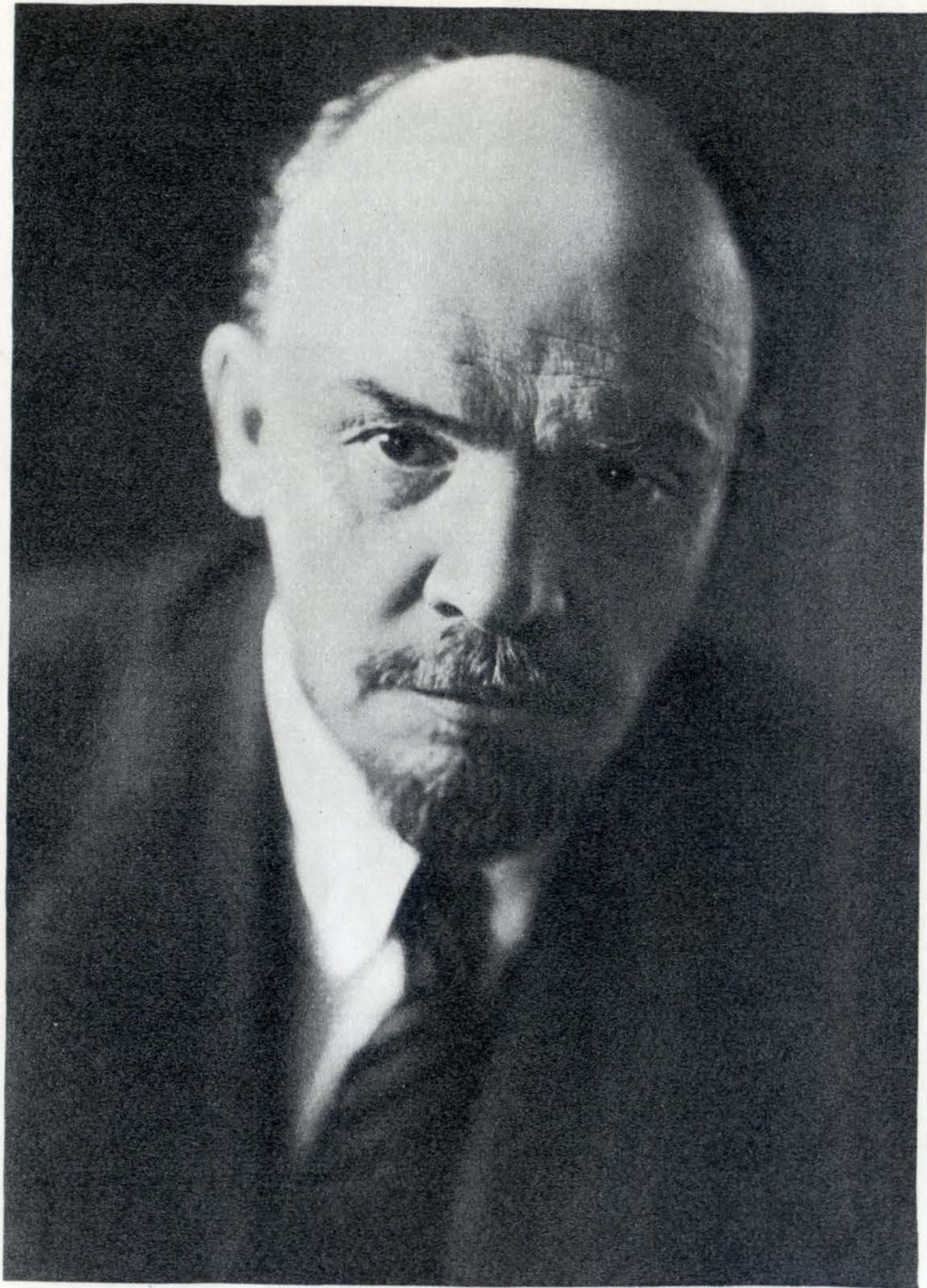


Lenin

ON THE PARIS COMMUNE





V. I. Lenin

Workers of All Countries, Unite!

V. I. Lenin

On the Paris Commune



PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
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В. И. Ленин О ПАРИЖСКОЙ КОММУНЕ

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OUTLINE FOR A REPORT ON THE PARIS COMMUNE¹

In Memory of the Paris Commune

Celebration of the greatest working-class uprising of
the 19th century.

Historical outline.

1. *France under Napoleon III.*

Imperialism. (S. 45)—retribution for June 1848.²

Napoleon III.

—Expropriation of France by a
gang of brigands.

α. Bonapartism { the workers not yet capable }
 { the bourgeoisie no longer³ }

β. Rapid industrial development. Plutocratic orgies.
Flourishing of speculation. Corruption.

γ. —*Workers' movement*—

I.A.A.⁴ 1862 London exposition⁵

—1864 foundation

{ Proudhonism⁶ }

{ Blanquism⁷ } S. 10

2. *Dynastic war.* Rescue of a band of adventurers⁸—*chau-*
vinism.

Left bank of the Rhine. On to Berlin (especially
after 1866⁹)

{ July 19, 1870 war declared.

{ German pronouncements (Wilhelm I): *Verteidigungs-*
*krieg.** (S. 20 in a speech from the throne: war
against Napoleon III, *not* against the French
people; idem Aug. 11, 1870 in a manifesto to the
French on crossing the border.)

* Defensive war.—*Ed.*

3. *Workers' protests.*

First Address of the General Council of the International

—French manifesto of July 12, 1870 (S. 16) (and provincial resolutions of July 22, 1870) (S. 16-17) Manifesto of Paris members of the International of July 12.

—German protest (meeting at *Chemnitz*) (S. 18) (meeting at Brunswick on July 16, 1870) (S. 18)—Berlin section of the International.

—Address of the *General Council* of the International 1) *July 23, 1870* against the war.

4. *Outcome of war.*

Sedan Sept. 2, 1870. Napoleon III prisoner of war.
Débâcle.¹⁰

Collapse of corrupt regime.

Proclamation of the republic Sept. 4, 1870 by workers in Paris.

Power in the hands of *rascals*, Louis Philippe's Minister of Police *Thiers*, General *Trochu*. *Jules Favre*, *Jules Ferry*, *Ernest Picard*.

(power—to the delegates of Paris in the legislative corps.)

...*"Government of national defence"*...

National defence=arming of the workers=revolution. Government of betrayal of the people. Defence ... *against the Paris workers.*

5. *Advice of the International.*

Second Address of the General Council (Sept. 9, 1870) (S. 25)

Transformation of the defensive war into an offensive one.

Central Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party protested against annexation of Alsace-Lorraine.¹¹ (Arrest of Bracke and others.)

Not to allow oneself to be provoked to "desperate folly".

Not to be deluded by national memories of 1792. "*Organise your own class* calmly and resolutely", use p. liberty.¹²

6. *Siege of Paris.* Comedy of *Trochu* (never!) and *Jules Favre* (not an inch of soil!).¹³

Surrender of Paris. Jan. 28, 1871.

7. *National Assembly at Bordeaux.*

—Chamber of Junkers. *Reactionaries.*

—Comedy of peace with Paris. *Urge to disarm Paris* ("disarmament of the revolution" Sept. 4, 1870). Alliance with the German army against Paris.

The pretence that the guns of the National Guard belong to the state! A lie! S. 36-37.

Comedy of defence: Guïod writing to Susane about one of the latter's protégés: let him go to Mont Valérien, he said, where the guns are being allegedly fired off.¹⁴

Under the terms of the surrender (Jan. 28, 1871) (S. 34), the National Assembly must be convened *within 8 days*(!).

Thiers' agitation for a *reactionary assembly*, Legitimists, etc. (450 monarchists out of 750 members). Conspiracy against Paris: "*Thiers' measures*" (S. 35).

1) anti-republican demonstration by the National Assembly

2) ambiguity of Thiers' expressions

3) threat to Paris (décapiter décapitaliser*)

4) ban on republican newspapers

5) death sentence for Blanqui¹⁵

6) appointment of *Vinoy* governor of Paris, *Valentin*, Police Prefect, *d'Aurelle de Paladines*, commander of the National Guard.

8. *Attempt to take away the guns. March 18, 1871.*

(from the National Guard) { *Vinoy.* }
{ *Failure* }

Commune.

Manifesto of **March 18**: S. 43.

March 18, 1871. *Central Committee* of the National Guard.

March 26, 1871. Commune.

* Decapitate and decapitalise.—*Ed.*

March 18. Government's flight to Versailles.

(Clericals, Bonapartists, gen-
darmes.)

It was not the Commune but the indignant soldiers who shot Lecomte and Clément Thomas, the Bonapartist officers.

Paris waging war against Versailles from early April. Begging Bismarck for troops (prisoners of war) (S. 57-58).

9. *The Commune's deeds.*

Its *minuses*:—*lack of class-consciousness* (Proudhonists, Blanquists)

—*lack of organisation*

(failure to take
the bank and
attack Ver-
sailles)

—*infatuation with nationalistic and revolutionary talk.*

10. *Its pluses:*

A) *Political reforms*

α. separation of church from state (Apr. 2, 1871).

Expropriation of church property. Abolition of all state payments to the church.

Free public education (S. 46)

β. abolition of standing army (March 30, 1871) (S. 46)

Working-class government γ. abolition of bureaucracy. *Government of the workers* (S. 49). *Regierungsfähig.**

(1) All officials elective and removable (S. 46).
Apr. 1, 1871

(2) Small salary, to be not over 6,000 francs (S. 46)

* Capable of governing.—*Ed.*

managed to do with a quarter of the previous number of officials: Lissagaray, S.

δ. Equal rights for aliens (March 30, 1871), a German—Minister of the Commune¹⁶ (S. 53).
Participation of Poles (Dąbrowski, Wróblewski).

The banner of the Commune is the banner of a world republic

e. Self-government of communes.

11. B) *Economic reforms.*

Transformation of the Paris of idlers and pleasure-seekers into a working-class Paris (S. 55-56).

- Bakers' night work banned (Apr. 20) (S. 53).
- Fines banned (S. 53).
- The Commune won over a mass of Paris petty bourgeois *ruined* (elaborate) by Napoleon III (debts deferred) (S. 51). *The Commune addresses the peasants* (S. 51).
- Transfer of abandoned factories to workers' associations Apr. 16 (S. 54): statistical *census* of factories.

12. *Last fight.*

—Heroism of the Federals (Election of mayors on Apr. 30 against the National Assembly. Thiers gives in to Bismarck: peace treaty signed at Frankfort on May 10. Approved by the National Assembly on May 21.)

—Week of bloodshed May 21-28, 1871 (S. 62).

Rifles not enough
machine-guns.

—Balance 35,000=20,000 killed
15,000 transported, etc.

(Courts busy
for several years.)

Chorus of slander (S. 64-66).

13. *Results and lessons.* Revenge by the bourgeoisie. *Even the "national war" turned out to be a political fraud* (S. 67).
Country betrayed (alliance with the Germans: S. 66).
Instability of bourgeois democracy.
Dictatorship of the proletariat.
Bismarck 1871. Confer 1904.

Written before March 9 (22) 1904

First published in 1934
in *Lenin Miscellany XXVI*

Collected Works, Vol. 41,
pp. 113-18

PLAN OF A LECTURE ON THE COMMUNE¹⁷

1. Historical outline of the Commune.
France under Napoleon III. Foundations of imperialism: the bourgeoisie no longer, the proletariat not yet....¹⁸
Adventurism of Napoleon III. Need for pomp, for wars.
2. Growth of proletariat after June 1848. Internationale Arbeiterassoziation,* 1864. Its persecution by Napoleon III.
Protest of the French workers against war (July 12, Paris Section of the International, S. 16) and of the German workers (Brunswick workers' meeting, July 16, Chemnitz, Berlin Section of International, S. 18).¹⁹
3. Sedan: September 2, 1870,²⁰ and proclamation of republic on *September 4, 1870*. Artful liberals seize power.
Liberal lawyers and double-faced monarchists: *Thiers*.
4. Government of national defence=government of national betrayal. Trochu: "plan" for defending Paris. Comedy of defence. Heroism of the Paris workers. *Capitulation* on January 28, 1871.
5. Bismarck imposes conditions for convocation of the National Assembly *in eight days* (S. 34) to decide question of war and peace. Thiers' intrigues with the monarchists.
Chamber of Junkers (ruraux). *National Assembly at Bordeaux*: 630 members=30 Bonapartists+200 republicans (100 moderates and 100 radicals)+400 monarchists (200 Orleanists+200 Legitimists²¹).
Thiers' talk with Falloux.
6. Paris provoked: appointment of monarchist ambassadors; "30 sou" pay cut for soldiers of the National Guard;

* International Working Men's Association.—*Ed.*

in Paris Prefect of the Police Valentin, Commander of the National Guard d'Aurelle de Paladines, and others (Trepov and Vasilchikov!²²); National Assembly moved to Versailles; suppression of republican newspapers and so on. Making the poor pay for the war. (S. 35.) Armed Paris workers and—a monarchist assembly. Conflict inevitable.

7. Marx's warning*: second address of General Council of the International, September 9, 1870: "They must not allow themselves to be swayed by the national memories of 1792"; to proceed with "the organisation of their own class"; not to set themselves the aim of overthrowing the government ("a desperate folly"): S. 25. Eugène Dupont, Secretary of the International (General Council) for France, wrote the same on September 7, 1870 (Weill, 134).

8. Last act of provocation. Seizure of the guns from the National Guard, March 18, 1871. Thiers' fraudulent pretexts. Attempt fails. Central Committee of National Guard proclaims the Commune. *Civil war begun* between Paris Commune and Versailles Government.

9. Trends in the Commune: (a) *Blanquists*. Back in November 1880 Blanqui in *Ni Dieu ni maître*** condemns the theory of the class struggle and the separation of the interests of the proletariat from those of the nation. (Weill, 229) (draws no line between the workers and the revolutionary bourgeoisie). (b) *Proudhonists* (Mutualists) "organisation of barter and credit".

Revolutionary instinct of the working class asserts itself *despite* fallacious theories.

10. Political measures of the Commune:

- (1) Abolition of the standing army.
- (2) Abolition of the bureaucracy (a) Electivity of all officials; (b) Salary not >6,000 fr.
- (3) Separation of Church from State Minimum
- (4) Introduction of free tuition Programme

* Contra *Blanqui*, who founded *Patrie en danger* (The Country in Danger.—Ed.) in 1870 (N.B.).

** *Neither God nor Master*.—Ed.

Commune and peasants. In three months it would all be different! (S. 49-50.)*

Commune and International. Frankel, *the Poles* (banner of world republic).

11. Economic measures of the Commune.

- (1) Ban on night work for bakers.
- (2) Ban on fines.
- (3) Registration of abandoned factories, their transfer to workers' associations with compensation on basis of decision by arbitration committees (S. 54).

