

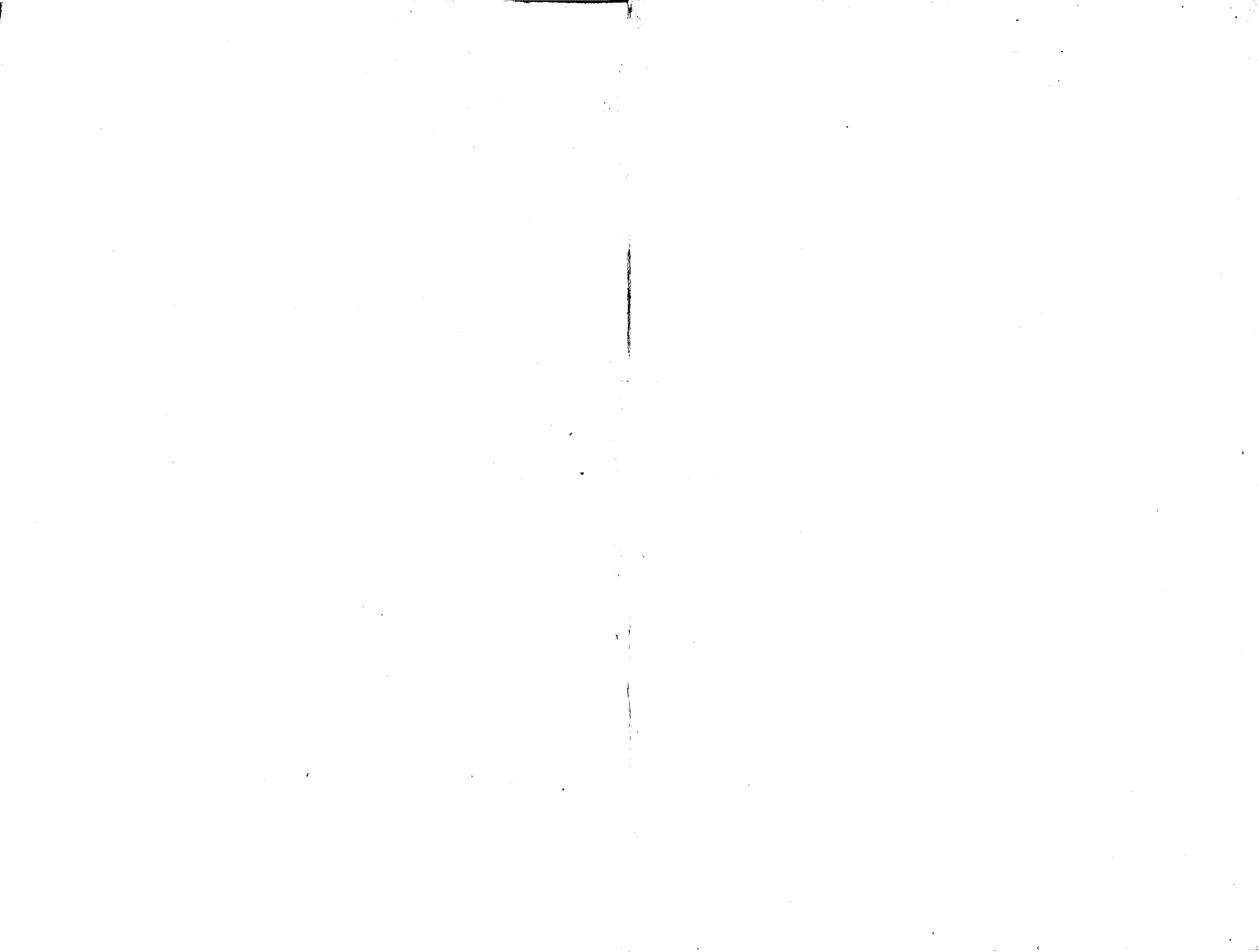
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Volume Eighteen

LENIN ON BRITAIN

A compilation, with an
Introduction by Harry Pollitt

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EDITORIAL NOTE.

The arrangement of this work is not chronological, but according to subject. At the end of each extract the date at which it was written or, if this is not known, published, is printed in italics. The translation is from the 3rd edition of the Russian "Collected Works."

All titles are those of the editors. The original titles by Lenin are printed in brackets at the end of each extract. Quotations from English books and newspapers, from Parliamentary debates, and from the works of Marx and Engels, have been collated with the original. Where Lenin paraphrases in place of quoting, the accuracy of the paraphrase has also been checked. The letter to Tom Bell at the end of the volume is printed exactly as it was written, with all the original spelling and grammatical mistakes.

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PREFACE TO SECOND ENGLISH EDITION, 1941

TO anyone in close touch with the working class movement in this country today it will be no surprise that a new addition of *Lenin on Britain* should have been called for, and there is no doubt that the Publishers' decision to re-issue it at a price within the reach of every factory worker will be fully justified. When the Kautskys and Hendersons, like the Labour leaders of today, were betraying the cause of international socialism and licking the boots of their imperialist rulers, Lenin and the Bolsheviks stood firmly by the principle of revolutionary Marxism and, as a result, they were able to lead the Russian workers to victory out of the bloody morass of war.

Today that fact shines out like a beacon of hope. Its light pierces to wherever working men and women are congregated, in factories and barracks, in air-raid shelters and offices. Wherever politics are discussed—and never was discussion so widespread or so serious—people are beginning to question the high-flown patriotism of Churchill and Bevin, and to discuss Laski's uneasy theorizing as pseudo-revolutionary prattle. And as they come to understand the present war for what it is, but a more hideous and savage continuation of 1914-1918, they turn with growing confidence to the example of the Russian workers and to the teachings of the man who led them and inspired them.

The essence of that teaching is to be found in this volume. In the *Preface* I wrote for the first edition, published just seven years ago, I drew attention to some of the main problems that Lenin's writings could help us to solve. Since what I wrote then holds good for the most part today, I have asked that the earlier *Preface* should be reprinted, but there are one or two points that should here be emphasized again.

The reader will perhaps naturally turn first to Part IV, *British Imperialism and the War of 1914-18*, as being the section of most immediate interest. What must at once strike him is that so much of what he reads is just as true today as it was then. Then as now there was talk on all sides of the new social order that must be born in Britain; people of all parties were saying that the shame of poverty and unemployment, of slums and social inefficiency must be wiped out; new groupings and groupings were taking place and the most impracticable policies were being advanced. But then as now all these proposals and suggestions had this in common, that they were

to be achieved by common consent without the necessity of bitter struggle against the capitalist class. For us, therefore, today it is important to remember what Lenin wrote of such pious "revolutionaries by consent of capitalism," in an article called "Forgetting the Main Thing" (May 1917):

"Once we forget the crude and cruel conditions of capitalist domination, all such platforms, all such lists of high sounding reforms are nothing but empty words which in practice turn out to be either the most pious wishes or simple deceptions of the masses by ten-a-penny bourgeois politicians."

The very reading of this passage immediately calls to mind the same types of ten-a-penny people, who today are once again attempting to deceive the people with their promises of a new social order within the framework of the capitalist system.

They are to be found amongst the Labour leaders, their apologists like Laski, their hangers-on like those associated with the *Tribune* and *Left News* and those other Liberal intellectuals like the Acland group. This country has always abounded in such people and the reader will thus be drawn to Part III, where in a series of brilliant characterizations, Lenin pitilessly analyses the social roots of opportunism and exposes the inevitable treachery of all working class leaders who reject the basic theory of class struggle.

Lastly, and especially, I would urge every reader to study Chapter III of the final part, *The Problem of Power and Councils of Action*, for this is the problem that the working class has to face if it is not to be defeated in the present war. What profounder condemnation of the Labour leaders who have taken office side by side with the finance lords and steel kings can be found than these words Lenin wrote in May 1917:

"Control without power is an empty phrase. . . . In order to be able to exercise control one must have power. If this is not intelligible to the broad mass of the petty-bourgeois *bloc*, one must have patience to explain this to them, but under no circumstances must we tell them lies."

But at the same time—what inspiration they contain for all who remain true to the ideal of socialism. They show us that if we are to go forward we must be prepared to struggle, and that this can be done only under the leadership of a mass Communist Party—such a Party as Lenin built up in Russia and which achieved the triumphant conquest of power in November 1917.

HARRY POLLITT.

January, 1941.

PREFACE TO FIRST ENGLISH EDITION, 1934

FOR the first time the whole of Lenin's writings on Britain and the British working class movement are made available in one volume. Such a book is long overdue, as the small collection entitled *Lenin and Britain*, published in 1924, contained only a few of the most important extracts, and has long been out of print. There are now available in this volume many writings of the greatest interest and importance which appear for the first time in English.

One thing that will immediately strike the reader is that, if any further proof were needed of Lenin's role as a leader of the international working-class movement, it is to be found in this book.

We are all familiar with the carefully cultivated Labour Party's leaders' myth about Lenin being a great leader in Russia, but with a very imperfect knowledge and understanding of British conditions and questions as a whole. This type of propaganda, it is worth recalling, was the stock in trade of people like Mr. Frank Hodges and Mr. Herbert Morrison during the fight for the affiliation of the Communist Party to the Labour Party.

The classic phrase of Mr. Hodges in referring to the British Communists as "taking orders from the Asiatic Mind," could always be relied upon to do the trick at Labour Party Conferences. It is perhaps not out of place to give two typical quotations from these Labour Party Conference debates, especially in view of Hodges' subsequent open passing over to "Big Business."

"The British Communist Party—and he was sorry to confess it of his countrymen—were the intellectual slaves of Moscow, unthinking, unheeding, accepting decrees and decisions without criticism or comment, taking orders from the Asiatic mind, taking the judgment of middle-class Russia—the judgment of the old regime—not even the judgment of the plain Russian people, but the dictates and decrees of the same type of intellectuals whom they despised in this country."

(Frank Hodges, Labour Party Conference, Edinburgh, 1922.)

And a year later Mr. Hodges delivered himself as follows:

"Russia had nothing to teach the political democracy of the Western World."

(Labour Party Conference, London, 1923.)

We are sure that every reader who notes these extracts will at once think of the record of two Labour Governments; the betrayal of the

General Strike; the position of the working class in every capitalist country and especially of the coming to power of Hitler through the policy of German Social Democracy, which is the policy of Social Democracy all over the world, and contrast this with the mighty achievements of the Soviet Union in every sphere of industry, agriculture, science and culture. It is evident that the Western European working class have still something to learn which International Communism alone can teach.

But here in this book we see a detailed, clear knowledge and study of the entire development of British economy and politics, constitutional questions, developments of capitalism, agriculture and industry, the phenomena of imperialism, the war period, the post-war period, the main theoretical works of all the important bourgeois writers. Above all, the closest following of the British Labour Movement, an understanding of its foundations, and the character of its institutions; all bound up with a close study and following of all currents of thought, discussions and tactical questions associated with the British Labour Movement.

All Lenin's speeches and writings in every country are marked by the same detailed study and attention. The same characteristic applies to the work of all the leaders of the Communist International, and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to-day.

From the pen of no leader of British Socialism could such a fundamental collection of day-by-day, exact study of the development of capitalism, and the Labour Movement in Britain be published—let alone the unrivalled Marxist approach and dialectical understanding of tendencies and historical confirmation of judgment which characterise all Lenin's work.

We see unfolded an understanding of the character of British Capitalism and current politics, the skill of the bourgeoisie, the meaning of "liberalism," the role of the Empire, the role of "Social Reform," the war transformation period and colonial questions, that constitutes at the present moment an invaluable guide to a proper understanding and appreciation of the historical development of British Capitalism.

In connection with the question of war and the efforts made by the National Government to pose as the earnest friend of peace, Lenin shows the role and responsibility of British Imperialism before and during the world war of 1914-18. Many of the examples and expressions he gives, are exceptionally timely and useful in view of the present eve of war situation in which we live to-day, when British Imperialism through its National Government, carries out again an aggressive policy of war preparation and especially when it has become the organiser of a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union. In many respects the National Government attempts

to carry out the same game of diplomatic fraud and lip service to Peace, that characterised the situation in 1914. The whole of this section of Lenin's writings demands constant study and reference. They are at the present time among the most important weapons we can use in the working-class anti-war fight, so as to be able to prevent and retard a new imperialist war, or if war breaks out, then to be able to transform it into a civil war out of which will come the victorious workers' revolution.

There will be few readers who will read Lenin on the Colonial question, and his remarks about the responsibility of the British working class, who will not at once admit that Lenin is a hundred times correct in the estimation he makes. We bear a very heavy responsibility for the position of the teeming millions of workers and peasants in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. It was the exploitation and robbery of those countries that in the past enabled the British Imperialists to throw sops to certain sections of the British working class and thus create a Labour aristocracy. Against this robbery no effective protests were made; no understanding of the need for solidarity between the British and Colonial workers; no attempts to send out working-class fighters to help organise the Colonial workers; no fierce and burning protests and fights in Parliament; on the contrary when the Labour aristocracy formed a Labour Government it carried out the same Imperialist policy as all previous Governments.

The Communists have tried to help develop solidarity and active assistance, but only a beginning has been made. On every issue, and in every current struggle, we must let the colonial workers and peasants know, that we are not only with them in this daily struggle, but that we ceaselessly raise the demand for the withdrawal of the armed forces; their right to complete independence, and separation from the Empire. Only in this way can we repair the mistakes and neglect of the past, and build up that revolutionary solidarity and action, which will strengthen our common struggle against our class enemies before the Revolution, and after the Revolution, gives the guarantee of that fraternal socialist unity and assistance in the building up of Socialism in the countries freed from the rule of imperialism.

Above all, this book is to-day doubly important for a correct understanding of the British Labour Movement—of the historical and social reasons for the subordination of the working class to capitalist ideology, the meaning of "Liberal-Labourism," the separation of the upper and lower strata of the working class, craft and sectional outlooks; the significance of the trade unions, as the expressions and school of the pre-socialist stage of the working-class movement, and as channels of capitalist influence; the reason for the isolation of the socialist sects; the role of the Independent Labour Party; the questions of tactics,

the fight of tendencies within the Movement; the special character of the labour leadership in Britain, and the significance of the strike movement, and the need for revolutionary politics.

It is also the definite and damning answer to all the opportunist distortions of Lenin that are made by reformist leaders, particularly by those posing as being on the "Left." It answers all the Labour Party and Trade Union leaders, the Centrists and "Leftists," the Plebs League School of "Marxists," the Socialist League type of propaganda. Their aim in using Lenin's name is to cover up their rotten reformist line of defeatism and disorganisation of the working-class ranks. They extol Lenin for his "realism," "elasticity," "practical" sense, recognition of "compromise," etc., and on this basis seek to defend their own rotten and corrupt politics, for which the working class are paying so dearly in Britain and which in Germany has led to the temporary triumph of Hitler.

Just now, for example, it is a common thing to hear certain "Left" leaders defending their support of the Labour Party and remaining affiliated to it on the ground that they are carrying out the advice given to the British Communists in 1920.

They never dare to state to the workers, what the conditions were that Lenin attached to the application of the Communist Party for affiliation to the Labour Party. Lenin insisted that it was only permissible to fight for this as long as there was no compromise on revolutionary principles, and with the fullest freedom of agitation and propaganda and criticism. The extracts in this book that deal fully with Comrade Lenin's attitude on this question will reveal the unscrupulous opportunism of this school of "Leftists," who precisely because of their "left" language deceive the workers, and retard their coming to Communism. At the same time they will explain the political reasons why the reformist leaders of all kinds, hate the insistence of the Communists upon freedom of criticism, the use of which so powerfully exposes the anti-working class policy of the Reformist leaders and strengthens the workers in their fight against all their enemies.

Here in this book are clearly set out Lenin's views on all the Labour Party, Trade Union, I.L.P. policies, etc. in unsparing language.

Lenin's role as the founder and leader of the Communist Party of Great Britain, is set out in such a clear and simple manner as to make the most damning exposure of all the pseudo-Marxists who toy with Lenin's name, and shamelessly use and distort the line of Lenin, to justify their support of their anti-working class line and policy.

It is ten years since comrade Lenin died. How well he built is seen in the astonishing developments that have taken place not only in the Soviet Union but in the consolidation and growing power of the Communist International. This is entirely due to the

line laid down in the teachings of Lenin being carried forward by the Communists all over the world.

At the present time, when the economic crisis has shattered the capitalist system to a far-reaching degree; when wars and revolutions are quite closely approaching; when in Britain thousands of workers are anxious to know how it is all going to end, this book is of direct and important assistance to a correct understanding of the tactics of the British revolutionary Movement.

Here will be found the Marxist understanding of the mass movement and wherein consisted the sectarianism of the socialist sects. Particularly important at this stage are the articles dealing with the problems of Communism in Britain; the question of the Labour Party; of the Trade Unions; the clear understanding of the role of the Party which to-day is one of the main questions confronting the Communist Party of Great Britain, the neglect of which is one of the main reasons why the way to develop a mass Communist Party in Britain is still far too slow and unsatisfactory.

Finally, it will be invaluable in its treatment of the problems of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Britain. Especially just now when "Democracy versus Dictatorship," is the cry raised by capitalist and labour leaders alike.

The glories of Democracy are upon the lips of every imperialist statesman, MacDonald, Baldwin, and Simon all vying with each other in exploiting the virtues of Democracy in Britain. Capitalist and Labour politicians alike, make comparison between democratic Britain and countries where a fascist or a workers' Dictatorship is in power.

The line of the reformists is to deliberately deceive the workers into believing that the political content of a fascist dictatorship and workers' dictatorship are the same. In this way do they help forward the whole line of the capitalist class towards the imposition of a fascist dictatorship, which represents the interests of finance capital and suppresses all working-class organisations, ruling by a reign of bloody terror. On the other hand, under the workers' dictatorship alone is to be found real working-class democracy, giving the fullest and freest opportunities for building a classless socialist Society.

The facts of course are that in Britain, there are taking place the most significant developments towards Fascism, the recent attacks on free speech, public assembly, hunger marches, and above all the new Unemployed Bill being cases in point. Comrade Lenin brilliantly exposes the real character of British democracy, and especially the type of "Liberal" democracy associated with the name of "Lloyd Georgeism," of which Lenin makes a marvellous analysis. One that to-day has a special point in view of Lloyd George's recent speech defending Hitler as a bulwark against Communism.

The manner in which Comrade Lenin deals with the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, will show what this is, how it functions and how only through the exercise of such a dictatorship will it be possible for the workers in Britain to carry through and consolidate the gains of a workers' revolution, and give the possibilities of the enjoyment of real democracy to the toiling masses as they reconstruct a free Soviet Britain.

It is also important to note how Lenin destroys the conception that Britain and America are "exceptions" owing to this "high political democracy," to the general development towards a workers' revolution and dictatorship. The situation both in Britain and America at the present time being a striking confirmation of the points made by Lenin so long ago.

The whole book is a storehouse and armoury of revolutionary analysis, knowledge and actual guide to action, that will greatly strengthen the growing revolutionary movement in Britain. It will greatly assist in carrying through revolutionary tasks and actions based upon a Leninist approach to the problems of to-day, and will undoubtedly be eagerly sought after and studied by all revolutionary-minded workers who have dedicated their lives to the workers' revolution, based upon the teachings of the world's greatest revolutionary leader, whose work, although he has been dead ten years, lives after him and serves to-day in every country in the world as the indispensable basis upon which all the socialist conquests of the Soviet Union have been achieved, and upon which the Communist International is strengthening the workers' and peasants' power for the carrying through of the World Revolution.

HARRY POLLITT.

January, 1934.

PART I

INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISM IN ENGLAND

CHAPTER I

THE RISE OF CAPITALISM

CORN LAWS AND FREE TRADE

WE refer to the *Corn Laws* in England and to their repeal. In the second quarter of the present century this question deeply interested not only English but also Continental economists: they all understood that this was not by any means the partial question of tariff policy, but the general question of free trade, of free competition, of the "destiny of capitalism." The point at issue was: the crowning of the edifice of capitalism with the complete introduction of free competition, clearing the road for the accomplishment of that rupture which large-scale machine industry began to bring about at the end of the last century and removing all the obstacles that retarded this rupture in *agriculture*. It is precisely *this* view of the question that was held by the two Continental economists of whom we are about to speak.

In the second edition of his *Nouveaux Principes*, Sismondi^{1*} introduced a special chapter on "the laws governing the corn trade." (I. III, ch. X.)

First of all he points to the urgent character of the question and says:

"Half of the English people at the present time demand the repeal of the Corn Laws, demand it with profound irritation against those who support these Laws; and the other half demand their retention and raise cries of indignation against those who want to repeal them." (I. 251.)

In examining the question, Sismondi points out that the interests of the English farmers demand duties on corn in order to secure for themselves a remunerative price. The interests of the manufacturers, however, demand the repeal of the Corn Laws because the manufacturers cannot exist without foreign markets, and the further development of English exports was retarded by these laws which restricted imports:

"The manufacturers said that the flooding of the market which they met with in the places where they had to sell their goods is the result of these very Corn Laws . . . that the rich people on the

* The numbers indicate the number of an explanatory note to be found in the appendix. Footnotes are Lenin's unless marked "Ed." or "Editor."

Continent could not buy their goods because they could not find a market for their corn." (I, 254.)*

"The opening of the markets to foreign corn will probably ruin the English landowners and will reduce rent to an incomparably lower price. That is a great misfortune, undoubtedly, but that would not be an injustice." (I, 254.)

And Sismondi, in the most naive manner, undertakes to show that the incomes of the landowners should correspond to the services (*sic!*) which they render to "society" (capitalist society?), etc. "The farmers," continues Sismondi, "will withdraw their capital, at any rate part of it, from agriculture."

Sismondi's argument (and he rests content with this argument) reflects the main defect of romanticism, which fails to devote sufficient attention to the process of economic development which in reality takes place. We have seen that Sismondi himself pointed to the gradual development and growth of tenant farming in England. But he hastens to condemn this process instead of studying its causes. It is only this haste and the wish to impose upon history his own innocent desires that can explain the fact that Sismondi misses the general trend of development of capitalism in agriculture and the inevitable *acceleration of this process* after the repeal of the Corn Laws, i.e., the capitalistic progress of agriculture instead of the decline which Sismondi prophesies.

But Sismondi remains true to himself. As soon as he reaches the contradiction of this capitalist process he immediately tries naively to "refute" it and at all costs to prove how mistaken is the path which the "English motherland" is taking.

"What will the day-labourer do? . . . Work will cease; the fields will be transformed into pastures. . . . What will become of the 540,000 families who will be discharged from employment.† Even assuming that they are capable of taking up any kind of indus-

*However one-sided the explanation given by the British manufacturers may be—for it ignores the more profound causes of crises and their inevitability in view of the weak expansion of the markets—nevertheless, the idea that the realisation of the product by selling abroad, *on the whole*, demands corresponding imports from abroad is undoubtedly quite correct. We recommend this argument of the English manufacturers to those economists who evade the question of the realisation of the product in capitalist society by the profound remark: "they will dispose of it abroad."

†In order to "prove" that capitalism is unfit, Sismondi immediately proceeds to make an approximate calculation (which our Russian romanticist V. V.² for example, is so fond of). Six hundred thousand families, he says, are engaged in agriculture. When the fields are transformed into pastures the "demand" for labourers will drop to one-tenth of this number. . . . The less understanding the author reveals of the whole complexity of the process, the more willingly does he resort to childish "rule of thumb" calculations.

trial work, the question is, is there an industry at the present time capable of absorbing them? . . . Is there a government that would voluntarily decide to subject half of the nation it is governing to such a crisis? . . . Will those to whom the landlords will be thus sacrificed obtain any benefit themselves from this? These landowners are the nearest and most reliable purchasers of English manufactures. The cessation of their purchases would strike a more fatal blow at industry than the closing of one of the largest foreign markets." (pp., 255-6.)

Then the notorious "shrinking of the home market" comes upon the scene. "How much will the manufacturers lose as a result of the cessation of the purchases of the English landowners who represent almost half the nation? How much will the manufacturers lose as a result of the cessation of the purchases by the rich, whose incomes from land will be almost annihilated?" (p. 267.)

The romanticist tries his very hardest to prove to the manufacturers that the contradiction which is peculiar to the development of their production and of their wealth merely expresses their error and their lack of foresight. And in order to "convince" the manufacturers of the "dangers" of capitalism, Sismondi draws a detailed picture of the threatening competition of Polish and Russian corn. (pp. 257-61.) He resorts to every possible argument and even tries to play upon the Englishman's pride.

"What will become of England's honour if the Emperor of Russia is able, as soon as he desires to receive some concession from her, to starve her out by closing the ports of the Baltic Sea?"

The reader will remember that Sismondi proved that "apology for the power of money"* was wrong by the fact that cheating easily takes place during sales. . . . Sismondi wants to refute the theoretical interpreters of the tenant farmers by pointing out that the rich farmers cannot withstand the competition of miserable peasants (quoted above) and finally comes back to his favourite conclusion apparently convinced that he has proved that the road which the "English motherland" is taking is a "wrong" one.

"The example of England shows us that this practice (the development of money economy, which Sismondi opposes by his *l'habitude de se fournir soi-meme*, 'to live by the work of one's hands', is not without its dangers." (p. 263.) "The very system of economy (namely, capitalist farming) is bad, it rests on a dangerous basis and efforts should be made to change it." (p. 266.)

The concrete question called forth by the conflict of definite interests

*See note page 12.—Ed.

and definite systems of economy is thus submerged in a flood of innocent aspirations! But the question was put by the interested parties themselves so sharply that it was utterly impossible to confine oneself to such "solutions" (as romanticism confines itself to them in connection with all other questions).

"What is to be done, however?" asks Sismondi in despair. "Open the ports of England, or close them? Doom the industrial or rural labourers of England to starvation and death? Indeed the question is a horrible one; the position in which the English Cabinet finds itself is the most delicate that statesmen could ever find themselves in." (p. 260.)

And Sismondi again and again reverts to the "general conclusion" about the "dangers" of tenant farming, about the "danger of subjecting the whole of agriculture to the system of speculation." But "how it is possible in England to adopt such measures—serious, but at the same time gradual, as would raise the significance (*remettaient en honneur*) of the small farms when half the nation engaged in industry suffers from starvation and the measures which it demands threaten starvation to the other half of the nation which is engaged in agriculture—I do not know. I think it is necessary to subject the Corn Laws to considerable modification; but I advise those who demand the complete repeal of these Laws, carefully to explore the following questions" (p. 267)

—then follow the old complaints and fears concerning the decline of agriculture, the shrinking of the home market, etc.

Thus, at its first collision with reality, romanticism suffered utter defeat. It was compelled to issue to itself a *testimonium paupertatis*,* and to sign the receipt for it with its own hand! Recall how easily and simply romanticism "solved" all questions of "theory"! Protection is unwise; capitalism is a fatal error; the path of England is mistaken and dangerous; production must keep pace with consumption, and industry and commerce must keep pace with agriculture; machines are profitable only when they lead to a rise in wages, or to the shortening of the working day; the means of production must not be divorced from the producer; exchange must not outstrip production, should not lead to speculation, etc., etc. Romanticism covered every contradiction with a corresponding sentimental phrase and replied to every question by a corresponding innocent desire; and it described this sticking of labels on all the facts of current life as "solving" problems. It is not surprising that these solutions were so wonderfully simple and easy: they ignored only one slight circumstance, *viz.*, the real conflict of interests which represented the

*Certificate of poverty.—Ed.

contradiction. And when the development of this contradiction brought the romanticist face to face with one of these particularly strong conflicts, such as was the party conflict in England that preceded the repeal of the Corn Laws, our romanticist completely lost his head. He felt wonderfully well in the haze of dreams and benevolent desires. He so masterfully constructed maxims suitable for "society" in general (but unsuitable for any historically definite system of society)—but when he dropped from his world of phantasy into the maelstrom of real life and the struggle of interests—he did not even possess a criterion with which to solve concrete problems. The habit of constructing abstract postulates and abstract solutions reduced the problem to a bare formula: which part of the population should be ruined, the agricultural or the industrial?—And our romanticist could not of course but come to the conclusion that neither should be ruined, and that they should "turn from the path" . . . but the real contradictions crowded round him so closely that they prevented him from rising again into the cloud of benevolent desires and the romanticist was compelled to *reply*. In fact Sismondi gave two replies: the first—"I do not know"; the second—"On the one hand, of course, we must recognise, but on the other hand, it must be admitted."

On January 9, 1848, a certain German economist* delivered an address at a public meeting in Brussels on "Free Trade."

Unlike romanticism, which declares that "political economy is not the science of accounting but the science of morals," he took as the starting point of his case the simple, sober *calculation of interests*. Instead of regarding the question of the Corn Laws as a question of a "system" chosen by a nation, or as a question of legislation (as Sismondi did), the speaker began his address by presenting the question as a conflict between the interests of manufacturers and landowners, and showed how the English manufacturers had tried to put the question as if it were a matter for the whole nation, and to assure the workers that they were acting in the interests of national welfare. Unlike the romanticists, who enunciate the question in the form of considerations which the legislator should have in mind in carrying out a reform, the speaker reduced the question to one of a conflict of the real interests of different classes in English society. He revealed the basis of the whole question as the necessity for the manufacturers to secure a reduction in the cost of raw materials. He described the suspicious attitude of the English workers, who "see in these self-sacrificing gentlemen, in Bowring,³ Bright⁴ & Co., their worst enemies."†

**I.e.*, Karl Marx.

†See Marx. *Free Trade*.—Ed.

“ They build great palaces at immense expense, in which the League (the Anti-Corn Law League⁵) takes up its official residence. They send an army of missionaries to all corners of England to preach the gospel of free trade; they print and distribute gratis thousands of pamphlets to enlighten the working man upon his own interests. They spend enormous sums to buy over the Press to their side. They organize a vast administrative system for the conduct of the free trade movement, and bestow all the wealth of their eloquence upon public meetings. It was at one of these meetings that a working man exclaimed boldly: ‘ If the landlords were to sell our bones, you manufacturers would be the first to buy them, and to put them through the mill and make flour of them.’ The English working-men have appreciated to the fullest extent the significance of the struggle between the lords of the land and of capital. They know very well that the price of bread was to be reduced in order to reduce wages, and that the profit of capital would rise in proportion as rent fell.”*

Thus, the very *presentation of the question* is altogether different from that of Sismondi's. The tasks that are set are: (1) to explain the attitude of the various classes of English society towards this question from the point of view of their respective interests; (2) to explain the significance of the reform in the general evolution of English social economy.

On the latter point, the views of the speaker coincide with those of Sismondi in so far as he also regards this, not as a particular, but as a *general question* of the development of capitalism as such, of “ free trade ” as a system.

“ The repeal of the Corn Laws in England was the greatest triumph that Free Trade achieved in the nineteenth century.” “ By the repeal of the Corn Laws, free competition, the present social economy is carried to its extreme point.”†

Hence, these authors regard this as a question as to whether *the further development of capitalism* should be desired, whether it should

**Ibid.*

†Engels, *Condition of the Working Class in England* (1845) p. 268. This work was written from exactly the same point of view *before* the repeal of the Corn Laws (1846) whereas the speech referred to above was delivered *after* the repeal. The difference in time is of no importance for us, however: it is sufficient to compare the above-quoted arguments of Sismondi which were uttered in 1827 with the speech that was delivered in 1848 to see that the *elements of the question* as presented by both authors are quite identical. The very idea of comparing Sismondi with later German economists was suggested to us by *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, B.V. Art. *Sismondi* von Lippert, Seite 679. The parallel proved to be of such striking interest that Herr Lippert's method of exposition lost all its woodenness . . . that is to say, “ objectivity,” and became interesting, lively and even passionate.

be retarded, whether “ other paths ” should be sought, etc. And we know that a reply in the positive to this question provided precisely the decision of the general question of principle concerning the “ destiny of capitalism ” and not of the particular question of the Corn Laws in England, because the point of view established here was applied even much later to other states. The authors held the same views in 1840 in regard to Germany and in regard to America, concerning which they declared that free competition was progressive for that country; in regard to Germany, one of these authors, as far back as the 'sixties, wrote that it not only suffered from capitalism, but also from the inadequate development of capitalism.

To return to the speech that we are dealing with. We have mentioned the principle advanced by the speaker when he reduced the question to one of the interests of the various classes in English society. We see the same profound difference in his presentation of the purely theoretical question of the significance of the repeal of the Corn Laws in social economy. He regards this not as an abstract question as to which *system* England should adopt, which path it should choose (as Sismondi does, forgetting that England has a past and a present which already determine that path). No, he immediately puts the question on the basis of the *given social economic system*; he asks himself, *what should be the next step* in the development of this system after the repeal of the Corn Laws?

The difficulty of this question lay in determining how the repeal of the Corn Laws would affect *agriculture*, because the effect it would have upon industry was clear to everyone.

In order to prove the advantage of the repeal of the Corn Laws for agriculture also, the Anti-Corn Law League offered a prize for the three best essays on the beneficial influence of the repeal of the Corn Laws upon English agriculture. The speaker briefly outlined the views of the three prize essayists: Hope,⁶ Morse⁷ and Greg⁸, and at once fixed upon the last one, whose essay was more scientific and based more strictly upon the principles laid down by classical political economy.

Greg, who was a large manufacturer and addressed his work mainly to the large tenant farmers, showed that the repeal of the Corn Laws would squeeze the small farmer out of agriculture and the latter would have to take refuge in industry; but it would be to the advantage of the big farmers who would be enabled to rent land on longer leases, invest more capital in the land, employ more machines and save manual labour, which would be cheaper on account of the drop in the price of bread. The landlords, however, would have to be content with a lower rent as a consequence of the worst quality land dropping out of cultivation because of its inability to withstand the competition of cheap imported corn.

The speaker proved to be quite right when he declared this forecast and the open defence of capitalism in agriculture to be more scientific. History has corroborated this forecast.

“The repeal of the Corn Laws gave an enormous impetus to English agriculture . . . the absolute diminution of the rural working population proceeded side by side with the expansion of the cultivated area, with the intensification of cultivation, with the unparalleled accumulation of capital invested in land for the purpose of its cultivation, with an increase in the output of agricultural produce unparalleled in the history of English agriculture, with an increase in the swollen rent-rolls drawn by the landowners and with an increase in the wealth of the capitalist tenant farmers. . . . The fundamental condition for the new methods was a larger expenditure of capital per acre of land and consequently, the acceleration of the concentration of farms.”*

But of course the speaker did not confine himself to admitting the greater correctness of Greg's arguments.

“When the English Corn duties were abolished in 1846, the English manufacturers believed that they had transformed the land-owning aristocracy into paupers. Instead of that they became richer than ever. How did that happen? Very simply. In the first place, the renting capitalists were now compelled by contract to invest twelve pounds sterling per acre annually instead of eight pounds as heretofore. And in the second place, the landlords, being strongly represented also in the Lower House, granted to themselves a heavy subsidy for the drainage and other permanent improvements of their lands. Since, no total displacement of the worst soil took place, but at the worst a temporary employment of such soil took place for other purposes, the rents rose in proportion to the increased investment of capital, and the landed aristocracy were better off than ever before.” (Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, p. 841. C. H. Kerr edition.)

In the mouth of Greg this was the argument of a Free Trader dealing with English agriculture generally, and striving to show the general advantage that would accrue to the nation from the repeal of the Corn Laws. From what we have said above it is clear that this was not the view of the speaker.

He explained that the drop in the price of corn, so highly praised by the Free Traders, means an inevitable decline in wages, the cheapening of the commodity “labour” (to be more exact: labour

*Written in 1867. In order to explain the rise in rent it is necessary to take into consideration the law that has been discovered as a result of the latest analysis of differential rent, viz., that a *rise in rent is possible side by side with a fall in the price of corn.* See Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, pp. 774-745 (Kerr ed.)

power); that the cheapening of bread would never be able to compensate the worker for this drop in wages, firstly, because with the fall in the price of bread, the worker would find it more difficult to save anything on the consumption of bread in order to be able to procure for himself other articles; secondly, because the progress of industry creates less expensive means of subsistence, spirits take the place of beer, potatoes that of bread, cotton that of wool and linen, and thus reduces the standard of requirements and of living of the worker.*

We see, therefore, that the speaker *apparently* establishes the same elements of the question as Sismondi: he *too* regards the ruin of the small farmers and the impoverishment of the workers employed in industry and agriculture as an inevitable consequence of Free Trade. Our Narodniki,† who also distinguish themselves by their inimitable ability to “quote,” cease their “quotations” precisely at this point and smugly declare that they “quite agree.”

But such tricks merely show that they fail to understand, firstly, the enormous difference in the presentation of the question to which we referred above, and secondly, the circumstance that the fundamental difference between the new theory and romanticism *only commences here*: the romanticists turn from the concrete questions of real development to dreams; the realist, however, takes established facts as the criterion for the definite solution of the concrete problem.

After pointing to the impending improvement in the conditions of the workers, the speaker went on to say:

“Thereupon the economists will tell you: ‘We admit that competition among the workers will certainly not be lessened under Free Trade, and will very soon bring wages into harmony with the low price of commodities. But, on the other hand, the low price of commodities will increase consumption, the larger consumption will increase production, which will in turn necessitate a larger demand for labour, and this larger demand will be followed by a rise in wages.’

“The whole line of argument amounts to this: *Free Trade increases productive forces.* When manufactures keep advancing, when wealth, when the productive forces, when, in a word, productive capital increases, the demand for labour, the price of labour and consequently, the rate of wages, rise also.’ *The most favourable condition for the working man is the growth of capital. This must be admitted‡.* When capital remains stationary, commerce and manu-

*See Marx: *Free Trade*—Ed.

†Literally: Populists; the early utopian socialists in Russia who believed that the Russian village communes could serve as the basis for socialist society without Russia having to pass through the capitalist stage of development.—Ed.

‡Lenin's italics.—Ed.

facture are not merely stationary but decline, and in this case the workman is the first victim. He goes to the wall before the capitalist. And in the case of the growth of capital, under the circumstances, which, as we have said, are the best for the working man, what will be his lot? He will go to the wall just the same. . . .”*

And then the speaker went on to explain, using the data of the English economists, how the concentration of capital increases the division of labour and cheapens labour power by substituting unskilled for skilled labour, how machinery squeezes out the workers, how big capital ruins the small manufacturers and the little rentiers and leads to the intensification of crises, which still further increase the number of the unemployed. The conclusion he drew from this analysis was that free trade implied nothing more nor less than freedom for the development of capital.

Thus the speaker was able to find the criterion for the solution of the problem which, at first sight, seemed to lead to the same hopeless dilemma which confronted Sismondi: both free trade and its retardation equally lead to the ruin of the workers. *The criterion is the development of the productive forces.* The presentation of the question on an historical basis immediately manifested itself: instead of comparing capitalism with some abstract society as it should be (*i.e.*, actually comparing it with a utopia), the speaker compared it with the *preceding stages* of social economy, compared it with previous stages of capitalism and the consecutive change of one stage into the other, and established the fact that *the productive forces of society were developing thanks to the development of capitalism.* Subjecting the arguments of the Free Traders to scientific criticism, he was able to avoid the customary mistakes of the romanticists who, denying that scientific criticism has any significance “throw the baby out with the bath water,” and managed to extract its sound kernel, *i.e.*, the undoubted fact of the gigantic growth of technical progress. With their peculiar wit, our Narodniki would have come to the conclusion that this author, who had so openly *taken the side of big capital against the small producer*, was an “apologist for the power of money,”† the more so that he spoke before continental Europe, that he applied the conclusions drawn from English life to his own country in which large-scale machine industry was at that time taking only its first hesitating steps. And yet, this example (like a mass of similar

*Marx: *Free Trade*.—Ed.

†In opposition to the utopian views of the Narodniki, Lenin pointed out that Russia had already entered the capitalist stage of development and that this was “progressive” in that it created the economic and social conditions for the proletarian class struggle for socialism. To this the Narodniki retorted that Lenin was an “apologist for capitalism.” In this passage he challenges them to accuse Marx also of being an apologist for capitalism.—Ed.

examples from Western European history) should give them the opportunity to study the phenomenon which they cannot (perhaps do not want to?) understand at all, *viz.*, that the recognition of the progressive nature of big capital as compared with small production is very far from being “an apology.”

It is sufficient to recall the above quoted chapter from Sismondi and the above-mentioned address in order to become convinced of the superiority of the latter both as regards theory and as regards hostility to any kind of apology. The speaker described the contradictions which accompany the development of big capital far more precisely, more fully, directly and frankly than has ever been done by the romanticists. But not once did he stoop to a single sentimental phrase in order to deplore this development. He did not utter a single word about the possibility of “turning from the path.” He understood that this phrase is used for the purpose of concealing the fact that those who use it are themselves “turning” away from the problem with which life confronts them, *i.e.*, present economic reality, present economic development and the present interests which grow out of this development.

The above-mentioned fully scientific criterion enabled the speaker to solve this problem and remain a consistent realist.

“Do not imagine, gentlemen,” he said, “that in criticising Free Trade we have the least intention of defending protection.” He then went on to show that both Free Trade and Protection rested upon the same basis in the contemporary system of social economy, briefly outlined the process of the “rupture” in the old economic life and in the old semi-patriarchal relationships in Western European states which capitalism has brought about in England and on the Continent, and pointed to the social fact that under certain conditions free trade *hastens* this “rupture.”* “In this revolutionary sense alone, gentlemen,” said the speaker in conclusion, “I am in favour of free trade.”—*March 1897.*

(“Towards the Characterisation of Economic Romanticism,” *Collected Works*, Vol. II.)

LANDLORDISM AND CAPITALISM

PRIVATE property in land is an obstacle to the investment of capital in land. Therefore, when the free renting of land from the state becomes possible (and this is the essence of land nationalisation in bourgeois society) the land will be drawn into the sphere of commerce

*The author of *Die Lage* (*i.e.*, Engels in his *Condition of the Working Class in England*, p. 268.—Ed.) pointed to the progressive character of the repeal of the Corn Laws *even before they were repealed* and emphasised particularly the influence it would have upon the class-consciousness of the producers.

to a *far greater extent* than was the case when private property in land prevailed. The possibilities of free investment of capital in land, free competition in agriculture, are much greater under the system of free renting than under the system of private property in land. Nationalisation of the land is, as it were, landlordism without the landlord. And what landlordism in the capitalist development of agriculture means, was explained by the profound observations of Marx in his *Theories of Surplus Value*. I have quoted these observations in my work on the agrarian programme referred to above,* but in view of the importance of the question. I take the liberty of repeating them here.

In the paragraph on the historical conditions of the Ricardian theory of rent (*Theorien über den Mehrwert, II Band, 2 Theil*, Stuttgart, 1905, S 6-7) Marx says that Ricardo⁹ and Anderson¹⁰ "start out from a viewpoint, which is regarded as very strange on the Continent," viz., they assume that "landed property, as an obstacle to all application of capital to the land, does not exist at all." At first sight, this would seem to be contradictory because it is precisely in England that feudal landed property is considered to have been completely preserved. But Marx explains that

"nowhere else in the world has capital so ruthlessly crushed the traditional agricultural relations" as it has in England. In this respect, England "is the most revolutionary country in the world." "All the historically inherited systems there, where they contradicted the conditions of capitalist production in agriculture, or where they did not correspond to these conditions, were ruthlessly swept away; not only was the disposition of villages altered, but the very villages were swept away; not only were the habitations and villages of the rural population swept away, but the very population was swept away; not only were the ancient economic centres swept away, but the very economy was swept away."

In Germany, continues Marx, the economic system was determined by the traditional relationships of common land (*Feldmarken*), by the disposition of economic centres, by certain localities where the population was concentrated. In England, however, the historical agricultural system was gradually created by capital, beginning from the fifteenth century. The English technical expression, "clearing of estates" is not met with in any country on the Continent. And what does clearing of estates mean? It means that no consideration whatever was given to the settled population—they were simply driven away; nor to the existing villages—they were levelled to the ground; nor to farm buildings—they were torn down; nor to the

*The Agrarian Programme of the Social Democrats in the First Russian Revolution.—Ed.

prevailing forms of agriculture—they were changed at one stroke, for example, tilled land was converted into pasture for cattle; in a word the conditions of production were not accepted in the form in which they were handed down by tradition; they were historically *created* in a form that would correspond in each separate case to the requirements of the most profitable investment of capital. To that extent, therefore, *private property in land does not really exist*, because that private property allows the capitalist—the farmer—to operate freely and to interest himself exclusively in securing a money income.

"A certain Pomeranian landlord" (Marx refers to Rodbertus,¹¹ whose theory of rent he examined in detail and brilliantly refuted in this work) "whose mind can conceive only the ancient common lands, the economic centres, collegiate landownership, etc., would hold up his hands in horror at Ricardo's 'unhistorical' views on the development of agrarian relationships." As a matter of fact "the English conditions are the only conditions in which perfect property in land, i.e., landed property *metamorphosed* by capitalist production, is adequately (in ideal perfection) developed. On this point, English theory (i.e., Ricardo's theory of rent) is classical for the modern, i.e., capitalist mode of production."

In England the clearing of the land proceeded in revolutionary forms, accompanied by the violent breaking up of peasant landownership.—*May-June 1908*.

("Agrarian Question in Russia in the Nineteenth Century," *Selected Works*, Vol. I.)*¶

THE FARMER

... THERE is no question about England. There the separation of landownership from land cultivation is obvious. Free competition among farmers is almost universal. Capital obtained from trade and industry circulated and circulates in agriculture on an extremely extensive scale.—*Close of 1901*.

(The Agrarian Question and the Critics of Marx, *Collected Works*, Vol. IV, Book 1.)*¶

LAND NATIONALISATION

... CAPITALIST landownership *cannot* actually be abolished by the transference of the land from hand to hand or even by the transference of the whole of the land to the hands of the state (what is called in the science of political economy "the nationalisation of the land"). Capitalist landownership is the ownership of land by those who own

*The references to the Works from which excerpts marked with a paragraph mark are taken are available, or will soon be available, in English.—Ed.

capital and who are best able to adapt themselves to the market. No matter who owns the land, the old landlord, the state, or the allotment holder, the land cannot avoid falling into the hands of the *master* who is always able to rent it. The renting of land is increasing in all capitalist countries under the most varied forms of land ownership. No restrictions are able to prevent the capitalist, a master who owns capital and knows the market, from obtaining possession of land when the market predominates over the whole of social production, *i.e.*, when this production has become capitalist production.

More than that. The renting of land is even *more convenient* than private ownership of land, for pure capitalism as a means for the fullest, freest and "ideal" adaptation to the market. Why? Because the private ownership of land *hinders* the passing of the land from hand to hand, *hinders* the adaptation of the utilisation of the land to the conditions of the market, it keeps the land *fixed* in the possession of the given family, or person and his heirs, even though they be bad *masters*. The renting of land is a more flexible form under which the adaptation of the usufruct of the land to the market proceeds more simply, more easily and more rapidly.

That is why, incidentally, England represents, not an exception among the capitalist countries, but a country that has an agrarian system that is most perfect from the point of view of capitalism, as Marx pointed out in his criticism of Rodbertus. And what is the agrarian system in England? It is the old system of landownership, landlordism, under the new, free, purely capitalist system of renting land.

And what would happen if this landlordism existed without landlords, *i.e.*, if this land belonged not to the landlords, but to the state? That would be a *still* more perfect agrarian system from the point of view of capitalism, with a still freer adaptation of the usufruct of the land to the market, with a still easier mobilisation of the land as an object of economy, with a still freer, wider, clearer and more definite class struggle characteristic of capitalist agriculture in its every form.—*July 1912.*

("A Comparison of the Agrarian Programmes of Stolypin and the Populists," *Collected Works*, Vol. XVI.)

DECLINE OF THE SMALL HOLDER

A SMALL Lincolnshire farmer declared to the Parliamentary Commission which investigated the agrarian conditions in England (1897) the following: "I have brought up a whole family and have almost worked them to death!" Another said: "We and the children sometimes work eighteen hours a day; on an average we work from

ten to twelve hours." A third: "We work harder than the day labourers, we work like slaves." C. S. Read described to the same Commission the conditions of the small farmers in the districts where agriculture in the strict sense of the word predominates, in the following way:

"The only way in which he can possibly succeed is this, in doing the work of two agricultural labourers and living at the expense of one. . . . As far as regards his family they are worse educated and harder worked than the children of the agricultural labourer." (Royal Commission on Agriculture, 1897, Final Report, p. 34, par. 123.)
—*April 1899.*

(*Collected Works*, Vol. II.)

CHAPTER II

MARX AND ENGELS ON THE BRITISH LABOUR MOVEMENT

ENGELS AND ENGLISH SOCIALISM

MARX and Engels were materialists. Looking at the world and humanity materialistically, they saw that just as material causes are at the basis of all natural phenomena, so the development of human society is determined by the development of material, productive forces. The development of the productive forces determines the relations which men enter into when producing the articles necessary for the satisfaction of human needs. And these relationships explain all the phenomena of social life, of human strivings, ideas and laws. The development of productive forces creates social relationships based upon private property; but now we see that this very development of productive forces deprives the majority of their property and concentrates it in the hands of an insignificant minority. It abolishes property, which is the basis of the present social system. Itself it strives towards the same goal towards which socialists are striving. Socialists have only to understand what is the social force which, owing to its position in modern society, is interested in bringing about socialism, and they must communicate to this force the consciousness of its interests and of its historical mission. That force is the proletariat. Engels became acquainted with the proletariat in England, in the centre of British industry, Manchester, where he went to live in 1842, after having received a post in a firm in which his father was a shareholder. In Manchester, Engels not only sat in the factory counting house, but he wandered through the slums where the workers were huddled together and saw their poverty and misery with his own eyes. Nor was he content with his own personal observations; he read everything that was written before him about the conditions of the English working class and carefully studied all the official documents that were available to him. The fruit of these studies and observations was his book *Condition of the Working Class in England* published in 1845. Even before Engels, many writers had described the sufferings of the proletariat and had urged the need for helping them. But Engels was the *first* to say that the proletariat was *not only* a suffering class, but that it was precisely the shameful economic conditions in which the proletariat had to live that were unrestrainedly urging it

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forward and compelling it to fight for its final emancipation. And the fighting proletariat *would help itself*. The working class political movement would inevitably make the working class understand that there was no other way out for it except socialism. On the other hand, socialism would become a force only when it became the goal of the *political* struggle of the working class. These are the main ideas that run through Engels' book, *Condition of the Working Class in England*, ideas that have now been adopted by all thinking and militant proletarians, but which were quite new then. These ideas were outlined in a book attractively written and filled with the most authentic and shocking pictures of the misery of the English proletariat. This book was a horrible indictment of capitalism and of the bourgeoisie. The impression created by this book was enormous. Everywhere Engels' book began to be referred to as presenting the best picture of the conditions of the modern proletariat, and indeed, neither before 1845, nor after, has a single book appeared that presented an equally striking and true picture of the misery of the working class.

Engels only became a socialist in England. In Manchester he came into contact with the leaders of the Labour Movement of that time, and began to write for the English socialist publications.—*Autumn* 1895. (Frederick Engels. *Collected Works*, Vol. I.)

PART II

PRE-WAR BRITISH IMPERIALISM

CHAPTER I

SPECIAL FEATURES OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM

HOBSON'S ANALYSIS OF CAPITALISM

[J. A. HOBSON. *Evolution of Modern Capitalism*. Translated from the English, St. Petersburg, 1898, published by O. N. Popov, price 1r. 50k.]

STRICTLY speaking Hobson's book is not a study of the evolution of modern capitalism, but an outline of the most recent industrial development based mainly on English data. Hence, the title of the book is rather wide: the author does not deal with agriculture at all and he does not even examine the economics of industry to its fullest extent. Like the well-known writers Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Hobson is a representative of one of the advanced trends of English social thought. His attitude towards "modern capitalism" is critical, he fully admits the necessity for substituting a higher form of social economy for it and adopts an attitude towards the question of this substitution with typically English reformist practicality. He arrives at the conviction of the necessity for reform more or less empirically, under the influence of the modern history of English factory legislation, of the English labour movement, of the activities of the English municipalities, etc. Hobson lacks a symmetrical and complete system of theoretical views that could serve as a basis for his reformist programme and explain particular questions of reforms. Hence, Hobson is most effective when he deals with the grouping and description of the latest statistical and economic data. On the other hand, when he deals with the general theoretical questions of political economy, he proves to be very weak. To the Russian reader it will even appear strange to see a writer with such wide knowledge and practical strivings, which are deserving of full sympathy, helplessly fussing around with questions like, what is "capital," what is the role of "saving," etc. This weak side of Hobson's is to be explained by the fact that he regards John Stuart Mill¹² as a greater authority on political economy than Marx, whom he evidently fails to understand, or does not know, although he quotes him once or twice. One cannot but deplore the amount of unproductive labour which Hobson wastes in order to try and understand the contradictions of bourgeois and professorial political economy. At best, he comes close to the solutions already given by Marx; at the worst, he borrows erroneous

views that are in sharp contradiction to his own attitude towards "modern capitalism." The weakest chapter in his book is Chapter VII: Machinery and Industrial Stagnation. In this chapter Hobson tries to analyse the theoretical problems of crises, of social capital and income in capitalist society, and of capitalist accumulation. The correct ideas about production failing to correspond with consumption in capitalist society and about the anarchic character of capitalist economy are submerged in a heap of scholastic arguments about "savings" (Hobson confuses accumulation with "savings") among various Robinson Crusoeisms ("suppose a man working with primitive tools, invents a new tool . . . saves his food," etc.), etc., Hobson is very fond of diagrams, and in most cases he uses them in a very able manner and strikingly illustrates his views with their aid. On the other hand, his presentation of the "mechanism of production" which he gives in his diagram on page 207 (Chap. VII), can only cause a reader who is at all acquainted with the real "mechanism" of capitalist "production," to smile. Hobson here confuses production with the social system of production and reveals a very confused understanding of what capital is, what its component parts are, what the classes are into which capitalist society is necessarily divided. In Chap. VIII Hobson quotes interesting data on the population divided according to occupation and showing the periodical changes in these divisions, but the great flaw in his arguments about "machinery and the demand for labour" is that he ignores the theory of "capitalist over-population," or of the reserve army of labour. Among the more successful chapters of Hobson's book are those in which he examines the condition of women in modern industry and in modern towns. Quoting statistics of the growth of female labour and describing the extremely bad conditions of this labour, Hobson quite justly points out that the only hope of improving these conditions lies in the squeezing out of domestic labour by factory labour, which leads to "closer social relationships" and to "organisation." Similarly, on the question of the significance of towns, Hobson comes near to the general views of Marx when he admits that the opposition between town and country contradicts the system of collectivist society. Hobson's conclusions would have been much more convincing had he not ignored Marx's teachings on this question. Hobson would then, probably, have emphasised more clearly the historically progressive role of the large towns and of the necessity of combining agriculture with industry under the collectivist organisation of economy. The last chapter of Hobson's book, "Civilisation and Industrial Development," is perhaps almost the best. In this chapter the author proves by a number of very apt arguments the necessity for the reform of the modern industrial system in the direction of increasing "public control" and the "socialisation of industry." In estimating Hobson's

somewhat optimistic views regarding the methods by which these "reforms" can be brought about, the special features of English history and of English life must be borne in mind: the high development of democracy, the absence of militarism, the enormous strength of the organised trade unions, the growing investments of British capital outside of England, which weaken the antagonism between the British employers and workers, etc.

In his well-known book on the social movement in the nineteenth century, Werner Sombart¹³ notes *inter alia*, a "Trend Towards Unity" (title of Chap. VI) i.e., a trend towards uniformity in the social movement in the various countries, in its various forms and shades, and at the same time a trend towards the spread of the ideas of Marx. In regard to England, Sombart sees this trend in the fact that the English trade unions are more and more abandoning "the purely Manchester school point of view." In regard to Hobson's book we can say that under pressure of the demands of life, which is more and more corroborating Marx's "diagnosis," English writers are beginning to realise the unsoundness of traditional bourgeois political economy, are freeing themselves from its prejudices and are involuntarily approaching Marxism.—May 1899.

(Review of Hobson's "Evolution of Modern Capitalism."
Collected Works, Vol. II.)

UNEVEN GROWTH OF CAPITALISM

THE uneven and sporadic character of the development of individual enterprises, of individual branches of industry and individual countries, is inevitable under the capitalist system. England became a capitalist country before any other and, in the middle of the nineteenth century, having adopted free trade, claimed to be the "workshop of the world," the great purveyor of manufactured goods to all other countries, which, in exchange, were to keep her supplied with raw materials. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, *this* monopoly was already broken. Other countries, protecting themselves by tariff walls, had developed into independent capitalist countries.—January-July 1916). (*Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Chap. IV. *Collected Works*, Vol. XIX, and *Little Lenin Library*.)¶

BIRTH OF IMPERIALISM

FOR Europe, the time when the new capitalism was *definitely* substituted for the old can be established fairly precisely: it was the beginning of the twentieth century. In one of the latest publications on the history of the "formation of monopolies,"* we read:

*M. Vogelstein, *Die Finanzielle Organisation der Kapitalistischen Industrie und die Monopolbildung*.

"Until 1860 a few isolated examples of capitalist monopoly could be cited: in these could be discerned the embryo of the forms that are common to-day; but all undoubtedly represent the prehistoric age of cartels. The real beginning of modern monopoly goes back, at the earliest, to 1860. The first important period of development of monopoly commenced with the international industrial depression of the 'seventies until the beginning of the 'nineties of the last century. . . ." "If we examine the question in the whole of Europe, we shall find that the development of free competition reached its apex in the decade 1860-1870. Then it was that England completed the construction of its old style capitalist organisation."

(*Ibid.*, Chap. I.)¶

COLONIAL EXPANSION

THE American writer, Morris,¹⁴ in his book, *The History of Colonisation*, has made an attempt to compile data on the colonial possessions of Britain, France and Germany during different periods of the nineteenth century. The following is a brief summary of the results he has obtained:

COLONIAL POSSESSIONS

	Great Britain		France		Germany	
	Area (millions of sq. miles)	Population (millions)	Area (millions of sq. miles)	Population (millions)	Area (millions of sq. miles)	Population (millions)
1815-1830	?	126.4	0.02	0.5	—	—
1860	2.5	145.1	0.2	3.4	—	—
1880	7.7	267.9	0.7	7.5	—	—
1899	9.3	309.0	3.7	56.4	1.0	14.7

For Britain, the period of great expansion of colonial conquests is that between 1860 and 1880, and the last twenty years of the nineteenth century are also of great importance. For France and Germany this period falls precisely in these last twenty years. We saw above that the apex of pre-monopoly capitalist development, of capitalism in which free competition was predominant, was reached in the 'sixties and 'seventies of the last century. We now see that it is *precisely following that period* that the "boom" in colonial annexations begins, and that the struggle for the territorial division of the world becomes extraordinarily keen. It is beyond doubt, therefore, that the transition of capitalism to monopoly-capitalism, to finance-capitalism, is *connected* with the intensification of the struggle for the partition of the world.

Hobson, in his work on imperialism, marks the years 1884-1890 as the period of the intensification of the colonial "expansion" of the chief European states. According to his estimate, Great Britain during these years acquired 3,700,000 square miles of territory with 57,000,000 inhabitants. . . .

When free competition in Great Britain was at its zenith, *i.e.*, between 1840 and 1860, the leading British bourgeois politicians were opposed to colonial policy and were of the opinion that the liberation of the colonies and their complete separation from Britain was inevitable and desirable. M. Beer¹⁵ in an article on "Modern British Imperialism," published in 1898, shows that in 1852, Disraeli, a statesman generally inclined towards imperialism, declared: "The colonies are millstones round our necks." But at the end of the nineteenth century the heroes of the hour were Cecil Rhodes and Joseph Chamberlain, open advocates of imperialism, who applied the imperialist policy in the most cynical manner.

(*Ibid.*, Chap. VI.)¶

CAPITAL EXPORT

THE principal spheres of investment of British capital are the British colonies, which are very large also in America (for example, Canada) as well as in Asia, etc. In this case, enormous exports of capital are bound up with the possession of enormous colonies, the importance of which for imperialism we shall speak of below.

(*Ibid.*, Chap. VI.)¶

ANGLO-GERMAN RIVALRY

THANKS to her colonies, Great Britain has increased "her" length of railways by 100,000 kilometres, four times as much as Germany. Meanwhile the development of productive forces in Germany and especially the development of the coal and iron industries, has been much more rapid during this period than in England—not to mention France and Russia. In 1892, Germany produced 4,900,000 tons of pig iron and Great Britain produced 6,800,000 tons; in 1912, Germany produced 17,600,000 tons and Great Britain, 9,000,000 tons. Germany, therefore, had an overwhelming superiority over England in this respect. We ask, is there *under capitalism* any means of remedying the disparity between the development of *production* and the accumulation of capital on the one side, and the division of colonies and "spheres of influence" by finance-capital on the other side—other than by resorting to war?

(*Ibid.*, Chap. VII.)¶

FOREIGN INVESTMENTS

MOREOVER, imperialism is an immense accumulation of money capital in a few countries, which, as we have seen, amounts to 100 or 150 billion francs in various securities. Hence the extraordinary growth of a class, or rather of a category, of bond-holders (*rentiers*), people who live by clipping coupons, who take no part whatever in production, whose profession is idleness. The export of capital, one of the essential economic bases of imperialism, still further isolates the *rentiers* from production and sets the seal of parasitism on the whole country, which is living on the labour of several overseas countries and colonies.

In 1893, writes Hobson, the British capital invested abroad represented about 15 per cent. of the total wealth of the United Kingdom. Let us remember that in 1915 this capital had increased about two and a half times. Aggressive imperialism, says Hobson further on, which costs the taxpayers so dear, which is of so little value to the manufacturer and trader . . . is a source of great gain to the investor. The annual income Great Britain derived from commissions on her whole foreign and colonial trade, import and export, is estimated by Sir R. Giffen at £18,000,000 for 1899, taken at 2.5 per cent. upon a turnover of £800,000,000.* Great as this sum is, it does not entirely explain the aggressive imperialism of Great Britain. This is explained by the 90 to 100 million pounds sterling revenue from "invested" capital, the income of the *rentier* class.

The revenue of the British bond holders is *five times greater* than the revenue obtained from the foreign trade of the greatest trading country in the world. This is the essence of imperialism and imperialist parasitism.

For that reason the term: "Bondholder state" (*Rentnerstaat*), or usurer state, is passing into current use in the economic literature that deals with imperialism. The world has become divided into a handful of moneylending states on the one side, and a vast majority of debtor states on the other.

The premier place among foreign investments, says Schulze-Gavernitz¹⁶ is held by those invested in politically dependent or allied countries. Great Britain gives loans to Egypt, Japan, China, and South America. Her navy plays the part of bailiff in case of necessity. Britain's political power protects her from the indignation of her debtors.

(*Ibid.*, Chap. VIII.)

*J. A. Hobson, *Imperialism*.

ECONOMIC ANNEXATION AND PARASITISM

SCHULZE-GAVERNITZ says :

"Great Britain is gradually becoming transformed from an industrial state into a creditor state. Notwithstanding the absolute increase in industrial output and the export of manufactured goods, the relative importance of revenue from interest and dividends, issues, commissions and speculation is on the increase, when the whole national economy is taken into account. In my opinion it is precisely this that forms the economic basis of imperialist expansion. The creditor is more firmly tied to the debtor than the merchant is to the buyer."

The *rentier* state is a state of parasitic decaying capitalism, and this circumstance cannot fail to influence the social-political conditions of the countries affected; particularly the two fundamental tendencies in the working class movement. To demonstrate this in the clearest possible manner we will quote Hobson, who will be regarded as a more "reliable" witness, since he cannot be suspected of leanings to "orthodox Marxism"; moreover, he is an Englishman who is very well acquainted with the situation in the country which is richest in colonies, in finance capital and in imperialist experience.

With the Boer War fresh in his mind, Hobson describes the connection between imperialism and the financiers, the growing profits from war contracts, etc., and writes as follows :

"While the directors of this definitely parasitic policy are capitalists, the same motives appeal to special classes of the workers. In many towns, most important trades are dependent upon government employment or contracts; the imperialism of the metal and shipbuilding centres is attributable in no small degree to this fact."

In this writer's opinion there are two causes which weakened older empires: (1) "economic parasitism," and (2) the formation of armies composed of subject races.

"There is first the habit of economic parasitism, by which the ruling state has used its provinces, colonies and dependencies, in order to enrich its ruling class and to bribe its lower classes into acquiescence."

And we would add that the economic possibility of such corruption, whatever its form may be, requires high monopolist profits.

As for the second cause, Hobson writes :

"One of the strangest symptoms of the blindness of imperialism is the reckless indifference with which Great Britain, France, and other imperialist nations are embarking on this perilous dependence.

Great Britain has gone the farthest. Most of the fighting by which we have won our Indian Empire has been done by natives; in India, as more recently in Egypt, great standing armies are placed under British commanders; almost all the fighting associated with our African dominions, except in the southern part, has been done for us by natives."

In the following words, Hobson draws a picture of the possible economic results following the partition of China:

"The greater part of Western Europe might then assume the appearance and character already exhibited by tracts of country in the South of England, in the Riviera, and in the tourist-ridden or residential parts of Italy and Switzerland, little clusters of wealthy aristocrats drawing dividends and pensions from the Far East, with a somewhat larger group of professional retainers and tradesmen and a large body of personal servants and workers in the transport trade and in the final stages of production of the more perishable goods; all the main arterial industries would have disappeared, the staple foods and manufactures flowing in as tribute from Asia and Africa.

"We have foreshadowed the possibility of even a larger alliance of Western States, a European federation of Great Powers which, so far from forwarding the cause of world civilisation, might introduce the gigantic peril of a Western parasitism, a group of advanced industrial nations, whose upper classes drew vast tribute from Asia and Africa, with which they supported great tame masses of retainers, no longer engaged in the staple industries of agriculture and manufacture, but kept in the performance of personal or minor industrial services under the control of a new financial aristocracy. Let those who would scout such a theory as undeserving of consideration examine the economic and social conditions of districts in Southern England to-day, which are already reduced to this condition and reflect upon the vast extension of such a system which might be rendered feasible by the subjection of China to the economic control of similar groups of financiers, investors and political and business officials, draining the greatest potential reservoir of profit the world has ever known, in order to consume it in Europe. The situation is far too complex, the play of world forces far too incalculable, to render this or any other single interpretation of the future very probable; but the influences which govern the imperialism of Western Europe to-day are moving in this direction, and unless counteracted or diverted, make towards some such consummation."

Hobson is quite right. Unless the forces of imperialism are counteracted they will lead to what he has described. He correctly appraises the significance of a "United States of Europe,"¹⁷ in the present

conditions of imperialism. He should have added, however, that, even within the working class movement, the opportunists, who are for the moment predominant in most countries, are "working" systematically and undeviatingly in this very direction. Imperialism, which means the partition of the world and the exploitation not of China alone, which means high monopoly profits for a handful of very rich countries, creates the economic possibility of corrupting the upper strata of the proletariat, and thereby fosters, gives form to and strengthens opportunism. However, we must not lose sight of the forces which counteract imperialism in general, and opportunism in particular, which, naturally, the social-liberal Hobson is unable to perceive. . . .

The description of British imperialism in Schulze-Gavernitz's book reveals the same parasitical traits. The national income of Great Britain approximately doubled from 1865 to 1898, while the income "from overseas" increased ninefold in the same period. While the "merit" of imperialism is that it "trains the Negro to habits of industry" (not without coercion, of course . . .) the danger of imperialism is that:

"Europe will shift the burden of physical toil—first agricultural and mining, then the more arduous toil in industry, on to the black races, and itself be content with the role of *rentier*, and in this way, perhaps, pave the way for the economic and later, the political emancipation of the coloured races."

An increasing proportion of land in Great Britain is being taken out of cultivation and used for sport, for the diversion of the rich. It is said of Scotland—the most aristocratic place for hunting and other sports—that it "lives on its past and on Mr. Carnegie." Britain annually spends £14,000,000 on horse racing and fox-hunting. The number of bondholders in Great Britain has risen to about 1,000,000. The percentage of producers amongst the total population is becoming smaller.

Year	Population	No. of workers employed in basic industries	Percentage of producers to total population
	(millions)		
1851	17.9	4.1	23
1901	32.5	4.9	15

(*Ibid.*, Chap. VIII.)¶

Since we are speaking of colonial policy in the period of capitalist imperialism, it must be observed that finance capital and its corresponding foreign policy, which resolves itself into the struggle of the

Great Powers for the economic and political division of the world, give rise to a number of *transitional* forms of national dependence. The division of the world into two principal groups—of colony-owning countries on the one hand and colonies on the other, is not the only typical feature of this period; there is also a variety of forms of national dependence: countries which, formally, are politically independent, but which are, in fact, enmeshed in the net of financial and diplomatic bondage. We have already referred to one form of dependence—the semi-colony. Another example is provided by the Argentine.

“South America, and especially the Argentine,” writes Schulze-Gavernitz in his work on British imperialism, “is so dependent financially on London, that it would be described as almost a British commercial colony.”

Schilder, basing himself on the report of the Austro-Hungarian consul at Buenos-Aires, estimates the amount of British capital invested in Argentine in 1909 at 8,750,000,000 francs. It is not difficult to imagine the solid bonds that are thus created between British finance-capital (and its faithful “friend,” diplomacy) and the Argentine bourgeoisie, with the leading business men and politicians of that country.

A somewhat different form of financial and diplomatic dependence with political independence is presented by Portugal. Portugal is an independent sovereign state. In actual fact, however, for more than two hundred years, since the war of the Spanish Succession (1700-1714), it has been a British protectorate. The British have protected Portugal and her colonies in order to fortify their own positions in the fight against their rivals, Spain and France. In return, they have received commercial advantages, preferential import of goods, and, above all, of capital into Portugal and the Portuguese colonies, the right to use the ports and islands of Portugal, her telegraph cables, etc. Relations of this kind have always existed between big and little states. But during the period of capitalist imperialism they become a general system; they form part of the process of “dividing the world”; they become a link in the chain of operations of world finance capital.

(*Ibid.*, Chap. VI.)¶

THE big finance capital of one country can always buy out the competitors of another politically independent country and always does so. Economically, this is quite possible. Economic “annexation” is quite “possible” without political annexation and constantly occurs. In the literature on imperialism one frequently meets with references such as, for example, that Argentine is in reality a “trade

colony” of England, that Portugal is in reality a “vassal” of England, etc. This is true: economic dependence upon the English banks, indebtedness to England, the buying up by England of the railroads, mines, lands, etc., in these countries, all this makes it possible to describe these countries as being “annexed” by England in the economic sense, although their political independence remains intact.—October 1916.

(*Collected Works*, Vol. XIX, “A Caricature of Marxism.”)¶

MONOPOLY IN BRITAIN

... In Free Trade England, concentration *also* leads to monopoly, although somewhat later and perhaps in another form. Professor Herman Levy, in his research into *Monopolies, Trusts and Combines* based on data of British economic development, writes as follows:

“In Great Britain, a tendency to monopoly is contained in the very size of undertakings and in their high technical development. On the one hand, concentration calls for the investment of enormous capital in an enterprise, and the launching of a new enterprise involves the outlay of large amounts of capital, and this renders it difficult to launch them. On the other hand—and this we consider to be more important—every new enterprise which aims at reaching the level of the giants of industry which are created by concentration must produce such a tremendous quantity of superfluous goods that their profitable sale is only possible if an extraordinary increase in demand takes place. If this extraordinary increase in demand does not take place the superfluity of goods will force prices down to a level which is unprofitable for the new enterprise, as well as for the monopolist combines.”

* In England, unlike other countries where protective tariffs facilitate the formation of cartels, monopolist manufacturers’ combines, cartels and trusts arise for the most part when the number of the principal competing enterprises is reduced “to some two dozen or so.” “The influence of concentration on the rise of monopoly in big industry is seen here with crystal clarity.”

(*Imperialism*, Chap. I.)¶

MONOPOLY AND PROTECTION

... For it is *also* monopoly, it is *also* imperialism, that is beating Great Britain, only it is the monopoly and imperialism of another country (America, Germany). It is known that the cartels have given rise to a new and peculiar form of protective tariffs, *i.e.*, goods suitable for export are protected (Engels noted this in Vol. III of

Capital). It is known, too, that the cartels and finance capital have a system peculiar to themselves, that of exporting goods at "dumping prices," or "dumping," as the English call it: within a given country the cartel sells its goods at a high price fixed by monopoly; abroad it sells them at a much lower price to undercut the competitor, to enlarge its own production to the utmost, etc. If German trade with the British colonies is developing more rapidly than that of Britain with the same colonies, it only proves that German imperialism is younger, stronger and better organised than British imperialism; in short, is superior to it. But this by no means proves the "superiority" of Free Trade, for it is not Free Trade fighting against Protection and colonial dependence, but two rival imperialisms, two monopolies, two groups of finance capital. The superiority of German imperialism over British imperialism is stronger than the wall of colonial frontiers or of protective tariffs.

(*Ibid.*, Chap. IX.)¶

MONOPOLY OF RAW MATERIALS

THE British capitalists are exerting every effort to develop cotton growing in *their own* Egyptian colony. (In 1904, out of 2.3 million hectares of land under cultivation, 0.6 million, or more than one-fourth, were devoted to cotton growing.) The Russians are doing the same in *their* colony, Turkestan. And in each case they are doing so because in this way they will be in a better position to defeat their foreign competitors, to monopolise the sources of raw materials and form a more economical and profitable textile trust in which *all* the processes of production will be "combined" and concentrated in the hands of a single ownership.

(*Ibid.*, Chap. VI.)¶

ORIGIN OF MONOPOLY

(1.) MONOPOLY arose out of the concentration of production at a very advanced state of development. This refers to the monopolist capitalist combines: cartels, syndicates and trusts. We have seen the important part that these play in modern economic life. At the beginning of the twentieth century, monopolies acquired complete supremacy in the advanced countries. And although the first steps towards the formation of the combines were first taken by countries enjoying the protection of high tariffs (Germany, America), Britain, with her system of free trade, was not far behind in revealing the same phenomenon, namely, the birth of monopoly out of the concentration of production.

(2.) Monopolies have accelerated the seizure of the most important sources of raw materials, especially for the coal and iron industry, which is the basic and most highly trustified industry in capitalist society. The monopoly of the most important sources of raw materials has enormously increased the power of big capital, and has sharpened the antagonism between trustified and non-trustified production.

(3.) Monopoly has sprung from the banks. The banks have developed from modest intermediary enterprises into the monopolists of finance capital. Some three or five of the biggest banks in each of the foremost capitalist countries have achieved the "personal union" of industrial and banking capital, and concentrated in their hands the disposal of thousands upon thousands of millions which form the greater part of the capital and revenue of entire countries. A financial oligarchy, which imposes its domination upon all the economic and political institutions of contemporary capitalist society without exception by means of an infinite number of financial ties—such is the most striking manifestation of this monopoly.

(4.) Monopoly has grown out of colonial policy. To the numerous "old" motives of colonial policy, finance capital has added the struggle for the sources of raw materials, for the export of capital, for "spheres of influence," i.e., for spheres of good business, concessions, monopolist profits, and so on; in fine, for economic territory in general.

(*Ibid.*, Chap. X.)¶

PARASITIC CAPITALISM

MONOPOLIES, oligarchy, the striving for domination instead of the striving for liberty, the exploitation of an increasing number of small or weak nations by an extremely small group of the richest or most powerful nations—all these have given birth to those distinctive characteristics of imperialism which compel us to define it as parasitic or decaying capitalism. More and more there emerges, as one of the tendencies of imperialism, the creation of the "bondholding" (*rentier*) state, the usurer state, in which the bourgeoisie lives on the proceeds of capital exports and by "clipping coupons." It would be a mistake to believe that this tendency to decay excludes the possibility of the rapid growth of capitalism. It does not. In the epoch of imperialism, one or another of these tendencies is displayed to a more or less degree, by certain branches of industry, by certain strata of the bourgeoisie, and certain countries. On the whole, capitalism is growing far more rapidly than before, but it is not only that this growth is becoming more and more uneven; this unevenness manifests itself also, in particular, in the decay of the countries which are richest in capital (such as England). . . .

The receipt of high monopoly profits by the capitalists in one of numerous branches of industry, in one of numerous countries, etc., makes it economically possible for them to corrupt individual sections of the working class and sometimes a fairly considerable minority, and win them to the side of the capitalists of a given industry or nation against all the others. The intensification of antagonisms between imperialist nations for the partition of the world, increases this striving. And so there is created that bond between imperialism and opportunism, which revealed itself first and most clearly in England, owing to the fact that certain features of imperialist development were observable there much sooner than in other countries.

