and worse than *nil.*)

Experience of 1905 and 1917. "Soviets"....

2

Etwa:

I. Introduction. (The state in pre-class and class society. What is the state?)

II. The modern state.
{ Democratic republic and the Stock Exchange. }
{ Armaments and wars. }

III. "The withering away of the state".
This concept summed up.

IV. 1847 and 1848: "Theory".

V. 1852: lessons of French history and French revolutions.

NB ||| VI. Experience of the Commune.
("Endlich entdeckt"[97])

ad VI.
letter 12. IV. 1871.[98] 1871
Preface to *The Communist Manifesto*
24. VI. 1872.[99]
1873.
1875.

VII. Economics of the transition stage from capitalism to communism.

VIII. Political transition from state to "*non-state*".

IX. Marxism forgotten and vulgarised.
Plekhanov 1894 *nil.*
K. Kautsky 1912 *back.*

X. Experience of 1905 and 1917.

perhaps more cautiously:
X. Conclusion
(experience of 1905 and 1917).

3

Plan of Pamphlet

The Marxist Theory of the State

(p. 1) **Preface:** Theoretical importance and urgency of the question.

1. **Introduction.** pp. *36*; *37–38* [58-61][100]
Quotation from *Ursprung:* pre-class society without the state and class society with the state.
What is the state? (This is all the opportunists and Kautskyites "know").

2. *The modern state:*
Democratic republic and the Stock Exchange (Engels in *Ursprung*) p. *37* [60]
armaments and wars (Engels in *Anti-Dühring*)

||?|| **Imperialism** "*State trusts*", *state monopolies.* (+ Engels on Planlosigkeit....[101])

3. "*Withering away of the state*". This they remember, but criticism of the "free people's state" (ibid. Engels in *Anti-Dühring*) they have forgotten!! pp. *38–39* [61-62]

ΣΣ = general conclusions. Generally known views. Being *general*, they do not touch on the question of revolution, on the forms and methods of withering away. Open to opportunist interpretation:

||"withering away" versus "smashing"||
Compare "withering away" and quotation from *Anti-Dühring.*[102]
Panegyric to violent revolution.

Combine §§ 1–3, as "Class Society and the State"* (p. 2).

* The MS was first worded: "Perhaps combine §§ 1–3, as 'The General Theoretical Views of Marxism on the State'?"—*Ed.*

Concrete development of Marx's and Engels's views:

4. *1847 (The Poverty of Philosophy)* and *1848 (The Communist Manifesto)* — *p. 22* [35]
   Forgotten passage: "the state, *i.e.*, the proletariat organised as the ruling class".... — pp. *22–23* [35-37]
   How organised?
5. *1852:* Lessons of the French revolutions ("smash the machine").... — pp. *2–3–4* [10-11]
   Engels on the "classicality" of French history: — p. *4* [12]
6. *Experience of the Commune:* — pp. *1–2* [8-10]
   (γ) 12. IV. 1871. (Marx's letter to Kugelmann.) — pp. *27–28–29–30–31* [42-51]
   (δ) (*30.* V. ?) 28. V. 1871. *(The Civil War)* — *p. 1* [7]
   (α) Preface to *The Communist Manifesto* 24. VI. 1872. — 12th p. *1* (B) [8]
   (β) Bernstein on "doctrinaire democratism" — (1872: Zur Wohnungsfrage* p. **25** [40]: "abolition of the state". "dictatorship of the proletariat": p. *26* [41])
   pp. *23–24–25–26* [38-41] — NB + *47* [79-80]
7. Bernstein's distortion and Kautsky's evasions ("cannot simply lay hold of").... — pp. *39–40–41–42* [63-64]
8. 1873 (against the anarchists)
9. 1875. Economic basis for *transforming the state into non-state.* (Marx in *Critique of the Gotha Programme*) — pp. 15–16–17–18–19 [27-32]
10. 1875 (Engels to Bebel). (ΣΣ) — pp. *13* - (14) [23-26] + **21** [35] *in finem*** Engels und Bebel

* *The Housing Question.*—*Ed.*
** At the end.—*Ed.*

10 *bis. 1891:* Engels, preface to the 3rd edition — pp. *32–33–34–35* [52-58]
Engels 1887: p. **23** [38]
Engels in *Critique* 1891. — pp. *5–6–7–8* [13-18].
Engels: 1894: — p. *39* [62]

Chapter VI (11). Marxism vulgarised* by the opportunists.

(α) Plekhanov in the pamphlet on anarchism → ? 1894—*nil!*

(β) Kautsky 1902 *(The Social Revolution)* and 1909 *(The Road to Power)* very bad + Kautsky 1899 against Bernstein. — Specially **NB**: "We may appear to be more moderate than we really are" (Kautsky). p. *44* [71]

(γ) Kautsky versus Pannekoek 1912 *back.* — pp. *43–44–45–46–47* [67-80]

(δ) "*Preparing*" the revolution. — Revolutionary tradition.

Quid est? — "Messianism"? No, consideration of 1905–1917

(Cf. Engels 1894–1895, *pp. 10–11–12.*) [21-23] — "The Frenchman will start, the German will finish it" — pp. *11–12* [23]....

+ p. *20* [33] ("reactionary mass") — (Cf. Spectator 1915–1916)....

(+ special sheet: Kautsky: "über Nacht").[103]

Ad δ to Ch. VI.
Add: "The Frenchman will start, the German will finish it": Engels: 2. VI. 1894: pp. *11–12* [22-23].

(Ch. VI *ad* δ). Engels on the peaceful way (preface 1895): p. **11** [22] (+ NB: *p. 27* [41-42]

* The MS first had "forgotten".—*Ed.*

Chapter VII (12). Experience of 1905 and 1917.

Soviets. Quid est? [cf. 1905 and 1906, Bolsheviks' resolution[104]]

Same **type** as Commune.

Mucked up by Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks.

NB || Transition to socialism in concrete forms of transition (NB)....

Chapter VIII (13). Conclusion.

Necessity of changing the programme of Social-Democrats.

[*Steps* towards this by Socialist *Labour* Party[107]] — Out!

Draft programme of R.S.D.L.P. in IV. and V. 1917.[108]

Chapter VII:

1. (α) 1905. Bolshevik resolution 1906. *Nil* in West-European literature on the state.
2. (β) 1915: Theses in *Sotsial-Demokrat*[105]
3. (γ) 1917. Experience.
   - —power.
   - —militia.
   - —transition to socialism.
4. (δ) Attitude of Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks.
5. (ε) My forecast in VI. 1917 at Congress of Soviets![106]
6. (ζ) Experience of VII. and VIII. 1917.
7. IX. 1917.
8. "Messianism"? Who will "start"?
9. Engels on "preparation" for the revolution.

   Revolutionary tradition.

2

NOTES TO THE PLAN OF THE BOOK

Should I not add a chapter (or §§ to Chapter VII): concretisation of the tasks of the proletarian revolution in the light of the Russian revolution of 1917? This is essential!

develop Chapter VII, γ

Must add: *attitude towards anarchism.*

"Whose" Commune?

When, how and in what respect is the state unneeded?

NB || This can be included in the commentaries to Engels's article against the anarchists in 1873.[109]

On the question of "messianism": "Was ökonomisch formall falsh, kann weltgeschichtlich richtig sein", Engels's preface to *The Poverty of Philosophy*, Russian translation by S. Alekseyev, 3rd edition, *Novy Mir*, St. Ptsbg., 1906, pp. 7–8:

NB || "But what, formally, is false from the point of view of economic science, may be quite correct from the point of view of world history."

"...A formal economic error may conceal a very real economic content" (p. 8).[110]

3

PLANS FOR THE BOOK'S CHAPTERING

1

Perhaps §§ 1–3 should be combined as an introduction (or Section I?): "General theoretical views of Marxism on the state" (all that the opportunists and Kautskyites wanted to know up till now). Next: Concrete development of the views of Marx and Engels on the role of the state in the revolution and in the transition to socialism: (α) 1847 and 1848, as an outline;

(β) 1852, as a summing-up of the experience of France; (γ) experience of 1871=**main thing** and (δ) a résumé of 1891 ((1894–1847=47 years)).

2

Chapter I. Marx's and Engels's well-known views on the state.
II. Experience of 1789–1851 summed up.
III. Experience of 1871.
IV. *How* the state began to whither away.*

3

Etwa: The Marxist Theory of the State
(and the tasks of our revolution).

Preface.

Ch. I. General theoretical (the wrong word) (General?) views of Marx and Engels on the state.

Ch. II. Concrete development of these views: experience of 1848–1852.

* This text is written by Lenin in red pencil over the other text. Above it, in a frame, are the words "no good".—*Ed.*

Ch. III. Experience of the Paris Commune.

Whose Commune? anarchists' and Social-Democrats'.

Ch. IV. Economic basis for transforming the state into non-state (§ 6, 9–10).

Ch. V. Concluding arguments of Engels in the 1890s (§ 10 *bis*).

Ch. VI. Marxism forgotten and vulgarised.

Ch. VII. Experience of 1905 and 1917.