N.B. Did not take over the bank. Eight-hour day did not go through. Weill, 142.

- (4) Halt to foreclosures of mortgages. Deferment of payments (of rent).

12. Crash. Deficiencies of organisation. Defensive attitude. Thiers-Bismarck deal {role of Bismarck=hired assassin}. *Bloody week, May 21-28, 1871.*

Its horrors, exile, etc. Slanders (S. 65-66).

Women and children....

P. 487: 20,000 killed in streets, 3,000 died in prisons, etc. Military tribunals: until January 1, 1875—13,700 persons sentenced (80 women, 60 children), exile, prison.

13. Lessons: Bourgeoisie will *stop at nothing*. Today liberals, radicals, republicans, tomorrow betrayal, shootings.

Independent organisation of the proletariat—class struggle—civil war.

In the present movement we all stand on the shoulders of the Commune.

Written in February-March 1905

First published in 1931
in *Lenin Miscellany XVI*

Collected Works,
Vol. 8, pp. 206-08

* Baring of "secrets": tricks of Trochu, "goings on in the monasteries (S. 54). *Very little has yet been done!*

CONCLUDING PARAGRAPH TO THE ARTICLE
"THE PARIS COMMUNE AND THE TASKS
OF THE DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP"²³

This article teaches us, first and foremost, that for representatives of the socialist proletariat to take part in a revolutionary government together with the petty bourgeoisie is fully permissible in principle, and, in certain conditions, even obligatory. It shows us further that the real task the Commune had to perform was primarily the achievement of the democratic and not the socialist dictatorship, the implementation of our "minimum programme". Finally, the article reminds us that when we study the lessons of the Paris Commune we should imitate not the mistakes it made (the failure to seize the Bank of France and to launch an offensive against Versailles, the lack of a clear programme, etc.), but its successful practical measures, which indicate the correct road. It is not the word "Commune" that we must adopt from the great fighters of 1871; we should not blindly repeat each of their slogans; what we must do is to single out those programmatic and practical slogans that bear upon the state of affairs in Russia and can be formulated in the words "a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry".

Proletary No. 8,
July 17 (4), 1905

Collected Works,
Vol. 9, p. 141

From the PREFACE TO THE RUSSIAN TRANSLATION
OF KARL MARX'S LETTERS TO L. KUGELMANN

Marx's assessment of the Commune crowns the letters to Kugelmann. And this assessment is particularly valuable when compared with the methods of the Russian Right-wing Social-Democrats. Plekhanov, who after December 1905²⁴ faint-heartedly exclaimed: "They should not have taken up arms", had the modesty to compare himself to Marx. Marx, says he, also put the brakes on the revolution in 1870.

Yes, Marx *also* put the brakes on the revolution. But see what a gulf lies between Plekhanov and Marx, in Plekhanov's own comparison!

In November 1905, a month before the first revolutionary wave in Russia had reached its climax, Plekhanov, far from emphatically warning the proletariat, spoke directly of the necessity *to learn to use arms and to arm*. Yet, when the struggle flared up a month later, Plekhanov, without making the slightest attempt to analyse its significance, its rôle in the general course of events and its connection with previous forms of struggle, hastened to play the part of a penitent intellectual and exclaimed: "They should not have taken up arms."

In September 1870, six months before the Commune, Marx gave a direct warning to the French workers: insurrection would be an act of desperate folly, he said in the well-known Address of the International.²⁵ He exposed in advance the nationalistic illusions of the possibility of a movement in the spirit of 1792. He was able to say, not after the event, but many months before: "Don't take up arms."

And how did he behave when this *hopeless* cause, as he himself had called it in September, began to take practical shape in March 1871? Did he use it (as Plekhanov did the December events) to “take a dig” at his enemies, the Proudhonists and Blanquists who were leading the Commune? Did he begin to grumble like a schoolmistress, and say: “I told you so, I warned you; this is what comes of your romanticism, your revolutionary ravings”? Did he preach to the Communards, as Plekhanov did to the December fighters, the sermon of the smug philistine: “You should not have taken up arms”?

No. On April 12, 1871, Marx writes an *enthusiastic* letter to Kugelmann—a letter which we would like to see hung in the home of every Russian Social-Democrat and of every literate Russian worker.

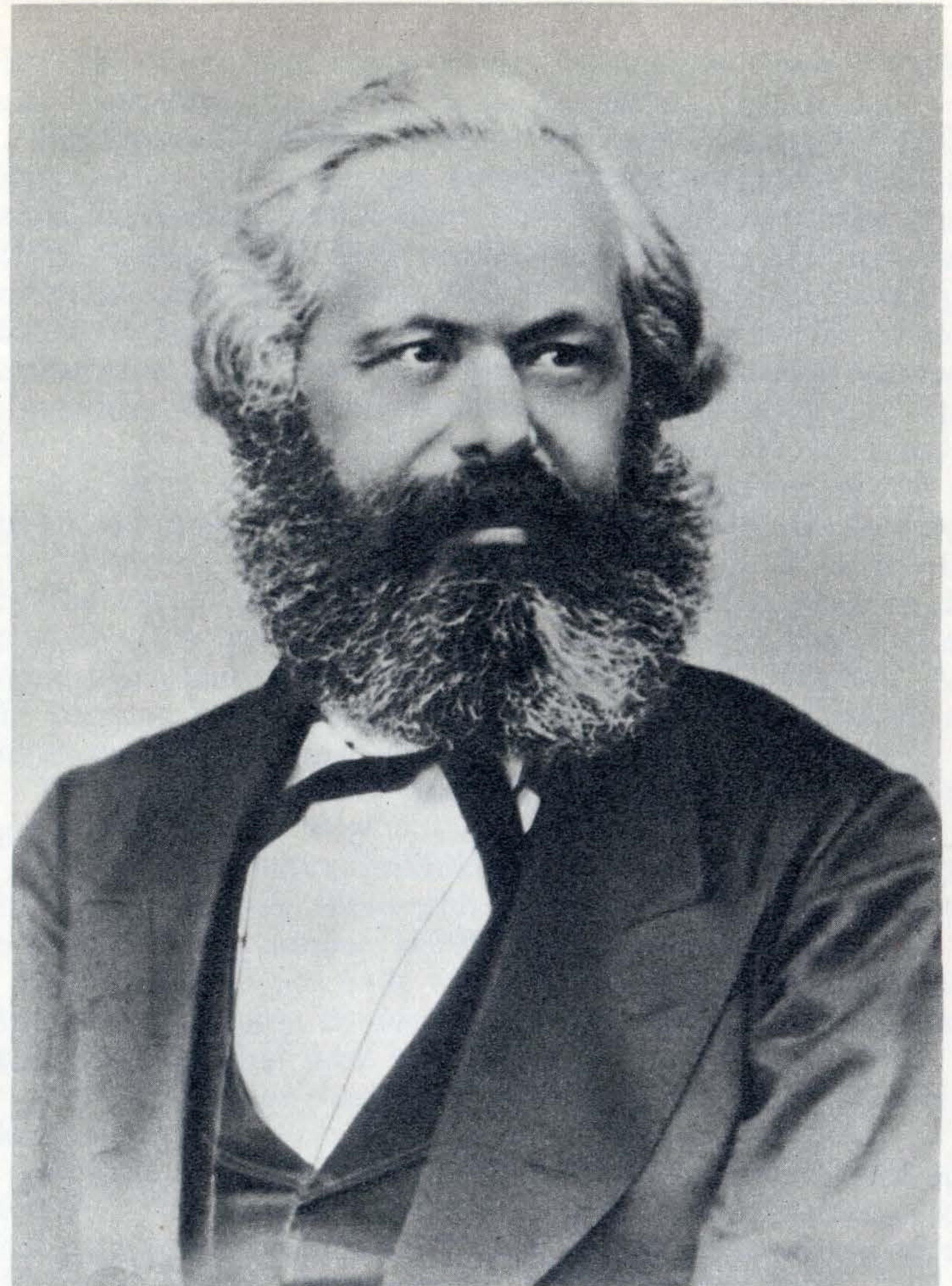
In September 1870 Marx had called the insurrection an act of desperate folly; but in April 1871, when he saw the mass movement of the people, he watched it with the keen attention of a participant in great events marking a step forward in the historic revolutionary movement.

This is an *attempt*, he says, to smash the bureaucratic military machine, and not simply to transfer it to different hands. And he has words of the highest praise for the “*heroic*” Paris workers led by the Proudhonists and Blanquists. “What elasticity,” he writes, “what historical initiative, what a capacity for sacrifice in these Parisians!... [p. 88]. History has no like example of a like greatness.”

The *historical initiative* of the masses was what Marx prized above everything else. Ah, if only our Russian Social-Democrats would learn from Marx how to appreciate the *historical initiative* of the Russian workers and peasants in October and December 1905!

Compare the homage paid to the *historical initiative* of the masses by a profound thinker, who foresaw failure six months ahead—and the lifeless, soulless, pedantic: “They should not have taken up arms”! Are these not as far apart as heaven and earth?

And like a *participant* in the mass struggle, to which he reacted with all his characteristic ardour and passion, Marx, then living in exile in London, set to work to criti-



Karl Marx

cise the *immediate steps* of the "recklessly brave" Parisians who were "*ready to storm heaven*".

Ah, how our present "realist" wiseacres among the Marxists, who in 1906-07 are deriding revolutionary romanticism in Russia, would have sneered at Marx at the time! How people would have scoffed at a *materialist, an economist*, an enemy of utopias, who pays homage to an "attempt" to storm *heaven*! What tears, condescending smiles or commiseration these "men in mufflers"²⁶ would have bestowed upon him for his rebel tendencies, utopianism, etc., etc., for his appreciation of a heaven-storming movement!

But Marx was not inspired with the wisdom of the sapient minnows²⁷ who are afraid to discuss the *technique* of the higher forms of revolutionary struggle. It is precisely the *technical* problems of the insurrection that he discussed. Defence or attack?—he asked, as if the military operations had been taking place just outside London. And he decided that it must certainly be attack: "*They should have marched at once on Versailles...*".

This was written in April 1871, a few weeks before the great and bloody May....

"They should have marched at once on Versailles"—the insurgents should, those who had begun the "act of desperate folly" (September 1870) of storming heaven.

"They should not have taken up arms" in December 1905 in order to oppose by force the first attempts to take away the liberties that had been won....

Yes, Plekhanov had good reason to compare himself to Marx!

"Second mistake," Marx said, continuing his *technical* criticism: "The Central Committee" (the *military command*—note that the reference is to the Central Committee of the National Guard) "*surrendered its power too soon...*".

Marx knew how to warn the *leaders* against a premature rising. But his attitude towards the heaven-storming *proletariat* was that of a practical adviser, of a participant in the *struggle* of the masses, who were raising the *whole* movement to a *higher level* in spite of the false theories and mistakes of Blanqui and Proudhon.

"However that may be," he wrote, "the present rising in Paris—even if it be crushed by the wolves, swine, and

vile curs of the old society—is the most glorious deed of our Party since the June insurrection....”

And, without concealing from the proletariat a *single* mistake of the Commune, Marx dedicated to this *heroic deed* a work which to this very day serves as the best guide in the fight for “heaven” and as a frightful bugbear to the liberal and radical “swine”.²⁸

Plekhanov dedicated to the December events a “work” which has become practically the bible of the Cadets.²⁹

Yes, Plekhanov had good reason to compare himself to Marx.

Kugelmann apparently replied to Marx expressing certain doubts, referring to the hopelessness of the struggle and to realism as opposed to romanticism—at any rate, he compared the Commune, an *insurrection*, to the peaceful demonstration in Paris on June 13, 1849.

Marx immediately (April 17, 1871) severely lectured Kugelmann.

“World history,” he wrote, “would indeed be very easy to make, if the struggle were taken up only on condition of infallibly favourable chances.”

In September 1870, Marx called the insurrection an act of desperate folly. But, when the *masses* rose, Marx wanted to march with them, to learn with them in the process of the struggle, and not to give them bureaucratic admonitions. He realised that to attempt in advance to calculate the chances *with complete accuracy* would be quackery or hopeless pedantry. What he valued *above everything else* was that the working class heroically and self-sacrificingly took the initiative in *making* world history. Marx regarded world history from the standpoint of those who *make* it without being in a position to calculate the chances *infallibly* beforehand, and not from the standpoint of an intellectual philistine who moralises: “It was easy to foresee ... they should not have taken up...”

Marx was also able to appreciate that there are moments in history when a desperate struggle of the *masses*, even for a hopeless cause, is *essential* for the further schooling of these masses and their training for the *next* struggle.

Such a *statement* of the question is quite incomprehensible and even alien in principle to our present-day quasi-

Marxists, who like to take the name of Marx in vain, to borrow only his estimate of the past, and not his ability to make the future. Plekhanov did not even think of it when he set out after December 1905 “to put the brakes on”.

But it is precisely this question that Marx raised, without in the least forgetting that he himself in September 1870 regarded insurrection as an act of desperate folly.

“... The bourgeois *canaille* of Versailles,” he wrote, “... presented the Parisians with the alternative of either taking up the fight or succumbing without a struggle. The *demoralisation of the working class* in the latter case would have been a *far greater* misfortune than the succumbing of any number of ‘leaders’.”³⁰

And with this we shall conclude our brief review of the lessons in a policy worthy of the proletariat which Marx teaches in his letters to Kugelmann.

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Vol. 12, pp. 108-12

LESSONS OF THE COMMUNE³¹

After the coup d'état, which marked the end of the revolution of 1848, France fell under the yoke of the Napoleonic regime for a period of 18 years. This regime brought upon the country not only economic ruin but national humiliation. In rising against the old regime the proletariat undertook two tasks—one of them national and the other of a class character—the liberation of France from the German invasion and the socialist emancipation of the workers from capitalism. This union of two tasks forms a unique feature of the Commune.

The bourgeoisie had formed a "government of national defence" and the proletariat had to fight for national independence under its leadership. Actually, it was a government of "national betrayal" which saw its mission in fighting the Paris proletariat. But the proletariat, blinded by patriotic illusions, did not perceive this. The patriotic idea had its origin in the Great Revolution of the eighteenth century; it swayed the minds of the socialists of the Commune; and Blanqui, for example, undoubtedly a revolutionary and an ardent supporter of socialism, could find no better title for his newspaper than the bourgeois cry: "*The country is in danger!*"

Combining contradictory tasks—patriotism and socialism—was the fatal mistake of the French socialists. In the Manifesto of the International, issued in September 1870, Marx had warned the French proletariat against being misled by a false national idea³²; profound changes had taken place since the Great Revolution, class antagonisms had sharpened, and whereas at that time the struggle

against the whole of European reaction united the entire revolutionary nation, now the proletariat could no longer combine its interests with the interests of other classes hostile to it; let the bourgeoisie bear the responsibility for the national humiliation—the task of the proletariat was to fight for the socialist emancipation of labour from the yoke of the bourgeoisie.