(*Ibid.*, Chap. X.)¶

ULTRA-IMPERIALISM AND "DISARMAMENT"

KAUTSKY'S "ultra-imperialism"¹⁸—this word, by the way, does not at all express what the author wants to say—implies a tremendous *diminution* of the contradictions of capitalism. Kautsky¹⁹ speaks of the "weakening of protectionism in England and America." But what is there in this that would suggest the slightest tendency towards a new era? American protectionism, having been carried to the extreme, is now subsiding, but protectionism remains, in the same way as the privileges, the preferential tariffs of the English colonies in favour of England, have remained. Let us recall what caused the change from the former "peaceful" period of capitalism to the present imperialist era: free competition was replaced by monopoly capitalist combines; the world was divided up. It is obvious that both these facts (and factors) are really of world-wide significance: free trade and peaceful competition were possible and necessary as long as capital was in a position to enlarge its colonies without hindrance and to seize unoccupied land in Africa, etc., while concentration of capital was still slight and no monopoly undertakings existed, *i.e.*, undertakings of such magnitude as to dominate a *whole* branch of industry. The appearance and growth of such monopoly undertakings (has this process, perchance, been checked in England or in America? Not even Kautsky will dare deny that the war has accelerated and sharpened it) make the former free competition *impossible*, for they cut the ground from under its feet, while the division of the world *compels* the capitalist to pass from peaceful expansion to armed struggle for the re-division of colonies and spheres of influence. It is ridiculous to think that the *weakening* of protectionism in two countries can change anything in this respect.

Another fact is referred to: for a number of years there has been a decrease in capital exports from *two* countries. According to Harms' statistics, in 1912, the capital invested abroad by the two

countries under consideration, *viz.*, France and Germany, amounted to 35,000,000,000 marks each, while England alone had twice that amount.* The export of capital never did and never could grow on the same scale everywhere under capitalism. Nobody, not even Kautsky, can say that the accumulation of capital has diminished, or that the capacity of the home market to absorb commodities has undergone a vital change, say, through a marked improvement in the standard of living of the masses. Under these circumstances, it is impossible to draw the conclusion that a new era is being ushered in on the grounds that the capital exports from two countries during the past few years have diminished.

"The growing international interlocking of the cliques of finance capital," this is the only general and undoubted tendency that has been actually in evidence, not during the last few years, and not in a few countries, but throughout the whole world, the whole of capitalism. But why must this tendency lead to disarmament, and not to armaments, as hitherto? Take any one of the world-famous producers of cannon (and of armaments in general), for instance, Armstrong. The English *Economist* recently (May 15, 1915) published figures showing that the profits of this firm rose from £606,000 in 1905-1906, to £856,000 in 1913, and £940,000 in 1914. The interlocking of finance capital is here very pronounced and it keeps growing: German capitalists "participate" in the affairs of English firms; English firms are constructing submarines for Austria, etc. Capital, internationally interlocked, is doing splendid business in armaments and wars. To deduce any economic tendency towards disarmament from the combining and interlocking of various national capitals into one international whole, means to substitute well-intentioned philistine desires for the diminution of class antagonisms in the place of the actual sharpening of these antagonisms.—*Summer 1915.*

(*Collected Works*, Vol. XIX, "Collapse of the Second International," Chap. IV; Little Lenin Library: *War and the Second International*.)¶

CAPITALISM AND "PEACE"

KAUTSKY called ultra-imperialism what Hobson thirteen years earlier described as inter-imperialism. Except for coining a new and clever word, by replacing one Latin prefix with another, the only progress Kautsky has made in the sphere of "scientific" thought is that he

*See Bernhard Harms, "Probleme der Weltwirtschaft (*Problems of World Economy*) Jena, 1912; George Paish, "Great Britain's Capital Investments in the Colonies" in *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, Vol. LXXV, 1910-11, p. 167. Lloyd George in a speech delivered early in 1915, estimated English capital invested abroad at £4,000,000,000.

has labelled as Marxism that which Hobson in effect described as the cant of British parsons. After the Anglo-Boer war it was quite natural that this worthy caste should exert every effort to *console* the British middle class and the workers who had lost many of their relatives on the battle-fields of South Africa and who were obliged to pay high taxes in order to guarantee still higher profits for the British financiers. And what better consolation could there be than the theory that imperialism is not so bad, that it stands close to inter (or ultra) imperialism, which promises permanent peace? No matter what the good intentions of the British parsons or of sentimental Kautsky may have been, the only objective, *i.e.*, real, social meaning Kautsky's "theory" can have is that it is a most reactionary method of consoling the masses with hopes of permanent peace being possible under capitalism, distracting their attention from the sharp antagonisms and acute problems of the present era and directing it along illusory perspectives of an imaginary "ultra-imperialism" of the future. Delusion of the masses, other than this there is nothing in Kautsky's "Marxian theory."

(*Imperialism*, Chap. VIII.)¶

COLONIAL CONQUEST

THE capital-exporting interests also serve to stimulate the quest for colonies, for it is easier in the colonial market (and sometimes it is the only possible way), by monopolist methods, to eliminate competition, to make sure of orders, to strengthen the necessary "connections," etc.

The non-economic super-structure which grows up on the basis of finance capital, its politics and its ideology, stimulates the striving for colonial conquest.

(*Imperialism*, Chap. VI.)¶

CIVILISED BARBARISM AND PROGRESS

ENGLAND and France are the most civilised states in the world. London and Paris are the capitals of the world with populations of six millions and three millions respectively. The distance between them is an eight or nine hours' journey.

One can imagine how great is the commercial intercourse between these two capitals, what an enormous quantity of goods and an enormous number of people constantly pass from one to the other.

And yet, the richest, the most civilised and freest states in the world are now with fear and trembling discussing, not by any means

for the first time, the "difficult" question: Is it possible to build a tunnel under the English Channel (which separates England from the Continent of Europe)?

Engineers have long been of the opinion that it is possible. The capitalists of England and France have mountains of money. Interest on capital invested in such an enterprise would be absolutely secure.

What is holding the affair up then?

England is afraid of . . . invasion? A tunnel, you see, would "in the event of anything happening" facilitate the invasion of England by enemy troops. That is why the British military authorities, not for the first time, have thwarted the plan to build a tunnel.

Reading about this, one cannot but be astonished at the madness and blindness of civilised peoples. Needless to say, traffic could be stopped in the tunnel and the tunnel itself could be completely wrecked in a few seconds with modern instruments of technique.

But the civilised peoples have driven themselves into the position of barbarians. Capitalism has brought it about that in order to hoodwink the workers, the bourgeoisie is compelled to frighten the people in England with idiotic fables about "invasion." Capitalism has brought it about that a number of capitalists who stand to lose "good business" by the building of the tunnel are doing their very utmost to thwart this plan and hold up technical progress.

The Englishmen's fear of the tunnel is fear of themselves. Capitalist barbarism is stronger than civilisation.

No matter where one looks one sees at every step problems which humanity is quite able to solve *immediately*; but capitalism hinders this. It has heaped up piles of wealth—and has made men *slaves* to this wealth. It has solved the most complicated problems of technique—but it has checked the application of technical improvement to everyday life because of the poverty and ignorance of millions of the population, because of the stupid niggardliness of a handful of millionaires.—*September 1913.*

(*Collected Works*, Vol. XVI, "Civilised Barbarism.")

CAPITALISM AND SCIENCE

THE world-famous British chemist, William Ramsay, has discovered a method of obtaining coal gas directly at the coal face. Ramsay is already negotiating with a colliery owner concerning the practical application of this method.

Thus, one of the greatest problems of modern technique is approaching solution. The revolution that this solution will bring about will be enormous.

In order to be able to utilise the energy contained in coal, the

latter has to be transported to all parts of the country and consumed in an enormous number of separate enterprises and homes.

Ramsay's discovery means a gigantic revolution in this most important branch of industry in capitalist countries.

Ramsay has discovered a method by which coal can be transformed into gas without the coal having to be taken from the mine. A similar method, but ever so much more simple, is sometimes employed in the mining of salt: it is not brought to the surface directly, but it is dissolved in water and the solution is pumped to the surface.

With Ramsay's method, the coal mines, as it were, are transformed into enormous distilling apparatuses for the manufacture of coal gas. Gas is used for the purpose of driving gas engines which create the possibility of obtaining *twice* as much of the energy which coal contains as can be got from steam engines. Gas engines in their turn, serve to transform energy into electricity, which technical development is already able to transmit over great distances.

If this technical revolution took place the cost of electrical energy would be reduced to *one-fifth* of its present cost. An enormous amount of human labour that is now spent in extracting and distributing coal would be saved. It would be possible to work what are now regarded as the poorest and most unprofitable seams. The cost of lighting and heating houses would be reduced to an extraordinary degree.

The revolution in industry brought about by this discovery will be enormous.

But the consequences of this revolution for the whole of social life under capitalism will be altogether different from those that this discovery would give rise to under socialism.

Under capitalism the "release" from labour of millions of miners engaged in extracting coal will inevitably give rise to mass unemployment, an enormous increase in poverty and the worsening of the conditions of the workers. And the profits of this great invention will find their way into the pockets of the Morgans, the Rockefellers, the Ryabushinskys,²¹ the Morosovs,²² and their suite of lawyers, directors, professors and other flunkys of capital.

Under socialism the application of Ramsay's method of "releasing" millions of miners, etc., from labour, will make it possible immediately to shorten the working day for all from eight hours to seven hours and even less. The "electrification" of all factories and railways will make the conditions of labour more hygienic, will relieve millions of workers of smoke, dust and dirt, and accelerate the transformation of dirty, repulsive workshops into clean and well lit laboratories worthy of human beings. The electric lighting and heating of every home will relieve millions of "domestic slaves" of the necessity of spending three-fourths of their lives in smelly kitchens.

Day after day capitalist technique is more and more *out-growing* the social conditions which condemn the toilers to wage slavery.—
May 1913.

(*Collected Works*, Vol. XVI, "A Great Victory of Technique.")

NOTE: Ramsay's invention has not been applied to any great extent in England to this day. In the Soviet Union, however, it is being developed to a considerable extent, and in the period of the second Five-Year Plan will play a very important part in industry.—*Ed.*

both in England and in America, the "precondition of any real people's revolution" is the *smashing*, the *shattering* of the "ready-made state machinery" (brought in those countries, between 1914 and 1917, to general "European" imperialist perfection).—*August-September 1917.*

(*State and Revolution*, Chap. III, Part 1; Little Lenin Library, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXI)¶

CHAPTER II

THE BRITISH IMPERIALIST STATE

"The British Government is the purest form of the Executive Committee of the Bourgeoisie."—(Lenin.)

CONDITIONS FOR "BLOODLESS" REVOLUTION

ON April 12, 1871, i.e., just at the time of the Commune,²³ Marx wrote to Kugelmann:²⁴

"If you look at the last chapter of my *Eighteenth Brumaire*,²⁵ you will see that I say that the next attempt of the French Revolution must be: not, as in the past, to transfer the bureaucratic-military machinery from one hand to the other, but to *smash it*" (Marx's italics—the original is *zerbrechen*); "and this is the precondition of any genuine people's revolution on the Continent. And this is what our heroic party comrades in Paris have attempted."*

In these words, "to smash the bureaucratic-military machinery," is contained, briefly formulated, the principal lesson of Marxism on the tasks of the proletariat in relation to the state during a revolution. . . .

. . . First, he confines his conclusions to the Continent. This was natural in 1871, when England was still the model of a purely capitalist country, but without a military machine and, in large measure, without a bureaucracy. Hence Marx excluded England, where a revolution, even a people's revolution, could be conceived, and was then possible, *without* the preliminary condition of destroying the "ready-made state machinery."

To-day, in 1917, in the epoch of the first great imperialist war, this exception made by Marx is no longer valid. Both England and America, the greatest and last representatives of Anglo-Saxon "liberty," in the sense of the absence of militarism and bureaucracy, have to-day plunged headlong into the all-European dirty, bloody morass of military-bureaucratic institutions to which everything is subordinated and which trample everything under foot. To-day,

**Neus Zeit*, XX-1, 1901-1902, p. 709. The letters from Marx to Kugelmann have come out in Russian in no less than two editions, one of them edited and with an introduction by me. (Karl Marx, *Letters to Kugelmann*, London and New York, 1933).

FEDERALISM IN ENGLAND

ENGELS not only shows no indifference to the question of the forms of state, but, on the contrary, tries to analyse with the utmost care the transitional forms, in order to establish in accordance with the concrete historical peculiarities of each separate case, *from what and to what* the given transitional form is evolving.

From the point of view of the proletariat and the proletarian revolution, Engels, like Marx, insists on democratic centralism, on one indivisible republic. The federal republic he considers either as an exception and a hindrance to development, or as a transitional form from a monarchy to a centralised republic, as a "step forward" under certain special conditions. And among these special conditions, the national question arises.

Neither Engels nor Marx, in spite of *their* ruthless criticism of the reactionary nature of small states, and, in certain concrete cases, the screening of this by the national question, ever show a trace of desire to ignore the national question—a desire of which the Dutch and Polish Marxists are often guilty, as a result of their most justifiable opposition to the narrow philistine nationalism of "their" little states.

Even in England, where geographical conditions, a common language, and the history of many centuries would seem to have put "an end" to the national question in the separate small divisions of England—even here Engels is cognisant of the patent fact that the national question has not yet been overcome, and recognises, in consequence, that the establishment of a federal republic would be a "step forward." Of course, there is no trace here of refusing to criticise the defects of the federal republic or to conduct the most determined propaganda and fight for a united and centralised democratic republic.

(*State and Revolution*, Chap. IV, Part 4.)¶

ARMAMENTS AND CAPITALISM

ENGLAND is one of the richest, one of the freest and one of the most advanced countries in the world. The fever of armaments has long ago affected English "society" and the English government, in

exactly the same way as it has affected the French, the German, and other governments.

And now the English press, particularly the labour press, is publishing very interesting data which reveal the cunning capitalist "mechanism" of armaments. England's naval armaments are particularly great. England's shipbuilding yards of Vickers, Armstrong, Brown and others are world-famous. Hundreds of thousands of millions of roubles are spent by England and other countries on preparations for war, and of course all this is done exclusively in the interests of peace, in the interests of preserving culture, the interests of the motherland, civilisation, etc.

And among the shareholders and directors of shipyards, and gunpowder, dynamite, and ordnance factories, etc., we find British admirals and prominent statesmen of both parties, both the Conservative Party and the Liberal Party. A rain of gold is positively pouring into the pockets of bourgeois politicians who represent an exclusive international gang which is instigating rivalry in armaments among the peoples and fleecing these confiding, stupid, dull and submissive peoples like sheep.

Armaments are regarded as a national matter, a patriotic matter; it is presumed that everyone strictly keeps the secret. But the shipbuilding yards, the ordnance works, the dynamite works and small arms factories represent *international enterprises* in which the capitalists of various countries working in complete accord, fool and fleece "the public" of the various countries and build ships and guns equally for England against Italy, or for Italy against England.

A cunning capitalist mechanism! Civilisation, order, culture, peace—and the plunder of hundreds of millions of roubles by business men and swindlers in shipbuilding, dynamite manufacturing and other spheres of capital investment.

England is one of the members of the Triple Entente which is hostile to the Triple Alliance. Italy belongs to the Triple Alliance. The well-known firm of Vickers (England) has a *branch* in Italy. The shareholders and directors of this firm instigate (through the corrupt press and through the corrupt Members of Parliament, Conservatives and Liberals alike), England against Italy and vice-versa. And the profit is taken both from the workers of England and from the workers of Italy; the people are fleeced both here and there.

Conservative and Liberal Cabinet Ministers and Members of Parliament are almost all shareholders in these firms. One hand washes the other. The son of the "great" Liberal statesman, Gladstone, is a director of the firm of Armstrong. Rear-Admiral Bacon, the well-known naval specialist and a high official at the

Admiralty, takes a job at the Coventry Ordnance Works, at a salary of £7,000 per annum, whereas the British Prime Minister's salary is only £5,000 per annum.

Of course, the same thing is taking place in all capitalist countries. The governments are the servants of the capitalist class. The servants are well paid. The servants are themselves shareholders; and they shear the sheep together, amidst the babel of speeches about "patriotism."—June 1913.

(*Collected Works*, Vol. XVI, "Armaments and Capitalism.")

POLITICIANS AND BIG BUSINESS

The English Labour press is continuing its exposure of the connection between financial "operations" and high politics. These revelations deserve the attention of the workers of all countries because they expose the very principles of state administration in capitalist society. The words of Karl Marx that the government is the Executive Committee of the capitalist class, are fully confirmed.

The *Labour Leader* of June 12, 1913, devotes a whole page to the names of English Cabinet Ministers (seven names), ex-Cabinet Ministers (three names), Bishops and Archdeacons (twelve names), Peers (forty-seven names), Members of Parliament (eighteen names), newspaper owners, financiers and bankers, who are shareholders or directors in joint stock companies which trade mainly in war supplies.

The author of this article, Walton Newbold, collected all this information from official banking, commercial, industrial, financial and other sources, from the reports of patriotic organisations (like the Navy League), etc. . . .

Our Liberals . . . have a strong aversion to the "theory" of the class struggle, and strongly persist in their view that governments and modern states *can* stand *outside* of classes, or *above* classes. But what are you going to do, gentlemen, when this "theory," which is so unpleasant to you, exactly corresponds to reality; when all the *principles* of contemporary legislation and contemporary politics glaringly reveal to us the class character of the structure and the system of administration of all contemporary states; when even a list of names of prominent statesmen, Members of Parliament, high officials, etc., reveals the inseparable connection that exists between economic rule and political rule?

The denial or the concealment of class struggle is the worst form of hypocrisy in politics, is gambling on the ignorance and prejudices of the least developed strata of the people, the small masters (peasants, artisans, etc.) who are furthest removed from the sharpest and most direct struggle of classes and who, as before, cling to their antiquated, patriarchal views. But what is ignorance and lack of education on

the part of peasants, is a refined method of corrupting the people and keeping it in slavery on the part of liberal intellectuals.—July 1913.

("Bourgeois Businessmen—Financiers and Politicians,"
Collected Works, Vol. XVI.)

ENGLISH DEMOCRACY

THE proletariat alone can be—and because of its class position cannot but be—a consistent and complete democrat, a determined enemy of absolutism, incapable of making any concessions to and compromises with it. The proletariat alone can serve as the *vanguard* in the fight for political liberty and for democratic institutions, firstly, because political tyranny affects the proletariat most; for there is nothing in the position of that class that can in any way mitigate this tyranny; it has no access to the higher authorities, not even to the officials, it has no influence on public opinion. Secondly, the proletariat alone is capable of bringing about the *complete* democratisation of the political and social system, because such democratisation would place the system in the hands of the workers. That is why the *merging* of the democratic activities of the working class with the democratic elements of the other classes and groups would *weaken* the forces of the democratic movement, would *weaken* the political struggle, would make it less determined, less consistent, more likely to compromise. On the other hand, if the working class *stands out* as the vanguard in the fight for democratic institutions it will *strengthen* the democratic movement, will *strengthen* the struggle for political liberty; for the working class will *stimulate* all the other democratic and political opposition elements, will push the liberals towards the political radicals, will push the radicals towards an irrevocable rupture with the whole of the political and social structure of present society. . . .

To illustrate what we mean we will quote the following example. Take the institution of officialdom, the bureaucracy as representing a class of persons who specialise in work of administration, who occupy a privileged position compared with the people. Everywhere, from autocratic and semi-Asiatic Russia to cultured, free and civilised England, we see this institution, representing an essential organ of bourgeois society. . . . In England there is powerful, popular control over the administration, but even there that control is *far from being complete*, even there the bureaucracy has managed to preserve not a few of its privileges, is not infrequently the master and not the servant of the people. Even in England we see that powerful social groups support the privileged position of the bureaucracy and hinder the complete democratisation of this institution? Why? Because it is in the interest of the proletariat alone to *completely*

democratise it; the most progressive strata of the bourgeoisie defend certain of the prerogatives of the bureaucracy, oppose the election of all officials, the complete abolition of the property qualification, making officials directly responsible to the people, etc., because these strata realise that the proletariat will take advantage of complete democracy to use it *against* the bourgeoisie.—Close of 1897.

(Selected Works, Vol. I, "The Tasks of Russian Social-Democrats.")¶

THE MONARCHY

DURING the second revision of the Programme of the Social-Democratic Party, Plekhanov²⁷ wrote:

"I recommend that the words—'we must spread the idea that only under a Republic can the decisive battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie take place'—be deleted (I request that this be put to vote. I am not at all convinced that in England, for instance, political development must proceed through a republic. The monarchy hardly interferes with the workers there and therefore its abolition may be not a *condition precedent* to, but a *consequence* of the triumph of socialism)."

Lenin replied to Plekhanov's proposal with the following remark:

"The example of England is out of place precisely because of its exceptional position. And to compare Russia with England now means to create a fog of misunderstanding in the minds of the public. The remarks of Marx (1875) and of Engels (1891) concerning the demand for a republic in Germany point precisely to the 'necessity' of a republic, but exceptions are possible everywhere."
Summer 1902. (Lenin Miscellany, Vol. III.)

SIX ACRES AND A COW

On Saturday, October 11th, the English Liberal Minister, Lloyd George, in two "brilliant" speeches delivered in the city of Bedford opened his "Land Campaign." Like our Kit Kitich Guchkov,²⁸ who promised "to settle accounts with the Russian privileged and all-powerful landlords," so the English Liberal Minister promised to start a campaign on the land question, to expose the landlords and appeal to the people on a "radical" (Lloyd George is extremely radical!) land reform.

The Liberal newspapers in England tried to make the speeches of their leader appear to be as impressive as they possibly could. Publicity, publicity at all costs! The speech is too long they seemed to say—we will publish a brief "summary" of it, we will call it a

"Land Charter" and embellish it in a manner that will conceal the diplomatic evasions of the skilled politicians and give prominence to a long list of reforms—a minimum wage, 100,000 cottages for the workers, and the "compulsory alienation of the land at its *net* (!!) agricultural land value."

In order to show the reader *how* the Minister of the Liberal English bourgeoisie carries on agitation among the people, we will quote several passages from Lloyd George's Bedford speeches.

"There is not a question more vital, more fundamental than the question of the land!" exclaimed the speaker. "The food the people eat, the water they drink, the houses they dwell in, the industries upon which their livelihood depends, all depend upon the land." And to whom does the land belong? To a handful of rich people! One-third of all the land of England belongs to members of the House of Lords. "Landlordism is the greatest of all monopolies in this land." The power of the landlord is unlimited. He may evict his tenants and devastate the land worse than an invader. "Now, I am not attacking the landlords either as individuals or as a class," the Minister declared, but can such a state of affairs be allowed to continue?

During the last decade the agricultural population declined from over two million to one and a half million, while the number of gamekeepers increased from 9,000 to 23,000. There is not another country in the world where there is so much uncultivated land and where the farmers suffer so much from game which is bred by the rich for their entertainment.

The wealth of England is increasing at an astonishing rate. But what about the agricultural labourers? Nine-tenths of them earn less than twenty shillings per week, a sum which in workhouses is considered to be barely sufficient to prevent an inmate from starving. Sixty per cent. of the agricultural labourers earn less than eighteen shillings per week.

The Conservatives propose that the land be sold in small holdings. But I will ask the one who talks about selling, thundered the English Rodichev,²⁹ *at what price?* (Laughter.)

Will not the high price crush the small buyer? Will he not be crushed by high rates? There is a Small Holdings Act which is supposed to provide land for workers. Here is an example. The total rates and taxes on a plot of land were assessed at £30. This land is bought and re-sold to poor people in small holdings to be paid for in instalments. The payments then turn out to be £60.

The depopulation of rural England threatens to make the country defenceless—without a strong peasantry there can be no strong

army. Of course, neither a Russian nor an English Liberal can refrain from playing down to crude nationalism and chauvinism.

The landlords did not create the land, exclaimed Lloyd George, the country must choose between the power of the landlords and the welfare of the workers. We must act firmly and determinedly against monopoly—and property in land is the greatest form of monopoly. The tenant farmer must obtain guarantees that he will not be evicted, or deprived of the fruits of his energy and skill (a voice—What is the remedy?). We must act, enough of timid attempts at half-measures. You must deal with it thoroughly, you must do as business men do. It is no use tinkering and mending, you must put the land monopoly under better control.

To secure a minimum wage for the labourers, to shorten the working day, to give him a decent, comfortable cottage and plot of land so that he can grow a certain amount of produce for himself. You must secure for him a *ladder of progress* in order that the "enterprising" labourer may rise from the small allotment, the kitchen garden to the small independent farm. And the more enterprising should go even further, and become substantial farmers in our country. You are tempted with the charms of emigration to America and Australia. But we want the British worker to find sustenance for himself, a free life and comfort for himself and for his children here, in England, in our own country.

Thunders of applause. . . . And one can almost hear one or two voices, from those in the audience who were not bull dozed by the speaker (like the one who shouted: "What is the remedy?") saying: "He sings well; but will he do anything?"

This English Liberal Minister, this favourite of the petty bourgeois crowd, sings well, he is a past master in the art of breaking strikes by bulldozing the workers, the best servant of British capital which enslaves both the British workers and the three hundred million population of India. What power induced this hardened politician, this lackey of the moneybags, to make such "radical" speeches?

The power of the labour movement.

In England there is no standing army.* The people cannot be restrained by violence—it can only be restrained by deception. The labour movement is growing without restraint. It is necessary to divert the attention, to "engage" the masses with high-sounding schemes for reform; it is necessary to wage a sham fight against the Conservatives, to promise sops in order to prevent the masses from turning away from the Liberals, in order that they may continue to follow the industrial and financial capitalists like flocks of sheep following the shepherds.

* Lenin had in mind the large conscript forces of the continental type.

And Lloyd George promises reform . . . does not the English proverb say that promises are like pie-crusts, made to break—and the whole Liberal Cabinet will carry out this reform to the extent of about one-fifth of what was promised. And the Conservatives will in their turn reduce it to one-tenth.

The reformism of the English bourgeoisie clearly points to the growth of a profound revolutionary movement among the working class of England. No eloquent orator, no Liberal charlatan can stop this movement.—*October 1913.*

(“The Liberals and the Land Question in England,”
Collected Works, Vol. XVII.)

CHAPTER III

THE COLONIAL POLICY OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM

TERROR IN INDIA

THE revolutionary movement in various states of Europe and Asia has recently made itself so deeply felt, that there appears before us pretty clearly a new and much higher stage of the international struggle of the proletariat than before.

A counter-revolution has taken place in Persia, uniting in original fashion the Russian dismissal of the First Duma and the Russian revolt at the end of 1905. The army of the Russian Tsar, shamefully beaten by the Japanese, is taking its revenge, zealous in the service of counter-revolution. After the exploits of shootings, punitive expeditions, massacres and pillage in Russia, there follow the exploits of these same Cossacks in suppressing the revolution in Persia. That Nicholas Romanov at the head of his Black Hundred landlords and his capitalists scared by strikes and civil war, should rage against the Persian revolutionaries is understandable, nor is it the first time that the role of international executioner has fallen to the Christ-loving Russian warriors.

But the fact that England, pharisaically rubbing its hands, is maintaining an obviously friendly neutrality towards the Persian reactionaries and adherents of absolutism—this is a phenomenon of a somewhat different order. The Liberal English bourgeoisie, irritated by the growth of the labour movement at home, and frightened by the rise of the revolutionary struggle in India, is more frequently, more frankly and more sharply revealing what brutes the most civilised European “statesmen,” who have passed through the highest school of constitutionalism, become when the masses are roused for the struggle against capital and against the capitalist colonial system, *i.e.*, the system of slavery, plunder and violence.

The position of the Persian revolutionaries³⁰ in the land which the masters of India and the counter-revolutionary government of Russia were already preparing to divide between them is a difficult one. But the stubborn struggle in Tabriz, the repeated turn of the fortunes of war to the side of the revolutionaries, who seemed to have been utterly routed, shows that the Bashi-Bazuks³¹ of the Shah, even with the aid of the Lyakhovs³² and the English diplomats, are meeting

with the most determined resistance from below. A revolutionary movement which can put up military resistance to attempts at restoration, which compels the heroes of such attempts to turn for assistance to foreigners, cannot be destroyed and, under such circumstances, the complete triumph of Persian reaction would merely be the prelude to fresh outbursts of popular indignation. . . .

In India, the native slaves of the "civilised" British capitalists have been recently causing their "masters" a lot of unpleasantness and disquietude. There is no end to the violence and plunder which is called the British Administration of India. Nowhere in the world, with the exception of Russia, of course, is there such poverty among the masses and such chronic starvation among the population. The most Liberal and radical statesmen in free Britain, like John Morley, who is an authority in the eyes of Russian and non-Russian Cadets,³³ the stars of "progressive" publicism (as a matter of fact, lackeys of capital) are, as rulers of India, becoming transformed into real Genghis-Khans, who are capable of sanctioning all measures for "pacifying" the population in their charge even to *flogging* political dissenters. The little English Social-Democratic weekly *Justice* is *prohibited* in India by Liberal and "radical" scoundrels like Morley. And when Keir Hardie, the leader of the Independent Labour Party and a Member of Parliament, had the presumption to go to India and talk to the natives about the elementary demands of democracy, the whole of the English bourgeois press raised a howl against the "rebel." And now the most influential English newspapers, gnashing their teeth, are talking about the "agitators" who are disturbing the peace of India, and are welcoming the purely Russian Plehve sentences³⁴ which the courts are handing out, and the summary punishment that is being meted out to Indian democratic publicists. But the Indian masses are beginning to come out into the streets in defence of their native writers and political leaders. The despicable sentence the English jackals passed on the Indian Democrat, Tilak³⁵ (he was sentenced to a long term of exile, and in reply to a question in the House of Commons it was revealed that the Indian jurymen voted for acquittal, whereas the conviction was passed by the *votes of the English jurymen!*), this act of vengeance on the part of the lackeys of the moneybags gave rise to street demonstrations and a strike in Bombay. The Indian proletariat has already grown up sufficiently to wage a class-conscious and political mass struggle—and that being the case, the day of Anglo-Russian methods in India is over. By their colonial plunder of Asiatic countries, the Europeans have managed to harden one of them, Japan, for great military victories which secured her independent national development. There is not the slightest doubt that the age-long plunder of India by the English, that the present struggle of these "advanced"

Europeans against Persian and Indian democracy *will harden* millions and tens of millions of proletarians of Asia, will harden them for the same kind of victorious (like the Japanese) struggle against the oppressors. The class-conscious workers of Europe now have Asiatic comrades whose numbers will grow from day to day and hour to hour.—August 1908.

("Inflammable Material in World Politics," *Collected Works*, Vol. XII.)

"CIVILISED" JUSTICE

THE well-known English Social-Democrat, Rothstein,³⁶ relates in the German labour press an instructive and typical incident that occurred in British India. This incident reveals better than long arguments why the revolution in that country with over three hundred million inhabitants is growing so rapidly.

The English journalist Arnold who publishes a newspaper in Rangoon, a large town (with over two hundred thousand inhabitants) in one of the Indian provinces, published an article entitled: "A mockery of British Justice," in which he exposed a local English judge named Andrew. For publishing this article Arnold was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment, but he appealed, and having connections in London, was able to reach the highest court in England. The government of India itself hastily "reduced" the sentence to four months' imprisonment, and Arnold was released.

What was all the fuss about?

A captain in the British army named McCormick, had a mistress whose servant was a little Indian girl, eleven years of age, named Aina. This gallant representative of a cultured nation enticed Aina to his room, violated her and locked her up in his house.

It so happened that Aina's father was dying and he sent for his daughter. It was then that the whole story was learned in the village where he lived. The whole population seethed with indignation. The police were compelled to order McCormick's arrest.

But Judge Andrew released him on bail, and after a shameless mockery of justice, acquitted him.

The gallant captain declared, as gentlemen of noble extraction usually do under such circumstances, that Aina was a prostitute, in proof of which he brought five witnesses. But Judge Andrew would not even examine the eight witnesses brought by Aina's mother.

When the journalist Arnold was tried for libel, the President of the Court, Sir Charles Fox, refused to allow him to call witnesses.

It is clear to everybody that cases like these occur in India thousands and millions of times. Only absolutely exceptional circumstances enabled the "libeller" Arnold (the son of an influential London

journalist) to extricate himself from prison and secure publicity for this case.

Do not forget that the English Liberals put their "best" people at the head of the Indian administration. Recently the Viceroy of India, the chief of the McCormicks, the Andrews and the Foxes, was John Morley, the well-known radical author, a "luminary" of European letters, "an honest man" in the eyes of all European and Russian liberals.

The "European" spirit has already awakened in Asia: the peoples of Asia have become democratically conscious.—April 1913.

("Cultured Europeans and Savage Asiatics," *Collected Works*, Vol. XVI.)

HOME RULE FOR IRELAND

WHAT is now taking place in the English Parliament in connection with the Home Rule Bill is a matter of outstanding interest from the standpoint of class relationships and serves to explain national and agrarian problems.

For centuries England has enslaved Ireland and has reduced the Irish peasants to incredible torments of famine and extinction from starvation, has driven them from the land and has compelled them to leave their native country in hundreds and thousands and emigrate to America. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, Ireland had a population of five and a half millions, now the population is only four and one-third millions. Ireland has become depopulated. During the nineteenth century, more than five million Irish emigrated to America, and there are now more Irishmen in the United States than in Ireland.

The unparalleled destitution and sufferings of the Irish peasantry are an instructive example of the lengths to which the landlords and the liberal bourgeoisie of a "ruling" nation will go. England created its "brilliant" economic development and the "prosperity" of its industry and commerce, to a large extent, by perpetrating exploits towards the Irish peasantry that recall those of the Russian lady serf owner, Saltychikha³⁷

England "flourished," Ireland decayed and remained an undeveloped half wild, purely agrarian country, a land of poor tenant farmers. But, however much the "enlightened and Liberal" bourgeoisie of England desired to perpetuate the enslavement of Ireland and its poverty, reform inexorably approached, the more so that the revolutionary struggle of the Irish people for liberty and land became more and more threatening. In 1861, the Irish revolutionary organisation of the Fenians was formed. The Irish emigrants in America rendered this organisation every assistance.

The year 1868, and the coming into power of the government of Gladstone, this hero of the liberal bourgeoisie and dull philistines, ushered in the era of Irish reform, an era which has dragged on to our time, i.e., little less than half a century. Oh, the wise statesmen of the liberal bourgeoisie know very well how to "hasten slowly" in the matter of reform!

Karl Marx, who had already lived in London for fifteen years, watched the struggle of the Irish with great interest and sympathy. On November 2, 1867, he wrote to Frederick Engels: "I tried to call forth this demonstration of the English workers in favour of Fenianism by all possible means. . . . Formerly, I considered the separation of Ireland from England to be impossible. Now I think it is inevitable although after the separation there may come *federation*. . . ." In a letter dated November 30th of the same year, Marx reverts to the same subject and says: "The question is, what should we advise the English workers to do? In my opinion they ought to make the Repeal of the Union" (the abolition of the union between Ireland and England) "a point in their programme—briefly to restore the 1783 affair, only democratised and adapted to modern conditions. This is the only *legal* form of Irish liberation, and hence, the only possible form in which it can be admitted in the programme of an English party." And Marx went on to show that Ireland stood in need of Home Rule and independence from England, of an agrarian revolution and of tariffs against England.

Such was the programme that Marx suggested to the English workers in the interests of Irish liberty, of the acceleration of social development and of the liberty of the English workers; because, the English workers cannot secure liberty as long as they keep (or even permit the keeping of) another nation in slavery.

But alas! Owing to a number of special historical causes, the British workers in the latter end of the nineteenth century found themselves dependent upon the Liberals and were imbued with the spirit of Liberal Labour politics. They were found, not at the head of nations and classes fighting for liberty, but at the tail of the contemptible lackeys of the moneybags, Messieurs the English Liberals.

And the Liberals dragged out the liberation of Ireland for *half a century*, and have not even completed it yet!

It was only in the twentieth century that the Irish peasant began to be transformed from a tenant farmer into a free landowner. But Messieurs the Liberals imposed upon them the system of *buying out the land at a "fair" price*. They have paid, and will continue to pay for many years, millions and millions in tribute to the English landlords as a reward to the latter for having plundered them for centuries and for having reduced them to constant famine. The English Liberal

bourgeoisie compelled the Irish peasants to thank the landlords for this, in hard cash. . . .

Now a Home Rule Bill for Ireland is passing through the House of Commons. But in the North of Ireland there is a province called Ulster, which is inhabited partly by people who originally came from England, and who are Protestants, unlike the rest of the people of Ireland, who are Catholics. The English Conservatives, led by that Black Hundred landlord, that Purishkevich³⁸ . . . i.e., Carson, have raised a frightful howl against Irish autonomy. That means, they say, subjecting Ulster to an alien people of an alien religion! Lord Carson threatened to rise in rebellion, and organised armed gangs of Black Hundreds³⁹ for this purpose.

This is an empty threat of course. The rebellion of a handful of hooligans is out of the question. Nor can there be any talk about the Irish Parliament (whose power would be determined by English law) "oppressing the Protestants."

The whole point is that the landlord Black Hundreds want to frighten the Liberals.

And the Liberals are scared; they bow to the Black Hundreds, make concessions, offer to *take a referendum* in Ulster and to postpone the application of the reform to Ulster for *six* years!

The bargaining between the Liberals and the Black Hundreds continues. The reform can wait: it waited half a century—the Irish can wait a little longer; we cannot "offend" the landlords!

Of course, if the Liberals appealed to the people of England, to the proletariat, Carson's Black Hundred gangs would melt away and disappear. The peaceful and complete liberation of Ireland would be secured.

But is it conceivable that the Liberal bourgeoisie will turn to the proletariat for aid against the landlords?

The Liberals in England, the lackeys of the moneybags, are capable only of cringing before the Carsons.—*March 1914.*

("The English Liberals and Ireland," *Collected Works*, Vol. XVII.)

THE ULSTER CRISIS

IN number thirty-four of *Put Pravdi* (The Path of Truth), in describing the interesting events in Ireland, we referred to the policy of the English Liberals who permitted themselves to be scared by the Conservatives.

Since those lines were written, new events have occurred which have transformed the partial conflicts (between Liberals and Conservatives) over the question of Home Rule for Ireland into a constitutional crisis in England.

As the Conservatives have threatened a Protestant "rebellion" in Ulster against Home Rule for Ireland, the Liberal government moved a certain section of the troops in order to compel respect for the will of Parliament.

And what happened?

The generals and officers of the British Army mutinied!

They declared that they would not fight against Protestant Ulster, that that would run counter to their "patriotism" and that they would resign.

The Liberal government was completely overwhelmed by this rebellion of the landlords, who stood at the head of the army. The Liberals were accustomed to console themselves with constitutional illusions and phrases about law, and closed their eyes to the real relation of forces, to the class struggle. And this real relation of forces was and remains such that, owing to the cowardice of the bourgeoisie, a number of *pre-bourgeois*, mediæval, landlord institutions and privileges have been preserved.

In order to suppress the rebellion of the aristocratic officers, the Liberal government ought to have appealed to the people, to the masses, to the proletariat, but this is exactly what the "enlightened" Liberal bourgeoisie were more afraid of than anything else in the world. And so *in fact* the government made *concessions* to the mutinous officers, persuaded them to withdraw their resignations and gave them *written guarantees* that troops would not be used against Ulster.

Every effort was made to conceal from the people the fact that such *written guarantees* had been given (March 21) and the Liberal leaders, Asquith, Morley and others, lied in the most incredible and shameless manner in their official declarations. However, the truth came to light. The fact that written promises were given to the officers has not been refuted. Apparently, "pressure" was brought to bear by the King. The resignation of the Minister Seely, the fact that Asquith himself took over the latter's post, the re-election of Asquith, the circular to the troops calling upon them to respect the law—all this was but sheer hypocrisy. The fact that the Liberals yielded to the landlords who had torn up the Constitution, remains a fact.

Following on this a number of stormy scenes occurred in the English Parliament. The Conservatives poured well-deserved ridicule and scorn upon the government, while the Labour deputy, Ramsay MacDonald, one of the most moderate of the Liberal-Labour politicians, protested in the strongest manner possible against the conduct of the reactionaries.

"These people," he said, "are always ready to howl against strikers. But when it was a matter of Ulster, they refused to fulfil

their duty because the Home Rule for Ireland Bill affected their class prejudices and interests." (The landlords in Ireland are Englishmen and Home Rule for Ireland, which would mean Home Rule for the Irish bourgeoisie and peasants, threatens to affect somewhat the plundering appetites of the noble lords.) "These people," continued Ramsay MacDonald, "think only of fighting against the workers, but when it is a matter of compelling the rich and the property owners to respect the law, they refuse to do their duty."*

The significance of this revolt of the landlords against the "all-powerful" (as the Liberal blockheads, especially the Liberal scholars think and have said a million times) English Parliament is extraordinarily great. March 21, 1914, will mark a world-historical turning point, when the noble landlords of England, smashing the English Constitution and English law to atoms, gave an excellent lesson in class struggle.

This lesson emerged from the impossibility of blunting the acuteness of the antagonisms between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie of England by means of the half-hearted, hypocritical, sickening reformist policy of the Liberals. This lesson will not be lost upon the English labour movement; the working class will now very quickly shake off its philistine faith in the scrap of paper that is called English law and Constitution, which the English aristocrats have torn up before the eyes of the whole people.

These aristocrats behaved like revolutionaries *from the Right* and by that tore up all conventions, tore down all the veils that prevented the people from seeing the unpleasant, but undoubtedly real, class struggle. That was revealed to all which was formerly concealed by the bourgeoisie and the Liberals (the Liberals are hypocritical everywhere, but it is doubtful whether their hypocrisy goes to such lengths and to such refinement as in England). Everybody realised that the conspiracy to break the will of Parliament had been long prepared. Real class rule has always been and still lies *outside* of Parliament. The above-mentioned mediæval institutions, which had been dormant for many years (or rather seemed to be dormant), quickly got into action and proved to be *stronger* than Parliament. And the petty-bourgeois Liberals of England, and their speeches about reforms and about the power of Parliament, with which they lull the workers, proved to be in fact frauds, straw men put up in order to fool the people who were quickly "*torn down*" by the aristocracy with *power* in their hands.

*Actually MacDonald was not so militant in his stand. He concluded his speech in the debate of March 25, 1914, with the words: "They have repeated to-day . . . that there is a distinction between the position in Ulster and the position during a strike. . . . They have got to face the consequences of their own action."
—Ed.

How many books have been written, especially by German and Russian liberals, in praise of the law and social peace in England. It is well known that the historical mission of the German and Russian liberals is to cringe like lackeys before that which was obtained in England and in France by the class struggle, and to proclaim the results of this struggle as the "truths of science" which stood "*above classes*." In reality, however, the "law" and "social peace" in England were merely the brief result of the slumber of the British proletariat in the period approximately between 1850 and 1900.

An end has come to British monopoly. World competition has intensified. The cost of living has risen. Alliances of big capitalists have crushed the small and middle business men and have hurled themselves with all their weight against the workers. After their long sleep since the end of the eighteenth century, after the Chartist movement of 1830-40, the English proletariat has awakened once again.

The Constitutional crisis of 1914 is one of the most important stages in the history of this awakening.—April 1914.

("The Constitutional Crisis in England," *Collected Works*, Vol. XVII.)

PART III

THE WORKING CLASS OF IMPERIALIST ENGLAND

CHAPTER I

THE SOCIAL ROOTS OF OPPORTUNISM

“The connection between imperialism and opportunism made itself felt in England sooner and more strongly than anywhere else.”—(Lenin, Vol. XIX.)

“A BREAD AND BUTTER QUESTION”

IT is not without interest to observe that even at that time the leading British bourgeois politicians fully appreciated the connection between what might be called the purely economic and the politico-social roots of modern imperialism. Chamberlain advocated imperialism by calling it a “true, wise and economical policy,” and he pointed particularly to the German, American and Belgian competition which Great Britain was encountering in the world market. Salvation lies in monopoly—said the capitalists as they formed cartels, syndicates and trusts. Salvation lies in monopolies—echoed the political leaders of the bourgeoisie, hastening to appropriate the parts of the world not yet shared out. The journalist, Stead, relates the following remarks uttered by his close friend Cecil Rhodes in 1895, regarding his imperialist ideas :

“I was in the East End yesterday and attended an ‘unemployed’ meeting. I listened to the wild speeches, which were just a cry for ‘bread,’ ‘bread,’ and on my way home I pondered over the scene and I became more than ever convinced of the importance of imperialism. My cherished idea provides a solution for the social problem. In order to save the 40,000,000 inhabitants of the United Kingdom from a bloody civil war, we colonial statesmen must acquire new lands for settling the surplus population of this country, to provide new markets for the goods produced in our factories and mines. The Empire, as I have always said, is a bread and butter question. If you want to avoid civil war, you must become an imperialist.”

This is what Cecil Rhodes, millionaire, king of finance, the man who was mainly responsible for the Boer War, said in 1895. His defence of imperialism is just crude and cynical, but in substance, it does not differ from the “theory,” advocated by M. M. Maslov,⁴⁰ Sude-

kum,⁴¹ Potressov,⁴² David,⁴³ the founder of Russian Marxism*, and others. Cecil Rhodes was a somewhat more honest social-chauvinist. (*Imperialism*, Chap. VI.)¶

THE WORKERS AND THE COLONIES

THE English bourgeoisie, for example, obtains larger revenues from the tens and hundreds of millions of the population of India and of her other colonies than from the English workers. In these conditions, a certain material and economic basis is created for infecting the proletariat of this or that country with colonial chauvinism. Of course, this can only be a passing phenomenon; nevertheless, we must clearly recognise the evil and understand its causes in order to be able to rally the proletariat of all countries for the fight against such opportunism. And this fight will inevitably lead to victory, because the "privileged" nations represent a diminishing proportion of the total number of capitalist nations.—1908.

(*Collected Works*, Vol. XII.)

THE SPLIT IN THE WORKING CLASS

AND, in speaking of the British working class, the bourgeois student of "British imperialism at the beginning of the twentieth century" is obliged to distinguish systematically between the "upper stratum" of the workers and the "lower proletarian stratum." The upper stratum furnishes the main body of co-operators, of trade unionists, of members of sports clubs and of numerous religious sects. The electoral system, which in Great Britain is still "*sufficiently restricted to exclude the lower proletarian stratum*" is adapted to their level! In order to present the condition of the British working class in the best possible light, only this upper stratum—which constitutes only a *minority* of the proletariat—is generally spoken of. For instance: "The problem of unemployment is mainly a London problem and that of the lower proletarian stratum, with whom politicians are little concerned. . . ."† It would be more correct to say: with whom the bourgeois politicians and the "socialist" opportunists are little concerned.

Another special feature of imperialism, which is connected with the facts we are describing, is the decline in emigration from imperialist countries, and the increase in *immigration* to these countries from the backward countries where low wages prevail. As Hobson observes, emigration from Great Britain has been declining since 1884. In that year, the number of emigrants from Great Britain was

*I.e., George Plekhanov.—Ed.

†Schulze-Gavernitz: *Britischer Imperialismus*.

242,000, while in 1900, the number was only 169,000. German emigration reached the highest point between 1880 and 1890, with a total of 1,453,000 emigrants. In the course of the following two decades it fell to 544,000 and even to 341,000. On the other hand, there was an increase in the number of workers entering Germany from Austria, Italy, Russia and other countries. According to the census of 1907 there were 1,342,294 foreigners in Germany of whom 440,800 were industrial workers and 257,329 were agricultural workers. In France, the workers employed in the mining industry are, "in great part," foreigners: Polish, Italian and Spanish. In the United States, immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe are engaged in the most poorly paid occupations, while American workers provide the highest percentage of overseers, or of the better-paid workers. Imperialism has the tendency to create privileged sections even amongst the workers, and to detach them from the main proletarian masses.

It must be observed that in Great Britain the tendency of imperialism to divide the workers in this way, to encourage opportunism among them, and cause temporary decay in the working class movement, revealed itself much earlier than the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries; for two important features of imperialism were observed in Great Britain in the middle of the nineteenth century, viz., vast colonial possessions, and a monopolist position in world markets. Marx and Engels systematically traced this relation between opportunism in the labour movement and the imperialistic features of British capitalism for several decades. For example, on October 7, 1858, Engels wrote to Marx that: "The British working class is actually becoming more and more bourgeois, so that this most bourgeois of all nations is apparently aiming ultimately at the possession of a bourgeois aristocracy and a bourgeois proletariat as well as a bourgeoisie. Of course, this is to a certain extent justifiable for a nation which is exploiting the whole world."

Almost a quarter of a century later, in a letter dated August 11, 1881, Engels speaks of "the worst type of British trade unions, which allow themselves to be led by men who have been bought by the capitalists, or at least are in their pay." And in a letter to Kautsky, dated September 12, 1882, Engels wrote: "You ask me what the English workers think of colonial policy? Exactly the same as they think about politics in general, the same as what the bourgeois think. There is no working class party here, there are only Conservatives and Liberal-Radicals, and the workers merrily devour with them the fruits of the British colonial monopoly and of the British monopoly of the world market. Engels expressed similar ideas in his preface to the second edition of his *Condition of the Working Class in England* which appeared in 1892.

Here are clearly indicated the causes and effects.

The causes are :

- (1.) Exploitation of the whole world by this country.
- (2.) Its monopolist position in the world market.
- (3.) Its colonial monopoly.

The effects are :

- (1.) A section of the British proletariat becomes bourgeois.
- (2.) A section of the proletariat permits itself to be led by people who are bought by the bourgeoisie, or at least are in their pay.

The imperialism of the beginning of the twentieth century completed the division of the world among a very few states, each of which to-day exploits (*i.e.*, draws super-profits from) a part of the world only a little smaller than that which England exploited in 1858. Each of them, by means of trusts, cartels, finance capital, and the relations between debtors and creditors, occupies a monopoly position on the world market. Each of them enjoys to some degree a colonial monopoly. (We have seen that out of a total of 75,000,000 sq. km, which comprises the whole colonial world, 65,000,000 sq. km., or 86 per cent. belong to six Great Powers, 62,000,000 sq. km., or 81 per cent., belong to three Powers.)

The distinctive feature of the present situation is the prevalence of economic and political conditions which could not but increase the irreconcilability between opportunism and the general and vital interests of the working class movement. Embryonic imperialism has grown into a dominant system; capitalist monopolies occupy first place in economics and politics; the division of the world has been completed. On the other hand, instead of an undisputed monopoly by Britain, we see a few imperialist powers disputing among themselves for the right to share in this monopoly, and this struggle is characteristic of the whole period of the beginning of the twentieth century.

Opportunism, therefore, cannot now triumph in the working class movement of any country for decades as it did in England in the second half of the nineteenth century. But, in a number of countries it has grown ripe, over ripe and rotten, and has become completely merged with bourgeois policy in the form of "social-chauvinism."

(*Imperialism*, Chap. VIII.)¶

THE ALLIANCE WITH CAPITALISM

"... ALL Marxists have spoken about the English workers who have concluded an alliance with their capitalists. . . ." In that country there are not only labour unions, but unions are formed between workers and capitalists in the same industry for the purpose of raising prices, of plundering the rest. All Marxists, all the socialists

of all countries point the finger of scorn at such examples, and beginning with Marx and Engels, have talked about the workers being bribed by the bourgeoisie owing to their ignorance and their craft interests. They have sold their birthright, their right to the socialist revolution, by entering into an alliance with their capitalists against the overwhelming majority of workers and the oppressed toilers in their own country, of their own class."—1918.

(*Collected Works*, Vol. XXIII.)

ARISTOCRACY OR VANGUARD ?

. . . THE industrial workers cannot fulfil their world-historical mission of liberating humanity from the yoke of capital and from wars if they isolate themselves in narrow craft, narrow trade interests, and self-contentedly restrict themselves to improving their sometimes tolerable petty-bourgeois position. This is exactly what occurs in many advanced countries among the "aristocracy of labour" which is the foundation of the alleged socialist parties of the Second International,⁴⁴ but which, in fact, represents the worst enemies of socialism, the betrayal of socialism, the petty-bourgeois chauvinists, the agents of the bourgeoisie in the labour movement. The proletariat is a really revolutionary class and acts in a really socialist manner only if it acts as the vanguard of all the toilers and the exploited, and as their leader in the struggle for the overthrow of the exploiters.

(*Lenin Miscellany*, Vol. IV.)

OPPORTUNISM AND NATIONALISM

TAKE, for instance, the possession of colonies, the extension of colonial possessions. This was undoubtedly one of the features of the above-described epoch in a majority of large states. What did it signify economically? It signified a certain accumulation of super-profits and special privileges of the bourgeoisie. It signified, further, the possibility of receiving crumbs from this cake also for a small minority of petty-bourgeois, also of the better-situated employees, officials of the labour movement, etc. That an insignificant minority of the working class in England, for instance, was "enjoying" crumbs from colonial advantages, from privileges, is an established fact, as is recognised and indicated by Marx and Engels. That phenomenon, however, which in former times was confined to England alone, became common to all the great capitalist countries of Europe when these countries began to possess colonies of large dimensions, and in general when the imperialist period of capitalism grew and developed.

In a word, the "all-pervading gradualness" of the Second (or yesterday's) Epoch created not only a certain lack of "adaptability

to the disruptions of gradualness" as A. Potressov thinks, not only certain "possibilist" inclinations, as Trotsky assumes, but it created a whole opportunist *line of policy* based on a definite social stratum of modern democracy, bound to the bourgeoisie of its own national "colour" by numerous threads of common economic, social, and political interests, a line directly, openly, consciously, and systematically hostile to any idea of a "disruption of gradualness."

The root of a number of tactical and organisational errors on the part of Trotsky⁴⁵ (not to speak of A. Potressov) lies in his fear, or unwillingness, or incapability to recognise this fact of the full maturity of an opportunist line, also its intimate and indissoluble connection with the national-liberals (or social-nationalism) of our days. In practice, this failure to recognise this fact of "maturity" and this indissoluble connection, leads, at best, to complete confusion and hopelessness as regards the predominating social-nationalist (or national-liberal) evil.

The connection between opportunism and social-nationalism is, generally speaking, denied by Potressov, Martov,⁴⁶ Axelrod⁴⁷ and V. Kossovsky⁴⁸ (who dropped into talking about defending the national-liberal vote for the military appropriations) and Trotsky.

Their main "argument" is that there is no full coincidence between yesterday's division of democracy "along the line of opportunism" and to-day's division "along the line of social-nationalism." This argument is, firstly, incorrect in point of fact, as we shall presently prove; secondly, it is too one-sided and untenable from the standpoint of Marxian principles. Persons and groups may shift from one side to the other; this is not only possible but even inevitable in every great social "shake-up"; this, however, does not at all change the character of a certain *trend*; neither does the ideological connection of certain trends, or their *class meaning*, change. One would think that all these considerations were so generally known and undisputed that one almost feels embarrassed to refer to them. These considerations, however, have been forgotten by the above-mentioned writers. The fundamental class significance—or if you will, the social-economic content of opportunism is the fact that certain elements of modern democracy have shifted (in fact, *i.e.*, even while they may not be conscious of it) to the side of the bourgeoisie on a series of separate questions. Opportunism is liberal-labour politics. Whoever is afraid of the "factional" appearance of these expressions would do well to take upon himself the labour of studying the opinions of Marx, Engels and Kautsky (isn't the latter a particularly convenient "authority" for the opponents of "factionalism"?) on, let us say, English opportunism. The result of such a study would undoubtedly be the recognition of the fundamental and essential coincidence between

opportunism and liberal-labour politics. The fundamental class meaning of social-nationalism of our days is exactly the same. The fundamental *idea* of opportunism is an alliance, or a coming together (sometimes an agreement, a *bloc*, etc.) of the bourgeoisie with its antipodes. The fundamental idea of social-chauvinism is exactly the same. The ideological and political affinity, connection, even identity between opportunism and social-chauvinism are beyond doubt. Naturally, we must take as our basis, not individuals or groups, but a *class analysis* of the content of social *trends*, and we must examine their main and essential principles from the point of view of ideology and politics.—February 1915.

("Under a Stolen Flag," *Collected Works*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 131-33.)¶

THE FRUITS OF OPPORTUNISM

It is said—and Plekhanov particularly insists upon it—that neutrality is necessary in order to unite all the workers who have got as far as the idea of the necessity for improving their material position. But those who say this forget that the present stage of development of class antagonisms inevitably gives rise to "political differences" even on the question as to how this improvement within the limits of the present system of society is to be secured. The theory of the neutrality of the trade unions, unlike the theory of the necessity for the closest connection between the trade unions and revolutionary Social-Democracy, inevitably leads to preference for such methods of improving the conditions of the working class as imply the subduing of the proletarian class struggle. A striking example of this (which incidentally is connected with the appraisal of one of the most interesting episodes in the modern labour movement) is provided by the very issue of the *Sovremenni Mir*,⁴⁹ (*Contemporary World*) in which Plekhanov advocates neutrality. Side by side with Plekhanov we see Mr. E. P.* who praises the well-known leader of the English railwaymen, Richard Bell, who ended a dispute between the workers and the railway directors by a compromise. Bell is described as the "soul of the whole railwaymen's movement." "There is not the slightest doubt," says E. P., "that thanks to his calm, thoughtful and consistent tactics, Bell has won the absolute confidence of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, the members of which are ready to follow him anywhere without hesitation." (Page 75 of No. 12 of *Sovremenni Mir*.) This point of view is not accidental. In fact, it is connected with this theory of neutrality which puts in the forefront the amalgamation of the workers for the purpose of

*Lenin here refers to an article by E. K. Pimenova, entitled, "A Review of Foreign Life and Politics" in No. 12 of *Sovremenni Mir*, 1907.—Ed.

improving their position, and not amalgamation for a struggle that is capable of benefiting the cause of the emancipation of the proletariat.

But this point of view does not at all correspond to the view of the English socialists who would probably be very surprised to learn that people who praise Bell are allowed without protest to write in the same journal as prominent Mensheviks like Plekhanov, Jordan-sky⁵⁰ and Co. *Justice*, the English Social-Democratic newspaper, in a leading article in its issue of November 16, commented as follows on the agreement arrived at between Bell and the railway company :

“ We cannot but agree with the almost universal trade union condemnation which has been pronounced upon this so-called treaty of peace ” . . . “ it absolutely destroys the very reason of existence of the union ” . . . “ this preposterous agreement . . . cannot be binding on the men and the latter will do well to at once repudiate it.”

And in its next issue of November 23, Burnett wrote about this agreement in an article entitled “ Sold Again ” as follows :

“ Three weeks ago the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants was one of the most powerful trade unions in the country to-day it is reduced to the level of a mere benefit society.” “ All these changes have taken place not because the railwaymen have fought and lost, but because their leaders have deliberately, or stupidly, sold them to the railway bosses ere the fight began.”

And the editor added that a similar letter had been received from a “ Midland Railway Company’s Wage Slave.”

But perhaps this is an “ outburst ” on the part of “ too revolutionary ” Social-Democrats ? No. The *Labour Leader*, the organ of the moderate Independent Labour Party, which does not even desire to call itself socialist, in its issue of November 15 published a letter from a railway Trade Unionist in which replying to the praise that had been heaped upon Bell by the whole of the capitalist press (from the radical, *Reynolds’ Newspaper* to the Conservative, *Times*) replied, that the agreement which Bell had concluded was the “ most contemptible one that has ever occurred in the history of Trade Unionism ” and described Richard Bell as the “ Marshal Bazin⁵¹ of the Trade Union movement.”

In the same issue another railwayman demands that “ Mr. Bell and those who appended their signatures to this nefarious agreement, should be called upon to explain. The railwaymen, so far as militant action is concerned were condemned to seven years’ penal servitude.”* And the editor of this moderate organ, in the leading article of the same issue, describes the agreement as “ the Sedan of the British

*The author of this letter was Mr. J. T. Brownlie of the A.S.E.—Ed.

Trade Union movement.” “ Never has such an opportunity presented itself for a national manifestation of the power of organised labour.” Among the workers “ unprecedented enthusiasm ” and a desire to fight prevailed. And the article concludes with a scathing comparison between the poverty of the workers and the triumph of Mr. Lloyd George (the Cabinet Minister who played the role of lackey to the capitalists) and Mr. Bell “ hastening to prepare banquets.”

Only the most extreme opportunists, the Fabians, the organisation of the intellectuals, *approved* of the agreement ; and even the *New Age*, which sympathises with the Fabians, blushed for shame and was obliged to admit that although the bourgeois Conservative *Times* published the declaration of the Central Committee of the Fabian Society in full, apart from these gentlemen “ no socialist organisation, not a single trade union, not a single prominent Labour leader has found anything in Mr. Lloyd George’s settlement to thank him . . . for.”*

Thus you have an example of the application of the theory of neutrality by Plekhanov’s colleague, Mr. E. P. The question was not one of “ political differences ” but one of improving the position of the workers in present society. The whole of the bourgeoisie of England, the Fabians and Mr. E. P. were in favour of “ improvement ” at the price of refraining from fighting and of submitting to the charity of capital ; all the socialists and trade unionists were in favour of a collective struggle of the workers. And will Plekhanov now continue to advocate neutrality and not close contact between the trade unions and socialist parties ?—*March* 1908.

(“ Neutrality of the Trade Unions.,” *Collected Works*, Vol. XII).

TRADE UNIONISM AND PARLIAMENT

THERE is only one other country in the world which has almost as many members of trade unions as Germany. That country is Great Britain. In that country the membership of trade unions is 2,426,592, but these trade unions are very scattered, pursue different aims ; some are not more than benefit societies, and only 701,000 workers are united nationally and internationally ! Be that as it may, this is an enormous organised army and, as the resolutions of Trade Union Congresses show, year after year, it is becoming more imbued with socialist ideas. There is one other way in which it differs from Germany. In Germany, the trade unions and the Party† work hand in hand, the ideological influence of the Party is very great. In Great

*Lenin is quoting from the *New Age* (New Series, Vol. II, No. 6.—“ Notes of the Week.”—Ed.

†I.e., the Social-Democratic Party.—Ed.

Britain, however, the Party is extremely weak, it is split up into four fractions (the Labour Party, the Independent Labour Party, the Social-Democratic Party and the Fabian Society), each with programmes and views that differ very considerably from each other. The total membership of the parties is a very little over 100,000. The forty deputies who represent the interests of the workers in Parliament are not bound by common discipline; some of them vote with the Liberals. Until recently, the Party did not have a single daily newspaper, and its publishing activity was extremely weak. The first daily socialist newspaper to appear, the *Daily Herald*, began to appear only on April 15 this year. But even this newspaper hastened to declare in its leading article that "in short, we stand for absolute freedom in thought and action, unfettered by party ties of any description." A socialist newspaper that repudiates all party ties best of all characterises the deplorable state of political organisation of the working class in England. However, the events of the past few months—the strike of a million miners—have shown to the English workers how inadequate is economic organisation alone.

The trade unions spent £1,500,000, which had been collected in pennies over many years, in strike pay; their funds were half exhausted and they were compelled to retreat without victory. On this occasion also, the Liberals, for whom the majority of the workers still vote, remained true to their policy of flirting with the workers. The government pretended to be neutral, intervened in the negotiations between the workers and the capitalists, pretended to yield to the workers; secured the recognition in Parliament of the *principle* of the minimum wage, but *as a matter of fact*, took the side of capital and did not do anything to secure this minimum wage. The workers retreated. But the lesson is too obvious. The interests of labour and capital in this case were in too sharp conflict to enable the gulf between them to be concealed by fictitious concessions. It was obvious whose interests the Liberals were defending. The English workers cannot but realise how important a political organisation, a political party is for them.

In England where, it is said, "Parliament can do anything except transform a woman into a man," the English workers have become convinced that they are as nothing in this all-powerful Parliament, in spite of their powerful economic organisation.—*June 1912.*

("Strength of the Workers' Parties in European Parliaments," *Collected Works*, Vol. XV.)

DECEIVING THE MASSES

THE English Liberals have been in power for six and a half years. The labour movement in England is becoming stronger and stronger.

Strikes are becoming mass strikes; moreover, they are ceasing to be purely economic and are becoming transformed into political strikes.

Robert Smilie, the leader of the Scottish miners, who recently displayed such power in mass work, declared that the demands of the miners in the next big fight would be for the transfer of the mines to the state. And this next big fight is inexorably approaching, because all the miners of England realise perfectly well the impotence of the notorious Minimum Wage Act to bring about any real improvement in their condition.

Realising that the ground is slipping from under their feet, the English Liberals have invented a new battle cry in order once again to rouse confidence among the mass of electors in the Liberals for a time. You can't sell without cheating—that is capitalism's commercial motto. You can't get seats in Parliament without cheating—that is the motto of capitalist politics in free countries.

The "fashionable" slogan invented by the Liberals for this purpose is the demand for "land reform." What the Liberals and their expert in deceiving the masses, Lloyd George, mean by that, still remains unclear. Apparently, they mean increasing the land tax, and that is all. But the real thing that lies concealed behind the high-sounding phrases about "restoring the land to the people," etc., is—the collecting of fresh millions for military adventures, for the navy.

In England, agriculture is thoroughly capitalistic: the capitalist farmers rent land in moderately-sized lots from the landlords and cultivate it with the aid of hired labour.

Under these conditions, no "land reform" will change anything in the conditions of the rural labourers. In England, the buying out of the landlords' land may even be transformed into a new method of fleecing the proletariat, because the landlords and the capitalists, retaining power in the state, will sell their land at exorbitant prices. And the price would have to be paid by the taxpayers, *i.e.*, the workers.

The noise raised by the Liberals around the land question has brought some benefit in one respect: it has roused the agricultural labourers to become interested in organisation.

When the agricultural labourers of England wake up and organise in unions, the Liberals will not be able to get away with charlatan promises of reforms, or of allotments for labourers.

Recently a representative of an English labour newspaper visited Joseph Arch, the old leader of the agricultural labourers who spent many years of his life trying to rouse the labourers to conscious life. This could not be done at one stroke, and Arch's slogan—"three acres and a cow" for every agricultural worker, was a very naive one, and the union he created fell to pieces. But the cause he fought

for did not die, and the organisation of the agricultural labourers in England is once again coming to the forefront.

Arch is now eighty-three years old. He lives in the very village, and in the very house, in which he was born. In conversation with his interviewer he stated that the Agricultural Labourers' Union had managed to raise wages to fifteen, sixteen and seventeen shillings per week. And now the wages of agricultural labourers of England have again dropped—in Norfolk, where Arch lives, to twelve and thirteen shillings per week.—*August 1912.*

(“In England,” *Collected Works*, Vol. XVI.)

CHAPTER II

LIBERAL-LABOUR POLITICS AND THE TURN OF THE MASSES

The British labour movement, for a long time yet, unfortunately, promises to serve as a deplorable example of how the isolation of the labour movement from socialism inevitably leads to degeneration and bourgeois ideas.—Lenin.

FEATURES OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

MARX and Engels most often in their correspondence dealt with the topical questions affecting the labour movements in England, America and Germany. This is understandable, because they were Germans who lived in England and corresponded with their comrades in America. . . .

It is very instructive to compare what Marx and Engels said concerning questions affecting the English, American and German labour movements. If we bear in mind that Germany, on the one hand, and England and America, on the other, represent different stages of capitalist development, different forms of bourgeois class rule, and that political life differs entirely in these countries, then this comparison will acquire special significance. From the scientific point of view, we observe here an example of materialist dialectics, an ability to bring to the forefront and emphasise different points, different aspects of the question as applied to the concrete features of the respective political and economic conditions. From the point of view of the practical politics and tactics of the workers' party, they give us an example of how the creators of the *Communist Manifesto* defined the tasks of the fighting proletariat in accordance with the different stages of the labour movements in the various countries.

In regard to Anglo-American socialism, Marx and Engels most sharply criticised its isolation from the labour movement. Through their numerous comments on the Social-Democratic Federation in England and on the American Socialists, there runs like a thread the accusation that they transformed Marxism into a dogma, into a “rigid (*starre*) orthodoxy,” that they regard it as a “symbol of faith” and not as a *guide to action*, that they are not able to envisage the theoretically helpless, but vital, mass, powerful, labour movement that is marching side by side with them. “Where would

we be to-day," exclaims Engels in his letter of January 27, 1887, "had we from 1864 to 1873 insisted on working together only with those who openly proclaimed themselves to be adherents of our programme?" and in a preceding letter (December 28, 1886) dealing with Henry George's⁵² influence on the working class in America, he writes: "A million or two of working men's votes next November for a *bona fide* working men's party is worth infinitely more at present than a hundred thousand votes for a doctrinally perfect platform."

These are very interesting passages. Social-Democrats have been found among us who are hastening to utilise these passages in defence of the idea of convening a "workers' congress" or something like Larin's⁵³ "broad Labour Party." Why not in defence of a "Left-bloc?"—we would ask these precocious "utilisers" of Engels. The letter from which these passages are quoted was written at a time when the workers in America voted for Henry George. Madame Wishnevetzky, an American lady who married a Russian, and who is a translator of the works of Engels, asked the latter, as is evident from his reply to her, to give Henry George a good drubbing. Engels writes (December 28, 1886) that *the time had not yet come for that*; far better let the workers' party begin to be formed on a programme not altogether pure. Later on the workers themselves will understand and "will learn from their mistakes"; but "I think it would be a great mistake to hinder the national organisation of the workers' party, no matter on what programme."

Of course, Engels perfectly well understood the absurdity and *reactionary character* of Henry George's ideas from the point of view of socialism, and he referred to this many times. In Marx's correspondence with Sorge⁵⁴ there are some very interesting letters in which Marx appraises Henry George as the ideologist of the *radical bourgeoisie*. "Theoretically, Henry George is quite backward—(*total arriere*)," writes Marx. But Frederick Engels was not afraid to go to the ballot box with this *socialist reactionary* so long as there were people capable of telling the masses "the consequences of their own mistakes." (Engels: Letter dated November 29, 1886.) . . .

It is more interesting, of course, for us to deal . . . with the *main features* of the Anglo-American labour movement. These features are: the absence of any important national, *democratic* tasks confronting the proletariat, the complete subordination of the proletariat to bourgeois politics, the sectarian isolation of groups and handfuls of Socialists from the proletariat, the absence of the slightest socialist successes among the masses of the workers during elections, etc. . . .

Engels insisted so much upon the economic organisation of the workers under such conditions, because he was dealing with the most

fully established democratic systems, which confront the proletariat with purely socialist tasks.

Engels insisted on the importance of an independent workers' party, even with a bad programme, because he was dealing with countries where up till now there has not been even a hint of the political independence of the workers—where the workers mostly follow, and still follow, the politics of the bourgeoisie. . . .

The year 1893. The settling of accounts with the Fabians, which simply asks to be used as a criterion to judge the Bernsteinians (it was not for nothing that Bernstein⁵⁵ "trained" his opportunism in England on the "Fabians"). "The Fabians here in London are a gang of careerists who have understanding enough to realise the inevitability of the social revolution; but not trusting this gigantic task to the crude proletariat alone, they are gracious enough to stand at the head of it. Their fundamental principle is fear of revolution. They are 'intellectuals' par excellence. Their socialism is municipal socialism; the municipality and not the nation should, at first, at any rate, take over the means of production. They depict their socialism as an extreme but inevitable consequence of bourgeois liberalism. Hence their tactics: not to wage determined struggle against the Liberals as opponents, but to push them towards socialist conclusions, *i.e.*, to hoodwink them, to permeate liberalism with socialism, not to put up Socialist candidates against the Liberals but to foist them on the Liberals, *i.e.*, to get them elected by deception. . . . But, of course, they fail to understand that in doing so they are either lied to and deceived themselves or else misrepresent socialism.

"Besides a lot of rubbish, the Fabians have published several good works of a propagandist nature, in fact the best of the kind which the English have produced. But as soon as they get on to their specific tactics of hushing up the class struggle it all turns putrid. Because of the class struggle, they fanatically hate Marx and all of us.

"The Fabians, of course, have many bourgeois adherents and that is why they have lots of money . . .

"These people have, of course, many bourgeois adherents, and therefore money."

. . . We see clearly depicted before us two lines of Engels' (and Marx's) counsels, comments, corrections, threats and instruction. They most insistently call upon the Anglo-American Socialists to merge with the labour movement and to eradicate from their organisations the narrow and conservative sectarian spirit. But they persistently taught the German Social-Democrats to have no mercy on philistinism, "parliamentary idiotism" (an expression Marx used

in his letter of September 19, 1879) and the petty-bourgeois opportunism of the intellectuals.

Is it not characteristic that our Social-Democratic countrymen should raise a clamour about the counsels of the first order and shut their mouths and ignore the counsels of the second order? Is not this one-sidedness in the appreciation of the letters of Marx and Engels the best indication of the "one-sidedness" of Russian Social-Democracy?

At the present time, when the international labour movement is betraying symptoms of profound ferment and wavering, when the extremes of opportunism, "parliamentary idiotism" and philistine reformism have called forth the opposite extreme of revolutionary syndicalism—at the present time, the general line of Marx's and Engels' "correction" of Anglo-American and German socialism assumes exceptional importance.

In those countries where there was no Social-Democratic workers' party, no Social-Democratic deputies in Parliament, no systematic and consistent Social-Democratic policy at elections, in the press, etc.—in such countries, Marx and Engels taught the Socialists to throw off their narrow sectarianism *at all costs* and *affiliate* to the labour movement in order *politically to shake-up* the proletariat. For both in England and in America the proletariat in the latter part of the nineteenth century displayed *hardly any* political independence. The political arena in those countries—with the almost complete absence of bourgeois democratic historical tasks—was *entirely* filled with the triumphant and smug bourgeoisie, which has no equal in the art of deceiving, corrupting and bribing the workers. . . .

In 1889, the movement of the unskilled workers (dockers, gas workers, etc.), a young, fresh movement imbued with a revolutionary spirit, commenced in England. Engels was full of admiration for it. He enthusiastically emphasised the part played in this movement by "Tussy,"⁵⁶ Marx's daughter, who conducted agitation among them. "The most repulsive thing here," he writes from London, on December 7, 1889, "is the bourgeois 'respectability' which has become part of the flesh and blood of the workers. The division of society into innumerable gradations, each unquestionably accepted, each with its own pride but also its native respect for its 'betters' and 'superiors,' is so old and so firmly established that the bourgeois still find it pretty easy to get their bait accepted. I, for instance, am not at all sure that John Burns is not secretly prouder of his popularity with Cardinal Manning, with the Lord Mayor and the bourgeoisie generally, than of his popularity with his own class. While Champion, a retired lieutenant, has intrigued for years with bourgeois and especially conservative elements and preached socialism at a parson's Church Congress. And even Tom Mann, whom I regard as the finest

of them is fond of mentioning that he will be lunching with the Lord Mayor. When one compares the French with this, one realises what a revolution is good for after all."

Comment is superfluous.—April 1907.

("Preface to the Correspondence of Marx and Engels with Sorge, and others," *Collected Works*, Vol. XI.)

FABIANS AND WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

THE question of women's suffrage raised hardly any discussion at the Congress.⁵⁷ There was only one English woman, who belonged to the extremely opportunist English Fabian Society, who tried to defend the idea that Socialists should fight for a restricted franchise for women *i.e.*, not for universal suffrage, but for a property qualification. The Fabian woman was completely isolated. The background of her views was very simple: the English bourgeois leaders hoped to get the suffrage for themselves without it being granted to the women proletarians.—November 1907.

(The International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart, *Collected Works*, Vol. XII.)

ENGLISH AND GERMAN MOVEMENTS

WE shall quote what Engels said in 1874 concerning the significance of theory in the Social-Democratic movement. Engels recognises *not two* forms of the great struggle Social-Democracy is conducting (political and economic), as is the fashion among us, *but three, adding to the first two, also the theoretical struggle*. His recommendations to the German labour movement, which has now become practically and politically strong, are so instructive from the point of view of present-day controversies, that we hope the reader will forgive us for quoting a long passage from his Introduction to the *Peasant War in Germany*, which long ago became a literary rarity.

"The German workers have two important advantages compared with the rest of Europe. First, they belong to the most theoretical people of Europe; second, they have retained that sense of theory which the so-called "educated" people of Germany have totally lost. Without German philosophy, particularly that of Hegel,⁵⁸ German scientific socialism (the only scientific socialism extant) would never have come into existence. Without a sense for theory, scientific socialism would never have become blood and tissue of the workers. What an enormous advantage this is may be seen on the one hand, from the indifference of the English labour movement towards all

theory, which is one of the reasons why it moves so slowly, in spite of the splendid organisation of the individual unions; on the other hand, from the mischief and confusion created by Proudhonism⁵⁹ in its original form among the Frenchmen and Belgians, and in its caricature form, as presented by Bakunin,⁶⁰ among the Spaniards and Italians.