Ch. VIII. Conclusion.*

* This text is written by Lenin in blue pencil. Above it, in ink, the contents of the pamphlet.—*Ed.*

4

PLAN OF THE PREFACE

Preface: (α) Differentiation of Marxism and anarchism.*—(β) Theoretical question of vital importance, especially in the light of imperialism.—(γ) Opportunism and attitude towards the state.—(δ) "Era" of soc. revolution.—(ε) 1917.

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* Originally, the MS had: "(α) Reason (???): disputes on the differentiation of Marxism and anarchism."—*Ed.*

5

MATERIAL FOR CHAPTER III OF THE BOOK

I

SYNOPSIS OF QUOTATIONS FROM MARX'S *THE CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE*[111]

I. Abolition of the standing army (p. 28 [43] No. 1).
Officials: revocable, and from among the workers: (p. 28 [43-44] No. 2).
Police stripped of political attributes and revocable (p. 28 [44] No. 4).
Ditto other officials (p. 28 [44] No. 5).
For wages (p. 28 [44] No. 6)....
Loss of their privileges (p. 28 [44] No. 7)....
Dissolution of churches (p. 28 [44] No. 8).
Judges (p. 28 [44] No. 9).
P. 30 [47] No. 17.

II. The Commune not a parliamentary, but a working body, legislative and executive (p. 28 [44] No. 3).
NB: Not parliamentarians, but people's representatives: p. 29 [45-46] No. 13.

III. Commune = organisation of the whole of France: p. 29 [45] No. 10
and of central power: p. 29 [45] No. 11.
"Unity of the nation": p. 29 [45] No. 12.

ΣΣ = Commune *not* = medieval, but *new:* p. 29 [46] No. 14; down with the *parasite* state: pp. 29–30 [46] No. 15. idem p. 30 [46-47] No. 16.

IV. ΣΣ = Political form at last discovered: p. 30 [47] No. 18.

V. Conditions of all this: p. 30 [47] No. 19 and p. 31 [47]

2

FIRST SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER III

1. Attempt to "smash" the state machine.
2. What to replace it with? Abolition of the standing army and officialdom.
3. Not parliamentary, but working bodies.
4. How to organise national unity.
5. Down with the parasite state.
6. At last discovered.
7. *Conditions.*

3

SECOND SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER III[112]

Etwa:

1. What made the Communards' attempt heroic? p. 18.
2. What is to replace the smashed state machine? p. 21.
3. Abolition of parliamentarism*: p. 24.
4. Organisation of national unity**: p. 29.
5. Abolition of the "parasite" state***: p. 32.
6. Political form for the transition to socialism "at last discovered".

4

ROUGH DRAFT OF A PLAN FOR CHAPTER III

Etwa:

Chapter III. *1.* In what way has *The Communist Manifesto* become out-of-date?

2. Analysis of the significance of the Commune. Marx.****

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* The MS originally had: "3. Not parliamentary, but working bodies."—*Ed.*

** The MS originally had: "How to organise the unity of the nation."—*Ed.*

*** The MS originally had: "Down with the 'parasite'—the state."—*Ed.*

**** Points 1 and 2 are crossed out by Lenin.—*Ed.*

6

MATERIAL FOR CHAPTER IV OF THE BOOK

1

PLAN OF CHAPTER IV

Chapter IV.

1. Engels 1872.
2. Engels 1873 and Marx.
3. Engels 1875.

Dictatorship of the proletariat. Distinction from anarchism. Commune was not "a state in the proper sense of the word".[113]

4. Engels 1891.

Chapter IV.

§ 4.

Engels 1891. **Criticism of the Programme.**

§ 4. Criticism of the draft Erfurt Programme.
§ 5. Engels 1891, preface.
§ 6. Engels 1894: *against democracy.*

2

SYNOPSIS OF QUOTATIONS FROM F. ENGELS'S *THE HOUSING QUESTION*

Engels 1872

1) expropriation of houses and dwellings
2) "to remedy immediately"
3) letting of houses remains
4) dictatorship of the proletariat
5) "abolition of the state"....

7

PLANS OF CHAPTER VII (UNWRITTEN)

1

1. New "creation of the people" in the Russian revolution: the Soviets.
2. The lessons of 1905.
3. Eve of the 1917 revolution. 1915 theses.
4. Experience of the 1917 revolution. The Soviets and their role. III–IV. The beginning and perspectives.
5. Soviets prostituted by the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries. Decline of the Soviets.
   V–VIII. Decline.
6. Kornilov revolt.[114] IX. Betrayal by leaders of the 1st enrolment.

2

Chapter VII. *Experience of the Russian Revolutions of 1905 and 1917:* p. 85—

Etwa: or Σ
1. New "creation of the people" in the revolution. Quid est? (Plekhanov 1906[115]).
2. Lessons of 1905. (1906 resolutions of the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks.)
3. Eve of 1917 revolution: theses of X. 1915.
4. Experience of 1917. Mass enthusiasm, Soviets. (Their wide scope and their weakness: petty-bourgeois dependence.)
5. Prostitution of the Soviets by the S.R.s and Mensheviks:

militia, arming of the people
military department. "*Departments*"
economic department.
verification 3–5. VII
authorities' "independence" of party organisations.

6. Kornilov revolt.
   Demoralisation of Mensheviks and S.R.s.
   Fraud of 14–19.IX.[116]
7. "Messianism". Who will start? [or this in "conclusion"?]

CONTENTS OF THE BOOK

Title should be: *The State and Revolution.*
Subtitle: *The Marxist Theory of the State and the Tasks of the Proletariat in the Revolution.*

Original:

Preface: (p. 1)[117]
Or like this:
(p. 2) Chapter I.

Class society and the state.*

A source of opportunist distortion of Marxism: "*withering away*". This = "sociology"**.

Chapter I.—(p. 2)

§ 1. The state—a product of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms... p. 2.

§ 2. Special bodies of "armed men", prisons, etc.—p. *3 in finem.*

§ 3. The state***—an instrument for the exploitation of the oppressed class.—p. *5.*

§ 4. The "withering away" of the state and violent revolution: pp. *8*–11.

Chapter II. Concrete historical development of Marx's and Engels's theory of the state. I. Experience of 1848–1852.*

Chapter II. The state and revolution. The experience of 1848–1851. Pp. *11–18.*

{ Concrete "policy" tasks of the *revolution* }

1. The eve of the revolution: p. *11.*
2. The revolution summed up: p. *14.*

{ "The state is the proletariat organised as the ruling class." The state machine of the bourgeoisie must be *smashed.* }

Ch. III. Continuation.
II. Experience of the Paris Commune.

Chapter III. The state and revolution. Experience of the Paris Commune. **Marx's** *analysis*, pp. *18–34.*

perhaps II. α. Marx (1871) *und* 1873. (1872: *Marx und Engels*).
? II. β. Engels 1872, 1873, 1875.

§§ 1. What made the Communards' attempt heroic?—p. 18.
2. What is to replace the smashed state machine?—p. 21.
3. Abolition of parliamentarism: p. *24.*
4. Organisation of national unity: p. 29.
5. Abolition of the parasite state—pp. 32–34.
6.

Chapter IV. The state and revolution. III. Summing up by Engels in the 90s.** Supplementary explanations.

Chapter IV. Continuation. Supplementary explanations by Engels... pp. *34–52.*
1. *The Housing Question...* p. *34.*
2. Controversy with the anarchists... p. *36.*

* The MS was originally worded: "The state in pre-class and class society."—*Ed.*
** This text is crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*
*** The words "and the Stock Exchange" following this are struck out in the MS.—*Ed.*

* The text from the word "concrete" to "1852" is crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*
** The text from the words "The state" to "the 90s" is crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*

* The MS originally had the word "Lower".—*Ed.*

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Printed from the manuscript

MATERIAL FOR THE UNWRITTEN ARTICLE "ON THE QUESTION OF THE ROLE OF THE STATE"

I

NOTES ON N. I. BUKHARIN'S ARTICLE "ON THE THEORY OF THE IMPERIALIST STATE"[118]

NB ‖ **Notes on Bukharin's Article** ‖

("On the Theory of the Imperialist State")
On the theory of the imperialist state.

? (4)
‖ "Sociological theory of the state": This is given by Marxism...(?)

?
‖ "...the state = the most *general* organisation of the ruling classes...."

Loria[119] (7)?

S. 7[120]—quotation from

Engels { S. 137. 3. Auflage 1889 / S. 180. 6. Auflage } (α) inexact ("in der Regel"*) cf. *S. 178:* **6. Auflage**

(β) Niederhaltung not = enslavement, but holding down....

(γ) Ausnahmsweise** cases....

{ S. 11—quotation from Engels (3. Auflage, S. 135 = S. 177 6. Auflage).[121]
{ Engels in *Neue Zeit*, XXXII, 1, S. 32 (?) ("Dell'Autorità").[122]

S. 13: the state "withering away" (at greater length?).

* According to the general rule.—*Ed.*
** By way of exception.—*Ed.*

S. 14: "different type" (inexact)... S. 14: the state = "political expression of broad (all-embracing?) socio-economic structure" (???)

S. 15–16: distinction between Marxists and anarchists on the question of the state *incorrect* (cf. *Anti-Dühring*, 3. Auflage, S. *303*[123]).

on state capitalism. Interesting. *Legal*, in essence

NB ‖ p. 53. "Hence, the definite tactical demand: *Social-Democracy must strongly emphasise its hostility in principle to the state authority*" (Bukharin's italics, p. 53).... (Voting against the budget, etc.)