And indeed the true nature of bourgeois "patriotism" was not long in revealing itself. Having concluded an ignominious peace with the Prussians, the Versailles government proceeded to its immediate task—it launched an attack to wrest the arms that terrified it from the hands of the Paris proletariat. The workers replied by proclaiming the Commune and by civil war.

Although the socialist proletariat was split up into numerous sects, the Commune was a splendid example of the unanimity with which the proletariat was able to accomplish the democratic tasks which the bourgeoisie could only proclaim. Without any particularly complex legislation, in a simple, straightforward manner, the proletariat, which had seized power, carried out the democratisation of the social system, abolished the bureaucracy, and made all official posts elective.

But two mistakes destroyed the fruits of the splendid victory. The proletariat stopped half-way: instead of setting about "expropriating the expropriators", it allowed itself to be led astray by dreams of establishing a higher justice in the country united by a common national task; such institutions as the bank, for example, were not taken over, and Proudhonist theories about a "just exchange", etc., still prevailed among the socialists. The second mistake was excessive magnanimity on the part of the proletariat: instead of destroying its enemies it sought to exert moral influence on them; it underestimated the significance of direct military operations in civil war, and instead of launching a resolute offensive against Versailles that would have crowned its victory in Paris, it tarried and gave the Versailles government time to gather the dark forces and prepare for the blood-soaked week of May.

But despite all its mistakes the Commune was a superb example of the great proletarian movement of the nineteenth

century. Marx set a high value on the historic significance of the Commune—if, during the treacherous attempt by the Versailles gang to seize the arms of the Paris proletariat, the workers had allowed themselves to be disarmed without a fight, the disastrous effect of the demoralisation, that this weakness would have caused in the proletarian movement, would have been far, far greater than the losses suffered by the working class in the battle to defend its arms. The sacrifices of the Commune, heavy as they were, are made up for by its significance for the general struggle of the proletariat: it stirred the socialist movement throughout Europe, it demonstrated the strength of civil war, it dispelled patriotic illusions, and destroyed the naïve belief in any efforts of the bourgeoisie for common national aims. The Commune taught the European proletariat to pose concretely the tasks of the socialist revolution.

The lesson learnt by the proletariat will not be forgotten. The working class will make use of it, as it has already done in Russia during the December uprising.

The period that preceded the Russian revolution and prepared it bears a certain resemblance to the period of the Napoleonic yoke in France. In Russia, too, the autocratic clique brought upon the country economic ruin and national humiliation. But the outbreak of revolution was held back for a long time, until social development had created the conditions for a mass movement, and, notwithstanding all the courage displayed, the isolated actions against the government in the pre-revolutionary period broke against the apathy of the masses. Only the Social-Democrats, by strenuous and systematic work, educated the masses to the level of the higher forms of struggle—mass actions and armed civil war.

The Social-Democrats were able to shatter the “common national” and “patriotic” delusions of the young proletariat and when the Manifesto of October 17th³³ had been wrested from the tsar due to their direct intervention, the proletariat began vigorous preparation for the next, inevitable phase of the revolution—the armed uprising. Having shed “common national” illusions, it concentrated its class forces in its own mass organisations—the Soviets of Workers’ and Soldiers’ Deputies, etc. And notwithstanding

all the differences in the aims and tasks of the Russian revolution, compared with the French revolution of 1871, the Russian proletariat had to resort to the same method of struggle as that first used by the Paris Commune—civil war. Mindful of the lessons of the Commune, it knew that the proletariat should not ignore peaceful methods of struggle—they serve its ordinary, day-to-day interests, they are necessary in periods of preparation for revolution—but it must never forget that in certain conditions the class struggle assumes the form of armed conflict and civil war; there are times when the interests of the proletariat call for ruthless extermination of its enemies in open armed clashes. This was first demonstrated by the French proletariat in the Commune and brilliantly confirmed by the Russian proletariat in the December uprising.

And although these magnificent uprisings of the working class were crushed, there will be another uprising, in face of which the forces of the enemies of the proletariat will prove ineffective, and from which the socialist proletariat will emerge completely victorious.

Zagranichnaya Gazeta No. 2,
March 23, 1908

Collected Works,
Vol. 13, pp. 475-78

IN MEMORY OF THE COMMUNE

Forty years have passed since the proclamation of the Paris Commune. In accordance with tradition, the French workers paid homage to the memory of the men and women of the revolution of March 18, 1871, by meetings and demonstrations. At the end of May they will again place wreaths on the graves of the Communards who were shot, the victims of the terrible "May Week", and over their graves they will once more vow to fight untiringly until their ideas have triumphed and the cause they bequeathed has been fully achieved.

Why does the proletariat, not only in France but throughout the entire world, honour the men and women of the Paris Commune as their predecessors? And what is the heritage of the Commune?

The Commune sprang up spontaneously. No one consciously prepared it in an organised way. The unsuccessful war with Germany, the privations suffered during the siege, the unemployment among the proletariat and the ruin among the lower middle classes; the indignation of the masses against the upper classes and against authorities who had displayed utter incompetence, the vague unrest among the working class, which was discontented with its lot and was striving for a different social system; the reactionary composition of the National Assembly, which roused apprehensions as to the fate of the republic—all this and many other factors combined to drive the population of Paris to revolution on March 18, which unexpectedly placed power in the hands of the National Guard, in the hands of the working class and the petty bourgeoisie which had sided with it.

It was an event unprecedented in history. Up to that time power had, as a rule, been in the hands of landowners and capitalists, i.e., in the hands of their trusted agents who made up the so-called government. After the revolution of March 18, when M. Thiers' government had fled from Paris with its troops, its police and its officials, the people became masters of the situation and power passed into the hands of the proletariat. But in modern society, the proletariat, economically enslaved by capital, cannot dominate politically unless it breaks the chains which fetter it to capital. That is why the movement of the Commune was bound to take on a socialist tinge, i.e., to strive to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie, the rule of capital, and to destroy the very *foundations* of the contemporary social order.

At first this movement was extremely indefinite and confused. It was joined by patriots who hoped that the Commune would renew the war with the Germans and bring it to a successful conclusion. It enjoyed the support of the small shopkeepers who were threatened with ruin unless there was a postponement of payments on debts and rent (the government refused to grant this postponement, but they obtained it from the Commune). Finally, it enjoyed, at first, the sympathy of bourgeois republicans who feared that the reactionary National Assembly (the "rustics", the savage landlords) would restore the monarchy. But it was of course the workers (especially the artisans of Paris), among whom active socialist propaganda had been carried on during the last years of the Second Empire and many of whom even belonged to the International, who played the principal part in this movement.

Only the workers remained loyal to the Commune to the end. The bourgeois republicans and the petty bourgeoisie soon broke away from it: the former were frightened off by the revolutionary-socialist, proletarian character of the movement; the latter broke away when they saw that it was doomed to inevitable defeat. Only the French proletarians supported *their* government fearlessly and untiringly, they alone fought and died for it—that is to say, for the cause of the emancipation of the working class, for a better future for all toilers.

Deserted by its former allies and left without support, the Commune was doomed to defeat. The entire bourgeoisie of France, all the landlords, stockjobbers, factory owners, all the robbers, great and small, all the exploiters joined forces against it. This bourgeois coalition, supported by Bismarck (who released a hundred thousand French prisoners of war to help crush revolutionary Paris), succeeded in rousing the ignorant peasants and the petty bourgeoisie of the provinces against the proletariat of Paris, and forming a ring of steel around half of Paris (the other half was besieged by the German army). In some of the larger cities in France (Marseilles, Lyons, St. Étienne, Dijon, etc.) the workers also attempted to seize power, to proclaim the Commune and come to the help of Paris; but these attempts were short-lived. Paris, which had first raised the banner of proletarian revolt, was left to its own resources and doomed to certain destruction.

Two conditions, at least, are necessary for a victorious social revolution—highly developed productive forces and a proletariat adequately prepared for it. But in 1871 both of these conditions were lacking. French capitalism was still poorly developed, and France was at that time mainly a petty-bourgeois country (of artisans, peasants, shopkeepers, etc.). On the other hand, there was no workers' party; the working class had not gone through a long school of struggle and was unprepared, and for the most part did not even clearly visualise its tasks and the methods of fulfilling them. There was no serious political organisation of the proletariat, nor were there strong trade unions and co-operative societies....

But the chief thing which the Commune lacked was time—an opportunity to take stock of the situation and to embark upon the fulfilment of its programme. It had scarcely had time to start work, when the government entrenched in Versailles and supported by the entire bourgeoisie began hostilities against Paris. The Commune had to concentrate primarily on self-defence. Right up to the very end, May 21-28, it had no time to think seriously of anything else.

However, in spite of these unfavourable conditions, in spite of its brief existence, the Commune managed to promulgate a few measures which sufficiently characterise its

real significance and aims. The Commune did away with the standing army, that blind weapon in the hands of the ruling classes, and armed the whole people. It proclaimed the separation of church and state, abolished state payments to religious bodies (i.e., state salaries for priests), made popular education purely secular, and in this way struck a severe blow at the gendarmes in cassocks. In the purely social sphere the Commune accomplished very little, but this little nevertheless clearly reveals its character as a popular, workers' government. Night work in bakeries was forbidden; the system of fines, which represented legalised robbery of the workers, was abolished. Finally, there was the famous decree that all factories and workshops abandoned or shut down by their owners were to be turned over to associations of workers that were to resume production. And, as if to emphasise its character as a truly democratic, proletarian government, the Commune decreed that the salaries of all administrative and government officials, irrespective of rank, should not exceed the normal wages of a worker, and in no case amount to more than 6,000 francs a year (less than 200 rubles a month).

All these measures showed clearly enough that the Commune was a deadly menace to the old world founded on the enslavement and exploitation of the people. That was why bourgeois society could not feel at ease so long as the Red Flag of the proletariat waved over the *Hôtel de Ville* in Paris. And when the organised forces of the government finally succeeded in gaining the upper hand over the poorly organised forces of the revolution, the Bonapartist generals, who had been beaten by the Germans and who showed courage only in fighting their defeated countrymen, those French *Rennenkampfs* and *Meller-Zakomelskys*, organised such a slaughter as Paris had never known. About 30,000 Parisians were shot down by the bestial soldiery, and about 45,000 were arrested, many of whom were afterwards executed, while thousands were transported or exiled. In all, Paris lost about 100,000 of its best people, including some of the finest workers in all trades.

The bourgeoisie were satisfied. "Now we have finished with socialism for a long time," said their leader, the blood-thirsty dwarf, Thiers, after he and his generals had drowned

the proletariat of Paris in blood. But these bourgeois crows croaked in vain. Less than six years after the suppression of the Commune, when many of its champions were still pining in prison or in exile, a new working-class movement arose in France. A new socialist generation, enriched by the experience of their predecessors and no whit discouraged by their defeat, picked up the flag which had fallen from the hands of the fighters of the Commune and bore it boldly and confidently forward. Their battle-cry was: "Long live the social revolution! Long live the Commune!" And in another few years, the new workers' party and the agitational work launched by it throughout the country compelled the ruling classes to release Communards who were still kept in prison by the government.

The memory of the fighters of the Commune is honoured not only by the workers of France but by the proletariat of the whole world. For the Commune fought, not for some local or narrow national aim, but for the emancipation of all toiling humanity, of all the downtrodden and oppressed. As a foremost fighter for the social revolution, the Commune has won sympathy wherever there is a proletariat suffering and engaged in struggle. The epic of its life and death, the sight of a workers' government which seized the capital of the world and held it for over two months, the spectacle of the heroic struggle of the proletariat and the torments it underwent after its defeat—all this raised the spirit of millions of workers, aroused their hopes and enlisted their sympathy for the cause of socialism. The thunder of the cannon in Paris awakened the most backward sections of the proletariat from their deep slumber, and everywhere gave impetus to the growth of revolutionary socialist propaganda. That is why the cause of the Commune is not dead. It lives to the present day in every one of us.

The cause of the Commune is the cause of the social revolution, the cause of the complete political and economic emancipation of the toilers. It is the cause of the proletariat of the whole world. And in this sense it is immortal.

From THE MILITARY PROGRAMME OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

A bourgeoisie armed against the proletariat is one of the biggest, fundamental and cardinal facts of modern capitalist society. And in face of this fact, revolutionary Social-Democrats are urged to "demand" "disarmament"! That is tantamount to complete abandonment of the class-struggle point of view, to renunciation of all thought of revolution. Our slogan must be: arming of the proletariat to defeat, expropriate and disarm the bourgeoisie. These are the only tactics possible for a revolutionary class, tactics that follow logically from, and are dictated by, the whole *objective development* of capitalist militarism. Only *after* the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie will it be able, without betraying its world-historic mission, to consign all armaments to the scrap-heap. And the proletariat will undoubtedly do this, but *only when this condition has been fulfilled, certainly not before*.

If the present war rouses among the reactionary Christian socialists, among the whimpering petty bourgeoisie, *only* horror and fright, only aversion to all use of arms, to bloodshed, death, etc., then we must say: Capitalist society is and has always been *horror without end*. If this most reactionary of all wars is now preparing for that society an *end in horror*, we have no reason to fall into despair. But the disarmament "demand", or more correctly, the dream of disarmament, is, objectively, nothing but an expression of despair at a time when, as everyone can see, the bourgeoisie itself is paving the way for the only legitimate and revolutionary war—civil war against the imperialist bourgeoisie.

A lifeless theory, some might say, but we would remind them of two historical facts: the role of the trusts and the employment of women in industry, on the one hand, and the Paris Commune of 1871 and the December 1905 uprising in Russia, on the other.

The bourgeoisie makes it its business to promote trusts, drive women and children into the factories, subject them to corruption and suffering, condemn them to extreme poverty. We do not "demand" such development, we do not "support" it. We fight it. But *how* do we fight? We explain that trusts and the employment of women in industry are progressive. We do not want a return to the handicraft system, pre-monopoly capitalism, domestic drudgery for women. Forward through the trusts, etc., and beyond them to socialism!

With the necessary changes that argument is applicable also to the present militarisation of the population. Today the imperialist bourgeoisie militarises the youth as well as the adults; tomorrow, it may begin militarising the women. Our attitude should be: All the better! Full speed ahead! For the faster we move, the nearer shall we be to the armed uprising against capitalism. How can Social-Democrats give way to fear of the militarisation of the youth, etc., if they have not forgotten the example of the Paris Commune? This is not a "lifeless theory" or a dream. It is a fact. And it would be a sorry state of affairs indeed if, all the economic and political facts notwithstanding, Social-Democrats began to doubt that the imperialist era and imperialist wars must inevitably bring about a repetition of such facts.