“The second advantage is that, chronologically speaking, the Germans were the last to appear in the labour movement. In the same manner as German theoretical socialism will never forget that it rests on the shoulders of Saint Simon⁶¹, Fourier,⁶² and Owen,⁶³ the three who, in spite of their fantastic notions and utopianism, belong to the greatest minds of all time, and whose genius anticipated innumerable truths the correctness of which can now be proved in a scientific way, so the practical German labour movement must never forget that it has developed on the shoulders of the English and French movements, that it had utilised their experience, acquired at a heavy price, and that for this reason it was in a position to avoid their mistakes which in their time were unavoidable. Without the English trade unions and the French political workers' struggle preceding the German labour movement, without the mighty impulse given by the Paris Commune, where would we now be?

“It must be said to the credit of the German workers that they have utilised the advantages of their situation with rare understanding. For the first time in the history of the labour movement the struggle is being so conducted that its three sides, the theoretical, the political and the practical economic (resistance to the capitalists) form one harmonious and well-planned entity. In this concentric attack, as it were, lies the strength and invincibility of the German movement.

“It is due to this advantageous situation on the one hand and to the insular peculiarities of the British and to the cruel suppression of the French movement on the other, that for the present moment the German workers form the vanguard of the proletarian struggle. How long events will allow them to occupy this post of honour cannot be foreseen. But as long as they are placed in it, let us hope that they will discharge their duties in the proper manner. To this end it will be necessary to double our energies in all these spheres of struggle and agitation. It is the specific duty of the leaders to gain an ever clearer understanding of the theoretical problems, to free themselves more and more from the influence of traditional phrases inherited from the old conception of the world and constantly to keep in mind that socialism, having become a science, demands the same treatment as every other science—it must be studied. The task of the leaders will be to bring understanding, thus acquired and clarified, to the working masses, to spread it with increased enthusiasm, to close the

ranks of the party organisations and of the labour unions with ever-increasing energy. . . .”—*Autumn 1901–February 1902.*

(“What is to be Done?” end of Chap. I, *Collected Works*, Vol. IV, Book II; also *Little Lenin Library*.)¶

SPONTANEITY AND LEADERSHIP

. . . SUBSERVIENT to the spontaneity of the labour movement, the belittling of the role of “the conscious element,” of the role of Social-Democracy, *means, whether one likes it or not, growth of influence of bourgeois ideology among the workers.* All those who talk about “exaggerating the importance of ideology,”* “about exaggerating the role of the conscious elements,”† etc., imagine that the pure and simple labour movement can work out an independent ideology for itself, if only the workers “take their fate out of the hands of the leaders.” But in this they are profoundly mistaken. To supplement what has been said above, we shall quote the following profoundly true and important utterances by Karl Kautsky on the new programme of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party.‡

“Many of our revisionist critics believe that Marx asserted that economic development and the class struggle create, not only the conditions for socialist production, but also, and directly, the *consciousness* (K.K.'s italics) of its necessity. And these critics advance the argument that the most highly capitalistically developed country, England, is more remote than any other from this consciousness. Judging from the draft (of the programme—*Ed.*), one must come to the conclusion that the committee which drafted the Austrian Programme shared this alleged orthodox-Marxian view which is thus refuted. In the draft programme it is stated: ‘The more capitalist development increases the numbers of the proletariat, the more the proletariat is compelled, and obtains the opportunity to fight against capitalism.’ The proletariat becomes ‘conscious’ of the possibility and necessity for socialism. In this connection socialist consciousness is represented as a necessary and direct result of the proletarian class struggle. But this is absolutely untrue. Of course, socialism, as a theory, has its roots in modern economic relationships in the same way as the class struggle of the proletariat has, and in the same way as the latter, it emerges from the struggle against the capitalist-created poverty and misery of the masses. But socialism and the class struggle arise side by side and not one out of the other;

*Letter by the Economists, in *Iskra*, No. 12.

†*Rabocheye Dyelo*, No. 12.

‡*Neue Zeit*, 1901-1902, XX, I, No. 3, p. 79. The committee's draft to which Kautsky refers was passed by the Vienna Congress at the end of last year in a slightly amended form.

each arises out of different premises. Modern socialist consciousness can arise only on the basis of profound scientific knowledge. Indeed, modern economic science is as much a condition for socialist production, as say, modern technology, and the proletariat can create neither the one nor the other, no matter how much it may desire to do so; both arise out of the modern social process. The vehicles of science are not the proletariat, but the bourgeois *intelligentsia* (K.K.'s italics): It was out of the heads of members of this stratum that modern socialism originated, and it was they who communicated it to the more intellectually developed proletarians, who, in their turn, inject it into the proletarian class struggle where conditions allow that to be done. Thus, socialist consciousness is something that is injected into the proletarian class struggle from without (*von Aussen Hineingetragen*), and not something that arose within it spontaneously (*urwuchsig*). Accordingly, the old Hainfeld programme quite rightly stated that the task of Social-Democracy is to imbue the proletariat with the *consciousness* of its position and the consciousness of its tasks. There would be no need for this if consciousness emerged from the class struggle. The new draft copied this postulate from the old programme, and attached it to the postulate mentioned above. But this completely broke the line of thought. . . ."

Since there can be no talk of an independent ideology being developed by the masses of the workers in the process of their movement* then *the only choice* is: either bourgeois, or socialist ideology. There is no middle course (for humanity has not created a "third" ideology, and, moreover, in a society torn by class antagonisms there can never be a non-class or above-class ideology). Hence, to belittle socialist ideology *in any way, to deviate from it in the slightest degree* means strengthening bourgeois ideology. There is a lot of talk about spontaneity, but the *spontaneous* development of the labour movement leads to bourgeois ideology, it means developing *according to the programme* of the *Credo*,⁶⁴ for the spontaneous labour movement is

*This does not mean, of course, that the workers have no part in creating such an ideology. But they take part not as workers, but as socialist theoreticians, as Proudhons and Weitlings,⁶⁵ in other words, they take part only to the extent that they are able, more or less, to acquire the knowledge of their age and advance that knowledge. And in order that working men *may be able to do this more often*, efforts must be made to raise the level of the consciousness of the workers generally; care must be taken that the workers do not confine themselves to the artificially restricted limits of *literature for workers* but that they study *general literature* to an increasing degree. It would even be more true to say "were not confined," instead of "not confine themselves," because the workers themselves wish to read and do read all that is written for the intelligentsia and it is only a few (bad) intellectuals who believe that it is sufficient "for the workers" to tell them a few things about factory conditions, and to repeat over and over again what has long been known.

pure and simple trade unionism, is *Nur-Gewerkschafterei*, and pure and simple trade unionism means the ideological subordination of the workers to the bourgeoisie. Hence, our task, the task of Social-Democracy, is to *combat spontaneity*, to *divert* the labour movement, with its spontaneous trade-unionist striving, from under the wing of the bourgeoisie, and to bring it under the wing of revolutionary Social-Democracy.

(*Ibid.*, Chap. II.)¶

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STRUGGLES

. . . ANY trade union secretary, an English one, for instance, helps the workers to conduct the economic struggle, helps to expose factory abuses, explains the injustice of the laws and of measures which hamper the freedom of strikes and the freedom to picket, to warn all and sundry that a strike is proceeding at a certain factory, explains the partiality of arbitration courts which are in the hands of the bourgeois classes, etc., etc. In a word, every trade union secretary conducts and helps to conduct "the economic struggle against the employers and the government." It cannot be too strongly insisted that *this is not* enough to constitute Social-Democracy. The Social-Democrat's ideal should not be a trade union secretary, but a *tribune of the people*, able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it takes place, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects; he must be able to group all these manifestations into a single picture of police violence and capitalist exploitation; he must be able to take advantage of every petty event in order to explain his socialistic convictions and his Social-Democratic demands *to all*, in order to explain to *all* and every one the world historical significance of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat.

Compare, for example, a leader like Robert Knight (the celebrated secretary and leader of the Boiler Makers' Society, one of the most powerful trade unions in England, with Wilhelm Liebknecht,⁶⁶ and then take the contrasts that Martynov⁶⁷ draws in his controversy with *Iskra*.⁶⁸ You will see—I am running through Martynov's article—that Robert Knight engaged more in "calling the masses to certain concrete actions" while Liebknecht engaged more in "the revolutionary explanation of the whole of modern society, or various manifestations of it"; that Robert Knight "formulated the immediate demands of the proletariat and pointed to the manner in which they can be achieved," whereas Wilhelm Liebknecht, while doing this, "simultaneously guided the activities of various opposition

strata," "dictated to them a positive programme of action";* that it was precisely Robert Knight who strove "as far as possible to give to the economic struggle itself a political character" and was excellently able to submit to the government "concrete demands promising certain palpable results," while Liebknecht engaged more in "one-sided exposures"; that Robert Knight attached more significance to the "forward march of the drab, every-day struggle," while Liebknecht engaged more in the "propaganda of brilliant and finished ideas"; that Liebknecht converted the paper he was directing into "an organ of revolutionary opposition exposing the present system and particularly the political conditions which came into conflict with the interests of the most varied strata of the population," whereas Robert Knight "worked for the cause of labour in close organic contact with the proletarian struggle" (if by "close and organic contact" is meant the subservience to spontaneity) . . . and "restricted the sphere of his influence," convinced, of course, as is Martynov, that "by that he intensified that influence."

(*Ibid.*, Chap. III.)†

HYNDMAN AND MARX

RECENTLY the voluminous memoirs of one of the founders and leaders of the English Social-Democratic Party, Henry Mayers Hyndman, were published. The book, of nearly five hundred pages, is entitled *The Record of an Adventurous Life*† and is the reminiscences written in a lively manner of the author's political activity and of the "celebrated" people whom he knew. Hyndman's book provides a considerable amount of interesting material for characterising English socialism and for appraising certain important problems affecting the whole of the international labour movement. . . .

We will start with Hyndman's reminiscences of Marx. Hyndman made Marx's acquaintance only in 1880, at a time when, apparently, he was very little informed about Marx's teachings and about socialism generally. It is characteristic of English relationships that, born in 1842, Hyndman, until the moment of which we are speaking, was a "democrat" of an indefinite colour having contacts and sympathies with the Tory Party. Hyndman turned towards socialism after he had read *Capital* (in the French translation) during one of his numerous voyages to America between 1874 and 1880.

On the way to visit Marx, accompanied by Karl Hirsch,⁶⁹ Hyndman mentally compared him with . . . Mazzini!⁷⁰

*For example, during the Franco-Prussian War, Liebknecht dictated a programme of action for the whole of democracy—and this was done to an even greater extent by Marx and Engels in 1848.

†*The Record of an Adventurous Life*. London, Macmillan & Co., 1911.

The plane on which Hyndman makes this comparison can be judged from the fact that he describes Mazzini's influence on those that surround him as "personal and individually-ethical," while he describes the influence of Marx as being almost entirely "intellectual and scientific." Hyndman went to Marx as to a "great analytical genius" and tried to learn from him; what attracted him to Mazzini was his "elevation of thought and conduct." That Marx's "was the far more powerful mind, cannot be disputed." And it cannot be disputed that in 1880, Hyndman very vaguely understood the difference between a bourgeois democrat and a socialist (and he does not understand it altogether now—but of that later on).

"When I saw Marx," writes Hyndman, "my first impression was that of a powerful, shaggy, untamed old man, ready, not to say eager, to enter into conflict, and rather suspicious himself of an immediate attack. Yet his greeting to us was cordial and his first remarks to me, after I had told him what a great pleasure and honour I felt to shake hands with the author of *Capital*, were agreeable enough; he told me that he had read my articles on India* with pleasure and that he had commented on them favourably in his newspaper correspondence.

"When speaking with fierce indignation of the policy of the Liberal Party, especially in regard to Ireland, the old warrior's small, deep-sunk eyes lighted up, his heavy brows wrinkled, the broad, strong nose and face were obviously moved by passion, and he poured out a hot stream of vigorous denunciation which displayed alike the heat of his temperament and the marvellous command he had of our language. The contrast between his manner and utterance, when thus deeply stirred by anger, and his attitude when giving his views on the economic events of the period, was very marked. He turned from the role of the prophet and vehement denunciation to that of the calm philosopher without any apparent effort, and I felt from the first that on this latter ground many a long year might pass before I ceased to be a student in the presence of a master.

"I had been surprised in reading *Capital*, and still more when perusing his smaller works, such as his pronouncement on the Paris Commune, and his *Eighteenth Brumaire*, how he combined the ablest and coolest examination of economic causes and of social effects with the most bitter hatred of classes and even of individual men such as Napoleon III or M. Thiers⁷¹ who, according to his theories, were little

*Until his recent turn towards chauvinism, Hyndman was a determined enemy of British imperialism and from 1878 had carried on a noble campaign of exposure against the shameful plunder, violence, outrage (including the flogging of political "criminals") for which for years all English parties, including that of the "educated" and radical author, John Morley, have made themselves infamous in India.

more than flies upon the wheels of the great Juggernaut car of capitalist development. Marx, of course, was a Jew, and to me it seemed that he combined in his own person and nature, with his commanding forehead and great overhanging brows, his fierce glittering eyes, broad, sensitive nose and mobile mouth, all surrounded by a setting of untrimmed hair and beard, the righteous fury of the great seers of his race with the cold analytical powers of Spinoza⁷² and the Jewish doctors. It was an extraordinary combination of qualities the like of which I have known in no other man.

"As I went out with Hirsch, deeply impressed by the great personality, Hirsch asked me what I thought of Marx. 'Well,' I replied, 'I think he is the Aristotle⁷³ of the nineteenth century.' And yet as I said it, I knew that this did not cover the ground. For one thing, it was quite impossible to think of Marx as acting the courtier to Alexander⁷⁴ while carrying on the profound studies which have so influenced later generations, and besides he never so wholly segregated himself from immediate human interests—notwithstanding much that has been said to the contrary—as to be able to consider facts and their surroundings in the cold hard light of the greatest philosopher of antiquity. There can be no doubt whatever that his hatred of the system of exploitation and wage-slavery by which he was surrounded was not intellectual and philosophic but bitterly personal.

"I remember saying to him once that as I grew older, I thought I became more tolerant. 'Do you,' he said, 'do you?' It was quite certain he didn't. It has been, I think, Marx's deep animosity to the existing order of things and his scathing criticism of his opponents which has prevented many of the educated well-to-do class from appreciating his masterly life work at its full value and has rendered sciolists and logomachs like Böhm-Bawerk⁷⁵ such heroes in their eyes merely because they have misrepresented and attempted to "refute" him. Accustomed as we are nowadays, especially in England to fence with big soft buttons on the points of our rapiers, Marx's terrible onslaughts with naked steel appeared so improper that it was impossible for our gentlemanly, sham-fighters and mental gymnasium men to believe that this unsparing controversialist and furious assailant of capital and capitalists was really the deepest thinker of modern times."

In 1880 Marx was practically unknown to the English public. His health was than failing. His more than Herculean labours (sixteen hours a day and more of mental labour) had sapped his marvellously strong constitution. It was not surprising that he was forbidden to do any writing or thinking after his evening meal. "For a few months," says Hyndman, "this gave me the opportunity of conversing with him of an evening."

"Our method of talking was peculiar. Marx had, when at all

interested in the discussion, the habit of walking actively up and down the room as if he were pacing the deck of a schooner for exercise. I had acquired on my long voyages (to America, Australia, etc.) the same tendency to pacing to and fro when my mind was much occupied. Consequently, master and student could have been seen walking up and down on opposite sides of the table for two and three hours in succession, engaged in discussing the affairs of the past and present."

Hyndman does not give anything like a detailed explanation of the position Marx took on a single one of the questions he discussed with him. From what is quoted above, it is apparent that Hyndman concentrated more and almost exclusively on the *anecdotal* side; and this corresponds to the rest of the contents of his book. Hyndman's autobiography is the autobiography of an English bourgeois philistine who, being of the best of his class, finally finds the road to socialism, but never completely throws off bourgeois traditions, bourgeois views and bourgeois prejudices.

Repeating the philistine reproaches against Marx and Engels that they were "autocrats" in "what was supposed to be a democratic International," that they did not understand practical things, they did not know people, etc., Hyndman never makes an attempt to test a single one of these reproaches on the basis of a precise, concrete exposition of the circumstances of the corresponding facts.

What we get is an anecdote and not a Marxist historical analysis. Marx and Engels fought against the unification of German Social-Democracy (with the Lassalleans)⁷⁶ although unity was necessary! That is all that Hyndman says. But he does not say a word about the fact that Marx and Engels were a thousand times right on principle in their opposition to Lassalle and the Lassalleans. He does not even raise the question. Nor does he ask himself whether "democracy" (organisational) in the epoch of the International, was not a screen for bourgeois sects who were disrupting the work of building up proletarian Social-Democracy.

As a result, the story of Hyndman's rupture with Marx is told in such a way that nothing except gossip . . . comes out of it. Engels, you see, was "quarrelsome, suspicious and jealous"; Marx's wife is alleged to have told Hyndman's wife that Engels was Marx's "evil genius" (!!); Engels, whom Hyndman had never met, was "not disinclined to give full weight to the exchange value of his ready cash in his relations with those whom he helped" (with money; Engels was very rich, Marx was very poor)! Engels is alleged to have caused a quarrel between Marx and Hyndman because he was afraid that Hyndman, being a wealthy man at that time, would take Engels' place as Marx's rich friend!

Of course Messieurs the Liberals get a great deal of pleasure out of writing precisely such inexpressible banalities. Of course to read the letters (of Marx and Engels) to Sorge, to which Hyndman himself refers, and to try and understand the point at issue, is not at all in the interests of Liberal hacks! They do not take the trouble to do that. And yet a reference to these letters and a comparison between them and Hyndman's "memoirs" would immediately answer the question.

In 1880 Hyndman published a pamphlet entitled *England for All* in which he adopts socialism, but remains a very, very confused bourgeois democrat. The pamphlet was written for the "Democratic Federation" (not socialist) which was then formed and to which a large number of non-socialist elements belonged. In two chapters of this pamphlet Hyndman paraphrases and copies from *Capital*, but does not mention the name of Marx; but in the preface he vaguely refers to a certain "great thinker" and "original writer" to whom he was greatly indebted, etc. "It was over this that Engels caused a 'breach' between me and Marx," says Hyndman, and at the same time quotes a letter Marx had written to him (dated December 8, 1880), in which Marx writes that, according to Hyndman, he, Hyndman, "does not share the views of my (Marx's) party for England."

Clearly Hyndman failed to understand, failed to observe and failed to appreciate the point of disagreement, namely, that he (Hyndman) at that time (as Marx openly wrote to Sorge on December 15, 1881) was a "well-meaning, petty-bourgeois writer," "half bourgeois, half proletarian." Clearly, if a man who becomes acquainted with Marx, becomes intimate with him, calls himself his student, and later forms a "democratic" Federation and writes a pamphlet for it in which he misrepresents Marxism and ignores Marx, Marx could not let this go without "furious" protest. Evidently the protest was made, for Marx in this very letter to Sorge quotes extracts from Hyndman's letters of apology in which he excuses himself on the ground that "Englishmen do not like to learn from foreigners" and that "the name of Marx is so hateful" (!), etc. (Hyndman himself states that he destroyed nearly all Marx's letters to him so that the discovery of the truth from this side is not to be expected.)

An excellent excuse is it not? And so when the whole question of the differences between Hyndman and Marx at that time now becomes definitely revealed and when even Hyndman's pamphlet shows that there is much that is philistine and bourgeois in his views (for example, take the argument with which Hyndman defends capital punishment for criminals!), the explanation that is served up to explain his rupture with Marx is the "intrigues" of Engels, who for forty years had followed the same line as Marx. Even if the whole of the rest of Hyndman's pamphlet was a barrel of honey, this single spoonful of tar would be enough to spoil it.

A most characteristic fact which reveals the differences between Marx and Hyndman at that time is the way Hyndman conveys Marx's appreciation of Henry George. Marx's appreciation of Henry George is contained in his letter to Sorge dated June 30, 1881. Hyndman defended Henry George in Marx's presence with the following argument: "George will teach more by inculcating error than other men can impart by complete exposition of the truth."

"Marx," writes Hyndman, "would not hear of this as a sound contention. The promulgation of error could never be of any good to the people, that was his view." "To leave an error unrefuted is to encourage intellectual immorality. For ten who go farther, a hundred may very easily stop with George and the danger of this is too great to run!" So much for Marx.

And Hyndman informs us that on the one hand he still held to his previous opinion of George and on the other hand, George was like a boy with a bright farthing dip fooling around within the radius of a man using an electric searchlight.

An excellent comparison only . . . only it was risky for Hyndman to make this excellent comparison side by side with his own miserable gossip about Engels.—December 1911.

("Hyndman on Marx," *Collected Works*, Vol. XV.)

MUNICIPAL SOCIALISM

It is the Mensheviks, who sponsored the agrarian programme at Stockholm, who identify these two terms. Suffice it to mention the names of two prominent Mensheviks, Kostrov⁷⁷ and Larin. "One would think," said Kostrov at Stockholm—"that some comrades are hearing about municipal property for the first time. Let me remind them that in Western Europe there is a whole political trend (precisely!) called 'municipal socialism' (England), which advocates the extension of the property owned by urban and rural municipalities, and this is also supported by our comrades. Many municipalities own land, and this does not contradict our programme. We now have the possibility of acquiring (!) gratis (!) for the municipalities a wealth of real estate and we ought to take advantage of it. Of course, the confiscated land should be municipalised." (p. 88.)

The naive opinion that it is "possible to acquire wealth gratis," is beautifully expressed here. But the speakers did not stop to think why this municipal socialism trend, precisely as a specific trend, and chiefly in England, which he cited as an example, is an extremely opportunist trend. Why did Engels, in his letters to Sorge, in characterising the extreme intellectual opportunism of the English Fabians, emphasise the petty-bourgeois significance of their municipalisation schemes?

Larin, in unison with Kostrov, says in his comments on the Menshevik programme: "Perhaps in some localities the local people's authorities will themselves manage these huge estates, as, for instance, the tramways or slaughter-houses are managed by municipal councils, and then the whole (!!) profit obtained from them will be placed at the disposal of the whole (!) people." And not of the local bourgeoisie, my dear Larin?

The philistine illusions of the philistine heroes of Western European municipal socialism are already making themselves felt. The fact that the bourgeoisie is in power is forgotten, as also is the fact that only in towns with a high percentage of proletarian population is it possible to obtain a few crumbs for the toilers out of municipal funds. However, all this is by the way. The principal fallacy in the "municipal socialism" idea of municipalising the land lies in the following:

The bourgeois intelligentsia of the West, like the English Fabians, has converted municipal socialism into a separate "trend" precisely because it dreams of social peace and class conciliation, and wishes to divert the attention of the people from the fundamental questions of the economic system as a whole and of the whole state system, to minor questions of local government. In the sphere of questions in the first category, the class contradictions stand out most sharply; this is the sphere which, as we have shown, touches the very foundations of the class rule of the bourgeoisie. It is precisely in this sphere that the philistine, reactionary utopia of bringing about socialism piecemeal is particularly hopeless. Attention is directed to the sphere of local, minor questions, not to the question of the class rule of the bourgeoisie, nor to the question of distributing the crumbs thrown by the rich bourgeoisie "for the needs of the population." Naturally, since attention is focused on such questions as the spending of paltry sums (in comparison with the total surplus value pocketed by the bourgeoisie and with the total state expenditure) which the bourgeoisie itself is willing to set aside for public health (Engels pointed out in his *Housing Question* that the bourgeoisie itself is afraid of the spread of contagious diseases in the towns), or for elementary education (for the bourgeoisie must have educated workers, who can adapt themselves to the high level of technique), and so on, it is possible in the sphere of such minor questions to indulge in grandiloquent talk about "social peace," about the harmfulness of the class struggle, and so forth. Where is the class struggle if the bourgeoisie itself is spending money on "the needs of the population," on public health, on education? Why do we need social-revolution if it is possible through the local authorities, gradually, step by step, to extend "collective property," to "socialise" production: the tramways, the slaughter-houses referred to—quite relevantly—by worthy Y. Larin?

The philistine opportunism of this "trend" lies in that it forgets the restricted limits of so-called "municipal socialism" (in reality, municipal capitalism, as the English Social-Democrats properly point out in their controversies with the Fabians). It forgets that as long as it rules as a class, the bourgeoisie cannot allow any encroachment, even from the "municipal" point of view, upon the real foundation of its rule; that if the bourgeoisie does allow or tolerate "municipal socialism," it is precisely because the latter does not assail the foundations of its rule, it does not interfere with any of its substantial sources of revenue, but extends only to the narrow sphere of local expenditure, which the bourgeoisie itself is willing to leave to the care of the "population." The very slightest knowledge of Western "municipal socialism" is sufficient to show that any attempt on the part of socialist municipalities to go a little beyond the boundaries of their normal, *i.e.*, petty activities, which give no substantial relief to the workers, any attempt to touch capital, is invariably and absolutely vetoed in the most categorical fashion by the central government of the bourgeois state.

And this fundamental mistake, this philistine opportunism of the Western European Fabians, the Possibilists* and Bernsteinians, is taken over by our advocates of municipalisation.

Municipal socialism means socialism in matters of local government. Anything that goes beyond the limits of local interests, beyond the limits of state administration, *i.e.*, that which affects the main sources of revenue of the ruling classes and the principal means of securing their rule, anything that affects, not the administration of the state, but the structure of the state, transcends the domain of "municipal socialism."—*End of 1907.*

(Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. III, "The Agrarian Programme of Social-Democracy in the First Russian Revolution" (1905-1907), Chap. IV, Part 7.)¶

LABOUR GOVERNMENT IN AUSTRALIA

THE parliamentary elections took place in Australia recently. The Labour Party, which had the majority in the Lower House, having forty-four seats out of seventy-five, suffered defeat. Now it only has thirty-six seats out of seventy-five. The majority has passed to the Liberals, but this majority is very unstable, because in the Upper House, thirty out of the thirty-six seats are occupied by Labour.

What a peculiar capitalist country is this in which Labour predominates in the *Upper House* and recently predominated in the *Lower House* and yet the capitalist system does not suffer any danger!

*The name applied to a French opportunist group because they advocated reforms that were "possible" of achievement under capitalism.—*Ed.*

An English correspondent of a German Labour newspaper recently explained this circumstance, which is very often misrepresented by bourgeois writers.

The Australian Labour Party does not even claim to be a Socialist Party. As a matter of fact it is a liberal-bourgeois party, and the so-called Liberals in Australia are really Conservatives.

This strange and incorrect use of terms in naming parties is not unique. In America, for example, the slave-owners of yesterday are called Democrats, and in France, the petty bourgeois anti-socialists are called "Radical Socialists." In order to understand the real significance of parties one must examine, not their labels, but their class character and the historical conditions of each separate country.

Australia is a young British colony.

Capitalism in Australia is still quite young. The country is only just beginning to take shape as an independent state. The workers, for the most part, are emigrants from England. They left England at the time when Liberal-Labour politics held almost unchallenged sway there and when the masses of the English workers were *Liberals*. Even up till now the majority of the skilled factory workers in England are Liberals and semi-Liberals. This is the result of the exceptionally favourable, monopolist position England occupied in the second half of the last century. Only now are the masses of the workers in England beginning (slowly) to turn toward socialism.

And while in England the so-called "Labour Party" represents an *alliance* between the socialist trade unions and the extreme opportunist Independent Labour Party, in Australia, the Labour Party represents *purely* the non-socialist trade unionist workers.

The leaders of the Australian Labour Party are trade union officials, an element which everywhere represents a most moderate and "capital serving" element, and in Australia it is altogether peaceful, and purely liberal.

The ties between the separate states of Australia in united Australia, are still very weak. The Labour Party has to concern itself with developing and strengthening the country and with creating a central government.

In Australia the Labour Party has done what in other countries was done by the Liberals, namely, introduced a uniform customs tariff for the whole country, a uniform Education Act, a uniform Land Tax and uniform Factory Acts.

Naturally, when Australia is finally developed and consolidated as an independent capitalist state the conditions of the workers will change, as also will the *liberal* Labour Party which will make way for a *socialist* Labour Party. Australia serves to illustrate the conditions under which *exceptions* to the rule are possible. The rule is: a socialist Labour Party in a capitalist country. The exception is: a

liberal Labour Party which arises only for a short time as a result of conditions that are abnormal for capitalism.

Those liberals in Europe and in Russia who try to "preach" to the people that class war is unnecessary by pointing to the example of Australia, only deceive themselves and others. It is ridiculous to think of applying Australian conditions (an undeveloped, young country, populated by Liberal English workers) to countries in which a state and developed capitalism have long been established.—*June 1913.*

("In Australia," *Collected Works*, Vol. XVI.)

THE LABOUR PARTY AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

THE whole of the next day was taken up with the meeting of the International Socialist Bureau.⁷⁸ The first question on the agenda, namely, the affiliation of the English Labour Party, took up the whole of the morning session. According to the rules of the International, the organisations eligible for affiliation are, first, Socialist parties who recognise the class struggle, and second, Labour organisations who adopt the point of view of the class struggle (*i.e.*, trade unions). The Labour Party that was recently formed in the English House of Commons does not call itself a Socialist Party and does not resolutely and definitely recognise the principles of the class struggle (which, it should be said in parenthesis, the English Social-Democrats call upon them to do). But it goes without saying that the Labour Party was allowed to attend the International generally, and the Stuttgart Socialist Congress in particular, because, as a matter of fact, this party is an organisation of a mixed type, standing between the two types that are defined in points 1 and 2, of the rules of the International, that is to say, it is the political representative of the English trade unions. Nevertheless, the question of the affiliation of this party was raised, and raised by itself, as it were, in the person of the so-called Independent Labour Party (the I.L.P. as the English call it) which represents one of the two sub-sections of the British Section of the International. The other sub-section is the Social Democratic Federation.

The Independent Labour Party demanded the *direct* recognition of the Labour Party as an affiliated organisation of the International. Its delegate, Bruce Glasier, urged the enormous significance of this representation in Parliament of hundreds of thousands of organised workers who were more and more definitely marching towards socialism. He expressed himself very contemptuously about principles, formulas and catechisms. Kautsky in reply to him, disassociated himself from this contemptuous attitude towards the principles and ultimate aims of socialism, but whole-heartedly supported the affiliation of the Labour Party as a party which

actually waged the class struggle. Kautsky moved the following resolution :

“ Taking into consideration previous decisions of international Congresses which permitted the affiliation of all organisations which stand on the basis of the proletarian class struggle and recognise the political struggle, the International Bureau declares that the British Labour Party be permitted to attend International Socialist Congresses as, although it does not directly recognise the proletarian class struggle, it nevertheless wages the struggle and in fact and by its very organisation, which is independent of bourgeois parties, is adopting the basis of the class struggle.”

Kautsky was supported by the Austrians, by Vaillant⁷⁹ among the French, and, as the voting showed, by the majority of the small nations. The opposition was represented first of all by Hyndman, the representative of the English Social-Democratic Federation, who demanded that the *status quo* be maintained until the Labour Party directly recognises the principles of the class struggle and of socialism. He was supported by Rousset⁸⁰ (the second delegate representing the French Party and a follower of Jules Guesde), Rubanovich⁸¹ representing the Socialist-Revolutionary Party,⁸² and Avramov, the delegate representing the revolutionary faction of the Bulgarian socialists.

I took the floor in order to associate myself with the first part of Kautsky's resolution. It was impossible, I argued, to refuse to accept the Labour Party, *i.e.*, the Parliamentary representative of the trade unions, since Congresses have already accepted all trade unions generally, even such as have allowed themselves to be represented by bourgeois Parliamentarians. But, I said, the second part of Kautsky's resolution is wrong, because as a matter of fact the Labour Party is not a party that is really independent of the Liberals, and it does not pursue a fully independent class policy. I therefore proposed the following amendment : “ that the end of the resolution after the word ‘ as ’ reads as follows : ‘ it (the Labour Party) represents the first step on the part of the really proletarian organisations of England towards a conscious class policy and towards a *socialist* Labour Party.’ ”

I submitted this amendment to the Bureau, but Kautsky would not accept it. In his next speech he declared that the International Bureau could not adopt decisions based on “ expectations.” The main struggle raged between the supporters and opponents of Kautsky's resolution as a whole. When it was put to the vote, Adler⁸³ proposed that it be divided into two parts and that each part be voted separately, and both parts were carried by the International Bureau. The voting was, all against three, and one abstention, for

the first part, and all against four, and one abstention, for the second part.

Thus Kautsky's resolution became the decision of the Bureau. The one who abstained on both votes was Rubanovich. I will add that Victor Adler, who spoke after me and before Kautsky spoke a second time, replied to me in the following manner—I am quoting from the Belgian Socialist organ *Le Peuple*,⁸⁴ which gives the most detailed and exact reports of the meeting :

“ Lenin's proposal is tempting (*seduisante*, Adler said : *verlockend*) but it cannot cause us to forget that the Labour Party is now outside of the bourgeois parties. It is not our business to judge how it did this. We simply recognise this fact of progress.”

Such was the nature of the debate at the International Bureau on this question. I will permit myself now to deal more in detail with this debate in order to explain to the readers of *Proletary*⁸⁵ the position that I took up. The arguments advanced by V. Adler and K. Kautsky failed to convince me, and I still think they are wrong. In stating in his resolution that the Labour Party “ did not directly recognise the class struggle,” Kautsky undoubtedly expressed a certain “ expectation,” a certain “ judgment ” concerning the present policy of the Labour Party and what that policy should be. But Kautsky expressed this *indirectly* and he did it in such a way that it amounted to an assertion which, first, was incorrect on the main issue, and secondly, provided a loophole for the misrepresentation of his ideas. That the Labour Party in England, by separating in *Parliament* (not during the elections! not in its whole policy! not in its whole propaganda and agitation!) from the bourgeois parties, is taking the first step towards socialism and towards the class policy of the proletarian mass organisations—is indisputable. This is not an “ expectation ” but a fact, which compels us to accept the Labour Party in the International, since we have already accepted trade unions. Finally, it is precisely such a formulation that would compel hundreds of thousands of English workers, who undoubtedly respect the decisions of the International, but who have not yet quite become socialists, once again to think over the question as to why they are regarded as having taken only the *first* step, and to think over what should be the *next* step along this road. My formulation does not contain a shadow of a claim that the International should undertake to solve the concrete and detailed problems of a national labour movement, or undertake to determine when and how the next steps should be taken. That further steps are necessary cannot but be admitted in regard to a party which does not directly and clearly accept the principles of the class struggle. This is what Kautsky in his resolution admitted indirectly, instead of admitting it directly.

It was made to appear as if the International had certified that the Labour Party is *actually waging* a consistent class struggle, as if it was sufficient for the organised workers to form a separate labour group in Parliament in order to become independent of the bourgeoisie *in the whole of their conduct*.

Undoubtedly, Hyndman, Roussel, Rubanovich and Avramov occupied a still more incorrect position on this question (which Rubanovich did not rectify but confused still more by abstaining from voting on both parts of the resolution). When Avramov declared that to accept the Labour Party would be to encourage opportunism, he expressed a glaringly incorrect opinion. It is sufficient to recall Engels' letters to Sorge. For a number of years Engels had been strongly insisting that the English Social-Democrats, led by Hyndman, were committing an error in acting in a sectarian spirit and failing to attach themselves to the unconscious, but powerful class-instincts of the trade unions, and in transforming Marxism into a "dogma," whereas it should serve as a "guide to action." When objective conditions prevail which retard the growth of the political consciousness and class-independence of the proletarian masses, one must be able patiently and persistently, to work hand in hand with them, making no concessions to them in principles, but not refraining from carrying on activities *right in the heart* of the proletarian masses. These lessons of Engels have been corroborated by the recent development of events, when the English trade unions, insular, aristocratic, philistinely selfish, hostile towards socialism, who have produced a number of direct traitors to the working class, who have sold themselves to the bourgeoisie for government positions (like the scoundrel John Burns), are nevertheless *approaching socialism*, awkwardly, hesitatingly, in a zig-zag fashion, but are approaching it nevertheless. Only the blind can fail to see that socialism is now growing rapidly among the working class in England, that socialism is *once again* becoming a mass movement in that country, that the social revolution is approaching in Great Britain.

Undoubtedly the International would have acted wrongly had it not directly and resolutely expressed its complete sympathy towards the enormous step taken by the mass labour movement in England and had it not expressed its encouragement of the great turn that is now beginning in the cradle of capitalism. But it does not in the least follow from this that the Labour Party can now be regarded as a party independent of the bourgeoisie, as a party waging the class struggle, as a socialist party, etc. It was necessary to rectify the undoubted error that was committed by the English Social-Democratic Federation, but there was no need to give even a shadow of encouragement to *other, undoubted and not less important* errors of the English opportunists, who lead the so-called "Independent Labour Party."

That these leaders are opportunist is indisputable. R. MacDonald, the leader of the I.L.P. even proposed at Stuttgart that point 2 of the rules of the International be so amended as to make, not the recognition of the class struggle, but *bona fide* trade unions eligible for affiliation to the International. Kautsky himself immediately detected the opportunist note in the words of Bruce Glasier and disassociated himself from them—in *his speech at the Bureau* but unfortunately not in his resolution. The speech at the Bureau was delivered before a dozen persons, but the resolution was written for millions. I have before me the newspapers published by both trends of English socialism containing comments on the meeting of the International Bureau. The organ of the "Independent (hm, hm) Labour Party," the *Labour Leader* rejoices, and *openly declares* to tens of thousands of English workers that the International Socialist Bureau not only recognised the Labour Party (this is true, and this should have been done) *but also recognised the policy of the I.L.P.* (*Labour Leader*, Oct. 16, 1908, p. 665.) This is not true. This the Bureau did not do. This is an illegitimate, opportunist interpretation of a slight awkwardness in Kautsky's resolution. This slight awkwardness is beginning to produce fairly abundant fruits, and here comes a bad translation to its aid: it is not for nothing that the Italians say that translators are traducers (traduttori—traditori). The official translations of the Bureau's resolution in the three official languages has not been published yet, and it is not known when it will be published. Kautsky's resolution states that the Labour Party is adopting the basis of the class struggle (end of resolution; in the original: *sich . . . auf seinen, d-h. des Klassenkampfes, Boden stellt*), and the translation of the English Social-Democrats reads: "is adopting the basis of international socialism." (*Ibid.*) In the translation of the English *opportunist* (I.L.P.) it reads: "*adopts the position of international socialism.*" How can one rectify such mistakes in agitation before the English workers?

I have not the least intention of accusing Bruce Glasier of misrepresenting the resolution. I am sure that he could not have had this in view. And this is not so important. What is important is that the *spirit* of precisely the *second* part of Kautsky's resolution is applied in practical mass work. On the same page of the *Labour Leader*, another member of the Independent Labour Party, in describing his impressions of the meeting of the Bureau and of the mass meeting in Brussels, complains that at the meeting "the emphasis on the ideal and ethical aspect of Socialism was almost entirely absent" which is always emphasised at I.L.P. meetings and "in its stead we had . . . the barren and uninspiring dogma of the class war."

When Kautsky wrote his resolution about the Englishmen, he had

in mind, not an English "independent," but a German Social-Democrat. . . .

Justice, the organ of English Social-Democracy, publishes the bitter words of Hyndman against the majority of the Bureau as "whittlers-away of principle to suit the convenience of trimmers." "What Kautsky . . . did not remember," writes Hyndman, "was that if the British Labour Party had been told plainly that they either had to accept socialist principles . . . or keep away altogether, they would very soon have decided to bring themselves into line with the International Socialist Party." And in another article in the same issue, *facts* are quoted to prove that as a matter of fact the Independent Labour Party got some of their members elected under the *joint* flags of liberalism and of the Independent Labour Party (the Liberal-Labour Alliance) and that several of the "independents" had supported the Liberal Minister, John Burns. (*Justice*, October 17, 1908, pp. 4, and 7.)

If Hyndman carries out the plan that he speaks of, namely of raising this question again at the International Socialist Congress at Copenhagen (1910), then the R.S.D.L.P.* must try to get Kautsky's resolution amended.—October 1908.

("The Session of the International Socialist Bureau,"
Collected Works, Vol. XII.)

THE LABOUR PARTY AND A COMPROMISE

THE thirteenth Congress of the British Labour Party was held in London, from January 29th to the 31st. Five hundred delegates were present.

The Congress passed a resolution against war and by a considerable majority passed a resolution calling upon the representatives of the Party in parliament to vote against any electoral reform bill that did not extend the franchise to women.

The British Labour Party exists *side by side* with the opportunist Independent Labour Party and the Social-Democratic British Socialist Party and represents something in the nature of a *broad workers' party*. This is a compromise between the socialist party and the non-socialist trade unions.

This compromise arose out of the specific features of English history and the fact that the *aristocracy* of the working class is separated in non-socialist, liberal trade unions. The beginning of the turn of these unions towards socialism gives rise to a number of intermediary and confused positions.

For example, on the question of Party discipline, a resolution was

*Russian Social Democratic Labour Party.—Ed.

passed threatening expulsion from the Party in the event of violation of the decisions of the Party and of the *Parliamentary fraction*.

Disputes arose which are utterly impossible in any other country, namely, against whom is this resolution directed, against the Liberals or against the Socialists?

The fact of the matter is that out of the forty Labour members in parliament, twenty-seven are *non-Socialists*! In speaking against the resolution, Will Thorne, a Socialist, said that they want to bind thirteen Socialists in subordination to the non-Socialists. Even Bruce Glasier, a member of the Independent Labour Party, while supporting the resolution, admitted that there were *half a dozen* Labour Members whose place was among the Conservatives.

The resolution was adopted.

A resolution demanding that not only the posters of the opportunist *Daily Citizen* be hung up in Party premises was defeated by 643,000 votes against 398,000. The voting at these Congresses is calculated according to the number of members each delegation represents.

The non-Socialists, and extremely bad Socialists, were in the majority at the Congress. But definite voices were heard indicating that the masses of the workers are dissatisfied with such a party, and that they demand from their members of Parliament less playing at legislation and more socialist propaganda.—February 1913.

("The Conference of the British Labour Party," *Collected Works*, Vol. XVI.)

LIBERAL-LABOUR POLITICS

It is well known that in England there are two workers' parties: the Social-Democratic Party, which now calls itself the British Socialist Party, and the so-called Independent Labour Party.

This cleavage in the English socialist labour movement is not an accident. It originated long ago. It arose out of the specific features of English history. Capitalism developed in England before it developed in any other country and for a long time England was "the workshop of the world." This exceptional, monopolist position created in England relatively tolerable conditions of life for the *aristocracy of labour*, i.e., for the minority of skilled and well-paid workers.

Hence, the petty bourgeois craft spirit that prevails among this aristocracy of labour, which has divorced itself from its class, has followed the Liberals, and contemptuously sneers at socialism as a "utopia." The Independent Labour Party is precisely the party of Liberal-Labour politics. It is quite justly said that this party is "independent" only of socialism, and very dependent indeed upon liberalism.

In recent times England's monopoly has been thoroughly undermined. The previous, relatively tolerable conditions of life have given way to extreme want as a consequence of the rise in the cost of living. The class struggle is becoming intensified to an enormous degree, and simultaneously with this, the basis of opportunism is being undermined, the former basis for the spread of the ideas of liberal-labour politics among the working class is being destroyed.

As long as these ideas prevailed among a considerable section of the workers of England the removal of this cleavage among the workers was out of the question. Unity cannot be *created* by means of phrases and desires as long as Social-Democracy is still obliged to wage a struggle against Liberal-Labour politics. *At the present time* however, this unity is really becoming possible, because even in the Independent Labour Party itself, the *protest* against Liberal-Labour politics is *growing*.

Before us lies the official report of the Twentieth Annual Conference of this Party, which took place at Merthyr on May 27 and 28, 1912. The report of the debate on the question of Parliamentary tactics is very interesting; as a matter of fact this was a debate on the more profound question of Social-Democratic and Liberal-Labour politics, although the speakers did not use these terms.

The debate was opened at the Conference by the Member of Parliament, Jowett. He moved a resolution against supporting the Liberals, about which we shall speak in detail later, and the seconder of the resolution, Conway, openly said: "the man in the street was asking whether the Labour Party had a voice of its own. Suspicion that it was merely a wing of the Liberal Party was being engendered."

It should be observed that the Parliamentary Labour Party consists, not only of members of the Independent Labour Party, but also of representatives of the trade unions. The latter call themselves Labour members, and members of the Labour Party, but do not belong to the Independent Labour Party. The English opportunists had succeeded in doing what the opportunists in other countries are frequently inclined to do, namely, they have combined opportunist "socialist" members of Parliament with members of Parliament who belong to alleged non-party trade unions. The notorious "broad workers' party" about which certain Mensheviks spoke in Russia in 1906-1907, has been established in England, and only in England.

In order to give practical expression to his views, Jowett moved a resolution. This resolution was drawn up in the pure "English" manner: without any general principles (the English pride themselves on their "practicalness" and their dislike for general principles; this is an expression of the craft spirit in the labour movement). The resolution called upon the Labour group in the House of Commons to *ignore* all threats that the Liberal government may find itself in a

minority, and hence, may be compelled to resign, and to *vote steadfastly on the merits of the question*.

In his resolution Jowett "took the bull by the horns." The Liberal ministers in England, like the whole of the Liberal Party, are doing all they can to persuade the workers to believe that it is necessary to combine all forces against reaction (*i.e.*, against the Conservative Party), that it is necessary to preserve the Liberal majority, which may disappear if the workers will not vote with the Liberals, that the workers must not isolate themselves, that they must support the Liberals. And so Jowett puts the question clearly: vote "steadfastly," ignore the danger of the fall of the Liberal Cabinet, vote, not in a manner that serves the interests of the Liberal Party, but on the merits of the question, *i.e.*, in Marxian language—pursue an independent, proletarian class policy and not a Liberal-Labour policy.

(In the ranks of the Independent Labour Party, Marxism is rejected on *principle*, and that is why Marxian language is not used at all.)

The opportunists, who predominate in the party, immediately fell upon Jowett. And characteristically enough, they attacked him precisely as opportunists do, by detours, evasions. They did not want to say *openly* that they are *in favour* of supporting the Liberals. They expressed their thoughts in *general phrases*, and, of course, insisted on talking about the "independence" of the working class. Well, they behaved exactly like our Liquidators who always shout very loudly about the "independence" of the working class precisely at the moment when they are *in fact* preparing to substitute a Liberal-Labour policy for this independence.

The representative of the opportunist majority, Murray, moved the following amendment to the resolution:

"That this conference recognises that the Labour Party in order to effectually carry out its object, must continue to regard all the possible consequences and effects, immediate and otherwise, of any line of action before adopting it, bearing in mind that its decisions must be guided solely by consideration for its own interest as a Party and by desire to increase its opportunities for attaining its ends."

Compare the resolution with the amendment. Jowett's resolution clearly demanded the cessation of the policy of supporting the Liberals. Murray's amendment consisted of meaningless commonplaces, seemingly plausible, and at first sight indisputable, but which, *in fact*, served as a screen for the policy of supporting the Liberals. Had Murray been acquainted with Marx, and had he been speaking before people who respected Marxism, it would have been easy for him to have sugared his opportunism with Marxist terms of speech and have said that: Marxists demand that all the concrete circum-

stances of every case should be taken into consideration, that we must not tie our hands, that while preserving our independence we "take advantage of the conflicts" (in the camp of the enemy—*Ed.*) "strike at the Achilles' heel of the contradictions" in the present regime, etc., etc.

Opportunism can be expressed in the terms of any kind of doctrine, including that of *Marxism*. . . .

Jowett was followed by McLachlan.

"Can the interests of the movement," he asked, "only be served by retaining men in the House of Commons? The British public must be considered in an educative sense. . . . The present system leads to political opportunism rather than hard fighting."

And McLachlan referred to the vote on the *Heswell Reformatory case*. A boy inmate of this reformatory is beaten to death. Questions are raised in Parliament. The Liberal Cabinet is threatened with defeat. England is not Prussia, and a Cabinet that is in the minority resigns. And so, in order to save the Cabinet, the Labour members vote in favour of whitewashing the torturer.

The Labour Party, said McLachlan, is always considering the effect its vote will have upon the fate of the government. The idea that the adoption of the new policy would result in a succession of General Elections was ridiculous. It would more likely result in a fusion of the two parties. (McLachlan said simply: "the two parties" without saying "bourgeois": Englishmen do not like Marxian terms.) *But the sooner these two parties unite the better it will be for our movement. What our propagandists say should be carried out by our representatives in Parliament. Until that is done the working class Tories will never believe that there is any difference between the Liberal and the Labour Party.* Even if we lose all the seats in Parliament we will obtain more benefit by standing by our principles than from attempts to pander to the Liberal Government for the sake of getting concessions from it.

Keir Hardie, Member of Parliament, leader of the Party. He squirms and wriggles. . . .

"We have not really got the balance of power in Parliament: the Liberals and the Irish are stronger than the alliance of the Tories and Labour. . . . In regard to the ill-treatment at Heswell, I voted for the government purely on the merits of the case. Undoubtedly there was ill-treatment, and we all went to Parliament determined to vote against the government. But in Parliament we heard the other side, and it turned out that although the Superintendent was guilty of cruelty the record of the school was the best in the kingdom. Were we to vote against this man? . . . (This is what the English opportunists had brought the Labour Party to: this leader was not

howled down for making such a speech, but was listened to calmly.) . . . "The members of the 'Independent Labour Party' are not to blame. The Miners' Federation affiliated to the Labour Party and when the miners' M.P.'s joined the Labour group *they were Liberals*. They had not changed their views. They had affiliated to the Labour Party *only nominally*. . . .

"Jowett's resolution reduces Parliamentary Government to political absurdity. The consequences of any vote must be considered."

" . . . I would advise the previous question be accepted." (!!!)

Lansbury supported Jowett's resolution and said that the resolution did not mean that all consequences must not be considered. He had entered the socialist movement because of disgust with the political boss and he was now more than ever opposed to him. Every question that came up for discussion in the House had to be discussed with its probable effect on the fortunes of the government in mind.

"It was difficult to differentiate the Labour Party from the Liberal Party during the last two years. I do not know a single question of legislation on which the Labour Party has managed to disassociate itself from the Liberals. The Labour Party, were part and parcel of the Insurance Act, and during its discussion they always had to ask whether the Tories would vote with them on vital amendments.

"The vote on the question of the Heswell Reformatory roused in me a sense of shame. The boy was ill-treated, the boy died of this ill-treatment, and we vote for the government and whitewash the torturer! Our whips rushed all over the House whipping up the Labour members in order to prevent the defeat of the government. . . . To get people into the habit of voting against their conscience means delivering a fatal blow to the future of democracy in our country."

Philip Snowden, Member of Parliament, one of the most outstanding opportunists, wriggles like an eel.

"My fighting instinct inclines me to vote for the resolution, but my common sense, my judgment, my experience, induce me to vote for the amendment.

"I agree that the present Parliamentary system has a demoralising effect upon those who enter Parliament moved by idealism and political enthusiasm. But I do not think that the adoption of Jowett's resolution would make much difference. Merits of a question were not bound to a particular question. There are certain issues which the Labour Party consider of greater importance than any possible consequences—the suffrage is one—but are we to disregard conse-

quences on every paltry issue? This policy would necessitate repeated General Elections, and there is nothing more irritating to the public than such contests. . . . Politics means compromise."

On a vote being taken 73 votes were cast for the resolution, and 195 *against*.

The opportunists were victorious. That is not surprising in an opportunist party like the English Independent Labour Party. But it is now a finally established fact that opportunism is giving rise to an opposition in the ranks of this very Party.

The opponents of opportunism acted much more correctly than their colleagues in Germany frequently do when they defend rotten compromises with the opportunists. The fact that they came out openly with their resolution gave rise to an extremely important debate on principles, and this debate will have a very profound effect upon the working class of England. The Liberal-Labour policy is maintained by tradition, routine and the agility of the opportunist leaders. But its bankruptcy among the masses of the proletariat is inevitable.—October 1912.

(“English Debates on a Liberal Workers’ Policy,” *Collected Works*, Vol. XVI.)

I.L.P. OPPORTUNISM

A PARLIAMENTARY bye-election recently took place in Leicester, England.

This election is of enormous importance from the point of view of principle, and every Socialist who is interested in the very important question of the attitude of the proletariat towards the Liberal bourgeoisie in general, and in the English socialist movement in particular, should ponder deeply over the Leicester election.

Leicester is a two-member constituency, and every elector has *two* votes. There are only a few such constituencies in England, but they are particularly favourable for concluding a tacit *bloc* (alliance) between the Socialists and the Liberals, as is emphasised by the correspondent of the *Leipziger Volkszeitung*.⁸⁶ It was precisely in such constituencies that the prominent leaders of the so-called Independent (independent of socialism, but dependent on liberalism) Labour Party were elected to Parliament. Keir Hardie, Philip Snowden and Ramsay MacDonald, the leaders of the Independent Labour Party, were elected in such constituencies.

And in these constituencies, the Liberals who are predominant advise the electors to give one vote for the Socialists and one vote for the Liberals, that is of course, if the Socialist is a “reasonable,” moderate, “independent” and not an irreconcilable Social-Democrat

whom the English Liberals and liquidators⁸⁷ no less than the Russian, abuse as being anarcho-Syndicalists, etc.

What actually takes place, therefore, is the conclusion of an alliance between the Liberals and the moderate, opportunist Socialists. Actually, the English “independents” (for whom our *liquidators* have such tender feelings) *depend* upon the Liberals. The conduct of the “independents” in the English Parliament constantly confirms this dependence.

It so happened that the “independent” member for Leicester, none other than the leader of the party, MacDonald, resigned for private reasons.

What was to be done?

Of course, the Liberals put forward their candidate.

Leicester is an industrial town with a predominantly proletarian population.

The local “independent” organisation called a conference which by sixty-seven votes against eight decided to *put forward a candidate*. No sooner said than done. Banton, a member of the Leicester Town Council, and a prominent member of the Independent Labour Party, is put up as candidate.

Then the Central Committee of this Party, which provides the money with which to run the election (and elections in England are very costly!) *refuses* to endorse Banton’s candidature!

The Central Committee of the opportunists went against the local workers.

The Leicester branch of the other English Socialist Party, which is not opportunist, and which is *really* independent of the Liberals, sends a deputation to the Leicester “independents” and invites them to support the candidature of *their* member, Hartley, a member of the British Socialist Party, a very popular figure in the labour movement, who had formerly belonged to the Independent Labour Party, but left it because of its opportunism.

The Leicester branch of the Independent Labour Party found itself in an awkward position: with all its heart it was in favour of Hartley, but . . . but the discipline of their party, the decision of their Central committee! The Leicesterites found a way out: they closed the meeting, and as *private persons* they *all* agreed to support Hartley. Next day a huge mass meeting of workers endorsed Hartley’s candidature, and Banton himself sent a telegram stating that he would vote for Hartley. The Leicester trade unions declared their support for Hartley.

The “Independent” Labour Party members of Parliament then intervene and publish a *protest* in the *Liberal* press against Hartley’s candidature, against “undermining” MacDonald!

Of course, the election resulted in the victory of the Liberals. They

obtained 10,863 votes, the Conservatives, 9,279 votes and Hartley, 2,580 votes.

Sometimes the class-conscious workers of various countries adopt a "tolerant" attitude toward the English Independents. This is a great mistake. The betrayal of the cause of labour by the Independents in Leicester is not an accident, but the result of the whole of the opportunist policy of the Independent Labour Party. The sympathy of all real Social-Democrats should be on the side of those English Social-Democrats who are determinedly fighting against the Liberal corruption of the workers by the "Independent" Labour Party to England.—July 1913.

("Exposure of the English Opportunists," *Collected Works*, Vol. XVI.)

A REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE

THE most outstanding event in the past year has been the miners' strike. If the railway strike in 1911 displayed the "new spirit" of the British workers, the miners' strike positively represents a new epoch.

In spite of the preparations the ruling classes had made for "war," in spite of the efforts of the bourgeoisie to crush the resistance of the disobedient slaves of capital, the strike was successful. The state of organisation of the miners was exemplary. There was not a trace of black-legging. Coal-mining with the aid of soldiers, or of inexperienced labourers, was totally out of the question. And after a six weeks' struggle the bourgeois government of England realised that the whole industry of the country was coming to a standstill and that the words of the labour song, "All wheels cease to whirl when Thy hand wills it," were coming true.

The government yielded.

"The Prime Minister* of the most powerful empire that ever existed attended a delegate meeting of the striking slaves of the coal owners and pleaded with them to agree to a compromise," that is how a well-informed Marxist summed up this struggle.

The British government, which usually feeds its workers with promises of reform "some day," now worked at top speed. In five days a new law was passed. This law introduced the *minimum wage*, i.e., a rule establishing a minimum rate of pay below which it could not be reduced.

It is true that this law, like all bourgeois reforms, is a miserable half-measure and partly a deception of the workers, because in establishing the lowest rate of pay, the employers nevertheless grind their wage slaves to the utmost. Those who know the British labour movement, however, declare that since the strike the British proletariat

is no longer the same. The workers have learned to fight. They have discovered the path which will lead them to victory. They have realised their power. They have ceased to be the obedient sheep they have seemed to be for so long to the satisfaction of all the champions and extollers of wage-slavery.

A change has taken place in the relation of social forces in England which cannot be expressed in figures, but which everyone feels.

Unfortunately, not much progress is being made in Party affairs in England. The split between the British Socialist Party (formerly the S.D.F.), and the "Independent" (of socialism) Labour Party continues. The opportunist conduct of the members of Parliament belonging to the latter party is, as is usually the case, giving rise to *syndicalist tendencies* among the workers. Happily these are not strong.

The British trade unions are slowly but surely turning towards socialism in spite of many labour members of Parliament who stubbornly champion the old Liberal-Labour policy.

But these last of the Mohicans will not be able to preserve the old traditions.—January 1913.

("The British Labour Movement in 1912," *Collected Works*, Vol. XVI.)

TRADE UNIONISM AND SOCIALISM

THE demand "to give the economic struggle itself a political character" most strikingly expresses *subservience to spontaneity* in the sphere of political activity. Very often the economic struggle *spontaneously* assumes a political character, that is to say without the injection of the "revolutionary bacilli of the intelligentsia," without the intervention of the class-conscious Social-Democrats. For example, the economic struggle of the British workers assumed a political character without the intervention of the Socialists. The tasks of the Social-Democrats, however, are not exhausted by political agitation on the economic field; their task is to *convert* trade union politics into the Social-Democratic political struggle, to *utilise* the flashes of political consciousness which gleam in the minds of the workers during their economic struggle for the purpose of *raising* them to the level of *Social-Democratic* political consciousness.

(*What is to be Done?* Chap. III, Part C.)¶

THE LABOUR PARTY AND THE BOLSHEVIKS

V. I. Lenin to the St. Petersburg Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.
March 13, 1905.

THE editors of *Vperyod*⁸⁸ have received from the English proletarian organisation, the Labour Representation Committee (Secretary,

*Asquith.—Ed.

MacDonald), sixty pounds sterling (1,506 francs) for the relief of the widows and orphans of the workers who fell in St. Petersburg on January 9 (22). The editors of *Vperyod* have sent this money to the St. Petersburg Committee of the Russian Socialist Democratic Labour Party⁸⁹ asking them without fail to inform all the workers' organisations of our Party without exception (district committees, organisers' meetings, factory groups, etc.) of this donation so that they may themselves properly distribute the money. It would be desirable for the workers themselves to acknowledge the receipt of this money from their English comrades.

In sending the sixty pounds sterling for the needs of the victims, the Labour Representation Committee sent *Vperyod* another twenty pounds sterling for the needs of the rebellion.

To-day, March 13 (February 20), the editors of *Vperyod* received from the same Committee another ninety pounds sterling (900 roubles) of which fifty pounds sterling (about 500 roubles) are allocated for the relief of the orphans and widows of the workers who fell in the struggle for liberty. We shall receive this money within a few days and send it to St. Petersburg.

In any event, in view of the fact that several workers have friends in London, we communicate the exact address of this committee: Labour Representation Committee, Victoria Mansions, 28, Victoria Street, London, S.W., Secretary, Ramsay MacDonald.

Reply to this letter without fail.

Editor's note.

In the archives of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, there is a letter written to Lenin by N. A. Alexeyev, a Russian Bolshevik who lived in London at that time, dated February 6, 1905, from which we quote the following referring to the above:

"Dear V.I.

"I have just visited MacDonald, the Secretary of the Labour Representation Committee. I went together with Tar (Takhtarev)⁹⁰ on the instructions of the Russian Strikers' Aid Committee organised by our group in conjunction with the Bund group.⁹¹ It was a good thing that I was sent as a delegate to the L.R.C. MacDonald had received a letter from Geneva and he asked about the split; T. tried to evade the question, but I declared that it was really the case that there was no unity in the Party at the present time, that there were two sections, and that the Central Committee represented only one of these. Result: MacDonald said that he could not go into the differences and the only thing he could do was to recognise the existence of two sections and divide the money between them. Another

meeting will be called at which the Chairman and Treasurer of the L.R.C. are to be present, to which I will be invited. This meeting will take place after the opening of Parliament. The L.R.C. has sent a circular to all trade unions, co-operative societies, etc. MacDonald expects to receive 500 pounds sterling altogether, unemployment prevents many trade unions from responding. A smaller part of the money will be allocated for the relief of the widows and orphans of those who were killed, while the greater part will be allocated for the purpose of supporting *the active movement*. MacDonald particularly insists on the money being used for the active revolutionary movement and not for ordinary propaganda. Of course, in addition to the R.S.D.L.P., there are other candidates for the money, namely, the Bund, the Socialist-Revolutionaries, and the P.P.S.⁹² It must be presumed that all will receive an equal share."

(*Lenin Miscellany*, Vol. V.)

workers too should learn from other people's mistakes in order to understand how fatal are opportunism and Liberal-Labour politics. —April 25th, 1913. ("In England, the Pitiful Results of Opportunism," *Collected Works*, Vol. XVI.)

CHAPTER III

FOR OR AGAINST BRITISH IMPERIALISM

LABOUR SUPPORTS ARMAMENTS

THE British Labour Party, which must be distinguished from the two socialist parties in England, *i.e.*, the British Socialist Party and the Independent Labour Party, represents a very opportunist labour organisation imbued with the spirit of Liberal-Labour politics.

In England there is complete political liberty and the socialist parties exist openly. But the Labour Party is the Parliamentary representative of the labour organisations, some of them non-political, some of them liberal, a regular mixture of the kind our Liquidators, who hurl so much abuse at the "underground,"* want.

The opportunism of the British Labour Party is to be explained by the special historical conditions of the second half of the nineteenth century in England, when the "aristocracy of labour" to a certain extent shared in the particularly high profits of British capital. Now these conditions are departing into the sphere of the past. Even the Independent Labour Party, *i.e.*, the socialist opportunists in England, realise that the Labour Party has slipped into a bog.

In the last number of the *Labour Leader*, the organ of the Independent Labour Party, we find the following instructive communication. The Naval Estimates were discussed in the English Parliament. The Socialists introduce a motion to reduce the Estimates. The bourgeoisie of course, vote it down and vote for the government.

And what about the Labour members?

Fifteen vote for the reduction, *i.e.*, against the government; twenty-one were absent; four vote for the government, *i.e.*, against the motion for reduction!

Two out of the four excuse themselves on the grounds that the workers in their constituencies get their living in the industries which produce armaments.

Thus you have a striking example of the *betrayal* of socialism, of the *betrayal* of the cause of labour to which opportunism leads. As we have already pointed out, condemnation of this treachery is spreading wider and wider among the English socialists. The Russian

**I.e.*, the secret Party organisations and secret propaganda.—*Ed.*

HYNDMAN AND THE "BIG NAVY"

MANY European socialist parties took advantage of the Easter holidays (April 16) to organise their congresses: the French, Belgian, Dutch (the opportunist section), the English Social-Democratic Party and the English Independent Labour Party. We desire to call the attention of our readers to several questions that were discussed at the congresses of the two last-mentioned parties.

The thirty-first Annual Congress of the Social-Democratic Party of England was held in Coventry. The most interesting question that was discussed was that of "armaments and foreign policy." It is well known that England and Germany have been arming at an extraordinary rate during the past few years. The competition between these two countries in the world market is becoming more and more intense. A military conflict is approaching more and more menacingly. The bourgeois chauvinist press in both countries is publishing millions and millions of inflammatory articles in order to rouse the masses against the "enemy"; they are howling about the inevitable danger of a "German invasion" or of an "English attack," and are shouting about the necessity for increased armaments. The Socialists of England and Germany, and also of France (whom England would be particularly glad to drag into war in order to have a Continental and land army against Germany) are devoting much attention to the war that is threatening, are fighting with all their might against bourgeois chauvinism and armaments, and are doing their very best to explain to the most backward sections of the proletariat and of the petty-bourgeoisie the misfortune that war, which serves the interest only of the bourgeoisie, will bring.

A sad exception to this among the Socialists was presented by certain prominent leaders of the English Social-Democratic Party, among whom is Hyndman. The latter allowed himself to be scared by the howls of the English bourgeois press about the "German menace" and went so far as to argue that England is compelled to arm for defence, that England must have a powerful navy, that Wilhelm is the aggressor.

It is true that Hyndman encountered very strong opposition within his own party. A number of resolutions moved by local organisations were emphatically against him.

The Coventry Congress, or to use an English expression which does not correspond in meaning to the term when used in Russian, namely,

Conference, had to decide a controversial question. The resolution which emphatically opposed any kind of chauvinist point of view was that proposed by the Central Hackney branch (a district in North-east London). In its report of the Congress, *Justice*, the central organ of the Social-Democratic Party, quotes only the end of what it calls this "long" resolution, which called for a determined struggle against all increase in armaments, against all colonial and financial aggressive policy. Zelda Kahan, in moving the resolution, emphasised that it was England who for the last forty years had been pursuing an aggressive policy, that Germany would have nothing to gain by transforming England into her province, and that no such danger existed. "The British Navy is kept to maintain the Empire. Never has the Social-Democratic Party committed a bigger and more terrible mistake than in identifying the Party with the jingo war-monger; as a consequence of this mistake," said Kahan, "the British Social-Democrats have placed themselves outside the international movement."

The whole of the Executive Committee of the Party supported Hyndman and we have to confess with shame that H. Quelch was among them. The "amendment" they moved, declared nothing more nor less than the following: "The Conference holds that in the meantime . . . the maintenance of an adequate navy for national defence is . . . the immediate object." . . . Then, of course, it goes on to repeat all the "good old words"—about combating imperialist policy, about war against capitalism, etc. But all of this, of course, is spoiled by a *spoonful of tar**: the bourgeois-evasive and at the same time bourgeois-chauvinist phrase recognising the necessity for an adequate navy. And this in 1911, when the British Naval Budget very clearly reveals the tendency of boundless growth—and this in the country whose navy "defends and protects" the "Empire," i.e., including India, where a population of nearly three hundred million is being plundered and violated by the British bureaucracy, where "enlightened British statesmen" like the Liberal and "Radical" Morley, inflict *banishment* for political crimes, inflict *corporal punishment* upon the natives for political crimes.

The miserable sophistry Quelch had to resort to can be seen from the following passage in his speech (reported in *Justice*) in which he defends Hyndman! "If we believe in national autonomy, we must have national defence and that defence must be adequate, otherwise it is useless. We are opposed to imperialism, whether English or German; the small nationalities under Prussian rule hate her despotism and the small nations threatened by her regard the British Navy and the German Social-Democracy as their only hope. . . ."

You see how quickly those who step on the slippery slope of oppor-

*A Russian proverb says: "a spoonful of tar will spoil a barrel of honey."—Ed.

tunism roll to the bottom! The British navy, which helps to enslave India, which is not a very "small nation," is placed *on a par* with the German Social-Democrats as champions of national liberty. . . . Zelda Kahan was right when she said that never had English Social-Democracy so disgraced itself as it has now. Never has it so revealed its clearly sectarian character, which Engels had noted long ago, as in the *facility* with which even men like Quelch *desert* to the side of the chauvinists.

The voting on the resolution resulted in a tie: twenty-eight for the Executive Committee and twenty-eight against. In order to win a deplorable victory, Hyndman and Quelch had to demand a card vote which resulted in a majority for them of forty-seven against thirty-three.

In the Social-Democratic Party; people were found to raise a most determined voice of protest against chauvinism in their ranks, a very strong minority was found for a serious struggle. The situation in the Independent Labour Party is worse: there opportunism is no rarity. There the question as to whether Socialists and the workers should support armaments is discussed calmly in "discussion" articles in the official organ of the party, *The Labour Leader* (No. 16, April 21, 1911).

The London correspondent of the *Vorwärts*⁹³ justly remarked that the best criticism of the position of the Social-Democratic Party that appeared was that contained in an article published in the *ultra chauvinist* newspaper *The Daily Mail*, which praised the wisdom of the Social-Democratic leaders.

"It is encouraging to know that," is how the article in this English chauvinist newspaper starts out, "however extravagant some of the fallacies and impossible some of the ideals of the Social-Democratic Party in this country, there is at least one supremely important question on which that Party is guided by reason and common sense."

The really gratifying feature of the Birmingham Congress of the Independent Labour Party was that firm and determined voices were heard from its ranks protesting against the opportunist policy, the policy of dependence upon the Liberals, which this party in general, and the leader of the Party, Ramsay MacDonald, in particular, pursue. In reply to the reproach that the Labour members say very little about socialism in Parliament, MacDonald said with virginal opportunist innocence that "propaganda speeches" were hardly in place in Parliament.

"The great function of the House of Commons," said MacDonald, "is to translate into legislation the Socialism that is preached in the country."

The speaker forgot all about the difference between bourgeois social reform and socialism. He was prepared to expect socialism to come from a bourgeois Parliament. . . .

Leonard Hall pointed out in his speech that

“In 1892 the Independent Labour Party had been formed for the special purpose of discrediting, countering and killing the policy of the Labour-Electoral League, which was merely a wing of liberalism. We buried the corpse (after destroying the League) but the spirit seemed to have revived in the modern Labour Party. The leader of the Party in his speeches, letters and books, taught this policy to the movement.”

Another member of the I.L.P. and member of Parliament, George Lansbury, sharply criticised the policy of the Parliamentary Labour group, criticised its dependence upon the Liberals and its “fear of hurting the Liberal government.”

“More than once,” he said, “I felt ashamed of the conduct of the Labour members and thought of resigning. All the time the Liberals tried to engage the House with minor questions and the Labour members were not able to win independence for themselves. I do not know a single case,” said Lansbury, “when the Liberals and the Tories have not put forward some ‘important’ question in order to sidetrack the question of the poverty of the masses. I am in the House of Commons with the picture before me of those men and women, who night after night, toiled in the slums of Bow and Bromley to send me there. They worked for me because they thought that I was different from the Liberals and the Tories. They sent me to Parliament in order to face the question of poverty, poverty, poverty. . . . I call upon you,” he said, addressing the Congress, “to form a strong party in the House of Commons that will absolutely refuse to yield to the Liberals and Tories. We must have no more mercy for the Liberals than for the Conservatives when they act badly. The workers who toil and suffer expect nothing from the Liberals or the Tories; their only hope, their only salvation is their own organised might. . . . We must show the workers of the London slums that even in Parliament we stick to what we say outside of Parliament, namely that the Liberals and the Tories are the enemies of the people, that socialism is the only hope.”*

Lansbury’s speech was interrupted by thunders of applause, and when he finished he received a perfect ovation. In Germany such speeches are an everyday occurrence. In England they are a novelty.

*Lenin here is almost exactly paraphrasing Mr. Lansbury’s speech at Birmingham.—Ed.

And when such speeches are beginning to be delivered, when worker-delegates at the Congress of the Independent (unfortunately, very frequently independent of socialism, but dependent upon the Liberals) Labour Party applaud such speeches, then we have the right to conclude that even in England the spirit of proletarian struggle is securing the upper hand over the diplomacy of opportunist Parliamentarians like MacDonald (we will say in parenthesis that this MacDonald recently sent the Italian reformists who were ready to join the bourgeois Cabinet his complete sympathy and an expression of his dislike for “dry theory”).

The speeches of Hall, Lansbury, and others, did not change the policy of the Independent Labour Party. MacDonald remained at the head of the Party and his policy will continue as before to be an opportunist one. The bourgeois influence upon the proletariat is strong—especially in democratic countries. But these speeches will not pass away without leaving a trace, they will undermine the influence of the bourgeoisie and the opportunists. When the English secure a daily newspaper (and both parties are seriously thinking about this) such, and only such speeches will find access to the minds and hearts of the working class. The Liberals of all countries, Russia included, rejoice and laugh now when they see the predominance of opportunism in the British Labour movement. But “he laughs best who laughs last.”—29th April 1911.

(“The Congress of the English Social-Democratic Party,”
Collected Works, Vol. XV.)

DEFEAT OF THE JINGOES

THE British Socialist Party was formed in Manchester in 1911. It consists of the socialist party that was known as the Social-Democratic Federation, and of several scattered groups and individuals, including Victor Grayson, a fiery Socialist, without many principles and given to mere phrases.

The Second Conference of the British Socialist Party took place at the seaside town of Blackpool on May 10 to 12. Only one hundred delegates were present, less than one-third of the number that was entitled to be present, and this, in view of the fierce fight the majority of the delegates were waging against the old Executive Committee of the Party, made a bad impression on the observer. The bourgeois press in England (exactly like the bourgeois press in Russia) tries its utmost to seize upon and magnify the episodes of this particularly acute struggle in the Party against the Executive Committee.

The bourgeois press is not in the least concerned with the *ideological* content of the struggle that is proceeding within the socialist move-

ment. All that it looks for is sensation, and the more piquant scandals. . . .

And yet the ideological content of the struggle in the B.S.P. was a very serious one. At the head of the old Executive Committee was one of the founders of the Party, Hyndman. For several years now, he has been taking a stand on the very important question of armaments and war which ignored the position taken by the Party, and was even in opposition to the Party. Hyndman has taken it into his head that England is menaced by ruin and defeat by Germany and for that reason, he argues, Socialists should support the demand for an "adequate" (*i.e.*, a strong) navy for the defence of England!

Socialists in the role of advocates of a "strong" navy, and that in a country whose navy helps to enslave and plunder in the most shameless and feudal manner *three hundred million* of the population of India, tens of millions in Egypt and in other colonies!

It is natural that the English bourgeoisie (the Conservatives and Liberals) should be pleased with Hyndman's fantasy. And it is natural also that the English Social-Democrats, to their honour be it said, should not take this shameful and disgraceful thing lying down and should fiercely combat it.

The fight was long and stubborn; attempts at a compromise were made, but Hyndman was incorrigible. And it must be said to the credit of British socialism that at the Conference Hyndman was obliged to resign from the Executive; three-fourths of the new Executive Committee that was elected were new men (of the eight members, only two, Quelch and Irving, were re-elected).

The Conference passed a resolution against the old Executive, which read as follows:

"This Conference congratulates our French and German comrades on their vigorous opposition to the increase of armaments in their respective countries, and pledges the British Socialist Party, as an integral part of the International Socialist Party, bound by the resolutions on war passed at Stuttgart and Basle, 1912,*⁹⁴, to pursue the same policy in Great Britain, with the object of checking the growth of all forms of militarism."

The resolution is a sharp one. But one must be able to speak the truth, even if it is sharp. The English Social-Democrats would have lost the right to fight against the opportunists of the so-called Independent (of socialism, but dependent on the Liberals) Labour Party had they not sharply protested against the nationalist sins of their Executive Committee.

*See Note 56.—*Ed.*

Let the bourgeois press gloat and cut capers over the internal conflicts among the Social-Democrats. The Social-Democrats do not regard themselves as saints; they know that not infrequently the proletariat becomes infected with some filthy disease from its bourgeois environment; that is inevitable in this filthy and disgusting capitalist society. But the Social-Democrats are able to heal their party by frank and fearless criticism. And they will certainly heal their party also in England.—*27th May 1913.*

("Congress of the British Socialist Party," *Collected Works*, Vol. XVI.)