? ‖ At the end (54–55) it mentions that the proletariat "creates its own provisional **state** organisation of **power**" (*unklar:* "state organisation of power..." power over whom? over *society* as a whole? power *over* society is *state* power. Pleonasm. Tautology)... the proletariat "abolishes its own dictatorship", "driving home the last nail in the coffin of the state..." (last sentence of the article).

Written not later than August 1916

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Printed from the manuscript

2

REMARKS ON N. I. BUKHARIN'S ARTICLE "THE IMPERIALIST ROBBER STATE"[124]

In No. 25 of *Arbeiterpolitik*[125]

Subheading: Theoretical (?) on the Question of Auxiliary Service to the Fatherland.

The imperialist [robber] state

The [most important] tactical question of [our time] is the question of what is known as "defence of the fatherland", as here lies the dividing line between the entire bourgeois and proletarian world. The very word is deceptive, as it is really not a question of a country as such, i.e., of its *population*, but *of the state organisation, of the state.* If a country loses its independence, it does not mean that its inhabitants lose their independence (which they do not have at all under capitalism); it only means that the state organisation ceases to exist. The inoffensive word "country" thus covers the relations of domination and subjection, the substance of which is formed of blood and tears, enslavement and oppression, robbery and murder. All the "braver" are the many of those who have "learned anew", those who—quite consistently—from the point of view of defence of the fatherland, had begun to glorify the state, to sing rapturous hymns of praise in honour of "statesmanship" with all its hallowed attributes, beginning with prostituted science and religion and ending with the Army and Navy and even police violence and class justice. It is therefore highly important to have a clear idea of the state in general and of the *imperialist robber state* in particular.

not only tactical

inexact

The state is a *historical* category. That means that the state 1) does not represent an eternal law of society, but only a transitory 2) social formation. In other words: the state arises only at a certain stage of development and should, on the contrary, disappear at another stage of development. It originates as an organisation of the ruling class, and herein lies its *essence*. It is

1) acts

2) phenomenon

× —— × omitted in No. 25 of *Arbeiterpolitik* (9. XII. 1916).

an organisation of "the most powerful, economically dominant class, which, through the medium of the state, becomes also the politically dominant class, and thus acquires new means of holding down and exploiting the oppressed class" (F. Engels: *The Origin of the Family etc.* p., 137). Thus the notion of state has as its premise the notion of class rule. A classless state is just as meaningless as, say, classless capitalism or dry water. *Karl Marx* expressed this in the following words: "Even radical and revolutionary politicians," he writes (see "Critical Remarks etc.", *Literary Heritage*, Vol. 2, p. 50), "seek the root of the evil not in the essence of the state, but in a definite state form, in place of which they want to establish another." Altogether different are the aims of the socialists: "All socialists," says *F. Engels* (Italian article "Dell'Autorità" published in *Neue Zeit* No. 32, 1, p. 39), "are agreed that the state, and with it political authority, will disappear [as a result of] the coming social revolution, that is, that public functions No. 3 will lose their political character and become mere administrative functions of watching over social interests." It is Engels again who writes in *Anti-Dühring* (a work which, as we know, was looked through, almost edited and partly written by Marx) that the state "withers away". The same prognostication is given in his *The Origin of the Family*. Society, which will reorganise production on the basis of a free and equal association of producers, will put the whole machinery of state where it will then belong: into a museum of antiquities, by the side of the spinning-wheel and the bronze axe (p. 140).* With the abolition of the class social

= not "this"

No. 3 ∨ (services)

* In this connection we would like to point out that it is quite erroneous to seek the distinction between the socialists and anarchists in the fact that the former are supporters and the latter opponents of the state. Actually, the distinction lies in the fact that revolutionary Social-Democracy wants to organise new social production as a centralised, that is, technically more progressive production, whereas decentralised anarchist production would merely mean a step backward towards the old technics, the old form of production.

correct

wrong, incomplete

wrong??

system its political expression—the state, will also be abolished (gesprengt) and there will arise a classless, socialist society in which there will be no state.

?
The church?
etc.

The state is the most *general* organisation of the ruling class, i.e., the objects of exploitation here are not only certain circles, but the entire exploited class. This is a colossal, monstrous sucking machine, which exploits the people directly itself, and also pursues the aim of preserving, upholding and extending all the conditions for "normal" exploitation. In case of any danger, the state, with all its—in the final analysis military—forces comes out against the "enemy": externally this will be wars, internally brutal suppression of the rebels. Force of arms, killing—such is the iron law of the state and of *every* state form without exception. Only the quantitative side of this phenomenon is different, but even that changes according to the type of state, which, in turn, is determined by the development of world economy. It is in our day, with the formation of *imperialist* states, that universal militarisation assumes colossal, unprecedented magnitude.

II

inexact *

The state is an all-embracing organisation of the ruling class. In the pre-imperialist epoch

No. 4: "It was, properly speaking, merely an organisation."

No. 4 it was, properly speaking, an organisation. That most important sphere of public life, economics, was in an utterly anarchic state. The individual enterprise, the capitalist, who "works" on his own and has to do only with his workers, and to whom the state ensures only the general conditions for his "right of exploitation"—such is the typical picture of the old economics. Today it is quite different. The individual capitalist has become a member of the capitalists' association. The rapid disappearance of the middle class and the triumphant march of big capital have called into being certain new forms of economic life, which, of course, appeared as special forms of class life. The formation of employers' associations, trusts, syndicates, etc.,

* Lenin's remark applies also to a similar term used by Bukharin at the end of this section. The words are encircled by Lenin and joined together by an arrow.—*Ed.*

and their interconnections through combined enterprises and big banks have completely changed the old forms. Whereas the pre-imperialist epoch was characterised by *individual* capitalist property, that of modern finance-capitalist economy is characterised by the *collective* property of capitalists united organisationally among themselves. But the same process is to be observed not only in the field of economics. It has spread to all spheres of class life. And if the working class is creating its trade unions, political organisations, co-operatives, cultural and educational circles, etc., the bourgeoisie is doing this on a much bigger scale. In this way are formed all kinds of bourgeois class organisations: in economic life—associations of employers, trusts, etc., in the political field—political parties with all ramifications; in the scientific field—all kinds of scientific organisations, which, when needed, become the faithful and obsequious servants of the capitalist predator, etc.; ultimately the state grows more and more colossal. The process of organisation does not end there, however. *All these forms have a tendency to become integrated and transformed into a single organisation of the ruling class.* This is the latest stage of development, which became manifest most clearly. *during the war.* Most important of all is the merging of the state bourgeois organisation with the economic organisations. *State* regulation of production is gradually being introduced. This is taking place in two important forms: first of all, by the introduction of *state monopolies in the field of production*, which is done chiefly for financial (the repayment of war loans, etc.) as well as for state military reasons (the need of war materials); secondly, by a special system of what is known as "joint enterprises" in which the state and the economic organisations of the employers are common owners. The same thing is taking place in the *sphere of transport*. The introduction of state *trade monopolies*, the merging of state and "private" banking houses, fixed prices, state interference in the distribution of products—all this signifies the absorption of the economic life by the state organisation. The "national economy" becomes more and more a "state economy", a "state-capitalist trust". No. 5. But it is not only the state and the purely

No. 5: +

economic organisations of the bourgeoisie which unite; the same tendency is revealed by other bourgeois and class organisations. Science, parties, the Church, and associations of employers are being drawn into the state apparatus. *In this way there is formed a single all-embracing organisation, a modern imperialist robber state as an all-powerful organisation of the ruling bourgeoisie,* with innumerable functions and gigantic power, both spiritual (various methods of fooling people: religion, the press, the school, etc.) and material (the police, army). This power penetrates into all pores of finance-capitalist society and puts its peculiar specific stamp upon our time. And we see here the dialectics of history: *the state, which was at first the only organisation of the ruling class, is turned into an organisation that exists side by side with others in order to turn back into a single organisation which has absorbed into itself all others.* Such is the modern monster, the modern leviathan of statehood.*

Etatisation of labour power, as expressed in the English law on military equipment, in the German "auxiliary service to the fatherland", etc., is an inevitable outcome of this process of development.

? >

III

The development of world economy leads to the sharpest struggle of the state-organised "national economies". On the other hand imperialist wars have a reverse effect on the structure of the states. And if the type described above represents, as it were, the ideal No. 6 picture of an imperialist state, a stage reached only by the most developed states, then every day, especially every day of *war*, leads to an extension of this phenomenon. This sets to the proletariat the task of adjusting itself to the new situation. Clearly, the imperialist robber state (we call it *robber* state because its cultural mission outside is systematic plunder of the weak nations, the colonial countries, etc.) is the highest form of bourgeois class organisation. This organisation's means of violence are colossal. We have only to remember modern militarism. Thus the workers are confronted with the united forces of the whole bourgeoisie.

No. 6 "real" (in No. 25) (obviously a misprint!! Or a slip of the pen).

* Under a screen of honeyed words about "war socialism" the yellow "Social-Democrats" acclaim none other than the imperialist robber state.