A certain bourgeois observer of the Paris Commune, writing to an English newspaper in May 1871, said: "If the French nation consisted entirely of women, what a terrible nation it would be!" Women and teen-age children fought in the Paris Commune side by side with the men. It will be no different in the coming battles for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Proletarian women will not look on passively as poorly armed or unarmed workers are shot down by the well-armed forces of the bourgeoisie. They will take to arms, as they did in 1871, and from the cowed nations of today—or more correctly, from the present-day labour

movement, disorganised more by the opportunists than by the governments—there will undoubtedly arise, sooner or later, but with absolute certainty, an international league of the "terrible nations" of the revolutionary proletariat.

The whole of social life is now being militarised. Imperialism is a fierce struggle of the Great Powers for the division and redivision of the world. It is therefore bound to lead to further militarisation in all countries, even in neutral and small ones. How will proletarian women oppose this? Only by cursing all war and everything military, only by demanding disarmament? The women of an oppressed and really revolutionary class will never accept that shameful role. They will say to their sons: "You will soon be grown up. You will be given a gun. Take it and learn the military art properly. The proletarians need this knowledge not to shoot your brothers, the workers of other countries, as is being done in the present war, and as the traitors to socialism are telling you to do. They need it to fight the bourgeoisie of their own country, to put an end to exploitation, poverty and war, and not by pious wishes, but by defeating and disarming the bourgeoisie."

If we are to shun such propaganda, precisely such propaganda, in connection with the present war, then we had better stop using fine words about international revolutionary Social-Democracy, the socialist revolution and war against war.

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in September 1916

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Vol. 23, pp. 80-83

From the LETTERS FROM AFAR

Guided by their class instinct, the workers have realised that in revolutionary times they need *not only* ordinary, but an entirely different organisation. They have rightly taken the path indicated by the experience of our 1905 Revolution and of the 1871 Paris Commune; they have set up a *Soviet of Workers' Deputies*; they have begun to develop, expand and strengthen it by drawing in *soldiers'* deputies, and, undoubtedly, deputies from rural *wage-workers*, and then (in one form or another) from the entire peasant poor.

The prime and most important task, and one that brooks no delay, is to set up organisations of this kind in all parts of Russia without exception, for all trades and strata of the proletarian and semi-proletarian population without exception, i.e., for all the working and exploited people, to use a less economically exact but more popular term. Running ahead somewhat, I shall mention that for the entire mass of the peasantry our Party (its *special* role in the new type of proletarian organisations I hope to discuss in one of my next letters) should especially recommend Soviets of wage-workers and Soviets of small tillers who do not sell grain, to be formed *separately from* the well-to-do peasants. Without this, it will be impossible either to conduct a truly proletarian policy in general,* or correctly

* In the rural districts a struggle will now develop for the small and, partly, middle peasants. The landlords, leaning on the well-to-do peasants, will try to lead them into subordination to the bourgeoisie. Leaning on the rural wage-workers and rural poor, we must lead them into the closest alliance with the urban proletariat.



F. Engels

to approach the extremely important practical question which is a matter of life and death for millions of people: the proper distribution of *grain*, increasing its production, etc.

It might be asked: What should be the function of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies? They "must be regarded as organs of insurrection, of revolutionary rule", we wrote in No. 47 of the Geneva *Sotsial-Demokrat*³⁴, of October 13, 1915.*

This theoretical proposition, deduced from the experience of the Commune of 1871 and of the Russian Revolution of 1905, must be explained and concretely developed on the basis of the practical experience of precisely the present stage of the present revolution in Russia.

We need revolutionary *government*, we need (for a certain transitional period) a *state*. This is what distinguishes us from the anarchists. The difference between the revolutionary Marxists and the anarchists is not only that the former stand for centralised, large-scale communist production, while the latter stand for disconnected small production. The difference between us precisely on the question of government, of the state, is that we are *for*, and the anarchists *against*, utilising revolutionary forms of the state in a revolutionary way for the struggle for socialism.

We need a state. But *not the kind* of state the bourgeoisie has created everywhere, from constitutional monarchies to the most democratic republics. And in this we differ from the opportunists and Kautskyites of the old, and decaying, socialist parties, who have distorted, or have forgotten, the lessons of the Paris Commune and the analysis of these lessons made by Marx and Engels.**

We need a state, but *not* the kind the bourgeoisie needs, with organs of government in the shape of a police force,

* See *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 402.—*Ed.*

** In one of my next letters, or in a special article, I will deal in detail with this analysis, given in particular in Marx's *The Civil War in France*, in Engels's Introduction to the third edition of that work, in the letters: Marx's of April 12, 1871, and Engels's of March 18-28, 1875, and also with the utter distortion of Marxism by Kautsky in his controversy with Pannekoek in 1912 on the question of the so-called "destruction of the state".³⁵

an army and a bureaucracy (officialdom) separate from and opposed to the people. All bourgeois revolutions merely perfected *this* state machine, merely transferred *it* from the hands of one party to those of another.

The proletariat, on the other hand, if it wants to uphold the gains of the present revolution and proceed further, to win peace, bread and freedom, must "*smash*", to use Marx's expression, this "ready-made" state machine and substitute a new one for it by *merging* the police force, the army and the bureaucracy with *the entire armed people*. Following the path indicated by the experience of the Paris Commune of 1871 and the Russian Revolution of 1905, the proletariat must organise and arm *all* the poor, exploited sections of the population in order that they *themselves* should take the organs of state power directly into their own hands, in order that *they themselves should constitute* these organs of state power.

And the workers of Russia have already *taken* this path in the first stage of the first revolution, in February-March 1917. The whole task now is clearly to understand what this new path is, to proceed along it further, boldly, firmly and perseveringly.

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From THE DUAL POWER

The basic question of every revolution is that of state power. Unless this question is understood, there can be no intelligent participation in the revolution, not to speak of guidance of the revolution.

The highly remarkable feature of our revolution is that it has brought about a *dual power*. This fact must be grasped first and foremost: unless it is understood, we cannot advance. We must know how to supplement and amend old "formulas", for example, those of Bolshevism, for while they have been found to be correct on the whole, their concrete realisation *has turned out to be* different. *Nobody* previously thought, or could have thought, of a dual power.

What is this dual power? Alongside the Provisional Government, the government of the *bourgeoisie*, *another government* has arisen, so far weak and incipient, but undoubtedly a government that actually exists and is growing—the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

What is the class composition of this other government? It consists of the proletariat and the peasants (in soldiers' uniforms). What is the political nature of this government? It is a revolutionary dictatorship, i.e., a power directly based on revolutionary seizure, on the direct initiative of the people from below, and *not on a law* enacted by a centralised state power. It is an entirely different kind of power from the one that generally exists in the parliamentary bourgeois-democratic republics of the usual type still prevailing in the advanced countries of Europe and America. This circumstance is often overlooked, often not given enough thought, yet it is the crux of the matter. *This power is of*

the same type as the Paris Commune of 1871. The fundamental characteristics of this type are: (1) the source of power is not a law previously discussed and enacted by parliament, but the direct initiative of the people from below, in their local areas—direct “seizure”, to use a current expression; (2) the replacement of the police and the army, which are institutions divorced from the people and set against the people, by the direct arming of the whole people; order in the state under such a power is maintained by the armed workers and peasants *themselves*, by the armed people *themselves*; (3) officialdom, the bureaucracy, are either similarly replaced by the direct rule of the people themselves or at least placed under special control; officials become not only elective, but are also *subject to recall* at the people’s first demand; they are reduced to the position of simple agents; from a privileged group holding “jobs” remunerated on a high, bourgeois scale, they become workers of a special “arm of the service” whose remuneration *does not exceed* the ordinary pay of a competent worker.

This, and this *alone*, constitutes the *essence* of the Paris Commune as a special type of state. This essence has been forgotten or perverted by the Plekhanovs (downright chauvinists who have betrayed Marxism), the Kautskys (the men of the “Centre”, i.e., those who vacillate between chauvinism and Marxism), and generally by all those Social-Democrats, Socialist-Revolutionaries, etc., etc., who now rule the roost.

They are trying to get away with empty phrases, evasions, subterfuges; they congratulate each other a thousand times upon the revolution, but refuse to *consider what* the Soviets of Workers’ and Soldiers’ Deputies *are*. They refuse to recognise the obvious truth that inasmuch as these Soviets exist, *inasmuch as* they are a power, we have in Russia a state of the *type* of the Paris Commune.

I have emphasised the words “inasmuch as”, for it is only an incipient power. By direct agreement with the bourgeois Provisional Government and by a series of actual concessions, it has itself *surrendered and is surrendering* its positions to the bourgeoisie.

From THE TASKS OF THE PROLETARIAT IN OUR REVOLUTION

A NEW TYPE OF STATE EMERGING FROM OUR REVOLUTION

11. The Soviets of Workers’, Soldiers’, Peasants’ and other Deputies are not understood, not only in the sense that their class significance, their role in the *Russian* revolution, is not clear to the majority. They are not understood also in the sense that they constitute a new form or rather a new *type of state*.

The most perfect, the most advanced type of bourgeois state is the *parliamentary democratic republic*: power is vested in parliament; the state machine, the apparatus and organ of administration, is of the customary kind: the standing army, the police, and the bureaucracy—which in practice is undisplaceable, is privileged and stands *above* the people.

Since the end of the nineteenth century, however, revolutionary epochs have advanced a *higher* type of democratic state, a state which in certain respects, as Engels put it, ceases to be a state, is “no longer a state in the proper sense of the word”.³⁶ This is a state of the Paris Commune type, one in which a standing army and police divorced from the people are *replaced* by the direct arming of the people themselves. It is *this feature* that constitutes the very essence of the Commune, which has been so misrepresented and slandered by the bourgeois writers, and to which has been erroneously ascribed, among other things, the intention of immediately “introducing” socialism.

This is the type of state which the Russian revolution *began* to create in 1905 and in 1917. A Republic of Soviets of Workers’, Soldiers’, Peasants’ and other Deputies, united in an All-Russia Constituent Assembly of people’s

representatives or in a Council of Soviets, etc., is what is *already being realised* in our country now, at this juncture. It is being realised by the initiative of the nation's millions, who are creating a democracy on their own, *in their own way*, without waiting until the Cadet professors draft their legislative bills for a parliamentary bourgeois republic, or until the pedants and routine-worshippers of petty-bourgeois "Social-Democracy", like Mr. Plekhanov or Kautsky, stop distorting the Marxist teaching on the state.

Marxism differs from anarchism in that it recognises the *need* for a state and for state power in the period of revolution in general, and in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism in particular.

Marxism differs from the petty-bourgeois, opportunist "Social-Democratism" of Plekhanov, Kautsky and Co. in that it recognises that what is required during these two periods is *not* a state of the usual parliamentary bourgeois republican type, but a state of the Paris Commune type.

The main distinctions between a state of the latter type and the old state are as follows.

It is quite easy (as history proves) to revert from a parliamentary bourgeois republic to a monarchy, for all the machinery of oppression—the army, the police, and the bureaucracy—is left intact. The Commune and the Soviets *smash* that machinery and do away with it.

The parliamentary bourgeois republic hampers and stifles the independent political life of the *masses*, their direct participation in the *democratic* organisation of the life of the state from the bottom up. The opposite is the case with the Soviets.

The latter reproduce the type of state which was being evolved by the Paris Commune and which Marx described as "the political form at last discovered under which to work out the economic emancipation of labour".³⁷

We are usually told that the Russian people are not yet prepared for the "introduction" of the Commune. This was the argument of the serf-owners when they claimed that the peasants were not prepared for emancipation. The Commune, i.e., the Soviets, does not "introduce", does not intend to "introduce", and must not introduce *any* reforms which have not absolutely matured both in economic real-

ity and in the minds of the overwhelming majority of the people. The deeper the economic collapse and the crisis produced by the war, the more urgent becomes the need for the most perfect political form, which will *facilitate* the healing of the terrible wounds inflicted on mankind by the war. The less the organisational experience of the Russian people, the more resolutely must we *proceed* to organisational development by the *people themselves*, and not merely by the bourgeois politicians and "well-placed" bureaucrats.

The sooner we shed the old prejudices of pseudo-Marxism, a Marxism falsified by Plekhanov, Kautsky and Co., the more actively we set about helping the people to organise Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies everywhere and immediately, and helping the latter to take life *in its entirety* under their control, and the longer Lvov and Co. delay the convocation of the Constituent Assembly, the easier will it be for the people (through the medium of the Constituent Assembly, or independently of it, if Lvov delays its convocation too long) to cast their decision in favour of a republic of Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies. Errors in the new work of organisational development by the people themselves are at first inevitable; but it is better to make mistakes and go forward than to *wait* until the professors of law summoned by Mr. Lvov draft their laws for the convocation of the Constituent Assembly, for the perpetuation of the parliamentary bourgeois republic and for the strangling of the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies.

If we organise ourselves and conduct our propaganda skilfully, not only the proletarians, but nine-tenths of the peasants will be opposed to the restoration of the police, will be opposed to an undisplaceable and privileged bureaucracy and to an army divorced from the people. And that is all the new type of state stands for.

12. The substitution of a people's militia for the police is a reform that follows from the entire course of the revolution and that is now being introduced in most parts of Russia. We must explain to the people that in most of the bourgeois revolutions of the usual type, this reform was always extremely short-lived, and that the bourgeoisie

—even the most democratic and republican—restored the police of the old, tsarist type, a police divorced from the people, commanded by the bourgeoisie and capable of oppressing the people in every way.

There is only one way to *prevent* the restoration of the police, and that is to create a people's militia and to fuse it with the army (the standing army to be replaced by the arming of the entire people). Service in this militia should extend to all citizens of both sexes between the ages of fifteen and sixty-five without exception, if these tentatively suggested age limits may be taken as indicating the participation of adolescents and old people. Capitalists must pay their workers, servants, etc., for days devoted to public service in the militia. Unless women are brought to take an independent part not only in political life generally, but also in daily and universal public service, it is no use talking about full and stable democracy, let alone socialism. And such "police" functions as care of the sick and of homeless children, food inspection, etc., will never be satisfactorily discharged until women are on an equal footing with men, not merely nominally but in reality.

The tasks which the proletariat must put before the people in order to safeguard, consolidate and develop the revolution are prevention of the restoration of the police and enlistment of the organisational forces of the entire people in forming a people's militia.

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From THE STATE AND REVOLUTION

Chapter III

THE STATE AND REVOLUTION. EXPERIENCE OF THE PARIS COMMUNE OF 1871. MARX'S ANALYSIS

1. WHAT MADE THE COMMUNARDS' ATTEMPT HEROIC?

It is well known that in the autumn of 1870, a few months before the Commune, Marx warned the Paris workers that any attempt to overthrow the government would be the folly of despair.³⁸ But when, in March 1871, a decisive battle was *forced* upon the workers and they accepted it, when the uprising had become a fact, Marx greeted the proletarian revolution with the greatest enthusiasm, in spite of unfavourable auguries. Marx did not persist in the pedantic attitude of condemning an "untimely" movement as did the ill-famed Russian renegade from Marxism, Plekhanov, who in November 1905 wrote encouragingly about the workers' and peasants' struggle, but after December 1905 cried, liberal fashion: "They should not have taken up arms."