HARRY QUELCH

On Wednesday, September 17, Comrade Harry Quelch, the leader of the English Social-Democrats, died in London. The English Social-Democratic organisation, was formed in 1884 under the name of the Social-Democratic Federation. In 1909, the name of the party was changed to Social-Democratic Party, and in 1911, after a number of independent socialist groups had joined it, its name was changed to British Socialist Party.

Harry Quelch was one of the most energetic and devoted workers in the British Social-Democratic movement. He was not only an active Social-Democratic party worker, but also an active trade unionist. The London Society of Compositors more than once elected him as its chairman, and he had also been chairman of the London Trades Council.

Quelch was the editor of *Justice*, the weekly organ of the English Social-Democrats, as well as editor of the Party monthly magazine the *Social-Democrat*.

He took an active part in all spheres of work in the Social-Democratic movement in England and frequently spoke at Party and mass meetings. On many occasions he represented the English Social-Democratic movement at International Congresses and on the International Socialist Bureau. Incidentally, while attending the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart he was persecuted by the Wurtemberg Government, which deported him from Stuttgart (without trial, by a police order, on the grounds that he was an alien) for referring to the Hague Conference as a "thieves' kitchen." On the day following Quelch's deportation, when the Congress resumed its session, the English delegates left the chair on which Quelch had sat empty, and hung a notice on it bearing the inscription: "Here sat Harry Quelch, who was deported yesterday by the Wurtemberg Government."

The South Germans boast about their hatred for the Prussians owing to their bureaucracy and police system, but they themselves

behave like the worst Prussians where a proletarian Socialist is concerned.

The historical conditions in which the English Social-Democrats, whose leader Quelch was, have to carry on their activities are very peculiar. In the most advanced land of capitalism and political liberty, the British bourgeoisie (who as far back as the seventeenth century *settled accounts with absolute monarchy* in a pretty democratic manner) managed in the nineteenth century to *split* the British labour movement. In the middle of the nineteenth century Great Britain enjoyed almost a complete monopoly in the world market. Thanks to this monopoly, the profits on British capital were so extraordinarily high that the British capitalists were able to throw some crumbs of these profits to the aristocracy of labour, *i.e.*, the skilled factory workers.

This aristocracy of labour, which at that time earned tolerably good wages, isolated itself from the mass of the proletariat in close, selfish, craft unions, and in politics supported the Liberal bourgeoisie. And to this very day, perhaps, there is not anywhere in the world such a large number of Liberals among the advanced workers as there is in England.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, however, things began to change. England's monopoly was broken by America, Germany, etc. The economic basis of the narrow, petty-bourgeois trade unionism and liberalism among the British workers was destroyed. Socialism again raises its head in England, penetrates among the masses and grows without restraint *in spite* of the rank opportunism of the English near-socialist intelligentsia.

Quelch was in the front ranks of those who fought steadfastly and with conviction against opportunism and Liberal-Labour politics in the British labour movement. It is true that their isolation from the masses sometimes put the stamp of sectarianism upon the British Social-Democrats. Hyndman, the leader and founder of Social-Democracy in England has even slipped into chauvinism. But the British Socialist Party fought him, and over the whole of England the British Social-Democrats have for decades carried on systematic propaganda and agitation in the spirit of Marxism. This is the great historical service that Quelch and his friends have rendered. The fruits of the activities of the Marxist, Quelch, will be reaped in abundance by the British labour movement within the next few years.

In conclusion we cannot refrain from mentioning Quelch's sympathy for the Russian Social-Democrats and the assistance he rendered them. Eleven years ago the Russian Social-Democratic newspaper had to be printed in London. The English Social-Democrats, led by Quelch, readily placed their printing plant at our disposal. As a consequence, Quelch himself had to "squeeze up" in his office:

a corner separated off by a thin partition had to serve him as his editorial room. This corner was furnished with a very small writing-table, with a bookshelf over it, and a chair. When the present writer visited Quelch in this "editorial room" there was no room for another chair.*

("Harry Quelch," *Collected Works*, Vol. XVI.)

THE WORKERS AND IRISH FREEDOM

MARX demanded the *separation of Ireland* from England, "even should the separation finally result in a federation," and not from the standpoint of the petty-bourgeois utopia of a peaceful capitalism, not from considerations of "justice to Ireland," but from the standpoint of the interests of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat of the *oppressing*, *i.e.*, the *English nation*, against capitalism. The freedom of *that nation* was cramped and mutilated by the fact that it oppressed another nation. The internationalism of the *English* proletariat would have remained a hypocritical phrase were it not to demand the separation of Ireland. Marx never was in favour of small states, or of splitting up states, or of the federation principle. Still he considered the separation of an oppressed nation as a step towards federation, consequently not towards a splitting of nations but towards concentration, towards political and economic concentration, but concentration on the basis of democracy. From Comrade Parabellum's⁹⁵ standpoint, Marx must have fought an "illusory" battle when he demanded the separation of Ireland. In reality, however, this demand alone was a consistent revolutionary programme, it alone corresponded to internationalism, it alone represented concentration *not* along the lines of imperialism.

("The Revolutionary Proletariat and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination," *Collected Works*, Vol. XVIII, p. 370.)¶

SELF-DETERMINATION

WE demand the right of self-determination, *i.e.*, independence, *i.e.*, the freedom of oppressed nations to secede, not because we dreamed of economic disintegration, or of ideal small states, but on the contrary, because we want large states and the drawing together and even the merging of nations, but on a truly democratic, truly international basis, which is *inconceivable* without freedom to secede. . . . In 1869, Marx demanded the separation of Ireland, not for the purpose of

*This room, from which Lenin edited "Iskra" while he was in London in 1902, is now part of "Marx House," the memorial library and school to Karl Marx in Clerkenwell Green.—Ed.

splitting, but for the subsequent free union of Ireland with England, not out of a desire for "justice to Ireland," but for the sake of the interests of the revolutionary struggle of the English proletariat. . . .
—27th September 1913. (Lenin Miscellany, Vol. VI.)

IRELAND AND BRITAIN

UNLIKE the petty-bourgeois democrats, Marx regarded all democratic demands without exception, not as absolutes, but as the historical expression of the struggle of the masses of the people led by the bourgeoisie against feudalism. There is not a single one of these demands that could not serve and that did not serve, under certain circumstances, as an instrument in the hands of the bourgeoisie to deceive the workers. In this respect to select one of these demands of political democracy, namely, self-determination of nations, and to contrast it with the rest is radically wrong theoretically. In practice, the proletariat can preserve its own independence only if it subordinates its struggle for all democratic demands, not even excluding the demand for a republic, to its revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

On the other hand, unlike the *Proudhonists* who "refused to recognise" the national question "in the name of the social revolution." Marx put into the forefront, having in mind above all the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat in the advanced countries, the fundamental principles of internationalism and socialism: a nation that oppresses other nations cannot itself be free. . . . It was precisely from the standpoint of the revolutionary struggle of the English workers that Marx, in 1869, demanded the separation of Ireland from England, while adding, "even should the separation finally result in a federation." Only by advancing this demand did Marx train the English workers in the spirit of internationalism. Only in this way could he oppose the opportunists and bourgeois reformism—who to this day, half a century after, have not carried out the Irish "reform,"—with a revolutionary solution of this particular historical problem. Only in this way could Marx, in opposition to the apologists of capital—who howl about the freedom of secession for small nations being utopian and impossible and about not only economic but also political concentration being progressive—prove the progressive character of this concentration in a *non-imperialist* manner, advocate the drawing together of nations, not on the basis of violence, but of the free union of the proletarians of all countries.—*Beginning of March*, 1916.

(*Collected Works*, Vol. XIX, "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination," Thesis 5.)

MARX AND ENGELS ON IRELAND

IN declaring the independence of Poland to be "utopian" and in repeating this *ad nauseum*, Rosa Luxemburg⁹⁶ ironically exclaims, "why not demand the independence of Ireland?"

Evidently the "practical" Rosa Luxemburg is not aware of what Marx's attitude was toward the question of the independence of Ireland. It is worth while dealing with this at length in order to give an example of an analysis of the *concrete* demand for national independence from the really Marxian, and not from the opportunist point of view.

Marx was able to "examine the teeth," as he expressed it, of his socialist acquaintances in testing their intelligence and convictions. Having made the acquaintance of Lopatin⁹⁷ Marx writes to Engels on July 15, 1870, a very flattering opinion of the young Russian socialist, but adds:

"A weak point: Poland. On this point Lopatin talks in exactly the same way as an Englishman—an English Chartist of the old school, say—talks about Ireland."

Marx questions a Socialist who belongs to an oppressing nation concerning his attitude towards an oppressed nation and immediately reveals a defect common to the Socialists who belong to ruling nations (both English and Russian), *viz.*, a failure to understand their socialist obligations towards oppressed nations: their constant repetition of the prejudices borrowed from the "Great Power" bourgeoisie.

Before proceeding to deal with Marx's positive statements about Ireland, we must observe that Marx and Engels adopted a very critical attitude toward the national question and appreciated its conditionally historical importance. For instance, writing to Marx on May 23, 1851, Engels says that the study of history leads him to pessimistic conclusions regarding Poland, that Poland's importance was only transitory, until the agrarian revolution took place in Russia. The role of the Poles in history was to commit "audacious blunders." "One cannot point to a single instance in which Poland represented progress successfully, even if only in relation to Russia, or did anything at all of historic importance." In Russia there are more elements of civilisation, of education, of industry, of a bourgeoisie than in "*shlyakhta*"⁹⁸—sleepy Poland." "What significance have Warsaw and Cracow compared with St. Petersburg and Odessa." Engels had no faith in the success of the rebellion of the Polish landed aristocracy.

But all these brilliant and penetrating ideas did not prevent Marx and Engels, twelve years later, when Russia still slumbered and Poland was seething, from expressing profound and cordial sympathy for the Polish movement.

In 1864, when he was drawing up his Address to the International, Marx wrote to Engels (November 4, 1864) that Mazzini's nationalism would have to be combated. "In so far as international politics come into the Address I speak of countries and not nationalities, and I denounce Russia, and not the lesser states." Marx had no doubt that the national question was a subordinate question compared with the "labour question." But his theory is as far from ignoring national movements as the earth is from the sky.

The year 1866 arrives. Marx writes to Engels about the "Proudhon clique" in Paris, which "declares nationality to be an absurdity and attacks Bismarck⁹⁹ and Garibaldi.¹⁰⁰ In controversies against chauvinism these tactics are useful and explicable. But when the believers in Proudhon (and among these are my good friends here, Lafargue¹⁰¹ and Longuet¹⁰²) think that the whole of Europe can and should sit quietly and serenely on their backsides and wait until the gentlemen in France abolish poverty and ignorance . . . then they are making themselves ridiculous." (Letter dated June 7, 1866.)

"Yesterday," wrote Marx on June 20, 1866, "a discussion took place at the meeting of the Council of the International¹⁰³ on the present war. . . . As was to be expected, the discussion wound up with the question of 'nationality' and of our attitude towards it. . . . The representatives of 'Young France' (*not workers*) came out with the announcement that all nationalities and even nations were Proudhonist Stirnerism¹⁰⁴ . . . The whole world has got to wait until the French are ripe for a social revolution. . . . The Englishmen laughed very much when I began my speech by saying that our friends Lafargue and the others who have abolished nationalities, address us in French, *i.e.*, in the language that nine-tenths of the meeting did not understand. Then I hinted that, without realising it, Lafargue himself seems to interpret the repudiation of nationalities to mean their absorption by the model French nation."

The conclusion that should be drawn from these critical remarks of Marx is clear: the working class can least of all afford to make a fetish of the national question, because the development of capitalism does not necessarily rouse *all* nations to independent life. But since mass national movements have arisen, to ignore them, to refuse to support what is progressive in them, means in fact, to give way to *nationalist* prejudices, that is to say, to regard "one's own" nation as the "model nation" (or, we would add, as a nation that enjoys the exclusive privilege of building up a state).*

*See Marx' letter to Engels of June 3, 1867. . . . "I learned with real pleasure from correspondence from Paris (*Times*) about the pro-Polish cries of the Parisians against Russia. Mons. Proudhon and his little doctrinaire clique are not the French people."

But to return to the question of Ireland.

Marx's position on this question is most clearly expressed in the following passage in one of his letters:

"I tried to call forth this demonstration of the English workers in favour of Fenianism by all possible means. . . . Formerly I considered the separation of Ireland from England to be impossible. I now think it inevitable, although after the separation there may come federation." This is what Marx wrote in his letter to Engels, dated November 2, 1867.

In his letter of November 30 of the same year he added:-

"What should we advise the English workers to do? In my opinion they ought to make the Repeal of the Union a point in their programme; briefly, to restore the 1783 affair, only democratized and adapted to modern conditions. This is the only *legal* form of Irish emancipation and hence, the only possible form in which it can be included in the programme of an *English Party*. Subsequent experience will show whether a prolonged, simply personal union can exist between the two countries. . . .

" . . . What the Irish need is:

- "1. Self-government and independence from England.
- "2. An agrarian revolution. . . ."

Attaching enormous importance to the Irish question, Marx delivered a lecture lasting one and a half hours to the German Labour League on this subject (letter dated December 17, 1867).

In his letter of November 20, 1868, Engels notes "a hatred for the Irish among the English workers," and almost a year later (October 24, 1869), reverting to this subject again, he writes:

"From Ireland to Russia *il n'y a q'un pas* (is only a step). . . . The history of Ireland goes to show how disastrous it is for a nation when it has subjugated another nation. All the abominations of the English have their origin in the Irish Pale. I must still study the Cromwellian epoch, but at all events I have no doubt whatever that affairs in England would have taken an altogether different turn had there not been the necessity to establish military rule and to create a new aristocracy in Ireland."

In passing we will mention Marx's letter to Engels of August 18, 1869:

"In Posen the Polish workers have carried through a successful strike thanks to the assistance they received from their Berlin comrades. This fight against 'Mr. Capital,' even in the subordinate form of the strike is a very different way of getting rid of national

prejudices from that of the bourgeois gentlemen with their peace declamations."

The policy which Marx pursued in the International on the Irish question can be seen from the following :

In November 1869, Marx wrote to inform Engels that he had delivered a speech lasting an hour and a quarter to the Council of the International, on the question of the attitude of the British Cabinet towards Irish amnesty and that he moved the following resolution :

Resolved :

" that in his reply to the Irish demands for the release of the imprisoned Irish patriots—a reply contained in his letter to Mr. O'Shea, etc., etc.—Mr. Gladstone deliberately insults the Irish nation ;

" that he clogs political amnesty with conditions alike degrading to the victims of misgovernment and the people they belong to ;

" that having, in the teeth of his responsible position, publicly and enthusiastically cheered on the American slaveholders' rebellion, he now steps in to preach to the Irish people the doctrine of passive obedience ;

" that his whole proceedings with reference to the Irish amnesty question are the true and genuine offspring of that '*policy of conquest*,' by the fiery denunciation of which Mr. Gladstone ousted his Tory rivals from office ;

" that the *General Council* of the '*International Workingmen's Association*' expresses their admiration of the spirited, firm and high-souled manner in which the Irish people carry on their amnesty movement ;

" that these resolutions be communicated to all branches of, and workingmen's bodies connected with, the '*International Workingmen's Association* in Europe and America."

On December 10, 1869, Marx writes that the Address he was to deliver on the Irish question at the meeting of the Council of the International would be constructed as follows :

" . . . Quite independently of all phrases about 'international' and 'humanitarian' 'justice to Ireland'—which must be taken for granted in the Council of the International—it is in the *direct and absolute interest of the English working class to get rid of its present connection with Ireland*. Such is my profound conviction, and for reasons which in part I cannot tell the English workers themselves. For a long time I thought that it would be possible to overthrow the Irish regime by English working class ascendancy. I always advocated this view in the *New York Tribune*" (an American newspaper for which Marx wrote). "A more profound study of the question has now convinced me of the opposite. The English working class

will never accomplish anything until it has got rid of Ireland. . . English reaction in England had its roots in the enslavement of Ireland." (Marx's italics.)

Marx's policy on the Irish question should now be quite clear to the reader.

The "utopian" Marx is so "impractical" as to stand for the separation of Ireland, which has not even been achieved now, half a century later.

What called forth Marx's policy ? And was it not a mistake ?

At first Marx thought that it would not be the national movement of the oppressed nation that would liberate Ireland, but the labour movement in the oppressing nation. Marx does not make an absolute of the national movement because he knows that only the victory of the working class can bring about the liberation of all nationalities. It is impossible to calculate beforehand all the possible relations of forces between the bourgeois movements for liberation among the oppressed nations and the proletarian movement for liberation among the oppressing nations (the very problem which makes the national question in contemporary Russia so difficult).

But circumstances so developed that the English working class for a long period fell under the influence of the Liberals, became its tail, and beheaded itself by adopting a Liberal-Labour policy. The bourgeois movement for liberation in Ireland grew and assumed revolutionary forms. Marx revised and corrected his opinion. "It is a misfortune for a nation if it enslaves another nation." The working class in England will not be free until Ireland is liberated from English oppression. Reaction in England is strengthened and fostered by the enslavement of Ireland (as reaction in Russia is fostered by her enslavement of a number of nations) !

And Marx, in moving his resolution of sympathy "for the Irish nation," "for the Irish people" (clever L. VI. would no doubt smash poor Marx for forgetting the class struggle !) in the International, preaches the *separation* of Ireland from England, "even should the separation finally result in a federation."

What are the theoretical premises for Marx's conclusions ? In England, generally, the bourgeois revolution was finished long ago. But in Ireland it is not finished ; it is only just being finished, now, half a century later, by the reforms of the English Liberals. Had capitalism in England been overthrown as quickly as Marx thought it would be at first, there would have been no place for a bourgeois-democratic and national movement in Ireland. But since this movement did arise, Marx advised the English workers to support it, to give it a revolutionary impetus, and to carry it through to the end in the interests of *their own* freedom.

The economic ties between Ireland and England in the sixties of the last century were of course closer than are the ties between Russia and Poland, the Ukraine, etc. The "impracticability" and "impossibility" of the separation of Ireland (if only because of geographical conditions, and because of England's vast colonial might) were obvious. Being opposed to federalism on principle, Marx in this case agreed to federation* if only the liberation of Ireland could be brought about, not in a reformist, but in a revolutionary way as a result of the mass movement of the people in Ireland supported by the English working class. There cannot be the slightest doubt that only such a solution of the historical problem would be most favourable for the interests of the proletariat and for rapid social development.

Things turned out differently, however. Both the Irish people and the British proletariat proved to be weak. Only now, by means of miserable compromises between the English Liberals and the Irish bourgeoisie, is the Irish question of land reform (with compensation) and autonomy (as yet not introduced) being solved (the example of Ulster shows how very slowly). Well, does it follow from this that Marx and Engels were "utopians," that they advanced "impracticable" national demands, that they yielded to the influence of the Irish nationalist petty bourgeoisie (the petty bourgeois character of the Fenian movement is undoubted), etc. ?

No. Even on the Irish question, Marx and Engels pursued a consistently proletarian policy, which really trained the masses in the spirit of democracy and socialism. Only this policy was capable of ridding both Ireland and England of the half-century of delay in introducing the necessary reforms, and the mutilation of these reforms by the Liberals to please the reaction.

The policy of Marx and Engels on the Irish question represented a model—which preserves its enormous practical significance to this day—of what the attitude of the proletariat in oppressing nations towards national movements should be, and it represented a warning against that "servile haste" with which the petty bourgeoisie of all countries, of all colours and languages, hasten to declare that the

*Incidentally it is not difficult to understand why the right of nations to "self-determination" cannot, from a social democratic point of view, be interpreted to mean either federation or autonomy (although speaking abstractly both the one and the other come under the category of "self-determination"). The right of federation is, in general, an absurdity, because federation is a two-sided contract. Marxists cannot under any circumstances put the defence of federalism generally in their programme; that goes without saying. In regard to autonomy, Marxists advocate, not the "right" to autonomy, but autonomy itself as the general and universal principle of a democratic state consisting of a variety of nationalities with sharply differing geographical and other conditions. Hence, to recognise "the right of nations to autonomy" would be as absurd as recognising "the right of nations to federation."

alteration of state frontiers created by the violence and privileges of the landlords and the bourgeoisie of a nation is "utopian."

Had the Irish and the English proletariat not adopted Marx's policy, had they not put forward the separation of Ireland as their slogan, they would have committed an act of sinister opportunism, would have forgotten the tasks of the democrat and the socialist and would have yielded to English reaction and the bourgeoisie.—February 1914.

("On the Right of Nations to Self-Determination,"

Collected Works, Vol. XVII.)

THE DUBLIN TRANSPORT STRIKE

In Dublin, the capital of Ireland, a city with half a million population, not very much of an industrial type, the class struggle, which has permeated the whole life of all capitalist society, has become intensified to the degree of class war. The conduct of the police is positively atrocious; drunken policemen assault peaceful workers, break into houses, torment the aged, and women and children. Hundreds of workers have been injured (over 400) and two have been killed—such are the casualties of this war. All the prominent labour leaders have been arrested. People are thrown into prison for uttering the most peaceful speeches. The city is like a military camp.

What is the matter? How could such a war flare up in a peaceful, cultured, civilised free state?

Ireland is something of a British Poland, only rather more of the Galician type than the Warsaw-Lodz-Dombrowsky.* National oppression and Catholic reaction have transformed the proletarians of this unhappy country into paupers and the peasants into toil-worn, ignorant and dull slaves of priestcraft; they have transformed the bourgeoisie into phalanxes of the capitalists and despots over the workers masked by nationalist phrases and, finally, they have transformed the administrators into a gang accustomed to every kind of violence.

At the present moment the Irish nationalists (i.e., the Irish bourgeoisie) are the victors: they are buying out their land from the English landlords; they are receiving national home rule (the notorious home rule for which the long and stubborn struggle has been waged between Ireland and England); they will freely govern "their" land in conjunction with "their" Irish priests.

And this nationalist, Irish bourgeoisie is celebrating its "national" victory, its "State" maturity by declaring a war of life and death against the Irish labour movement.

In Dublin there lives the English Viceroy. But in actual fact his power yields to the power of the leader of the Dublin capitalists, a

*I.e., rather more clerical-agrarian than industrial.—Ed.

certain Murphy, the publisher of the *Irish Independent* (*sic*!), the principal shareholder and director of the Dublin tramways, and shareholder in a large number of capitalist enterprises in Dublin. Murphy has declared, in the name of all the Irish capitalists, of course, that he is ready to spend three-quarters of a million pounds to destroy the Irish trade unions.

And these unions were beginning to develop splendidly. In the wake of the Irish bourgeois scoundrels who are celebrating their "national" victory there followed the Irish proletariat that is awakening to class consciousness. It has found a talented leader in the person of Comrade Larkin, the secretary of the Irish Transport Workers' Union. Possessing remarkable oratorical talent, a man of seething Irish energy, Larkin has performed miracles among the unskilled workers—that mass of the British proletariat which in England is so often cut off from the advanced workers by that cursed petty bourgeois, liberal, aristocratic spirit of the British skilled worker.

A new spirit has been awakened among the Irish labour unions. The unskilled workers have introduced hitherto unparalleled animation in the trade unions. Even the women have begun to organise—a thing hitherto unknown in Catholic Ireland. Dublin showed promise of becoming one of the foremost towns in the whole of Great Britain as far as the organisation of the workers is concerned. The country, the characteristic figure of which was the fat, well-fed Catholic priest and the poor, hungry, ragged worker who wears rags even on Sunday because he has not the wherewithal to purchase Sunday clothes—this country, bearing a double and triple national yoke, was beginning to be transformed into a land of the organised army of the proletariat.

Murphy has proclaimed a bourgeois crusade against Larkin and "Larkinism." For a beginning he discharges two hundred tramway-men during the Exhibition in order to start a strike and to embitter the whole struggle. The Transport Workers' Union declares a strike and demands the re-instatement of the discharged men. Murphy organises a lockout against the workers. The latter retaliate by going on strike. War is raging all along the line. Passions are rising.

Larkin—who, incidentally, is a grandson of the famous Larkin who was executed in 1867 for participating in the Irish emancipation movement—Larkin delivers passionate speeches at meetings. In these speeches he points out that the party of the English bourgeois enemies of Irish Home Rule is openly calling for resistance to the government, is threatening revolution, is organising armed resistance to Home Rule and is flooding the country with revolutionary manifestoes with impunity.

But what is permitted to the reactionary *English* chauvinists, Carson, Londonderry and Bonar Law (the English Purishkeviches*

*See Note 38.—Ed.

who are oppressing Ireland)—is not permitted to the proletarian Socialist. Larkin is arrested. Workers' meetings are prohibited.

But Ireland is not Russia. The attempt to suppress the right of assembly gives rise to a storm of indignation. Larkin *had to be* tried. And at the trial Larkin became the accuser and actually puts Murphy in the dock. By cross-questioning witnesses Larkin proves that Murphy had had long conversations with the Viceroy on the eve of his, Larkin's arrest. Larkin declares that the police are in the pay of Murphy, and no one dares refute Larkin.

Larkin is let out on bail (political liberty cannot be abolished at one stroke). Larkin declares that he will be at the meeting no matter what happens. And indeed, he comes to the meeting disguised, and begins to speak to the crowd. The police recognise him, seize him and assault him. For two days the dictatorship of the police truncheon rages, crowds are beaten up, women and children are tormented. The police break into workers' houses. A worker named Nolan, a member of the Transport Workers' Union is beaten to death. Another dies from injuries.

On Thursday, September 4, Nolan's funeral took place. The proletariat of Dublin organised a procession 50,000 strong and accompanied the remains of their comrade to the grave. The brutal police hid themselves, not daring to irritate the crowd, and exemplary order prevailed. "This is a more magnificent demonstration than the one that took place at Parnell's funeral" (a celebrated leader of the Irish nationalists), said an old Irishman to a German correspondent.

The Dublin events mark a turning point in the history of the labour movement and of socialism in Ireland. Murphy threatened to destroy the Irish labour unions. He only succeeded in destroying the last remnants of the influence of the nationalist Irish bourgeoisie over the proletariat in Ireland. He has helped to harden an independent, revolutionary labour movement in Ireland, free from nationalist prejudices.

This was seen immediately at the Trade Union Congress which opened on September 1, in Manchester. The Dublin events had roused the delegates—in spite of the resistance of the opportunist trade unionists with their petty bourgeois spirit and their admiration for the bosses. The delegation of the Dublin workers was given an ovation. The delegate Partridge, the chairman of the Dublin branch of the Engineers' Union related the acts of violence and outrage committed by the police in Dublin. A young woman worker had just gone to bed when the police broke into her house. The girl hid in the closet. She was dragged out of there by the hair. The police were drunk. These "men" (in quotation marks) beat up ten-year old boys and five-year old children.

Partridge was twice arrested for making speeches which the judge

himself admitted were peaceful. I am sure, said Partridge, that I will now be arrested if I publicly recite the Lord's Prayer.

The Manchester Trade Union Congress sent a delegation to Dublin. The Dublin bourgeoisie again took up the nationalist weapon (exactly like the bourgeois nationalists in Poland, or in the Ukraine,¹⁰⁵ or among the Jews!) and declared: "Englishmen have no business on Irish soil." But the nationalists, *fortunately*, have already lost their influence over their workers.*

At the Trade Union Congress in Manchester speeches were delivered of a kind that have not been heard for a long time. A resolution was moved to transfer the whole Congress to Dublin, and to organise a general strike throughout the whole of Great Britain. Smilie, the chairman of the Miners' Union, declared that the Dublin methods will compel all the workers to agree to revolution and that they will learn to use arms.

The masses of the English workers are slowly but surely taking a new path—from the defence of the petty privileges of the labour aristocracy to the great heroic struggle of the masses themselves for a new system of society. And, bearing in mind the energy and state of organisation of the English proletariat, they will bring about socialism on this path much more quickly and firmly than anywhere else.—11th September 1913.

("Class War in Dublin," *Collected Works*, Vol. XVI.)

ENGLISH WORKERS AND THE DUBLIN STRIKE

ON Sunday, September 7, exactly a week after the police atrocities, the Dublin workers organised a huge mass meeting to protest against the conduct of the Irish capitalists and the Irish police.

The meeting was organised in the same street (O'Connell Street) and on the same spot where the meeting that was prohibited by the police was to have taken place on the previous Sunday. This is a historical spot on which it is most convenient to organise meetings and where meetings are most frequently held in Dublin.

The police hid themselves. The streets were filled with workers. There were crowds of people, but complete order reigned. "Last Sunday," exclaimed one of the Irish speakers, "the police truncheon reigned here without reason; to-day reason reigns without police truncheons."

In England *there is a constitution*—and the authorities dared not bring out their drunken police soldiers a second time. Platforms were put up and six speakers, including representatives of the English

*The Irish Nationalists are already expressing the fear that Larkin will organise an independent Irish workers' party, which will have to be reckoned with in the first Irish National Parliament.

proletariat, condemned the crimes that were committed against the people and called upon the workers to display international solidarity and to fight unitedly.

A resolution was unanimously adopted demanding the right of association and the right of coalition, and also calling for the immediate appointment of a commission of enquiry, under the guidance of independent persons and with a guarantee of publicity for all the proceedings, into the conduct of the police on the previous Sunday.

In London a magnificent meeting was held in Trafalgar Square. Groups of Socialists and workers came with their banners. There were many posters with cartoons and slogans on topical events. The crowd particularly applauded a poster which depicted a policeman waving a red flag bearing the inscription, "Silence!"

The most prominent speakers were Ben Tillet, who showed that the "Liberal" government of England was no better than a reactionary government, and Partridge, the chairman of the Dublin branch of the Engineers' Union, who related in detail the shameless acts of violence committed by the police in Dublin.

It is instructive to note that the principal slogan at the London and Dublin meetings was the demand for right of combination. This is quite understandable. In England *there are* the foundations of political liberty, *there is* a constitutional regime, generally speaking. The right of combination which the workers demand is one of the reforms which are absolutely necessary and quite achievable under the present constitutional regime (equally as achievable as, say, the partial reform of workers' insurance in Russia).

The right of combination is equally necessary for the workers of England and of Russia. And the workers of England have quite correctly put forward this slogan of a political reform essential to them, clearly realising the path to the achievement of this reform and its complete possibility within the limits of the English constitution (and the Russian workers would be equally correct in putting forward the partial demand for certain amendments to the Insurance Act). . . .—16th September 1913.

("A Week after the Atrocities in Dublin," *Collected Works*, Vol. XVI.)

THE CLASS STRUGGLE SHARPENS

THE intensification of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is observed in all advanced capitalist countries, and the difference in the historical conditions, political system and forms of the labour movement in the various countries, determines the different manifestations of the one and the same tendency. In America and in England where there is complete political liberty, where lively

revolutionary and socialist traditions are completely, or at all events, almost absent, this intensification of the struggle expresses itself in the growth of the movement against trusts, in the extraordinary growth of the socialist movement, and the attention which the propertied classes are paying to this movement; and in the adoption by the labour organisations, sometimes purely industrial organisations, of the systematic and independent proletarian political struggle.—
5th August 1908. (“Inflammable Material in World Politics,”

Collected Works, Vol. XII.)

PART IV

BRITISH IMPERIALISM AND THE WAR OF 1914-1918

CHAPTER I

“SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM IS CONSUMMATED OPPORTUNISM” (*Lenin*)

THE REAL CAUSES OF THE WAR

THE war arose out of the imperialist relations between the Great Powers, *i.e.*, out of the struggle for the division of the loot, out of the struggle to decide which of them is to seize certain colonies and small states; and in this war two conflicts stand out in the first place. The first, between England and Germany; the second, between Germany and Russia. These three Great Powers, these three great robbers, are the principal figures in the present war. The rest are dependent allies.

The ground for both these conflicts was prepared by the policies pursued by these Powers for *several decades* before the war. England is waging this war in order to rob Germany of her colonies and to ruin her principal competitor who has ruthlessly beaten her by means of excellent technique, organisation, and commercial energy, and beaten her so thoroughly that England *could not* retain her world domination without war. Germany is waging this war because her capitalists consider, and rightly consider themselves entitled to the “sacred” bourgeois right to world supremacy in looting and plundering colonies and independent countries; and in particular, she is fighting to subjugate the Balkan countries and Turkey. Russia is waging the war for the sake of Galicia, which she desires to possess, particularly in order to throttle the Ukrainian people (for outside of Galicia the Ukrainians have not, nor can they have a shred of liberty, relatively speaking of course), for Armenia and Constantinople, and also to subjugate the Balkan countries.

Simultaneously with the conflict of predatory “interests” between Russia and Germany there is another no less—if not more—profound conflict taking place between Russia and England. The aim of Russia’s imperialist policy which has been determined by the century old rivalry and the objective international relations between the Great Powers, may be briefly defined as follows: to smash Germany’s power in Europe with the aid of England and France in order to rob Austria (by annexing Galicia) and Turkey (by annexing Armenia and particularly Constantinople); then to smash England’s power in Asia

with the aid of Japan and Germany in order to seize the whole of Persia, to complete the partition of China, etc.

For centuries tsarism has been striving to conquer Constantinople and to conquer a larger part of Asia, systematically shaping her policy to this end and exploiting every antagonism and conflict between the Great Powers in pursuit of this purpose. England has been a more longstanding, persistent and powerful opponent of these strivings than Germany. From 1878, when the Russian fleet appeared in the Dardanelles threatening to bombard the Russians as soon as they approached "Tsargrad,"* to 1885, when Russia was within a hair's breadth of war with England over the division of the spoils in Central Asia (Afghanistan: the advance of Russian military forces into the heart of Central Asia, thus threatening English domination in India) and down to 1902, when England concluded a treaty with Japan, in preparation for the latter taking up arms against Russia—throughout the whole of this long period, England was the most powerful opponent of Russia's predatory policy, because Russia threatened England's domination over a number of foreign peoples.—6th November 1916.

(*Collected Works*, Vol. XIX, "A Separate Peace.")

ROBBER IMPERIALISM

THE English capitalist government is the most annexationist government in the world, for it forcibly retains the greatest number of nationalities as parts of the British Empire; India (three hundred million), Ireland, Turkish Mesopotamia, the German colonies in Africa, etc.—16th May 1917.

(*Collected Works*, Vol. XX, Book II, p. 30.)¶

"... For the English capitalists have grabbed more loot (the German colonies in Africa, German islands in the Pacific, Mesopotamia, part of Syria, etc.) and unlike the German capitalists, have lost nothing."—22nd May 1917.

(*Ibid.*, p. 62.)¶

THE ROBBERS EXPOSED

THE history of modern, civilised America opens with one of those great wars which are really emancipatory, really revolutionary, of which there have been so few among all the great mass of robber wars caused, like the present imperialist war, by quarrels between kings,

*Constantinople was called Tsargrad by the Russians.

landlords and capitalists for the division of plundered territories or the profits of robbery. That was the war of the American people against the British robbers who were oppressing and keeping America in colonial slavery, just as these "civilised" blood drinkers to-day oppress and keep in colonial slavery hundreds of millions of people in India, Egypt, all over the world.

About 150 years have passed since then, bourgeois civilisation has borne all its luxurious fruits. America has taken the first place among free and cultivated countries because of the high level of its productive forces of unified human labour, through the use of machinery and the marvels of modern technique. America has also become one of the first countries in the world by reason of the depth of the gulf dividing the handful of overbearing millionaires choked in filth and luxury, from the millions of toilers living on the edge of the eternal poverty line. The American people, which gave the world an example of revolutionary war against feudal slavery, has ended in modern capitalist wage slavery to a handful of millionaires, has ended by playing the part of a hired butcher which in 1898 strangled the Philippines in the name of "liberation" for the sake of these rich swine, and which in 1918 is strangling the Russian Socialist Republic, under the pretext of "defending" it from the Germans.

But the four years of imperialist slaughter of the peoples have not passed in vain. The deception of the people by the scoundrels of both groups of pirates, English and German, has been utterly exposed by indisputable and obvious facts. Four years of war have shown by their results the general law of capitalism applied to a war between robbers for the division of the spoil; the richer and the stronger have oppressed and robbed the worst of all, the weaker have been robbed, torn to pieces, oppressed, strangled, to the very end.

The British imperialist pirates were stronger than all in regard to the number of "colonial slaves" they possessed. The British capitalists have not lost a single square foot of "their" land (*i.e.*, the land they have grabbed in the course of centuries) and have grabbed all the German colonies in Africa, have grabbed Mesopotamia and Palestine, they crushed Greece and have begun to grab Russia.

The German imperialist pirates were stronger than the rest in regard to the organization and discipline of "their" troops, but they were weaker in colonies. They lost all their colonies; but they grabbed half of Europe and strangled the largest number of small countries and weak nations. What a great war of "liberation" on both sides! How well the pirates in both groups, the Anglo-French capitalists and the German capitalists together with their lackeys,

the social-chauvinists, *i.e.*, the Socialists who have deserted to the side of "their" bourgeoisie, have defended their fatherland! . . . —
20th August 1918.

("Letter to the American Workers,"
Collected Works, Vol. XXIII.)

THE RIVAL FIRMS

Up to the present, two principal firms have stood at the head of the present war—England and Germany. England represented the strongest colonial country. In spite of the fact that the population of England itself does not exceed forty millions, the population of her colonies exceeds four hundred millions. Long ago, by the right of might, she grabbed other people's colonies, seized an enormous amount of territory and benefited by their exploitation. Economically however, she has fallen behind Germany during the past fifty years. German industry has surpassed that of England. Large-scale state capitalism in Germany combined with the bureaucracy, and Germany beat all records.

The contest for the championship between these two giants cannot be decided in any other way but by force.

If England some time ago, by the right of might, seized lands from Holland, Portugal, etc.—to-day, Germany has come upon the scene and declares that, "It is now my turn to live at the expense of others."—25th August 1918.

("Speech at a Meeting in the Polytechnical Museum,"
Collected Works, Vol. XXIII.)

CAPITALISM, WAR AND "FREEDOM"

. . . DURING the present war capitalism has developed even more than before the war. It is now in control of entire spheres of production. As early as in 1891, *i.e.*, twenty-seven years ago, when the Germans adopted the Erfurt programme,¹⁰⁶ Engels maintained that capitalism could no longer be regarded as being planless. This idea has become obsolete; once there are trusts, planlessness disappears. It is particularly in the twentieth century that capitalism has made gigantic strides, and the war has accomplished what could not otherwise have been accomplished in twenty-five years. Nationalisation of industry has advanced not only in Germany, but also in England. Monopoly, in general, has evolved into state monopoly.

General conditions show that the war has accelerated the development of capitalism; it advanced from capitalism to imperialism; from monopoly to nationalisation. All this made the socialist revolution closer and created the objective conditions for it. Thus the course of the war has brought the socialist revolution nearer to us.

Before the war England was the freest country in the world—a point always stressed by the politicians of our Cadet type. There was freedom in England, because there was no revolutionary movement there. But the war has changed everything. In a country where for decades there was not a single instance of interference with the socialist press, a typically tsarist censorship was established, and English prisons became crowded with socialists. For centuries the capitalists of England acquired the habit of ruling the people without the use of force, and if they now resort to force, it shows that they have come to feel that the revolutionary movement is growing and that they cannot do otherwise.—7th May 1917.

("All Russian April Conference," *Collected Works*, Vol. XX, Book 1, p. 282.)¶

THE ESSENCE OF SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM

THE economic basis of "social-chauvinism" (this term being more precise than the term social-patriotism, as the latter embellishes the evil) and of opportunism is the same, namely, an alliance of an insignificant section of the "top" of the labour movement with its national bourgeoisie against the class that is exploited by the bourgeoisie. Social-chauvinism is opportunism brought to its logical conclusions.

The political essence of social-chauvinism and opportunism is the same. It expresses itself in class collaboration, repudiation of proletarian dictatorship, rejection of revolutionary action, obeisance to the bourgeoisie and bourgeois legality, lack of confidence in the proletariat, confidence in the bourgeoisie. The political ideas are the same, the political principles of tactics are also the same. Social-chauvinism is a direct continuation of and a logical conclusion from Millerandism¹⁰⁷, Bernsteinism, the English Liberal-Labour Party; it is their sum total, their consummation, their highest achievement.

Throughout the whole period between 1889 and 1914 we see two lines of socialism, opportunist and revolutionary socialism. There are now also two lines regarding the attitude towards socialism.

Social-chauvinism is consummated opportunism. (This is beyond doubt.) The alliance with the bourgeoisie was ideological and secret. It has become open and blunt. Social-chauvinism derives its strength from nowhere but from this alliance with the bourgeoisie and the general staffs of the armies. It is a lie when anybody says (Kautsky included) that the "masses" of the proletarians have shifted to chauvinism; the masses have *nowhere* been asked (with the exception, perhaps, of Italy where nine months before the declaration of war a discussion was conducted, and in Italy the masses were *against* the party of Bissolati). The masses were dumbfounded, panic-stricken,

disunited, crushed by martial law. The free vote was the privilege of the leaders only—and they voted for the bourgeoisie against the proletariat! It is ridiculous and monstrous to think of opportunism as an *internal* party phenomenon! All the Marxists in Germany, France, and in other countries have always asserted and proven that opportunism is an expression of the influence of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat; that it is a bourgeois line of labour politics; that it is an alliance of an insignificant section of near-proletarian elements with the bourgeoisie. Having had decades to ripen under conditions of “peaceful” capitalism, opportunism by 1914-1915 became so ripe that it proved an open ally of the bourgeoisie. Unity with opportunism means unity of the proletariat with its national bourgeoisie, *i.e.*, it means submission to the latter, it means a split in the international revolutionary working class. We do not assert that an immediate separation from the opportunists in all countries is desirable, or even possible at present; we can only say that such a separation has ripened, that it has become inevitable, that it is of a progressive nature, that it is necessary for the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat; that history, having turned from “peaceful capitalism” to imperialism, has thereby turned to such a split. “*Volentem ducunt fata, nolentem trahunt.*”*

The bourgeoisie of all the countries, first of all of the belligerent countries, has from the very beginning of the war agreed on praising those Socialists who recognise the “defence of the fatherland,” *i.e.*, the defence of the predatory interests of the bourgeoisie in the imperialist war, and the imperialist war *against the proletariat*. See how this fundamental and most essential interest of the international bourgeoisie finds its way into the Socialist parties, into the labour movement, *there* to be expressed! The example of Germany is particularly instructive in this respect, since the epoch of the Second International witnessed the growth of the greatest party in that country; but we see the very same thing in other countries with only insignificant variation of form, outlook, outward appearance. . . .

. . . Do not follow the method of pointing out *persons*, as practised by the bourgeois and opportunist liars; take the *lines* apparent in a number of countries. Take ten European countries: Germany, England, Russia, Italy, Holland, Sweden, Bulgaria, Switzerland, Belgium, France. In the first eight countries the division along the line dividing opportunism and revolutionism coincides with the line dividing social-chauvinists and revolutionary internationalists. The main *nuclei* of social-chauvinism in the social and political sense are the *Sozialistische Monatshefte* and Co. in Germany, the Fabians and the Labour Party in England (the Independent Labour Party formed a bloc with both of them and in this bloc the influence of social-

*Fate leads the willing, drags the unwilling.—*Ed.*

chauvinism was considerably stronger than in the British Socialist Party, in which about three-sevenths are internationalists, namely, sixty-six to eighty-four). . . .

. . . “Radical” words are *needed* for the masses in order that they may believe them. The opportunists are ready to repeat those words hypocritically. They need, they require, *such* parties as were the Social-Democratic parties of the Second International, because they brought about the *defence of the bourgeoisie* by the Socialists during the crisis of 1914-1915. Exactly the same policy is pursued by the Fabians and the Liberal leaders of the trade unions in England, the opportunists and the Jauresists in France. . . .

In substance the two trends of Social-Democracy differ at present not in words, not in phrases. In the art of combining the “defence of the fatherland” (*i.e.*, defence of bourgeois plundering) with phrases concerning socialism, internationalism, freedom of the peoples, etc., Vandervelde, Sembat,¹⁰⁸ Renaudel,¹⁰⁹ Hyndman, Henderson, Lloyd George are not one jot inferior to Legien,¹¹⁰ Sudekum, Kautsky, and Haase! The real difference begins with complete rejection of the defence of the fatherland in the present war, with complete acceptance of revolutionary action in connection with, *during*, and *after*, the war. In this, the only serious, the only matter-of-fact question, Kautsky is at one with Kolb and Heine.

Compare the Fabians in England with the Kautskyists in Germany. The former are almost liberals, they have never recognised Marxism. Engels wrote of the Fabians on January 18, 1893: “A gang of careerists, who have understanding enough to realise the inevitability of the social revolution, but by no means willing to entrust this gigantic work to the immature proletariat alone. . . . Their fundamental principle is fear of revolution. . . .”* On November 11, 1893, Engels wrote the following about them: “Haughty bourgeois, graciously descending to the proletariat to liberate it from above, if only it will have the insight to understand that such a raw, uneducated mass cannot liberate itself, and can attain nothing without the favour of those clever attorneys, *litterateurs*, and sentimental females.”† How far from them the Kautskyists seem to be in their “theory”! In

*In his letter to F. A. Sorge, Engels wrote: “. . . eine Bande von Strebern, die Verstand genug haben, die Unvermeidlichkeit der sozialen Umwälzung einzusehen, die aber dem rohen Proletariat unmöglich diese Riesenarbeit allein anvertrauen. . . . Angst vor der Revolution ist ihr Grundprinzip.” (Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u.a. an F. A. Sorge und andere, Stuttgart, 1921, p. 390).—*Ed.*

†In his letter to Sorge, Engels wrote: “. . . hochnasige Bourgeois, die sich in Gnaden herbeilassen wollen, das Proletariat von oben herab zu befreien, wenn es nur so einsichtig sein will zu begreifen, dass so eine rohe ungebildete Masse sich nicht selbst befreien kann und zu nichts kommt ausser durch die Gnade dieser gescheiterten Advokaten, Literaten und sentimentalischen Weibslente.” (Briefe an Sorge, p. 401).—*Ed.*

practice, however, in their attitude towards the war, they are *perfectly identical!* This is the best proof of how the Marxism of the Kautskyists has withered, how it has changed into a dead letter, a hypocritical phrase.—*End of 1915.*

(“Opportunism and the Collapse of the Second International,” Vol. XVIII, *Collected Works*, “The Imperialist War.”)¶

SOCIAL ROOTS OF OPPORTUNISM

... THE *opportunists* (social-chauvinists) are working together with the imperialist bourgeoisie precisely in the direction of creating an imperialist Europe on the backs of Asia and Africa; objectively, the *opportunists* are a section of the petty bourgeoisie and certain strata of the working class which have been *bribed* out of imperialist super-profits and converted into watchdogs of capitalism, into *corruptors* of the labour movement.

We have repeatedly pointed to this very profound economic connection between the imperialist bourgeoisie and opportunism now victorious (for how long?) in the labour movement, not only in articles, but also in the resolutions of our Party. From this, among other things, we draw the conclusion that a split with social-chauvinism was inevitable.

... It is a *fact* that *certain* groups of workers *have* already gone over to opportunism and to the imperialist bourgeoisie.”—*Autumn 1916.*

(“Imperialism and the Split in the Socialist Movement. *Collected Works*, Vol. XIX.)¶

IMPERIALISM AND THE DIVIDED LABOUR MOVEMENT—“LLOYD GEORGISM”

THE proletariat is the child of capitalism, of world capitalism, not only of European and not only of imperialist capitalism. On a world scale, fifty years earlier or fifty years later—on *such* a scale, this is of course a subordinate question—the “proletariat” will naturally be united, revolutionary Social-Democracy will “inevitably” be victorious within its ranks. But this is not the point, Messrs. Kautskyans. The point is that at the present time, in the imperialist countries of Europe, *you* are *cringing* before the opportunists who are *alien* to the proletariat as a class, who are the servants, the agents, the transmitters of the influence of the bourgeoisie, and of whom the labour movement must *free* itself if it does not wish to remain a *bourgeois labour movement*. Your advocacy of “unity” with the opportunists, with the Legiens and Davids, the Plekhanovs and Chkhenkelis and Potressovs, etc., is, objectively, the advocacy of the

enslavement of the workers to the imperialist bourgeoisie with the aid of its best agents in the labour movement. The victory of revolutionary Social-Democracy on a world scale is absolutely inevitable, but it proceeds and will proceed, it is taking place and will take place only *against* you, it will be a victory *over* you.

These two tendencies, even *two* parties, in the present labour movement, which so obviously parted ways throughout the whole world in 1914-16, *were traced by Engels and Marx in England* over many *decades*, approximately from 1858 to 1892.

Neither Marx nor Engels lived to see the imperialist epoch of world capitalism which began not earlier than 1898-1900. But already in the middle of the nineteenth century, the peculiar feature of England was that it revealed at least *two* of the outstanding characteristics of imperialism: (1) vast colonies; (2) monopoly profit (due to a monopolistic situation on the world market). In both respects the England of that time was an exception among the capitalist countries; but Marx and Engels, analysing that exception, clearly and definitely indicated its *connection* with the (temporary) victory of opportunism in the English labour movement.

In a letter to Marx dated October 7, 1858, Engels wrote: “The English proletariat is becoming more and more bourgeois, so that this, the most bourgeois of all nations, is apparently aiming ultimately at the possession of a bourgeois aristocracy and a bourgeois proletariat *as well as* a justifiable bourgeoisie. To a certain extent this is of course justifiable for a nation which is exploiting the whole world.” In a letter to Sorge dated September 21, 1872, Engels informs him that Hales kicked up a big row in the General Council of the International and secured a vote of censure against Marx for saying that “the English labour leaders had sold themselves.” On April 4, 1874, Marx wrote to Sorge: “As to the urban workers here (in England) it is a pity that the whole gang of leaders did not get elected to Parliament. This would be the surest way of getting rid of these blackguards.” Engels in a letter to Marx, dated August 11, 1881, speaks about “the worst type of British trade unions which allow themselves to be led by men who have been bought by the capitalists, or at least, are in their pay.” In a letter to Kautsky dated September 12, 1882, Engels wrote: “You ask me what the English workers think of colonial policy? Exactly the same as they think of politics in general, the same as what the bourgeois think. There is no workers’ party here, there are only Conservative and Liberal-radicals; the workers merrily share the feast of England’s monopoly of the world market and the colonies.”

On December 7, 1889, Engels wrote to Sorge: “. . . The most repulsive thing here (in England) is bourgeois ‘respectability’ with which the workers have become thoroughly saturated. . . . Even

Tom Mann, whom I regard as the finest of them is fond of mentioning that he will be lunching with the Lord Mayor. When one compares the French with this, one can see what a revolution is good for after all." In a letter dated April 19, 1890: "The movement" (of the working class in England) "is making progress *under the surface*, it is seizing ever wider sections of the workers and mostly just among the hitherto inert and the *lowest*" (Engel's italics) "masses, and the day is not far distant when this mass will suddenly find itself, when the fact that it is this colossal self-impelled mass will dawn upon it." March 4, 1891: "... The failure of the collapsed Dockers' Union, the 'old' conservative trade unions, *rich* and therefore cowardly, remain alone on the battlefield. . . ." September 14, 1891: At the Newcastle Trade Union Congress, the old unionists, opponents of the eight-hour day, were defeated and 'the bourgeois papers admit the defeat of the *bourgeois labour party*.' (Engels' italics.)

That those ideas, repeated for decades, were also expressed by Engels publicly, in the press, is proven by his preface to the second edition of his *Condition of the Working Class in England*, in 1892, where he speaks of the aristocracy among the working class, of a "privileged minority" of the workers as distinct from the "great bulk of the workers." "A small privileged protected minority" of the working class, he said "permanently benefited" by the privileged position of England, in 1848-1868, whereas "the great mass had, at least, a temporary share now and then." "With the breakdown of that monopoly the English working class will lose that privileged position. . . ." The members of the "new" unions, he continues, the unions of the unskilled workers, "have one immense advantage: their minds were virgin soil, entirely free from the inherited 'respectable' bourgeois prejudices which hampered the brains of the better-situated 'old' unionists. . . ." In England, "the so-called labour representatives are those who are forgiven for belonging to the working class because they are themselves ready to drown this quality in the ocean of their liberalism."

We have deliberately quoted at length the direct statements of Marx and Engels in order that the reader may study them *as a whole*. They must be studied; they are worth pondering over because they reveal the *pivot* of the tactics in the labour movement that are dictated by the objective conditions of the imperialist epoch.

Here, too, Kautsky has already attempted to "ruffle the waters" by substituting sentimental conciliation with opportunism for Marxism. Arguing against the avowed and naive social imperialists (like Lentsch¹¹¹) who justify Germany's part in the war as a means of destroying England's monopoly, Kautsky "*corrects*" this obvious falsehood by another equally obvious falsehood. Instead of a cynical falsehood he employs a sentimental falsehood! The *industrial*

monopoly of England, he says, has long been broken, it has long been destroyed, there is nothing left to destroy.

Why is this argument false?

Firstly, it overlooks England's *colonial* monopoly. As we have seen, Engels, as early as 1882, thirty-four years ago, pointed to this very clearly! Although England's industrial monopoly has been destroyed, her colonial monopoly has not only remained, but it has become extremely intense because the world is already divided up. By means of this sentimental lie, Kautsky smuggles in the bourgeois-pacifist and opportunist-philistine idea that "there is nothing to fight about." On the contrary, the *capitalists* not only have something to fight about, but they cannot help fighting if they are to preserve capitalism, because, without the forcible redistribution of the colonies the *new* imperialist countries cannot obtain the privileges enjoyed by the older (and *less powerful*) imperialist powers.

Secondly, why does England's monopoly explain the (temporary) victory of opportunism in England? Because monopoly yields super-profit, *i.e.*, a surplus of profit over and above the capitalist profit which is normal and usual throughout the world. Out of this super-profit the capitalists are able to devote a part (and not a small one, at that!) to bribe *their own workers*, to create something like an alliance (remember the famous "alliances" of the English trade unions with their employers as described by the Webbs) between the workers of the given nation and their capitalists *against* the other countries. England's industrial monopoly was destroyed about the end of the nineteenth century. This is beyond dispute. But *how* did this destruction take place? Has *all* monopoly disappeared?

If this were so, Kautsky's "theory" of conciliation (with the opportunists) would be confirmed to some extent. But the fact is that it is *not* so. Imperialism is monopolistic capitalism. Every cartel, trust, syndicate, every big bank *is* monopoly. Super-profit has not disappeared, it still remains. The exploitation by one privileged, financially rich country of *all* the others remains and has become more intense. A handful of rich countries—there are only four of them, if we are to speak of independent, and really large, gigantic, "modern" wealth: England, France, the United States and Germany—have developed monopoly in vast proportions, they obtain *super* profits amounting to hundreds of millions, even billions, they "ride on the backs" of hundreds and hundreds of millions of foreign populations, and they fight among each other for the division of the particularly rich, particularly fat and particularly easy spoils.

This is the economic and political essence of imperialism, the deepest contradictions of which Kautsky covers up instead of exposing.

The bourgeoisie of a "Great" Imperialist Power is *economically in a position* to bribe the upper sections of "its" workers by devoting

for this purpose one or two hundred million francs a year since its *super-profits* amount perhaps to a billion. The question as to how this little sop is distributed among labour ministers, "labour representatives" (remember Engels' splendid analysis of this term) labour members of war industries committees,¹¹² labour officials, workers organised in narrow, craft unions, office employees, etc., etc., is a secondary question.

Between 1848 and 1868, partly even later, England alone enjoyed a monopoly; therefore, opportunism could be victorious there for decades. There were no other countries with very rich colonies or with an industrial monopoly.

The last third of the nineteenth century marked the transition to the new imperialist epoch. Monopoly is enjoyed by the finance capital *not* of one, but of certain, though only a very few, Great Powers. (In Japan and Russia the monopoly of military power, vast territories, or special facilities for robbing other peoples, China, etc., partly supplements, partly takes the place of the monopoly of modern, up-to-date finance capital). This difference explains why England's monopoly *could* remain *unchallenged* for decades. The monopoly of modern finance capital is frantically challenged: the epoch of imperialist wars has begun. Formerly, the working class of one country could be bribed and corrupted for decades. At the present time this is improbable, perhaps even impossible. On the other hand, however, every imperialist "Great" Power can and does bribe *smaller* (compared with 1848-1868 in England) strata of the "labour aristocracy." Formerly a "bourgeois labour party," to use Engels' remarkably profound expression, could be formed only in one country because it alone enjoyed a monopoly, and enjoyed it for a long period. Now the "bourgeois labour party" is inevitable and typical for *all* the imperialist countries. But in view of the desperate struggle which they are waging for the division of the booty, it is improbable that such a party will remain victorious for any length of time in a number of countries: for while trusts, the financial oligarchy, high prices, etc., permit of a handful of the upper strata being bribed, they at the same time oppress, crush, ruin and torture the *masses* of the proletariat and the semi-proletariat more than ever.

On the one hand, there is the tendency of the bourgeoisie and opportunists to convert a handful of the richest, privileged nations into "eternal" parasites on the body of the rest of mankind, to "rest on the laurels" of the exploitation of Negroes, Hindus, etc., by keeping them in subjection with the aid of the excellent technique of destruction of modern militarism. On the other hand, there is the tendency of the *masses* who are more oppressed than formerly and who bear the brunt of the misfortune caused by imperialist wars, to throw off that yoke, to overthrow the bourgeoisie. The history of the labour

movement will from now on inevitably develop as the history of the struggle between these two tendencies: for the first tendency is not accidental, it is "founded" on economics. The bourgeois has already begotten, nurtured, secured for itself "bourgeois labour parties" of social chauvinists in *all* countries. . . . The important thing is that the economic desertion of a stratum of the labour aristocracy to the side of the bourgeoisie has matured and become an accomplished fact. And this economic fact, this change in the relations between classes, will find political expression in one form or another without much "difficulty."

On the economic basis referred to, the political institutions of modern capitalism—press, Parliament, trade unions, congresses, etc.—created *political* privileges and sops for the respectful meek, reformist and patriotic office employees and workers, corresponding to the economic privileges and sops. Lucrative and easy berths in the Ministries or war industries committees, in Parliament and on various commissions, on the editorial staffs of "respectable," legal newspapers, or on management boards of no less respectable and "bourgeois, law-abiding" trade unions—these are the means with which the imperialist bourgeoisie attracts and rewards the representatives and adherents of the "bourgeois labour parties."

The mechanics of political democracy work in the same direction. It would not do to dispense with elections in our age; the masses cannot be dispensed with, and in this epoch of the printing press and parliamentarism it is *impossible* to make the masses follow without a widely ramified, systematically managed, well-equipped system of flattery, lies and fraud, without juggling with fashionable and popular catch-words, scattering promises right and left of all kinds of reforms and blessings to the workers, if only they will give up the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. I would call this system Lloyd-Georgism, after the name of one of the most prominent and dexterous representatives of this system in the classic land of the "bourgeois labour party," the English Cabinet Minister, Lloyd George. A first class bourgeois business man and master of political cunning, a popular orator, able to make any kind of speech, even r-r-revolutionary speeches before labour audiences, capable of securing fairly considerable sops for the obedient workers, in the shape of social reforms (insurance, etc.), Lloyd George serves the bourgeoisie splendidly.* He serves it precisely among the workers, he transmits its influence to the proletariat, where it is most necessary and most difficult morally to subjugate the masses.

*Recently I read in an English magazine an article by a Tory, a political opponent of Lloyd George's, entitled *Lloyd George from a Tory Point of View*. The war has opened the eyes of this opponent and made him realise what an excellent servant of the bourgeoisie this Lloyd George is. The Tories have made peace with him.

. . . The social chauvinist or (what is the same thing) the opportunist *tendency* can neither disappear nor "return" to the revolutionary proletariat. Wherever Marxism is popular among the workers, this political tendency, this "bourgeois labour party" will swear by the name of Marx. It cannot be prohibited, as one cannot prohibit a trading firm from using any label, any sign, any advertisement. It has always happened in history, that after the death of revolutionary leaders who were popular among the oppressed classes, their enemies attempted to assume their name in order to deceive the oppressed classes.

The fact is that "bourgeois labour parties," as a political phenomenon, have already been formed in *all* the advanced capitalist countries and unless a determined ruthless struggle is conducted against these parties all along the line—or, what is the same thing, against these groups, tendencies, etc.—it is useless talking about the struggle against imperialism, about Marxism, or about the socialist labour movement. . . . There is not the slightest reason for thinking that these parties can disappear *before* the social revolution. On the contrary, the nearer the revolution approaches, the stronger it flares up, the more sudden and violent the transitions from one stage to another will be in the course of the revolution, the greater will be the role in the labour movement of the struggle of the revolutionary mass stream against the opportunist philistine stream. Kautskyism does not represent any independent trend, since it has no roots in the masses or in the privileged stratum which has deserted to the side of the bourgeoisie. The danger of Kautskyism lies in that it utilises the ideology of the past in its efforts to reconcile the proletariat with the "bourgeois labour party," to preserve the unity of the proletariat with that party and thereby to uphold its prestige. The masses no longer follow the lead of the avowed social-chauvinists. Lloyd George has been howled down and hissed at workers' meetings in England. Hyndman has resigned the party. The Renaudels and Scheidemanns, Potressovs and Gvozdyovs,¹¹³ have to be protected by the police. The covert defence of social-chauvinism by the Kautskyans is the most dangerous.

One of the most common sophisms of Kautsky is his reference to the "masses"; we do not want to break away from the masses and mass organisations! But think how Engels approached this question. In the nineteenth century the "mass organisations" of the English trade unions were on the side of the bourgeois labour party. Marx and Engels did not conciliate with it on this ground, but exposed it. They did not forget, first that the trade union organisations directly embrace the *minority of the proletariat*. In England, then, as in Germany now, not more than one-fifth of the proletariat was organised. It cannot be seriously believed that it is possible to organise the

majority of the proletariat under capitalism. Second—and this is the main point—it is not so much a question of how many members there are in an organisation, as what is the real, objective meaning of its policy: does this policy represent the masses? Does it serve the masses, *i.e.*, the liberation of the masses from capitalism, or does it represent the interests of the minority, its conciliation with capitalism? The latter was true for England of the nineteenth century, it is true for Germany, etc., at the present time.

Engels draws a distinction between the "bourgeois labour party" of the *old* trade unions, a privileged minority, and the "great mass," the real majority. Engels appeals to the latter, which is not infected with "bourgeois respectability." This is the essence of Marxian tactics!

We cannot—nor can anybody else—calculate beforehand what portion of the proletariat will follow the social-chauvinists and opportunists. This will only be revealed by the struggle; it will be definitely decided only by the socialist revolution. But we know definitely that the "defenders of the fatherland" in the imperialist war *represent* only a minority. And it is our duty, therefore, if we wish to remain Socialists, to go down *lower* and *deeper*, to the real masses: this is the meaning and the whole content of the struggle against opportunism. Exposing the fact that the opportunists and social-chauvinists in reality betray and sell out the interests of the masses, that they defend the temporary privileges of a minority of the workers, that they transmit bourgeois ideas and influences, that in practice they are allies and agents of the bourgeoisie, we thereby teach the masses to understand their real political interests, to fight for socialism and the revolution throughout the long and painful vicissitudes of imperialist wars and imperialist armistices.

To explain to the masses the inevitability and the necessity of breaking with opportunism, to educate them for revolution by a merciless struggle against opportunism, to utilise the experiences of the war for the purpose of unmasking the hideousness of National-Liberal-Labour politics and not to cover them up, is the only Marxian line to be followed in the world labour movement.—*Autumn* 1916.

("Imperialism and the Split in the Socialist Movement,"
Collected Works, Vol. XIX.)¶

AGAINST JINGOISM

THE currents in the socialist movement have remained the same. . . . In England, Hyndman's group (the English Social-Democrats, the British Socialist Party) has completely sunk into chauvinism, as is the case with the majority of the semi-Liberal leaders of the trade unions. Resistance to chauvinism is offered by MacDonald and Keir

Hardie of the opportunist Independent Labour Party. This is really an exception to the rule, but some revolutionary Social-Democrats who had long fought against Hyndman have now left the ranks of the British Socialist Party.—1st November 1914.

(*Collected Works*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 84-5.)¶

TWO TRENDS IN ENGLAND

THE fundamental class significance—or, if you will, the social-economic content—of opportunism consists in the fact that certain elements of modern democracy have shifted (in fact, *i.e.*, even while they may not be conscious of it) to the side of the bourgeoisie on a number of separate questions. Opportunism is Liberal-Labour politics. Whoever is afraid of the “factional” appearance of these expressions would do well to take upon himself the labour of studying the opinions of Marx, Engels and Kautsky (isn't the latter especially appropriate for the opponents of “factionalism?”) concerning, let us say, English opportunism. The result of such a study would undoubtedly be the recognition of the fundamental and essential coincidence between opportunism and Liberal-Labour politics. The fundamental class meaning of social-nationalism of our days is exactly the same. The fundamental *idea* of opportunism is an alliance or a coming together (sometimes an agreement, a *bloc*, etc.) of the bourgeoisie with its antipodes. The fundamental idea of social-chauvinism is exactly the same. The ideological and political affinity, connection, even identity of opportunism and social-chauvinism are beyond doubt. . . .

. . . Taken by and large, *there is* such an affinity (and we speak only in general and of the movements as a whole). Take, not one individual country, but a number of countries, say ten European countries: Germany, *England*, *France*, *Belgium*, Russia, Italy, Sweden, Switzerland, Holland, and Bulgaria. Only the three italicised countries may seem to be exceptions. In the others the *trends* of the decided opponents of opportunism have given birth to the *trends* that are hostile to social-nationalism. . . . England alone seems to be an exception; in reality, there were two main currents in England before the war identifying themselves with two daily newspapers—which is the truest objective indicator of the mass character of these trends—namely, the *Daily Citizen*¹¹⁴ as the organ of the opportunists and the *Daily Herald* as the organ of the opponents of opportunism. Both papers were swamped by the wave of nationalism; still, less than one-tenth of the adherents of the former and some three-sevenths of the adherents of the latter have expressed opposition. The usual method of comparison, whereby only the British Socialist Party is compared with the Independent Labour Party, is incorrect because

it overlooks the existence of a *factual bloc* of the latter with the Fabians and the Labour Party.—February 1915.

(“Under a Stolen Flag,” *Collected Works*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 133-135.)¶

HYNDMAN AND KAUTSKY

It seems only yesterday that Hyndman, having turned to the defence of imperialism prior to the war, was looked upon by all “decent” Socialists as an unbalanced crank and that nobody spoke of him otherwise than in a tone of disdain. Now the most eminent Social-Democratic leaders of all the countries have sunk to Hyndman's position, differing among themselves only in shades of opinion and temperament. And it is utterly impossible for us to use more or less parliamentary language in judging or characterising the civic courage of persons like the writers in *Nashe Slovo*,¹¹⁵ who speak of “Mr.” Hyndman in tones of contempt, while “Comrade” Kautsky is treated with deference (obsequiousness?) whether he is mentioned directly or not. Can such an attitude be reconciled with respect for socialism and for one's convictions generally? If we are convinced of the falsity and perniciousness of Hyndman's chauvinism, does it not follow that we must direct our criticism and attacks against the *more influential* and more dangerous defender of such views, *viz.*, Kautsky? —Summer 1915.

(“Collapse of the Second International,” *Collected Works*, Vol. XVIII, p. 275.)¶

ENGLISH DISLIKE OF THEORY

POLITICAL freedom has hitherto been incomparably greater in England than in the other countries of Europe. Here more than elsewhere the bourgeoisie has become accustomed to rule, and knows how to rule. The relations between the classes are more developed and in many respects clearer than in other countries. The absence of conscription makes the people more free in their attitude towards the war, in the sense that everybody is free to refuse to join the army. The government (which in England is the Executive Committee of the bourgeoisie in its purest form) is, therefore, compelled to strain every nerve to rouse “popular enthusiasm for war.” This would be absolutely impossible to attain without radically altering the law, were not the proletarian mass entirely disorganised and demoralised by the desertion of a minority of the best-situated, skilled and organised workers to liberal, *i.e.*, bourgeois politics. The English trade unions comprise about one-fifth of the wage workers. The leaders of these trade unions are mostly Liberals whom Marx long ago called agents of the bourgeoisie.

All these peculiarities of England help us, on the one hand, better to understand the essence of present-day social-chauvinism, for this essence is *identical* in autocratic and democratic countries, in militarist countries and in such as know no military conscription; on the other hand, they help us to comprehend, on the basis of facts, the meaning of that compromise with social-chauvinism which expresses itself in such actions as extolling the peace slogan, etc.

The most consummate expression of opportunism and of Liberal-Labour politics is undoubtedly the Fabian Society. Let the reader peruse the correspondence of Marx and Engels with Sorge. The reader will find there an excellent characterisation of that society by Engels, who treats Messrs. Sidney Webb and Co. as a gang of bourgeois humbugs whose aim it is to demoralise the workers, to influence them in a counter-revolutionary direction. One may vouch for the fact that none of the more or less outstanding and influential leaders of the Second International ever attempted to refute this characterisation of Engels, or even to doubt its correctness.

Let us now compare the *facts*, leaving theory aside for a moment. We note that the conduct of the Fabians during the war (compare, for instance, their weekly paper, the *New Statesman*) and the behaviour of the German Social-Democratic Party, including Kautsky, are *perfectly identical*. We see the same direct and indirect defence of social-chauvinism; the same combination of such a defence with a readiness to utter sentimental, humanitarian and near-left phrases about peace, disarmament, etc.

The fact stares one in the face and the conclusion that must be inevitably and irrefutably drawn from it, no matter how unpleasant it may be for various persons, is that in practice, the leaders of the present-day German Social-Democratic Party, including Kautsky, are exactly such agents of the bourgeoisie as Engels called the Fabians a long time ago. The non-recognition of Marxism by the Fabians and its "recognition" by Kautsky and Co. makes no difference in the matter *per se*, in practical politics; it only proves that certain writers, politicians, etc., have converted Marxism into Struveism. Their hypocrisy is *not* their personal vice; they may be in individual cases the most virtuous heads of families; their hypocrisy is the result of the objective falsity of their social position, namely, of the fact that they are supposed to represent the revolutionary proletariat, whereas in reality they are agents charged with the duty of transmitting to the proletariat bourgeois-chauvinist ideas.

The Fabians are more sincere and honest than Kautsky and Co. because they have not promised to stand for a revolution; politically, however, they are the same.

The existence of time-honoured political freedom in England, and the developed state of its political life in general and of its bour-

geoisie in particular, made it possible for various *shadings* of bourgeois opinion quickly, easily and freely to find new expression in new political organisations of that country. One of such organisations is the Union of Democratic Control. The secretary and treasurer of this organisation is E. D. Morel, who is now a constant contributor to the central organ of the Independent Labour Party, the *Labour Leader*. This individual has repeatedly been the candidate of the Liberal Party in the Parliamentary constituency of Birkenhead. When, shortly after the outbreak of the war, Morel expressed himself *against* it, he was notified by a committee of the Birkenhead Liberal Association, in a letter dated October 2, 1914, that his candidature was no longer acceptable to the Liberals, i.e., he had been simply expelled from the Party. Morel replied, on October 14, in a letter which he subsequently published as a pamphlet entitled, *The Outbreak of the War*. In this pamphlet, as well as in a number of other articles, Morel exposes *his* government, proving the falsehood of references to the violation of Belgium's neutrality as the cause of the war, or to the destruction of Prussian imperialism as the aim of the war, etc., etc. Morel defends the programme of the Union of Democratic Control which stands for peace, disarmament, the right of every region to decide its own fate by plebiscite, and the democratic control of foreign politics.

All this shows that Morel, as a person, undoubtedly deserves credit for his sincere sympathy with democracy, for turning from the chauvinist bourgeoisie to the pacifist bourgeoisie. When Morel proves by facts that *his* government duped the people by denying the existence of secret treaties at a time when such treaties existed; that the English bourgeoisie as early as 1887 had clearly recognised that the violation of Belgium's neutrality was inevitable in the event of a Franco-German war, and had decidedly rejected the idea of interfering (Germany then was not yet such a dangerous competitor!); that French militarists like Colonel Boucher,¹¹⁶ in a number of books published before the war, openly admitted the existence of plans for an *aggressive* war by France and Russia against Germany; that the well-known military authority of England, Colonel Repington, as early as 1911 recognised in the public press that the growth of Russian armaments after 1905 was a menace to Germany; when Morel proves all this, we cannot fail to admit that we are dealing here with an exceptionally honest and courageous bourgeois who is not afraid to break with his own party.

Everybody will have to admit, however, that Morel is nevertheless, a bourgeois, that his phrases about peace and disarmament remain empty words, since without revolutionary actions on the part of the proletariat there can be neither a democratic peace nor disarmament. Morel, who parted ways with the Liberals on the question of the

present war, remains a Liberal as far as all the other economic and political questions are concerned. Why, then, when the *same* bourgeois phrases about peace and disarmament are being covered up with Marxist gestures by Kautsky, is this not recognised as hypocrisy, but is proclaimed as Kautsky's merit? Only the undeveloped political relations and the absence of political freedom in Germany are an obstacle to the formation, as quickly and easily as in England, of a bourgeois league for peace and disarmament with Kautsky's programme.

This being the case, let us admit the truth, that Kautsky occupies the position of a pacifist bourgeois and not that of a revolutionary Social-Democrat.

The events that are now taking place are great enough to warrant one having the courage to tell the truth without respect to persons.

Disliking abstract theories and taking pride in their own common sense, the English often approach political questions *more directly*, thus helping the Socialists of other countries to find real content under the cloak of phraseology of every kind (including "Marxian"). The pamphlet *Socialism and War** published by the chauvinist paper, the *Clarion*, before the war, is in this respect instructive. The pamphlet contains the anti-war "manifesto" of the American Socialist, Upton Sinclair, and a reply to it by Robert Blatchford, a chauvinist, who has long been in agreement with Hyndman's imperialist position.

Sinclair is an emotional Socialist without theoretical education. He attacks the question "simply"; he is indignant over the approaching war and seeks refuge from it in socialism.

"We are told," says Sinclair, "that the (socialist) movement is yet too weak, that we must wait for evolution. But evolution is working in the hearts of men; we are its instruments, and if we do not struggle, there is no evolution. We are told that the movement (against the war) would be crushed out; but I declare my faith that the crushing out of any rebellion which sought, from the motive of sublime humanity, to prevent war, would be the greatest victory that socialism has ever gained—would shake the conscience of civilisation and rouse the workers of the world as nothing in all history has yet done. Let us not be too fearful for our movement, nor put too much stress on numbers and the outward appearances of power. A thousand men aglow with faith and determination are stronger than a million grown cautious and respectable; and there is no danger to the Socialist movement so great as the danger of becoming an established institution."

This, as can be seen, is a naive, theoretically unsound, but profoundly correct warning against vulgarising Socialism; it is also a call to revolutionary struggle.

**Socialism and War*, The Clarion Press, 44 Worship Street, London, E.C.

What does Blatchford say in reply to Sinclair?

That war is caused by capitalist and militarist interests is true, he says. I am no less in favour of peace and of socialism superseding capitalism than any other Socialist, he declares, but Sinclair will not convince me by "rhetorical and beautiful phrases." He will not be able to do away with the facts. Facts, friend Sinclair, are stubborn things, and the German menace is a fact. Neither we nor the German Socialists are strong enough to stop the war, he continues. Sinclair exaggerates our powers tremendously. We are not united. We have neither money, nor arms, "nor discipline." What remains for us is to *help* the British government to increase its navy, for we have no other guarantee of peace, and there can be none.

In continental Europe the chauvinists were never so frank either before or after the beginning of the war. In Germany we have, instead of frankness, Kautsky's hypocrisy and play with sophisms. The same is true of Plekhanov. This is why it is instructive to cast a glance at the situation in a more advanced country. There, nobody will be deceived by sophisms or a travesty of Marxism. There, the questions are placed squarely and more truly. Let us learn from the more "advanced" English.

Sinclair is naive in his appeal, although this appeal is profoundly true at bottom; he is naive because he ignores the half-century old development of mass socialism, the struggle of currents within it; because he does not see that an objectively revolutionary situation as well as a revolutionary organisation are prerequisites for the growth of an active revolutionary movement. This cannot be replaced by "sentiment." The grim and merciless struggle between powerful currents in socialism, between the opportunist and revolutionary currents, cannot be evaded by rhetoric.

Blatchford speaks bluntly and betrays the deeply hidden arguments of the Kautskyists who are afraid to tell the truth. We are still weak, this is all, says Blatchford, but by this directness he at once reveals his opportunism and chauvinism in all its nakedness. It becomes immediately apparent that he serves the bourgeoisie and the opportunists. By declaring socialism to be "weak" he himself *weakens* it by preaching anti-socialist bourgeois politics.