They can smash this force only by a still greater force, and that is the *force of the masses*. Mass action is an indispensable means of victorious struggle. For Social-Democracy, which is, or at least should be, the educator of the masses, it is now more than ever necessary to emphasise its hostility in principle to the state. He is a traitor to socialism who—like the social-patriots of today—incites the workers to mutual extermination under the pretext of defence of the fatherland, because in reality war is an offensive action by the *state*, the mortal enemy of the socialist proletariat.

The present war has shown how deeply the roots of state organisation have sunk into the minds of the workers. But that same war has also shown that this psychology is retreating more and more into the background. This is a process which has a certain analogy with the previous age. As in the past the workers who lived in patriarchal relationship with their master considered the interests of their exploiter as their own, so now too do the proletarians fight for the interests of their exploiters and plunderers. But just as the *factory* steam-hammer smashed these idyllic relations, so will *imperialism* destroy the slave mentality of the workers, and under the pressure of war, under the weight of savage violence, the proletariat will declare the only "just war", a war against the rule of capital.

No. 7—In lieu of all this ending in No. 25 of *Arbeiterpolitik*, quite a different ending, to the effect that "we Left radicals" agree with the social-imperialists that capital is working here for socialism, but we differ from them in that we recognise as necessary the "*victory of the proletariat over the imperialist state*". (Sic!)

Nota bene

× × × × = omitted in No. 25 of *Arbeiterpolitik*.

Written in November, not before 18 (December 1), and in December, not before 5 (18), 1916, in German and Russian

First published in 1933 in the pamphlet: V. I. Lenin. *Remarks on N. I. Bukharin's Articles on the State* (Russ. ed.)

Printed from the text of the newspaper *Jugend-Internationale* with Lenin's remarks

Translated from the German

3

PLAN OF THE ARTICLE "ON THE QUESTION OF THE ROLE OF THE STATE"[126]

On the Question of the Role of the State

Communist or Social-Democrat?

Socialism and communism. (Full community of consumer goods or at least those that are *essential.*)

Democracy also is the state. Absterben .... "Withering away" of the state.

Why not Abschaffung* and not Sprengung**?
"Allmähliches Einschlafen"*** of one function after another.
Without democracy=without the governing of people.

"Roots of state organisation in the minds of the workers"?
Opportunism and revolutionary Social-Democracy.

Dictatorship of the proletariat.

Use of the state against the bourgeoisie.
Rebuffing its attempts at restoration.
Revolutionary wars.
Introduction and defence of democracy.

Role of democracy:

Education of the masses
Their switch-over to the new order
Form of soc. revolution: unions of 1905.

Imperialism: the state and economic organisations of the capitalists. "State-capitalist trusts"....

* Destruction.—*Ed.*
** Explosion.—*Ed.*
*** "Gradual dying down".—*Ed.*

Democratic reforms of imperialists and the soc. revolution.
Marx in 1844 (*Nachlaß*, II. Band, S. 50, end of penultimate paragraph).[127]

Nothing but offsetting socialism to politics.
Against the purely political radicalism of Ruge!
Up till 1847!

Engels ("Dell'Autorità" on revolution... (+)
on organisation...[128] (+)

Marx (*ebenda*) ((*Neue Zeit*, 32, I, 1913–1914))
on political influence and the struggle for **concessions**—
on revolutionary use of state power....[129]

Two trends in *politics* (politics is participation in the affairs of *the state*, directing the state, determining the forms, tasks and content of the state's activities), opportunist and revolutionary,
or two trends in the attitude to "state organisation"?

Democracy of reformists and democracy of revolution. Two different contents: the minority and the mass. Pacification of the mass? assisting the *struggle* of the mass? Subordination of the mass to the authority of the leaders? revolt against leaders? Engels's "lower mass" *versus* "mass" *following* the opportunist leaders.

Boils down to revolution versus opportunism.

Written not before November 18
(December 1), 1916

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXI*

Printed from the manuscript

NOTES

[1] Lenin wrote *Marxism on the State* in Zurich in January-February 1917. It was first published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIV*. Lenin made use of the material for this work in preparing *The State and Revolution*.

The manuscript of *Marxism on the State* is a blue-covered notebook of 48 pages written in a small hand, with later insertions, marginal notes and underlinings showing that Lenin had repeatedly returned to this material. The notebook contains all the most important statements made by Marx and Engels on the state and the dictatorship of the proletariat, passages from articles and books by Kautsky, Pannekoek and Bernstein, with comments, additions, generalisations and conclusions by Lenin.

When returning to Russia from Switzerland in April 1917, Lenin left the manuscript of *Marxism on the State* and other material abroad for safe keeping. In July 1917, worrying about this material, Lenin wrote in a note to Kamenev: "*Entre nous:* if they do me in, I ask you to publish my notebook: *Marxism on the State* (it got left behind in Stockholm). It's bound in a blue cover. It contains a collection of all the quotations from Marx and Engels, likewise from Kautsky against Pannekoek. There are a number of remarks and notes, and formulations. I think it could be published after a week's work. I believe it to be important, because not only Plekhanov but also Kautsky have bungled things" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 36, p. 454).

When in hiding at Razliv Station after the events of July 1917, Lenin asked for this notebook to be brought to him, as he needed it for *The State and Revolution*. However, Lenin did not use all the material collected in the notebook. Thus *The State and Revolution* does not include Engels's letters to Paul Lafargue on the French Workers' Party, Marx's letter to Frankel and Varlin, members of the Paris Commune, and other material cited in *Marxism on the State*.

Lenin's *Marxism on the State* is a work of great importance. It was published as a separate pamphlet in Russian in 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934 and 1958. This work acquaints the reader with Lenin's method of scientific research, his approach to the study and settlement of most complicated theoretical and practical questions of the international communist and working-class movement. p. 5

[2] This table of contents was written by Lenin on the cover of the notebook *Marxism on the State*. The author indicates the pages of the manuscript on the right. The pages of the present book are given in square brackets and small type. p. 5

[3] The reference is to Marx's *The Civil War in France*. (See Marx, Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1969, pp. 178–244.) p. 7

[4] Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1969, p. 99. p. 7

[5] Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1969, p. 100. p. 7

[6] Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1969, p. 217. p. 8

[7] The reference is to the Introduction to Marx's *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* written by Engels for a separate publication of the work in Berlin in 1895 (see Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1969, pp. 186–204).

Before the Introduction was published, the Executive of the German Social-Democratic Party, in view of the tense situation in the country due to the discussions in the Reichstag of the draft of a new Anti-Socialist Law, insistently urged Engels to tone down what they called the excessively revolutionary spirit of the work and make it more cautious.

Under pressure from the party Executive, Engels agreed to delete some passages in the proofs and change certain formulations, as a result of which the original text of the Introduction "suffered somewhat", as Engels put it.

On March 30, 1895 *Vorwärts*, the Central Organ of the German Social-Democratic Party, printed a leading article, in which the authors cited, without the knowledge of Engels, passages from his Introduction specially selected and taken out of the context, which produced the impression that Engels was a worshipper of "legality *quand même*" (at any price). Engels resolutely protested to Liebknecht, editor of *Vorwärts*, against this distortion of his views. In his letters to Kautsky of April 1 and to Lafargue of April 3, 1895, Engels expressed his deep indignation and insisted on the publication of the unabridged text of the Introduction in *Die Neue Zeit*, "so that this disgraceful impression will be wiped out". Nevertheless, it was published in that journal also with some cuts.

After Engels's death, Bernstein and other ideologists of revisionism and opportunism concealed the full text of the Introduction from the readers—though they had the manuscript at their disposal—and distorted the content of the printed text; they alleged that in his Introduction (which they presented as his "political testament") Engels had revised his former views and almost adopted a revisionist stand.

By false references to Engels, the revisionists sought to cover their departure from Marxism and their attacks on its revolutionary principles.

The unabridged text of Engels's Introduction was published for the first time in the Soviet Union in 1930. p. 8

[8] Marx, Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, pp. 262–63. p. 8

[9] Lenin is referring to Bakunin's letter to the French Socialist Palix written on September 28, 1870. The letter is quoted by Y. Steklov in his book *Michael Bakunin. Ein Lebensbild*, Stuttgart, 1913. p. 9

[10] Marx, Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, pp. 263. p. 9

[11] Marx, Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, p. 218. p. 10

[12] Marx, Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, p. 253. p. 10

[13] See Marx's letter to Kugelmann dated June 18, 1871. p. 10

[14] Marx, Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, p. 263. p. 10

[15] Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1969, pp. 476–77. p. 11

[16] Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1969, p. 396. p. 12

[17] See Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1969, p. 477). p. 12

[18] See Marx's letter to Kugelmann dated April 12, 1871 (Marx, Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, p. 262). p. 12

[19] Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1969, p. 355. p. 12

[20] Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1970, p. 27. p. 12

[21] Marx, Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, p. 265. p. 13

[22] Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1970, pp. 429–39. p. 13

[23] Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 38, Berlin, 1968, S. 125–27. p. 13

[24] Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1970, pp. 433–37. p. 18

[25] See Introduction by Frederick Engels to Marx's *The Civil War in France* (Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1969, p. 184). p. 18

[26] The reference is to Engels's letter "Reply to the Editorial Board of *Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung*".