Marx, however, was not only enthusiastic about the heroism of the Communards, who, as he expressed it, "stormed heaven".³⁹ Although the mass revolutionary movement did not achieve its aim, he regarded it as a historic experience of enormous importance, as a certain advance of the world proletarian revolution, as a practical step that was more important than hundreds of programmes and arguments. Marx endeavoured to analyse this experiment, to draw tactical lessons from it and re-examine his theory in the light of it.

The only "correction" Marx thought it necessary to make to the *Communist Manifesto* he made on the basis of the revolutionary experience of the Paris Communards.

—even the most democratic and republican—restored the police of the old, tsarist type, a police divorced from the people, commanded by the bourgeoisie and capable of oppressing the people in every way.

There is only one way to *prevent* the restoration of the police, and that is to create a people's militia and to fuse it with the army (the standing army to be replaced by the arming of the entire people). Service in this militia should extend to all citizens of both sexes between the ages of fifteen and sixty-five without exception, if these tentatively suggested age limits may be taken as indicating the participation of adolescents and old people. Capitalists must pay their workers, servants, etc., for days devoted to public service in the militia. Unless women are brought to take an independent part not only in political life generally, but also in daily and universal public service, it is no use talking about full and stable democracy, let alone socialism. And such "police" functions as care of the sick and of homeless children, food inspection, etc., will never be satisfactorily discharged until women are on an equal footing with men, not merely nominally but in reality.

The tasks which the proletariat must put before the people in order to safeguard, consolidate and develop the revolution are prevention of the restoration of the police and enlistment of the organisational forces of the entire people in forming a people's militia.

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From THE STATE AND REVOLUTION

Chapter III

THE STATE AND REVOLUTION. EXPERIENCE OF THE PARIS COMMUNE OF 1871. MARX'S ANALYSIS

1. WHAT MADE THE COMMUNARDS' ATTEMPT HEROIC?

It is well known that in the autumn of 1870, a few months before the Commune, Marx warned the Paris workers that any attempt to overthrow the government would be the folly of despair.³⁸ But when, in March 1871, a decisive battle was *forced* upon the workers and they accepted it, when the uprising had become a fact, Marx greeted the proletarian revolution with the greatest enthusiasm, in spite of unfavourable auguries. Marx did not persist in the pedantic attitude of condemning an "untimely" movement as did the ill-famed Russian renegade from Marxism, Plekhanov, who in November 1905 wrote encouragingly about the workers' and peasants' struggle, but after December 1905 cried, liberal fashion: "They should not have taken up arms."

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The last preface to the new German edition of the *Communist Manifesto*, signed by both its authors, is dated June 24, 1872. In this preface the authors, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, say that the programme of the *Communist Manifesto* "has in some details become out-of-date", and they go on to say:

"... One thing especially was proved by the Commune, viz., that 'the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes'...."⁴⁰

The authors took the words that are in single quotation marks in this passage from Marx's book, *The Civil War in France*.

Thus, Marx and Engels regarded one principal and fundamental lesson of the Paris Commune as being of such enormous importance that they introduced it as an important correction into the *Communist Manifesto*.

Most characteristically, it is this important correction that has been distorted by the opportunists, and its meaning probably is not known to nine-tenths, if not ninety-nine-hundredths, of the readers of the *Communist Manifesto*. We shall deal with this distortion more fully farther on, in a chapter devoted specially to distortions. Here it will be sufficient to note that the current, vulgar "interpretation" of Marx's famous statement just quoted is that Marx here allegedly emphasises the idea of slow development in contradistinction to the seizure of power, and so on.

As a matter of fact, *the exact opposite is the case*. Marx's idea is that the working class must *break up, smash* the "ready-made state machinery", and not confine itself merely to laying hold of it.

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

"If you look up the last chapter of my *Eighteenth Brumaire*, you will find that I declare that the next attempt of the French Revolution will be no longer, as before, to transfer the bureaucratic-military machine from one hand to another, but to *smash* it [Marx's italics—the original is *zerbrechen*], and this is the pre-

condition for every real people's revolution on the Continent. And this is what our heroic Party comrades in Paris are attempting." (*Neue Zeit*,⁴¹ Vol. XX, 1, 1901-02, p. 709.) (The letters of Marx to Kugelmann have appeared in Russian in no less than two editions, one of which I edited and supplied with a preface.)*

The words, "to smash the bureaucratic-military machine", briefly express the principal lesson of Marxism regarding the tasks of the proletariat during a revolution in relation to the state. And it is this lesson that has been not only completely ignored, but positively distorted by the prevailing, Kautskyite, "interpretation" of Marxism!

As for Marx's reference to *The Eighteenth Brumaire*, we have quoted the relevant passage in full above.

It is interesting to note, in particular, two points in the above-quoted argument of Marx. First, he restricts his conclusion to the Continent. This was understandable in 1871, when Britain was still the model of a purely capitalist country, but without a militarist clique and, to a considerable degree, without a bureaucracy. Marx therefore excluded Britain, where a revolution, even a people's revolution, then seemed possible, and indeed was possible, *without* the precondition of destroying the "ready-made state machinery".

Today, in 1917, at the time of the first great imperialist war, this restriction made by Marx is no longer valid. Both Britain and America, the biggest and the last representatives—in the whole world—of Anglo-Saxon "liberty", in the sense that they had no militarist cliques and bureaucracy, have completely sunk into the all-European filthy, bloody morass of bureaucratic-military institutions which subordinate everything to themselves, and suppress everything. Today, in Britain and America, too, "the precondition for every real people's revolution" is the *smashing*, the *destruction* of the "ready-made state machinery" (made and brought up to "European", general imperialist, perfection in those countries in the years 1914-17).

Secondly, particular attention should be paid to Marx's extremely profound remark that the destruction of the bu-

* See *Collected Works*, Vol. 12, pp. 104-12.—*Ed.*

reaucratic-military state machine is "the precondition for every real *people's* revolution". This idea of a "people's" revolution seems strange coming from Marx, so that the Russian Plekhanovites and Mensheviks,⁴² those followers of Struve who wish to be regarded as Marxists, might possibly declare such an expression to be a "slip of the pen" on Marx's part. They have reduced Marxism to such a state of wretchedly liberal distortion that nothing exists for them beyond the antithesis between bourgeois revolution and proletarian revolution, and even this antithesis they interpret in an utterly lifeless way.

If we take the revolutions of the twentieth century as examples we shall, of course, have to admit that the Portuguese and the Turkish revolutions⁴³ are both bourgeois revolutions. Neither of them, however, is a "people's" revolution, since in neither does the mass of the people, their vast majority, come out actively, independently, with their own economic and political demands to any noticeable degree. By contrast, although the Russian bourgeois revolution of 1905-07 displayed no such "brilliant" successes as at times fell to the Portuguese and Turkish revolutions, it was undoubtedly a "real people's" revolution, since the mass of the people, their majority, the very lowest social groups, crushed by oppression and exploitation, rose independently and stamped on the entire course of the revolution the imprint of *their* own demands, *their* attempts to build in their own way a new society in place of the old society that was being destroyed.

In Europe, in 1871, the proletariat did not constitute the majority of the people in any country on the Continent. A "people's" revolution, one actually sweeping the majority into its stream, could be such only if it embraced both the proletariat and the peasants. These two classes then constituted the "people". These two classes are united by the fact that the "bureaucratic-military state machine" oppresses, crushes, exploits them. To *smash* this machine, to *break it up*, is truly in the interest of the "people", of their majority, of the workers and most of the peasants, is "the precondition" for a free alliance of the poor peasants and the proletarians, whereas without such an alliance democracy is unstable and socialist transformation is impossible.

As is well known, the Paris Commune was actually working its way toward such an alliance, although it did not reach its goal owing to a number of circumstances, internal and external.

Consequently, in speaking of a "real people's revolution" Marx, without in the least discounting the special features of the petty bourgeoisie (he spoke a great deal about them and often), took strict account of the actual balance of class forces in most of the continental countries of Europe in 1871. On the other hand, he stated that the "smashing" of the state machine was required by the interests of both the workers and the peasants, that it united them, that it placed before them the common task of removing the "parasite" and of replacing it by something new.

By what exactly?

2. WHAT IS TO REPLACE THE SMASHED STATE MACHINE?

In 1847, in the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx's answer to this question was as yet a purely abstract one; to be exact, it was an answer that indicated the tasks, but not the ways of accomplishing them. The answer given in the *Communist Manifesto* was that this machine was to be replaced by "the proletariat organised as the ruling class", by the "winning of the battle of democracy".⁴⁴

Marx did not indulge in utopias; he expected the *experience* of the mass movement to provide the reply to the question as to the specific forms this organisation of the proletariat as the ruling class would assume and as to the exact manner in which this organisation would be combined with the most complete, most consistent "winning of the battle of democracy".

Marx subjected the experience of the Commune, meagre as it was, to the most careful analysis in *The Civil War in France*. Let us quote the most important passages of this work.

Originating from the Middle Ages, there developed in the nineteenth century "the centralised state power, with its ubiquitous organs of standing army, police, bureaucracy, clergy, and judicature". With the develop-

ment of class antagonism between capital and labour, "state power assumed more and more the character of a public force for the suppression of the working class, of a machine of class rule. After every revolution, which marks an advance in the class struggle, the purely coercive character of the state power stands out in bolder and bolder relief". After the revolution of 1848-49, state power became "the national war instrument of capital against labour". The Second Empire consolidated this.

"The direct antithesis to the empire was the Commune." It was the "specific form" of "a republic that was not only to remove the monarchical form of class rule, but class rule itself...."

What was this "specific" form of the proletarian, socialist republic? What was the state it began to create?

"...The first decree of the Commune ... was the suppression of the standing army, and its replacement by the armed people...."

This demand now figures in the programme of every party calling itself socialist. The real worth of their programmes, however, is best shown by the behaviour of our Socialist-Revolutionaries⁴⁵ and Mensheviks, who, right after the revolution of February 27,⁴⁶ actually refused to carry out this demand!

"...The Commune was formed of the municipal councillors, chosen by universal suffrage in the various wards of Paris, responsible and revocable at any time. The majority of its members were naturally working men, or acknowledged representatives of the working class...."

"...The police, which until then had been the instrument of the Government, was at once stripped of its political attributes, and turned into the responsible and at all times revocable instrument of the Commune.... So were the officials of all other branches of the administration.... From the members of the Commune downwards, public service had to be done at *workmen's wages*. The privileges and the representation allowances of the high dignitaries of state disappeared along with the dignitaries themselves.... Having once got rid of the stand-

ing army and the police, the instruments of the physical force of the old Government, the Commune proceeded at once to break the instrument of spiritual suppression, the power of the priests.... The judicial functionaries lost that sham independence ... they were thenceforward to be elective, responsible, and revocable...."⁴⁷

The Commune, therefore, appears to have replaced the smashed state machine "only" by fuller democracy: abolition of the standing army; all officials to be elected and subject to recall. But as a matter of fact this "only" signifies a gigantic replacement of certain institutions by other institutions of a fundamentally different type. This is exactly a case of "quantity being transformed into quality": democracy, introduced as fully and consistently as is at all conceivable, is transformed from bourgeois into proletarian democracy; from the state (=a special force for the suppression of a particular class) into something which is no longer the state proper.

It is still necessary to suppress the bourgeoisie and crush their resistance. This was particularly necessary for the Commune; and one of the reasons for its defeat was that it did not do this with sufficient determination. The organ of suppression, however, is here the majority of the population, and not a minority, as was always the case under slavery, serfdom and wage slavery. And since the majority of the people *itself* suppresses its oppressors, a "special force" for suppression *is no longer necessary!* In this sense, the state *begins to wither away*. Instead of the special institutions of a privileged minority (privileged officialdom, the chiefs of the standing army), the majority itself can directly fulfil all these functions, and the more the functions of state power are performed by the people as a whole, the less need there is for the existence of this power.

In this connection, the following measures of the Commune, emphasised by Marx, are particularly noteworthy: the abolition of all representation allowances, and of all monetary privileges to officials, the reduction of the remuneration of *all* servants of the state to the level of "*workmen's wages*". This shows more clearly than anything else the *turn* from bourgeois to proletarian democracy, from the

democracy of the oppressors to that of the oppressed classes, from the state as a "special force" for the suppression of a particular class to the suppression of the oppressors by the *general force* of the majority of the people—the workers and the peasants. And it is on this particularly striking point, perhaps the most important as far as the problem of the state is concerned, that the ideas of Marx have been most completely ignored! In popular commentaries, the number of which is legion, this is not mentioned. The thing done is to keep silent about it as if it were a piece of old-fashioned "naïveté", just as Christians, after their religion had been given the status of a state religion, "forgot" the "naïveté" of primitive Christianity with its democratic revolutionary spirit.

The reduction of the remuneration of high state officials seems to be "simply" a demand of naïve, primitive democracy. One of the "founders" of modern opportunism, the ex-Social-Democrat Eduard Bernstein, has more than once repeated the vulgar bourgeois jeers at "primitive" democracy. Like all opportunists, and like the present Kautskyites, he did not understand at all that, first of all, the transition from capitalism to socialism is *impossible* without a certain "reversion" to "primitive" democracy (for how else can the majority, and then the whole population without exception, proceed to discharge state functions?); and that, secondly, "primitive democracy" based on capitalism and capitalist culture is not the same as primitive democracy in prehistoric or pre-capitalist times. Capitalist culture has *created* large-scale production, factories, railways, the postal service, telephones, etc., and *on this basis* the great majority of the functions of the old "state power" have become so simplified and can be reduced to such exceedingly simple operations of registration, filing and checking that they can be easily performed by every literate person, can quite easily be performed for ordinary "workmen's wages", and that these functions can (and must) be stripped of every shadow of privilege, of every semblance of "official grandeur".

All officials, without exception, elected and subject to recall *at any time*, their salaries reduced to the level of ordinary "workmen's wages"—these simple and "self-evi-



The revolutionary people of Paris prevent the police and Thiers' soldiers from capturing guns on Montmartre, March 18, 1871

RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE.

LIBERTÉ, ÉGALITÉ, FRATERNITÉ.

AU PEUPLE.

Citoyens,

Le Peuple de Paris a secoué le joug qu'on essayait de lui imposer.

Calme, impassible dans sa force, il a attendu sans crainte comme sans provocation les fous éhontés qui voulaient toucher à la République

Cette fois, nos frères de l'armée n'ont pas voulu porter la main sur l'arche sainte de nos libertés. Merci à tous; et que Paris et la France jettent ensemble les bases d'une République acclamée avec toutes ses conséquences, le seul Gouvernement qui fermera pour toujours l'ère des invasions et des guerres civiles.