Like Sinclair, but in a reverse way, like a coward and not like a fighter, like a traitor and not like one "rashly brave," he, too, ignores the prerequisites for creating a revolutionary situation.

As far as his practical conclusions are concerned, his politics (rejection of revolutionary activities, of propaganda in favour of such activities, and preparation for them), Blatchford, a vulgar chauvinist, is in complete accord with Plekhanov and Kautsky.

Marxian words have in our days become a cover for the absolute

renunciation of Marxism; to be a Marxist one must expose the "Marxian" hypocrisy of the leaders of the Second International, one must fearlessly recognise the struggle that is going on between two currents in socialism, one must trace the problems of this struggle to their logical conclusions. This is the conclusion to be drawn from English relationships, which reveal the *Marxian* essence of affairs without Marxian words.—*April-May 1915.*

("English Pacifism and English Dislike of Theory,"
Collected Works, Vol. XVIII, pp. 162-7.)¶

SPLIT OR DECAY

THAT is how the *Sozial Demokrat* in No. 35 put the question in developing and applying to the German Social-Democratic Party the fundamental ideas contained in the manifesto on the war issued by the Central Committee of our Party. See how *facts* confirm this conclusion!

. . . In England, Comrade Russell Williams expressed his opinion even in the columns of the moderate, pacifist *Labour Leader*, the Central Organ of the Independent Labour Party, and he was supported by many local workers. In *Nashe Slovo*, the conciliators' organ published in Paris, Comrade Ornatsky,* who had won great credit for himself by his internationalist work in England, advocated an immediate split there. Needless to say, we are in complete agreement with Comrade Ornatsky in his controversy with Comrade Th. Rothstein,† the contributor to the *Communist* who has taken up a Kautskyan position.—*March-April 1916.*

("Split or Decay," *Collected Works*, Vol. XXX.)

IMPERIALIST WAR AND CIVIL WAR

THE Socialists must explain to the masses that the English Socialist who does not fight now for the right of secession for Ireland, India, etc., is only a Socialist and internationalist in words, but in actual fact is a chauvinist and annexationist. . . . It inevitably follows from the Manifesto of the Zimmerwald Conference‡ and from the Circular of the International Commission of February 10, 1916 (Bulletin, No. 3), that "war against war" and "fight for peace" is *hypocrisy* if it is not inseparably linked up with immediate *revolutionary mass struggle*, and with propaganda and preparation for it. But this conclusion must be expounded openly and definitely. First of all we must explain to the masses what the development of the revolutionary

*Comrade Chicherin. See note 166.—*Ed.*

†See note 36.—*Ed.*

‡See Note 183.—*Ed.*

mass struggle *must* lead to in the conditions of a European war. It will inevitably lead to the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war for socialism. This is hinted at when it is said that it is better for the workers to die for their own cause rather than for the cause of another class. But hints are not enough. We must clearly present to the masses the great, although perhaps not imminent task. They must know where they should go, and why. Secondly, when we call upon the masses to fight against their government "irrespective of the military position of the particular country" we thereby not only reject in principle "national defence" in the *present* war, but we also recognise the *desirability* of the defeat of every *bourgeois* government in order to convert this defeat into revolution. And we must say this straight out: the revolutionary mass struggle cannot become international unless the class conscious representatives of it openly unite for the defeat and overthrow of *all* bourgeois governments. Thirdly, and this is the most important of all, it is *impossible* to carry on the revolutionary mass struggle unless underground organisations are formed, not only among the upper ranks but also among the lower ranks, for the purpose of carrying on propaganda, making preparations for it, and for discussing the progress and the conditions for it. If there have been street demonstrations in Germany, if there have been a lot of letters from the front in France, calling on people not to subscribe to war loan, if mass strikes have taken place in *England*, let alone in *Russia*, then, in order to assist this struggle, in order to strengthen its international solidarity, it is absolutely necessary to give publicity in the *free, i.e., the illegal*, press to every step along this path, to test every success, weigh up their conditions, to rally and develop the struggle. Without an illegal organisation and an illegal press, the recognition of "mass action" (as is the case in Switzerland) will remain a bare phrase.—*Beginning of April 1916.*

("Proposal of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. to the Second Socialist Conference called by the I.S.C.",
Collected Works, Vol. XXX.)

WAR AND REVOLUTION

PEACE reigned in Europe, but that was because the domination of the European nations over the hundreds of millions of inhabitants of the colonies was maintained only by constant, uninterrupted, unceasing wars, which we Europeans do not regard as wars because they have too frequently resembled, not wars, but the most brutal massacre, the extermination of unarmed peoples. And the position is precisely such that, in order to understand modern war, we must first of all cast a general glance over the policy of the European Powers as a whole. We must take, not single examples, not single cases, which can always

be torn from the general context of social phenomena and which are worthless, because it is quite as easy to quote opposite examples. No; we must take the whole policy of the whole system of European states in their political and economic inter-relationships in order to understand how the present war steadily and inevitably arose out of this system.

. . . At the present time we have before us, first of all, the alliance of two groups of capitalist Powers. We have before us all the great world capitalist Powers—Great Britain, France, America, Germany—the whole policy of which for a number of decades has been one of unceasing economic rivalry for domination over the whole world, for the strangulation of small nations, for securing threefold and tenfold profits on bank capital, which has enchained the whole world with its influence. This is the actual policy of Great Britain and Germany. I emphasise this. We must never tire of emphasising this because if we forget it, we shall never be able to understand anything about modern war, and we shall remain helplessly in the power of every bourgeois publicist who foists deceptive phrases upon us. . . .

The actual policy of the two groups of great capitalist giants—Great Britain and Germany—who, together with their respective allies have advanced against each other, this policy must be traced back, studied and understood as a whole for several decades before the war.

. . . This policy reveals but one thing, and that is, unceasing economic rivalry between two great world giants of capitalist economy. On the one hand there is Great Britain, a state that owns a great part of the globe, a state that stands in the front rank as far as wealth is concerned, which acquired this wealth not so much from the labour of its own workers as from, principally, the exploitation of vast colonies, from the vast power of the English banks which, at the head of all the other banks, have grown into a group of giant banks quite insignificant in number, some three, four, or five banks in all, with hundreds of billions of roubles at their disposal, so that we can say without exaggeration that there is not a patch of land anywhere on the globe on which this capital has not laid its heavy hand, there is not a patch of land that is not entangled by the thousands of threads of British capital. At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, this capital had grown to such dimensions that its activities extended far beyond the frontiers of single states and formed a group of giant banks with untold wealth. By bringing to the front this insignificant number of banks, it enmeshed the whole world by means of this system in its hundreds of billions of roubles. This is the fundamental feature of the economic policy of Great Britain and of the economic policy of France. . . .

On the other hand, against this group, principally Anglo-French, another group of capitalists advanced, still more predatory, still more

piratical, a group which arrived at the capitalist feasting board when all the places had been taken, but which introduced into the struggle new methods of developing capitalist production, improved technique, incomparable organisation which transformed the old capitalism, the capitalism of free competition, into the capitalism of gigantic trusts, syndicates and cartels. . . .

This group introduced the beginning of the giving of a state character to capitalist production, joining together the great power of capitalism and the great power of the state in one mechanism, putting tens of millions of people into the one organisation of state capitalism. This is the economic history, this is the diplomatic history of a whole number of decades, from which no one can get away. It alone shows us the way to the correct decision on the question of war, and brings us to the conclusion that this war is also the product of the policy of those classes which have engaged in this war, of the two great giants who long before the war threw over the whole world, over every country, the net of their financial exploitation, who economically divided the whole world between themselves before the war. . . .

They had to come into conflict because the redistribution of this domination from the point of view of capitalism had become inevitable. . . .

The old distribution was based on the fact that in the course of several hundred years Great Britain had ruined her previous competitors. Her previous competitor was Holland, who ruled the whole world, her previous competitor was France who waged a war for domination for nearly a century. By means of long wars, Great Britain, on the basis of her economic forces, the forces of her merchant capital, established her unchallenged sway over the whole world. A new pirate appeared, created in 1871, a new capitalist Power, which developed incomparably faster than Great Britain. This is the fundamental fact.

. . . The question as to which of these two pirates first drew the knife is not in the least important. Take the history of the naval and military expenditure of both groups during the past decade, take the history of all the little wars they have waged before this big one—"little" because, only a few Europeans died in these wars, but of the nations who were strangled, who from the European point of view were not even nations (Asiatics, Africans—are these nations?) hundreds of thousands died; the kind of war that was waged against them was as follows: they were unarmed, and they were shot down with machine-guns. Do you call that war? Why, strictly speaking, this is not war, and one may be permitted to forget about it. That is how they deceive the masses wholesale.

This war is the continuation of the policy of conquest, the shooting down of whole nationalities, of incredible atrocities, which the Ger

mans and the British perpetrated in Africa, and the British and Russians in Persia—I don't know which of them did the most—and for which the German capitalists regarded them as enemies. Ah! You are strong because you are rich? But we are stronger than you are, therefore we have the same "sacred" right to plunder as you have. This is what the real history of British and German finance capital during the last decades preceding the war amounts to. This is what the history of Russo-German, Anglo-Russian and Anglo-German relations amounts to. This is the key to the understanding of the objects of the war. That is why the widespread story about the alleged reasons which caused the war to flare up is a fraud and deception. Forgetting the history of finance capital, forgetting that this war broke out for the redistribution of the world, the case is presented as follows: two nations lived peacefully side by side, then one attacked the other, and the other defended itself. Science is forgotten; the banks are forgotten; the people are called upon to take up arms, peasants, who do not know what politics mean, are called upon to take up arms. You've got to defend—and that is all there is to it. If this is the case, then the logical thing is to close down all the newspapers, burn all books and prohibit all talk in the press about annexations—in this way one can proceed to justify such a point of view on annexations. They cannot tell the truth about annexations because the whole history of Russia, of Great Britain and of Germany is just one endless, ruthless war for annexations. In Persia and Africa, ruthless war was waged by the Liberals who in India flogged political offenders because they dared put forward demands for which we have fought in Russia. . . .

. . . At the present time in "free" England, Socialists are flung into prison for saying the same things that I say. . . .

. . . The workers' revolution is growing all over the world. Of course, in other countries it is much more difficult. In those countries there are no semi-maniacs like Nicholas and Rasputin. There, the best people of their class are at the head of the government. . . .

. . . The talented representatives of this class have long been governing there. That is why, although the revolution has not yet come in those countries, it is inevitable, no matter how many revolutionaries may die, as Friedrich Adler died and Karl Liebknecht died. The future is with them, and the workers of all countries are with them. And the workers of all countries must be victorious.—27th May 1917. ("War and Revolution," *Collected Works*, Vol. XXX.)

CHAPTER II

IMPERIALIST WAR IS BEING TRANSFORMED INTO CIVIL WAR

FRATERNISATION AT THE FRONT

IT seems that fraternisation and attempts at intercourse with the enemy are a fact. The military authorities of Germany are disquieted by it; that means that they are attaching serious importance to it. The English paper, the *Labour Leader*, of January 7, 1915, contains a number of quotations from English bourgeois papers which bear witness to the fact that cases of fraternisation between English and German soldiers have occurred, that they established a "forty-eight-hour truce" at Christmas and met in a friendly fashion half-way between the trenches, etc. The English military authorities forbade fraternisation by a *special order*. And still the socialist-opportunists and their defenders (or servants, like Kautsky?) have in the public press assured the workers with an air of unusual self-satisfaction and with the comfortable feeling of being protected by military censorship against refutation, that understandings between the Socialists of the belligerent countries as to anti-war activities are *impossible* (a verbatim expression of Kautsky's in the *Neue Zeit*!)

Suppose Hyndman, Guesde,¹¹⁷ Vandervelde,¹¹⁸ Plekhanov, Kautsky and others, instead of aiding the bourgeoisie, which is now their occupation, had formed an international committee for the propaganda of "fraternisation and attempts at establishing mutual relations" between the Socialists of the belligerent countries in the "trenches" and in the army in general. What would be the result after several months when even now, only six months after the beginning of the war, in spite of all those political bosses, leaders and stars of the first magnitude who betrayed socialism, an opposition has grown up against those who voted for military appropriations and against the ministerialists, while the military authorities threaten death for "fraternisation"?

"There is only one practical question: the victory or defeat of our own country," this is what Kautsky, the servant of the opportunists, wrote in unison with Guesde, Plekhanov and Co. Yes, if we were to forget socialism and the class struggle, this would be true. But if we do not forget socialism, it is untrue! There is another *practical*

question: whether we should perish in a war between slaveholders, ourselves blind and helpless slaves, or whether we should perish for the "attempts at fraternisation" between the workers, with the aim of casting off slavery?

Such, in reality, is the "practical" question.—29th March 1915.

("The Civil War Slogan Illustrated," *Collected Works*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 160-161.)¶

JOHN MACLEAN AND KARL LIEBKNECHT

NOTWITHSTANDING desperate persecution by the bourgeoisie, and notwithstanding the suppression of free speech and press, there has become outlined in every country during the war a trend of revolutionary internationalism. This trend has remained faithful to socialism. It has not yielded to chauvinism; it has not allowed it to be covered up by lying phrases about defence of the fatherland; but, on the contrary, it has exposed all the falsehood of these phrases, the whole criminal nature of the present war which the bourgeoisie of both coalitions is waging with predatory aims in view. To this trend belong, for instance, MacLean in England, who was sentenced to eighteen months' hard labour for his struggle against the predatory English bourgeoisie, Karl Liebknecht¹¹⁹ in Germany, who was sentenced to hard labour by the German imperialist robbers for the "crime" of advocating a revolution in Germany and exposing the predatory character of the war on the German side. To this trend belong also the Bolsheviks in Russia, who are being persecuted by the agents of Russian republican and democratic imperialism for the same "crime" for which MacLean and Karl Liebknecht are being persecuted.—8th September 1917.

("On the Stockholm Conference," *Collected Works*, Vol. XXI, Book I, p. 119.)¶

THE MASSES MOVE AGAINST THE WAR

THERE is no doubt that the beginning of October* has brought us to the greatest turning point in the history of the Russian and, to all appearances, also of the world revolution.

The world workers' revolution started with the actions of individuals who, by their unswerving courage, represented everything honest that has survived the decay of official "socialism," which is in reality social-chauvinism. Liebknecht in Germany, Adler in Austria, MacLean in England—these are the best known names of those individual heroes who took upon themselves the difficult role of forerunners of the world revolution.

*1917.—Ed.

A second stage in the historic preparation for this revolution was a broad mass ferment which assumed the form of a split in the official parties, the form of illegal publications and of street demonstrations. The protest against the war grew—and the number of victims of governmental persecutions also grew. The prisons of countries famed for their lawfulness and even for their freedom, Germany, France, Italy, England, began to be filled with scores and hundreds of internationalists, opponents of the war, advocates of a workers' revolution.—20th October 1917. (*Collected Works*, Vol. XXI, Book I, p. 271.)¶

REPRESSION IN ENGLAND

To strengthen, to develop, to widen, to sharpen mass revolutionary action; to create underground organisations without which it is impossible even in "free" countries to tell the truth to the masses—this is the whole practical programme which Social-Democracy should adopt in this war. All the rest is either lies or phrases, no matter with what opportunist or pacifist theories it embellishes itself.*—January 1916.

("Opportunism and the Collapse of the Second International," *Collected Works*, Vol. XIX.)¶

WORKING CLASS "TREASON"

IN every country, the capitalists are pouring oceans of lies, calumnies, vilifications and accusations of treason upon those Socialists who are behaving as Karl Liebknecht is behaving in Germany, or as the *Pravda*-ists¹²⁰ are behaving in Russia, i.e., who are destroying the "inner unity" between the workers and the capitalists, between the workers and the Plekhanovs, between the workers and the "centrists" of each country, and who are creating unity among the workers of all countries in order to put an end to the predatory, murderous, imperialist war, in order to rid mankind of the yoke of capitalism.

In Germany, the capitalists are persecuting Karl Liebknecht and his friends as traitors. In Germany, too, our comrade, Karl Liebknecht, has been repeatedly threatened with mob violence. This has been mentioned even by the German Plekhanov, the social-chauvinist David. In Russia, the capitalists persecute the *Pravda*-ists as traitors. In England the capitalists persecute the Scottish school teacher, MacLean, as a traitor. The latter is languishing in prison for the

*At the International Women's Congress held in Berne in March 1915, the representatives of the Central Committee of our Party urged the absolute necessity of creating underground organisations. This was rejected. The English women delegates laughed at this proposal and extolled English "liberty." However, a few months afterwards English papers like the *Labour Leader* reached us with blank spaces, and later news arrived about police raids, confiscations of pamphlets, arrests and harsh sentences imposed on comrades who spoke in England about peace, only about peace.

same kind of crime, for the same kind of "treason" as that of which Karl Liebknecht and we, the *Pravda*-ists, are guilty.—28th April 1917.
(*Collected Works*, Vol. XX, Book I, p. 190.)¶

THE IRISH REBELLION, 1916

IN our theses we said that the demand for the immediate liberation of the colonies is just as "impossible" (i.e., impossible without a series of revolutions and unstable without socialism) under capitalism as is the self-determination of nations, or the election of public officials by the people, or a democratic republic, etc.—and that, on the other hand, the demand for the liberation of the colonies is nothing else than the "recognition of the self-determination of nations."

The Polish comrades have not replied to either of these arguments. They tried to draw a distinction between "Europe" and the colonies. Only in regard to Europe do they become inconsistent annexationists and object to the restoration of annexed territories. For the colonies, however, they put forward the imperative demand: "clear out of the colonies. . . ."

. . . The English Socialists should put forward the demand: "Clear out of Africa, India, Australia," but not: "Clear out of Ireland." What theoretical arguments can be advanced to justify such an obviously incorrect distinction. . . .—*Autumn* 1916.

("The Discussion on *Self-Determination* Summed up," *Collected Works*, Vol. XIX.)¶

. . . The last issue of the *Socialist Review* (September 1916) the organ of the opportunist Independent Labour Party, contains, on page 287, the resolution of the Newcastle Conference of that party—the refusal to support any war waged by any government, even if "nominally" they were wars of "defence." On page 205 of the same issue, in an editorial, we read the following declaration: "We do not approve of the Sinn Fein rebellion" (the Irish Rebellion of 1916). "We do not approve of armed rebellion, or of any other form of militarism and war."

Is it necessary to prove that *these* "anti-militarists" and *similar* supporters of disarmament, not in a small nation but in a Great Power, are pernicious opportunists? But theoretically they are quite right in regarding armed rebellion as "a form" of militarism and war.—*October* 1916.

(*Collected Works*, Vol. XIX, "On the Slogan of Disarmament.")¶

THE REAL MEANING OF THE REBELLION

OUR theses were written before the Irish rebellion broke out, but this rebellion must serve as material for testing our theoretical views.

The views of the opponents of self-determination lead to the conclusion that the vitality of small nations which are oppressed by imperialism has already been exhausted, that they cannot play any part against imperialism, that support of their purely national strivings will lead to nothing, etc. The imperialist war of 1914-16 has provided *facts* which refute such conclusions.

The war proved to be an epoch of crisis for the West European nations, for imperialism as a whole. Every crisis casts off the conventional, tears away outer wrappings, sweeps away the obsolete and reveals the deeper springs and forces. What has it revealed from the standpoint of the movement of the oppressed nations? In the colonies there has been a series of attempts at rebellion which, of course, the oppressing nations tried in every way to hide from the world by means of the military censorship. Nevertheless it is known that in Singapore the English ruthlessly suppressed a mutiny among the Indian troops; that there have been attempts at rebellion in French Annam (see *Nashe Slovo*) and in the German Cameroons (see Junius's¹²¹ pamphlet), that in Europe there has been a rebellion in Ireland, which the "freedom loving" English, who did not dare to conscript the Irish, suppressed by executions, and that the Austrian government has condemned to death the deputies of the Czech Diet "for treason" and for the same "crime" has shot whole Czech regiments.

This list is a long, long way from being complete, of course. Nevertheless it proves that *owing* to the crisis of imperialism the flames of national revolt have burst out in the colonies *and* in Europe, that national sympathies and antipathies have manifested themselves in spite of threats and draconic measures of repression. But the crisis of imperialism has certainly not yet reached its climax by a long way: the power of the imperialist bourgeoisie has not yet been undermined (a war of "exhaustion" may bring that about, but it has not been brought about yet), the proletarian movements in the imperialist countries are still very feeble. What will happen when the war has caused complete exhaustion, or when in at least one imperialist country the power of the bourgeoisie is shaken under the blows of proletarian struggle as was the power of the Tsar in 1905?

The Berner Tagwacht,¹²² the organ of the Zimmerwaldists and of some of the Lefts, in its issue of May 9, 1916, published an article on the Irish rebellion entitled "The Song is Sung," signed, K.R. In this article the Irish rebellion was declared to be neither more nor less than a "putsch," for, the author argued, the "Irish question was an agrarian question," the peasants had been appeased by reforms and the nationalist movement remained only as a "purely urban petty bourgeois movement which, notwithstanding the sensation it caused, had not much social backing."

It is not surprising that this monstrously doctrinaire and pedantic opinion should coincide with the opinion of a Russian national-liberal Cadet, Mr. A. Kulisher (see *Rech*¹²³ 1916, No. 102, April 15), who also dubbed the rebellion "the Dublin putsch."

It is to be hoped that in accordance with the adage, "It's an ill wind that blows nobody any good," the comrades who failed to realise the morass they are sinking into by repudiating "self-determination" and by treating the national movements of small nations with disdain, will have their eyes opened by this "accidental coincidence" in the opinion of a representative of the imperialist bourgeoisie and that of a Social-Democrat!

The term "putsch," in the scientific sense of the word, may be employed only when the attempt at insurrection has revealed nothing but a circle of conspirators, or stupid maniacs, and when it has roused no sympathy among the masses. The century-old Irish national movement, having passed through various stages and combinations of class interests, expressed itself, *inter alia*, in a mass Irish National Congress in America (see *Vorwärts*, March 20, 1916) which passed a resolution calling for Irish independence—it expressed itself in street fighting conducted by a section of the urban petty bourgeoisie and a section of the workers after a long period of mass agitation, demonstrations, suppression of papers, etc. Whoever calls such an uprising a "putsch" is either a hardened reactionary or a doctrinaire, who is hopelessly incapable of picturing to himself a social revolution as a living phenomenon.

To imagine that a social revolution is *conceivable* without revolts of small nations in the colonies and in Europe, without the revolutionary outbursts of a section of the petty bourgeoisie *with all its prejudices*, without the movement of non-class-conscious proletarian and semi-proletarian masses against the oppression of the landlords, the church, the monarchy, the foreign yoke, etc.—to imagine that is tantamount to *repudiating social revolution*. Only those who imagine that in one place an army will line up and say "we are for socialism" and in another place, another army will say, "we are for imperialism" and believe that this will be the social revolution, only those who hold such a ridiculously pedantic opinion could vilify the Irish rebellion by calling it a "putsch."

Whoever expects a "pure" social revolution *will never* live to see it. Such a person pays lip-service to revolution without understanding what revolution is.

The Russian Revolution of 1905 was a bourgeois-democratic revolution. It consisted of a series of battles in which *all* the discontented classes, groups and elements of the population participated. Among these there were masses that were imbued with the crudest prejudices, with the most vague and phantastic aims of struggle;

there were little groups which accepted Japanese money; there were speculators, adventurers, etc. *Objectively*, the mass movement was smashing tsarism and paving the way for democracy; that is why the class-conscious workers led it.

The socialist revolution in Europe *can be nothing* else but an outburst of mass struggle on the part of all the oppressed and discontented elements. Sections of the petty bourgeoisie and of the backward workers will inevitably participate in it—without such participation mass struggle is *impossible*, without it *no* revolution is possible—and just as inevitably will they bring into the movement their prejudices, their reactionary phantasies, their weaknesses and errors. But *objectively*, they will attack *capital*, and the class-conscious vanguard of the revolution, the advanced proletariat, expressing this objective truth of a heterogeneous and discordant, motley and outwardly incohesive mass struggle, will be able to unify and direct it, to capture power, to seize the banks, to expropriate the trusts (hated by all, though for different reasons!) and introduce other dictatorial measures which in their totality will amount to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the victory of socialism, which, however, will by no means immediately "purge" itself of the petty-bourgeois slag.

"Social-democracy," we read in the Polish theses (I, 4) "must utilise the struggle of the young colonial bourgeoisie against European imperialism *in order to intensify the revolutionary crisis in Europe*." (Author's italics.)

Is it not clear that it is least of all permissible to contrast Europe to the colonies in *this* respect? The struggle of the oppressed nations *in Europe*, a struggle capable of going to the lengths of insurrection and street fighting, breach of military discipline in the army and martial law, "sharpens the revolutionary crisis in Europe" infinitely more than a much more complete rebellion in a single colony. A blow delivered against the British imperialist bourgeoisie by a rebellion in Ireland has a hundred times more political significance than a blow of equal weight would have in Asia and in Africa.

The French chauvinist press recently reported that the eightieth issue of an illegal magazine, *Free Belgium*, had appeared in Belgium. It is true that the French chauvinist press very often prevaricates, but this piece of news resembles the truth. While the chauvinist and Kautskyan German Social-Democracy refrained from establishing a free press for itself during the two years of the war and has servilely borne the yoke of military censorship (only the left radical elements, to their honour be it said, have published pamphlets and manifestoes in spite of the censorship), an oppressed civilised nation replied to a military oppression unparalleled in its ferocity by establishing an organ of revolutionary protest! The dialectics of history are such that small nations, powerless as an *independent* factor in the struggle

against imperialism, play a part as one of the ferments, one of the bacilli which facilitate the entry into the arena of the *real* power against imperialism, namely, the socialist proletariat.

The General Staffs in the present war assiduously strive to utilise all national and revolutionary movements in the camps of the enemy: the Germans utilise the Irish rebellion, the French utilise the Czech movement, etc. From their standpoint they are acting quite properly. They would not be treating a serious war seriously if they did not take advantage of the least weakness of the enemy, if they did not seize every opportunity that offered, the more so that it is impossible to know beforehand at what moment, where, and with what force a powder magazine will "explode." We would be very inefficient revolutionaries if, in the great proletarian war for emancipation and socialism, we did not know how to utilise *every* popular movement against *each separate* disaster to imperialism in order to sharpen and extend the crisis. If, on the one hand, we were to declare and to repeat in a thousand variations that we are "opposed" to all national oppression and, on the other hand, we were to describe the heroic revolt of the most mobile and intelligent sections of certain classes in an oppressed nation against their oppressors as a "putsch," we should sink to the stupid level of the Kautskyans.

The misfortune of the Irish is that they rose prematurely, when the European revolt of the proletariat had *not yet* matured. Capitalism is not so harmoniously built that the various springs of rebellion can immediately merge into one, of their own accord, without reverses and defeats. On the contrary, the very fact that revolts break out at different times and in different places and are of different kinds assures wide scope and depth to the general movement. Only in revolutionary movements which are often premature, partial, sporadic, and, therefore, unsuccessful, will the masses gain experience, acquire knowledge, gather strength, get to know their real leaders, the socialist proletarians, and in that way prepare for the general onslaught, in the same way as separate strikes, demonstrations, local and national, mutinies in the army, outbreaks among the peasantry, etc., prepared the way for the general onslaught in 1905.—*Autumn* 1916.

("The Discussion on *Self-Determination* Summed up," *Collected Works*, Vol. XIX.)

CHAPTER III

BRITISH IMPERIALISM AND THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

CAPITALISM AND ANNEXATIONS

THE reply of the French and the English governments offers convincing proof of the soundness of our repeated assertions that neither the Russian, nor the French, nor the English, nor the German government is in a position to give up the policy of annexations, and that all such promises are intended to deceive the peoples.

We are fighting in order to seize Alsace-Lorraine, we are fighting for victory, replied the French. Please live up to your treaty obligations and fight for Russian and German Poland, replied the Englishmen.

The bitter truth—the fact that capitalism cannot be reconciled to a non-annexationist policy—is exposed once more. The failure of the policy of the "conciliators," of those who wish to make peace between the capitalists and the proletariat, the policy of the ministerialists, of the Narodniki and the Mensheviks—is most obvious.—*13th June* 1917. (*Collected Works*, Vol. XX, Book II, p. 164.)¶

PACIFISM A SAFEGUARD AGAINST REVOLT

THE *Economist*, the journal of the English millionaires, maintains a very instructive line in relation to the war. The representative of the most advanced capital, that of the oldest and richest capitalist country, sheds tears over the war and incessantly expresses a wish for peace. Those Social-Democrats who, together with the opportunists and Kautsky, think that the socialist programme consists in the propaganda of peace, may be convinced of their error by reading the English *Economist*. They may realise that their programme is not socialist, but bourgeois-pacifist. Dreams of peace without the propaganda of revolutionary action only express the horror of war and have nothing to do with socialism.

Moreover, the English *Economist* is for peace precisely because it is afraid of revolution. In the issue of February 13, 1915, for instance we read:

"Philanthropists profess to hope that the peace settlement will

bring with it a great international reduction of armies and armaments. . . . But those who know the forces which really control the diplomacy of Europe see no Utopias. The outlook is for bloody revolutions and fierce wars between labour and capital, or between the masses and the governing classes of Continental Europe."

In the issue of March 27, 1915, we again find the expression of a desire for peace which would guarantee the freedom of nationalities as promised by Edward Grey, etc. Should this hope fail to be realised, the paper says, the war "will end in revolutionary chaos, beginning no one can say where and ending in no one can say what."

The English pacifist millionaires understand modern politics much better than the opportunists, the followers of Kautsky and similar socialist peace whiners. Messrs. the bourgeoisie, know, first, that phrases about a democratic peace must remain an idle, foolish utopia as long as the old forces "actually control diplomacy," i.e., as long as the capitalist class has not been expropriated. Second Messrs. the bourgeoisie appreciate the perspective, soberly foreseeing "bloody revolutions," a "revolutionary chaos." A socialist revolution always appears to the bourgeoisie as "revolutionary chaos."

We see in the realistic politics of the capitalist countries three kinds of peace sympathies.

(1.) The enlightened millionaires wish to hasten peace because they are afraid of revolution. A "democratic" peace (without annexations, with limitations of armaments, etc.) they soberly and correctly describe as utopia under capitalism.

This philistine utopia is preached by the opportunists, the adherents of Kautsky, etc.

(2.) The unenlightened masses of the people (the petty bourgeoisie, semi-proletarians, a section of the workers, etc.) desiring peace express in a very hazy form the growing protest against the war, the growing, as yet undefined revolutionary sentiment.

(3.) The enlightened vanguard of the proletariat, the revolutionary Social-Democrats, attentively watch the sentiments of the masses, utilising their growing inclination towards peace, not in order to support the vulgar Utopias of a "democratic" peace under capitalism, not in order to encourage hopes for the intervention of the philanthropists, the authorities, the bourgeoisie, but in order to make the vague revolutionary sentiments clear, to enlighten the masses by a thousand facts of pre-war politics, to enlighten them consistently, unflinchingly. Basing themselves on the experience of the masses and on their sentiments, they proceed to show the necessity of mass revolutionary action against the bourgeoisie and the governments of their country as the *only* road towards democracy and socialism.—*Ist May 1915.* (Collected Works, Vol. XVIII, pp. 180-1.)¶

HENDERSON IN PETROGRAD

THREE Ministers of the Allied countries, Henderson of England, Thomas¹²⁴ of France, and Vandervelde of Belgium, have declared that they do not want "annexations," but "the liberation of territories." The paper of the Kerenskys and the Chernovs denounced the statement—and quite justly—as "sleight-of-hand" performed by the "bourgeois-trained Socialists," and hurled at the latter the following angry and sarcastic tirade:

"True, they" (the three Ministers) "demand the liberation of territories only 'in accordance with the wishes of the population!' Splendid! But in that case we must demand of them and of ourselves logical consistency. We must allow for the 'liberation of the territories' of Ireland and Finland on the one hand, of Algeria and Siam on the other. It would be exceedingly interesting to hear the opinion of the Socialist, Albert Thomas, on the 'self-determination' of Algeria. . . ."

. . . You, gentlemen, Russian Ministers, Narodniki and Mensheviks¹²⁵, you yourselves have exposed the disingenuousness, the falseness of your attitude and actions by citing the examples of Ireland and Algeria. You yourselves have proved that in speaking of "annexations" one must not limit oneself to territories seized only during the present war. You have defeated yourselves, as well, as the *Izvestia*¹²⁶ of the Petrograd Soviet, which, proudly ignorant had only recently declared that "annexations" meant the seizure of territories during the present war. But who does not know that Ireland and Algeria were seized decades and centuries before the present war? . . .

. . . But this is not all. Once you question Henderson about Ireland, and Albert Thomas about Algeria, once you oppose the opinion of the French *people* to that of the "French bourgeoisie that is in power," once you call Henderson and Albert Thomas "bourgeois-trained Socialists,"—then why have you forgotten all about yourselves?—*14th June 1917.*

(Collected Works, Vol. XX, Book II, pp. 181-82.)¶

MACDONALD AND STOCKHOLM

You would not have regarded as a victory the issue of a passport to MacDonald,* a man who has never carried on a revolutionary struggle against capitalism and who is permitted to pass because he had never expressed the ideas, or principles, or practice or experience

*To attend the proposed Stockholm Congress. See Note 127.—*Ed.*

of that revolutionary struggle against the English capitalists for which our Comrade MacLean and hundreds of other English Socialists are in prison, for which our Comrade Liebknecht, who said, "German soldiers fight against your Kaiser," has been sentenced to hard labour. . . . MacLean and Liebknecht—these are names of Socialists who put the idea of revolutionary struggle against imperialism into life.—17th June 1917.

(*Collected Works*, Vol. XX, Book II, p. 202.)¶

THE ENGLISH SOCIALISTS AND STOCKHOLM

WE are confronted here, I think, with a fact of extraordinary political importance and we are in duty bound to launch a vigorous campaign against the Russian and Anglo-French chauvinists who have declined Borgbjerg's invitation to participate in the conference. We ought not to overlook the essence, the meaning, of this whole affair. I am going to read to you Borgbjerg's¹²⁸ proposal exactly as it was reported by the *Rabochaya Gazeta*.¹²⁹ I shall point out how back of this whole comedy of an alleged Socialist Congress there are actually the political manoeuvres of German imperialism. The German capitalists use the German social-chauvinists for the purpose of inviting the social-chauvinists of all countries to the conference. That is why it is necessary to launch a great campaign.

Why do they do it through the Socialists? Because they want to fool the working masses. Those diplomats are subtle; to say so openly would not do, they think it more effective to utilise the Danish Plekhanov. . . .

. . . The English and the French Socialists have declined to attend the conference. This indicates that the Anglo-French chauvinists, who call themselves Socialists, are really agents of the bourgeoisie, because they are instrumental in continuing the imperialist war despite the tremendous efforts made by the German Socialist majority through Borgbjerg; for the German government, in using Borgbjerg, undoubtedly says: the situation is such that I am forced to return to you your booty (the German Colonies in Africa). This is confirmed by the fact that the situation in Germany is most desperate, that the country is on the brink of ruin; to carry on the war now is a hopeless task. This is the reason why they say they are ready to give up almost all the booty, for by saying this they are still striving to retain at least something. The diplomats communicate with each other freely, while the bourgeois papers, whenever they write of foreign affairs, fool the people with phrases.

There is no doubt that when the English and the French social-chauvinists declined to attend the conference, they were familiar with all the facts. They must have gone to the Ministry of Foreign

Affairs where they were told: Such and such are the underlying facts, we do not want you to go there. This is exactly what happened.—8th May 1917. (*Collected Works*, Vol. XX, Book I, pp. 287-290.)¶

THE MEANING OF THE ENGLISH WORKERS' DECISION ON STOCKHOLM

AN appraisal of all trends of international socialism from the point of view of principle was made *only* by the party of the Bolsheviks in a detailed resolution adopted at a conference, May 7-12, 1917,* and confirmed by the Sixth Congress of our Party in August. To forget this appraisal made from the point of view of principle, and to argue about the Stockholm Conference without considering it, means to abandon principles altogether.

As a sample of the abandonment of principles prevailing among all the petty-bourgeois democrats, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, we may point to an article in the issue of the *Novaya Zhizn*¹³⁰ for August 23. This article deserves attention just because it combines in one place, in a paper occupying the extreme Left Wing of the petty-bourgeois democrats, the most widespread errors, prejudices, and lack of ideas as regards Stockholm.

One may, for one reason or another—says the leading article in the *Novaya Zhizn*—take a negative stand towards the Stockholm Conference; one may renounce in principle the attempts at reconciling the "defencist majorities." But why deny something that is perfectly apparent? After the well-known decision of the English workers, which caused a political crisis in the country and brought about the first deep cleft in the "national unity" of Great Britain, the conference acquired a significance that it had hitherto lacked.

The lack of principles in this argument is exemplary. How, indeed, is it possible from the barren fact that the controversy around the Stockholm Conference caused a deep cleft in this "national unity" to conclude that we are obliged to mend rather than to deepen that cleft? Looked at from the point of view of principle, the question presents itself in this way, and in this way only: either a break with the defencists (social-chauvinists) or an agreement with them. The Stockholm Conference was one of the many attempts to reach an agreement. It failed. Its failure was due to the fact that the Anglo-French imperialists *at present* are unwilling to conduct peace negotiations, while the German imperialists are willing. The English workers have come to realise more clearly than before that they are being deceived by the English imperialist bourgeoisie.

The question is: how shall we utilise this situation? We revolu-

*See V. I. Lenin, "The Revolution of 1917," *Collected Works*, Vol. XX, Book II, p. 405.—Ed.

tionary internationalists say : it must be utilised to deepen the split between the proletarian masses and the social-chauvinists, to bring this split to completion, to remove every possible obstacle to the development of the revolutionary struggle of the masses against their governments, against their bourgeoisie. In doing so we, and we alone, are deepening the cleavage and bringing matters to the breaking point. . . . Instead of saying to the workers : " Look, the Anglo-French imperialists have not allowed even their social-chauvinists to go and converse with the German social-chauvinists—this means that the war is a predatory one *also* on the part of England and France, consequently, there is no salvation except through a break with *all* the governments, with *all* the social-chauvinists, without any reservations"—instead of saying this, the *Novaya Zhizn* consoles the workers with illusions :

In Stockholm—it says—preparations are being made to reach a Peace agreement and collectively to work out a general plan of struggle : refusal to vote for war credits, a break with " national unity," recall of Ministers from the Cabinets, etc.

All it can do to substantiate this absolutely false phrase is to set up the word " struggle " in bold type. Fine proof, indeed !

After three years of war, they still feed the workers with the most empty promises : " Preparations are being made at Stockholm " to break with national unity. . . .

. . . All this is one great deception. All this means consoling and pacifying the workers in a reactionary way, imbuing them with confidence in the social-chauvinists. But the truth is that the Socialists who " fight for peace " not in words, not to deceive themselves, not to deceive the workers, have long since started such a struggle, without waiting for international conferences ; they have started such a struggle by breaking up national unity in the very same way as was done by MacLean in England, by Karl Liebknecht in Germany, by the Bolsheviks in Russia. . . . We Bolsheviks, on the other hand, in our propaganda against Stockholm, tell the masses the whole truth ; we continue to expose the social-chauvinists and the policy of agreements with them ; we lead the masses towards a complete rupture with them. If affairs have taken such a turn that German imperialism considers the present moment opportune for participating at Stockholm, and is sending its agents, the Scheidemanns,¹³¹ there, while British imperialism considers the moment inopportune, and does not even wish to talk peace, we expose English imperialism and we utilise the conflict between it and the English proletarian masses to deepen their class consciousness, to intensify the propaganda of internationalism, to make clear to them the necessity of a complete break with social-chauvinism. . . . The people of the *Novaya Zhizn* argue that if British imperialism is

opposed to the Stockholm Conference, then they must be *for* it, then the conference must have acquired a significance that it has hitherto lacked.

To argue in this way means, in fact, to sink to an unprincipled attitude, for German imperialism is now *in favour* of the Stockholm Conference, because it serves its selfish and predatory imperialist interests. . . . Where are your guarantees, gentlemen, that when you participate at Stockholm together with the Scheidemanns, Staunings,¹³² and Co., you will not actually turn out to be a play-thing, an instrument in the hands of the secret diplomats of German imperialism ? You cannot have such guarantees. There are none. . . .

Should the conference fail to take place, your preaching to the masses will have real significance, for it will imbue them with false hopes in the social-chauvinists, with the idea that they will, possibly and probably, soon " go straight."

In either case, you, wishing to be internationalists, in reality prove to be accomplices of the social-chauvinists of one or both coalitions.

We, on the other hand, taking into account all the vicissitudes and the details of politics, remain consistent internationalists, preaching the brotherly union of all the workers, a break with the social-chauvinists, and work for the proletarian revolution.—8th September 1917. (Collected Works, Vol. XXI, Book I, pp. 120-126.)¶

BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S PLOT AGAINST PETROGRAD

DOES not the complete inaction of the English fleet in general, as well as the English submarines, during the occupation of Esel by the Germans, coupled with the government's plan to move from Petrograd to Moscow—all prove that a *conspiracy* has been hatched between the Russian and the English imperialists, between Kerensky¹³³ and the Anglo-French capitalists, to surrender Petrograd to the Germans and *thus* stifle the Russian Revolution ?

I think it does.

The conspiracy may not have been agreed upon directly, but through some Kornilovists¹³⁴ (Maklakov¹³⁵ or other Cadets, " non-party " Russian millionaires, etc.), but this makes no material difference to the matter.

The conclusion is clear :

We must admit that the revolution is doomed if the Kerensky government is not overthrown by the proletarians and the soldiers in the near future. The question of the uprising is placed on the order of the day. . . .

. . . I move that the following resolution be adopted :

"The Conference, having discussed the present situation, which is generally admitted to be highly critical, establishes the following facts :

"(1.) The aggressive operations of the German fleet, accompanied by the very strange inactivity of the English fleet and coupled with the Provisional Government's plan to move from Petrograd to Moscow, rouse the very strong suspicion that the Kerensky government (or, what is the same thing, the Russian imperialists behind it) has entered into a conspiracy with the Anglo-French imperialists to surrender Petrograd to the Germans in order *thus* to suppress the revolution.

"(2.) These suspicions are greatly strengthened, and are being confirmed as much as it is possible in such cases, by the following facts :

"*First*, the conviction has long been growing and strengthening in the army that it was betrayed by the tsarist generals, that it is also being betrayed by the generals of Kornilov and Kerensky (particularly in the surrender of Riga) :

"*Second*, the Anglo-French bourgeois press does not conceal its fierce hatred for the Soviets, a hatred reaching the point of rage, and its readiness to annihilate them at the cost of any amount of blood ;

"*Third*, Kerensky, the Cadets, Breshkovskaya,¹³⁶ Plekhanov and similar politicians are conscious or unconscious tools in the hands of Anglo-French imperialism as is completely proven by the half-year's history of the Russian Revolution ;

"*Fourth*, the vague but persistent rumours of a separate peace between England and Germany 'at the expense of Russia' could not have arisen without cause."—20th October 1917.

(*Collected Works*, Vol. XXI, Book II, pp. 65-67.)¶

THE WORKERS GREET THE REVOLUTION

... "FREE" England and France have resorted to every means during the ten months our revolution has existed to prevent a single copy of a Bolshevik or Left Socialist-Revolutionary paper from penetrating into their respective countries. They had to act in this way because in all countries they saw the masses of workers and peasants instinctively clutching at everything the Russian workers did. For there has not been a single meeting at which news about the Russian Revolution and the slogans of the Soviet Government have not been greeted with thunders of applause. Everywhere the toilers and the exploited masses have already come into conflict with their party leaders.—14th March 1918.

(*Collected Works*, Vol. XXII.)

WHAT A DEMOCRATIC PEACE MEANS

IN accordance with the conditions of such a peace* Germany must not only abandon *all* the territories she has seized since the war, without exception, but also the peoples which she is forcibly retaining within the frontiers of Germany. Germany must absolutely and unreservedly abandon all her colonies, because colonies are oppressed peoples. . . .

In accordance with the conditions of such a peace England must immediately and unreservedly abandon not only all the foreign territories (the German colonies in Africa, etc., Turkish territory, Mesopotamia, etc.), which she has seized since the beginning of the war, *but also all her colonies*. England must immediately—like Russia, like Germany—withdraw her troops from all the territories she has seized, from all her colonies and from Ireland, and allow each nation to decide by a free plebiscite whether it desires to live as a separate state, or in a federal state with anyone it desires.

And so forth : all the belligerent countries without exception must be invited to conclude an immediate peace on such strictly defined conditions. The capitalists of *all* countries must not deceive the peoples any more by promising "peace without annexations" (*i.e.*, without seizing foreign territory), in words, while in deeds they retain *their* annexations and continue the war for the purpose of robbing the enemy of "his" annexations.

(*Lenin Miscellany*, Vol. IV.)

ANGLO-FRENCH IMPERIALISM ACTS

THOSE who describe a war against German imperialism as a war of defence and a just war, and who in fact receive support from the Anglo-French imperialists and conceal the secret treaties between them from the people, betray socialism. . . .

The other argument in favour of an immediate war† is that, in concluding peace, we objectively serve as the agents of German imperialism because we enable the latter to withdraw its troops from the front and millions of prisoners of war, etc. But this argument is obviously unsound because a revolutionary war at the present time would objectively cause us to become agents of Anglo-French imperialism and provide it with auxiliary forces for the purpose of achieving its aims. The English openly offered our Commander-in-

**I.e.*, a democratic peace.—*Ed.*

†*I.e.*, War against Germany by the newly established Soviet Government. See Note 176.—*Ed.*

Chief, Krylenko, a hundred roubles per month for every soldier, if we continued the war.—24th January 1918.

(*Collected Works*, Vol. XXII.)

WHY THE REVOLUTION WAS SUCCESSFUL

AN exceptional combination of circumstances enabled us in 1917, to combine all the blows of the most varied social forces that were directed against tsarism.

First, Anglo-French finance capital which dominates the whole world and plunders the whole world, was *opposed* to revolution in 1905 and helped tsarism to strangle the revolution (the huge loan of 1906).¹³⁷ Now it has taken an active part in the revolution and organised a conspiracy between Guchkov, Milyukov¹³⁸ and the higher military circles, for the purpose of deposing Nicholas II.

From the point of view of world politics and international finance capital, the Guchkov-Milyukov government is simply the servant of the English and French banks, a tool for continuing the imperialist slaughter of the peoples. . . .

Fourthly and finally—and this is most important, the influence of the imperialist forces was supplemented by the profound and rapidly developing proletarian movement. The proletariat demanded *peace, bread and liberty*. It had nothing in common with the imperialist bourgeoisie, and it was the proletariat which gained the leadership of the majority in the army, which of course consists of workers and peasants.

The imperialist war began to be transformed into civil war.

(*Lenin Miscellany*, Vol. IV.)

THE ZIMMERWALD LEFT AND ITS BRITISH SUPPORTERS

3. THE third, real internationalist trend is most nearly represented by the "Zimmerwald Left."¹³⁹ . . . It is characterised by the complete break with social-chauvinism and "centrism," a relentless war against the imperialist home government and the imperialist home bourgeoisie. Its principle is "Our greatest enemy is at home." A ruthless struggle against nauseatingly sentimental, social-pacifist phrases (a social-pacifist is a socialist in words, and a bourgeois-pacifist in deeds; bourgeois pacifists dream of an everlasting peace without the overthrow of the yoke and domination of capital) and against all sophistry employed to demonstrate the impossibility, the inappropriateness, the untimeliness of a proletarian revolutionary struggle, of a proletarian socialist revolution in connection with the present war. . . . Closest to real internationalists are: in England, the paper, *Trade Unionist*, and some of the members of the British Socialist

Party and of the Independent Labour Party (for instance, Russell Williams, who has openly called for a break with the leaders who have betrayed socialism), the Scottish elementary school teacher and Socialist, MacLean, who has been sentenced to hard labour by the bourgeois government of England for his revolutionary activity against the war; hundreds of English Socialists who are in jail for the same offence. They, only, they, are internationalists in deed.—10th April 1917. (*Collected Works*, Vol. XX, Book I, pp. 147-149.)¶

PART V

THE POST-WAR CRISIS OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM

CHAPTER I

THE RESULTS OF THE WAR

WAR DEBTS AND CRISIS

TAKE the state debts. We know that from 1914 to 1920 the debts of the principal European states have increased not less than sevenfold. I will quote another economic source which acquires particularly great importance, namely, Keynes, a British diplomat, the author of the book, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, who, on the instructions of his government, took part in the Versailles peace negotiations, watched them directly from the purely bourgeois point of view, studied the subject step by step, and took part in the conferences as an economist. He arrived at conclusions which are stronger, more striking and more instructive than any argument a communist revolutionary could advance, because it is a conclusion drawn by a well-known bourgeois, a ruthless opponent of Bolshevism which he, like an English philistine, pictures to himself in a monstrous, savage and brutal form. Keynes arrived at the conclusion that Europe and the whole world, with the Versailles Peace, is heading for bankruptcy. Keynes resigned; he threw his book in the face of the government and said: you are committing acts of madness. I will quote his figures which in the main can be summed up as follows.

How have the debt relations between the principal powers been fixed? I will quote pounds sterling in terms of gold roubles, counting ten gold roubles to the pound. And we get the following results: The United States has assets amounting to nineteen billion, liabilities—nil. Before the war the United States was a debtor to England. At the last Congress of the Communist Party of Germany, Comrade Levi,¹³⁹ in his report to the Congress on April 14, 1920, quite rightly pointed out that two powers were left who now act independently in the world, *viz.*, England and America. America alone has proved to have an absolutely independent financial position. Before the war she was a debtor, now she is only a creditor. All the other powers of the world are in debt. England has fallen into the position that her assets amount to seventeen billions and her liabilities to eight billions. She has already fallen into the position of a debtor to the extent of one-half. Moreover, her assets include six billions owing to her by Russia. The military stores, which Russia accumulated during the

war, are included in her debt. Recently when Krassin¹⁴⁰ as the representative of the Russian Soviet Republic had the occasion to converse with Lloyd George on the question of the debt agreements, he strikingly explained to the economists and politicians, to the leaders of the British government, that if they were counting on getting these debts then they were strangely mistaken. And the British diplomat Keynes has already revealed this error.

Of course, it is not only, or not even a question of the Russian revolutionary government refusing to pay its debts. No government could pay, because these debts are a usurious imposition that has been paid twenty times over; and this very bourgeois Keynes, who does not in the least sympathise with the Russian revolutionary movement, says: "Of course, these debts cannot be taken into account."

Comrade Lapinsky¹⁴¹ in his pamphlet, *England and the World Revolution*, from which our *Bulletin of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs*, of February 1920, published valuable extracts, points out that in England the export prices of coal proved to be twice as high as the official industrial circles supposed.

In Lancashire, things went so far that the increase in the value of shares was calculated at 400 per cent. The income of the banks represents 40-50 per cent. at a minimum, and, moreover, it should be observed that in determining the income of the banks, all the bankers are able to conceal the lion's share of the income in such a way that it is not called income, but is concealed in the form of bonuses, commissions, etc. So that here too, indisputable economic facts prove that the wealth of a small clique has grown incredibly, that unparalleled luxury is exceeding all bounds, while at the same time the poverty of the working class is continuously increasing. We must particularly note the circumstance which Comrade Levi emphasised in an extremely striking manner in the report referred to above, namely, the change in the value of money. Everywhere money has depreciated as a consequence of the debts, the issue of paper currency, etc. The same bourgeois source which I have already mentioned, namely, the statement of the Supreme Economic Council of March 10, 1920, calculates that in England the depreciation of the value of money compared with dollars is approximately one-third; in France and Italy—two-thirds and in Germany it reaches 96 per cent.

This fact shows that the mechanism of world capitalist economy is falling to pieces entirely.—19th July 1920.

(Speech on "the International Situation" at the Second Congress of the Communist International, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXV.)

BRITAIN AND THE POLISH WAR

WHEN the troops of the Red Army approached the frontiers of Poland, we, on July 12, received a telegram from the British Minister for Foreign Affairs, Curzon, who in the name of the League of Nations, the notorious League of Nations, the League which is supposed to unite England, France, America, Italy and Japan, states which possess military forces, gigantic forces, which possess navies, states against which it would be absolutely impossible and absolutely absurd to put up military resistance—in the name of this League of Nations he invited us to stop the war and enter into negotiations with the Poles in London. . . .

We replied to this proposal to the effect that we can have no business with any League of Nations because we have seen that this League of Nations is not a serious thing and that its own members pay no heed to it. The French government considered our reply to be insolent, and one would have thought that the League of Nations would have come out against us. But what did we find? The League of Nations collapsed at our very first declaration, and England and France began to oppose each other.

For the last few years already, the British Minister for War, Churchill, has been resorting to every means, lawful and, still more, unlawful, from the point of view of the English laws, to support all the White Guards against Russia, to supply them with military equipment. This man hates Soviet Russia with all his heart, nevertheless, immediately after our declaration, England disagreed with France because France needs the forces of a White Guard Russia to protect her from Germany, whereas England does not stand in need of such protection. England is a maritime country, she is not afraid of any action because she has a navy. And so, at the very first step, it turned out that the League of Nations, which had sent such incredible threats to Russia, was impotent. At every step it is revealed that the interests of the constituent parts of this League are mutually antagonistic. France desires the defeat of England and vice-versa. And when Comrade Kamenev¹⁴² conducted negotiations with the British government in London and when he declared to the British Prime Minister: "Let us suppose that you will really do what you say, but what about France?"—the British Prime Minister was obliged to reply that France will go its own way, "we cannot go the same way with France." It turned out that the League of Nations does not exist, that the league of capitalist powers was sheer deception and that as a matter of fact this was a league of two pirates each of whom strives to snatch something away from the other; and now, when in concluding peace in Riga we happened to learn what divided Poland, England, France and Wrangel,¹⁴³ why they could not unite,

we found out that their interests were different, because England wanted to have these new small states, Finland, Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania, under her influence, and that she was not in the least concerned and in fact considered it disadvantageous to restore tsarist or White Guard, or even bourgeois Russia. And that is why England is acting contrary to the wishes of France and cannot combine with Poland and Wrangel.—15th October 1920.

(Speech delivered at a Conference of Chairmen of Soviet Executive Committees, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXV.)

CHURCHILL'S BOAST AND WHY IT FAILED

CHURCHILL, who is pursuing a policy similar to that pursued by Nicholas Romanov,* wants to fight and is fighting, and is completely ignoring Parliament; he boasted that he would mobilise fourteen states against Russia—this was in 1919—he would take Petrograd in September and Moscow in December. He was a little too loud in his boastings. He staked everything on the fact that everywhere in these small states there is a hatred for Russia, but he forgot that these small states clearly understand who Yudenich,¹⁴⁴ Kolchak¹⁴⁵ and Denikin¹⁴⁶ are. There was a time when they were a few weeks removed from complete victory. During Yudenich's advance, when he was not far from Petrograd, the *Times*, the richest English newspaper, published a leading article—I myself read this leading article—in which it begged, ordered and demanded of Finland: help Yudenich, the eyes of the whole world are turned upon you, you will save liberty, civilisation and culture throughout the world—march against the Bolsheviks! This was England speaking to Finland—England who has the whole of Finland in its pocket, England speaking to Finland who is up to her neck in debt, who does not even dare to squeak, because without England she has not enough bread to last her a week. . . .

. . . They† dared not openly refuse—they were dependent on the Entente. They did not openly come to our assistance, they waited, procrastinated, wrote notes, sent delegations, set up commissions, sat at conferences and sat so long that Yudenich, Kolchak and Denikin were crushed and the Entente was beaten also in the second campaign. We proved to be the victors.

Had all these small states gone against us—and they had received hundreds of millions of dollars, the finest guns and equipment, they had English instructors with the experience of the war—had they gone against us, there is not the slightest doubt that we would have suffered defeat. Everyone will understand this perfectly. . . .

*The late tsar.—Ed.

†I.e., Finland, Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania.—Ed.

What is imperialism? It is a situation in which a small group of rich states are strangling the whole world, when they know that they have one and a half thousand millions of people all over the world and are strangling them. And these one and a half thousand millions realise what English culture, French culture and American civilisation mean. They mean: rob all and whom you can. . . . And the more the Finnish, the Polish and the Lettish workers starve, the more this handful of English, American and French billionaires and their agents squeeze them. And this is taking place all over the world.

The Russian socialist republic alone raised the standard of war for real emancipation, and all over the world sympathy is turning to our side. Through the small countries we have won the sympathy of all the peoples of the world and these number hundreds and hundreds of millions. They are now oppressed and downtrodden. This is the most undeveloped section of the population, but the war has enlightened them. Colossal masses of people were dragged into the imperialist war. England fetched regiments from India to fight against the Germans. France called to arms millions of Negroes to fight against the Germans. They were formed into shock groups, they were hurled into the most dangerous places where the machine-guns mowed men down like grass. And they learned something. Just as under the tsar the Russian soldiers used to say: if we've got to die then let's march against the landlords—so they (the Negro soldiers) said: If we are to die then let's not die to help the French pirates rob the German pirate capitalists, but let's die to liberate ourselves from the German and French capitalists. In all countries of the world, in this very India where three hundred million Indian toilers are crushed, consciousness is awakening and the revolutionary movement is growing day by day. All have their eyes turned upon a single star, the star of the Soviet republic, because they know that it has made tremendous sacrifices in the struggle against the imperialists and has withstood desperate trials.

That is what the second beaten card of the Entente means. It means victory on an international scale. It means that our peace policy is approved by the overwhelming majority of the population of the globe. It means that the number of our allies is growing in all countries, true it is growing much more slowly than we would like, but it is growing for all that.

The victory we gained in the offensive organised against us by Churchill proves that our policy is correct. And after that we gained a third victory—a victory over the bourgeois intelligentsia, over the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, who in all countries were furiously hostile towards us. They have all turned against the war. . . .

When the English invited the Germans to blockade Soviet Russia and when Germany refused, this exhausted the patience of the English

and other Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks. They said: "We are opponents of the Bolsheviks and regard them as violators and plunderers, but we cannot support the proposal made to the plunderers, but we cannot support the proposal made to the Germans that they should jointly with us strangle Russia with a hunger blockade." Thus, within the enemy camp, in their own countries, in Paris, London, etc., where the Bolsheviks are persecuted and are treated in the same way as revolutionaries were treated under the tsar—in all cities, the bourgeois intelligentsia issued the call: Hands off Soviet Russia! In England it is under this slogan that the bourgeois intelligentsia are calling meetings and writing manifestoes. . . .—*1st March 1920.*

(Speech delivered at a Conference of Toiling Cossacks, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXV.)

THE FIRST TRADE AGREEMENT

IN England the fight* has been going on for a long time. We have already succeeded in obtaining from the representatives of the worst form of capitalist exploitation persons who stand for the policy of restoring commercial relations with Russia. The agreement with England, the trade agreement with England, is not yet signed. At the present moment Krassin is conducting intense negotiations on this. The British government has submitted its draft to us. We have made our counter proposals; nevertheless, we see that the British government is dragging out the agreement, that the military reactionary party, which has had the upper hand up till now, and which is hindering the conclusion of a trade agreement, is working very hard. . . .

. . . The comrade who put the question about the restoration of trade relations with England asks what is holding up the signing of the agreement with England? My reply is: it is being held up because the British government is vacillating. The majority of the bourgeoisie in commercial and industrial England are in favour of restoring relations and clearly see that to take steps in support of war means taking extreme risks and accelerating revolution. You will remember that during our advance on Warsaw the British government threatened us with an ultimatum and said that it would order its fleet against Petrograd. You will remember that the whole of England was covered with Councils of Action and that the Menshevik leaders declared that they were opposed to war and that they would not permit war. On the other hand, the reactionary section of the British bourgeoisie and the Court military clique are in favour of continuing the war. There is no doubt that we must ascribe it to their influence that the signing of the trade agreement is being held up. I will not deal with the various vicissitudes of these trade rela-

*For establishment of trading relations.—*Ed.*

tions with England, of this agreement on trade relations with England, because this would take me too far away from the subject. At the Central Committee of our Party recently we had to discuss this delicate question very zealously. We reverted to it with unusual frequency and our policy on this became clearly defined in the direction of making the utmost possible concessions. Our aim at present is to reach a trade agreement with England in order to commence the exchange of goods on a more proper basis, in order that we may be able the more quickly to purchase the necessary machines that we require for our broad plan for restoring our national economy. The more quickly we do that the more grounds there will be for our economic independence of capitalist countries. Precisely now, when they have burned their fingers in their military campaigns against Russia, they cannot think of resuming war immediately; we must take advantage of the situation and exert every effort, even at the price of the utmost possible concessions, to secure a trade agreement, because we do not for a moment believe in the durability of commercial relations with imperialist powers: This will be a temporary respite. The experience of the history of revolutions, of great conflicts, teaches that war, a number of wars are inevitable. A question like the existence of the Soviet republic side by side with the capitalist countries—a Soviet republic surrounded by capitalist countries—is such an intolerable thing for the capitalists that they will seize upon every opportunity to resume the war. At the present time the people are weary of the imperialist war, they threaten to show their indignation if the war is continued, but the possibility is not excluded that after a few years have passed the capitalists will resume it. That is why we must exert every effort to take advantage of the opportunity, in so far as it presents itself, and conclude a trade agreement.

In July, when Poland was menaced with utter defeat, when Poland was menaced with defeat by the Red Army, England submitted the complete text of an agreement in which it was said: in principle you must declare that you will not carry on official propaganda and do nothing against British interests in the East. This will be developed further at a political conference; at present we will conclude such and such a trading agreement. Are you willing to sign? We said: We are. We say now that we will sign this agreement. The political conference will more precisely define Britain's interests in the East. We too have certain interests in the East and we will explain them in detail when that becomes necessary. England cannot say openly that she is withdrawing her July proposal. That is why she is procrastinating and concealing the truth about these negotiations from her own people. The negotiations are in a very indefinite position, we cannot guarantee that the agreement will be signed. The strongest influences in England, the Court and the military, are working against

this agreement. But we are now prepared to make the utmost possible concessions and we think that it is in our interests to obtain a trading agreement, and as quickly as possible buy some of the main things that are necessary for the restoration of our transport, i.e., locomotives, for the restoration of industry, for electrification. This is the most important thing for us. If we get this, then in the course of a few years we shall strengthen our position to such an extent that even if the worst comes to the worst, if in a few years' time military intervention takes place, it will break down because we shall be stronger than we are now. The policy of our Central Committee is to make the utmost possible concessions to England. And if these gentlemen think they can catch us on any promises then we declare that our government will not carry on any official propaganda, that we do not intend to touch any British interests in the East. If they think they are going to get anything out of that, let them try, we shall not suffer.

I have now come to the question of the relations between England and France. Here the relations are very entangled. On the one hand, England and France belong to the League of Nations and are obliged to work together; on the other hand, every time the situation becomes acute they fail to work together. This became clearly revealed when Comrade Kamenev was in London and carried on negotiations jointly with Comrade Krassin. France is in favour of supporting Poland and Wrangel but the British government declared: "We will not go with France." Concessions are more acceptable to England than to France, which is still dreaming of getting its debts, whereas in England, business-like capitalists have ceased to think about them. From this aspect we stand to gain by taking advantage of the disagreements between England and France and we must therefore insist on the political proposal for concessions to England. At present we have a draft agreement in regard to timber concessions in the Far North. The circumstances in which we find ourselves are such that owing to the absence of political unity between England and France we must not shrink even from taking some risk, if only we can hinder England and France from forming a military alliance against us. The new war which England and France will support against us will cause us (even if we emerge from it quite victoriously, as victoriously as we emerged from the fight against Wrangel) colossal difficulties, it will hinder our economic development and worsen the conditions of the workers and peasants. That is why we must agree to anything that will cause us less loss. And that the loss from concessions is nothing compared with the loss we would suffer if our economic construction is retarded, and with the death of thousands of workers and peasants, if we are unable to withstand the alliance of the imperialists—is clear. And one of the means of with-

standing this alliance is negotiations with England about concessions. This is the political aspect of the question.—21st December 1920.

(Speech on Concessions at the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXVI.)

THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS

I MUST also say that negotiations are now proceeding with England concerning the conclusion of a trade agreement. Unfortunately these negotiations are dragging on much longer than we desire, but we are not in the least to blame for this. Already in July, when the British government, at the height of the successes of the Soviet forces, officially proposed to us the text of an agreement which opened up the possibility of commercial relations, we expressed our complete agreement, but since that time the struggle between the various trends in the British government and in the British state has retarded this business. We saw vacillation on the part of the British government, we heard threats to break off all relations, to send the fleet against Petrograd immediately. We saw that, but at the same time we also saw that in reply to that threat the whole of England was covered with Councils of Action. We saw that under the pressure of the workers the most extreme adherents of the opportunist tendency were compelled to take this path of absolutely "unconstitutional" policy, which only yesterday they themselves condemned. It transpired that in spite of all the Menshevik prejudices that have predominated in the British trade union movement hitherto, the pressure of the masses of the toilers has been so great that it has blunted the edge of the bellicose imperialists. And at the present time, continuing our peace policy, we still stand on the basis of the July text of the agreement proposed to us by the British government. We are prepared to sign a trade agreement immediately; if it is not yet signed, the blame falls entirely upon those trends and tendencies among the British governing circles who want to prevent a trade agreement being concluded, who, in spite of the wishes of the majority, not only of the workers but even of the majority of the British bourgeoisie, again want to have their hands free to make an attack upon Soviet Russia. That is their business.

The longer this policy is pursued by certain influential circles in England, by the circles of finance capital and the imperialists, the more acute will become the financial situation, the longer will it postpone the semi-agreement that is now necessary between bourgeois England and the Soviet republic, the nearer will it bring the imperialists to the position when they will have to accept, not a semi-agreement but a full agreement.—22nd December 1920.

(Report on the activity of the Council of People's Commissars, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXVI.)

A NEW ALLY FOR THE REVOLUTION

THE present "victors" in the first imperialist war are not able to conquer insignificantly small Ireland, are not able to conquer the confusion which they themselves have created in financial and currency questions. And India and China are seething. These represent more than seven hundred million people. These, with the addition of the surrounding Asiatic countries, which are exactly like them, represent more than half the population of the globe. In those countries, 1905 is approaching with unrestrained and increasing rapidity, with this material, enormous difference, however, that, in 1905, the revolution in Russia could still proceed (at all events at first) isolatedly, i.e., without immediately drawing other countries into revolution. But the revolution that is growing in India and in China is already being drawn, and has already been drawn into the revolutionary struggle, into the revolutionary movement, into the international revolution.

(*Collected Works*, Vol. XXVII.)

KRONSTADT AND IRELAND

THE Kronstadt mutiny¹⁴⁹ is really an altogether insignificant incident which represents far less danger to the Soviet government than the Irish troops represent to the British Empire.—*26th March 1921.*

(*Collected Works*, Vol. XXVI.)

THE ENGLISH WORKERS AND REVOLUTION

AND while in the West the revolution is maturing, although it is maturing now more rapidly than yesterday, our only task is the following: we are a weak detachment, a detachment that is in the vanguard in spite of our weakness, our task is to do everything, to take advantage of every opportunity. All other considerations must be subordinated to this, to take advantage of every opportunity so that when international imperialism unites against us, we may gain a few weeks; if we do that we shall proceed along the path that every class conscious worker in the European countries will approve of, because he knows something which we only learned in 1905, and France and England learned in the course of centuries—he knows how slowly revolution matures in the free society of the united bourgeoisie. He knows against which forces it will be necessary to move the agitation bureau that will carry on propaganda in the real sense of the word when we shall be standing side by side with the uprisen German, French and English proletariat.

(*Collected Works*, Vol. XXII.)

CHAPTER II

INTERVENTION IN SOVIET RUSSIA AND THE BRITISH LABOUR MOVEMENT

THE INTERVENTION STRIKES

AFTER the victory over Germany, England, France and America had no opponents in the world. They stole Germany's colonies, there was not a single spot on the earth, not a single state where the military forces of the Entente did not dominate. In these circumstances one would think that when they were the enemies of Soviet Russia, they clearly understood that Bolshevism pursues the aim of the international revolution. . . .

And it would have been sufficient for several hundreds of thousands of soldiers out of this million-strong army to be used in a war against us as they were used in the war against Germany, for the Entente to have crushed us by military means. . . .

Both England and France tried to take Russia in this way. They concluded a treaty with Japan, who hardly took any direct part in the imperialist war and who gave hundreds of thousands of soldiers for the purpose of strangling the Soviet republic in the Far East. England then landed troops in Murmansk and Archangel, not to speak of the movements in the Caucasus, and France landed her troops and sailors in the South. This was the first historical phase of the struggle that we had to withstand. . . .—*1st March 1920.*

(*Collected Works*, Vol. XXV.)

England wanted to partition Russia, she tried to seize Baku oil and to conclude a treaty with the outlying states of Russia. And among the English official documents there is a book in which are very carefully enumerated all the states (these number fourteen) which half a year ago, in December 1919, promised to take Moscow and Petrograd. England based her policy on these states and gave them loans amounting to millions and millions. But now all these calculations have broken down and all the loans have burst like bubbles.—*1st March 1920.*

(*Collected Works*, Vol. XXV.)

And so when England landed troops in the North and France in the South, the decisive test and the final climax was brought about. It was then that the question as to who was right was settled, *viz.*, were the Bolsheviks right when they said that in order to emerge from the struggle it was necessary to count on the workers, or were the Mensheviks right when they said that the attempt to make a revolution in a single country would be madness and an adventure because she would be crushed by the other countries?—1st March 1920.

(*Collected Works*, Vol. XXV.)

WHY THE INTERVENTION FAILED

. . . THE realisation that they were wrong and that we were right penetrated the minds of the masses of English soldiers who had come to Archangel and the minds of the masses of sailors who compelled the British fleet to leave Odessa. . . .

. . . The second cause of our victory—the Entente could not throw a sufficient number of loyal troops against Russia because the French soldiers and the English sailors did not want to go and oppress their brothers.

(*Collected Works*, Vol. XXV.)

THE TEMPER OF THE WORKERS

THE English are behaving as if they had specially set out to prove the correctness of the Bolsheviks' views concerning international imperialism. The English, the French and the Americans are behaving as if they had set themselves the task of proving the correctness of Bolshevik views. . . .

England and France are exerting their last efforts to preserve their position. They have flung themselves upon the Russian republic and are pulling the strings of capitalism so tight that they are beginning to break. Even the organs of the bourgeois press have to admit that an undoubted change is taking place in the temper of the masses: in France the idea of "defence of the fatherland" is suffering bankruptcy, the working class of England is declaring a rupture of "civil peace." This means that the English and French imperialists are playing their last card; we say with absolute conviction that this card will be beaten. However much certain groups may shout that the Bolsheviks relied upon a minority, they must admit that they have no forces in Russia to fight against the Bolsheviks and that they are compelled to resort to foreign intervention. Thus, the

working class of France and England is compelled to take part in an obvious war of conquest, the aim of which is to strangle the Russian revolution. That means that Anglo-French, and consequently, world imperialism is at its last gasp. . . .

The English bourgeois newspaper, *The Manchester Guardian*, of October 23 writes that, "if the allied armies still remain in Russia and still operate in Russia, their purpose can only be to effect a revolution in the internal affairs of Russia."

The allied governments must, therefore, either put a stop to their military operations or declare that they are in a state of war with the Bolsheviks. I repeat that the importance of this small quotation, which sounds to us like a call for revolution, like a most powerful revolutionary appeal, the importance of it lies in the fact that it was written in a bourgeois newspaper which is itself an enemy of the Socialists, but it realised that it is impossible to conceal the truth any longer. If the bourgeois newspapers talk in this way, we can picture to ourselves what the masses of the British workers say and think. You know what language the liberals used to speak in Russia under tsarism, before the Revolution of 1905, or of 1917. You know that the language used by the liberals indicated the approach of an outbreak among the proletarian revolutionary masses. Hence, from the language used by these English bourgeois liberals you can draw the conclusion as to what is the state of temper, of mind and of heart of the English, French and American workers.—8th November 1918.

(Speech at VI All-Russian Congress of Soviets, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXIII.)

THE BRITISH IN THE CAUCASUS AND CENTRAL ASIA

WE should recall how events developed in Murmansk, among the Siberian troops, in the Kuban; how the English and French, in alliance with the Czecho-Slovakians, and with the close co-operation of the British bourgeoisie, tried to overthrow the Soviets. All these facts now show that the Czecho-Slovakian movement was one of the links in the systematic policy of the Anglo-French imperialists which had been planned long ago for the strangulation of Soviet Russia, for the purpose of dragging Russia once again into the ring of imperialist wars. . . .

I would like first of all to recall the fact that direct and indirect co-operation between English and French imperialism in the Czecho-Slovakian revolt was established long ago; I recall the article of July 27 which was published in the central organ of the Czecho-Slovakian Communist Party, *Prokupnik Svobody*, and which was reproduced in our press. It said the following:

"On March 7, the Department of the National Council¹⁵⁰ received the first instalment from the French Consul amounting to three million roubles. . . .

"From the British Consul the Department received £80,000. From March 7 to the day of the outbreak, the leaders of the Czech National Council received from the French and English governments about fifty million, and this was the price for which the Czecho-Slovakian army was sold to the French and British imperialists. . . ."

Now when we take the events as a whole, when we juxtapose the Czecho-Slovakian counter-revolutionary movement with the landing at Murmansk—we know that the British landed 10,000 troops there, that on the pretext of protecting Murmansk they actually began to march forward and occupied Kem and Soroka and marched eastwards from Soroka and began to shoot the members of the Soviets: in the newspapers we read that many thousands of railway workers and workers generally of the Far North are fleeing from these saviours and liberators, *i.e.*, to speak the truth, from these new imperialist violators, who are tearing Russia from the other end—when we put all these facts together, the general connection of events becomes clear to us. And yet, recently, we obtained fresh confirmation of the real character of the Anglo-French attack upon Russia. . . . The predominantly colonial and naval character of Britain's armed forces has long, for many decades already, compelled the English to act differently in their wars of conquest, *i.e.*, to strive, mainly, to cut off the land which they attack from its sources of supplies; and they preferred the method of strangulation in the guise of rendering assistance to the method of direct and sharp military violence. Information we have received recently shows that it was undoubtedly the assistance of Anglo-French imperialism that was received by Alexeyev,¹⁵¹ whom the Russian soldiers and workers have known for a long time and who recently captured Tikhoretskaya. There the uprising assumed a more definite form, also, apparently, because Anglo-French imperialism lent a hand.

Finally, yesterday we received news to the effect that Anglo-French imperialism has succeeded in making a very effective move in Baku. They managed to secure a majority on the Baku Soviet of about thirty votes against our Party, against the Bolsheviks and against those Left Socialist-Revolutionaries, unfortunately few in number, who did not follow the despicably adventurist and treacherous policy of the Moscow "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries¹⁵² but remained on the side of the Soviet government against imperialism and war. Against this sound core in the Baku Soviet, which is loyal to the Soviet government and which hitherto had a majority on the Baku Soviet, Anglo-French imperialism has managed this time to secure a majority

of thirty owing to the desertion to their side of the overwhelming section of the Dashnak Party¹⁵³ of Armenian semi-socialists (reads telegram):

"Influenced by the setback on the main front, the Right Wing parties raised their heads and carried on strenuous agitation in favour of recognising the English. This agitation is strongly supported by the officers in the army and is being carried on among the forces at the front. . . . The latest reports are that the English are approaching Persia and that they have occupied Resht. . . . On July 25, a second meeting of the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies was held to discuss the political and military position of the Right Wing parties. Resolved: 'Comrade Shaumyan,¹⁵⁴ Special Commissar of the Caucasus, on the basis of the resolution passed by the Fifth Congress of Soviets and on the telegram received from Stalin in the name of the Central Council of People's Commissars opposing the invitation of the English, be instructed to demand that the question of inviting the English be referred back. . . . By a majority of 259, consisting of Right Socialist-Revolutionaries, Right Dashnaks and Mensheviks, against 236, consisting of Bolsheviks, Left Socialist-Revolutionaries and Left Dashnaks, a resolution was passed to invite the English and to set up a government to consist of representatives of all the Soviet Parties which recognise the power of the Council of People's Commissars. . . . Comrade Shaumyan, in the name of the three Left Parties declared that the government which, by inviting the British imperialists, had actually broken with the Russian Soviet government, would get no support from Soviet Russia. As a result of its treacherous policy the local Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, by inviting the English, had lost Russia and the parties which support the Soviet government. The Right Wing parties are in a state of consternation owing to the decision of the Council of People's Commissars to resign and the situation that has arisen. Temper in the districts and at the front has sharply changed, the sailors have realised that they have been deceived by the traitors for the purpose of breaking with Russia and destroying the Soviet government, and the vast majority have changed their attitude towards the English. . . .'"*

. . . We know only too well what such an invitation to imperialist troops to protect the Soviet Republic means. We know the nature of the invitation that has been extended by the bourgeoisie, a section of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks.