The *Young*—a petty-bourgeois semi-anarchist opposition in the German Social-Democratic movement that developed in 1890.

In his letter, Engels wrote that "theoretical views of the Young" present "Marxism distorted beyond recognition". Divorced from reality, the adventurist tactics of the Young could, in Engels's words, ruin "even the strongest party, numbering millions, to the laughter of the entire world hostile to it". Engels derided the Young's self-conceit and illusions as to their share and significance in the party. "Let them realise," Engels went on to say, "that their 'academic education' which needs, moreover, a thorough critical self-examination, does not confer on them officer rank with the right to have a corresponding post in the party; that in our party each should begin his service from the lowest rank; that literary talent and theoretical knowledge alone are not enough to occupy responsible posts in the party, even when both are indisputable; but that one must also have a thorough knowledge of the conditions of the party struggle and a command of its forms, tested personal integrity and steadfastness, and finally, one must voluntarily join the ranks of the fighters; in a word, that these 'academically educated' people, on the whole, should learn more from the workers than the workers should learn from them" (Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 22, Berlin, 1963, S. 68–70).

Der Sozial-Demokrat—Central Organ of the German Social-Democratic Party in the period of the Anti-Socialist Law; it was published in Zurich from September 28, 1879 to September 22, 1888 and in London from October 1, 1888 to September 27, 1890. p. 19

[27] Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1969, p. 298. p. 19

[28] Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1970, p. 438. p. 20

[29] See Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1969, p. 477). p. 20

[30] See Marx's letter to Kugelmann of April 12, 1871 (Marx, Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, pp. 262–63). p. 20

[31] See Engels's letter to A. Bebel, March 18–28, 1875; Karl Marx, "Critique of the Gotha Programme" (Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1970, pp. 31–37, 11–30). p. 20

[32] In the second edition of his book *The State and Revolution* published in 1919, Lenin introduced an additional section entitled "The Presentation of the Question by Marx in 1852". This section contains an extract from Marx's letter to Weydemeyer dated March 5, 1852, showing that

Marx raised the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat as early as 1852 (see V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, pp. 411–13). p. 20

[33] Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1969, pp. 118, 137, 126. p. 20

[34] Frederick Engels, "A Critique of the Draft Social-Democratic Programme of 1891" (Marx, Engels, *Selected Works* Vol. 3, Moscow, 1970, pp. 435 and 436). p. 21

[35] Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1969, p. 188. p. 21

[36] The reference is to Engels's letters to Paul Lafargue dated February 16 and May 7, 1886; November 22 and December 5, 1887; October 27, 1890; March 6 and June 2, 1894, and April 3, 1895. p. 21

[37] *Le Mouvement Socialiste*—a socio-political journal which appeared at various intervals from January 1899 to June 1914 in Paris in French under the editorship of Hubert Lagardelle. p. 21

[38] *Vorwärts*—a daily newspaper, Central Organ of the German Social-Democratic Party, published in Berlin from 1891 to 1933. p. 21

[39] *Le Socialiste*—a weekly published from 1885 as the theoretical organ of the French Workers' Party; from 1902 it was the organ of the Socialist Party of France, and from 1905—of the French Socialist Party. Ceased publication in 1915. p. 21

[40] Marx, Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, p. 472. p. 22

[41] Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1969, pp. 178–89. p. 22

[42] Marx, Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, p. 487. p. 22

[43] Marx, Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, p. 486. p. 22

[44] Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 39, Berlin, 1968, S. 254–56. p. 23

[45] See Letter of F. Engels to Paul Lafargue, London, November 22, 1887. p. 23

[46] See Letter of F. Engels to Paul Lafargue, London, October 27, 1890. p. 23

[47] *New-Yorker Volkszeitung*—a daily newspaper of the German Social-Democrats in the U.S.A., published in New York from 1878 to 1932. p. 23

[48] The speech referred to was prepared by Marx to be delivered at the Brussels congress of economists. However, Marx was not given the floor at the congress, and after it was over he edited the speech for printing and published it in the Belgian newspaper *Atelier Démocratique* on September 29, 1847. All that remains of it is the German translation of the beginning, which was published by Marx and Engels's friend, Joseph Weydemeyer, in Hamm in 1848 with the translation of another speech by Marx on free trade on January 9, 1848 (see Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1959, S. 296–98). p. 23

[49] Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1970, pp. 31–37. p. 23

[50] Bukharin's article "Der imperialistische Raubstaat" ("The Imperialist Robber State") was printed in the newspaper *Jugend-Internationale* No. 6 for December 1, 1916, and signed *Nota bene*. Lenin criticised it in his article "The Youth International" (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, pp. 163–66). For Lenin's remarks on Bukharin's article see pp. 102–07 of this book. p. 26

[51] Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1970, pp. 11–37. p. 27

[52] *The German People's Party*, founded in 1865, consisted mainly of democratic elements from among the petty bourgeoisie of the South German states. The party put forward general democratic slogans and propagated the idea of a federal German state; it opposed both Bismarck's policy of Germany's unification under the hegemony of Junker Prussia and its unification in the form of a centralised democratic republic. p. 28

[53] *The League of Peace and Freedom*—bourgeois pacifist organisation founded in Switzerland in 1867 by petty-bourgeois republicans and liberals. p. 28

[54] Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1970, pp. 26–27. p. 28

[55] Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1970, pp. 17–19. p. 32

[56] Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1970, pp. 32, 34–36. p. 34

[57] Karl Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, Moscow, 1966, p. 151. p. 35

[58] Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1969, p. 126. p. 35

[59] Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1969, pp. 118–19, 126, 127, 110–11. p. 37

[60] Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 21, Berlin, 1962, S. 350, 351. p. 38

[61] Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1969, pp. 317–18, 322–23. p. 39

[62] See Frederick Engels, Preface to the second edition of *The Housing Question* (Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1969, p. 303). p. 39

[63] Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1969, pp. 333–34, 354–55. p. 40

[64] This refers to the pamphlet *Internationale et Révolution. A propos du congrès de la Haye par des réfugiés de la Commune, ex-membres du Conseil Général de l'Internationale*, Londres, 1872. p. 40

[65] Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1969, pp. 356, 370. p. 41

[66] See Engels's letters to Kautsky dated January 3, March 25 and April 1, 1895. p. 42

[67] Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1969, pp. 217–30. p. 42

[68] Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1969, pp. 217–23. p. 47

[69] Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1969, pp. 226, 227. p. 48

[70] The reference is to Engels's Introduction to Marx's *The Civil War in France* (see Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1969, pp. 178–89). p. 52

[71] In Engels's manuscript, the word "Social-Democratic" was used here instead of the word "German". The substitution was made by the editors of *Die Neue Zeit* when Engels's work was being published. p. 57

[72] Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1969, pp. 180, 183, 186, 187–89. p. 57

[73] This refers to Engels's letter to A. Bebel of March 18–28, 1875 (see Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1970, pp. 31–37). p. 57

[74] Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1969, p. 240. p. 58

[75] Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1969, p. 401. p. 58

[76] Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1970, pp. 327–28. p. 59

[77] Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1970, pp. 328–30. p. 61

[78] See Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1962, pp. 384–85. p. 62

[79] Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 22, Berlin, 1963, S. 417–18. p. 62

[80] See Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1969, pp. 376–79. p. 63

[81] This remark was made by Lenin on a separate sheet appended to the manuscript and containing this paragraph and the following one from Engels's article "On Authority".

Lenin points out that in his article "The Imperialist Robber State" Bukharin does not quote Engels's words in full. p. 64

[82] This remark was made by Lenin on a separate sheet appended to the manuscript and containing part of this paragraph from Marx's article "Der politische Indifferentismus". p. 65

[83] Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 18, Berlin, 1962, S. 299–301. p. 66

[84] See Engels's letter to A. Bebel of March 18–28, 1875 (Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1970, p. 34). p. 67

[85] Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1962, pp. 253–54. p. 71

[86] The reference is to the following events:

The workers' uprising in Spain in the summer of 1873 was initiated by the so-called Intransigents, republicans voicing the interests of the urban petty bourgeoisie, and by anarchists, followers of Bakunin. The insurgents demanded the conversion of Spain into independent cantons on the model of Switzerland. The uprising spread to a number of Spanish provinces and towns including Seville, Granada and Valencia, but was brutally put down. The anarchists' adventurist tactics did great harm to the revolutionary movement of the Spanish working class. The anarchists did not help to unite the independent actions of each town and province, thereby preventing the possibility of a general offensive. For a criticism of the anarchists' tactics in this uprising, see Engels's *The Bakuninists at Work*, Moscow, 1971.

The attempts on the life of Wilhelm I by Max Hödel on May 11, 1878 and Karl E. Nobiling on June 2, 1878, were used by Bismarck as a pretext for introducing the Anti-Socialist Law in October 1878.

The attempts made in 1884 by the Austrian anarchists A. Kammerer, H. Stellmacher and others served as a pretext for introducing in Austria in 1884 an Anti-Socialist Law similar to Bismarck's Anti-Socialist Law.

The Chicago events of May 4, 1886. With a view to increasing repressive measures against the workers, agents-provocateurs threw a bomb during a workers' meeting in Chicago, as a result of which four workers and seven policemen were killed. On the strength of the provocateurs' false evidence, four organisers of the meeting were executed and many of its participants sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. p. 71

[87] Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 39, Berlin, 1968, S. 364. p. 72

[88] Lenin refers to Marx's works *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* and *The Civil War in France*, and Engels's "A Critique of the Draft Social-Democratic Programme of 1891". p. 73

[89] The reference is to the *all-Russia political strike* in October 1905, during the first Russian revolution.