L'état de siège est levé

Le Peuple de Paris est convoqué dans ses sections pour faire ses Élections communales.

La sûreté de tous les citoyens est assurée par le concours de la Garde nationale.

Hôtel-de-Ville, Paris, le 19 mars 1871.

Le Comité central de la Garde nationale,

ASSI, BILLIORAY, FERRAT, BABICK, Édouard MOREAU,
C. DUPONT, VARLIN, BOURSIER, MORTIER, GOUIER,
LAVAILLETTE, Fr. JOURDE, ROUSSEAU, Ch. LULLIER,
BLANCHET, J. GROLLARD, BARROUD, H. GERESME,
FABRE, POUGERET.

Facsimile of the Manifesto issued by the Central Committee of the National Guard on March 19, 1871

dent" democratic measures, while completely uniting the interests of the workers and the majority of the peasants, at the same time serve as a bridge leading from capitalism to socialism. These measures concern the reorganisation of the state, the purely political reorganisation of society; but, of course, they acquire their full meaning and significance only in connection with the "expropriation of the expropriators" either being accomplished or in preparation, i.e., with the transformation of capitalist private ownership of the means of production into social ownership.

"The Commune," Marx wrote, "made that catchword of all bourgeois revolutions, cheap government, a reality, by abolishing the two greatest sources of expenditure—the army and the officialdom."

From the peasants, as from other sections of the petty bourgeoisie, only an insignificant few "rise to the top", "get on in the world" in the bourgeois sense, i.e., become either well-to-do, bourgeois, or officials in secure and privileged positions. In every capitalist country where there are peasants (as there are in most capitalist countries), the vast majority of them are oppressed by the government and long for its overthrow, long for "cheap" government. This can be achieved *only* by the proletariat; and by achieving it, the proletariat at the same time takes a step towards the socialist reorganisation of the state.

3. ABOLITION OF PARLIAMENTARISM

"The Commune," Marx wrote, "was to be a working, not a parliamentary, body, executive and legislative at the same time...."

"Instead of deciding once in three or six years which member of the ruling class was to represent and repress [ver- und zertreten] the people in parliament, universal suffrage was to serve the people constituted in communes, as individual suffrage serves every other employer in the search for workers, foremen and accountants for his business."

Owing to the prevalence of social-chauvinism and oppor-

tunism, this remarkable criticism of parliamentarism, made in 1871, also belongs now to the "forgotten words" of Marxism. The professional Cabinet Ministers and parliamentarians, the traitors to the proletariat and the "practical" socialists of our day, have left all criticism of parliamentarism to the anarchists, and, on this wonderfully reasonable ground, they denounce *all* criticism of parliamentarism as "anarchism"!! It is not surprising that the proletariat of the "advanced" parliamentary countries, disgusted with such "socialists" as the Scheidemanns, Davids, Legiens, Sembats, Renaudels, Hendersons, Vanderveldes, Staunings, Brantings, Bissolatis and Co., has been with increasing frequency giving its sympathies to anarcho-syndicalism, in spite of the fact that the latter is merely the twin brother of opportunism.

For Marx, however, revolutionary dialectics was never the empty fashionable phrase, the toy rattle, which Plekhanov, Kautsky and others have made of it. Marx knew how to break with anarchism ruthlessly for its inability to make use even of the "pigsty" of bourgeois parliamentarism, especially when the situation was obviously not revolutionary; but at the same time he knew how to subject parliamentarism to genuinely revolutionary proletarian criticism.

To decide once every few years which member of the ruling class is to repress and crush the people through parliament—this is the real essence of bourgeois parliamentarism, not only in parliamentary-constitutional monarchies, but also in the most democratic republics.

But if we deal with the question of the state, and if we consider parliamentarism as one of the institutions of the state, from the point of view of the tasks of the proletariat in *this* field, what is the way out of parliamentarism? How can it be dispensed with?

Once again we must say: the lessons of Marx, based on the study of the Commune, have been so completely forgotten that the present-day "Social-Democrat" (i.e., present-day traitor to socialism) really cannot understand any criticism of parliamentarism other than anarchist or reactionary criticism.

The way out of parliamentarism is not, of course, the abolition of representative institutions and the elective

principle, but the conversion of the representative institutions from talking shops into "working" bodies. "The Commune was to be a working, not a parliamentary, body, executive and legislative at the same time."

"A working, not a parliamentary, body"—this is a blow straight from the shoulder at the present-day parliamentarians and parliamentary "lap dogs" of Social-Democracy! Take any parliamentary country, from America to Switzerland, from France to Britain, Norway and so forth—in these countries the real business of "state" is performed behind the scenes and is carried on by the departments, chancelleries and General Staffs. Parliament is given up to talk for the special purpose of fooling the "common people". This is so true that even in the Russian republic, a bourgeois-democratic republic, all these sins of parliamentarism came out at once, even before it managed to set up a real parliament. The heroes of rotten philistinism, such as the Skobelevs and Tseretelis, the Chernovs and Avksentyevs, have even succeeded in polluting the Soviets after the fashion of the most disgusting bourgeois parliamentarism, in converting them into mere talking shops. In the Soviets, the "socialist" Ministers are fooling the credulous rustics with phrasemongering and resolutions. In the government itself a sort of permanent shuffle is going on in order that, on the one hand, as many Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks as possible may in turn get near the "pie", the lucrative and honourable posts, and that, on the other hand, the "attention" of the people may be "engaged". Meanwhile the chancelleries and army staffs "do" the business of "state".

Dyelo Naroda,⁴⁸ the organ of the ruling Socialist-Revolutionary Party, recently admitted in a leading article—with the matchless frankness of people of "good society", in which "all" are engaged in political prostitution—that even in the ministries headed by the "socialists" (save the mark!), the whole bureaucratic apparatus is in fact unchanged, is working in the old way and quite "freely" sabotaging revolutionary measures! Even without this admission, does not the actual history of the participation of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks in the government prove this? It is noteworthy, however, that in the ministe-

rial company of the Cadets, the Chernovs, Rusanovs, Zeninovs and the other editors of *Dyelo Naroda* have so completely lost all sense of shame as to brazenly assert, as if it were a mere bagatelle, that in "their" ministries everything is unchanged!! Revolutionary-democratic phrases to gull the rural Simple Simons, and bureaucracy and red tape to "gladden the hearts" of the capitalists—that is the essence of the "honest" coalition.

The Commune substitutes for the venal and rotten parliamentarism of bourgeois society institutions in which freedom of opinion and discussion does not degenerate into deception, for the parliamentarians themselves have to work, have to execute their own laws, have themselves to test the results achieved in reality, and to account directly to their constituents. Representative institutions remain, but there is *no* parliamentarism here as a special system, as the division of labour between the legislative and the executive, as a privileged position for the deputies. We cannot imagine democracy, even proletarian democracy, without representative institutions, but we can and *must* imagine democracy without parliamentarism, if criticism of bourgeois society is not mere words for us, if the desire to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie is our earnest and sincere desire, and not a mere "election" cry for catching workers' votes, as it is with the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, and also the Scheidemanns and Legiens, the Sembats and Vanderveldes.

It is extremely instructive to note that, in speaking of the functions of *those* officials who are necessary for the Commune and for proletarian democracy, Marx compares them to the workers of "every other employer", that is, of the ordinary capitalist enterprise, with its "workers, foremen and accountants".

There is no trace of utopianism in Marx, in the sense that he made up or invented a "new" society. No, he studied the *birth* of the new society *out of* the old, and the forms of transition from the latter to the former, as a natural-historical process. He examined the actual experience of a mass proletarian movement and tried to draw practical lessons from it. He "learned" from the Commune, just as all the great revolutionary thinkers learned unhesitatingly

from the experience of great movements of the oppressed classes, and never addressed them with pedantic "homilies" (such as Plekhanov's: "They should not have taken up arms" or Tsereteli's: "A class must limit itself").

Abolishing the bureaucracy at once, everywhere and completely, is out of the question. It is a utopia. But to *smash* the old bureaucratic machine at once and to begin immediately to construct a new one that will make possible the gradual abolition of all bureaucracy—this is *not* a utopia, it is the experience of the Commune, the direct and immediate task of the revolutionary proletariat.

Capitalism simplifies the functions of "state" administration; it makes it possible to cast "bossing" aside and to confine the whole matter to the organisation of the proletarians (as the ruling class), which will hire "workers, foremen and accountants" in the name of the whole of society.

We are not utopians, we do not "dream" of dispensing *at once* with all administration, with all subordination. These anarchist dreams, based upon incomprehension of the tasks of the proletarian dictatorship, are totally alien to Marxism, and, as a matter of fact, serve only to postpone the socialist revolution until people are different. No, we want the socialist revolution with people as they are now, with people who cannot dispense with subordination, control and "foremen and accountants".

The subordination, however, must be to the armed vanguard of all the exploited and working people, i.e., to the proletariat. A beginning can and must be made at once, overnight, to replace the specific "bossing" of state officials by the simple functions of "foremen and accountants", functions which are already fully within the ability of the average town dweller and can well be performed for "workmen's wages".

We, the workers, shall organise large-scale production on the basis of what capitalism has already created, relying on our own experience as workers, establishing strict, iron discipline backed up by the state power of the armed workers. We shall reduce the role of state officials to that of simply carrying out our instructions as responsible, revocable, modestly paid "foremen and accountants" (of course,

with the aid of technicians of all sorts, types and degrees). This is *our* proletarian task, this is what we can and must *start* with in accomplishing the proletarian revolution. Such a beginning, on the basis of large-scale production, will of itself lead to the gradual "withering away" of all bureaucracy, to the gradual creation of an order—an order without inverted commas, an order bearing no similarity to wage slavery—an order under which the functions of control and accounting, becoming more and more simple, will be performed by each in turn, will then become a habit and will finally die out as the *special* functions of a special section of the population.

A witty German Social-Democrat of the seventies of the last century called the *postal service* an example of the socialist economic system. This is very true. At present the postal service is a business organised on the lines of a *state-capitalist* monopoly. Imperialism is gradually transforming all trusts into organisations of a similar type, in which the same bourgeois bureaucracy stands over the "common" people, who are overworked and starved. But the mechanism of social management is here already to hand. Once we have overthrown the capitalists, crushed the resistance of these exploiters with the iron hand of the armed workers, and smashed the bureaucratic machine of the modern state, we shall have a splendidly equipped mechanism, freed from the "parasite", a mechanism which can very well be set going by the united workers themselves, who will hire technicians, foremen and accountants, and pay them *all*, as indeed *all* "state" officials in general, workmen's wages. Here is a concrete, practical task which can immediately be fulfilled in relation to all trusts, a task whose fulfilment will rid the working people of exploitation, a task which takes account of what the Commune had already begun to practise (particularly in building up the state).

To organise the *whole* economy on the lines of the postal service so that the technicians, foremen and accountants, as well as *all* officials, shall receive salaries no higher than "a workman's wage", all under the control and leadership of the armed proletariat—this is our immediate aim. This is the state and this is the economic foundation we need.

This is what will bring about the abolition of parliamentarism and the preservation of representative institutions. This is what will rid the labouring classes of the bourgeoisie's prostitution of these institutions.

4. ORGANISATION OF NATIONAL UNITY

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

"...The few but important functions which would still remain for a central government were not to be suppressed, as has been deliberately mis-stated, but were to be transferred to communal, i.e., strictly responsible, officials.

"... National unity was not to be broken, but, on the contrary, organised by the communal constitution; it was to become a reality by the destruction of state power which posed as the embodiment of that unity yet wanted to be independent of, and superior to, the nation, on whose body it was but a parasitic excrescence.... While the merely repressive organs of the old governmental power were to be amputated, its legitimate functions were to be wrested from an authority claiming the right to stand above society, and restored to the responsible servants of society."

The extent to which the opportunists of present-day Social-Democracy have failed—perhaps it would be more true to say, have refused—to understand these observations of Marx is best shown by that book of Herostratean fame of the renegade Bernstein, *The Premises of Socialism and the Tasks of the Social-Democrats*. It is in connection with the above passage from Marx that Bernstein wrote that "as far as its political content is concerned", this programme "displays, in all its essential features, the greatest similarity to the federalism of Proudhon.... In spite of all the other points of difference between Marx and the 'petty-bourgeois' Proudhon [Bernstein places the word "petty-

bourgeois" in inverted commas to make it sound ironical] on these points, their lines of reasoning run as close as could be". Of course, Bernstein continues, the importance of the municipalities is growing, but "it seems doubtful to me whether the first job of democracy would be such a dissolution [Auflösung] of the modern states and such a complete transformation [Umwandlung] of their organisation as is visualised by Marx and Proudhon (the formation of a National Assembly from delegates of the provincial or district assemblies, which, in their turn, would consist of delegates from the communes), so that consequently the previous mode of national representation would disappear". (Bernstein, *Premises*, German edition, 1899, pp. 134 and 136.)

To confuse Marx's views on the "destruction of state power, a parasitic excrescence", with Proudhon's federalism is positively monstrous! But it is no accident, for it never occurs to the opportunist that Marx does not speak here at all about federalism as opposed to centralism, but about smashing the old, bourgeois state machine which exists in all bourgeois countries.

The only thing that does occur to the opportunist is what he sees around him, in an environment of petty-bourgeois philistinism and "reformist" stagnation, namely, only "municipalities"! The opportunist has even grown out of the habit of thinking about proletarian revolution.

It is ridiculous. But the remarkable thing is that nobody argued with Bernstein on this point. Bernstein has been refuted by many, especially by Plekhanov in Russian literature and by Kautsky in European literature, but neither of them has said *anything* about *this* distortion of Marx by Bernstein.

The opportunist has so much forgotten how to think in a revolutionary way and to dwell on revolution that he attributes "federalism" to Marx, whom he confuses with the founder of anarchism, Proudhon. As for Kautsky and Plekhanov, who claim to be orthodox Marxists and defenders of the theory of revolutionary Marxism, they are silent on this point! Here is one of the roots of the extreme vulgarisation of the views on the difference between Marxism and anarchism, which is characteristic of both the Kaut-

skyites and the opportunists, and which we shall discuss again later.

There is not a trace of federalism in Marx's above-quoted observations on the experience of the Commune. Marx agreed with Proudhon on the very point that the opportunist Bernstein did not see. Marx disagreed with Proudhon on the very point on which Bernstein found a similarity between them.

Marx agreed with Proudhon in that they both stood for the "smashing" of the modern state machine. Neither the opportunists nor the Kautskyites wish to see the similarity of views on this point between Marxism and anarchism (both Proudhon and Bakunin) because this is where they have departed from Marxism.

Marx disagreed both with Proudhon and Bakunin precisely on the question of federalism (not to mention the dictatorship of the proletariat). Federalism as a principle follows logically from the petty-bourgeois views of anarchism. Marx was a centralist. There is no departure whatever from centralism in his observations just quoted. Only those who are imbued with the philistine "superstitious belief" in the state can mistake the destruction of the bourgeois state machine for the destruction of centralism!