We can now say that the only party that did not invite the imperialists and did not enter into a predatory alliance with them,

*This telegram is given in shortened form.—Ed.

but only retreated when the violators advanced, the only party was the Bolshevik, Communist Party. . . .

That being the case, since by inviting the English ostensibly to protect Baku, to invite a power which has already gobbled up Persia and which for some time already has been gathering its military forces for the purpose of seizing the South Caucasus, they have surrendered to Anglo-German imperialism, we can say without a moment's doubt or hesitation that in spite of the extremely difficult position, our Baku comrades, in rejecting such a peace, acted in the only way worthy of those who are Socialists, not in words, but in deeds. . . .

Yesterday, news was received that a number of towns in Central Asia have been seized by a counter-revolutionary uprising¹⁵⁵ with the obvious assistance of the English who, having entrenched themselves in India and having completely subjugated Afghanistan, long ago created a *place d'armes* for themselves, for the purpose of extending their colonial possessions, for the strangulation of nations, as well as for the purpose of attacking Soviet Russia. And now, when we clearly perceive these separate links, the present military and general strategical position of our republic becomes clearly defined. Murmansk in the North, the Czecho-Slovakian front in the East, Turkestan, Baku and Astrakhan in the South-east—we see that almost all the links in the chain forged by Anglo-French imperialism have been joined. Up till now our geographical position has prevented them from directly attacking Russia, but now, by a detour movement, Anglo-French imperialism, which for four years already has been drenching the whole world in blood in order to establish its rule over the whole world, has approached right up to Russia in order to strangle the Soviet republic and in order to drag Russia into the imperialist war again.—29th July 1918.

(Speech at Joint Meeting of the VTSIK, Moscow Soviet and Factory Committees, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXIII.)

BRITAIN AND POLAND

EVIDENTLY Poland is receiving military aid entirely from France, England and from the whole of the Entente. In this respect it is very characteristic that in the last stages of our negotiations about the Crimea,¹⁵⁶ the British government, which at first adopted a friendly attitude towards us, greatly changed its attitude. In reply to England's proposal that we act in a humane manner towards Denikin's forces, whom we had forced to the sea, we said that we would spare the lives of the Crimean White Guards if in turn the Entente would act in a humane manner towards the vanquished Hungarian Com-

munists and permit them to go to Soviet Russia. We do not want the blood of these Crimean White Guards, we are not vengeful. But we received no reply to our note from the British government, which, apparently in view of Poland's attack, is in no hurry to make a reply. We are sure, however, that among the British workers, even among the most opportunistic of them, no supporters of intervention will be found.

(*Collected Works*, Vol. XXV.)

THE SOLDIERS AND THE INTERVENTION

WE were victorious over the imperialists not only with the aid of our soldiers, but also because we relied on the sympathy their soldiers entertained towards us. On the other hand, we proved, not in words, but in deeds, that we are pursuing a policy of peace towards the small states adjacent to us. Churchill threatened to mobilise fourteen states against us, but this campaign collapsed because, simultaneously with our victories we invariably repeated our peace proposals.

(*Collected Works*, Vol. XXV.)

WHAT THE ENGLISH SOLDIERS WROTE HOME

FOR a long time we could not calculate this result, but now, retrospectively, we can see the result: notwithstanding the furious lies against the Bolsheviks that fill the columns of all the bourgeois newspapers, even in the English newspapers letters are beginning to appear from English soldiers in Archangel in which they state that in the Russian land English leaflets have come into their hands which explain to them that they have been deceived, that they are being led to fight against workers and peasants who have established their own state. These soldiers have written to say that they do not want to fight. . . .

Now we see why at the present time neither French troops nor British troops are marching against us, why the British soldiers have been withdrawn from Archangel and why the British government does not dare to bring them on to our soil. . . .

The soil on which the Soviet revolution took place proved very dangerous for all countries. It turned out that the Russian Bolsheviks, who managed under tsarism to create unity among the workers, were right, and the workers managed to create small cells which met all the people who believed them, French workers and English soldiers, with agitation in their own languages. It is true that we had only insignificant leaflets, and while thousands of newspapers carried on English and French agitation in the press, and every sentence was published in tens of thousands of columns, we

issued two or three small leaflets a month, and at best, there was about one leaflet for every ten thousand soldiers. I am not sure that even so many reached them. But why, after all, did the French and the English soldiers believe our leaflets? Because we told the truth and because when they came to Russia they realised they had been deceived. They were told that they were going to defend their country, but when they got to Russia they found that they had to defend the rule of the landlords and the capitalists, that they had to strangle the revolution. If in the course of two years we managed to win these people it was because, although they had already forgotten how they had executed their own kings, from the moment they stepped on Russian soil the Russian revolution and the victory of the Russian workers and peasants reminded the soldiers of France and England of their revolutions; thanks to the events in Russia they remembered what had once occurred in their countries.

Here it was confirmed that the Bolsheviks were right, that our hopes were more sound than the hopes of the capitalists, in spite of the fact that we lacked resources and arms, while the Entente had arms and an unconquered army. And it is these unconquered armies that we have won to our side. We succeeded in creating a situation in which they dared not bring either English or French soldiers against us, because experience had taught them that any such attempt would be turned against them. This is one of the miracles that occurred in Soviet Russia. . . .

Now the imperialists are afraid of us, and they have something to be afraid of, because Soviet Russia has emerged from this war stronger than ever. English writers have written that armies all over the world are becoming demoralised, that if there is a country in the world in which the army is growing stronger, that country is Soviet Russia.

And when from time to time we get fragmentary information from abroad, when not being able to study the whole of the press we get a copy of the richest English newspaper, *The Times*, and see Bolshevik words quoted to prove that already during the war the Bolsheviks advocated civil war, we come to the conclusion that even the cleverest representatives of the bourgeoisie have completely lost their heads. If an English newspaper mentions the book, *Against the Stream*, recommends it to its readers and quotes extracts from it to prove that the Bolsheviks are the very worst people in the world, that they say that imperialist war is a crime and preach civil war, then we become convinced that the whole of the bourgeoisie that hates us is helping us—we bow and thank them.—1st March 1920.

(Speech at the First All-Russian Congress of Toiling Cossacks,
Collected Works, Vol. XXV.)

JOHN MACLEAN—SOVIET CONSUL

IN 1914, the International collapsed because the workers of all countries united with the bourgeoisie of their respective countries and split among themselves, but now this split is becoming healed. Perhaps you have read recently that in England the Scottish school teacher and trade unionist MacLean, has been sentenced a second time to imprisonment for five years—the first time he was sentenced to eighteen months—because he exposed the real objects of the war and spoke about the criminal nature of British imperialism. When he was released there was already a representative of the Soviet government in England, Litvinov,¹⁵⁷ who immediately appointed MacLean Consul, a representative of the Soviet Russian Federative Republic in England, and the Scottish workers greeted this appointment with enthusiasm. The British government has for the second time commenced to persecute MacLean and this time not only as a Scottish school teacher, but also as Consul of the Federative Soviet Republic. MacLean is in prison because he came out openly as the representative of our government, but we have never seen this man, he has never belonged to our Party, he is the beloved leader of the Scottish workers, but we joined with him, the Russian and Scottish workers united against the British government in spite of the fact that the latter buys Czecho-Slovakians and is pursuing a furious policy to drag the Russian republic into the war.—28th June 1918.

(Concluding Speech at 4th Congress of Trades Unions,
Collected Works, Vol. XXIII.)

BOLSHEVISM SPREADS IN ENGLAND

OF the three socialist parties in England, only one, the independent, Socialist Labour Party, is openly becoming an ally of the Bolsheviks, while the Socialist Labour Party in Scotland definitely declares itself to be an adherent of the Bolsheviks. Bolshevism is beginning to spread in England also.

(*Collected Works*, Vol. XXIV.)

CHAPTER III

THE PROBLEM OF POWER AND COUNCILS OF ACTION

COUNCILS OF ACTION SPRING UP

IN the summer of 1920 Soviet Russia came out not only as a Power that was defending itself against the violence and aggression of the Polish White Guards ; in fact it came out as a world Power capable of destroying the Versailles system and of liberating hundreds of millions of people in the majority of the countries in the world. That is the significance of the campaign which the Red Army waged this summer. That is why events took place in England during this war which mark a turning point in British policy. When we refused to stop the advance of our troops, England replied with the threat : " We will send our fleet to Petrograd." The order was given to move on Petrograd. That is what the British Prime Minister told Comrade Kamenev and what was reported to the whole country. But on the day following the receipt of this telegram, all over England meetings were held and Councils of Action sprang up, out of the ground as it were. The workers united. All the English Mensheviks, who are even more despicable than the Russian Mensheviks and even more servile towards the capitalists, even they had to unite because the workers demanded it, and the British workers said : " We will not permit war against Russia." And over the whole of England Councils of Action were formed, and the war that the British imperialists wanted to start was prevented, and again it was shown that in its war against the imperialists of all countries Soviet Russia has allies in every one of these countries. When the Bolsheviks said : " We are not alone in rising against the landlords and capitalists in Russia because we have allies in every country, namely, the workers and toilers," we were met with sneers and were asked : " Where have these toilers shown themselves ? " Yes, in Western Europe, where the capitalists are much stronger than anywhere else, where they live at the expense of the hundreds of millions of inhabitants of plundered colonies, it is much more difficult to rise ; there the workers' revolution is growing incomparably more slowly. However, when, in July 1920, England threatened to make war on Russia, the English workers prevented this. The English Mensheviks followed the English Bolsheviks. They had to follow the English Bolsheviks and in violation of the Constitution and the law they had

to say : " We will not permit war ; if you declare war to-morrow, we will declare a strike and not only will we not give you coal, but we will not give any to France." The British workers declared that they wanted to determine international policy and they are doing it like the Bolsheviks in Russia and not like the capitalists in other countries are doing it.—15th October, 1920.

(Speech at Conference of Chairmen of Provincial Executive Committees, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXV.)

BRITISH LABOUR AND BRITISH MENSHEVIKS

ANOTHER result of our having been near Warsaw was the powerful influence we exercised upon the revolutionary movement in Europe, particularly in England. Although we did not succeed in reaching the industrial proletariat of Poland across the Vistula and in Warsaw (and this was one of the main reasons of our defeat), we did reach the British proletariat and raised its movement to unparalleled heights, to a completely new stage of revolution. When the British government sent us an ultimatum, it turned out that it was first of all necessary to ask the opinion of the British workers. And these workers, nine-tenths of whose leaders are malicious Mensheviks, replied by forming Councils of Action.

The British press got alarmed and began shouting that this was " dyarchy." And it was right. England found herself in the same stage of political relationships that Russia was in after February 1917, when the Soviets were obliged to control every step the bourgeois government took. The Council of Action is a body which represents all workers irrespective of party, similar to our All-Russian Central Executive Committee of that time when it was bossed by Gotz,¹⁵⁸ Dan,¹⁵⁹ etc., a body which competes with the government, and in which the Mensheviks are compelled to act like semi-Bolsheviks. And in the same way as our Mensheviks got themselves entangled and helped to bring the masses to us, so the Mensheviks on the Council of Action were compelled by the inexorable progress of events to clear the road for the masses of the British workers to the Bolshevik revolution. According to the statements of competent persons, the English Mensheviks already feel that they are the government and are preparing to take the place of the bourgeois government in the near future. That will be a further stage in the general process of the English proletarian revolution.

These tremendous changes in the British labour movement are exercising enormous influence upon the world labour movement.—22nd September 1920.

(Speech at All-Russian Conference of R.C.P., *Collected Works*, Vol. XXV.)

COUNCILS OF ACTION ARE SOVIETS

WHEN the Red troops approached the frontiers of Poland, the victorious advance of the Red Army gave rise to an unparalleled political crisis. The quintessence of this crisis was that the British government threatened to declare war upon us; they said to us: If you advance any further we will fight you, we will send our fleet against you. But the British workers then said that they would not permit this war. It must be said that Bolshevism is growing among the British workers. But at present the Communists in England are as weak as we were in March, April and May 1917, when at conferences and congresses we had only one-tenth of the vote. At the All-Russian Congress of Soviets in June 1917, we had not more than twelve per cent. of the votes. This is the position in England at present: there the Bolsheviks represent an insignificant minority. The point is, however, that the English Mensheviks have always opposed Bolshevism and direct revolution, and have been in favour of an alliance with the bourgeoisie. Now the old leaders of the British workers have wavered and have adopted a different point of view; they have been opponents of the dictatorship of the working class, but now they have come over to our side. They have formed a Council of Action in England. This marks a tremendous change in British politics. Side by side with Parliament, which is now elected by almost universal suffrage (since 1918), a Council of Action arises resting on the trade unions, which have a membership of over six millions. In reply to the government's declaration that it would wage war against Soviet Russia, the workers said that they would not permit this, and they also said: Nor will we permit the French to wage war, the French subsist on English coal and if the production of coal stops it will be a great blow to France.

I repeat, this marked a tremendous change in British politics as a whole. It has the same significance for England as the Revolution of February 1917 had for us. The Revolution of February 1917 overthrew tsarism and established a bourgeois republic in Russia. England is not a republic, but the monarchy there is thoroughly bourgeois and it has been in existence for many centuries. The workers there are able to take part in the election of Parliament, but foreign policy is conducted irrespective of the will of Parliament, it is conducted by the Cabinet. It has been known for a long time that the British government is waging a secret war against Russia and that it is helping Yudenich, Kolchak and Denikin. More than once we have read in the English newspapers that England has no right to send a single soldier to Russia. But who voted for this? When did Parliament ever vote in favour of making war on Russia, or of helping Yudenich and Kolchak? Parliament never passed such a decision, and by act-

ing in the way it is doing, England is violating its own Constitution. What is this Council of Action? This Council of Action, independently of Parliament, presents an ultimatum to the government in the name of the workers—it is the transition to the dictatorship, and there is no other way out of the situation. And yet England is the land of imperialism which holds in subjection a population of from four hundred to five hundred million in the colonies. It is the premier imperialist country which rules over the greater part of the population of the globe. The march on Poland brought about such a change that the English Mensheviks entered into an alliance with the Russian Bolsheviks. That is what this march had done.

The whole of the English bourgeois press wrote that the Councils of Action were Soviets. And it was right. They were not called Soviets, but in actual fact they were such. We had the same dyarchy there as we had here under Kerensky beginning with March 1917, when the Provisional Government was regarded as the government of the country but, as a matter of fact, it could not do anything of importance without the Soviet of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies, and when we said to the Soviets: "Take the whole power in your hands." The same position has been created in England, and the Mensheviks on this Council of Action are compelled to act unconstitutionally. Thus you have a slight illustration of what our war with Poland meant. And although the international bourgeoisie is at present immeasurably stronger than we are, and although the British government said that Kamenev is to blame for everything and expelled Kamenev from England never to return—this is an empty and ridiculous threat, because the best defenders of the American and English capitalists, the moderate English labour leaders, the Right Mensheviks and the Right Socialist-Revolutionaries are on the Council of Action, and England is now on the eve of a new crisis. She is now threatened with a general coal strike and the strikers not only demand an increase in wages but also a reduction in the price of coal. Strike wave after strike wave is rolling over England. The strikers are demanding increases in wages. But if the workers obtain an increase in wages of ten per cent. to-day, prices will rise twenty per cent. to-morrow. Prices are rising and the workers see that their fight is fruitless, that in spite of the rise in wages they are the losers, because prices are rising. And so the workers say: We not only demand a rise in wages for the miners but we also demand a reduction in the price of coal. And the bourgeois press is raising a greater howl of horror than it did when the Red Army entered Poland.—2nd October 1920.

(Speech at Congress of Workers in the Leather Industry,
Vol. XXV, *Collected Works*.)

"PEACEFUL REVOLUTION"

PONDER over Marx's idea.* He was dealing with the England of the 'seventies of the last century, with the culminating period of pre-monopolist capitalism, with a country that was least of all affected by militarism and bureaucracy, which had more opportunities than any other of "peacefully" conquering socialism by the workers "buying out" the bourgeoisie. And Marx said: Under certain circumstances, the workers will not by any means refuse to buy out the bourgeoisie. Marx did not tie his hands—nor those of the future leaders of the socialist revolution—by being dogmatic about the forms, ways and methods by which the revolution was to be brought about, for he understood perfectly well that an enormous number of problems would then arise, that the whole situation would change in the course of the revolution, that it would change frequently and considerably in the course of the revolution.

Well, in Soviet Russia, after the capture of power by the proletariat, after the military and sabotage resistance of the exploiters have been suppressed—is it not obvious that certain conditions have arisen similar to those that might have arisen in England half a century ago had it then begun peacefully to go over to socialism? The subordination of the capitalists to the workers in England could have been brought about by the following circumstances: (1) the complete predominance of the proletarian workers among the population owing to the absence of a peasantry (in England in the 'seventies there were very strong grounds for hoping for extremely rapid successes of socialism among the agricultural workers); (2) the excellent state of organisation of the workers in their trade unions (at that time England was the premier country in this respect); (3) the relatively high cultural level of the proletariat trained by a century of development of political liberty; (4) the long habit of the excellently organised capitalists of England—at that time they were the best organised capitalists in the world, now they have been excelled in this respect by the capitalists of Germany—of settling political and economic problems by compromise. It was these conditions that gave rise to the idea that the peaceful submission of the British capitalists to the British workers was possible. . . .

Marx was absolutely right in teaching the workers that it was important to preserve the organisation of large-scale industry for the purpose of facilitating the transition to socialism and that it was quite conceivable that the capitalists would be bought out if they were paid very well, if (as an exception, and England at that time was

*Lenin is referring to a remark by Marx to Engels that "in certain circumstances" it might be better for them "to buy off that gang," meaning the English landlords.—Ed.

an exception) circumstances so developed that the capitalists would be obliged to submit and to proceed in a cultured and organised manner towards socialism on terms of compensation.—3-5 May 1918.
(On "Left" Childishness and Petty Bourgeoisness,
Collected Works, Vol. XXII.)

HOW THE REVOLUTION WILL DEVELOP IN BRITAIN

THE thing is as clear as clear can be: a backward country may find it easy to start because its opponent is decayed, because its bourgeoisie is unorganised; but in order to continue, much more circumspection, caution and stamina are required. In Western Europe things will be different; there it will be more difficult to start, but it will be immeasurably easier to continue. It cannot be otherwise, because there, in England and France, the proletariat is organised and compact, and has been engaged in the political struggle for many years and even centuries.

(Ibid.)

Lenin's Notes on the Dictatorship in Conditions
Prevailing in England

Proletariat in an imperialist country % of imperialists among proletariat? *A l'Anglaise*. (Cf. Engels, 1852-92.)

The new and material, the concrete, is brushed aside, but they keep on talking about the "proletariat" in general. . . .

21. Dictatorship of the proletariat means that one class, the proletariat, teaches all the toilers, *idem.*, leadership. *To lead. The ruling class—the proletariat alone.* Ruling excludes liberty and equality.

22. The peasant as a toiler = ally; as a property owner and profiteer = enemy. . . .

23. The proletariat, not in general, not *in abstracto*, but in the twentieth century, after the imperialist war, inevitable split from the upper stratum. Evasion of the concrete, deception by means of abstractions (*dialectics versus electricism*).

24. Engels in 1852 on England. 1852-92. Cf. 1914-19. Dictatorship of the proletariat = proletariat overthrows its opportunist leaders, transition from the aristocracy of labour to the masses, "fight for influence." Not without a split.—*Beginning of 1920.*

(Lenin Miscellany, Vol. III.)

Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Peculiarities
of Imperialism

21. Imperialism the highest stage of capitalism. Resume of my book. Definition.

22. Colonies and dependencies.

Rebellion of the *proletariat* against the bourgeoisie in its country
+ rebellion of the *peoples* in the colonies and dependencies.

The revolutionary proletariat and national wars. (Cf. *Programme of the Russian Communist Party*.)

23. Seizure of land by the "League of Nations."

The "united" oppressor. Concentration of the struggle.

Variety of stages.

24. The bourgeois upper stratum of the proletariat.

1852-92 Engels and Marx.

1872. Marx on the British trade union leaders. Labour lieutenants of the capitalist class.

Social chauvinism.

Split 1915-17.

" 1917-19

25. Second International.

Dictatorship of the *revolutionary* elements of the class.

One country and the whole world.

Two main "streams" the corrupt and the philistines. "*Vorwärts*." *Radikalisierung der englischen Arbeiter "eine gewisse Grosse" of Bolsheviks.**

(Cf. *Programme of Russian Communist Party*.) *Wiener Arbeiter Zeitung*, (2, VII, 1919)

Friedrich Adler's report. . . .

Sophisms of a traitor.

"Centre."

(*Ibid.*)

CONTROL WITHOUT POWER

CONTROL without power¹⁶⁰ is an empty phrase. How can I control England? In order to control her I must capture her navy. I know that uneducated masses of workers and soldiers may naively and unintelligently believe in control, but it is sufficient to ponder over the fundamental element of control in order to realise that this belief is a retreat from the fundamental principles of the class struggle. What is control? If I write an order or a resolution, they will write one countermanding it. In order to be able to exercise control one must have power. If this is not intelligible to the broad mass of the petty-bourgeois *bloc*, one must have the patience to explain this to them, but under no circumstances must we tell them lies. And if I obscure this fundamental condition of control then I tell a lie and play into the hands of the capitalists and imperialists. "Please control me, but I will have the guns. You be satisfied with control," they say. They know that at the present moment they cannot deny the people anything. Control without power is a petty-bourgeois phrase. . . .—*May 7th, 1917.*

(*Collected Works*, Vol. XX, Book I, p. 275.)

*" The radicalisation of the British workers. A certain number of Bolsheviks."
—Quotation from *Vorwärts*.—*Ed.*

THE TRANSITION IN ENGLAND

EVERYWHERE classes have remained and will remain *for years after* the proletariat has captured power. Except, perhaps, that in England, where there is no peasantry (although there are small masters), the period will be shorter.—*Summer 1920.*

(*Collected Works*, Vol. XXV.)

The toiling masses of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, representing the overwhelming majority of the population of the earth, were already roused to political life in the beginning of the twentieth century, particularly by the revolutions in Russia, Turkey, Persia and China. The imperialist war of 1914-18 and the establishment of the Soviet government in Russia completely transformed these masses into an active factor in world politics and in the revolutionary destruction of imperialism, although the educated philistines in Europe and America, including the leaders of the Second and Two and a half Internationals,¹⁶¹ stubbornly refuse to see this. British India stands at the head of these countries, and the revolution there grows the quicker, the more rapidly the industrial and railway proletariat there join in it, and the more brutal the terror of the English—who more and more frequently resort to mass murder (Amritsar) and public flogging—becomes.

In view of this internal situation in Russia the principal task that confronts the proletariat as the ruling class at the present moment is to properly determine and carry out the measures that are necessary to lead the peasantry, to conclude a durable alliance with them, and for a long series of gradual transition stages to *large-scale* socialised mechanised agriculture. This task is particularly difficult in Russia because of the backwardness of our country and also because of the extreme state of ruin to which it has been reduced by the seven years of imperialist and civil war. But apart from these special features this task is one of the difficult tasks of socialist construction that will confront all capitalist countries, with the exception, perhaps, of England. But even in regard to England we must not forget that although the small tenant farmer class is a very small one; on the other hand, the number of factory and office workers who live a petty-bourgeois life is exceptionally high owing to the practical enslavement of hundreds of millions of people inhabiting the colonies that "belong" to England.—*13th June 1921.*

(Theses for report on tactics of the R.C.P. at the Third Congress of the Communist International, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXVI.)

ROBERT OWEN AND THE CO-OPERATIVE UTOPIA

WHAT is it that was fantastic in the plans of the old co-operators, from Robert Owen onward? It was that they dreamed of the peaceful transformation of present-day society by socialism without taking into account fundamental questions like the class struggle, the conquest of political power by the working class and the overthrow of the rule of the exploiting class. Hence, we are quite right in regarding this "co-operative" socialism as being utterly fantastic; and there is something romantic and even banal in the dreams that it is possible by merely organising the population in co-operative societies to transform the class struggle into class collaboration and the class war into class peace (so-called civil peace).

Undoubtedly from the point of view of the fundamental tasks of to-day we are quite right, because without the struggle for political power in the state, socialism cannot be brought about.—6th January 1923.
 ("On Co-operation," *Collected Works*, Vol. XXVII.)

CHAPTER IV

DRIVING OUT THE SOCIAL-IMPERIALISTS, A CONDITION OF THE VICTORY OF THE PROLETARIAT

TWO KINDS OF "COMPROMISE"

WHEN . . . the Fabians, the Independents, and the Labourites in England in 1914-18 and 1918-20 entered into *compromises* with the bandits among their own and sometimes also among the "Allied" bourgeoisie *against* the revolutionary proletariat of their country, these gentlemen acted as the *accomplices of banditism*. . . .
 . . . Messieurs the British trade union leaders, as well as the Fabian Society and the Independent Labour Party, tried to evade responsibility for the *treachery they have perpetrated*, for having entered into a compromise which really implies the worst kind of opportunism and treachery.—April-May 1920.

("Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Sickness, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXV.) ¶

THE I.L.P AND SOVIETS

IN England we also have a party of Independents, which continues to stand on the position of legality and condemns the violence of the Bolsheviks. Recently they started a discussion section in their paper. In this section, a discussion was conducted on the Soviets and alongside of an article printed in English workers' papers we see an article by an Englishman who refuses to have anything to do with the theory of socialism and sticks to his former stupid contempt for theory, but who, taking into consideration the conditions of English life, comes to a definite conclusion and says: we cannot condemn the Soviets, we must support them. This is a symptom of the fact that even among the backward strata of the workers in countries like England a change has commenced and we can say that the old forms of socialism have been killed for ever.—Spring 1920.

(*Collected Works*, Vol. XXV.)

THE OPPORTUNISTS AND THE MASSES

The difference between the "leaders" and the "masses" was particularly clearly and sharply marked at the end of the imperialist

war and later, in all countries. Marx and Engels, in 1852-92, explained the main cause of this phenomenon by quoting the example of England. England's monopolist position caused a semi-petty-bourgeois and opportunistic "aristocracy of labour" to arise from the "masses." The leaders of this aristocracy of labour constantly deserted to the side of the bourgeoisie and directly or indirectly were in their pay. Marx earned for himself the honourable hatred of these scoundrels because he openly branded them as traitors. Modern (twentieth century) imperialism created a monopolist privileged position for certain advanced countries and on this basis throughout the whole of the Second International a type of leader-traitor, opportunist and social-chauvinist arose who championed the interests of his craft, of his stratum of the aristocracy of labour. As a result the opportunist parties became isolated from the "masses," i.e., from the broad strata of the toilers, from the majority, from the worst paid section of the workers. The victory of the revolutionary proletariat is impossible unless this evil is combated, unless the opportunist social-traitor leaders are exposed, disgraced and driven out. This is the policy that the Third International carried out.—*April-May 1920.*

(“Left-Wing” Communism, an Infantile Sickness, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXV.)¶

MACDONALD AND REVOLUTION

As an example of the degree to which opportunism still prevails among the parties which wish to affiliate to the Third International and to what degree the work of some parties is still removed from the work of training the revolutionary class for utilising the revolutionary crisis, I will quote the leader of the English Independent Labour Party, Ramsay MacDonald. In his book, *Parliament and Revolution*, which deals with the very fundamental questions that are now engaging our attention, MacDonald depicts the state of affairs approximately in the spirit of bourgeois pacifists. He admits that there is a revolutionary crisis and that revolutionary temper is rising, that the masses are sympathetic towards the Soviet government and the dictatorship of the proletariat (note that we are speaking of England), that the dictatorship of the proletariat is better than the present dictatorship of the British bourgeoisie.

But MacDonald remains a thorough bourgeois pacifist and opportunist, a petty bourgeois who dreams of a non-class government. MacDonald recognises the class struggle merely as a “descriptive fact,” like all the liars, sophists and pedants of the bourgeoisie. MacDonald ignores the experience of Kerensky, the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries in Russia and the analogous experience of Hungary, Germany,¹⁶² etc., in regard to creating a “democratic”

and alleged non-class government. MacDonald lulls his party and all the workers who have the misfortune to regard this bourgeois as a socialist and this philistine as a leader with the words: “We know that this (i.e., the revolutionary crisis, the revolutionary ferment) will pass away, will die down.” The war, he says, inevitably caused the crisis, but after the war it will “die down,” although not all at once.

And this is written by a man who is the leader of a party that desires to affiliate to the Third International! This represents a rarely frank and therefore the more valuable exposure of what is observed no less frequently among the leaders of the French Socialist Party and German Independent Social-Democratic Party, namely, not only lack of ability, but also a lack of desire to take advantage in a revolutionary sense of the revolutionary crisis, or in other words, an inability and lack of desire to really prepare the party and the class in a revolutionary manner for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This is the main evil in very many parties which are now leaving the Second International.¹⁶³—*19th July 1920.*

(Report on the International Situation, Second Congress of the Communist International, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXV.)

THE POLICY OF THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY

(A LETTER to the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party.)

The telegram about the British Labour Party shows Krassin's extreme naivety.

In my opinion the following two measures must be adopted: (1) to publish a number of articles in the press over different signatures ridiculing the views of the so-called European democrats on the Georgian question; (2) to immediately instruct one of our most sarcastic journalists to write a draft of a supremely polite note in reply to the British Labour Party. In this note he should very imperatively explain that the proposal that we should withdraw our troops from Georgia¹⁶⁴ and take a referendum would be quite reasonable and could be taken as a starting point if it came from people who had not gone mad, who had not been bought by the Entente; if the proposal were applied to all the nations of the world. Particularly in order to make the leaders of the British Labour Party understand what contemporary imperialist relationships mean in international politics, we suggest to them that they favourably consider first, the withdrawal of the British troops from Ireland and the taking of a referendum; secondly, the same in regard to India; thirdly, the same in regard to the Japanese troops in Korea; fourthly, the same in regard to all countries occupied by troops belonging to

any one of the big imperialist powers. The note should express in a superciliously polite form the idea that those who desire to 'ponder over our proposal and the system of imperialist relations in international politics may be able to understand how "interesting" is the proposal made to us by the British Labour Party. On the whole, the draft of the note should be written in an extremely polite and extremely popular style (so that it could be understood by ten-year old children) mocking at the idiotic leaders of the British Labour Party.

I suggest that the Central Committee discuss whether a copy of this letter should be sent to Krassin. I personally vote in favour.—27th December 1921.

Lenin

(Collected Works, Vol. XXVII.)

A LETTER TO THE BRITISH WORKERS

COMRADES,

First of all permit me to thank you for sending your delegation here to study Soviet Russia.¹⁶⁵ When your delegation suggested to me that I send a letter through it to the British workers and perhaps also proposals to the British government, I replied that I gratefully accept the first suggestion but that I must address myself to the government not through a workers' delegation but directly in the name of our government, through Comrade Chicherin.¹⁶⁶ In this way we have on very many occasions addressed ourselves to the British government making the most formal and solemn proposals to commence peace negotiations. All our representatives, Comrade Litvinov, Comrade Krassin and all the others unceasingly continue to make these proposals. The British government stubbornly refuses to accept them. It is not surprising, therefore, that I desired to speak with the delegation of English workers exclusively as with a workers' delegation, not in the capacity of representative of the government of Soviet Russia, but in the capacity of a simple Communist.

I was not surprised to learn that a number of the members of your delegation do not adopt the point of view of the working class, but the point of view of the bourgeoisie, of the exploiting class, because in all capitalist countries the imperialist war has revealed a long-standing ulcer, namely, the desertion of the majority of the parliamentary and trade union leaders of the workers to the side of the bourgeoisie. On the false pretext of "defending the country" they, in fact, defended the predatory interests of one of the two groups of world pirates—the Anglo-American French group, or the German group; they entered into an alliance with the bourgeoisie against the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat; they covered up this treachery by sentimental petty-bourgeois reformist and pacifist

phrases about peaceful evolution, constitutional methods, democracy, etc. This is what happened in all countries; it is not surprising that this state of affairs in England was also reflected by the composition of your delegation.

Members of your delegation, Tom Shaw and Hayden Guest, apparently offended by my statement that England, notwithstanding our peace proposals and notwithstanding the declarations of her government, is continuing intervention, waging war against us, is helping Wrangel in the Crimea and White Guard Poland, asked me whether I have proof of this, whether I could show with how many train-loads of military supplies England has provided Poland, etc. I replied that in order to discover the secret treaties of the British government it was necessary to overthrow it in a revolutionary manner and to seize all the documents on its foreign policy, in the same way as we did in 1917. Every educated man, everyone who is sincerely interested in politics knew even before our revolution that the tsar had secret treaties with the predatory governments of England, France, America, Italy and Japan, concerning the division of the spoils, concerning Constantinople, concerning Galicia, Armenia, Syria, Mesopotamia, etc. Only liars and hypocrites (not counting, of course, absolutely ignorant and illiterate people) can deny this or pretend that they did not know this. But without a revolution we could never get at the secret documents of the predatory governments of the capitalist class. Those leaders or representatives of the British proletariat, whether they are members of Parliament, trade union leaders, journalists, or others, who pretend that they do not know of the existence of secret treaties between England, France, America, Italy, Japan and Poland concerning the plunder of other countries, concerning the division of the spoils, and who do not wage a revolutionary struggle for the purpose of exposing these treaties, only show once again that they are the faithful servants of the capitalists. We have known this for a long time: we exposed this in our own country and in all countries of the world. The visit of the British workers' delegation to Russia will hasten the exposure of such leaders also in England.

I had a conversation with your delegation on Wednesday, May 26, Next day I received a telegram to the effect that Bonar Law had admitted in the British Parliament that military aid had been given to Poland in October "to defend herself from Russia" (of course only for defence, only in October! There are still "influential labour leaders" in England who help the capitalists to fool the workers) and the *New Statesman*, the most moderate of moderate petty-bourgeois newspapers or journals, wrote about tanks being supplied to Poland which were more powerful than those used against the Germans during the war. After this, can one refrain from ridiculing such "leaders" of the British workers who with an air of injured

innocence ask whether there is any "proof" that England is fighting against Russia and is helping Poland and the White Guards in the Crimea.

Members of the delegation asked me what I thought was most important: the formation in England of a consistent revolutionary Communist Party, or getting the immediate assistance of the masses of the workers in England for the cause of peace in Russia. I answered that this was a matter of opinion. Sincere supporters of the emancipation of the workers from the yoke of capital could never be opposed to the formation of a Communist Party, which alone is capable of training the workers in a non-bourgeois and non-petty-bourgeois manner, which alone is capable of really exposing, ridiculing and disgracing "leaders" who are capable of doubting whether England is helping Poland, etc. There is no need to be afraid of there being too many Communists in England because there is not even a small Communist Party there. But if anyone continues to remain in intellectual slavery to the bourgeoisie, continues to share petty-bourgeois prejudices about "democracy" (bourgeois democracy), pacifism, etc., then of course such people would only do more harm to the proletariat if they took it into their heads to call themselves Communists and to affiliate to the Third International. All that these people are capable of is to pass sentimental "resolutions" against intervention couched exclusively in philistine phrases. In a certain sense these resolutions are also useful, namely, in the sense that the old "leaders" (adherents of bourgeois democracy, of peaceful methods, etc., etc.) make themselves ridiculous in the eyes of the masses, and the more empty non-committal resolutions they pass unaccompanied by revolutionary action, the quicker will they be exposed. Each one to his own: let the Communists work directly through their Party on the task of awakening the revolutionary consciousness of the workers. Let those who supported "national defence" during the imperialist war for the division of the world, "defence" of the Secret treaties between the British capitalists and the tsar to plunder Turkey, let those who "do not see" that England is helping Poland and the White Guards in Russia, let them multiply the number of their "peace resolutions" to the point of being ridiculous; the more they do that the quicker will they meet with the fate Kerensky, the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries met with in Russia.

Several members of your delegation questioned me with surprise about the Red terror, about the absence of freedom of the press in Russia, of freedom of assembly, about our persecution of the Mensheviks and Menshevik workers, etc. I replied that the real culprits of the terror are the British imperialists and their "allies" who exercised and now exercise white terror in Finland, in Hungary, in

India and in Ireland, who supported, and now support, Yudenich, Kolchak, Denikin, Pilsudski¹⁶⁷ and Wrangel. Our Red terror is a means of protecting the working class from the exploiters, a means of suppressing the resistance of the exploiters. Freedom of the press and assembly under bourgeois democracy is freedom to conspire against the toilers, freedom for the capitalists to corrupt and buy up the press. I have explained this in the press so often that I found it a bore to repeat it.

And two days after my conversation with your delegation, the newspapers reported that in addition to the arrest of Monatte¹⁶⁸ and Loriot¹⁶⁹ in France, Sylvia Pankhurst had been arrested in England. This is the best possible answer the British government could give to the question which the non-Communist British labour "leaders" who are captives to bourgeois prejudices are even afraid to put, namely, against which class is the terror directed—against the exploited class or against the oppressors and exploiters? When they speak of "freedom" do they speak of freedom for the capitalists to rob, to deceive, to befool the toilers or of the "freedom" of the toilers from the yoke of the capitalists, the speculators and the property owners?

Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst is a representative of the interests of hundreds and hundreds of millions of people who are oppressed by the British and other capitalists. That is why she is subjected to white terror, deprived of liberty, etc. The labour "leaders" who pursue a non-Communist policy are ninety-nine parts out of a hundred representatives of the bourgeoisie, of their deception and of their prejudices.

In conclusion, I want to thank you once again, comrades, for sending your delegation here. The knowledge it has obtained about the Soviet Union, notwithstanding the hostility of many of the delegates towards the Soviet system and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and notwithstanding the fact that many of them are captives to bourgeois prejudices, will inevitably accelerate the collapse of capitalism throughout the world.—30th May 1920.

(*Collected Works*, Vol. XXV.)

CONDITIONS FOR JOINING THE COMINTERN

14. The degree of the preparedness of the proletariat of the most important countries from the world economic and political point of view, for the establishment of its dictatorship is characterised with the greatest objectivity and precision by the fact that the most influential parties of the Second International, the Socialist Party of France, the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany, the Independent Labour Party of England, and the American Socialist

Party¹⁷⁰ have disaffiliated from the yellow International and have resolved to affiliate—the first three conditionally and the latter even unconditionally—to the Third International. This shows that not only the vanguard but even the majority of the revolutionary proletariat, convinced by the progress of events, have begun to come over to our side. The main thing at the present time is to complete this transition and firmly consolidate what has been achieved organisationally, in order to be able to advance along the whole line without hesitation.

15. The whole of the activities of the above-mentioned parties . . . show—and any of the periodicals published by these parties strikingly demonstrate this—that they are not yet Communist parties and not infrequently run directly counter to the fundamental principles of the Third International, namely, the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet form of government in place of bourgeois democracy.

Hence, the Second Congress of the Communist International¹⁷¹ should resolve that it cannot immediately accept the affiliation of these parties, that it endorses the reply that was given by the Executive Committee of the Third International to the German “Independents,” that it endorses its readiness to negotiate with any party affiliated to the Second International and which desires to come closer to the Third International, that it is prepared to grant a consultative vote to the delegates of such parties at all its congresses and conferences, that it imposes the following conditions for the complete affiliation of these (and similar) parties to the Communist International:

(1.) The publication of all the decisions of all the Congresses of the Communist International and of its Executive Committees in all the periodical publications of the parties;

(2.) That these decisions be discussed at special meetings of all the sections or local organisations of the parties;

(3.) that after such discussion special congresses of the respective parties shall be called to sum up these discussions and

(4.) for the purpose of purging these parties of elements which continue to act in the spirit of the Second International;

(5.) that all the periodical organs of the party shall be placed under exclusively Communist editorship.

The Second Congress of the Third International should instruct its Executive Committee to formally accept the affiliation of the above-mentioned and similar parties to the Third International after investigation has shown that all these conditions have been fulfilled and that the activities of the parties have assumed a Communist character.

16. On the question as to what should be the conduct of Communists who at present represent a minority in the responsible posts

in the above-mentioned and similar parties, the Second Congress of the Third International should resolve that in view of the growth of sincere sympathy towards Communism among the workers who belong to these parties, it is not desirable that the Communists should leave these parties as long as it is possible to work inside them in the spirit of the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet form of government, and as long as it is possible to criticise the opportunists and centrists who still remain in those parties.

At the same time the Second Congress of the Third International should express itself in favour of Communist groups, or groups and organisations sympathising with Communism in England, affiliating to the Labour Party notwithstanding the fact that the latter is affiliated to the Second International. For as long as this party permits the organisations affiliated to it to enjoy their present freedom of criticism and freedom of propagandist, agitational and organisational activity for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet form of government, as long as that party preserves its character as a federation of all the trade union organisations of the working class, the Communists should without fail take all measures and agree to certain compromises in order to have the opportunity of influencing the broadest masses of the workers, of exposing the opportunist leaders from a platform that is higher and more visible to the masses, and of accelerating the transition of political power from the direct representatives of the bourgeoisie to the “labour lieutenants of the capitalist class” in order that the masses may be more quickly weaned from their last illusions on this score. . . .

18. The Second Congress of the Third International considers as incorrect those views on the relations between the party and the class and the masses, and the view that it is not obligatory for the Communist Parties to participate in bourgeois parliaments and in reactionary trade unions, which have been refuted in detail in the special decisions of the present Congress after being most fully defended by the Communist Labour Party of Germany¹⁷² and also partly by the Communist Party of Switzerland, by *Kommunismus*¹⁷³ the organ of the East European Secretariat of the Communist International in Vienna, by the now dissolved Secretariat in Amsterdam,¹⁷⁴ and by several Dutch Communists, and also by several Communist organisations in England, for example, the Workers' Socialist Federation, etc., and also by the Industrial Workers of the World¹⁷⁵ of America and the Shop Stewards Committee in England, etc.

Nevertheless, the Second Congress of the Third International considers possible and desirable the immediate affiliation to the Communist International of those of the above-mentioned organisations which are not yet affiliated officially, because in the present case, particularly in regard to the Industrial Workers of the World

in America and of Australia, as well as in regard to the Shop Stewards' Committees in England, we are dealing with a profoundly proletarian and mass movement which in the main stands practically on the basis of the fundamental principles of the Communist International. The erroneous views held by these organisations in regard to participation in bourgeois parliaments is to be explained not so much by the role played by the representatives of the bourgeoisie who have joined the movement, and who introduce what are in fact their petty-bourgeois views, as is often the case with the views of the anarchists, as by the political inexperience of proletarians who are quite revolutionary and connected with the masses.

For this reason the Second Congress of the Third International requests all Communist organisations and groups in Anglo-Saxon countries, even in the event of the immediate affiliation of the Industrial Workers of the World and the Shop Stewards' Committees to the Third International not taking place, to pursue a very friendly policy towards these organisations, to come close to them and to the masses which sympathise with them, and to explain to them in a friendly manner from the point of view of the experience of all revolutions, and of the three Russian revolutions in the twentieth century, particularly, the erroneousness of the above-mentioned views and not to refrain from making repeated attempts to amalgamate with these organisations in a united Communist Party.

19. In this connection the Congress draws the attention of all comrades, particularly in the Latin and Anglo-Saxon countries, that since the war, all over the world a profound ideological division is taking place among the anarchists on the question of the attitude to be adopted towards the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet form of government.—4th July 1920.

(Theses on the Fundamental Tasks of the Second Congress of the Comintern, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXV.)

CHAPTER V

THE BRITISH LABOUR MOVEMENT AND THE NATIONAL AND COLONIAL QUESTIONS

THESIS ON THE NATIONAL AND COLONIAL QUESTIONS

1. The abstract or formal presentation of the question of equality in general, including national equality, by its very nature, is a peculiar feature of bourgeois democracy. Under the cloak of human equality in general, bourgeois democracy proclaims the formal or juridical equality of the property owner and the proletarian, the exploiter and the exploited, and by that greatly misleads the oppressed masses. The bourgeoisie transforms the idea of equality, which is itself a reflection of the relations of commodity production, into a weapon in the struggle against the abolition of classes on the pretext of absolute human equality.

2. In conformity with its fundamental task of fighting against bourgeois democracy and of exposing its falsehood and hypocrisy, the Communist Party, as the conscious expression of the proletarian struggle for the overthrow of the yoke of the bourgeoisie, places at the corner-stone of the national question, not formal and abstract principles but, first, the precise estimation of the historically concrete, and primarily, the whole economic situation; secondly, the distinct separation of the interests of the oppressed classes, of the toilers, the exploited, from the general concept of national interests, which implies the interests of the ruling class; thirdly, a similarly distinct separation of the oppressed, dependent and disfranchised nations from the oppressing, exploiting and enfranchised nations, in contrast to bourgeois democratic falsehood which obscures that colonial and financial enslavement of the overwhelming majority of the population of the globe by an insignificant minority of the richest and most advanced capitalist countries which is peculiar to the epoch of finance capital and imperialism.

3. The imperialist war of 1914 has demonstrated very clearly to all nations and to all the oppressed classes of the world, the deceitfulness of bourgeois democratic phraseology, and has shown in fact that the Versailles Treaty of the notorious "Western democracies" is a more brutal and despicable act of violence against the small nations than the Brest-Litovsk Treaty of the German *Junkers* and the Kaiser.¹⁷⁶ The League of Nations and the whole of the post-war policy of the

Entente still more sharply and strikingly reveals this truth; and they have everywhere intensified the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in the advanced countries as well as of the masses of the toilers in the colonies and dependencies and accelerated the collapse of petty-bourgeois nationalist illusions about the possibility of peaceful co-habitation and equality of nations under capitalism.

4. It follows from the fundamental principles outlined above that the corner-stone of the policy of the Communist International on the national and colonial questions must be to bring closer the proletariat and the masses of the toilers of all nations and countries for the joint struggle for the overthrow of the landlords and the bourgeoisie. For only this rapprochement can guarantee victory over capitalism, without which the abolition of national oppression and inequality is impossible.

5. The world political situation has brought up on the order of the day the dictatorship of the proletariat, and all events in world politics are inevitably becoming concentrated around one central point, *viz.*, the struggle of the world bourgeoisie against the Soviet Russian Republic, which is inevitably grouping around itself on the one hand the Soviet movement of the advanced workers in all countries, and, on the other hand, all the national liberation movements in the colonies and among the oppressed nationalities who are becoming convinced by bitter experience that there is no salvation for them except by the victory of the Soviet power over world imperialism.

6. Consequently, we cannot be content at the present time with the bare recognition and proclamation of the rapprochement of the toilers of the various nations; it is necessary to pursue the policy of achieving the closest unity between the national and colonial liberation movements and Soviet Russia, and the forms of this unity are to be determined in accordance with the degree of development of the communist movement among the proletariat in each country, or of the bourgeois-democratic liberation movement of the workers and peasants in backward countries, or among backward nationalities.

7. Federation is a transitional form to the complete unity of the toilers of all countries. Already, federation in practice has proved its expediency in the relations between the R.S.F.S.R. and the other Soviet republics (Hungarian, Finnish and Latvian in the past, and the Azerbaidjan and Ukrainian at the present time), as well as within the R.S.F.S.R. in relation to the nationalities which have never before had any state existence or autonomy (for example, the Bashkir and Tartar Autonomous Republics in the R.S.F.S.R. created in 1919 and 1920).

8. The task of the Communist International in this respect is to

further develop, to study and to verify by experience the federations which have arisen on the basis of the Soviet system and the Soviet movement. While recognising federation as a transitional form to complete unity, it is necessary to strive to secure an ever closer federal alliance, for it must be borne in mind, first, that it will be impossible to preserve the Soviet republic, surrounded as it is by imperialist world powers immeasurably more mighty in a military sense, unless the closest possible unity is maintained between the republics; secondly, that it is necessary to maintain the closest possible economic unity between the Soviet republics, for without this the restoration of the productive forces that were destroyed by imperialism and the security of the welfare of the toilers will be impossible; and thirdly, the tendency towards the creation of a single world economy according to a common plan to be regulated by the proletariat of all nations—which tendency became clearly revealed even under capitalism and should certainly be further developed and finally consummated under socialism.

9. In the sphere of internal state relations the national policy of the Communist International cannot limit itself to the bare, formal and purely declamatory proclamation of the equality of nations which does not bind anyone to anything, the kind of declarations to which the bourgeois democrats confine themselves—no matter whether they frankly call themselves democrats or whether they go under the cloak of socialists, as for example the socialists of the Second International.

Not only must the continuous violation of the equal rights of nations and of the guaranteed rights of the national minorities that takes place in all countries, in spite of their democratic constitutions, be steadily exposed in the whole of the propaganda and agitation of the Communist Parties—in parliament and out of it—but it is necessary also, first, to explain constantly that the Soviet system alone is capable of granting equality of nations by uniting first the proletariat and then the whole mass of the toilers in the struggle against the bourgeoisie; second, it is necessary for the Communist Parties to render direct aid to the revolutionary movements in the dependent and unequal nations (for example, in Ireland, the Negroes in America, etc.) and in the colonies.

Without the latter particularly important condition, the struggle against the oppression of the dependent nations and colonies and also the recognition of their right to state separation remains a false sign-board, as we see in the case of the parties affiliated to the Second International.

10. The recognition of internationalism in words while actually substituting petty-bourgeois nationalism and pacifism for it in propaganda, agitation and practical work, is a common phenomenon not only among the parties affiliated to the Second International, but also

among those which have disaffiliated from it, and not infrequently among those which now call themselves Communist. The fight against this evil, against these most deep-rooted petty-bourgeois national prejudices, come into the foreground more and more according to the extent that the task of transforming the dictatorship of the proletariat from a national (*i.e.*, existing in a single country and unable to determine world politics) into an international dictatorship (*i.e.*, the dictatorship of the proletariat in at least several advanced countries capable of exercising decisive influence upon the whole of world politics), becomes an immediate task. Petty-bourgeois nationalism declares that the recognition of the equality of nations alone is internationalism (leaving aside the purely verbal character of this recognition) and leaves national egoism intact, whereas proletarian internationalism demands, first, the subordination of the interests of the proletarian struggle in one country to the interests of this struggle on an international scale; second, it demands the ability and preparedness of the nations which have achieved victory over the bourgeoisie to make great national sacrifices for the cause of overthrowing international capital.

Thus, in fully capitalist states in which workers' parties that are genuinely the vanguard of the proletariat exist, the fight against opportunist and petty-bourgeois pacifist misinterpretations of the concept and policy of internationalism is a primary and most important task.

11. In regard to more backward states and nations in which feudal or patriarchal and patriarchal-peasant relations predominate, the following must be particularly borne in mind:

First, that all Communist Parties must assist the bourgeois-democratic liberation movement in these countries; primarily, that the duty to render the most active assistance rests upon the workers of the country upon which the backward nation is dependent in a colonial or financial respect;

Second, the necessity to fight against the clerical and other mediæval reactionary elements that exercise influence in the backward countries;

Third, the necessity to fight against pan-Islamism and similar tendencies which strive to combine the liberation movements against European and American imperialism with the strengthening of the position of the Khans, the landlords, the Mullahs, etc.

Fourth, the necessity to support particularly the peasant movement in the backward countries against the landlords, against large land-ownership and against all manifestations or survivals of feudalism, to strive to give the peasant movement the most revolutionary character possible and to establish the closest possible alliance between the Western European Communist proletariat and the

revolutionary peasant movement in the Orient, in the colonies and in the backward countries generally;

Fifth, the necessity to wage a determined struggle against the attempt to dye the bourgeois-democratic liberation tendencies in the backward countries in communist colours. The Communist International must support the bourgeois-democratic national movement in the colonies and in the backward countries only on the condition that the elements of the future proletarian parties in all the backward countries who are communist, not only in name, shall be grouped and trained to appreciate their special tasks of fighting the bourgeois-democratic movements in their respective countries. The Communist International should enter into a temporary alliance with the bourgeois-democratic movement in the colonies and backward countries, but must not become merged with it, and must certainly preserve the independence of the proletarian movement even in its most embryonic form;

Sixth, the necessity steadily to explain and expose to the widest possible masses of the toilers in all countries, and particularly in the backward countries, the deception the imperialist powers systematically practice when, on the pretext of setting up politically independent states, they set up states that are absolutely dependent upon them economically, financially and militarily. In the present international situation there is no salvation for the dependent and weak states except in a union of soviet republics.

12. The century-old oppression of the colonial and weak nationalities by the imperialist powers has not only left feelings of anger among the toiling masses in the oppressed countries, but also a feeling of distrust towards oppressing nations generally, including the proletariat of these nations. The despicable betrayal of socialism by the majority of the official leaders of the proletariat in 1914-19 when, under the cloak of "defence of the fatherland," they, in a social-chauvinist manner, defended the "right" of "their" bourgeoisie to oppress the colonies and to plunder the financially dependent countries, could not but intensify this perfectly legitimate distrust. On the other hand, the more backward a country is the stronger are small agricultural production, patriarchalism and insularity, which inevitably lead to the most profound petty-bourgeois prejudices, *viz.*, the prejudices of national egoism and national narrow-mindedness becoming extraordinarily strong and deep-rooted. In view of the fact that these prejudices can disappear only after the disappearance of imperialism and capitalism in the advanced countries and after a radical change has taken place in the whole economic life of the backward countries, these prejudices cannot but die out very slowly. Hence, the duty of the class-conscious communist proletariat in all countries is to

exercise particular care and attention towards the survivals of national sentiments among the countries and nationalities that have been longest oppressed, and it is also their duty to make certain concessions for the purpose of eradicating the above-mentioned prejudices and distrust as quickly as possible. Without the voluntary striving towards alliance and unity on the part of the proletariat and on the part of the toiling masses of all countries and nations of the world, the victory over capitalism cannot be achieved.—8th June 1920.
(*Collected Works*, Vol. XXV.)

THE DUTY OF COMMUNISTS TO THE COLONIES

I should like to remark on the importance of the revolutionary work of the Communist Parties not only in their own countries, but also among the troops which the exploiting nations employ to hold the peoples of their colonies in subjection.

Comrade Quelch* of the British Socialist Party spoke of this in our commission. He stated that the rank and file English worker would consider it treachery to help the enslaved peoples in their revolt against British rule. It is true that the jingo and chauvinist-minded labour aristocracy in England and America represents a very great danger to socialism and is the strongest support of the Second International, and that we here have to deal with the worst treachery of those leaders and workers who belong to the bourgeois International. The Second International has also discussed the colonial question. The Basle manifesto also spoke of it quite clearly. The parties of the Second International have promised to behave in a revolutionary way, but we see no real revolutionary work and help for the exploited and oppressed peoples in their revolts against the oppressors from the parties of the Second International, nor, I believe, among the majority also of the parties which have left the Second International and wish to join the Third International. We must declare this in the hearing of all, and it cannot be refuted. We shall see if any attempt is made to refute it.—26th July 1920.

(Report on the National and Colonial Question to the Second Congress of the Comintern, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXV.)

*The reference is to Tom Quelch, son of Harry Quelch.

CHAPTER VI

THE TASKS OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

RAMSAY MACDONALD ON THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

THE French social-chauvinist newspaper *L'Humanité*,* in its issue of April 14, 1919, No. 5475, published a leading article by Ramsay MacDonald, the leader of the so-called Independent Labour Party—which in fact is an opportunist party that has always been dependent on the bourgeoisie. This article is so typical of the position of the *trend* that it is customary to call “the centre,” and which the First Congress of the Communist International in Moscow so designated, that we quote it here *in full* together with *L'Humanité's* editorial introductory lines.

The Third International

“Before the war our friend Ramsay MacDonald was the popular leader of the Labour Party in the House of Commons. As a convinced socialist and a man of conviction he considered it his duty to condemn this war as an imperialist war, unlike those who greeted this war as a war for right. As a consequence, after August 4, he resigned from the position of leader of the Labour Party, and together with Keir Hardie, whom we all admired, did not fear to declare war on war.

“This called for not a little heroism repeated day in and day out.

“By his own example MacDonald showed that courage, in the words of Jaures, ‘means not to submit to the law of triumphant falsehood and not to serve as an echo of the applause of fools and the hisses of fanatics.’

“During the Khaki election at the end of November, MacDonald was defeated by Lloyd George. We can remain calm. MacDonald will take his revenge, and in the very near future.”

“The rise of separatist tendencies in the national and international policy of socialism was a misfortune for the whole of the socialist movement.

*During the war *L'Humanité*, organ of the French Socialist Party, was in the hands of the chauvinist section. When the majority of the Party affiliated to the Communist International in 1920, the paper became the organ of the Communist Party.—Ed.

"There is no harm, of course, if there are various shades of opinion and differences in methods in the socialist movement. Our socialism is still in the experimental stage.

"Its fundamental principles have been established, but the method of applying them in the best way, combinations that will bring about the triumph of the revolution, the organisation of the socialist state, all these are subjects for discussion and concerning which the last word has not yet been said. Only the profound study of all these questions can bring us to the higher truth.

"Extremes may come into conflict with each other, and such a struggle may serve to strengthen socialist opinions; but the evil commences when each regards his opponent as a traitor, as a believer who has fallen from grace and in whose face the gates of party paradise must be slammed.

"When socialists are overcome by the spirit of dogmatism like that which at one time in Christendom ignited the fires of civil war for the glory of God and for the discomfiture of the devil, the bourgeoisie can sleep in peace, because the period of its rule has not yet come to an end, no matter how great the local and international successes of socialism may be.

"Unfortunately, at the present time our movement is meeting with a new obstacle in its path. In Moscow a new International has been founded.

"Personally, I am very much distressed by this fact—the Socialist International at the present time is sufficiently wide for all types of socialist thought, and in spite of all the theoretical and practical differences created by bolshevism, I see no reason why the Left Wing should break away from the Centre and form an independent group.

"First of all it is necessary to realise that we are still passing through the period of birth of the revolution. Forms of administration which have grown up out of the political and social desolation caused by the war have not yet stood the test and cannot be regarded as being final.

"A new broom at first sweeps remarkably clean; but no one can say for certain beforehand how it will sweep in the end.

"Russia is not Hungary. Hungary is not France and France is not England, and therefore, whoever causes schism in the International, going by the experience of any single national, betrays criminal narrowness of mind.

"What indeed is the experience of Russia worth? Who can answer this question? The Allied governments are afraid to allow us to obtain full information. But there are two things that we know.

"First of all we know that the revolution was not brought about by the present Russian government according to a preconceived plan. It developed in connection with the course of events. When starting

the fight against Kerensky, Lenin demanded the convocation of the Constituent Assembly. Events caused him to disperse this Assembly. When the socialist revolution flared up in Russia no one suspected that the Soviets would take the place in the government they have taken.

"Then, Lenin quite justly urged the Hungarians not to copy Russia slavishly but to allow the Hungarian revolution to develop freely in accordance with its own spirit.

"The development and fluctuation of the experiments we are now witnessing should not under any circumstances have brought about a split in the International.

"All the socialist governments need the aid and counsel of the International. The International should watch their experiments, with an attentive and critical eye.

"I have just heard from a friend who saw Lenin recently, that no one subjects the Soviet government to freer criticism than does Lenin himself."

"If the post-war disorders and revolutions do not justify a split, does not the latter find justification in the position which certain socialist factions took up during the war? I frankly confess that here it would be possible to find a more rational cause.

"But if indeed a pretext for a split in the International does exist, at all events, at the Moscow Conference the question was presented in the clumsiest manner.

"I am one of those who believe that the debate at the Berne Conference* on the question as to the responsibility for the war was *merely a concession to the public opinion of non-socialist circles.*

"At the Berne Conference, not only was there no opportunity to pass a resolution on this question that would have had any historical value (although it might have had some political value), but the very question was not presented in the proper manner.

"The condemnation of the German majority (a condemnation which the German majority had fully deserved, and with which I associated myself with pleasure) could not serve as the explanation of the causes of the war.

"The debates at Berne were not accompanied by a frank discussion of the position taken up by other socialists towards the war.

"They provided no formula of conduct that would be obligatory for socialists during war. All that the International had said up to that time was that when war bears the character of national defence the socialists should unite with other parties.

"Under these circumstances, whom shall we condemn?"

*The conference of the Second International in 1919.—Ed.

"Some of us were aware that these decisions of the International were of no significance and were useless for the cause as a practical guide.

"We knew that this war had to end with the victory of imperialism, and being neither pacifists nor anti-pacifists in the accepted sense of the word, we adhered to the policy which in our opinion was the only one compatible with internationalism. But the *International* never prescribed such a line of conduct for us.

"That is why, when the war broke out, the International collapsed. It lost its authority and did not issue a single decision that would give us the right to-day to condemn those who have honestly carried out the resolutions of International Congresses.

"In view of this, we must at the present time advocate the following point of view: instead of breaking up over differences concerning events of the past, let us set up an International that will be really active, and that will assist the socialist movement in the period of revolution and construction into which we have entered.

"It is necessary to restore our socialist principles. It is necessary to lay a firm foundation for international socialist conduct.

"If, however, it turns out that we differ materially on these principles, if we can come to no agreement on the question of freedom and democracy, if our views regarding the conditions under which the proletariat can take power utterly diverge, and if, finally, it turns out that the war has poisoned certain sections of the International with the poison of imperialism—then a split is possible.

"But I do not think that such a misfortune can happen.

"That is why I was grieved by the Moscow manifesto as at least premature and certainly futile; and I hope that my French comrades, who have had to endure so much slander and attack during the past unhappy four years, will not give way to an outburst of impatience, and will not do anything to facilitate the break up of international solidarity.

"If they do their children will have to restore this solidarity anew if the proletariat is destined some day to govern the world."

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD.

As the reader will see, the author of this article tries to show that a split is unnecessary; but it is precisely the inevitability of a split that logically follows from the *manner* in which Ramsay MacDonald, this typical representative of the Second International, and worthy comrade in arms of Scheidemann, Kautsky, Vandervelde and Branting, etc., etc., argues.

Ramsay MacDonald's article is a very fine example of the smooth, fine-sounding, stereotyped, seemingly socialistic phrases which in all advanced capitalist countries have long served to conceal bourgeois politics in the labour movement.

I

WE will commence from what is least important, but particularly characteristic. The author, like Kautsky (in his pamphlet *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat*) repeats the bourgeois lie that no one in Russia foresaw the role of the Soviets, and that I, and the Bolsheviks, commenced our fight against Kerensky only in the name of the Constituent Assembly.

This is a bourgeois lie. As a matter of fact, as far back as April 4, 1917, on the very first day of my arrival in Petrograd, I advanced "theses" containing the demand for a *Soviet* republic and not for a *bourgeois parliamentary* republic. I repeated this many times under Kerensky in the press and at meetings. The Bolshevik Party solemnly and officially declared this in the decisions of its conference on April 29, 1917. Not to know this means *not wanting* to know the truth about the socialist revolution in Russia. To refuse to understand that a bourgeois parliamentary republic with a constituent assembly is a step forward compared with such a republic *without* a constituent assembly, and that a *Soviet* republic represents two steps forward compared with this, means to close one's eyes to the difference between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

To call oneself a socialist and to fail to see this difference two years after the question was raised in Russia, and one and a half years after the victory of the Soviet revolution in Russia, means to persist in remaining completely captive to "the public opinion of non-socialist circles," i.e., to the ideas and politics of the bourgeoisie.

A split from such people is necessary and inevitable, because it is impossible to bring about the socialist revolution hand in hand with those who are pulling on the side of the bourgeoisie.

And if people like Ramsay MacDonald, or Kautsky, etc., did not want to overcome even what for these "leaders" would have been the very small "difficulty" of studying the *documents* on the attitude of the Bolsheviks towards a Soviet government and on the manner in which this question was presented before and after October 25 (November 7), 1917, then would it not be ridiculous to expect such people to be prepared and able to overcome the incomparably greater difficulties connected with a real struggle for the socialist revolution?

There are none so deaf as those who will not hear.

II

We will now deal with the second untruth (of the innumerable untruths with which the whole of Ramsay MacDonald's article is rife, because there are, perhaps, more untruths than words in that article). This untruth, perhaps, is the most important one.

J. R. MacDonald asserts that before the war of 1914-18 all that the International said, was: "When war bears the character of national defence socialists should unite with other parties."

This is a monstrous, glaring departure from the truth.

Everyone knows that the Basle Manifesto of 1912 was unanimously adopted by all socialists, and this is the only document of all the documents of the International which refers precisely to the very war between the British and German groups of imperialist pirates which was obviously being prepared for in 1912 and which broke out in 1914. It was precisely concerning this war that the Basle Manifesto said three things, and by ignoring these now, MacDonald commits a great crime against socialism and proves that a split from people like MacDonald is necessary because, in deeds, they serve the bourgeoisie and not the proletariat.

These three things are the following:

The war that is threatening cannot be justified even by a shadow of the interests of national liberty;

It would be a crime for the workers to shoot each other in this war;

War will lead to proletarian revolution.

These are the three fundamental, radical truths which MacDonald "forgets" (although he put his signature to them before the war) and by doing so he *in fact* turns against the proletariat and deserts to the side of the bourgeoisie, and thus proves that a split is necessary.

The Communist International will not agree to unity with parties which do not wish to admit this truth and which are incapable of proving by their *deeds* their determination, readiness and ability to imbue the minds of the masses with these truths.

The Versailles peace has proved even to the stupid and the blind, even to the mass of near-sighted people that the Entente was and remains just such a blood-thirsty, filthy and imperialist pirate as Germany. Only hypocrites and liars who are deliberately pursuing a bourgeois policy in the labour movement, the direct agents and servants of the bourgeoisie (the labour lieutenants of the capitalist class as the American socialists say), or else those who have utterly subjected themselves to bourgeois ideas and bourgeois influence, who are socialist only in words but in deeds are petty bourgeois, philistines, second voices of the capitalists, could fail to see this. The difference between the first and the second category is important from the point of view of personality, *i.e.*, for the appraisal of John or Peter among the social-chauvinists of all countries. For a statesman, *i.e.*, from the point of view of the relations between millions of persons, between classes, the difference is immaterial.

Those socialists who during the war of 1914-18 did not understand that the war was a criminal, reactionary, predatory, imperialist war

on both sides, are social-chauvinists, *i.e.*, socialists in words, but chauvinists in deeds; friends of the working class in words, but in deeds, lackeys of "their own" national bourgeoisie who help to deceive the people by describing the war between the British and the German groups of imperialist pirates who are *equally* filthy, covetous, blood-thirsty, criminal and reactionary as a "national," "liberating," "defensive," "just," etc., war.

Unity with social-chauvinists is treachery to the revolution, treachery to the proletariat, treachery to socialism, desertion to the side of the bourgeoisie, because it is "unity" with the *national bourgeoisie* of "one's own" country *against* the unity of the international revolutionary proletariat, it is unity *with* the bourgeoisie *against* the proletariat.

The war of 1914-18 definitely proved this. Let those who have failed to understand this remain in the yellow Berne International of social traitors.

III

WITH the amusing naivete of a "parlour" socialist, Ramsay MacDonald throws words to the wind without understanding their serious significance, without giving a thought to the fact that *words commit one to deeds*, and declares: In Berne "a concession was made to the public opinion of non-socialist circles."

Precisely! We regard the whole of the Berne International as yellow, treacherous and perfidious because the *whole* of its policy is a "concession" to the bourgeoisie.

Ramsay MacDonald knows perfectly well that we built the Third International and unreservedly broke with the Second International because we were convinced that it was hopeless and incorrigible in its role of servant to imperialism, of channel of bourgeois influence, of bourgeois lies and bourgeois corruption in the labour movement. If in desiring to discuss the Third International Ramsay MacDonald evades the essence of the question, beats about the bush, utters empty phrases and does not say what should be said, it is his fault and his crime. Because the proletariat needs the truth, and there is nothing more harmful to its cause than plausible, respectable, petty bourgeois lies.

The question of imperialism and of *its connection* with opportunism in the labour movement, with the betrayal of the cause of labour by the labour leaders, was raised long ago, very long ago.

For a period of *forty* years, from 1852 to 1892, Marx and Engels constantly pointed to the fact that the upper stratum of the working class of England was becoming *bourgeois* as a consequence of the peculiar economic conditions of England (colonies, the monopoly of

the world market, etc.). In the seventies of the last century Marx earned for himself the honourable hatred of the despicable heroes of the then "Berne" International trend, of the opportunists and reformists, because he branded many of the leaders of the English trade unions as men who had sold themselves to the bourgeoisie, or were in the pay of the latter for services they were rendering to its class *within* the labour movement.

During the Anglo-Boer War, the Anglo-Saxon press quite clearly raised the question of imperialism as the latest (*and last*) stage of capitalism. Unless my memory betrays me, it was none other than Ramsay MacDonald who then resigned from the Fabian Society, that prototype of the "Berne" International, that nursery and model of opportunism which Engels with the power, clarity and truth of a genius describes in his correspondence with Sorge. "Fabian imperialism"—such was the winged expression employed in English socialist literature at that time.

If Ramsay MacDonald has forgotten this, all the worse for him.

"Fabian imperialism" and "social-imperialism" are one and the same thing: socialism in words, imperialism in deeds, *the growth of opportunism into imperialism*. Now, during the war of 1914-18 and after, this phenomenon has become a *universal* fact. The failure to understand it is evidence of the intense blindness of the "Berne," yellow international, and of its greatest crime. Opportunism or reformism inevitably had to grow into *socialist imperialism* or social chauvinism which has world historical significance, because imperialism singled out a handful of very rich, advanced nations, which plundered the whole world and by that enabled the bourgeoisie of these countries, out of their monopolist super profits (imperialism is monopolist capitalism), to *bribe the upper stratum of the working class* of these countries.

Only utter ignoramuses, hypocrites, who deceive the workers by repeating *commonplaces* about capitalism and in this way obscure the bitter truth that *a whole trend in socialism* deserted to the side of the imperialist bourgeoisie, can fail to see the economic inevitability of this fact under imperialism.

And from this fact two indisputable conclusions emerge.

First conclusion: the "Berne"* international is in fact, by its real historical and political role, irrespective of the goodwill and innocent desires of this or that member of it, *an organisation of the agents of international imperialism* operating *within* the labour movement, pervading it with bourgeois influences, bourgeois ideas, bourgeois lies and bourgeois corruption.

*The Second International. Lenin calls it the "Berne" International because it was in Berne, Switzerland, that the first congress of this international to be held after the world war was convened.—Ed.

In those countries where democratic parliamentary culture is of long standing, the bourgeoisie has excellently learned to operate not only by means of violence, but also by means of deception, bribery, flattery, right up to the most subtle forms of these methods. It is not for nothing that "luncheons" given to English "labour leaders" (i.e., the servants of the bourgeoisie in fooling the workers) have acquired notoriety, and even Engels spoke about them. To the same order of facts belong the "charming" receptions given by M. Clemenceau to the social traitor, Mehrheim, the friendly reception given by the ministers of the Entente to the leaders of the "Berne" International; and so on and so forth. "You will train them and we will buy them," said a very clever capitalist lady to Mr. Social Imperialist, Hyndman, who related in his memoirs how this lady, who was more shrewd than all the leaders of the "Berne" International put together, appraised the "labours" of the socialist intellectuals in training workers to become socialist leaders.

During the war, when the Vanderveldes, Brantings and the whole gang of traitors organised "international" conferences, the French bourgeois newspapers were biting and rightly scornful: "These Vanderveldes seem to be suffering from a sort of tic. Just as those who suffer from tic cannot utter two phrases without strangely twitching the muscles of the face, so the Vanderveldes cannot make a political speech without repeating in a parrot-like way the words: internationalism, socialism, international solidarity of the workers, proletarian revolution, etc. Let them repeat any sacramental formula they like as long as they help to lead the workers by the nose and serve us, the capitalists, in pursuing the imperialist war and in enslaving the workers."

Sometimes the English and French bourgeoisie are very clever and excellently appreciate the servile role played by the "Berne" International.

Martov wrote somewhere: "You bolsheviks hurl abuse at the Berne International but 'your' own friend Lorient is a member of it."

That is the argument of a rogue. Because everybody knows that Lorient is openly, honestly and heroically fighting for the Third International. When in 1902, Zubatov organised workers' meetings in Moscow for the purpose of fooling the workers with "police socialism," the worker Babushkin, whom I had known since 1894, when he attended the workers' circle I conducted in St. Petersburg, and who was one of the most loyal and devoted worker *Iskra*-ists, a leader of the revolutionary proletariat who was shot in 1906 by Rennenkampf in Siberia, *went to the Zubatov meetings* in order to fight against Zubatovism and to snatch the workers out of its clutches, Babushkin was no more a "Zubatovist" than Lorient is a "Berne-ite."

SECOND conclusion: the Third, Communist International was formed precisely for the purpose of preventing "socialists" from getting away with the *verbal* recognition of revolution, an example of which is provided by Ramsay MacDonald in his article. The verbal recognition of revolution, which in fact concealed a thoroughly opportunist, reformist, nationalist and petty bourgeois policy, was the fundamental sin of the Second International, and against this evil we are waging a war of life and death.

When it is said: The Second International died after suffering shameful bankruptcy—one must be able to understand what this means. It means that opportunism, reformism, petty-bourgeois socialism, became bankrupt and died. For the Second International has rendered a historical service, it has achievements *εἰς ἀεί* (for ever), which the class-conscious worker will never renounce, namely: the creation of mass labour organisations—co-operative societies, trade unions and political organisations, the utilisation of bourgeois parliamentarism as well as all the institutions of bourgeois democracy generally, etc.

In order utterly to defeat the opportunism which caused the shameful death of the Second International, in order to render effective aid to the revolution, the approach of which *even* Ramsay MacDonald is obliged to admit, it is necessary:

First, to carry on all propaganda and agitation from the point of view of revolution as opposed to reforms, systematically to explain this difference to the masses theoretically and practically at every step of parliamentary, trade union, co-operative, etc., work. Under no circumstances to refrain (except in special cases as an exception) from utilising parliamentarism and all the "liberties" of bourgeois democracy; not to reject reforms, but regard them *only* as a *by-product* of the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat. Not a single party affiliated to the "Berne" International meets these requirements. Not a single one of them betrays even an inkling of how *all* propaganda and agitation should be conducted while explaining the *difference* between reform and revolution, how both the party and the masses must be *undeviatingly* trained for *revolution*.

Secondly, legal work must be combined with *illegal* work. The Bolsheviks always taught this, and did so with particular insistence during the war of 1914-18. The heroes of despicable opportunism ridiculed this and smugly extolled the "law," "democracy," "liberty" of the western European countries, republics, etc. Now, however, only out and out swindlers who deceive the workers with phrases can deny that the Bolsheviks have been proved to be right. There is not a single country in the world, even the most advanced and "freest"

of the bourgeois republics, in which bourgeois terror does not reign, where freedom to carry on agitation for the socialist revolution, to carry on propaganda and organisational work precisely in this direction, are not prohibited. The party which under the rule of the bourgeoisie has not admitted this to this day and which does not carry on systematic, all-sided, *illegal* work in spite of the laws of the bourgeoisie and of the bourgeois parliaments, is a party of traitors and scoundrels, which deceives the people by the verbal recognition of revolution. The place for such parties is in the yellow "Berne" International. They will find no place in the Communist International.

Thirdly, unswerving and ruthless war must be waged for the purpose of completely expelling from the labour movement those opportunist leaders who earned their reputations both before the war and particularly during the war, in the sphere of politics as well as, and particularly, in the trade unions and the co-operative societies. The theory of "neutrality"* is a false and despicable evasion which helped the bourgeoisie to capture the masses in 1914-18. The parties which stand for revolution in words, but which in deeds fail to carry on undeviating work to spread the influence of precisely the revolutionary, and only of the revolutionary party in every sort of mass labour organisation, are parties of traitors.