Involving over two million participants, the strike had as its slogans: overthrow of the autocracy, convocation of a constituent assembly and establishment of a democratic republic. The October general strike demonstrated the might of the working-class movement and gave an impetus to the development of the revolutionary struggle in the countryside, the army and navy. It prepared the proletariat for the December armed uprisings. p. 74

[90] This refers to the *December armed uprisings* in Russia in 1905, during the first Russian revolution.

A general political strike began in Moscow on December 7 (20), 1905 and soon developed into an armed uprising. The Moscow workers displayed heroism during the barricade fighting. The uprising lasted nine days and was put down only when the tsarist government dispatched troops from Petersburg to Moscow. There was bloodshed in the workers' districts and punitive expeditions were rampant everywhere in the Moscow suburbs.

Following the Moscow uprising, insurrections flared up, in December 1905 and January 1906, in Nizhni-Novgorod, Rostov-on-Don, Novorossiisk, Yekaterinoslav, Perm (Motovilikha), Ufa, Krasnoyarsk, Chita and the Donets Basin. Serious armed actions took place in Transcaucasia, Poland, the Baltic provinces and Finland. All these uprisings, however, were brutally suppressed by the tsarist government.

The December armed uprisings were the climax of the 1905–07 revolution. Highly assessing their significance, Lenin wrote that the people "had gone through the baptism of fire. It had become steeled in the insurrection, and brought forth numerous fighters who triumphed in 1917" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 536). p. 74

[91] The reference is to Engels's Introduction to Marx's *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*. p. 76

[92] *The Basle Manifesto*—a manifesto on war adopted by the Extraordinary International Socialist Congress held in Basle on November

24–25, 1912. The manifesto warned the peoples against the threat of an impending world imperialist war, laid bare the predatory aims of that war and called on the workers of all countries to fight energetically for peace by "opposing to capitalist imperialism the might of the international solidarity of the proletariat". The Basle Manifesto included a point from the Stuttgart Congress resolution (1907), formulated by Lenin, to the effect that, in the event of an imperialist war breaking out, the socialists must utilise the economic and political crisis created by the war to accelerate the downfall of the capitalist class rule and to fight for the socialist revolution. p. 79

[93] Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1962, pp. 253–54. p. 79

[94] The work *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* (see Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1969, pp. 300–87) reveals the preconditions, the character and the driving forces of the German revolution of 1848–49. It was written by Engels, but for a long time Marx was considered as its author, and several editions of *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* came out under his name. Originally this work was published in *The New York Daily Tribune*, as a series of articles on the German revolution, over Marx's signature. It was not republished during the lifetime of Marx and Engels. It was only in 1913, when the Marx-Engels correspondence was published, that it became known that Engels was the author of *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*. p. 80

[95] Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1969, p. 377. p. 80

[96] *Plans, Synopses and Notes for the Book "The State and Revolution"* were written by Lenin in July-September 1917 and first published in 1931 in the journal *Bolshevik* No. 17. p. 81

[97] See Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France* (Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1969, p. 223). p. 82

[98] The reference is to a letter from Karl Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann dated April 12, 1871. p. 82

[99] Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1969, pp. 98–99. p. 82

[100] Here and in the subsequent paragraphs of the plan are given pages of Lenin's manuscript of *Marxism on the State*. References to the pages of this book are given in square brackets and small type. p. 83

[101] See Frederick Engels, "A Critique of the Draft Social-Democratic Programme of 1891" (Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1970, p. 431). p. 83

[102] Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1962, pp. 253–54. p. 83

[103] The reference is to the sheet containing an extract from Kautsky's article "Banditenpolitik" published in *Die Neue Zeit* No. 1 for October 6, 1911. The extract ended as follows: "It (our election struggle) may turn into a struggle for power overnight [über Nacht]." p. 85

[104] See Lenin's draft resolution "Soviets of Workers' Deputies" for the Unity Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (*Collected Works*, Vol. 10, pp. 156–57). p. 86

[105] See "Several Theses" written by Lenin and published in the newspaper *Sotsial-Demokrat* (*Collected Works*, Vol. 21, pp. 401–04). p. 86

[106] The First All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies met in Petrograd from June 3 to 24 (June 16 to July 7), 1917 and was attended by 1,090 delegates. The Bolsheviks, then a minority in the Soviets, had 105 delegates. The majority belonged to a bloc of Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, whose resolutions and speeches called for support for the bourgeois Provisional Government and the continuation of the imperialist war, and emphatically opposed the transfer of state power to the Soviets. They declared (through Minister Tsereteli) that there was no political party in Russia that was prepared to assume full power. In reply, Lenin said from the congress tribune that the Bolshevik Party was "ready to take over full power at any moment". p. 86

[107] *The Socialist Labour Party of America* was formed in 1876 at a unity congress in Philadelphia by the merger of the American sections of the First International and other socialist organisations. During the First World War (1914–18), the party inclined towards internationalism. After the Great October Socialist Revolution, the more revolutionary section of the S.L.P. took an active part in founding the Communist Party of America. At present it is a small organisation which exerts no influence on the American labour movement. p. 86

[108] The reference is to the draft of a new Party programme on which Lenin began to work in 1917. p. 86

[109] What is meant here is Engels's article "On Authority" (see Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1969, pp. 376–79). p. 87

[110] See Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 21, Berlin, 1962, S. 178. p. 87

[111] In the manuscript of *Marxism on the State*, the quotations from Marx's *The Civil War in France* are divided into separate paragraphs and numbered (see pp. 43–47 of this book). On the right of the text, Lenin indicates these numbers of the quotations. The pages of the present book are given in square brackets and small type. p. 91

[112] The second synopsis of Chapter III was drawn up by Lenin apparently while writing the book. The numbers on the right of the text indicate the pages of the manuscript of *The State and Revolution.* p. 92

[113] See Engels's letter to A. Bebel of March 18–28, 1875 (Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1970, p. 34). p. 93

[114] This refers to the counter-revolutionary revolt raised by the bourgeoisie and landowners in August 1917 and headed by tsarist general Kornilov. The conspirators wanted to capture Petrograd, suppress the Bolshevik Party, disperse the Soviets, establish military dictatorship in the country and help restore the monarchy. The Kornilov revolt was put down by the workers and peasants led by the Bolshevik Party. Under pressure from the masses, the Provisional Government was compelled to issue orders for the arrest of Kornilov and his accomplices and their trial for mutiny. p. 94

[115] The reference is to Plekhanov's attempt, made at the Fourth Unity Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1906), to criticise the expression "the creative activity of the people" because it reminded him of Narodnik terminology. In reply to Plekhanov, Lenin said in the pamphlet *Report on the Unity Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.* (1906):

"A word about 'the creative activity of the people'. In what sense did I speak about this at the Congress? In the same sense as I speak about it in my pamphlet, *The Victory of the Cadets and the Tasks of the Workers' Party*... I contrast October-December 1905 to the present Cadet period, and say that in the revolutionary period the creative activity of the people (the revolutionary peasants plus the proletarians) is richer and more productive than in the Cadet period. Plekhanov thinks that this is Narodnaya Volya-ism. I think that, from the scientific point of view, Plekhanov's opinion is an evasion of the highly important question of appraising the period of October-December 1905" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 10, pp. 341–42). p. 94

[116] The reference is to the *All-Russia Democratic Conference* held in Petrograd from September 14 to 22 (September 27 to October 5), 1917 and attended by over 1,500 delegates. The Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary leaders did all they could to reduce the number of workers' and peasants' representatives and to increase the number of delegates from various petty-bourgeois and bourgeois organisations; thereby they secured a majority at the conference.

On September 19 (October 1), the Democratic Conference adopted a decision to set up a Pre-parliament (the Provisional Council of the Republic). This was an attempt to create the impression that a parliamentary system was being introduced in Russia. Actually, according to the regulations approved by the Provisional Government, the Pre-parliament was to be an advisory government body. Lenin insisted on boycotting the Pre-parliament since to stay in it would have meant sowing illusions that it could solve the tasks of the revolution.