Now if the proletariat and the poor peasants take state power into their own hands, organise themselves quite freely in communes, and *unite* the action of all the communes in striking at capital, in crushing the resistance of the capitalists, and in transferring the privately-owned railways, factories, land and so on to the *entire* nation, to the whole of society, won't that be centralism? Won't that be the most consistent democratic centralism and, moreover, proletarian centralism?

Bernstein simply cannot conceive of the possibility of voluntary centralism, of the voluntary amalgamation of the communes into a nation, of the voluntary fusion of the proletarian communes, for the purpose of destroying bourgeois rule and the bourgeois state machine. Like all philistines, Bernstein pictures centralism as something which can be imposed and maintained solely from above, and solely by the bureaucracy and the military clique.

As though foreseeing that his views might be distorted,

Marx expressly emphasised that the charge that the Commune had wanted to destroy national unity, to abolish the central authority, was a deliberate fraud. Marx purposely used the words: "National unity was ... to be organised", so as to oppose conscious, democratic, proletarian centralism to bourgeois, military, bureaucratic centralism.

But there are none so deaf as those who will not hear. And the very thing the opportunists of present-day Social-Democracy do not want to hear about is the destruction of state power, the amputation of the parasitic excrescence.

5. ABOLITION OF THE PARASITE STATE

We have already quoted Marx's words on this subject, and we must now supplement them.

"...It is generally the fate of new historical creations," he wrote, "to be mistaken for the counterpart of older and even defunct forms of social life, to which they may bear a certain likeness. Thus, this new Commune, which breaks [*bricht*, smashes] the modern state power, has been regarded as a revival of the medieval communes ... as a federation of small states (as Montesquieu and the Girondins⁴⁹ visualised it) ... as an exaggerated form of the old struggle against over-centralisation...."

"...The Communal Constitution would have restored to the social body all the forces hitherto absorbed by that parasitic excrescence, the 'state', feeding upon society and hampering its free movement. By this one act it would have initiated the regeneration of France...."

"...The Communal Constitution would have brought the rural producers under the intellectual lead of the central towns of their districts, and there secured to them, in the town working men, the natural trustees of their interests. The very existence of the Commune involved, as a matter of course, local self-government, but no longer as a counterpoise to state power, now become superfluous."

"Breaking state power", which was a "parasitic excrescence"; its "amputation", its "smashing"; "state power, now become superfluous"—these are the expressions Marx

used in regard to the state when appraising and analysing the experience of the Commune.

All this was written a little less than half a century ago; and now one has to engage in excavations, as it were, in order to bring undistorted Marxism to the knowledge of the mass of the people. The conclusions drawn from the observation of the last great revolution which Marx lived through were forgotten just when the time for the next great proletarian revolutions had arrived.

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

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

The utopians busied themselves with "discovering" political forms under which the socialist transformation of society was to take place. The anarchists dismissed the question of political forms altogether. The opportunists of present-day Social-Democracy accepted the bourgeois political forms of the parliamentary democratic state as the limit which should not be overstepped; they battered their foreheads praying before this "model", and denounced as anarchism every desire to *break* these forms.

Marx deduced from the whole history of socialism and the political struggle that the state was bound to disappear, and that the transitional form of its disappearance (the transition from state to non-state) would be the "proletariat organised as the ruling class". Marx, however, did not set out to *discover* the political forms of this future stage. He limited himself to carefully observing French history, to analysing it, and to drawing the conclusion to which

the year 1851 had led, namely, that matters were moving towards the *destruction* of the bourgeois state machine.

And when the mass revolutionary movement of the proletariat burst forth, Marx, in spite of its failure, in spite of its short life and patent weakness, began to study the forms it had *discovered*.

The Commune is the form "at last discovered" by the proletarian revolution, under which the economic emancipation of labour can take place.

The Commune is the first attempt by a proletarian revolution to *smash* the bourgeois state machine; and it is the political form "at last discovered", by which the smashed state machine can and must be *replaced*.

We shall see further on that the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917, in different circumstances and under different conditions, continue the work of the Commune and confirm Marx's brilliant historical analysis.

Chapter IV

CONTINUATION. SUPPLEMENTARY EXPLANATIONS BY ENGELS

Marx gave the fundamentals concerning the significance of the experience of the Commune. Engels returned to the same subject time and again, and explained Marx's analysis and conclusions, sometimes elucidating *other* aspects of the question with such power and vividness that it is necessary to deal with his explanations specially.

1. THE HOUSING QUESTION

In his work, *The Housing Question* (1872), Engels already took into account the experience of the Commune, and dealt several times with the tasks of the revolution in relation to the state. It is interesting to note that the treatment of this specific subject clearly revealed, on the one hand, points of similarity between the proletarian state and the present state—points that warrant speaking of the state in both cases—and, on the other hand, points of difference between them, or the transition to the destruction of the state.

"How is the housing question to be settled, then? In present-day society, it is settled just as any other social question: by the gradual economic levelling of demand and supply, a settlement which reproduces the question itself again and again and therefore is no settlement. How a social revolution would settle this question not only depends on the circumstances in each particular case, but is also connected with much more far-reaching questions, one of the most fundamental of which is the abolition of the antithesis between town and country. As it is not our task to create utopian systems for the organisation of the future society, it would be more than idle to go into the question here. But one thing is certain: there is already a sufficient quantity of houses in the big cities to remedy immediately all real 'housing shortage', provided they are used judiciously. This can naturally only occur through the expropriation of the present owners and by quartering in their houses homeless workers or workers overcrowded in their present homes. As soon as the proletariat has won political power, such a measure prompted by concern for the common good will be just as easy to carry out as are other expropriations and billetings by the present-day state." (German edition, 1887, p. 22.)⁵⁰

The change in the form of state power is not examined here, but only the content of its activity. Expropriations and billetings take place by order even of the present state. From the formal point of view, the proletarian state will also "order" the occupation of dwellings and expropriation of houses. But it is clear that the old executive apparatus, the bureaucracy, which is connected with the bourgeoisie, would simply be unfit to carry out the orders of the proletarian state.

"...It must be pointed out that the 'actual seizure' of all the instruments of labour, the taking possession of industry as a whole by the working people, is the exact opposite of the Proudhonist 'redemption'. In the latter case the individual worker becomes the owner of the dwelling, the peasant farm, the instruments of labour; in

the former case, the 'working people' remain the collective owners of the houses, factories and instruments of labour, and will hardly permit their use, at least during a transitional period, by individuals or associations without compensation for the cost. In the same way, the abolition of property in land is not the abolition of ground rent but its transfer, if in a modified form, to society. The actual seizure of all the instruments of labour by the working people, therefore, does not at all preclude the retention of rent relations." (P. 68.)

We shall examine the question touched upon in this passage, namely, the economic basis for the withering away of the state, in the next chapter. Engels expresses himself most cautiously, saying that the proletarian state would "hardly" permit the use of houses without payment, "at least during a transitional period". The letting of houses owned by the whole people to individual families presupposes the collection of rent, a certain amount of control, and the employment of some standard in allotting the housing. All this calls for a certain form of state, but it does not at all call for a special military and bureaucratic apparatus, with officials occupying especially privileged positions. The transition to a situation in which it will be possible to supply dwellings rent-free depends on the complete "withering away" of the state.

Speaking of the Blanquists' adoption of the fundamental position of Marxism after the Commune and under the influence of its experience, Engels, in passing, formulates this position as follows:

"...Necessity of political action by the proletariat and of its dictatorship as the transition to the abolition of classes and, with them, of the state...." (P. 55.)

Addicts to hair-splitting criticism, or bourgeois "exterminators of Marxism", will perhaps see a contradiction between this *recognition* of the "abolition of the state" and repudiation of this formula as an anarchist one in the above passage from *Anti-Dühring*. It would not be surprising if the opportunists classed Engels, too, as an "anarchist", for it is becoming increasingly common with the

social-chauvinists to accuse the internationalists of anarchism.

Marxism has always taught that with the abolition of classes the state will also be abolished. The well-known passage on the "withering away of the state" in *Anti-Dühring* accuses the anarchists not simply of favouring the abolition of the state, but of preaching that the state can be abolished "overnight".

As the now prevailing "Social-Democratic" doctrine completely distorts the relation of Marxism to anarchism on the question of the abolition of the state, it will be particularly useful to recall a certain controversy in which Marx and Engels came out against the anarchists.

2. CONTROVERSY WITH THE ANARCHISTS

This controversy took place in 1873. Marx and Engels contributed articles against the Proudhonists, "autonomists" or "anti-authoritarians", to an Italian socialist annual, and it was not until 1913 that these articles appeared in German in *Neue Zeit*.⁵¹

"If the political struggle of the working class assumes revolutionary forms," wrote Marx, ridiculing the anarchists for their repudiation of politics, "and if the workers set up their revolutionary dictatorship in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, they commit the terrible crime of violating principles, for in order to satisfy their wretched, vulgar everyday needs and to crush the resistance of the bourgeoisie, they give the state a revolutionary and transient form, instead of laying down their arms and abolishing the state...." (*Neue Zeit*, Vol. XXXII, 1, 1913-14, p. 40.)⁵²

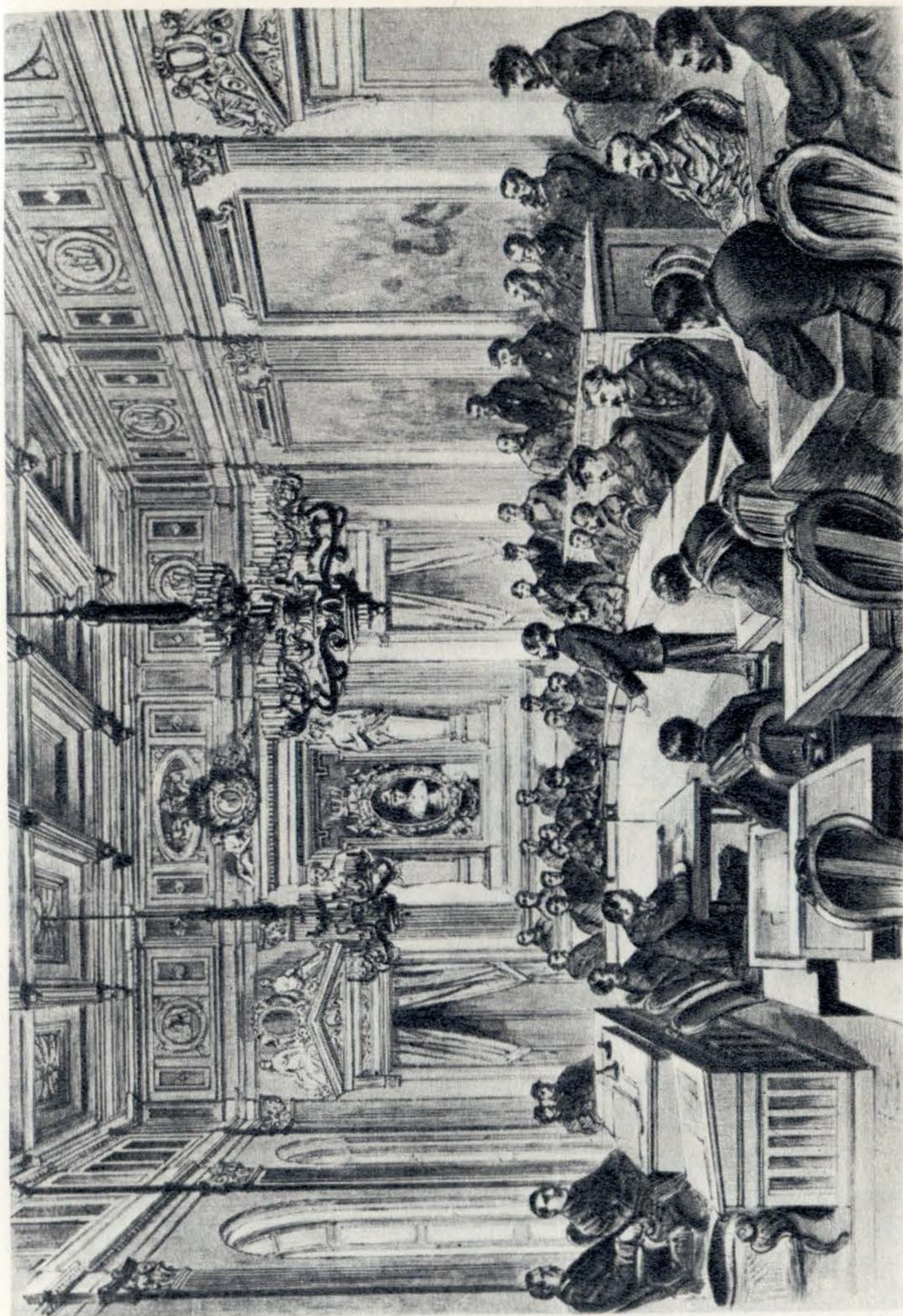
It was solely against this kind of "abolition" of the state that Marx fought in refuting the anarchists! He did not at all oppose the view that the state would disappear when classes disappeared, or that it would be abolished when classes were abolished. What he did oppose was the proposition that the workers should renounce the use of arms, organised violence, *that is, the state*, which is to serve to "crush the resistance of the bourgeoisie".

To prevent the true meaning of his struggle against anarchism from being distorted, Marx expressly emphasised the “revolutionary and *transient* form” of the state which the proletariat needs. The proletariat needs the state only temporarily. We do not at all differ with the anarchists on the question of the abolition of the state as the *aim*. We maintain that, to achieve this aim, we must temporarily make use of the instruments, resources and methods of state power *against* the exploiters, just as the temporary dictatorship of the oppressed class is necessary for the abolition of classes. Marx chooses the sharpest and clearest way of stating his case against the anarchists: After overthrowing the yoke of the capitalists, should the workers “lay down their arms”, or use them against the capitalists in order to crush their resistance? But what is the systematic use of arms by one class against another if not a “transient form” of state?

Let every Social-Democrat ask himself: Is *that* how he has been posing the question of the state in controversy with the anarchists? Is *that* how it has been posed by the vast majority of the official socialist parties of the Second International?

Engels expounds the same ideas in much greater detail and still more popularly. First of all he ridicules the muddled ideas of the Proudhonists, who called themselves “anti-authoritarians”, i.e., repudiated all authority, all subordination, all power. Take a factory, a railway, a ship on the high seas, said Engels: is it not clear that not one of these complex technical establishments, based on the use of machinery and the systematic co-operation of many people, could function without a certain amount of subordination and, consequently, without a certain amount of authority or power?