Fourthly, there can be no toleration for the condemnation of imperialism in words while in deeds no revolutionary struggle is waged for the liberation of the colonies (and dependent nations) from *one's own* imperialist bourgeoisie. This is hypocrisy. This is the policy of the agents of the bourgeoisie in the labour movement (the labour lieutenants of the capitalist class). Those English, French, Dutch, Belgian, etc., parties which are hostile to imperialism in words, and in deeds fail to wage a revolutionary struggle within "their own" colonies for the *overthrow* of "their own" bourgeoisie, who do not systematically assist the *revolutionary* work which has already commenced everywhere in the colonies, who do not send arms and literature to the revolutionary parties in the colonies, are parties of scoundrels and traitors.

Fifthly, the following phenomenon, which is typical of the parties of the "Berne" International, is the height of hypocrisy, *viz.*, the verbal recognition of revolution and the flaunting of high flown phrases before the workers about recognising revolution, but in deeds, the adoption of a purely reformist attitude towards those beginnings, off shoots, and manifestations of the growth of revolution such as mass actions that break bourgeois laws, which extend beyond the bounds of all legality, as for example, mass strikes, street demon-

*I.e., the theory that the trade unions and co-operative societies must be neutral in politics.—Ed.

strations, protests by soldiers, meetings among the troops, the distribution of leaflets in barracks, camps, etc.

If any hero of the "Berne" International were asked whether his party is carrying on such systematic work he would answer either in evasive phrases to conceal the absence of such work: the lack of organisations and an apparatus for carrying on such work, the incapability of the party to carry on such work; or by declamations against "putsch-ism," "anarchism," etc. And it is precisely this that comprises the treachery of the Berne International to the working class, its actual desertion to the camp of the bourgeoisie.

All the scoundrelly leaders of the Berne International fervently vow their "sympathy" for revolution in general, and for the Russian Revolution in particular. But only hypocrites and simpletons can fail to understand that the particularly rapid successes of the revolution in Russia *are due* to the many years of work conducted by the revolutionary party in the direction indicated, when for years a systematic illegal apparatus was built up for the purpose of leading demonstrations and strikes, for work among the troops, when methods were studied in detail, illegal literature was issued which summed up experience and trained the whole Party to the idea of the necessity of revolution, when mass leaders were trained for such events, etc., etc.

v

THE most profound and radical differences, which sum up all that which has been said above, and explain the inevitability of an irreconcilable theoretical and practically-political struggle of the revolutionary proletariat against the "Berne" International, are the questions of the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war, and the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The fact that the "Berne" International is captive to bourgeois ideology is most of all revealed by the fact that having failed to understand (or: not desiring to understand, or: pretending not to understand) the imperialist character of the war of 1914-18, it failed to understand the inevitability of its transformation into a civil war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in all the advanced countries.

When the Bolsheviks, as far back as November 1914, pointed to this inevitability, the philistines of all countries retorted with stupid sneers, and among these philistines were all the leaders of the "Berne" International. Now, the transformation of imperialist war into civil war has become a fact in a number of countries, not only in Russia, but also in Finland, in Hungary, in Germany, and even in neutral Switzerland, and the growth of civil war is observed, is felt, is palpable in all advanced countries without exception.

To ignore this question now (as Ramsay MacDonald does) or to try to *evade* the question of the inevitability of civil war by sentimental conciliatory phrases (as Messrs. Kautsky & Co. do) is tantamount to direct treachery to the proletariat, tantamount to actual desertion to the side of the bourgeoisie. For the real political leaders of the bourgeoisie have long understood the inevitability of civil war and are excellently, thoughtfully and systematically making preparations for it and strengthening their positions for it.

The bourgeoisie of the whole world, with all its might, with enormous energy, brain and determination, sticking at no crime, condemning whole countries to famine and complete extinction, is preparing to suppress the proletariat in the impending civil war. And the heroes of the "Berne" International, like simpletons, or hypocritical persons, or pedantic professors, are still chanting their old worn out, threadbare, reformist song! A more repulsive and disgusting spectacle cannot be imagined!

The Kautskys and MacDonalds continue to *frighten* the capitalists with the menace of revolution, to *scare* the bourgeoisie with the menace of civil war in order to obtain concessions from them, their consent to pursue the reformist path. This is what all the writings, the whole philosophy, the whole policy of the whole of the "Berne" International amounts to.

We saw this miserable lackey's trick played in Russia in 1905 by the Liberals (Cadets), in 1917-19 by the Mensheviks and "Socialist Revolutionaries." The lackeys' souls of the Berne International never think of *imbuing* the masses with the consciousness of the inevitability and necessity of *defeating* the bourgeoisie in civil war, of pursuing the whole policy from the angle of this aim, of explaining, presenting and solving all problems from this, and only from this point of view. That is why our only aim should be once and for all to push the incorrigible reformists, *i.e.*, nine-tenths of the leaders of the Berne International, into the cesspool of the lackeys of the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie *needs* lackeys whom a section of the working class could trust, and who would paint in fine colours, embellish, the bourgeoisie with talk about the possibility of the reformist path, who would throw dust in the eyes of the people by this talk, who would *divert* the people from revolution by depicting in glowing colours the charms and the possibilities of the reformist path.

All the writings of the Kautskys, like those of our Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries, reduce themselves to such painting and to the whining of cowardly philistines who fear revolution.

We are unable here to reiterate in detail the main economic causes which made precisely the revolutionary path, and only the revolutionary path, inevitable, which made any other solution of the

problems which history has placed on the order of the day, except that of civil war, impossible. About this, volumes must be and will be written. If Messieurs the Kautskys and other leaders of the "Berne" International have not understood this, then the only thing that remains to be said is: ignorance is less remote from truth than prejudice.

For ignorant but sincere men of toil, and supporters of the toilers, now, after the war, far more easily understand the inevitability of revolution, of civil war and of the dictatorship of the proletariat than Messieurs the Kautskys, MacDonalds, Vanderveldes, Brantings, Turati, and *tutti quanti*, who are filled with the most learned reformist prejudices.

As one of the things that most strikingly confirm the mass phenomenon observed everywhere of the growth of revolutionary consciousness among the masses, we may take the novels of Henri Barbusse: *Le feu (Fire)** and *Clarté (Light)*. The first has already been translated into all languages, and in France, 230,000 copies were sold. The transformation of an absolutely ignorant philistine and rank and filer, entirely crushed by ideas and prejudices, into a revolutionary, precisely by the influence of the war, is depicted with extraordinary power, talent and truthfulness.

The mass of proletarians and semi-proletarians are on our side and are coming over to us, not only daily, but hourly. The "Berne" International is a general staff without an army, which will collapse like a house of cards if it is utterly exposed in the eyes of the masses.

The name of Karl Liebknecht was used in the whole of the Entente bourgeois press during the war in order to deceive the masses; in order to depict the pirates and plunderers of French and British imperialism as sympathising with this hero, with this "the only honest German," as they said.

Now, the heroes of the Berne International belong to the same organisation as the Scheidemanns who organised the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg; as the Scheidemanns who fulfilled the role of executioners of the working class, who rendered executioner's service to the bourgeoisie. In words—hypocritical attempts to "condemn" the Scheidemanns (as if "condemning" makes any difference!) in deeds—belonging to the same organisation that murderers belong to.

In 1907, the late Harry Quelch was deported from Stuttgart by the German government because he described a gathering of European diplomats as a "thieves' kitchen." The leaders of the "Berne" International not only represent a gathering of thieves, they represent a gathering of despicable murderers.

They will not escape the justice of the revolutionary workers.

*The English translation is known as *Under Fire*.—Ed.

VI

RAMSAY MACDONALD, in a couple of words, settles the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat as if it were a subject for discussion on freedom and democracy.

No. It is time to act. Discussions are belated.

The most dangerous thing that comes from the "Berne" International is the verbal recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. These people are capable of recognising everything, of signing everything only to keep at the head of the labour movement. Kautsky now says that he is not opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat! The French social-chauvinists and "Centrists" put their names to resolutions in favour of the dictatorship of the proletariat!

But not a hair's breadth of confidence do they deserve.

It is not verbal recognition that is needed, but a complete rupture *in deeds* with the policy of reformism, with prejudices about bourgeois freedom and bourgeois democracy, the genuine pursuit of the policy of revolutionary class struggle.

Attempts are made to recognise the dictatorship of the proletariat in words in order secretly to drag in alongside of it the "will of the majority," "universal suffrage," (this is exactly what Kautsky does) bourgeois parliamentarism, rejection of the complete destruction, blowing up, complete breaking up of the whole of the bourgeois state apparatus. These new evasions, new loopholes of reformism must be feared more than anything else.

The dictatorship of the proletariat would have been impossible had not the majority of the population consisted of proletarians and semi-proletarians. Kautsky & Co. tried to falsify this truth by arguing that "the vote of the majority" is required in order that the dictatorship of the proletariat may be recognised as "correct."

Comical pedants. They have failed to understand that voting in the limits, in the institutions, in the customs of bourgeois parliamentarism is *part* of the bourgeois state apparatus which must be broken and smashed from top to bottom *in order* to realise the dictatorship of the proletariat, in order to pass from bourgeois democracy to proletarian democracy.

They fail to understand that, generally speaking, it is not voting, but civil war that decides *all* serious questions of politics when history has placed the dictatorship of the proletariat on the order of the day.

They fail to understand that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the rule of a *single* class which takes into its hands the *whole* apparatus of the new state, which vanquishes the bourgeoisie and *neutralises* the whole of the petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry, the lower middle class and the intelligentsia.

The Kautskys and MacDonalds recognise the class struggle in

words in order, in deeds, to forget about it in the most decisive moment in the history of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat: at the moment when, having seized state power, and being supported by the semi-proletariat, the proletariat, with the aid of this power, continues the class struggle until *classes are abolished*.

Like real philistines, the leaders of the "Berne" International repeat bourgeois democratic catchwords about liberty and equality and democracy, while failing to see that they are repeating the fragments of ideas of the free and equal commodity owner, failing to understand that the proletariat needs a state not for "freedom" but for the purpose of suppressing its enemy, the exploiter, the capitalist.

The liberty and equality of the commodity owner are as dead as capitalism. And the Kautskys and MacDonalds will never revive them.

The proletariat needs the abolition of classes—such is the real content of proletarian democracy, of proletarian freedom (freedom from the capitalist, from commodity exchange), proletarian equality (not equality of classes—that is the banality that the Kautskys, the Vanderveldes and the MacDonalds slip into—but the equality of toilers who overthrow capital and capitalism).

As long as classes exist the liberty and equality of classes is a bourgeois deception. The proletariat takes power, becomes the ruling class, smashes bourgeois parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy, suppresses the bourgeoisie, suppresses all the attempts of all other classes to return to capitalism, gives real liberty and equality to the toilers (which is made possible only by the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production), gives them not only the "right to" but the real use of that which has been taken from the bourgeoisie.

He who has failed to understand that this is the content of the dictatorship of the proletariat (or what is the same thing, Soviet government, or proletarian democracy) takes the name of the dictatorship of the proletariat in vain.

I cannot here develop this idea in greater detail; I have done so in my *State and Revolution* and in my pamphlet *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*. I can conclude by dedicating these remarks to the delegates to the Lucerne Congress of the Berne International, August 10, 1919.

14th July 1919.

(Collected Works, Russian ed., Vol. XXIV.)

CHAPTER VII

THE FORMATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN GREAT BRITAIN

LETTER TO SYLVIA PANKHURST

To comrade Sylvia Pankhurst in London

August 28, 1919.

DEAR Comrade! I only received your letter of July 16, 1919, yesterday. I am extremely grateful to you for the information about England and will try to fulfill your request, i.e., reply to your question.

I have no doubt at all that many workers who belong to the best, most honest and sincerely revolutionary representatives of the proletariat are enemies of parliamentarism and of any participation in parliament. The older capitalist culture and bourgeois democracy are in a given country, the more comprehensible this is, since the bourgeoisie in old parliamentary countries has excellently learned the arts of hypocrisy and fooling the people in a thousand ways, passing off bourgeois parliamentarism for "democracy in general" or for "pure democracy," and so on, cunningly concealing the million threads which bind parliament to the stock exchange and the capitalists, making use of a prostituted, corrupt press and with all its power setting into operation the power of money, the strength of capital.

There is no doubt that the Communist International and the Communist Parties of the various countries would be making an irreparable mistake, if they repulsed those workers who stand for the Soviet power, but who are against participation in the parliamentary struggle. If we take the question in its general implication, theoretically, then it is this very programme, that is the struggle for the Soviet power, for the Soviet Republic, which is able to unite and must now absolutely unite all sincere, honest revolutionaries from among the workers. Many anarchist workers are now becoming sincere supporters of the Soviet power, and that being so, it proves them to be our best comrades and friends, the best of revolutionaries, who were only enemies of Marxism through a misunderstanding, or, more correctly, not through a misunderstanding but because the official socialism prevailing in the epoch of the 2nd International (1889-1914)

betrayed Marxism, fell into opportunism, perverted the revolutionary teaching of Marx in general and his teachings on the lessons of the Paris Commune of 1871 in particular. I have written in detail about this in my book "State and Revolution" and will therefore not dwell further on the question.

What is the position if in a given country, communists by conviction who are ready to carry on revolutionary work, sincere partisans of the Soviet power (the "Soviet system" as non-Russians sometimes call it), cannot unite owing to disagreements over participation in Parliament?

I should consider such a disagreement immaterial at present, for the struggle for the Soviet power is the political struggle of the proletariat in its highest, most conscious, most revolutionary form. It is better to be with the revolutionary workers when they make a mistake over some partial or secondary question, than with the "official" socialists or social democrats, if the latter are not sincere, firm revolutionaries, if they are unwilling to undertake or are incapable of undertaking revolutionary work among the working masses, but have a correct tactic in some partial question. And the question of parliamentarism is at present a partial, secondary question. Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were, in my opinion, correct when they defended participation in the elections for the bourgeois German parliament, for the "Constituent Assembly," at the January 1919 Conference of the Spartacists in Berlin *against* the majority at this conference. But, it follows, they were still more correct when they preferred to remain with the Communist Party, which made a partial mistake, than to go with the direct traitors to Socialism, like Scheidemann and his party, or with those servile souls, doctrinaires, cowards, spineless assistants of the bourgeoisie and reformists in practice, such as Kautsky, Maase, Daumig and the whole of this "party" of German "independents."

I am personally convinced that to renounce participation in the parliamentary elections is a mistake for the revolutionary workers of England, but better to make that mistake, than to delay the formation of a big workers' Communist Party in England out of all the tendencies and elements listed by you,* which sympathise with Bolshevism and

*Sylvia Pankhurst in her letter to Lenin (printed in No. 5 of the Communist International), outlined the following seven groups in the British movement:

- (1) Non-socialist trade-unionists of the old type.
- (2) Members of the I.L.P., partly bourgeois, partly religious.
- (3) Members of the B.S.P., many of whom Sylvia Pankhurst considered more "hopeless" than the I.L.P.
- (4) Revolutionary industrialists, believers in direct action.
- (5) The S.L.P., which was losing the confidence of many workers owing to its participation in elections.
- (6) The Socialist Workers' Federation (Pankhurst's own organisation).
- (7) The South Wales Socialist Society.—Ed.

stand sincerely for the Soviet Republic. If, for example, among the B.S.P. there are sincere Bolsheviks who refuse because of differences over participation in Parliament, to merge at once in a Communist Party with the tendencies 4, 6 and 7, then these Bolsheviks, in my opinion, would be making a mistake a thousand times greater than the mistaken refusal to participate in elections for the bourgeois English parliament. It follows that, in saying this, I presume that tendencies 4, 6 and 7, taken together, are really connected with the *mass* of workers, and do not represent *simply* small intellectual groups, as so often happens in England. In this connection, probably, the Workers' Committees and Shop Stewards are particularly important, since we may assume them to be closely connected with *the masses*.

Continuous connection with the mass of workers, the ability to agitate unceasingly among them, to participate in every strike, to respond to every demand of the masses—this is the chief thing for a Communist Party, especially in such a country as England, where until now (as by the way is the case in all Imperialist countries), participation in the socialist movement and the labour movement generally, has been confined chiefly to a narrow upper section of the workers, representatives of the labour aristocracy, largely thoroughly and hopelessly spoiled by reformism, captives of bourgeois and imperialist prejudices. Without a struggle against this section, without the destruction of every trace of its authority among the workers, without convincing the masses of the complete bourgeois corruption of this section, there can be no question of a serious communist workers' movement. That is so for England, for France, for America, for Germany.

Those working-class revolutionaries who make parliamentarism the centre of their attacks are quite right in so far as they express by these attacks their denial in principle of bourgeois parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy. The Soviet power, the Soviet republic, this is what the workers' revolution has put forward in place of bourgeois democracy, this is the form of transition from capitalism to socialism, the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. And the criticism of Parliamentarism is not only legitimate and necessary, as giving a motive for the transition to the Soviet power, but it is quite correct, as the recognition of the historical conditions for and limitations of parliamentarism, its connections with capitalism and capitalism alone, its progressiveness in relation to the middle ages, and *its reactionary character in relation to the Soviet power*.

But the critics of Parliamentarism in Europe and America when they belong to the Anarchists or Anarchist-Syndicalists, are very often wrong in so far as they renounce *any participation* in elections and parliamentary activity. Here simply their lack of revolutionary experience is shown. We Russians who have lived

through two great revolutions in the 20th century know well what importance parliamentarism can have and in fact does have in a revolutionary period in general and *actually in time of revolution* in particular. Bourgeois parliaments must be abolished and replaced by soviet institutions. That is beyond doubt. There is no doubt now that, after the experience of Russia, Hungary, Germany and other countries, this *will absolutely take place* during the proletarian revolution. Therefore the systematic preparation of the working masses for this, the explanation to them beforehand of the importance for them of the Soviet power, propaganda and agitation for it—all this is the *absolute* obligation of the worker who wants to be a revolutionary in action. But we Russians fulfilled *that* task while acting in the Parliamentary arena *also*. In the sham Tsarist Duma of the landlords our representatives understood how to carry on revolutionary and republican propaganda. In just the same way must we and should we carry on Soviet propaganda from inside the bourgeois parliaments.

Perhaps that will not be easy to achieve at once in this or that parliamentary country. But that is another question. We must manage so that these correct tactics are absorbed by the revolutionary workers in all countries. And if the workers' party is really *revolutionary*, if it is really a *workers' party* (that is connected with the masses, with the majority of the toilers, with the rank and file of the proletariat and not merely with its upper section), if it is really a *party*, that is a strong, seriously concentrated *organisation of the revolutionary vanguard*, which knows how to carry on by all possible means revolutionary work among the masses, then such a party will certainly be able to hold its parliamentarians in its own hands, make real revolutionary propagandists of them, men like Karl Liebknecht, and not opportunists, not corrupters of the proletariat with bourgeois methods, bourgeois customs, bourgeois ideas, bourgeois absence of ideas.

If we did not succeed in attaining this in England at once, if, in addition, no union of the supporters of the Soviet power appeared possible in England because of the difference over parliamentarism and only because of that, then I should consider it a good step forward to complete unity if *two* Communist parties were formed immediately, that is to say, two parties which stand for the transition from bourgeois parliamentarism to Soviet power. Let one of these parties recognise participation in the bourgeois parliament, and the other renounce it; this disagreement is now so immaterial that it would be most reasonable of all not to split over it. But even the mutual existence of two such parties would be an immense progress in comparison with the present position, would most likely be a transition to complete unity and the quick victory of communism.

The Soviet power in Russia has not only shown by the experience

of now almost two years that the dictatorship of the proletariat is possible *even* in a peasant country and is capable, by creating a strong army (the best proof of its organised character and of order), of holding on in unbelievable, unheard-of difficult conditions.

The Soviet power has done more: it has already conquered morally *throughout* the world, for the working masses everywhere, although they know only tiny fragments of the truth about the Soviet power, although they hear thousands and millions of lies about the Soviet power, the working masses *are already for the Soviet power*. It is already understood by the proletariat of the whole world that this power is the power of the toilers, that it alone saves from capitalism, from the yoke of capital, from wars between the imperialists, and leads to a firm peace.

So therefore defeats of the separate Soviet republics by the imperialists are possible, but it is impossible to conquer the world soviet movement of the proletariat.

With Communist greetings,

N. LENIN.

P.S.—The following cutting from the Russian press will give you an example of our information about England.

“London, 25—VIII (via Bieloostrov.) The London correspondent of the Copenhagen paper *Berlinske Tidende* wires on the 3rd August concerning the Bolshevik movement in England: ‘The strikes which have occurred in the last few days and recent revelations have shaken the confidence of the English in the unsuitability of their country for Bolshevism. At present the press is vigorously discussing this question and the government is using every effort to establish that “a conspiracy” has existed for a fairly long period and has had for aim neither more nor less than the overthrow of the existing system. The English police has arrested a revolutionary bureau who had at their disposal, according to the press, both money and arms. The *Times* publishes the contents of certain documents found on the arrested men. They contain a complete revolutionary programme, according to which the whole bourgeoisie is to be disarmed; arms and munitions are to be obtained for the Soviets of Workers and Red Army deputies and a Red Army formed; all state officials are to be replaced by workers. It was proposed to confiscate all foodstuffs. Parliament and other organs of social administration were to be dissolved and revolutionary soviets created in their place. The working day was to be lowered to six hours and a minimum weekly wage of £7 fixed. All state and other debts were to be annulled. All banks, industrial and commercial enterprises and means of transport were to be declared nationalised.’”

If this is true, then I should offer the British imperialists and capitalists, in the person of their organ, the richest newspaper in the world, the *Times*, my respectful recognition and gratitude for their excellent propaganda on behalf of Bolshevism. Carry on in the same spirit, gentlemen of the *Times*, you are splendidly leading England to the victory of Bolshevism!

(From the "Communist International" No. 5; 1919.
Collected Works, Vol. XXIV.)

THE PARTY AND THE MASSES

IN England there is not yet a Communist Party, but there is a fresh, broad, powerful and rapidly growing communist movement among the workers which justifies the brightest hopes. There are several political parties and organisations (British Socialist Party, the Socialist Labour Party, the South Wales Socialist Society, the Workers' Socialist Federation) which desire to form a Communist Party and are already carrying on negotiations towards this end. The *Workers' Dreadnought*, the weekly organ of the last-mentioned organisation, in its issue, No. 48, Vol. VI of February 21, 1920, contains an article by the editor, Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst, entitled: *Towards a Communist Party*. In this article she outlines the progress of the negotiations that are taking place between the four organisations mentioned for the formation of a united Communist Party on the basis of affiliation to the Third International, the recognition of the Soviet system instead of parliamentarism, and the dictatorship of the proletariat. It appears that one of the greatest obstacles to the immediate formation of a united Communist Party is the disagreement on the question of parliamentary action and the question of whether the new Communist Party should affiliate to the old, trade unionist, opportunist and social-chauvinist Labour Party. The Workers' Socialist Federation and the Socialist Labour Party are opposed to affiliation to the Labour Party, and in this disagree with all, or with the majority, of the members of the British Socialist Party, which they regard as the "Right wing of the Communist Party" in England. (Page 5 Sylvia Pankhurst's article.)

Thus, the main division is the same as that in Germany, notwithstanding the enormous difference in the form in which the disagreement manifests itself (in Germany the form is more analogous to the Russian than to the English) and owing to a number of other circumstances. Let us examine the arguments of the "Lefts."

On the question of parliamentary action, Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst refers to an article in the same issue of her paper by Comrade W. Gallacher, who, in the name of the Scottish Workers' Council in Glasgow, writes:

"The above Council is definitely anti-parliamentarian and has behind it the left wing of the various political bodies.

"We represent the revolutionary movement in Scotland, striving continually to build up a revolutionary organisation within the industries, and a Communist Party, based on social committees, throughout the country. For a considerable time we have been sparring with the official Parliamentarians. We have not considered it necessary to declare open warfare on them, and they are afraid to open attacks on us.

"But this state of affairs cannot long continue. We are winning all along the line.

"The rank and file of the I.L.P. in Scotland is becoming more and more disgusted with the thought of Parliament, and soviets or workers' councils are being supported by almost every branch.

"This is very serious of course, for the gentlemen who look to politics for a profession, and they are using any and every means to persuade their members to come back into the Parliamentary fold.

"Revolutionary comrades *must not* give any support to this gang. Our fight here is going to be a difficult one. One of the worst features of it will be the treachery of those whose personal ambition is a more impelling force than their regard for the Revolution.

"Any support given to parliamentarianism is simply assisting to put power into the hands of the British Scheidemanns and Noskes.¹⁷⁷ Henderson, Clynes and Co. are hopelessly reactionary. The official I.L.P. is more and more coming under the control of middle class Liberals, who, since the rout of the Liberal party have found their spiritual home in the camp of Messrs. MacDonald, Snowden and Co. The official I.L.P. is bitterly hostile to the Third International, the rank and file is for it. Any support to the parliamentary opportunists is simply playing into the hands of the former.

"The B.S.P. doesn't count at all here. I say this as one who has been a member since its inception. For long it has been drifting around without a policy of any kind, but now it is firmly embedded, on the rocks, and it is only a question of time (and a very short time, at that), till it breaks up completely. What is wanted here is a sound revolutionary industrial organisation and communist party working along clear, well-defined, scientific lines. If our comrades can assist us in building these we will take their help gladly; if they cannot, for God's sake let them keep out altogether lest they betray the revolution by lending their support to the reactionaries who are so eagerly clamouring for parliamentary honours (?) and who are anxious to prove they *can rule* as effectively as the boss class politicians themselves."

In my opinion this letter expresses the excellent temper and point of view of the young Communists, or rank and file workers, who are only just coming over to communism. This temper is very gratifying and valuable; we must learn to prize it and to support it, because without it, it is hopeless to expect the victory of the proletarian revolution in England or in any other country for that matter. People who can give expression to this temper of the masses, who can rouse such temper (very often dormant, not realised, not roused) among the masses, must be prized and every assistance must be given them. At the same time we must openly and frankly tell them that temper *alone* is not sufficient to lead the masses and the great revolutionary struggle, and that the mistakes that these very loyal adherents of the cause of the revolution are about to make, or are making, can do very serious harm to the cause of the revolution. Comrade Gallacher's letter undoubtedly betrays the embryos of *all* the mistakes that are committed by the German "Left" Communists and which were committed by the "Left" Bolsheviks in 1908 and 1918.¹⁷⁸

The writer of the letter is imbued with noble, proletarian (intelligible and near, not only to the proletarians, but also to all toilers, to all "small men," to use a German expression) hatred for the bourgeois "class politicians." This hatred felt by the representatives of the oppressed and exploited masses is in truth the "beginning of all wisdom," the very basis of the socialist and communist movement and of its success. But the author apparently fails to take into account the fact that politics is a science and an art that does not drop from the skies, is not acquired for nothing, and that if it wants to conquer the bourgeoisie, the proletariat must train *its own* proletarian "class politicians" who shall be as skilled as the bourgeois politicians.

The writer of the letter excellently understands that it is not parliament but workers' soviets that alone can serve as instruments for achieving the aims of the proletariat, and of course, those who have failed to understand this up till now are hopeless reactionaries, no matter whether they are the most highly educated people in the world, the most experienced politicians, the most sincere Socialists, the most erudite Marxists, the most honest citizens and family men. But the writer of the letter does not raise the question, does not think of raising the question as to whether it is possible to bring about the victory of the soviets over parliament without getting our "Soviet" politicians *into* parliament, without disrupting parliamentarism from *within*, without preparing the ground within parliament for the soviet's forthcoming task of dispersing parliament. And yet the writer of the letter expresses the correct idea that the Communist Party in England must operate on the basis of *scientific* principles.

Science demands, first, the calculation of the experience of other countries, especially if these other countries, also capitalist countries, are undergoing, or have recently undergone, a very similar experience; second, science demands the calculation of *all* the forces, groups, parties, classes and masses operating in the given country and does not demand that policy be defined on the basis of mere desires and views, degree of class consciousness and readiness for battle of only one group or party.

It is true that the Hendersons, Clynes, MacDonalds, and Snowdens are hopelessly reactionary. It is also true that they want to take power in their own hands (although they prefer a coalition with the Liberals), that they want to govern according to the old bourgeois rules and, when they do get into power they will certainly act in the same way as the Scheidemanns and Noskes. All this is true. But the logical conclusion to be drawn from this is not that to support them is treachery to the revolution, but that in the interests of the revolution, the revolutionaries in the working class should give these gentlemen a certain amount of parliamentary support. In order to explain this idea I will take two contemporary English political documents: (1) the speech delivered by the Prime Minister, Lloyd George, on March 18, 1920 (reported in the *Manchester Guardian* of March 19, 1920), and (2) the arguments of the "Left" Communist, Sylvia Pankhurst, in the article mentioned above.

Arguing against Asquith (who was especially invited to attend this meeting but declined), and against those Liberals who do not want a coalition with the Conservatives but a rapprochement with the Labour Party (Comrade Gallacher, in his letter; also points to the fact that Liberals have joined the Independent Labour Party), Lloyd George said that a coalition, and a *close* coalition, with the Conservatives was essential because otherwise there would be a victory of the Labour Party, which Lloyd George "prefers to call" a socialist party and which is striving to "collectivise" the means of production. "In France this is called communism," the leader of the British bourgeoisie carefully explained to the Liberal members of Parliament who were listening to him and who probably did not know this, "in Germany it is called socialism and in Russia it is called Bolshevism." This is opposed to Liberal principles, explained Lloyd George, because liberalism stands for private property. "Civilisation is in danger," declared the speaker, and therefore Liberals and Conservatives must unite. . . .

" . . . If you go to the agricultural areas," said Lloyd George, "I agree that you have the old party divisions as strong as ever. They are removed from the danger. It does not walk their lanes. But when they see it, they will be as strong as some of these industrial constituencies are now. Four-fifths of this country is industrial and

commercial; hardly one-fifth is agricultural. It is one of the things that I have constantly in my mind when I think of the dangers of the future here. In France the population is agricultural and you have a solid body of opinions which does not move very rapidly, and which is not very easily excited by revolutionary movements. That is not the case here. This country is more top-heavy than any country in the world and if it begins to rock, the crash here for that reason will be greater than in any land."

From this the reader will see that Lloyd George is not only a clever man, but that he has also learned a great deal from the Marxists. It would not be a sin to learn from Lloyd George.

It is interesting to note the following episode that occurred in the course of the discussion that followed Lloyd George's speech:

MR. WALLACE, M.P.: "I should like to ask what the Prime Minister considers the effect might be in the industrial constituencies upon the industrial workers, so many of whom are Liberals at the present time and from whom we get so much support. Would not a possible result be to cause an immediate overwhelming accession of strength to the Labour Party from men who are at present our cordial supporters?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I take a totally different view. The fact that Liberals are fighting among themselves undoubtedly drives a considerable number of Liberals in despair to the Labour Party, where you get a considerable body of Liberals, very able men, whose business it is to discredit the government. The result is undoubtedly to bring a good accession of public sentiment to the Labour Party. It does not go to the Liberals who are outside, it goes to the Labour Party, the by-elections show that."

Incidentally, I would like to say that this argument shows especially how even the cleverest people among the bourgeoisie have got themselves entangled and cannot avoid committing irreparable acts of stupidity. This will bring about their downfall. Our people may do stupid things however (provided they are not very serious and are rectified in time) and yet, in the last resort they will prove the victors.

The second political document is the following argument advanced by the "Left" Communist, Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst:

"... Comrade Inkpin (the General Secretary of the British Socialist Party) refers to the Labour Party as the main body of the working class movement. Another comrade of the British Socialist Party at the Third International, just held, put the British Socialist Party view more strongly. He said: 'We regard the Labour Party as the organised working class.'

"But we do not take this view of the Labour Party. The Labour Party is very large numerically, though its membership is to a great extent quiescent and apathetic, consisting of many workers who have joined the trade unions because their workmates are trade unionists, and to share the friendly benefits.

"But we recognise that the great size of the Labour Party is also due to the fact that it is the creation of a school of thought beyond which the majority of the British working class has not yet emerged, though great changes are at work in the mind of the people which will presently alter this state of affairs. . . ."

"The British Labour Party, like the social patriotic organisation of other countries, will, in the natural development of society, inevitably come into power. It is for the communists to build up the forces that will overthrow the social patriots, and in this country we must not delay or falter in that work.

"We must not dissipate our energy in adding to the strength of the Labour Party; its rise to power is inevitable. We must concentrate on making a communist movement that will vanquish it.

"The Labour Party will soon be forming a government; the revolutionary opposition must make ready to attack it."

Thus, the Liberal bourgeoisie is abandoning the historical "two-party" (exploiters') system which has been sanctified by experience and which has been extremely advantageous to the exploiters, and considers it necessary to unite their forces to fight the Labour Party. A section of the Liberals are deserting the Liberal Party, like rats leaving a sinking ship, and are joining the Labour Party. The Left Communists are of the opinion that the Labour Party's rise to power is inevitable and admit that it has the support of the majority of the workers. From this they draw the strange conclusion which Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst formulates as follows:

"The Communist Party must not enter into any compromises. . . . The Communist Party must keep its doctrine pure, and its independence of Reformism inviolate; its mission is to lead the way, without stopping or turning, by the direct road to the Communist Revolution."

On the contrary, from the fact that the majority of the workers in England still follow the lead of the English Kerenskys or Scheidemanns and that they have not yet had the experience of a government composed of these people, which experience was necessary in Russia and in Germany in order to secure the mass transition to communism, from this fact it undoubtedly follows that the British Communists should participate in Parliament, should from *within* Parliament

help the masses of the workers to see the results of a Henderson and Snowden government, should help the Hendersons and Snowdens to defeat the combined Lloyd Georges and Churchills. To act in a different way would mean to place difficulties in the way of the cause of the revolution, because, unless a change takes place in the opinions of the majority of the working class, revolution is impossible; and this change is brought about by the political experience of the masses, never is it brought about by propaganda alone. "To march forward without compromise, without turning from the path"—if this is said by an obviously impotent minority of the workers who know (or at all events should know) that very soon, when the Hendersons and Snowdens will have gained the victory over the Lloyd Georges and Churchills, the majority will be disappointed in their leaders and will begin to support communism (or at all events will be neutral towards it, and a large section will adopt a position of friendly neutrality towards it), then this slogan is obviously mistaken. It is like 10,000 soldiers going into battle against 50,000 enemy soldiers—when it would be wise to "halt," to "turn from the path" and even enter into "compromise" in order to gain time until the reinforcements of 100,000 come along, but who are not yet ready to enter the fight. This is intellectual childishness and not the serious tactics of a revolutionary class.

The fundamental law of revolution, confirmed by all revolutions and particularly by the three Russian revolutions in the twentieth century, is that it is not sufficient for revolution that the exploited and oppressed should understand that they cannot go on living in the old way and that they should demand a change: for revolution it is necessary that the exploiters should not be able to govern in the old way. Only when the "lower classes" do not want the old and when the "upper classes" cannot continue in the old way, only then can the revolution be victorious. This truth can be expressed in other words, viz., revolution is impossible without a national crisis affecting both the exploited and exploiters. This means that for revolution it is necessary: (1) that the majority of the workers (or at all events the majority of the class-conscious, thinking, politically active workers) should fully understand the necessity for a revolution and be prepared to sacrifice their lives for the sake of it; (2) that the ruling class should experience a government crisis which draws into politics even the most backward masses (a symptom of every real revolution is: the rapid tenfold and even hundredfold increase in the number of hitherto apathetic representatives of the toiling and oppressed masses capable of waging the political struggle), renders the government impotent and makes it possible for the revolutionaries to quickly overthrow it.

In England, as can be seen incidentally from Lloyd George's speech, both conditions for the successful proletarian revolution are obviously

maturing. And the mistake the "Left" Communists are making is particularly dangerous at the present time precisely because certain revolutionaries are not displaying a sufficiently thoughtful, attentive, intelligent and calculating attitude towards either of these conditions. If we—not a revolutionary group, but the party of the revolutionary class—if we want the masses to follow us (and unless they do, we stand the risk of remaining mere talkers) we must, firstly, help Henderson or Snowden to beat Lloyd George and Churchill (or to be more correct: to compel the former to beat the latter, because the former are afraid to win): secondly, to help the majority of the working class to become convinced by their own experience that we are right, i.e., that because of their very petty-bourgeois and treacherous nature, the Hendersons and Snowdens are utterly useless and that their bankruptcy is inevitable; thirdly, to bring nearer the moment when, on the basis of the disappointment of the majority of the workers in the Hendersons, it will be possible with serious chances of success to overthrow the government of the Hendersons at once, because if the very clever and solid, not petty-bourgeois, but big bourgeois, Lloyd George, betrays utter consternation and weakens himself (and the whole of the bourgeoisie) more and more by his "frictions" with Churchill one day and his "friction" with Asquith the next day, how much more so will this be the case with the Henderson government!

I will speak more concretely. In my opinion, the British Communists should unite their four (all very weak and some of them very, very weak) parties and groups into a single Communist Party on the basis of the principles of the Third International and of the obligatory participation in Parliament. The Communist Party should propose to the Hendersons and Snowdens that they enter into a "compromise" election agreement, viz., to march together against the alliance of Lloyd George and Churchill, to divide the seats in Parliament in proportion to the number of votes cast for the Labour Party and Communist Party respectively (not at parliamentary elections, but in a special ballot), while the Communist Party retains complete liberty to carry on agitation, propaganda and political activity. Without the latter condition, of course, no such bloc could be concluded, for that would be an act of betrayal: the British Communists must insist on complete liberty to expose the Hendersons and the Snowdens in the same way as (for fifteen years—1903-17) the Russian Bolsheviks insisted on it in relation to the Russian Hendersons and Snowdens, i.e., the Mensheviks.

If the Hendersons and the Snowdens accept the bloc on these terms, then we gain, because the number of seats in Parliament is not a matter of importance to us, we are not chasing after seats, therefore we can yield on this point (the Hendersons and particularly their new friends—or is it their new masters?—the Liberals who

have joined the Independent Labour Party, are particularly eager to get seats). We shall gain, because we shall carry *our* agitation among the masses at a moment when Lloyd George *himself* has "incensed" them, and we shall not only help the Labour Party the more quickly to establish its government, but also help the masses the more quickly to understand our communist propaganda which we shall carry on against the Hendersons without curtailment and without evasions.

If the Hendersons and the Snowdens reject the *bloc* with us on these terms we shall gain still more, because we shall have at once shown the masses (note that even in the purely Menshevik and utterly opportunist Independent Labour Party the *rank and file* is in favour of soviets) that the Hendersons prefer *their* closeness with the bourgeoisie to the unity of all the workers. We shall immediately gain in the eyes of the masses who, particularly after the brilliant, very correct and very useful (for communism) explanations given by Lloyd George, will sympathise with the idea of uniting all the workers against the Lloyd George—Churchill alliance. We shall gain immediately because we shall demonstrate to the masses that the Hendersons and the Snowdens are afraid to beat Lloyd George, afraid to take power themselves and are striving *secretly* to get the support of Lloyd George, who is *openly* stretching out his hand to Churchill against the Labour Party.

It should be noted that in Russia, after the Revolution of February 27, 1917 (old style) the propaganda of the Bolsheviks against the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries (*i.e.*, the Russian Hendersons and Snowdens) gained a great deal precisely because of a circumstance like this. We said to the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries: take complete power without the bourgeoisie, because you have the majority in the soviets (at the first All-Russian Congress of Soviets in June 1917, the Bolsheviks had only 13 per cent. of the votes). But the Russian Hendersons and Snowdens feared to take power without the bourgeoisie, and when the bourgeoisie delayed the convocation of the Constituent Assembly because they knew perfectly well that the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries would have the majority in it* (the latter had entered into a close political *bloc* and really represented *nothing but* petty-bourgeois democracy), the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries were not able to put up a consistent and strenuous struggle against these delays.

If the Hendersons and the Snowdens reject the *bloc* with the Communists, the Communists will gain immediately in regard to winning

*The elections to the Constituent Assembly in November 1917, resulted in the following (based on returns covering over 36,000,000 votes): the Bolsheviks obtained twenty-five per cent. of the votes cast; the various parties of the landlords and capitalists obtained thirteen per cent. and the petty-bourgeois democratic parties, *i.e.*, the Socialist-Revolutionaries, Mensheviks and a number of kindred groups, obtained sixty-two per cent.

the sympathy of the masses and in discrediting the Hendersons and Snowdens, and if, as a result we do lose a few parliamentary seats, it is not a matter of importance. We would put up candidates in a very few, but the absolutely safe constituencies, *i.e.*, where our candidate would not let the Liberal in, in opposition to the Labour candidate. We would take part in the election campaign, distribute leaflets advocating communism, and in *all* constituencies where we have no candidates urge the electors *to vote for the Labour candidate against the bourgeoisie*. Comrades Sylvia Pankhurst and Gallacher are mistaken if they think that this is the betrayal of communism, the abandonment of the struggle against the social-traitors. On the contrary, the communist revolution stands to gain a great deal from it.

Very often the British Communists find it hard to approach the masses at the present time and even to get them to listen to them. If I as a Communist come out and call upon the workers to vote for the Hendersons against Lloyd George, they will certainly listen to me. And I shall be able to explain in a popular manner not only why soviets are better than Parliament and why the dictatorship of the proletariat is better than the dictatorship of Churchill (which is concealed behind the signboard of bourgeois "democracy"), but I shall also be able to explain that I wanted to support Henderson with my vote in the same way as a rope supports the hanged—that the establishment of a Henderson government will prove that I am right and will accelerate the political death of the Hendersons and the Snowdens as was the case with their friends in Russia and Germany.

And if the objection is raised: these tactics are too "subtle," or too complicated, the masses will not understand them, they will split up and scatter our forces, it will prevent us from concentrating our forces on the Soviet revolution, etc., I will reply to the "Lefts" who raise this objection: don't put the blame for your doctrinarianism upon the masses. In all probability the masses in Russia are not more educated than the masses in England; if anything they are less so. And yet the masses understood the Bolsheviks: and the fact that on the eve of the Soviet revolution, in September 1917, the Bolsheviks put up their candidates for a bourgeois parliament (the Constituent Assembly) and on the *morrow* of the Soviet revolution, in November 1917, took part in the elections of this Constituent Assembly which they dispersed on January 1, 1918—this fact did not hamper the Bolsheviks, but on the contrary, it helped them.

I cannot deal here with the second point of disagreement among the British Communists, *viz.*, the question of affiliating to the Labour Party. I have too little material at my disposal on this question, which is a particularly complicated one in view of the peculiar character of the Labour Party, the very structure of which is so unlike the

ordinary political party on the Continent. It is beyond doubt, however, first, that on this question also, those who think that they will be able to hatch the tactics of the revolutionary proletariat from principles like: "the Communist Party must keep its doctrine pure and its independence unstained by reformism; its mission is to march forward without halting or turning from the path, to march along the straight road to the communist revolution"—will fall into error. For such principles are merely a repetition of the mistakes committed by the French Communard Blanquists, who in 1874 "repudiated" all compromises and all intermediate stages. Secondly, it is beyond doubt that in this question, too, the task is to apply the general and main principles of communism to the *peculiar* relations between classes and parties, to the *peculiar features* in the objective development towards communism that are observed in every country and which should be studied, found and solved.

But this must be discussed not only in connection with British communism alone, but in connection with the general conclusions concerning the development of communism in all capitalist countries. —April-May 1920. (*Collected Works*, Vol. XXV, "Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Sickness.)¶

Note.—The original manuscript of Lenin's "Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Sickness contains the following sub-title and dedication that were not reprinted in any of the editions of this pamphlet:

"'Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Sickness

(An Experiment in a Popular Talk on Marxian Strategy and Tactics)

"Dedication

"I dedicate this article to the Right Honourable Mr. Lloyd George as a mark of appreciation of the speech he delivered on March 18, 1920, which was almost Marxian in character and at all events very useful for the Communists and Bolsheviki all over the world.

"April 27, 1920.

The Author."

The speech in question is quoted in Chapter IX of "Left-Wing" Communism, and an extract of it is given above. The dedication is reproduced in the *Lenin Miscellany*, Vol. III.—Ed.

REVOLUTIONARY COMPROMISE

THE disagreements between Churchill and Lloyd George—these political types with insignificant national differences exist in all countries—on the one hand, and between the Hendersons and the Lloyd Georges on the other, are quite unimportant and petty from the point of view of pure, i.e., abstract communism, i.e., communism

that has not yet matured to the stage of practical, mass, political action. But from the point of view of this practical mass action, the distinction is very, very important. It is the very important business and task of the Communist who wants to be not merely a class conscious, convinced and ideological propagandist, but a practical leader of the *masses* in the revolution, to calculate them, to define the moment when the inevitable conflicts between these "friends," which will weaken *all the "friends" taken together* and render them impotent, will have completely matured. It is necessary to combine the strictest loyalty to the ideas of communism with the ability to make the necessary practical compromises, to "tack," to make agreements, zig-zags, retreats and so on, in order to accelerate and then to overcome the coming into political power of the Hendersons (the heroes of the Second International, if we are not to speak of individuals who represent petty-bourgeois democracy but who call themselves socialist); to accelerate their inevitable practical bankruptcy which will enlighten the masses in the spirit of our ideas, in the direction of communism; to accelerate the inevitable friction, quarrels, conflicts and complete disunity between the Hendersons, the Lloyd Georges and Churchills (Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries, Constitutional Democrats, Monarchists, Scheidemanns, the bourgeoisie, the Kappists,¹⁷⁹ etc.) and to select the moment when the disunity among these "pillars of the sacred right of property" is at its highest, in order, by a determined attack of the proletariat, to defeat them all and capture political power.

History generally, and the history of revolutions in particular, is always richer in content, more varied, more many-sided, more lively and "subtle" than some of the best parties and some of the most class conscious vanguards of the most advanced class imagine. This is understandable, because the best vanguards express the class consciousness, the will, the passion, the fantasy of tens of thousands, while the revolution is made, at the moment of its climax and the exertion of all human capabilities, by the class consciousness, the will the passion and the fantasy of tens of millions who are urged on by the very acutest class struggle. From this follow two very important practical conclusions: first, that the revolutionary class, in order to fulfil its task, must be able to master *all* forms or sides of social activity without exception (and complete after the capture of political power, sometimes at great risk and amidst very great dangers, what they did not complete before the capture of power); second, that the revolutionary class must be ready to pass from one form to another in the quickest and most unexpected manner.

Everyone will agree that it would be unwise and even criminal to lead an army into battle that has not been trained to master all arms, all means and methods of warfare that are available or may be in the

possession of the enemy. This applies to politics to a greater degree than it does to war. In politics it is harder to forecast what methods of warfare will be applied and useful for us under certain future conditions. Unless we are able to master all methods of warfare we stand the risk of suffering great, and sometimes decisive defeat if, independently of our will, the changes in the position of the other class bring to the front forms of activity in which we are particularly weak. If, however, we are able to master all methods of warfare, we shall certainly be victorious, because we represent the interests of the really advanced, of the really revolutionary class, even if circumstances do not permit us to use the weapons that are most dangerous for the enemy, weapons that are most quickly death-dealing. Inexperienced revolutionaries often think that legal methods of struggle are opportunistic because in this field the bourgeoisie particularly frequently (especially in "peaceful," non-revolutionary times) deceived and fooled the workers, and they think that illegal methods of struggle are revolutionary. But this is not true. What is true is that the opportunists and the traitors to the working class are those parties and leaders who are not able or who do not want (don't say: you cannot; say: you won't; *wer will kann*) to apply illegal methods of struggle in conditions such as, for example, prevailed during the imperialist war of 1914-18, when the bourgeoisie of the freest democratic countries deceived the workers in the most impudent and brutal manner and prohibited anyone from speaking the truth about the predatory character of the war. But revolutionaries who are unable to combine illegal forms of struggle with every form of legal struggle are very bad revolutionaries. It is not difficult to be a revolutionary when the revolution has already flared up, when everybody joins the revolution simply because they are carried away by it, because it is the fashion and sometimes even because it might open a career. After the victory the proletariat has to exert extreme effort, to suffer pains and one might say martyrdom to "liberate" itself from such alleged revolutionaries. It is much more difficult — and much more useful — to be a revolutionary when the conditions for direct, open, really mass and really revolutionary struggle have not yet matured, to be able to defend the interests of the revolution (by propaganda, agitation and organisation) in non-revolutionary bodies and even in reactionary bodies, in non-revolutionary circumstances, among the masses who are capable of immediately appreciating the necessity for revolutionary methods of action. The main task of contemporary communism in Western Europe and America is to acquire the ability to find, to outline and to carry out a concrete, not quite revolutionary plan of measures and methods for leading the masses to the real, determined, last and great revolutionary struggle.

Take England, for example: We cannot say, and no one is in a position to say beforehand, how soon the real proletarian revolution will flare up there and *what* will serve as the *cause* to rouse it, to kindle it and move into the struggle very wide masses who are at present dormant. Hence, it is our duty to carry on our preparatory work in such a manner as to be "well shod on all four legs," as the late Plekhanov was fond of saying when he was a Marxian and revolutionary. It is possible that a parliamentary crisis will cause the "breach," will "break the ice," perhaps it will be a crisis caused by the hopelessly entangled and increasingly painful and acute colonial and imperialist contradictions, perhaps some third cause, etc. We are not discussing the kind of struggle that will determine the fate of the proletarian revolution in England (not a single Communist has any doubts on that score, as far as we are concerned, this question is settled and definitely settled); what we are discussing is the *cause* that will rouse the at present dormant proletarian masses and bring them right up to the revolution.

(Ibid, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXV.)¶

Message to the First Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain

Dear Comrades,

Having received of the Joint Provisional Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain a letter dated June 20, I hasten to reply, in accordance with their request, that I am in complete sympathy with their plans for the immediate organisation of the Party in England.

I consider the policy of Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst and of the Workers' Socialist Federation in refusing to collaborate in the amalgamation of the British Socialist Party, Socialist Labour Party and others into a Communist Party to be wrong.

I personally am in favour of participation in Parliament and of adherence to the Labour Party on condition of free and independent communist activity. This policy I am going to defend at the Second Congress of the Third International on July 15, in Moscow. I consider it most desirable that a Communist Party be speedily organised on the basis of the decisions and principles of the Third International and that the Party be brought into close touch with the Industrial Workers of the World and Shop Stewards' Committees in order to bring about their complete union.

LENIN.

Moscow, July 8.

TACTICS OF THE BRITISH COMMUNISTS

IN England the Communists should uninterruptedly, unflinching and undeviatingly utilize the parliamentary struggle and all the perturbations of the Irish, colonial and world imperialist policy of the British government and all other spheres and sides of social life and work in all of them in a new way, in a communist way, in the spirit not of the Second but of the Third International. I have neither the time nor the space here to describe the methods of "Russian" "Bolshevik" participation in parliamentary elections and in the parliamentary struggle, but I can assure the foreign Communists that this was not anything like the usual West-European parliamentary campaign. From this the conclusion is usually drawn: "Well, that was in Russia, but in our country parliamentarism is something different." This conclusion is wrong. The very purpose of the existence of Communists in the world, adherents of the Third International in all countries, is to *change* all along the line, in all spheres of life, the old socialist, trade unionist, syndicalist parliamentary work into *new* communist work. In Russia, too, we had a great deal of opportunist and purely bourgeois, money-making and capitalist swindling during elections. The Communists in Western Europe and America must learn to create a new, unusual, non-opportunist, non-careerist parliamentarism; the Communist Parties must issue their slogans, real proletarians with the help of the unorganised and very poorest people should scatter and distribute leaflets, canvass the workers' houses and the cottages of the rural proletarians and peasants in the remote villages (fortunately there are not nearly so many remote villages in Europe as there are in Russia, and in England there are very few), they should go into the most common inns, penetrate into the unions, societies and casual meetings, where the common people gather, and talk to the people, not in scientific (and not in very parliamentary) language, not in the least to strive to "get seats" in parliament, but everywhere to rouse the thoughts of the masses and draw them into the struggle, to take the bourgeoisie at their word, to utilise the apparatus they have set up, the elections they have called for, the appeal to the country that they have made and to tell the people what bolshevism is in a way that has not been possible (under bourgeois rule) outside of election times (not counting, of course, times of big strikes, when in Russia a *similar* apparatus for widespread popular agitation worked even more intensively). It is very difficult to do this in Western Europe and America, very, very difficult, but it can and must be done, because generally speaking the tasks of communism cannot be fulfilled without effort, and every effort must be made to fulfil the *practical* tasks, ever more varied, ever more

connected with all branches of social life, *winning* branch after branch from the *bourgeoisie*.

In England, also, it is necessary to organise (not in a socialist manner but in a communist manner, not in a reformist manner but in a revolutionary manner), the work of propaganda, agitation and organisation among the armed forces and among the oppressed and disfranchised nationalities in "one's own" state (Ireland, the colonies). Because in all these spheres of social life, in the epoch of imperialism generally and now, particularly, after the war which tortured nationalities and quickly opened their eyes to the truth (*viz.*, hundreds of millions of killed and maimed only for the purpose of deciding whether the British or German pirates shall plunder the largest number of countries)—all these spheres of social life are particularly becoming filled with inflammable material and create numerous causes of conflict, crises and the intensification of the class struggle. We do not know and we cannot know which spark—out of the innumerable sparks that are scattering around in all countries as a result of the political and economic world crises—will kindle the conflagration, in the sense of specially rousing the masses, and we must, therefore, with the aid of our new, communist principles, set to work to "stir up" all, even the oldest, mustiest and seemingly hopeless spheres, for otherwise we shall not be able to cope with our tasks, we shall not be all-sided, we shall not be able to master all weapons and we shall not be prepared either for victory over the bourgeoisie (which arranged all sides of social life, and has now disarranged all sides of social life in a bourgeois way) nor for the forthcoming communist reorganisation of the whole of social life after the victory.

After the proletarian revolution in Russia and the international victories of this revolution, which the bourgeoisie and the philistines did not expect, the whole world has become different and everywhere the bourgeoisie has also become different. It is terrified by "bolshevism," it is enraged against it almost to madness, and precisely for that reason it, on the one hand, is accelerating the progress of events, and on the other, it is concentrating attention on the suppression of bolshevism by force, and is by that weakening its position in a number of other fields. The Communists in all advanced countries should take both these circumstances into consideration in their tactics.

—April-May 1920.

(*Collected Works*, Vol. XXV, "Left-Wing" Communism.)

TRADE UNIONS AND PARLIAMENTARISM

I WOULD like to make a few remarks on the speeches delivered by Comrade McLaine and Comrade Tanner. Tanner says that he stands

for the dictatorship of the proletariat, but that he pictures the dictatorship of the proletariat to be something different from what we do. He says that by the dictatorship of the proletariat we actually mean the dictatorship of the organised and class conscious minority of the proletariat.

As a matter of fact, in the epoch of capitalism, when the masses of the workers are constantly subjected to exploitation and cannot develop their human faculties, the most characteristic feature of working class political parties is that they can embrace only a minority of their class. Political parties can organise only a minority of the class in the same way as the really class conscious workers in capitalist society can represent only a minority of all the workers. That is why we must admit that only this minority can lead the broad masses of the workers. And if Comrade Tanner says that he is opposed to parties and at the same time is in favour of the minority representing the best organised and the most revolutionary workers showing the way to the whole of the proletariat, then I say that there is no difference between us. What does the organised minority represent? If this minority is truly class conscious, if it is able to lead the masses, if it is able to answer every question that comes up on the order of the day, then, in substance, it is a party. And if comrades like Comrade Tanner, for whom we have special regard as representatives of a mass movement, which cannot without some exaggeration be said of the representatives of the British Socialist Party—if these comrades are in favour of a minority existing that would fight in an organised manner for the dictatorship and which would train the masses of the workers in this direction, then, actually speaking, that minority is nothing more nor less than a party. Comrade Tanner says that this minority should organise and lead all the masses of the workers. If Comrade Tanner and the other comrades of the Industrial Workers of the World and of the Shop Steward groups admit that—and in the conversations we have with them every day we see that they do admit that—if they approve the position in which the class conscious communist minority of the working class leads the proletariat, then they should agree that this is the sense of all our resolutions. The only difference that exists between us is the sort of mistrust which the British comrades entertain towards political parties. They cannot imagine political parties as being anything else than parties of the Gompers¹⁸⁰ and the Hendersons, or a party of parliamentary fakers and traitors to the working class. And if they imagine parliamentarism to be what parliamentarism actually is in England and America, then we too are opposed to such parliamentarism and such political parties. What we want are new parties, different parties. We want parties that will be in constant and real contact with the masses and that will be able to lead these masses.

I come to the third question that I would like to touch upon here in connection with Comrade McLaine's speech. He is in favour of merging the British Communist Party with the Labour Party. I have already expressed my opinion on this in my theses on affiliation to the Third International. I left that question open, but, having discussed this with many comrades, I have become convinced that the decision to remain in the ranks of the Labour Party is really a correct decision. Comrade McLaine says to us: Don't be too dogmatic. I think this remark is very apt. Comrade Ramsay says: Permit us British Communists to decide this question ourselves. What would the International be if every little fraction came and said: some of us are in favour of one thing and some of us are opposed; let us decide the question ourselves? What would be the use, then, of having an International, a Congress and all this discussion? Comrade McLaine only spoke about the role of a political party. But the same thing applies to trade unions and to parliamentarism. It is quite true that a large section of the best revolutionaries are opposed to affiliation to the Labour Party because they are opposed to parliamentarism as a means of struggle. That is why it would be better to transfer this question to the commission where at all events it will be discussed and decided precisely at this Congress of the Third International. We cannot agree that it only concerns the Communists. We must say in general which are the right tactics to pursue.

Now I will deal with several of the arguments advanced by Comrade McLaine in connection with the question of the British Labour Party. We must say frankly that the Communist Party can affiliate to the Labour Party only on the condition that it can preserve its freedom of criticism and can pursue its own policy. This is an extremely important condition: when Comrade Serrati¹⁸¹ in this connection speaks of class collaboration I declare that there will be no class collaboration in this. If the Italian comrades allow opportunists like Turati¹⁸² and Co., i.e., bourgeois elements, to remain in their Party, that is indeed class collaboration. But, in this case, in regard to the British Labour Party, it is only a matter of the advanced majority of the British working class collaborating with the overwhelming majority. The members of the Labour Party are all members of trade unions. The structure of this party is a very peculiar one and is unlike that in any other country. This organisation embraces from six to seven million workers belonging to all the trade unions. The members are not asked what political convictions they adhere to. Let Comrade Serrati prove to me that anyone will hinder us from exercising our right of criticism. Only when you prove that will you prove that Comrade McLaine is mistaken. The British Socialist Party can quite freely say that Henderson is a traitor and yet remain

affiliated to the Labour Party. What we get here is co-operation between the vanguard of the working class and the rest of the workers—the rearguard. This co-operation is so important for the whole movement that we categorically demand that the British Communists should serve as a link between the Party, *i.e.*, the minority of the working class, and all the rest of the workers. If the minority is unable to lead the masses, to link up closely with them, then it is not a party and is worthless, no matter whether it calls itself a party, or the National Committee of Shop Stewards' Committees—as far as I know the Shop Stewards' Committees in England have their National Committee. Until the opposite is proved we can say that the British Labour Party consists of proletarians and that being in its ranks we can secure co-operation between the vanguard of the working class and the backward workers. If this co-operation is not carried out systematically, then the Communist Party will be worthless and then there can be no talk of the dictatorship of the proletariat. And if our Italian comrades cannot advance more convincing arguments, then later on we must finally settle the question on the basis of what we know and come to the conclusion that affiliation is the correct tactic.

Comrade Tanner and Comrade Ramsay tell us that the majority of the British Communists do not agree to unite; but must we always agree with the majority? Not at all. If it has not yet understood which tactics are the right ones, then perhaps it would be better to wait. Even the parallel existence of two parties for a time would be better than refusal to reply to the question as to which tactics are the correct ones. Of course, on the basis of the experience of all the members of the Congress, on the basis of the arguments that have been brought forward here, you will not insist that we here pass a resolution calling for the immediate formation of a single Communist Party in all countries. That is impossible. But we can frankly express our opinion and give directives. We must study the question raised by the British delegation in a special commission and after that say: the correct tactics are affiliation to the Labour Party. If the majority are opposed to that, then we should organise the minority separately. This will have educational importance. If masses of the British workers still believe in the former tactics we will test our conclusions at the next Congress. But we cannot say that this question concerns England alone—that would be copying the worst habits of the Second International. We must openly express our opinion. If the British Communists do not reach an agreement and a mass party is not formed, then a split is inevitable in any case.—
23rd July 1920.

(Speech on the role of the Party at the Second Congress of the Comintern. *Collected Works, Vol. XXV.*)

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE LABOUR PARTY

Comrades,

Comrade Gallacher began his speech by expressing regret that we were compelled for the hundredth and thousandth time to listen to phrases that Comrade McLaine, and other English comrades have repeated a thousand times in their speeches and articles. I do not think that we need regret this. The method of the old International was to leave such questions to be decided by the separate parties in the countries interested. This was fundamentally wrong. It is quite possible that we do not always clearly understand the mutual relationships prevailing in this or that country, but what we are discussing here is the formulation of the tactics of the Communist Party. This is very important and we, in the name of the Third International, must expound here the genuine Communist point of view.

First of all I want to observe that Comrade McLaine was guilty of a slight inaccuracy with which it is impossible to agree. He calls the Labour Party the political organisation of the trade union movement. Later on he repeated this when he said: the Labour Party "is the political expression of the trade union movement." I have read the same expression of opinion in the organ of the British Socialist Party. It is not true and partly is the cause of the opposition, to a certain degree justified, of the British revolutionary workers. Indeed, the concept: "the political organisation of the trade union movement," or the "political expression" of this movement, is mistaken. Of course, for the most part the Labour Party consists of workers, but it does not logically follow from this that every workers' party which consists of workers is at the same time a "political workers' party"; that depends upon who leads it, upon the content of its activities and of its political tactics. Only the latter determines whether it is really a political proletarian party. From this point of view, which is the only correct point of view, the Labour Party is not a political workers' party but a thoroughly bourgeois party, because, although it consists of workers, it is led by reactionaries, and the worst reactionaries at that, who lead it in the spirit of the bourgeoisie and with the aid of the British Noskes and Scheidemanns, they systematically deceive the workers.

But we have heard another point of view expressed by Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst and Comrade Gallacher. What was the substance of the speech delivered by Comrade Gallacher and those of many of his friends? They told us that we were not sufficiently connected with the masses. Take the British Socialist Party, for example, it is still very badly connected with the masses and very weak. Comrade Gallacher told us here how he and his comrades have organised a very

successful movement in Scotland and how during the war they manœuvred very successfully, supported the petty-bourgeois pacifists Ramsay MacDonald and Snowden, and with their aid organised a mass movement against the war in Glasgow.

Our aim is precisely to lead this successful, new, revolutionary movement represented here by Comrade Gallacher and his friends into a Communist Party with real communist, *i.e.*, Marxian tactics. That is our task at the present time. On the one hand, we see that the British Socialist Party is weak and is not very well adapted for carrying on agitation among the masses; on the other hand, we see the younger revolutionary elements so well represented here by Comrade Gallacher, who, although in close contact with the masses are not very experienced in organising political work and do not represent a political party, and in this sense they are even weaker than the British Socialist Party. Under these circumstances we must quite frankly express our point of view regarding the correct tactics to be pursued. When in speaking of the British Socialist Party, Comrade Gallacher said that it is "hopelessly reformist," he undoubtedly exaggerated. But the general sense and content of the resolutions we have adopted here absolutely definitely show that we demand a change in the tactics of the British Socialist Party in this spirit, and the only correct tactics of the friends of Gallacher would be to join the Communist Party without delay for the purpose of straightening out its tactics in the spirit of the resolutions that have been adopted here. If you have so many adherents in Glasgow that you are able to organise mass meetings, it will not be difficult for you to increase the influx of new members into the Party by more than ten thousand. The last Congress of the British Socialist Party which took place in London three or four days ago decided to change the party into a Communist Party and adopted points in its programme about participating in parliamentary elections and about affiliating to the Labour Party. At the Congress ten thousand organised members were represented. Therefore, it would not be difficult for the Scottish comrades to recruit for this "Communist Party of Great Britain" another ten thousand revolutionary workers who would be better able to carry on work among the masses and who, instead of the old tactics of the British Socialist Party, would advance more certain methods of agitation in the sense of more revolutionary action. Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst, several times in the commission, said that England required "Lefts." Of course, I replied that this was absolutely true, but that one must take care not to be too "Left." Furthermore she said that "we are good pioneers, but for the moment we are making more noise than anything else." I interpret this in a good sense; I think they mean that they are able to carry on good revolutionary agitation. We prize this and should prize it. We

expressed this in all our resolutions and emphasised that we shall be a recognised party, and particularly recognised as a workers' party, only if we are really connected with the masses and will fight against the old, thoroughly decayed leaders, against the Right-wing chauvinists, as well as against those who take up a centrist position like the Right Independents in Germany. In all our resolutions we repeated this ten times and more, and by that we emphasised that when we say reforming the old party we mean establishing closer contacts with the masses.

Sylvia Pankhurst also asked: "Is it permissible for a Communist Party to join a political party that is affiliated to the Second International?" I replied that it was not. It must be borne in mind that the British Labour Party finds itself in particularly peculiar conditions: it is a very peculiar party, or more correctly, it is not a party in the ordinary sense of the word. It is made up of all the trade unions, which now have a membership of about four million, and allows sufficient liberty to all the political parties affiliated to it. The majority of the British workers who still follow the lead of bourgeois elements, of social-traitors who are worse than Scheidemann and Noske and gentlemen of that ilk, belong to the Labour Party. But at the same time the Labour Party allows the British Socialist Party to remain in its ranks, allows it to have its own organ of the press in which the members of this very Labour Party can freely and openly declare that the leaders of the party are social-traitors. Comrade McLaine gave exact quotations from such declarations made by the British Socialist Party. I too can certify that in *The Call*, the organ of the British Socialist Party, I have read statements to the effect that the leaders of the Labour Party are social-patriots and social-traitors. This shows that a party affiliated to the Labour Party is not only able to criticize sharply, but is able openly and definitely to name the old leaders and to call them social-traitors. This is a very peculiar situation in which a party which unites an enormous mass of workers, and which is a political party, is nevertheless obliged to allow its members complete liberty. Comrade McLaine has stated here that at the Labour Party Conference the British Scheidemanns were obliged to openly raise the question of affiliation to the Third International and that all the local organisations and sections were obliged to discuss this question. Under such circumstances it would be a mistake not to affiliate to this party.

In private conversation with me, Comrade Pankhurst said: "If we remain real revolutionaries and affiliate to the Labour Party these gentlemen will expel us." But this would not be a bad thing at all. In our resolution we say that we are in favour of affiliation in so far as the Labour Party allows sufficient freedom of criticism. In that point we are absolutely consistent. Comrade McLaine has

already emphasised that such peculiar conditions prevail in England at the present time that a political party, if it wishes to, may remain a revolutionary workers' party, notwithstanding the fact that it is connected with a labour organisation of four million members which is half trade union and half political party and which is led by bourgeois leaders. Under such circumstances it would be a great mistake if the best revolutionary elements did not do all that was possible to remain in such a party. Let Messrs. Thomas and the other social-traitors, whom you call social-traitors, expel you. This will have an excellent effect upon the mass of the British workers.

The comrades also say the aristocracy of labour in England is stronger than in any other country. That is really so. Why, in England it has existed not for decades, but for a century! In England, the bourgeoisie, which has had experience, managed to bribe the workers and to create among them a wide stratum, wider in England than in any other country, but which is not so wide after all when compared with the broad masses of the workers. This stratum is thoroughly imbued with bourgeois prejudices and pursues a definitely bourgeois, reformist policy. Thus, in Ireland, we see two hundred thousand English soldiers who by frightful terror are suppressing the Irish. The English Socialists are not carrying on any revolutionary propaganda among them. But in our resolutions we say that we permit the affiliation to the Communist International only to those parties which conduct real revolutionary propaganda among the British workers and soldiers. I emphasise that neither here nor in the commissions have we heard any objection to this.

Comrades Gallacher and Sylvia Pankhurst cannot deny that. They cannot deny the fact that while remaining in the ranks of the Labour Party the British Socialist Party enjoys sufficient liberty to write that such and such leaders of the Labour Party are traitors, champions of the interests of the bourgeoisie and their agents in the labour movement; this is absolutely true. When Communists enjoy such liberty, then, taking into account the experience of revolution in all countries, and not only in Russia (for we here are not at a Russian, but at an international congress), it is their duty to affiliate to the Labour Party. Comrade Gallacher ironically said that we were under the influence of the British Socialist Party. That is not true; we became convinced of this by the experience of all revolutions in all countries. We think that we must tell this to the masses. The British Communist Party must preserve for itself sufficient liberty to expose and criticise before the workers the traitors who are more powerful in England than in any other country. This is not difficult to understand. Comrade Gallacher is wrong when he says that by advocating affiliation to the Labour Party we will repel the best elements of the British workers. We must test this by experience.

We are convinced that all the resolutions and decisions that will be adopted by this Congress will be published in all the British revolutionary socialist newspapers and that all the local organisations and sections will be given the opportunity to discuss them. The general content of our resolutions quite clearly shows that we are the representatives of revolutionary tactics in all countries and that our aim is to fight against the old reformism and opportunism. Events are showing that our tactics are indeed defeating the old reformism. And then all the best revolutionary elements in the working class who are dissatisfied with the slow progress of development which in England, perhaps, will be slower than in other countries, will come over to us. Development is slow because the British bourgeoisie is in a position to create better conditions for the aristocracy of labour and by that to retard the progress of the revolution. That is why the British comrades should strive not only to revolutionise the masses, which they are doing excellently (Comrade Gallacher has proved that), but must simultaneously also strive to create a real working class political party. Neither Comrade Gallacher nor Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst, who have both spoken here, belong to a revolutionary communist party yet. That excellent proletarian organisation, the Shop Stewards' Committees, does not yet belong to a political party. If you organise politically you will find that our tactics are based on the properly understood political development of the past ten years, that a real revolutionary party can be created only when it absorbs the best elements of the revolutionary class and takes advantage of every opportunity to fight against the reactionary leaders wherever they reveal themselves.

If the British Communist Party starts out by acting in a revolutionary manner in the Labour Party and if Messrs. Henderson are obliged to expel this Party, it will be a great victory for the communist and labour movement in England.—6th August 1920.

(Speech on the Labour Party at the Second Congress of the Comintern. *Collected Works*, Vol. XXV.)

To the comrade THOMAS BELL

(Lux 154)

Dear comrade,

I thank you very much for Your letter, d[ated] 7/8. I have read nothing concerning the english movement last months because of my illness & overwork.

It is extremely interesting what You communicate. Perhaps it is *the beginning* of the real proletarian mass movement in great Britain *in the communist sense*. I am afraid we have till now in England few very feeble propagandist societies for communism (in-

clusive the British Communist Party) but no really *mass* communist movement.

If the South Wales Miners Federation has decided on 24/VII to affiliate to the III.Int.[ernational] by a majority of 120 to 63,—perhaps it is the beginning of new era. (How much miners there are in Eng-
more than 500.000 ? 25000 ?

land? how much in South Wales? how much miners were *really* represented in Cardiff 24/VII 1921?).

If these miners are not too small minority, if they fraternise with soldiers & begin a *real* “class war”,—we must do all our possible to *develop* this movement & strengthen it.

Economic measures (like communal kitchens) are good but they are not much important *now*, *before* the victory of the proletarian revolution in England. *Now* the *political* struggle is the most important.

English capitalists are shrewd, clever, astute. They *will* support (directly or indirectly) communal kitchens *in order* to divert the attention *from political aims*.

What is important,—is (if I am not mistaken)

(1) to create a very good, really proletarian, really *mass communist party* in this part of England,—that is such party which will *really* be the LEADING force in *all* labour movement in this part of the country. (Apply the resolution on organisation & work of the party adopted by the 3 congress to this part of your country).

(2) To start a daily paper of the working class, for the working class in this part of the country.

news

To start it not as a business (as usually papers are started in capitalist countries), not with big sum of money, not in ordinary & usual manner,—but as an *economic & political* tool of the *masses* in their struggle.

Either the miners of this district are capable to pay *half-penny* daily (for the beginning *weekly*, if You like) for their own daily (or weekly) newspaper (be it very small, it is not important)—or THERE IS NO BEGINNING of the *really communist mass movement in this part of Your country*.

If the communist party of this district cannot collect few £ in order to publish *small leaflets* DAILY as a beginning of the *really proletarian* communist newspaper—if it so, if *every* miner will not pay a penny for it, then there is *not serious*, not genuine affiliation to the III. Int.[ernational].

English government will apply the shrewdest means in order to suppress every beginning of this kind. Therefore we must be (in the beginning) very prudent. The paper must be *not too revolutionary* in the beginning. If You will have three editors, at least one must be *non communist** (*at least two genuine workers). If 9/10 of the

workers do not buy this paper, if 2/3 workers (120/120 63) do not pay special contributions (f. [or] i. [instance] 1 penny *weekly*) for THEIR paper,—it will be no workers' newspaper.

I should be very glad to have few lines from You concerning this theme & beg to apologise for my bad English.

With communist greetings, LENIN.

EXPLANATORY NOTES

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¹ Sismondi, Simon de (1773-1842)—Swiss economist and historian, representative of reactionary petty-bourgeois socialism; one of the first critics of the capitalist system. Speaking of the Sismondi school of petty-bourgeois socialism, Marx said: "Its last words were: Corporate guilds for manufacture; patriarchal relations in agriculture." (*Communist Manifesto*.)

² V.V.—the pseudonym of V. P. Vorontsov, one of the theoreticians of the Narodniki (Populists) in Russia in his book, *The Fate of Capitalism in Russia*, who claimed that the development of large-scale industrial capitalism was impossible in Russia owing to the lack of foreign markets, which had already been captured by other countries, and owing to the weakness of the home market, due to the prevalence of small-scale, self-sufficing peasant economy. The Narodniki also claimed that the semi-feudal *mir*, or village community, which was the prevailing form of social life in the rural districts in Russia at that time, could serve as the basis for the transition to socialism without having to pass through the stage of capitalism.

³ Sir John Bowring—English author and politician, one of the leaders of the Anti-Corn Law League. In 1856 was Governor of Hong-Kong and helped to introduce "free trade" in opium in China with the aid of cannon.

⁴ John Bright—cotton manufacturer, one of the leaders of the Free Trade movement and head of the Anti-Corn Law League. Later was a minister in the Gladstone Cabinet.

⁵ Anti-Corn Law League—formed by British capitalists in 1838 to fight for the abolition of duties on imported corn. The abolition of the corn duties was intended to reduce the cost of living and in this way enable the employers to reduce wages and thus reduce the cost of production. At the same time it was intended to strike a blow at the landlords by reducing their revenues and so diminishing their power. The victory of the Anti-Corn Law League, in securing the abolition of the corn duties, was a victory of the British industrial capitalists and opened the way for their rule in Great Britain.

⁶ Hope—one of the three prize winners in the essay competition organised by the Anti-Corn Law League for the best essays on the influence the repeal of the Corn Laws would have upon agriculture. (See pamphlet *Free Trade* by Karl Marx.) In his essay he argued that neither the agricultural labourer nor the tenant farmer would

lose by the repeal of the Corn Laws and that the landlords alone would lose.

⁷ Morse—the second prize winner in the Anti-Corn Law League competition. He argued that the price of corn would rise as a consequence of the repeal and that this would be profitable both to the tenant farmer and to the labourer and would not benefit the landlord. (*Ibid.*)

⁸ Greg—the third prize winner in the above-mentioned competition. A large manufacturer. He argued that the repeal of the Corn Laws would compel the landlords to sell their land cheap, or let at very long periods, which would enable the farmer to invest capital in his land and so improve the methods of cultivation and thus reduce the cost of production. (*Ibid.*)

⁹ Ricardo (1772-1823)—English economist and millionaire banker, a prominent representative of the classical school of political economy.

¹⁰ Anderson—English bourgeois economist; author of works on the economics of agriculture and on rent.

¹¹ Rodbertus, J. K. (1805-75)—a Prussian landlord, economist and historian, belonged to the classical school of political economy. Adhered to the labour theory of value of this school and developed a theory of crises.

¹² Mill, John Stuart (1806-73)—English economist and philosopher; belonged to the classical school of political economy, vulgariser and eclectic. Author of the *Principles of Political Economy*, etc.

¹³ Sombart, Werner—German professor of political economy. Laid great emphasis on “private initiative” and the “creative energy of capital” which, he claimed, opened up boundless opportunities for human individuality. Strongly opposed monopolist capital, trusts, Taylorism—now called rationalisation—etc., because it “enslaved the individual.”

¹⁴ Morris, Henry—author of *History of Colonisation*, New York, 1900. Lenin refers to pages 88, 304 and 419 of that book.