At the opening session of the Pre-parliament on October 7 (20) the Bolsheviks read their declaration and walked out. p. 95

[117] The numbers on the right of the text indicate the pages of the manuscript of *The State and Revolution.* p. 96

[118] *Notes on N. I. Bukharin's Article "On the Theory of the Imperialist State"* were written by Lenin not later than August 1916 and first published in 1932. As is known from Lenin's correspondence with Bukharin and Zinoviev, Bukharin intended to publish his article in *Sbornik "Sotsial-Demokrata"* but the editors rejected it because of its erroneous, anti-Marxist views on the state and the dictatorship of the proletariat. p. 100

[119] The reference is to Loria's book *Les bases économiques de la constitution sociale*, Paris, 1903, to which Bukharin refers in this passage of his article. p. 100

[120] Lenin indicates the pages of the manuscript of Bukharin's article on the left of the text. p. 100

[121] Lenin checks the text of the quotations cited by Bukharin from Engels's *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* with the sixth German edition of this book. For the passages indicated, see Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, 1970, pp. 326, 327, 328. p. 100

[122] The reference is to a passage from Engels's article "On Authority" (see Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1969, p. 379). p. 100

[123] Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1962, pp. 384–85. p. 101

[124] *Remarks on N. I. Bukharin's Article "The Imperialist Robber State"*, published over the signature of *Nota bene* in No. 6 of *Jugend-Internationale* for December 1, 1916, were apparently made by Lenin immediately after the newspaper appeared. In this article, Bukharin developed the same semi-anarchistic anti-Marxist views on the question of the state as he had expressed in his article "On the Theory of the Imperialist State" which had been rejected by the editors of *Sbornik "Sotsial-Demokrata"*. "In August 1916, it was written to Bukharin: 'Let your thoughts about the state *mature*'," Lenin wrote. "He, however, *without letting* them mature, dashed into the press, as 'Nota bene', and did so in such a way that, instead of exposing the Kautskyites, he *helped* them by his mistakes!!" (See p. 26 of this book.)

Having received on December 5 (18), 1916 No. 25 of the journal *Arbeiterpolitik* for December 9, 1916, in which the same article was published with slight alterations, Lenin again looked through his remarks and noted in *Jugend-Internationale* the passages that were omitted in *Arbeiterpolitik*. p. 102

[125] *Arbeiterpolitik*—a weekly devoted to questions of scientific socialism, organ of the Bremen group of Left-wing radicals that joined the Communist Party of Germany in 1919; it was published in Bremen from 1916 to 1919. The journal campaigned against social-chauvinism in the German and international working-class movement. Among its contributors were N. Bukharin, A. Guillbaux, Alexandra Kollontai, Nadezhda Krupskaya, A. Pannekoek, K. Radek, Y. Steklov. p. 102

[126] *Plan of the Article "On the Question of the Role of the State"* was drawn up by Lenin not earlier than November 18 (December 1), 1916, while working on the material concerning the Marxist attitude to the state. The sheet containing the plan of the article was inserted in the notebook *Marxism on the State.*

In a letter to Alexandra Kollontai dated February 4 (17), 1917, Lenin wrote: "I am preparing (have almost got the material ready) an article on the question of the attitude of Marxism to the state" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 35, p. 286). The article was intended for No. 4 of *Sbornik "Sotsial-Demokrata"*, but was apparently not written. The material collected by Lenin made up the notebook *Marxism on the State* (see pp. 5–80 of this book) and was used for *The State and Revolution.* p. 108

[127] The reference is to Marx's article "Kritische Randglossen zu dem Artikel 'Der König von Preussen und die Sozialreform. Von einem Preussen'" (see Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 1, Berlin, 1969, S. 392–409). p. 109

[128] Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1969, pp. 376–79. p. 109

[129] See Karl Marx, "Der politische Indifferentismus" (Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 18, Berlin, 1969, S. 299–304). p. 109

NAME INDEX

thing, the final aim is nothing." — 8, 19, 21, 26, 42, 45, 48, 51, 54, 76, 79–80, 84, 85

Bismarck, Otto Eduard Leopold (1815–1898) — Prussian and German statesman and diplomat. United the German states by "blood and iron" into a single German Empire under the hegemony of the Junkers' Prussia in 1871; became Chancellor of the German Empire in January 1871, and for 20 years pursued a domestic and foreign policy in the interests of the landowning Junkers, trying at the same time to secure an alliance between the Junkers and the big bourgeoisie. Failing to stifle the working-class movement with his Anti-Socialist Law of 1878, Bismarck advanced a demagogic programme of social legislation and introduced compulsory insurance laws for certain categories of workers. But he failed in his attempts to corrupt the working-class movement with miserable handouts. — 60

Blanqui, Louis Auguste (1805–1881) — prominent French revolutionary; took part in the Paris uprisings and revolutions in 1830–70; headed a number of secret revolutionary societies. Marx and Lenin highly assessed Blanqui's revolutionary services, but criticised him for his conspiratorial tactics and isolation from the mass working-class movement. "Blanquism," Lenin wrote, "expects that mankind will be emancipated from wage slavery not by the proletarian class struggle, but through a conspiracy hatched by a small minority of intellectuals" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 10, p. 392). — 10, 40, 53–54

Bonaparte, Louis — see *Napoleon III*.

Borkheim, Sigismund Ludwig (1825–1885) — German publicist and democrat. Participated in the 1848–49 German revolution; emigrated after the defeat of the revolution; lived in Switzerland, France and, from 1851, in England; was on friendly terms with Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. — 38

Bracke, Wilhelm (1842–1880) — German socialist, publisher and bookseller; founder and leader of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany (Eisenachers). One of the biggest publishers and distributors of party literature. — 27, 34

Bukharin, N. I. (Nota Bene) (1888–1938) — member of the R.S.D.L.P. from 1906; worked as propagandist in various Moscow districts. Emigrated in 1911. Contributed in 1915 to the magazine *Kommunist*, adopted an anti-Leninist stand on the questions of the state, proletarian dictatorship and the right of nations to self-determination. Held high-ranking posts after the October Revolution; often opposed the Leninist line: headed the anti-Party group of "Left Communists" in 1918; adopted a "buffer" stand during the discussion on the trade unions in 1920 and 1921, and later sided with Trotsky's anti-Leninist group; headed the Right-wing opposition in the Party from 1928. For his anti-Party activities was expelled from the Party in 1937.— 26, 64, 100–01, 104–07

Clemenceau, Georges Benjamin (1841–1929) — French politician and statesman, for many years leader of the radical party. Headed the French government in 1906–09. Defending the interests of big capital, he pursued a policy of brutal repressions against the working class. An ardent chauvinist during the First World War. Again became head of the French government in November 1917, introduced military dictatorship in the country; was an inspirer and organiser of the armed intervention in Soviet Russia; tried to bring about the collapse of the Soviet Republic by organising an "economic blockade". Was defeated at the presidential elections in 1920 and retired from the political scene.— 21

Danton, Georges Jacques (1759–1794) — lawyer by profession, leader of the Great French Revolution. After the overthrow of the monarchy, he was Minister of Justice in the Girondist government, Paris deputy to the Convention, member of the Committee of Public Safety. A talented speaker, Danton was very popular among the masses. During the trying days of August-September 1792, when the interventionists' armies were rapidly advancing on Paris, Danton showed great vigour, initiative and determination in mobilising the people to defend their revolutionary fatherland. However, with the intensification of the revolution and aggravation of class contradictions, Danton, expressing the interests of the new bourgeoisie which had grown rich during the revolution, began to vacillate. In April 1794 Danton and his closest supporters were arrested, tried by the Revolutionary Tribunal and executed. — 80

Dühring, Eugen (1833–1921) — German philosopher and economist, petty-bourgeois ideologist. His philosophical views were an eclectic mixture of positivism, metaphysical materialism and idealism. Dühring's views, which were supported by some German Social-Democrats, were criticised by Engels in his *Anti-Dühring. Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science*. Lenin criticised Dühring's eclectic views in his *Materialism and Empirio-criticism* and some other works. — 61–62, 71, 79, 81, 83, 101, 103

Engels, Frederick (1820–1895). — 5, 6, 7–8, 12–15, 18, 19–25, 27, 29, 32–35, 38–42, 52–64, 70, 71, 73, 76, 78, 79, 81, 83–86, 87, 88, 89, 93, 97, 98, 100, 109

Frankel, Leo (1844–1896) — leader of the Hungarian and French working-class movement; a jeweller by profession. Went to Germany in the 1860s in search of work, and later to Paris, where he became a leader of the German Workers' Association in France. In March 1871, Frankel was elected a member of the Paris Commune; he was a member of its Executive Committee, and later became Delegate (Minister) for

Labour, Industry and Trade. After the defeat of the Paris Commune, he emigrated to London, where he became a member of the General Council of the First International. In April 1880, Frankel and his associates founded the Socialist Workers' Party of Hungary. He took an active part in the establishment of the Second International and was a deputy chairman at its Inaugural Congress in 1889. — 5, 12

Guesde, Jules (*Basile Mathieu*) (1845–1922) — founder and leader of the French socialist movement and the Second International. In 1901, Guesde and his supporters founded the Socialist Party of France, which in 1905 merged with the reformist French Socialist Party to form the United French Socialist Party. Guesde headed the revolutionary Marxist wing in the French socialist movement.

In 1914, when the First World War broke out, he took a social-chauvinist stand and became a member of the French bourgeois government. — 21

Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich (1770–1831) — German philosopher, objective idealist. Hegel's profound elaboration of dialectics, which became a theoretical source of dialectical materialism, is of great historical importance. His dialectics, however, was idealistic. He supported constitutional monarchy. — 58

Heine, Heinrich (1797–1856) — German poet and writer, one of the greatest revolutionary poets of the 19th century, opposed feudal-Junker reaction, German nationalism and philistinism. His political views were greatly influenced by his personal acquaintance and correspondence with Karl Marx. — 23

Jouhaux, Léon (1879–1954) — reformist leader of the French and international trade union movement; Right-wing leader of the Amsterdam Trade Union International; a chauvinist during the First World War. — 51

Kautsky, Karl (1854–1938) — leader of German Social-Democracy and the Second International. Originally a Marxist, he later became a renegade. During the First World War, he took a Centrist stand, disguising his social-chauvinism with internationalist phrases; advanced the reactionary theory of ultra-imperialism. After the October Socialist Revolution, he came out against the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. — 7, 13, 22, 25–26, 42, 50, 54, 67–80, 82, 84, 85, 98–99

Kolb, Wilhelm (1870–1918) — German Social-Democrat; extreme opportunist and revisionist; a social-chauvinist during the First World War. — 26

Kugelmann, Ludwig (1830–1902) — German Social-Democrat; friend of Karl Marx; participant in the 1848–49 German revolution; member of the First International. In 1862–74, he corresponded with Marx, informing him of the state

of affairs in Germany. Marx's letters to Kugelmann were published for the first time in 1902 in the *Neue Zeit*; they were translated into Russian in 1907 and published as a book with a foreword by Lenin. — 8–10, 84

Lafargue, Paul (1842–1911) — leader of the French and international working-class movement; one of the first adherents of scientific communism in France; close friend of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels; member of the First International. Together with Guesde founded the Socialist Party of France. Vigorously opposed opportunism in the Second International. Author of many works advancing Marxist ideas in political economy, philosophy, history and linguistics. — 21

Lassalle, Ferdinand (1825–1864) — German petty-bourgeois socialist; founded the General Association of German Workers and was elected its President; led the Association along the opportunist path. Lassalle and his supporters hoped to establish a "free people's state" by advocating universal suffrage and organising production associations to be subsidised by the Junkers' state. The Lassalleans' opportunist theory and policy were criticised by Marx and Engels. — 35

Liebknecht, Karl (1871–1919) — leader of the German and international working-class movement; son of Wilhelm Liebknecht. Karl Liebknecht vigorously opposed opportunism and militarism in the ranks of Social-Democracy. Opposed the Kaiser's government during the First World War and was against the imperialist war. Member of the Reichstag; voted against war credits on December 2, 1914; founder and leader of the *Internationale* group later called the Spartacus group and then the Spartacus League. For his anti-militarist propaganda was sentenced to hard labour in 1916. During the German revolution of November 1918, he and Rosa Luxemburg headed the revolutionary vanguard of the German workers. Founder of the Communist Party of Germany and leader of the workers' uprising in Berlin in January 1919. Was brutally murdered after the suppression of the uprising. — 51, 52

Liebknecht, Wilhelm (1826–1900) — leader of the German and international working-class movement; founder and leader of the German Social-Democratic Party. From 1875 was a member of the Central Committee of the German Social-Democratic Party, and Editor-in-Chief of *Vorwärts*, the Central Party Organ. Took an active part in the First International and the organisation of the Second International. — 13, 22, 34

Loria, Achille (1857–1945) — Italian reactionary sociologist and economist, falsified Marxism. — 100

Louis Napoleon — see *Napoleon III.*

Louis Philippe (1773–1850) — King of France (1830–48); was dethroned during the

French revolution of February 1848 and fled to England. — 15, 28

Marx, Karl (1818–1883). — 5, 6, 7–10, 12–13, 20, 22–25, 27–30, 32, 35–37, 42–49, 51, 53, 57, 65–66, 70, 73, 77, 78, 80, 81, 84, 88, 91–92, 93, 96, 98, 109

Montesquieu, Charles Louis (1689–1755) — French sociologist, economist and writer; representative of the Enlightenment; theorist of constitutional monarchy. — 46

Nakhimson, M. I. (Spectator) (b. 1880) — Russian economist and publicist, Bundist (1889–1921). Took a Centrist stand during the First World War. Author of works on world economy. — 85

Napoleon I (Bonaparte) (1769–1821) — Emperor of France (1804–14 and 1815). — 11, 54

Napoleon III (Bonaparte, Louis; Louis Napoleon) (1808–1873) — Emperor of France (1852–70); nephew of Napoleon I. After the defeat of the 1848 revolution, he was elected President of the French Republic. Overthrew the government on the night of December 1, 1851 and soon declared himself emperor. — 28

Nota bene — see *Bukharin N. I.*

Pannekoek, Anton (1873–1960) — Dutch Social-Democrat; in 1907, founded *De Tribune*, organ of the Left wing of the Dutch Social-Democratic Workers' Party. In 1909 the Left wing of the Party formed the independent Social-Democratic Party of Holland (the Party of Tribunists). Internationalist during the First World War; contributor to the magazine *Vorbote*, theoretical organ of the Zimmerwald Left. In 1918–21, Pannekoek was a member of the Communist Party of Holland and took part in the work of the Communist International. Left the Party in 1921 and soon retired from public life. — 20, 50, 73–78, 82, 85, 99

Peter the Great (1672–1725). — Russian Tsar (1682–1725). — 26

Plekhanov, G. V. (1856–1918) — leader of the Russian and international working-class movement, the first propagandist of Marxism in Russia. In 1883, he founded in Geneva the Emancipation of Labour group, the first Russian Marxist organisation. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903, he adopted a compromising attitude towards the opportunists and later sided with the Mensheviks. Took a chauvinist stand during the First World War. Returned to Russia after the February 1917 revolution and headed the *Yedinstvo* (Unity) group, an ultra-Right-wing group of the Menshevik defencists. Plekhanov took a negative attitude towards the October Socialist Revolution, but did not oppose the Soviet government. — 25, 82, 85, 98

Proudhon, Pierre Joseph (1809–1865) — French petty-bourgeois socialist, ideologist of anarchism. In 1840 published his book *What Is Property?*, in which he opposed big capitalist property and idealised petty property, trying to find ways to perpetuate it. Proudhon's aim was to "rectify" capitalism, and not to abolish capitalist production relations. Karl Marx strongly criticised Proudhon's views in his book *The Poverty of Philosophy*, showing that they were reactionary and unscientific. Proudhon rejected all forms of state, and hoped to establish an anarchistic society of petty proprietors. — 10, 24, 40, 45, 48, 53, 65, 66, 79

Rockefellers — family of big financial magnates in the U.S.A. John Davison Rockefeller (1839–1937), father, set up the Standard Oil Company, a trust monopolising the oil industry in the U.S.A. Today the Rockefellers are one of the biggest finance-monopoly groups in the U.S.A.; they play an important part in U.S. domestic and foreign policy. — 79

Ruge, Arnold (1802–1880) — German publicist; Young Hegelian; bourgeois radical. Published the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* with Karl Marx in 1844, in Paris (Only the first, double issue was published). Deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848; member of its Left wing. After 1866, he was a national-liberal and supporter of Bismarck; wrote in support of Germany's unification under Prussia. — 109

Steklov, Y. M. (1873–1941) — professional revolutionary; took part in the Social-Democratic movement from 1893. Sided with the Bolsheviks after the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. During the years of reaction and the new revolutionary upsurge, he contributed to the newspaper *Sotsial-Demokrat*, Central Organ of the R.S.D.L.P., and to the Bolshevik newspapers *Zvezda* and *Pravda*. After the February 1917 revolution, he took the stand of revolutionary defencism; later sided with the Bolsheviks. After the October Socialist Revolution, he became a member of the VTsIK (All-Russia Central Executive Committee) and the TsIK (Central Executive Committee), editor-in-chief of *Izvestia*. Author of many works on the history of the revolutionary movement. — 8

Suttner, Bertha (1843–1914) — Austrian writer, pacifist. Author of the pacifist novel *Down with Arms*. — 72

Thiers, Adolphe (1797–1877) — French bourgeois politician and historian. He became a leader of the reactionary government after the fall of the Second Empire (September 4, 1870), and headed it on February 17, 1871; one of the chief instigators of the civil war and the suppression of the Paris Commune. — 9

Varlin, Louis Eugène (1839–1871) — French revolutionary, prominent leader of the Paris Commune (1871). Member of the First International from 1865; founder and leader of its Paris sections. Member of the Central Committee of the National Guard in 1871; during the Paris Commune member of

its Council (government), delegate of the finance and, later, military commissions; belonged to the Commune's Left minority; was in charge of the defence of the 6th and 11th Paris districts after the Versaillists stormed into Paris; fought courageously on the barricades. On May 28, 1871 was caught by the Versaillists, tortured and shot. — 5, 12

Webb, Beatrice (1858–1943) and *Webb, Sidney* (1859–1947) — prominent British public figures; founders of the Fabian Society, authors of books on the history and theory of the British working-class movement. The first volume of their *Industrial Democracy* was translated into Russian by Lenin. Ideologists of petty bourgeoisie and workers' aristocracy, they held that it was possible to introduce socialism into capitalist society gradually and without revolution. Took a social-chauvinist stand during the First World War. Sidney Webb was member of the first (1924) and second (1929–31) Labour governments. The Webbs' attitude towards the Soviet Union was one of great sympathy. — 79

Weydemeyer, Joseph (1818–1866) — prominent leader of the German and American working-class movement, friend and associate of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels under whose influence he adopted the positions of scientific communism; member of the Communist League; took part in the 1848–49 German revolution. After the defeat of the revolution emigrated to the U.S.A. where he took part in the Civil War on the side of the North; one of the first Marxist propagandists in the U.S.A. — 23

X — see *Liebknecht, Wilhelm.*

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