¹⁵ Beer, Max—German Social-Democrat, author of *The History of British Socialism* and other works on the British labour movement.

¹⁶ Schulze-Gavernitz—German liberal bourgeois economist, follower of the Brentano school. Author of a number of books on economics, e.g., *Large-scale Production and its Significance for Economic and Social Progress, Towards Social Peace*, etc.

¹⁷ United States of Europe—during and after the war, the Social-Democrats, Trotsky and the pacifists caught up this slogan and tried to make it a basis for their peace propaganda. The Bolsheviks always stated that this slogan was possible only after the overthrow of the capitalist governments and considered that a United States of Europe was possible only under socialism. For Lenin's criticism of this

slogan, see *Collected Works*, Vol. XVIII, article *The United States of Europe Slogan*, pp. 269-72.

¹⁸ Ultra-Imperialism—a theory advanced by Karl Kautsky (see note 19) in 1915 to the effect that the further development of imperialism would lead to the predominance of one of the imperialist countries and that this would abolish imperialist rivalry and wars, after which capitalist contradictions would begin to disappear. Subsequent development has proved the utter absurdity of this theory. As Lenin said, the object of this theory was “to divert the masses from the struggle against imperialism and war in the hope that these would disappear of themselves.”

¹⁹ Kautsky, Karl—German Social-Democrat, one of the theoretical leaders of the Second International. From 1887 editor of the theoretical magazine of the German Social-Democratic Party, *Die Neue Zeit* (see note 26). In the nineties of the last century, began to show signs of departure from the revolutionary Marxian position. He completely abandoned this position during the imperialist war and after, when he adopted a centrist and pacifist position. He advanced the theory of “ultra-imperialism” (see above) and advocated unity with the social-chauvinists. One of the founders of the Independent Socialist Party of Germany and of the Vienna Socialist and Labour International (so-called Two-and-a-Half International). After the October Revolution he strongly criticised the Soviet system and defended bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism. Since then he has developed into a frank social-fascist and openly advocates armed intervention against the Soviet Union.

²⁰ Harms, Bernard—German bourgeois economist, director of the Institute of Economic Research in Kiel, author of a number of works on world economics.

²¹ Ryabushinsky, P. P.—formerly big Russian capitalist and banker. Leader of Russian Federation of Industries, publisher of the reactionary newspaper *Utro Rossii* (*The Morning of Russia*). Now white emigrant. Carries on propaganda in favour of intervention against the Soviet Union. Notorious for his statement that “the gaunt hand of hunger will strangle the revolution.”

²² The Morosov “dynasty”—a family of big cotton mill owners in Russia before the revolution.

²³ The Paris Commune, 1871—the first attempt on the part of the proletariat to seize power and establish their own state. This attempt was made under extremely difficult circumstances. The armies of the Second Empire had been defeated by the Prussians, the Prussian troops stood at the gates of Paris. Cut off from the rest of the proletarian world by the Prussian troops and the forces of the French bourgeoisie, the Paris workers suffered also from the disadvantage that France was a land of small peasants. They lacked a united

proletarian party and had no consistent proletarian policy to guide them. Hence, they were subjected to petty-bourgeois and utopian influences (the Proudhonists, Blanquists and Bakuninists) and, as a result, the Paris Commune, as Stalin has said, was an example of how not to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Communards did not prevent the flight of the bourgeoisie and the withdrawal of the troops from Paris and thus allowed the enemy forces to concentrate at Versailles where they were able, with the help of the Prussians, to strike a treacherous blow at Paris. They failed to advance on Versailles while the bourgeoisie had not yet mustered their forces. They failed to nationalise the banks and thus economically disarm the bourgeoisie. They failed to organise Red terror in retaliation to the terror of the bourgeoisie. They allowed the bourgeois press to continue publication and to carry on a campaign against the Commune and did not deprive the bourgeoisie who had remained in Paris of the vote. All this contributed to the Commune's downfall. Notwithstanding these mistakes, however, the Paris Commune for the first time showed that the proletariat can capture political power and hold it. But as Marx and Lenin have shown, it proved also that, having captured political power, the proletariat must smash the bourgeois state apparatus and organise a new form of state, the proletarian state, a new type of state. (See Marx, *Civil War in France* and Lenin, *The Paris Commune*, and *State and Revolution*.)

²⁴ Kugelmann—German physician, personal friend and for a long time an adherent of Marx. Subsequently differed with Marx. Marx's letters to Kugelmann on the Paris Commune contain some of Marx's most important pronouncements on the Paris Commune as a proletarian state. In a number of other letters to Kugelmann Marx deals with a variety of fundamental questions of Marxism. (See *Letters to Kugelmann*.)

²⁵ Eighteenth Brumaire (Nov. 9)—the date of the *coup d'état* of Napoleon the First in 1799, after the Great French Revolution. In 1852 Marx wrote a book dealing with the *coup d'état* brought about by Napoleon's nephew, Louis Napoleon, in December 1851, in which he showed that "the class war in France created circumstances and relationships that enabled a grotesque mediocrity to strut about in a hero's garb." Marx gave this book the title *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*; in this book he gives an unexcelled description of proletarian rebellion, of the role and class characteristics of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie, the international significance of the 1848 Revolution and the tasks of the proletariat in the revolution.

²⁶ *Neue Zeit* (*New Times*)—first published in 1883 in Stuttgart, the theoretical organ of the German Social-Democratic Party and the leading international socialist organ in the period of the Second

International. From 1887 to 1917, was edited by Karl Kautsky. (See note 19.) During the war became the organ of the Kautskyists.

²⁷ Plekhanov, George (1868-1918)—one of the first Russian Marxian theoreticians and founders of the "Emancipation of Labour" Group, the pioneer Social-Democratic organisation in Russia. In the nineties of the last century, waged a struggle against the Bernsteinists, *i.e.*, those who tried to dilute and distort the theories of Marx (see note 55), but, as Lenin has said, he left "loopholes" for opportunism. Was one of the editors of *Iskra* (*The Spark*), and *Zarya* (*The Dawn*), the Russian Marxian publications founded on Lenin's initiative and which became the instruments with which the Social-Democratic forces in Russia were rallied to form the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. At the time of the split in the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party in 1903, he first sided with the Bolsheviks but later went over to the Mensheviks. After the Revolution of 1905 he declared: "They should not have taken to arms." On the outbreak of the imperialist war he adopted an extreme chauvinist position. He published a collection of essays written in a chauvinist strain entitled *On The War*. He wrote to the liberal-bourgeois *Russkiye Vedomosti* (*Russian News*) advising the workers to refrain from going on strike and to stop the struggle against tsarism in order to ensure victory against Germany. After the February Revolution he resumed publication in Petrograd of his paper *Yedinstvo* (*Unity*) in which he urged the workers to abandon the class struggle. He was opposed to the Soviet government and remained so to the end of his life.

²⁸ Guchkov, A. M.—a former Russian property owner and manufacturer who had connections with Anglo-French capital. A prominent representative of the Russian reactionary big bourgeoisie. President of the Third State Duma. After the February Revolution in 1917, was Minister for Military and Naval Affairs in the first Provisional Government. Called for war "until final victory." Resigned in April 1917. Supported the counter-revolution and emigrated from the U.S.S.R. "Kit Kitich" is the synonym for the typically Russian, wild, wilful and despotic merchant.

²⁹ Rodichev—big Russian landlord, one of the founders and leaders of the Constitutional-Democratic Party (commonly known as the Cadets—see note 33); member of all four State Dumas. After the February Revolution was appointed Commissar for Finnish Affairs.

³⁰ The bourgeois-democratic revolutions in Turkey, Persia and China in the beginning of the twentieth century. The revolutions broke out in Turkey in 1906, in Persia in 1908 and in China in 1911 as a direct result of the influence of the Russian Revolution of 1905. Russian and British imperialist diplomacy and militarism acted in these revolutions as the champions of the reactionary, monarchist, feudal counter-revolution.

³¹ The Shah's Bashi-Bazuks—picked monarchist counter-revolutionary guard.

³² Lyakhov—colonel in the tsarist army who, with the aid of Russian troops, suppressed the revolution in Persia.

³³ The popular name for the Constitutional Democratic Party, formed from its initials *ka* and *deh* in Russian. This party of the liberal bourgeoisie was formed after the 1905 Revolution and was the official constitutional "opposition" in the Duma until 1917. After the March Revolution it played a prominent role in the Provisional Government as the open party of Russian imperialism, the Foreign Minister, Milyukov, being leader of the Party. Since the November revolution its leaders have lived in exile, forming an active counter-revolutionary, interventionist group.

³⁴ Plehve (1846-1904) was Minister for Home Affairs and chief of the Gendarmerie after the murder of Sipyagin in 1902. Really the head of the government. Plehve considered his chief duty to be a merciless war on the opposition movement, particularly its revolutionary wing. He put down peasant risings in the Ukraine with horrible savagery, organised Jewish pogroms and suppressed the national aspirations of all non-Russian minorities. Largely responsible for the Russo-Japanese war, which he hoped would sidetrack the growing revolution. Plehve was killed by the Socialist-Revolutionary Sazonov in 1904.

³⁵ Tilak (1865-1918), a Mahratta intellectual, was the leader of the Indian national revival at the end of the last century, having a great influence over the Indian Nationalist youth, among whom was a strong terrorist section. Tilak was arrested in 1898 and again in 1908, being kept in "preventive" arrest till 1914.

³⁶ Theodore Rothstein, a Russian by birth, emigrated to England in 1891 and joined the Social-Democratic Federation (later British Socialist Party). In 1921-22 was Soviet Ambassador in Persia. From 1923 to 1930 was a member of the Collegium of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs; member of the Presidium of the Communist academy and Professor in the First Moscow University.

³⁷ Saltychikha—a woman feudal landowner in Russia who even under the cruel feudal regime was so notorious for her exceptional cruelty to her serfs that her name became a symbol of feudal tyranny.

³⁸ Purishkevich—extremely reactionary member of the State Duma, large landowner, monarchist, anti-semite, as Lenin said: "the representative of 130,000 of the economically decaying group of feudal landlords."

³⁹ The Black Hundred or, as they called themselves, The Union of the Russian People, was formed by the tsarist government and led by the landlords and police officials. It recruited its forces from the dregs of humanity and organised "pogroms" against the Jews and

revolutionaries in the name of "patriotism," the "Orthodox Church" and the "sacred right of property."

⁴⁰ Maslov, P. P.—Russian Menshevik, economist, specialised on the agrarian question. At the Stockholm Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, his opportunist agrarian programme was adopted in opposition to the demand for the nationalisation of the land proposed by Lenin. Belonged to the extreme Right wing of the Party, a liquidator, i.e., advocated the dissolution of the underground Party (see note 87) during the period of reaction after the 1905 Revolution, and defencist, i.e., was pro-war during the imperialist war.

⁴¹ Sudekum—belonged to the extreme Right wing of the German Social-Democratic Party. Member of the Reichstag and rabid social-chauvinist. Lenin frequently mentions him as the personification of the degenerate social-imperialist Second International. During the war, travelled to Italy and the Scandinavian countries as an apologist for the social-chauvinist wing of the S.D.P. of Germany. In the beginning of the revolution in Germany in 1918, was Prussian Minister of Finance.

⁴² Potressov (*nom de plume* "Starover")—member of the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, the forerunner of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, was exiled to Siberia and later emigrated to Europe. Member of the editorial board of *Iskra* (*The Spark*). After the split in 1903 became a Menshevik.

⁴³ David—an adherent of Eduard Bernstein, the German revisionist of Marx. Author of *Agriculture and Socialism*, an advocate of small peasant farming. During the war was an extreme social-chauvinist. Member of the first republican government which suppressed the revolution in Germany in 1918.

⁴⁴ The Second International—formed in 1889, collapsed on the outbreak of the Imperialist war in 1914. Composed mainly of the socialist parties of Europe; the representatives of the oppressed colonial countries were hardly ever represented at its congresses. In the course of its development, betrayed growing symptoms of opportunism reflecting the influence of the aristocracy of labour in imperialist countries whom it mainly represented. The opportunist evolution of the Second International reached its climax on the outbreak of the imperialist war in 1914 when its leaders in all the belligerent countries—Scheidemann, Hyndman, Thomas, Henderson, Turati, Hillquit, etc.—went over to the side of their respective capitalists and joined their governments, notwithstanding the decision of the Stuttgart Congress (see note 57) calling upon Socialists to fight to prevent the outbreak of war and, in the event of their failing to do so, to fight for the overthrow of their governments and to establish socialism, and the resolution of the Basle Congress (see note 94)

declaring the impending war to be an imperialist war. This betrayal led to a split in the International. The genuine proletarian Bolsheviks led by Lenin advanced slogans calling for the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war and for the establishment of a new International. In this they were supported, although not always consistently, by the Left wing of the parties in Germany, Poland, Holland, France, England and other countries. At the same time a "centre" group was formed, led by Kautsky, Trotsky, MacDonald and others, which, in fact, as Lenin said, represented "masked opportunism," which strove to "preserve unity" with the pro-war Socialists, in other words, to gloss over their treachery.

⁴⁵ Trotsky, L. D.—Russian Social-Democrat, belonged to the "centre." Emigrated to Europe in 1902. After the split in the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party following on the Second Congress in 1903, was a Menshevik. In 1905, in conjunction with Parvus, advanced the theory of "permanent revolution," *viz.*, that a victorious proletarian revolution in Russia was impossible without the victory of the proletariat in other European countries. This theory was based on lack of confidence in the strength of the Russian proletariat and on the underestimation of the peasantry as the allies of the proletariat in the revolution. Formed his own group in the R.S.D.L.P. and in 1912 formed the so-called "August Bloc" with the Mensheviks in order to fight the Bolsheviks. During the imperialist war, belonged to the "centre" and opposed the left wing of the Zimmerwald Conference (see note 183). Joined the Bolshevik party in the summer of 1917. During the peace negotiations between the Soviet government and the Germans he advocated a policy of "neither war nor peace." In 1921-22, advocated the "nationalisation" of the trade unions, *i.e.*, the conversion of the trade unions into state institutions, and led a factional struggle within the Party. In 1923-24 again raised a factional struggle within the Party. He prophesied "immediate, inevitable catastrophe" to the Soviet Union, and in 1926 became the leader of the combined opposition consisting of Zinoviev, Kamenev and Trotsky in the fight against the Party. The opposition bloc was based on a denial of the possibility of building up socialism in a single country, which was the logical deduction from the "theory" of permanent revolution, and on an underestimation of the role of the Russian proletariat and that of the peasantry. Expelled from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1927 for anti-Party activity. In 1929 was deported from the Soviet Union for anti-Soviet activities. Now writes anti-Soviet articles in the capitalist press. Lack of faith in the strength of the Russian proletariat, his utter failure to understand the role of the proletariat as the leader of the peasantry led to his lack of confidence in the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R., to his gloomy prophecies of the inevitable

collapse of the Soviet Union and finally to the position of vanguard of the counter-revolutionary forces of the bourgeoisie.

⁴⁶ Martov, L.—one of the principal leaders of the Mensheviks. Joined a revolutionary students' circle in 1891. First worked in the Bund (the Jewish Social-Democratic League) and later, in conjunction with Lenin, helped to form the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. Later emigrated to Europe and worked to form the R.S.D.L.P. At the Second Congress of the Party became the leader of the Mensheviks, which he was to the end of his days (died 1923). During the years of reaction supported the liquidators, *i.e.*, those who desired to dissolve the "underground" organisation. Returned to Russia in 1913 and edited the Menshevik newspaper, *Rabochaya Gazeta (Workers' Gazette)*. During the war took part in the Zimmerwald International Congress. After the February Revolution was a Left-wing Menshevik, and after the October Revolution was opposed to the Soviet government. Emigrated to Europe in 1921, took part in forming the Vienna Two-and-a-Half International (see note 161) and edited the Menshevik, Anti-Soviet *Sotsialisticheski Vestnik (Socialist News)*.

⁴⁷ Axelrod, P. B.—one of the pioneers of Russian Social-Democracy, member of the "Emancipation of Labour" Group, an extreme Right-wing Menshevik; a defencist during the imperialist war, an enemy of the Soviet government and advocate of intervention against the Soviet Union.

⁴⁸ Kossovsky—member of the Bund, delegate to a number of congresses and conferences, adhered to the views of the Mensheviks and Economists, *i.e.*, the section that advocated that the workers should fight only for economic questions and leave politics to the bourgeoisie.

⁴⁹ *Sovremenni Mir (Contemporary World)*—a Menshevik magazine published in St. Petersburg from 1908 to 1917 and edited by Jordansky (See next note.)

⁵⁰ Jordansky, N. K.—Russian Menshevik, journalist, regular contributor to the Menshevik *Iskra* (after Lenin had resigned from the editorial board. See note 68). At the Stockholm Congress of the Party was elected substitute member of the Central Committee. During the period of reaction stood close to the liquidators. In 1910 helped to start the *Zvezda (The Star)*, a Bolshevik newspaper. During the imperialist war supported Plekhanov. After the February Revolution was a Commissar of the Provisional Government. Joined the Communist Party in 1921. Worked in the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, in 1923-24 was Soviet Ambassador to Italy.

⁵¹ Marshal Bazin—Marshal under Napoleon the Third. Suffered defeat at Sedan in the Franco-Prussian War in 1870 and surrendered to the Prussians with his whole army.

⁵² George, Henry—American petty-bourgeois reformist, author of *Progress and Poverty*, in which he tried to show that ground rent absorbed the greater part of the product of labour and was the principal cause of poverty. He saw no contradiction between capital and labour. Considered that surplus value was the product of labour applied to the land and was appropriated by the landlord. Hence, advocated the nationalisation of the land by means of a single tax, i.e., that taxes be imposed exclusively on land, and free trade as a panacea for all the evils of capitalism.

⁵³ Larin, J.—an old member of the R.S.D.L.P. Until 1917 was a Menshevik. In 1907 advocated the formation of a "broad labour party" which meant the absorption of the R.S.D.L.P. in the working class, the abandonment of the leadership of the masses and the transformation of the Party into something like the British Labour Party. This liquidationist position was attacked not only by the Bolsheviks, but also by a section of the Mensheviks. During the war was a Menshevik Internationalist. Joined the Bolsheviks and took part in the October Revolution. Member of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. Author and economist. Died in 1932.

⁵⁴ Sorge—German Socialist, took part in the Baden uprising in 1849, an active worker in the German and international labour movement in the period of the First International, member of the General Council of the International, personal friend of Marx and Engels. Emigrated to America and became Secretary of the First International when its head-quarters were transferred to America.

⁵⁵ Bernstein, Eduard—German Social-Democrat, was personally connected with Marx and Engels. While the Anti-Socialist Laws were in force in Germany, was editor of the *Sotsial-demokrat*, the illegal magazine of the Party. At the end of the nineties of the last century he called for the revision of the theories of Marx. He denied that the collapse of capitalism and the proletarian revolution were inevitable, denied the impoverishment of the proletariat and the intensification of the class struggle and argued that capitalism would gradually be transformed into socialism by means of parliamentary reforms. Bernsteinism has much in common with the theories advanced by the Fabian Society and Bernstein's views were undoubtedly influenced by the Fabian Society when he lived in England.

⁵⁶ Tussy—Eleanor Marx-Aveling, daughter of Karl Marx, one of the leaders of the Social-Democratic Federation. Was very active among the London dockers and labourers in the nineties of the last century, helped to form the Gas Workers' and General Labourers' Union.

⁵⁷ The Stuttgart International Socialist Congress—August 18-24, 1907. The most important item on the agenda of this Congress was: "Militarism and International Conflicts." The main debates on this

question took place in committee in which sixty-seven delegates took part. Four points of view were in conflict: (1) the anarcho-syndicalists represented by Herve, who called for a military strike and insurrection against all war; (2) Jules Guesde, who argued that to single out anti-militarist work weakened the general socialist propaganda work of the Party and that it was unnecessary to carry on special propaganda against the war danger; (3) the centrists, the French, represented by Jaures and the Germans, represented by Bebel. The French urged the necessity for national defence; Bebel urged the endorsement of the resolutions of previous congresses but agreed that national defence was permissible under certain conditions; (4) the revolutionary Marxian wing, represented by Lenin and supported by Rosa Luxemburg. Lenin and Luxemburg (see note 96) drafted the concluding paragraph of the resolution which was adopted. This paragraph read as follows: "If war threatens to break out it is the duty of the working class and their parliamentary representatives in the countries involved to exert every effort to prevent the outbreak of war by the means they consider most effective, which naturally vary according to the sharpening class struggle and the general political situation. In case war should break out, it is their duty to intervene in favour of its speedy termination and with all their powers to utilise the economic and political crisis created by the war to rouse the masses and thereby hasten the downfall of capitalist rule."

⁵⁸ Hegel—famous German philosopher, dialectical idealist. Marx and Engels transformed the revolutionary aspect of his dialectical historical method into dialectical historical materialism, the scientific basis of modern communism.

⁵⁹ Proudhon—prominent anarchist theoretician. Attributed the evils of capitalism to the commodity form of exchange, but instead of the collective form of production and exchange he advocated the organisation of mutual credit societies and exchange banks for the benefit of small producers; left private property intact and rejected revolutionary methods of struggle against capitalism. Marx criticises Proudhon's theories in *Poverty of Philosophy*.

⁶⁰ Bakunin—prominent leader of the early Narodniki movement in Russia in the 1870's; leader of the anarchists in the First International, opponent of Marxism. Advocated anarchy, as against the dictatorship of the proletariat, spontaneous insurrection as against revolution, and conspiratorial sects as against mass working class parties. Was eventually expelled from the International.

⁶¹ Saint Simon—French utopian socialist of the end of the eighteenth century and beginning of nineteenth century. For criticism of his views, see Engels' *Socialism Utopian and Scientific*.

⁶² Fourier—French utopian socialist of same period. See also Engels, as above.

⁶³ Owen, Robert—English utopian socialist, first half of nineteenth century, advocate of co-operative production. See also Engels, as above.

⁶⁴ The *Credo* (Confession of Faith)—the document in which the Russian Economists expounded their theory that the working class in Russia under tsarism should confine themselves to the economic struggle against the employers for better conditions and leave the political struggle against tsarism to the bourgeoisie and to the intelligentsia. (See Lenin, *A Protest of Russian Social-Democrats, Selected Works*, Vol. I.)

⁶⁵ Weitling, Wilhelm—German worker, utopian communist, at one time friend of Karl Marx. Took part in the German Revolution of 1848.

⁶⁶ Liebknecht, Wilhelm—one of the founders and leaders of German Social-Democracy, father of Karl Liebknecht (see note 119). Liebknecht was not a consistent Marxist and was often severely criticised by Marx and Engels.

⁶⁷ Martynov—one of the early Social-Democrats in Russia. First was an Economist, then a liquidator, a defencist during the war. After the October Revolution and during the civil war he turned to Bolshevism and joined the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

⁶⁸ *Iskra* (*The Spark*)—the first Russian Social-Democratic newspaper, founded in 1901 by Lenin and published abroad under the editorship of Plekhanov, Lenin, Axelrod, Martov, Potressov and Vera Zasulich. After the Second Congress of the Party in 1903, which resulted in a split into “Bolsheviks” and “Mensheviks” (i.e., Majority and Minority), the paper passed into the hands of the Mensheviks (and since known as the “new” *Iskra*) and Lenin felt obliged to resign from the editorial board.

⁶⁹ Hirsch, Karl—German Social-Democrat, belonged to Lassalle's General Association of German Workers (see note 76), but resigned owing to disagreements with its leaders. Became editor of *Vorwärts* (*Forward*), the organ of the German Social-Democratic Party after the arrest of Bebel and Liebknecht, until he was himself arrested. During the period of the Anti-Socialist Laws was editor of the illegal *Laterne*.

⁷⁰ Mazzini—popular leader of the Italian national movement in the latter half of the nineteenth century, petty-bourgeois democrat. Organiser of a number of conspiracies and insurrections to restore the independence of Italy from the rule of the Austrian Hapsburgs.

⁷¹ Thiers—French bourgeois historian and counter-revolutionary politician. Leader of the Versailles capitalist government in its fight against the Paris Workers' Commune. Tens of thousands of unarmed workers, women and children were shot in the streets of Paris at his order.

⁷² Spinoza—celebrated philosopher of the seventeenth century,

optical glass grinder by profession. Dialectical thinker, was practically the founder of the monistic materialist conception of the world which, however, he expounded in a theological form. According to his theory, the only thing that exists is nature (which he identified with God) which occupied space and had mentality. Plekhanov said that Marxism was Spinoza-ism without the theological shell.

⁷³ Aristotle—celebrated ancient Greek philosopher. Marx said that he was the Hegel of the world of antiquity. Not long before his death, was accused of being an atheist and fled to the island of Aebutia, where he died. Engels said that in the sphere of logic he investigated several important forms of dialectical thought. Systematised all the knowledge of his time.

⁷⁴ Alexander the Great—king of Macedon and Greece; conquered territories reaching to India. In his youth was a pupil of Aristotle.

⁷⁵ Böhm-Bawerck—German professor of political economy, one of the most prominent representatives of the so-called “Austrian school” of political economy which tries to explain economic phenomena from the point of view of “subjective appraisal.” For example, according to his theory, value is determined by “final utility,” i.e., the value attached to a commodity by its ultimate consumer.

⁷⁶ Lassalle, Ferdinand—German petty-bourgeois socialist; leader of the German labour movement in the middle of the nineteenth century. Formed the General Association of German Workers, and was its chairman. In 1875 the Union united with the German Marxists (the Eisenachers) at a Congress at Gotha and formed the Socialist Workers' Party. (See Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*.) Lassalle combatted Marxism and advanced his own theory of the “iron law of wages” according to which the workers could not improve their conditions under capitalism. They could obtain “the full product of their labour” only if they were organised in large industrial associations. To establish these, large credits were required which should be provided by the state. To bring pressure to bear on the state to obtain these credits, universal suffrage was necessary. This in turn required that the workers be strongly organised. Thus, there is no place for the proletarian revolution in his line of reasoning. This led to attempts on his part to reach a compromise with the Prussian *Junker* government represented by Bismarck, which exposed the real nature of this opportunist policy.

⁷⁷ Kostrov—the pseudonym of Jordania, a Georgian Menshevik, liquidator, defencist, and member of the counter-revolutionary Georgian “government” that was put up by interventionists. Now the head of the so-called “Georgian government” in Europe which is conspiring to bring about imperialist intervention against the Soviet Union.

⁷⁸ The International Socialist Bureau—the central body of the Second International, functioned in the intervals between international congresses. Actually it performed no leading functions in the International; it was merely a correspondence bureau that recorded the decisions of the various affiliated organisations, which had complete autonomy in regard to policy and tactics. The I.S.B. was entirely in the hands of the opportunists.

⁷⁹ Vaillant—member of the Paris Commune, Blanquist; after the suppression of the Commune was sentenced to death by the Versailles government, but fled to London where he became a member of the Council of the First International. Joined Marx and Engels. Was amnestied and returned to France in 1884. Became one of the leaders of the French Socialist Party in the period of the Second International. Was a chauvinist during the imperialist war.

⁸⁰ Roussel—member of the French Socialist Party, belonged to the Left wing led by Jules Guesde. Member of the International Socialist Bureau in 1908.

⁸¹ Rubanovich—Russian Socialist, member of the *Narodnaya Volya* (*People's Will*) Party, emigrated after the suppression of the latter. Joined the Socialist-Revolutionary Party (see next note) when it was formed, and was its representative on the International Socialist Bureau. During the imperialist war was a social-patriot. An enemy of the Soviet Union.

⁸² Socialist-Revolutionary Party—a Russian petty-bourgeois party which largely represented the kulaks, or capitalist farmers. Formed in 1904. Did not accept Marxism or recognise the capitalist development of Russia. Did not recognise class divisions among the peasantry but claimed to represent the "toilers" as a whole. Adopted the policy of individual terrorism against the representatives of the tsarist government. During the February Revolution supported the continuation of the imperialist war and compromise with the capitalist parties. After the October Revolution it became the paid agent of Anglo-French imperialism and prepared foreign intervention against Soviet Russia. Organised the assassination of several Bolshevik leaders—one of its members shot Lenin, and organised kulak uprisings. Utterly routed, it has ceased to exist in the U.S.S.R. The "leaders" who managed to fly abroad are in the pay of anti-Soviet capitalists.

⁸³ Adler, Victor—leader and theoretician of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party, one of the leaders of the Second International. During the imperialist war adopted the Kautskyst position. After the Revolution of 1918, was a Minister in the bourgeois government of Austria.

⁸⁴ *Le Peuple*—the organ of the Belgian Socialist Party.

⁸⁵ *Proletary*—an organ of the Bolsheviks founded in August 1906.

Fifty issues were published. First published in Finland, but in 1908 publication was transferred abroad.

⁸⁶ *Leipziger Volkszeitung* (*Leipzig People's Paper*)—organ of the Left wing of the German Social-Democratic Party. For a long time was edited by Franz Mehring and Rosa Luxemburg, and later by Paul Levi, who first joined and then deserted the Communist Party (see note 139). Until the fascist coup, the paper was the organ of the pseudo Lefts of Germany.

⁸⁷ Liquidators—during the period of reaction after the 1905 Revolution, a large section of the Russian Mensheviks demanded the dissolution, or "liquidation" (hence the name) of the underground Party organisation and the cessation of the illegal struggle. They advocated such forms of organisation and activity as were permitted by the tsarist law. They denied that revolution was imminent and demanded that the struggle to overthrow tsarism be replaced by efforts to obtain bourgeois reforms. They denounced the growing strike movement at that time as "gambling in strikes." They tried to establish contact with the bourgeoisie and to compromise with the tsarist government. During the imperialist war the liquidators were national defencists. After the February Revolution they were the strongest advocates of compromise with the bourgeoisie. After the October Revolution they became active enemies of the Soviet government.

⁸⁸ *Vperyod* (*Forward*), 1909 (not to be confused with *Vperyod* of 1905, concerning which see below)—the organ of a section of Bolsheviks which split away from the main body. This section, consisting of Alexinsky (subsequently a renegade), Bogdanov, Maxim Gorky, Pokrovsky, Lunacharsky and others, represented a mixture of political and philosophical views ranging from "extreme Left" Bolshevism, ultimatism and otzovism, i.e., the demand for the recall of the Bolshevik deputies from the Duma, to Machist empirio-criticism and so-called "proletarian culturism." The logical course of their factional struggle against the Bolshevik Party led them to compromise with Trotsky and with the Mensheviks. In 1912-13 the majority of the group returned to the Bolshevik position.

Vperyod (*Forward*), 1905—the first Bolshevik newspaper, first issued in Geneva in January 1905, edited by Lenin, Olminsky, Vorovsky and Lunacharsky. Eighteen issues were published. *Vperyod* was the militant, ideological and political organ of the Bolsheviks abroad, acting in conjunction with the organising and political centre in Russia—the Bureau of the Committees of the Majority. In *Vperyod* the fundamental principle of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry was formulated for the first time and in it the Bolsheviks definitely dissociated themselves from the Mensheviks on all questions of policy and tactics. *Vperyod* played a pro-

minent part in the preparations for the Third Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, which changed the name of the paper to *Proletary*.

⁸⁹ R.S.D.L.P.—Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, founded in 1898. At its Second Congress in 1903, it split on the question of the rule governing membership. The majority (in Russian—*bolshinstvo*, hence the name—Bolshevik) demanded that membership of the Party be open only to those who not only agreed with its programme but also belonged to a definite organisation and carried on Party work under the direct guidance of that organisation. The minority (in Russian—*menshinstvo*, hence the name—Menshevik) wanted membership to be open to all those who agreed with the programme of the Party and who generally assisted the Party. While on the surface this seemed to be a minor organisational question, the difference in fact was a profound one of principle and policy; for the Bolshevik formula implied the organisation of a party consisting of revolutionaries who subscribed to a definite policy and submitted to strict Party discipline inevitable in a fighting party that was the organiser of the revolution. The Menshevik formula, however, implied a loose organisation allowing wide latitude of opinion, and in which the members were not required to pledge themselves to carry out the decisions of the Party. The Bolsheviks, under the leadership of Lenin, pursuing a consistent revolutionary Marxian line, led the Russian workers to power and to the building up of socialism; the Mensheviks were opportunists like the British Labourites and German Social-Democrats, and, pursuing the line of opportunism, they evolved through the stages of liquidationism in the period of reaction and defencism during the war to counter-revolution after the October Revolution. They are now in the camp of the bourgeoisie, and the bitterest enemies of the Soviet Union.

⁹⁰ Takhtarev—a Russian Social-Democrat. After the Second Congress of the Party, lived in London.

⁹¹ Bund—The Jewish Workers' League of Poland and Lithuania. Formed in 1897. Joined the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party in 1898, but left it in 1903 because of its disagreement with the membership rule adopted by the Party Congress. (See note 89.) Moreover, it demanded autonomy for its own organisation within the Party, i.e., to be an affiliated organisation instead of merging with the Party. Rejoined the Party in 1906. Later, supported the liquidators. During the imperialist war the majority were defencists. After the October Revolution and during the civil war, the local organisations of the Bund became revolutionary and in 1921 the Bund merged with the Communist Party.

⁹² P.P.S.—Socialist Party of Poland. Formed in 1893. A petty-bourgeois nationalist party whose principal aim was the restoration

of Poland as an independent state by means of a "national insurrection." After the Russian Revolution of 1905 it split into two sections, the Left, which advocated joint struggle with the Russian proletariat, and an extreme nationalist section. The latter had most influence in German and Austrian Poland where, during the World War, they formed the Polish Legion which fought on the side of Germany. In 1919 the Left wing united with the P.P.S. in Galicia, Silesia and Prussia and formed the present P.P.S. Its leader Pilsudsky (see note 167) in 1920 organised White Polish forces, carried on agitation against Soviet Russia, waged a furious campaign against the labour movement in Poland and became the main prop of capital in Poland. In 1926, Pilsudsky carried out a fascist coup. The P.P.S. is an extreme social-fascist party which helps the fascist dictatorship of Pilsudsky to subordinate Poland to the interests of French imperialism in its struggle for hegemony in Europe, helps fascist Poland to act as the outpost of imperialism in its struggle against the Soviet Union and to suppress, by means of inhuman atrocities, the workers' and peasants' national liberation movement in the Western Ukraine and in Western White Russia. With the sharpening of the crisis and the growth of working class activity it now pretends to be an "opposition" party and makes certain "Left" gestures and manoeuvres.

⁹³ *Vorwärts (Forward)*—the organ of the German Social-Democratic Party. During the war was in the hands of the pro-war and centrist sections. After the October Revolution and until its suppression by the Hitler government, was one of the bitterest enemies of the Soviet Union and of the international revolutionary movement.

⁹⁴ The Basle Resolution—the resolution on war passed at the International Socialist Congress at Basle, Switzerland, 1912, which declared that the impending war could not be anything else than an imperialist war for the redistribution of the world and that it was the duty of the proletariat in the event of war to break with their bourgeoisie in their respective countries, to preserve international solidarity and to fight by all means against the war.

⁹⁵ Parabellum (the pseudonym of Karl Radek)—renegade Communist. Before the October Revolution, carried on revolutionary work in Galicia and Poland and later in Germany where, with Rosa Luxemburg and others, formed the Left wing of the German Social-Democratic Party. Belonged to the Left wing of the Zimmerwald Congress. Was prohibited from entering Russia by the Provisional Government after the February Revolution and went to live in Stockholm. Was a member of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Party for the purpose of maintaining contact with the revolutionary elements abroad. Arrived in Russia with Lenin in April 1917 and joined the Bolshevik Party. In 1918 belonged to the "Left" Communist

faction that was opposed to the signing of the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty.

Later Radek was one of the leaders of the Trotskyist opposition and was expelled from the Party by a decision of the Fifteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. (B). He was then restored to membership after admitting his mistakes, but nevertheless continued to intrigue against the Party and the Soviet Union. His counter-revolutionary activities were finally brought to light in 1937 when he was condemned to ten years imprisonment for wrecking, espionage, etc.

⁹⁶ Luxemburg, Rosa—a prominent leader of the Polish and German labour movement, prominent exponent of Marxian theory, but committed several errors in theory and tactics. While living abroad, took an active part in forming the Polish Social-Democratic Party. Later went to Germany to work among the Polish workers in Posen and Silesia. Wrote a number of articles in opposition to Bernstein and Millerandism. (See note 107.) In 1903 she associated herself with the organisational principles of the Mensheviks. In 1905-07 she supported the Bolsheviks on a number of tactical questions, but on other questions shared the centrist views of Parvus and Trotsky. During the war adopted the internationalist position, and was in the Left wing of the German Social-Democratic Party. One of the founders of the Spartacus League, an organisation of young revolutionary German Social-Democrats which carried on anti-war propaganda and which was the forerunner of the Communist Party of Germany. However, she insisted on maintaining unity with the social-chauvinists, opposed the struggle for national independence of oppressed nations and advanced the theory of the automatic collapse of imperialism. After the defeat of the Spartacus rising in January 1919 she was murdered by counter-revolutionary officers. In spite of her mistakes Lenin had an extremely high opinion of Rosa Luxemburg, "an eagle," he called her, who raised her revolutionary work to a high plane (questions of the general strike, the role of trade unions, her statements on the opportunist degeneration of the German Social-Democratic Party, her criticism of Bernsteinism and Millerandism, her internationalism during the war, etc.), but he severely criticised her Menshevik and semi-Menshevik views on a number of fundamental questions of imperialism, the proletarian revolution, and the Party. Stalin gives a brilliant characterisation of Luxemburgism in his letter to the *Proletarskaya Revolyutsia*. (See *Leninism*, Vol. II, *Some Questions Concerning the History of Bolshevism*, p. 446.)

⁹⁷ Lopatin, G. A.—a prominent member of the *Narodnaya Volya*, i.e., People's Will Party, the early utopian socialists in Russia; prisoner in the Schlüsselburg Fortress, author and translator of a number

of works on political economy, philosophy, physics and biology. First arrested in 1866. In 1867 went to Italy to join Garibaldi's forces. After the defeat of Garibaldi (see note 100) returned to Russia, was arrested and exiled. Later organised the Russian section of the First International. In England made the acquaintance of Marx and Engels and translated a part of Volume I of *Capital* into Russian. Marx was well disposed towards him. In 1872 he travelled secretly to Siberia to organise the escape of Chernyshevsky (a great Russian utopian socialist and literary critic of that time), was arrested but again escaped abroad. In 1879 returned to St. Petersburg to carry on revolutionary work. Was again arrested in 1883 and again escaped, but finally, in 1884 was arrested and sentenced to death, the sentence later being commuted to penal servitude for life. Was released from the Schlüsselburg Fortress in 1905, after being incarcerated for twenty years.

⁹⁸ Shlyakhhta—Polish for squire, petty aristocratic landowner, nationalist, insular and narrow-minded.

⁹⁹ Bismarck, Otto—the "Iron Chancellor;" founder of the German Empire and Chancellor from 1871 to 1890. Pursued a policy of uniting the separate German states into a single empire. Defeated Austria in 1867 and France in 1871, annexed Schleswig, Alsace and Lorraine. Unsuccessfully tried to suppress the German socialist movement by passing the Anti-Socialist Laws of 1878-91. After the repeal of these laws the German Social-Democratic Party was found to be stronger than ever.

¹⁰⁰ Garibaldi—Italian revolutionary republican, hero of the Italian war of liberation. In 1848-49 led a force of volunteers who fought for the independence of Italy. In 1854 took part in the war against Austria. In 1870 took part in the Franco-Prussian war on the side of France and was elected as Deputy to the French National Assembly by a number of departments.

¹⁰¹ Lafargue, Paul—leader of the Marxian section of the French Socialist Party, belonged to the First and Second Internationals, was a member of the Paris Commune, took part in the Spanish socialist movement. Author of a number of works popularising Marxism and of other political pamphlets. Son-in-law of Marx.

¹⁰² Longuet, Jean—reformist leader of the French labour movement and member of the French Socialist Party; grandson of Marx.

¹⁰³ General Council of the International—the leading body of the First International. During the whole period of its existence was under the leadership of Marx and Engels. Unlike the International Socialist Bureau of the Second International; the General Council acted as the General Staff of the international revolutionary movement. In this respect, its functions were similar to those of the present Executive Committee of the Communist International.

¹⁰⁴ Stirnerism—after Max Stirner, bourgeois philosopher of individualism. Author of the book, *The Ego and his Own*.

¹⁰⁵ Before the Revolution of 1917, Poland and the Ukraine were subject countries in the tsarist empire. The Polish and Ukrainian languages and culture were prohibited in schools and public institutions. Both countries were under the heel of tsarist police terror.

¹⁰⁶ The Erfurt Programme—the programme adopted by the German Social-Democratic Party at its Congress in Erfurt in October 1891 in place of the obsolete Gotha programme. (See note 76.) The Erfurt Programme, drafted by Karl Kautsky, is divided into two parts: the first outlines the Marxian theory of the development of society from capitalism to socialism (the maximum programme) and the second enumerates the demands that can be achieved under capitalism (the minimum programme). Although Engels criticized a number of its points, the Erfurt Programme served as the model of the programmes of other parties affiliated to the Second International, including the programme of the Russian Social-Democratic Party adopted in 1903. With this important difference however, that the programme of the R.S.D.L.P. definitely formulated the aim of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

¹⁰⁷ Millerandism—from the name of Millerand, member of the Socialist Party of France, who was the first socialist to enter a bourgeois government. In 1889 Millerand, without the consent of his Party, joined the Waldeck-Rousseau bourgeois government. Incidentally, the Minister for War in this government which claimed to be a government for the “defence of the republic” against the monarchists, was General Gallifet, the butcher of the Paris Commune. Millerand was expelled from the Party. The question figured as one of the principle items on the agenda of the International Socialist Congress in Paris in 1900 and a resolution was adopted disapproving the entry of socialists in bourgeois governments, although a number of delegates, for instance, Jaures, the leader of the French Party, supported Millerand’s action. But the resolution itself left a wide loophole for Millerandism in that it reduced the question to one of tactics and permitted the entry of socialists into bourgeois governments in “times of emergency” (the very thing that Millerand claimed to justify his action). As a result, on the outbreak of the imperialist war, the majorities in nearly all the parties of the Second International claimed this “state of emergency” as justification for their joining the War Cabinets for the prosecution of the war.

¹⁰⁸ Sembat, Marcel—member of the French Socialist Party, social-chauvinist, member of the Chamber of Deputies, was a Minister in Clemenceau’s War Cabinet.

¹⁰⁹ Renaudel—one of the leaders of the French Socialist Party, editor of *L’Humanité* after the death of Jaurès, who was assassinated

on the outbreak of the war in August 1914. Belongs to the extreme Right wing, social-chauvinist. Recently expelled from the Party for his open parliamentary support of a bourgeois Government in its wage attacks on civil servants.

¹¹⁰ Legien—German Social-Democrat, a rank social-imperialist. One of the leaders of the German Federation of Trade Unions and of the Amsterdam International until the withdrawal of the G.F.T.U. from the latter in order to curry favour with Hitler’s fascist dictatorship.

¹¹¹ Lentsch—German Social-Democrat, at one time editor of the *Leipziger Volkszeitung*; during the war was an avowed imperialist; advocated war against Great Britain as a means of “destroying monopoly,” thus expressing and formulating German imperialist rivalry.

¹¹² War Industries Committees—set up during the war by the Russian capitalists in conjunction with the tsarist government for the purpose of distributing government war contracts and for improving “national defence.” The pro-war Mensheviks went on to these committees and called upon the workers to co-operate with the bourgeoisie on them. The workers utterly ignored these appeals, however, and they proved a failure.

¹¹³ Gvozdyov—Menshevik liquidator, member of the labour group on the All-Russian War Industries Committee during the war. Was Vice-Minister in one of Kerensky’s Coalition Cabinets. During the war advocated class truce and national defence. Called for the assistance of the police against the Bolsheviks who were organising the boycott of the War Industries Committees.

¹¹⁴ *Daily Citizen*—a daily newspaper, the organ of the Labour Party, started in 1912 but closed down in 1915 owing to financial difficulties. The *Daily Herald* was then the organ of the amorphous “Left” wing of the labour movement in Great Britain.

¹¹⁵ *Nashe Slovo (Our Word)*—a Russian daily Social-Democratic newspaper published in Paris in 1915-16. At first published as the joint organ of the internationalist Mensheviks, several ex-Bolsheviks and the Trotsky group. After Martov, the leader of the internationalist Mensheviks had left the staff, the paper passed entirely into the hands of Trotsky and expressed his policy. It rejected Lenin’s slogan of “defeat of one’s own fatherland and transform the imperialist war into civil war” and opposed the organisational rupture with the social-chauvinists.

¹¹⁶ Boucher—colonel in the French army, author of a number of military books in which he advocated a war of aggression by France and Russia against Germany.

¹¹⁷ Guesde, Jules—leader of the Marxian wing of the French Socialist Party. Before the imperialist war fought against opportunism

and Millerandism, and against Jean Jaures, who supported the latter. On the outbreak of the war, however, he adopted an extreme pro-war position and advocated a *union sacrée* (a holy alliance) with the bourgeoisie. He became Minister without portfolio in the French government of "national defence."

¹¹⁸ Vandervelde, Emile—social-fascist, leader of the Belgian Labour Party, President of the International Socialist Bureau of the Second International. Was Minister of Justice in the bourgeois government during the war. In the spring of 1914 went to Russia to try to bring about unity between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. In September he addressed a letter to the Russian workers calling upon them to support the war and to cease the struggle against the tsarist government for the duration of the war. Attended the Inter-Allied Socialist Conference in London in 1915. In 1916 made a tour of the western front calling upon the soldiers to fight to a finish. In 1917 he went to Russia to persuade the Russian workers to continue the war. One of the signatories to the Versailles Treaty of 1919. In 1922 went to Russia as Counsel for Defence at the trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal of the Socialist-Revolutionaries who were charged with conspiring against the Soviet government. Minister for Foreign Affairs in the government of His Majesty the King of the Belgians. Now trying to gather together the parts of the broken Second International.

¹¹⁹ Liebknecht, Karl—one of the founders of the German Communist Party, son of the founder of the German Social-Democratic Party. Founder of the Youth International in Stuttgart 1907. At that time published a book *Militarism and Anti-Militarism*, for which he was prosecuted and sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment. As member of the Reichstag, voted against war credits and against the war (except on August 4, 1914, when, under pressure of "Party discipline" he voted together with the rest of the Social-Democratic fraction). In 1915, in conjunction with Rosa Luxemburg, organised the Spartacus League and began to issue illegal anti-war leaflets. Was conscripted into the army and therefore could not attend the Zimmerwald Conference, but sent a letter calling for a struggle against the war. On May 1, 1916, distributed anti-war leaflets in Berlin as a result of which an anti-war demonstration was held. Was arrested and sentenced to four and a half years' hard labour. After the October Revolution in Russia, while still in prison took the side of the Bolsheviks, called for the formation of soviets in Germany and led the uprising of the Berlin workers in January 1919. During the suppression of the rising, was murdered by German officers.

¹²⁰ *Pravda*-ists—the supporters of *Pravda* (Truth), the organ of the Bolsheviks.

¹²¹ Junius—the *nom de plume* of Rosa Luxemburg.

¹²² *Berner Tagwacht* (*The Berne Daily Watchman*)—the organ of the Zimmerwaldists, published in Berne, Switzerland.

¹²³ *Rech* (*Speech*)—one of the leading Russian capitalist daily newspapers, the organ of the Constitutional-Democratic Party.

¹²⁴ Albert Thomas—member of the Socialist Party of France, member of the Chamber of Deputies, Minister of Labour during the whole period of the imperialist war, pronounced chauvinist. While the Kerensky government was in power, went to Russia to try to persuade the Russian workers to continue the war. After the war until his death, was Chief of the Labour Office of the League of Nations.

¹²⁵ Russian Narodniki and Menshevik Ministers—after the February Revolution the Menshevik defencists and Right Socialist-Revolutionaries (Narodniki) joined the bourgeois Coalition Provisional Government and pursued the policy of the Russian bourgeoisie, i.e., war until victory is achieved. They were connected with Anglo-French capital.

¹²⁶ *Izvestia* (*News*)—the organ of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet. At that time (summer of 1917) it was in the hands of the opportunists, as was the Petrograd Soviet itself. At the First All-Russian Congress of Soviets held May and June 1917, the petty-bourgeois parties, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, obtained the majority. Lenin spoke at the Congress, exposed the policy of the opportunists and explained the revolutionary policy of the Bolshevik Party particularly on the questions of war, the fight for peace, the Soviet power and the nationalisation of the land.

¹²⁷ The Stockholm Conference—the International Socialist Conference that was proposed to be called at Stockholm, Sweden, by the opportunist Socialists in order to get common action among the Socialist Parties to "bring pressure" upon their respective governments in favour of peace. The German social-chauvinists and the Russian Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries were in favour of convening the Conference. The Bolsheviks, supported by the Spartacus League, rejected it. The French Socialists rejected it for patriotic reasons. The British Labour Party, in the belief that the British Government was inclined to respond to the German feelers for peace, supported it, but the government decided to pursue the war and opposed the Stockholm Congress. As a consequence Henderson was obliged to resign from the War Cabinet. Lenin explains the reason for the difference in the positions of the two groups of Socialists and also explains the position of the Bolsheviks.

¹²⁸ Borgbjerg—member of the Danish Social-Democratic Party, opportunist, pro-German. Arrived in Petrograd in April 1917 to urge the convening of the Stockholm Conference. (See note 127).

¹²⁹ *Rabochaya Gazeta* (*Workers' Gazette*)—organ of the Mensheviks published in Petrograd in 1917. Opportunist, pro-war paper.

¹³⁰ *Novaya Zhizn* (*New Life*)—the organ of the Internationalist Social-Democrats, a small group of intellectuals—Maxim Gorky, Bazarov and others—who oscillated between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks, at one moment opposing the Provisional Government and at another moment opposing the policy of the Bolsheviks. After the October Revolution a section of the group went over to the side of the Mensheviks, some dropped out of politics, while others, in 1919, merged with the Bolsheviks.

¹³¹ Scheidemann—one of the leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party, a member of the Reichstag; after the last general election prior to the imperialist war was elected Vice-President of the Reichstag. During the war was the leader of the extreme chauvinist wing of the Party. After the German Revolution in November 1919, was head of the German bourgeois government and by his orders many thousands of workers were shot down; the bitterest enemy of the revolution who, in conjunction with the German militarists, organised its suppression.

¹³² Stauning—leader of the Danish Social-Democratic Party, reformist; during the imperialist war entered the bourgeois cabinet of Denmark.

¹³³ Kerensky—barrister, made his reputation by acting as counsel for defence in political trials. Member of the Socialist Revolutionary Party, member of the Duma. Was a social-patriot from the very outbreak of the imperialist war. After the February Revolution was elected Vice-Chairman of the Petrograd Soviet. Notwithstanding the decision of the Soviet to the contrary, entered the bourgeois government, at first as Minister for Justice, then became Minister for War and finally Prime Minister and Commander in Chief of the forces. Tried to adopt a Bonapartist policy, suppressed the movement of the workers and soldiers of Petrograd in July 1917, tried to resume the offensive at the front in July 1917 and was mixed up in the Kornilov counter-revolutionary mutiny. (See next note.) On the outbreak of the October Revolution he tried to take refuge among the forces at the front, deserted the front and fled abroad where he still resides. Lenin summed him up in the words: "boastful little Kerensky."

¹³⁴ Kornilov—Russian general, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian forces in Galicia. After the suppression of the July movement in Petrograd was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the forces, restored the death penalty for soldiers at the front, nullified the right of the soldiers to elect their committees, imprisoned thousands of Bolshevik soldiers. With the approval of the Allied governments and of the Russian capitalists, tried, in August 1917, to establish his dictatorship

with the help of English tanks and officers. The attempt, however, failed. Fled to the region of the Don and became the leader of the counter-revolutionary Cossacks. Was defeated by the Red Guards in February 1919 and was killed in battle.

¹³⁵ Maklakov—A famous Moscow lawyer, one of the leaders of the Constitutional-Democratic Party, member of the Duma, appointed Russian Ambassador to France by the Provisional Government.

¹³⁶ Breshkovskaya—a member of the *Zemlya i Volya* (*Land and Freedom*) Party, was exiled to Siberia for her revolutionary activities, one of the founders of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party and member of its Central Committee, belonged to the extreme Right, extreme chauvinist and opportunist. A bitter enemy of the Soviet government. Emigrated to the United States where she carried on a campaign of lies and slander against the proletarian revolution.

¹³⁷ This loan was floated by Anglo-French capital for the tsar in 1906. The loan saved the tsarist throne at the time, for it enabled the tsarist government to recuperate from the blow it received from the 1905 Revolution and to crush the revolutionary movement. This was admitted in his memoirs by Count Witte, then Prime Minister, who contracted the loan.

¹³⁸ Milyukov—leader of the Constitutional-Democratic Party, professor of Russian history, imperialist and annexationist. Minister for Foreign Affairs in the first Provisional Government, declared that "Russia would remain loyal to the treaties with the Allies," i.e., the secret treaties which provided for the annexation of various foreign territories by the Allies in the event of their being victorious in the war. Was compelled to resign owing to the outburst of indignation of the masses of the Russian people who wanted peace without annexations. Supporter of Kornilov, inspirer of counter-revolution and intervention against the Soviet Union. Now an emigré.

¹³⁹ Levi, Paul—member of the Spartacus League, supporter of the Left wing of the Zimmerwald Congress, later member of the C.C. of the Communist Party of Germany and member of the Presidium of the Second Congress of the Communist International. Was expelled from the Comintern in 1921 and returned to the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, acted as a pseudo "Left winger," strongly opposed the Communist Party. Died 1929.

¹⁴⁰ Krassin, V.—joined the Russian revolutionary movement in 1891, supported the *Iskra* group and later the Bolsheviks; on several occasions was member of the Central Committee of the Party, on which he was one of the leading advocates of conciliation with the Mensheviks. Was Soviet Trade Representative in England and later Commissar for Foreign Trade.

¹⁴¹ Lapinsky—Polish Communist. Before the war was a member of the Polish Socialist Party (Left wing), economist, expert on world

economics. Member of the Communist Academy in Moscow, author of a number of works including researches into the economics of Great Britain.

¹¹² Kamenev—in 1920 was commissioned by the Soviet government to go to England to open negotiations with the British government. The first meeting between Kamenev, Krassin and Lloyd George took place on August 4, 1920, when the Red Army was at the height of its successes in the war against Poland. Lloyd George then demanded that the Red Army stop its advance and threatened to send the British fleet to Petrograd if it did not. In response to this threat the British workers formed Councils of Action all over England and threatened to call a general strike. After the retreat of the Red Army from Warsaw Lloyd George broke off negotiations, but they were resumed in November 1920 and ended in the signing of a trade agreement. Kamenev was later to prove one of the most despicable figures in the Trotskyist counter-revolutionary bloc, and was ultimately condemned to death by the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. in 1937. Already in 1917 Lenin had demanded his expulsion from the Bolshevik Party, together with that of Zinoviev, for having betrayed the date of the October Revolution; and characterized him as a "deserter and strike-breaker." In 1927 he was formally expelled for going over to the Trotskyist opposition, but was re-admitted and again expelled before being finally brought to book in 1937.

¹⁴³ Wrangel—White-guard general, one of the leaders of the counter-revolutionary forces in the Crimea. After Denikin (see note 146) had been defeated by the Red Army, tried, with the aid of Anglo-French money to resume the counter-revolutionary attack on the Soviet Union. He was utterly defeated and the whole of the South of Russia was completely cleared of counter-revolutionary forces. After his defeat fled abroad.

¹⁴⁴ Yudenich—Commander-in-Chief of the Caucasian Front during the imperialist war. Was notorious for his atrocities against the Turkish population. In 1919 commanded the forces of the so-called "North-western Government" organised in Esthonia by the British. Twice tried to break through to Petrograd. The second attempt, October 12-25, 1919, coincided with the capture of Orel by Denikin. By a sudden attack he managed to reach Pulkova, a few miles from Petrograd. The whole of the working class population of Petrograd rallied to the defence of the city and after a severe battle Yudenich was utterly defeated. After his defeat, Yudenich went to live abroad. On February 2, 1920, the Esthonian government concluded a peace treaty with the Soviet government.

¹⁴⁵ Kolchak—Admiral of the Black Sea Fleet during the imperialist war. At the end of 1917 arrived in Siberia and, supported by the British government and, relying on the forces of the Russian White

officers and the bourgeoisie, dispersed the Siberian Constituent Assembly and proclaimed himself "supreme ruler of Russia," and was recognised as such by the governments of the Allied countries. With the assistance of the latter, reorganised the White-guard forces and took the offensive against the Red Army, but was defeated by the workers and peasants operating in the rear of the Kolchak army, in conjunction with the Red Army operating on its front. At the end of December 1919, the workers of Irkutsk, Kolchak's head-quarters, rose in rebellion simultaneously with an attack on the town by Red Partisans. The town was captured by the Red forces and Kolchak taken prisoner. In February 1920 he was shot by order of the Revolutionary Tribunal.

¹⁴⁶ Denikin—tsarist general, in 1918-19, commanded the so-called "Volunteer Army" in the South of Russia. In the autumn of 1919 began his march on Moscow, broke through the Red front and captured Kursk and Orel and advanced on Tula. Meanwhile guerilla fighting was carried on in Denikin's rear by Red Partisans and work was being carried on in secret by the Communist Party. In October 1919 the Red Army passed to the offensive and with extraordinary rapidity drove back the Denikin forces and utterly routed them in March 1920. Part of the forces surrendered, part made their way into the Crimea. Denikin was forced to flee abroad.

¹⁴⁷ The Genoa Conference, April-May 1922—was convened by the Supreme Council of the League of Nations ostensibly for the purpose of devising measures for the economic restoration of Central Europe, but actually for the purpose of securing co-ordinated action between the capitalist powers in relation to Soviet Russia. It was at this conference that the representatives of Soviet Russia and defeated Germany were to meet the victorious countries for the first time since the war. Previous to that the Soviet government had concluded the Rapallo Agreement with Germany and this greatly strengthened the position of the two countries at the Genoa Conference. The Rapallo Agreement served as the basis for the further development of relations between Germany and the U.S.S.R.

¹⁴⁸ The Cannes Conference of the Supreme Council of the League of Nations at which it was decided to convene the Genoa Conference. (See note above.)

¹⁴⁹ The Kronstadt Mutiny—the counter-revolutionary mutiny among the sailors of the Kronstadt Fortress of the Baltic Fleet, organised by the agents of the Entente and White-guard officers under the slogan of "Soviets without Communists." This slogan indicated that neither the Cadets (bourgeois liberals), the Socialist-Revolutionaries nor the Mensheviks dared openly to demand the overthrow of the Soviets. Soviets without Communists, however, would be tantamount to the overthrow of the Soviets, as the latter would have

been abolished as soon as they came under the control of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties, as was proved by events in Germany. As soon as the mutiny broke out, Chernov, one of the leaders of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party arrived in Finland in order to direct this counter-revolutionary movement. Milyukov, the leader of the Cadet Party, wrote articles in his newspaper giving leads to the movement. The mutiny was suppressed by units of the Red Army and the workers of Petrograd.

¹⁵⁰ The Czech National Council—a Czech bourgeois, nationalist organisation formed with the financial assistance of the Entente during the imperialist war for the purpose of organising Czech regiments recruited from Czech prisoners of war in Russia (the Czechs were then Austrian subjects). In 1918, these Czech regiments in Siberia, instigated by the Czech National Council under orders from the Entente, rose in rebellion against the Soviet government, seized the railway on which they were concentrated, and thus served as the vanguard of the Kolchak counter-revolutionary forces. The Council served as the Czech Provisional Government after the separation of Czechoslovakia from Austria. When the Czechoslovak State was formed, the chairman of the Council, Masaryk, became President, and other members of the Council became members of the government.

¹⁵¹ General Alexeyev—Chief of the General Staff of the tsarist armies. Even after the abdication of the tsar gave orders for the arrest of agitators in the army. After the Kornilov mutiny (see note 134), was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the forces of the Provisional Government. In 1919 began to organise the White-guard "Volunteer Army" in the Don Region.

¹⁵² The Moscow uprising of the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries—July 5, 1918—organised by the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries who in October 1917 had broken away from the main body of the Party and supported the Bolsheviks and were even represented in the Soviet government. During the negotiations for the Brest-Litovsk peace (see note 176) they were opposed to the conclusion of peace with the Germans and demanded the waging of a "revolutionary war." Almost simultaneously with the Czechoslovak mutiny (see note 150) the "Left" S.R.'s assassinated the German Ambassador in Moscow, rose in rebellion against the Soviet government and tried to seize power, thus completely going over to the counter-revolution. The rebellion was suppressed within a couple of days.

¹⁵³ The Armenian Revolutionary Federation—known as the Droshak or Dashnakputoon, formed in 1892, operated illegally in Turkish and Russian Armenia from 1903 onwards. Its aim was to establish a federal, democratic, Trans-Caucasian state and "Great Armenia," the gradual socialisation of the land, eight-hour day for the workers, etc. Approximated to the Russian Socialist-Revolu-

tionaries and employed the tactics of terrorism. After the October Revolution became counter-revolutionary, recognised the intervention of the British forces in Armenia and Baku, and fought against the Soviet government.

¹⁵⁴ Shaumyan, Stepan—Bolshevik of long standing, prominent Party worker, was elected to the Central Committee at the Sixth Congress of the Bolshevik Party, an able leader of the masses. On a number of occasions under the tsar, was imprisoned and exiled. After the October Revolution was head of the Trans-Caucasian Soviet government and representative in the Caucasus of the Central Soviet government. After the seizure of Baku by the British forces in 1918, was taken prisoner together with twenty-five other Bolshevik leaders, taken to Turkestan and there secretly shot near Krasnovodsk on September 20, 1918.

¹⁵⁵ In 1918-19, a counter-revolutionary uprising, organised by the British agents broke out in Central Asia. Under the protection of the British forces, the Socialist-Revolutionaries set up a "government" which was a tool in the hands of the British imperialists.

¹⁵⁶ The negotiations concerning the Crimea commenced on April 11, 1920. The British government demanded an amnesty for Wrangel. The Soviet government agreed to this on the condition that the Hungarian Communists arrested in Hungary and Austria be released and allowed to go to Soviet Russia. For a long time the British government did not reply and meanwhile British cruisers bombarded the Black Sea coast. When Wrangel was defeated, the British government sent a note proposing an armistice. This was a subterfuge to enable Wrangel to obtain fresh military supplies from France and resume the offensive against the Soviet forces.

¹⁵⁷ Litvinov, Maxim—a Bolshevik of long standing, was the first Soviet Ambassador in England. At one time People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.; has represented the U.S.S.R. on numerous international conferences.

¹⁵⁸ Gotz—one of the leaders of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, defencist during the imperialist war, advocated compromise with the bourgeoisie after the February Revolution, organised the suppression of the Petrograd workers' demonstration of July 1917. After the October Revolution became an active opponent of the Soviet government, joined the Czech and French interventionists, organised the assassination of prominent representatives of the Soviet government—Volodarsky, Uritsky—and the attempt on the life of Lenin. Was arrested in 1922 and convicted by the Revolutionary Tribunal in the trial of the Socialist-Revolutionaries in that year.

¹⁵⁹ Dan (Gurwitz)—member of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, member of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party from the time of its formation.

joined the Mensheviks after the split at the Second Congress and became one of their leaders. Was a liquidator during the period of reaction, a defencist during the imperialist war, and opportunist. Was a member of the Central Executive Council of the Soviets after the February Revolution and pursued the policy of compromise and coalition with the bourgeoisie. Opposed the Soviet government after the October Revolution and advocated foreign intervention for the purpose of overthrowing it. One of the experts of the Second International in their slanderous attacks against the Soviet Union.

¹⁶⁰ The question of control and power—the General Strike of 1926 excellently serves to illustrate the significance of what Lenin here says in 1917.

¹⁶¹ The Two-and-a-Half International—was formed in Vienna in 1921 by the centrist and “Left” socialist parties including the British Independent Labour Party, which, under pressure of the masses left the Second International but which refused to accept the twenty-one conditions of affiliation laid down by the Communist International. The Two-and-a-Half International was formed by the Social-Democratic leaders to keep the masses who were dissatisfied with the Second International to the position of centrism and unity, and to prevent them from joining the Communist International. With the exception of the Argentine centrists, the Two-and-a-Half International consisted entirely of representatives of European Social-Democracy. It was extremely hostile to the Communist International and to Soviet Russia. It regarded the Soviet system as “a dangerous experiment,” but “theoretically admitted the possibility that the proletariat may be compelled to capture political power by means of rebellion.” It publicly protested against alleged “Bolshevik terror.” It made an attempt to “unite the dispersed forces of the labour movement” as a result of which a conference of the Three Internationals took place in Vienna on April 19, 1922 at which, on all the main questions, the Two-and-a-Half International was in agreement with the Second International. In May 1923 it merged with the Second International.

¹⁶² The experience of Hungary and Germany—so called “democratic governments” were established in Hungary after the suppression of the Soviet Government and in Germany after the unsuccessful struggle of the German workers to establish a Soviet government in the beginning of 1919. These governments of capitalist restoration and reaction came into power under the slogans of “democracy” uniting capitalists, petty bourgeoisie and Social-Democrats in a fight “against the dictatorship of a single class” (*i.e.*, the proletariat). In Hungary the “democracy” was short lived and soon gave way to the terrorist dictatorship of Admiral Horthy, which was established with the financial and other assistance of the Allies. In

Germany, after several unsuccessful attempts of the monarchists and counter-revolutionaries to establish their power, the “democracy” of the Social-Democrats, step by step, led to the establishment of the brutal fascist dictatorship of Hitler.

¹⁶³ In 1920 the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany and the Socialist Party of France left the Second International and made application to join the Communist International. Their delegates were permitted to attend the Second Congress with consultative votes, *i.e.*, with the right to speak but not vote. The Congress drew up the twenty-one conditions of affiliation. These conditions were adopted by majorities at the Congress of the Independent Social-Democratic Party in Halle and at the Congress of the Socialist Party of France in Tours. The minorities in the respective parties split off from the majorities and formed separate parties which affiliated to the Two-and-a-Half International (see note 161) and subsequently affiliated to the Second International.

¹⁶⁴ Having failed in their attempt to tear Georgia away from the rest of Soviet Russia and convert it into their colony, the international bourgeoisie and international Social-Democracy raised an outcry for the independence of Georgia and demanded the withdrawal of the Soviet troops. At the First Congress of Soviets in Georgia, however, a decree was passed ordering the formation of a Georgian Red Army and at the same time a resolution was passed which said: “We urgently request the government of our fraternal Russian republic not to withdraw the Red troops from our frontiers. Only with the presence in our country of a powerful Red Army shall we be able to defend the workers’ and peasants’ dictatorship in Georgia from the attacks of European imperialism.”

¹⁶⁵ The first British Labour Delegation to visit Soviet Russia in May 1920 consisting of Ethel Snowden, Margaret Bondfield, Tom Shaw, Bob Williams, R. Wallhead, Bertrand Russell, Clifford Allen, Noel Buxton and Hayden Guest.

¹⁶⁶ Chicherin—Russian Social-Democrat. For many years lived in exile in Germany, Switzerland and England. During the war was interned by the British government owing to his activities in opposition to the war. Was released on the insistence of the Soviet government in 1917, returned to Russia and joined the Communist Party. Was appointed People’s Commissar for Foreign Affairs in 1918, after the signing of the Brest-Litovsk peace with Germany, and served in this capacity until 1928 when he was obliged to retire owing to ill-health.

¹⁶⁷ Pilsudski—one of the founders and leaders of the Right-wing of the Polish Socialist Party (P.P.S., see note 92). During the imperialist war was a pro-German and led the Polish Legionaries against Russia. After the establishment of the bourgeois republic in Poland

became Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of Poland, maintained close contacts with the French General Staff and entered into their plans for the invasion of the U.S.S.R. Inspired the Soviet-Polish war of 1920. In 1926 headed a fascist coup in Poland and became the dictator of the country, pursuing a policy of ruthless suppression of the revolutionary working class and peasant movements in Poland and instigator of war against the U.S.S.R.

¹⁶⁸ Monatte—French Socialist, adopted the internationalist position during the imperialist war and later joined the Communist Party of France when it was formed. Tried to organise a Right wing in the Communist Party, was expelled by the Communist International.

¹⁶⁹ Loriot—during the imperialist war was a member of the Left wing of the Zimmerwald and Kienthal Conferences (see note 183). Later joined the Communist Party of France. Was member of the Presidium at the Third Congress of the Communist International; was arrested by the French authorities in 1920 and tried for high treason, but was acquitted. Subsequently became a renegade from communism.

¹⁷⁰ Socialist Party of America—belonged to the Right reformist wing of the Second International. Except for the group led by Morris Hillquit and Victor Berger, did not actively support the imperialist war. In 1915 had over 100,000 members. In 1905 its Left wing split off, a section joined the syndicalists and formed the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.—see note 175) while the other section joined the Socialist Labour Party, which, while being more radical than the Socialist Party, did not exercise much influence among the masses. In 1917 a section of the Socialist Party, including a group of Russian socialist exiles, published their own organ *The Internationalist*. In 1919 another split occurred in the Party and the Left wing, after a number of re-groupings and splits, formed the United Communist Party of America.

¹⁷¹ The Second Congress of the Communist International was held from July 21 to August 6, 1920. The opening session was held in Petrograd (now Leningrad) while the rest of the proceedings were continued in Moscow. Thirty-nine countries were represented at the Congress by 169 delegates with decisive votes and 49 delegates with consultative votes, i.e., the right to speak but not to vote. This Congress discussed and decided the fundamental principles of the Communist International. The agenda consisted of the following items: (1) The role of the Communist Party before and after the conquest of power; (2) Trade Unions and Factory Councils; (3) Parliamentarism; (4) National and Colonial Question; (5) Agrarian Question; (6) Attitude to be taken towards the Centrists and the conditions of affiliation to the Communist International; (7) Constitution and Rules of the Communist International; (8) Organisa-

tional Questions; (9) The Communist Youth Movement; (10) Election of the Executive Committee. The Congress also drew up and adopted the twenty-one conditions of affiliation to the Comintern.

¹⁷² The Communist Labour Party of Germany—was formed by the so-called “Left” wing of the Communist Party of Germany after a split had taken place in the latter at the Heidelberg Congress in October 1919. The group consisted largely of anarcho-syndicalist elements and pursued an anarcho-syndicalist line. The Communist Labour Party underestimated the rule of the Party, denied the necessity of working in the trade unions and formed its own sectarian German General Workers’ Union on the lines of the I.W.W., refused to accept the twenty-one conditions of affiliation to the Communist International, rejected the demand of the Third Congress of the Comintern to amalgamate with the Communist Party of Germany and finally left the Comintern and remained a small sectarian group without political influence.

¹⁷³ *Kommunismus*—a “Left-Communist” magazine published by the East-European Bureau of the Comintern in Vienna, concerning which Lenin wrote: “. . . by your defence of anti-parliamentarism you are more likely to kill this absurdity than I am by my criticism of it.” (Cf. *Communist International*, No. 11, June 14, 1920.)

¹⁷⁴ The Amsterdam Secretariat of the Comintern—dissolved by order of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, was in the hands of Communists who suffered from the “infantile disorder of ‘Leftism’” and who utilised the Bureau for their own factional purposes. It issued documents and directives opposing the affiliation of the Communist Party to the Labour Party and participation in parliamentary elections, thus running counter to the policy of the Executive Committee of the Comintern.

¹⁷⁵ Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.)—a labour organisation mainly of a syndicalist type formed in 1905 in the United States, concentrated mainly in the western states. Its organisation was a reaction against the craft and opportunist character of the American Federation of Labour and consisted largely of the semi-skilled and unskilled workers, organised according to industry. It had a very fluctuating membership ranging from half a million to ten thousand at various times. It rejected the political and parliamentary struggle and denied the role of the Party. Its main weapon was the mass strike. It continued the strike struggle during the imperialist war, but as a non-political organisation did not have any definite position on the war. After the war the significance and role of the I.W.W. greatly declined and it finally degenerated into a scab and counter-revolutionary organisation.

¹⁷⁶ The Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty—signed between the Soviet

government and Germany in March 1919, imposing extremely harsh terms upon Soviet Russia. The signing of the treaty gave rise to considerable difference of opinion in the Communist Party of Russia. The so-called "Left" Communists, led by Bukharin, demanded the rejection of the terms and the waging of a "revolutionary war," while Trotsky issued the slogan "neither peace nor war." Lenin and the majority of the Party insisted on the necessity for accepting the terms, harsh as they were, on the following grounds: (1) that the Russian army refused to fight any longer; (2) that this was the only way to extricate Russia from the war, the prolongation of which was only to the advantage of the Entente powers; (3) that the rising tide of revolution in Germany would sweep away the Brest-Litovsk Treaty; (4) that the Russian revolution needed a respite from war; (5) the continuation of the war would mean the overthrow of the Soviet government in Russia before the revolution broke out in Germany. Subsequent events completely confirmed the correctness of the tactics of the Bolsheviks. The revolution in Germany in November 1918 swept away the Brest-Litovsk Treaty and meanwhile Soviet Russia had emerged from the war and preserved the Soviet government.

¹⁷⁷ Noske—"the bloodhound" as the German workers call him. German Social-Democrat, extreme opportunist, extreme jingo during the imperialist war. Was appointed Minister for War in the German Cabinet in 1919. In 1920 shot down the workers and ruthlessly suppressed the proletarian revolution in Germany.

¹⁷⁸ The mistakes of the Russian "Left" Bolsheviks in 1908-18—in 1908, the advocates of "uncurtailed 'Left' Bolshevism" refused to admit the defeat of the Revolution of 1905 and the changed conditions of the working class struggle. They insisted on maintaining the slogan of armed uprising and demanded the boycott of the State Duma, thus ignoring the parliamentary illusions that were still prevalent among the masses. In 1918 the "Left" Bolsheviks opposed the signing of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. (See note 176.)

¹⁷⁹ Kappists—Prussian militarists headed by General Kapp who organised a counter-revolutionary monarchist *coup* in Berlin in 1921. This attempt at counter-revolution was suppressed by the united front of the Berlin proletariat.

¹⁸⁰ Gompers, Samuel—for forty years, until his death in 1925, the reactionary president of the American Federation of Labour, a bitter enemy of socialism and of working class political action.

¹⁸¹ Serrati—organiser and leader of the Maximalist, or Left wing of the Socialist Party of Italy. In 1915 was appointed editor of the Party organ *Avanti*; was a delegate to the Zimmerwald Conference; joined the Communist International. After the Third Congress of the Communist International he refused to carry out, at the Congress of

the Socialist Party of Italy, the demands of the Executive Committee of the Comintern to break off all relations with the opportunists, as a consequence of which he was expelled from the Party. A split occurred in the Party over this question and the majority, comprising the Left wing, transformed itself into the Communist Party of Italy. In 1924 Serrati joined the Communist Party. Died in 1926.

¹⁸² Turati—Italian Socialist, lawyer and author, one of the founders of the Socialist Party of Italy, socialist member of the Italian Chamber of Deputies. In 1900 began to advocate the co-operation of classes. After Italy entered the imperialist war, advocated a democratic peace on the lines of President Wilson's proposals. From 1919 onwards was the leader of the Italian reformists and opponent of the Communist International. Died 1932.

¹⁸³ Zimmerwald Conference—held September 9-12, 1915, in Zimmerwald, Switzerland, convened on the initiative of the Socialist Party of Italy to discuss the attitude of the Socialist Parties towards the imperialist war. The conference was attended by representatives of the anti-war sections of the Socialist Parties of Germany, France, Italy, Russia, Poland, the Balkan countries, Sweden, Norway, Holland and Switzerland. The English anti-war socialist groups were not represented owing to the failure to obtain passports. While united in opposition to the imperialist war the majority confined themselves to pacifist slogans and refused to make a definite rupture with the chauvinist sections of the socialist parties. The Left Wing, led by Lenin, demanded clear formulations calling for a determined struggle for the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war and a struggle for the social revolution. The conference issued a manifesto to the workers of the world exposing the imperialist character of the war and calling for a struggle against it. In April, 1916, the International Commission set up by the Zimmerwald Conference convened a second international conference of anti-war groups at Kienthal, Switzerland at which the cleavage between the Left and the Centre became more marked and the influence of the Left greatly increased.

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