“...When I counter the most rabid anti-authoritarians with these arguments, the only answer they can give me is the following: Oh, that’s true, except that here it is not a question of authority with which we vest our delegates, *but of a commission!* These people imagine they can change a thing by changing its name....”⁵³



The Paris Commune in session

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RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE

N° 59 LIBERTÉ — ÉGALITÉ — FRATERNITÉ N° 59

COMMUNE DE PARIS

LA COMMUNE DE PARIS,

Considérant que le premier des principes de la République française est la liberté;

Considérant que la liberté de conscience est la première des libertés;

Considérant que le budget des cultes est contraire au principe, puisqu'il impose les citoyens contre leur propre foi;

Considérant, en fait, que le clergé a été le complice des crimes de la monarchie contre la liberté,

DÉCRETE :

ART. 1^{er}. L'Église est séparée de l'État.

ART. 2. Le budget des cultes est supprimé.

ART. 3. Les biens dits de mainmorte, appartenant aux congrégations religieuses, meubles et immeubles, sont déclarés propriétés nationales.

ART. 4. Une enquête sera faite immédiatement sur ces biens, pour en constater la nature et les mettre à la disposition de la Nation.

LA COMMUNE DE PARIS.

Paris, le 3 avril 1871.

2 IMPRIMERIE NATIONALE. — AVRIL 1871.

Decree of the Paris Commune on separation of the church from
the state, April 3, 1871

Having thus shown that authority and autonomy are relative terms, that the sphere of their application varies with the various phases of social development, that it is absurd to take them as absolutes, and adding that the sphere of application of machinery and large-scale production is steadily expanding, Engels passes from the general discussion of authority to the question of the state.

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

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

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

confusion. Or they do know, and in that case they are betraying the cause of the proletariat. In either case they serve only reaction." (P. 39.)⁵⁴

This argument touches upon questions which should be examined in connection with the relationship between politics and economics during the withering away of the state (the next chapter is devoted to this). These questions are: the transformation of public functions from political into simple functions of administration, and the "political state". This last term, one particularly liable to cause misunderstanding, indicates the process of the withering away of the state: at a certain stage of this process, the state which is withering away may be called a non-political state.

Again, the most remarkable thing in this argument of Engels is the way he states his case against the anarchists. Social-Democrats, claiming to be disciples of Engels, have argued on this subject against the anarchists millions of times since 1873, but they have *not* argued as Marxists could and should. The anarchist idea of the abolition of the state is muddled and *non-revolutionary*—that is how Engels put it. It is precisely the revolution in its rise and development, with its specific tasks in relation to violence, authority, power, the state, that the anarchists refuse to see.

The usual criticism of anarchism by present-day Social-Democrats has boiled down to the purest philistine banality: "We recognise the state, whereas the anarchists do not!" Naturally, such banality cannot but repel workers who are at all capable of thinking and revolutionary-minded. What Engels says is different. He stresses that all socialists recognise that the state will disappear as a result of the socialist revolution. He then deals specifically with the question of the revolution—the very question which, as a rule, the Social-Democrats evade out of opportunism, leaving it, so to speak, exclusively for the anarchists "to work out". And when dealing with this question, Engels takes the bull by the horns; he asks: should not the Commune have made *more* use of the *revolutionary* power of the *state*, that is, of the proletariat armed and organised as the ruling class?

Prevailing official Social-Democracy usually dismissed the question of the concrete tasks of the proletariat in the revolution either with a philistine sneer, or, at best, with the sophistic evasion: "The future will show." And the anarchists were justified in saying about such Social-Democrats that they were failing in their task of giving the workers a revolutionary education. Engels draws upon the experience of the last proletarian revolution precisely for the purpose of making a most concrete study of what should be done by the proletariat, and in what manner, in relation to both the banks and the state.

3. LETTER TO BEBEL

One of the most, if not *the* most remarkable observation on the state in the works of Marx and Engels is contained in the following passage in Engels's letter to Bebel dated March 18-28, 1875. This letter, we may observe in parenthesis, was, as far as we know, first published by Bebel in the second volume of his memoirs (*Aus meinem Leben*), which appeared in 1911, i.e., thirty-six years after the letter had been written and sent.

Engels wrote to Bebel criticising that same draft of the Gotha Programme which Marx criticised in his famous letter to Bracke.⁵⁵ Referring specially to the question of the state, Engels said:

"The free people's state has been transformed into the free state. Taken in its grammatical sense, a free state is one where the state is free in relation to its citizens, hence a state with a despotic government. The whole talk about the state should be dropped, especially since the Commune, which was no longer a state in the proper sense of the word. The 'people's state' has been thrown in our faces by the anarchists to the point of disgust, although already Marx's book against Proudhon⁵⁶ and later the *Communist Manifesto* say plainly that with the introduction of the socialist order of society the state dissolves of itself [sich auflöst] and disappears. As the state is only a transitional institution which is used in the struggle, in the revolution, to hold

down one's adversaries by force, it is sheer nonsense to talk of a 'free people's state'; so long as the proletariat still *needs* the state, it does not need it in the interests of freedom but in order to hold down its adversaries, and as soon as it becomes possible to speak of freedom the state as such ceases to exist. We would therefore propose replacing *state* everywhere by *Gemeinwesen*, a good old German word which can very well take the place of the French word *commune*." (Pp. 321-22 of the German original.)⁵⁷

It should be borne in mind that this letter refers to the party programme which Marx criticised in a letter dated only a few weeks later than the above (Marx's letter is dated May 5, 1875), and that at the time Engels was living with Marx in London. Consequently, when he says "we" in the last sentence, Engels, undoubtedly, in his own as well as in Marx's name, suggests to the leader of the German workers' party that the word "state" *be struck out of the programme* and replaced by the word "community".

What a howl about "anarchism" would be raised by the leading lights of present-day "Marxism", which has been falsified for the convenience of the opportunists, if such an amendment of the programme were suggested to them!

Let them howl. This will earn them the praises of the bourgeoisie.

And we shall go on with our work. In revising the programme of our Party, we must by all means take the advice of Engels and Marx into consideration in order to come nearer the truth, to restore Marxism by ridding it of distortions, to guide the struggle of the working class for its emancipation more correctly. Certainly no one opposed to the advice of Engels and Marx will be found among the Bolsheviks. The only difficulty that may perhaps arise will be in regard to the term. In German there are two words meaning "community", of which Engels used the one which does *not* denote a single community, but their totality, a system of communities. In Russian there is no such word, and we may have to choose the French word "commune", although this also has its drawbacks.

"The Commune was no longer a state in the proper sense of the word"—this is the most theoretically important statement Engels makes. After what has been said above, this statement is perfectly clear. The Commune *was ceasing* to be a state since it had to suppress, not the majority of the population, but a minority (the exploiters). It had smashed the bourgeois state machine. In place of a *special* coercive force the population itself came on the scene. All this was a departure from the state in the proper sense of the word. And had the Commune become firmly established, all traces of the state in it would have "withered away" of themselves; it would not have had to "abolish" the institutions of the state—they would have ceased to function as they ceased to have anything to do.

"The 'people's state' has been thrown in our faces by the anarchists." In saying this, Engels above all has in mind Bakunin and his attacks on the German Social-Democrats. Engels admits that these attacks were justified *insofar* as the "people's state" was as much an absurdity and as much a departure from socialism as the "free people's state". Engels tried to put the struggle of the German Social-Democrats against the anarchists on the right lines, to make this struggle correct in principle, to rid it of opportunist prejudices concerning the "state". Unfortunately, Engels's letter was pigeon-holed for thirty-six years. We shall see farther on that, even after this letter was published, Kautsky persisted in virtually the same mistakes against which Engels had warned.

Bebel replied to Engels in a letter dated September 21, 1875, in which he wrote, among other things, that he "fully agreed" with Engels's opinion of the draft programme, and that he had reproached Liebknecht with readiness to make concessions (p. 334 of the German edition of Bebel's memoirs, Vol. II). But if we take Bebel's pamphlet, *Our Aims*, we find there views on the state that are absolutely wrong.

"The state must ... be transformed from one based on *class rule* into a *people's state*." (*Unsere Ziele*, German edition, 1886, p. 14.)

This was printed in the *ninth* (the ninth!) edition of Bebel's pamphlet! It is not surprising that opportunist views on the state, so persistently repeated, were absorbed

by the German Social-Democrats, especially as Engels's revolutionary interpretations had been safely pigeon-holed, and all the conditions of life were such as to "wean" them from revolution for a long time.

5. THE 1891 PREFACE TO MARX'S *THE CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE*

In his preface to the third edition of *The Civil War in France* (this preface is dated March 18, 1891, and was originally published in *Neue Zeit*), Engels, in addition to some interesting incidental remarks on questions concerning the attitude towards the state, gave a remarkably vivid summary of the lessons of the Commune.⁵⁸ This summary, made more profound by the entire experience of the twenty years that separated the author from the Commune, and directed expressly against the "superstitious belief in the state" so widespread in Germany, may justly be called the *last word* of Marxism on the question under consideration.

In France, Engels observed, the workers emerged with arms from every revolution; "therefore the disarming of the workers was the first commandment for the bourgeois, who were at the helm of the state. Hence, after every revolution won by the workers, a new struggle, ending with the defeat of the workers".

This summary of the experience of bourgeois revolutions is as concise as it is expressive. The essence of the matter—among other things, on the question of the state (*has the oppressed class arms?*)—is here remarkably well grasped. It is precisely this essence that is most often evaded both by professors influenced by bourgeois ideology, and by petty-bourgeois democrats. In the Russian revolution of 1917, the honour (Cavaignac honour) of blabbing this secret of bourgeois revolutions fell to the Menshevik, would-be Marxist, Tsereteli. In his "historic" speech of June 11, Tsereteli blurted out that the bourgeoisie were determined to disarm the Petrograd workers—presenting, of course, this decision as his own, and as a necessity for the "state" in general!

Tsereteli's historic speech of June 11 will, of course, serve every historian of the revolution of 1917 as a graphic illustration of how the Socialist-Revolutionary and Menshevik bloc, led by Mr. Tsereteli, deserted to the bourgeoisie *against* the revolutionary proletariat.

Another incidental remark of Engels's, also connected with the question of the state, deals with religion. It is well known that the German Social-Democrats, as they degenerated and became increasingly opportunist, slipped more and more frequently into the philistine misinterpretation of the celebrated formula: "Religion is to be declared a private matter." That is, this formula was twisted to mean that religion was a private matter *even for the party* of the revolutionary proletariat!! It was against this complete betrayal of the revolutionary programme of the proletariat that Engels vigorously protested. In 1891 he saw only the *very feeble* beginnings of opportunism in his party, and, therefore, he expressed himself with extreme caution:

"As almost only workers, or recognised representatives of the workers, sat in the Commune, its decisions bore a decidedly proletarian character. Either they decreed reforms which the republican bourgeoisie had failed to pass solely out of cowardice, but which provided a necessary basis for the free activity of the working class—such as the realisation of the principle that *in relation to the state* religion is a purely private matter—or the Commune promulgated decrees which were in the direct interest of the working class and in part cut deeply into the old order of society."

Engels deliberately emphasised the words "in relation to the state", as a straight thrust at German opportunism, which had declared religion to be a private matter *in relation to the party*, thus degrading the party of the revolutionary proletariat to the level of the most vulgar "free-thinking" philistinism, which is prepared to allow a non-denominational status, but which renounces the *party* struggle against the opium of religion which stupefies the people.

The future historian of the German Social-Democrats, in tracing the roots of their shameful bankruptcy in 1914, will find a fair amount of interesting material on this ques-

tion, beginning with the evasive declarations in the articles of the party's ideological leader, Kautsky, which throw the door wide open to opportunism, and ending with the attitude of the party towards the "Los-von-Kirche-Bewegung" (the "Leave-the-Church" movement) in 1913.⁵⁹

But let us see how, twenty years after the Commune, Engels summed up its lessons for the fighting proletariat.

Here are the lessons to which Engels attached prime importance:

"...It was precisely the oppressing power of the former centralised government, army, political police, bureaucracy, which Napoleon had created in 1798 and which every new government had since then taken over as a welcome instrument and used against its opponents—it was this power which was to fall everywhere, just as it had fallen in Paris.

"From the very outset the Commune had to recognise that the working class, once in power, could not go on managing with the old state machine; that in order not to lose again its only just gained supremacy, this working class must, on the one hand, do away with all the old machinery of oppression previously used against it itself, and, on the other, safeguard itself against its own deputies and officials, by declaring them all, without exception, subject to recall at any time...."

Engels emphasised once again that not only under a monarchy, but *also in a democratic republic* the state remains a state, i.e., it retains its fundamental distinguishing feature of transforming the officials, the "servants of society", its organs, into the *masters* of society.

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

was 6,000 francs.* In this way a dependable barrier to place-hunting and careerism was set up, even apart from the binding mandates to delegates to representative bodies, which were added besides...."

Engels here approached the interesting boundary line at which consistent democracy, on the one hand, is *transformed* into socialism and, on the other, *demands* socialism. For, in order to abolish the state, it is necessary to convert the functions of the civil service into the simple operations of control and accounting that are within the scope and ability of the vast majority of the population, and, subsequently, of every single individual. And if careerism is to be abolished completely, it must be made *impossible* for "honourable" though profitless posts in the Civil Service to be used as a springboard to highly lucrative posts in banks or joint-stock companies, as *constantly* happens in all the freest capitalist countries.

Engels, however, did not make the mistake some Marxists make in dealing, for example, with the question of the right of nations to self-determination, when they argue that it is impossible under capitalism and will be superfluous under socialism. This seemingly clever but actually incorrect statement might be made in regard to *any* democratic institution, including moderate salaries for officials, because fully consistent democracy is impossible under capitalism, and under socialism all democracy *will wither away*.

This is a sophism like the old joke about a man becoming bald by losing one more hair.

To develop democracy *to the utmost*, to find the *forms* for this development, to test them *by practice*, and so forth—all this is one of the component tasks of the struggle for the social revolution. Taken separately, no kind of democracy will bring socialism. But in actual life democracy will never be "taken separately"; it will be "taken to-

* Nominally about 2,400 rubles or, according to the present rate of exchange, about 6,000 rubles. The action of those Bolsheviks who propose that a salary of 9,000 rubles be paid to members of municipal councils, for instance, instead of a maximum salary of 6,000 rubles—quite an adequate sum—*throughout the state*, is inexcusable.⁶⁰

gether" with other things, it will exert its influence on economic life as well, will stimulate *its* transformation; and in its turn it will be influenced by economic development, and so on. This is the dialectics of living history.

Engels continued:

"...This shattering [Sprengung] of the former state power and its replacement by a new and truly democratic one is described in detail in the third section of *The Civil War*. But it was necessary to touch briefly here once more on some of its features, because in Germany particularly the superstitious belief in the state has passed from philosophy into the general consciousness of the bourgeoisie and even of many workers. According to the philosophical conception, the state is the 'realisation of the idea', or the Kingdom of God on earth, translated into philosophical terms, the sphere in which eternal truth and justice are, or should be, realised. And from this follows a superstitious reverence for the state and everything connected with it, which takes root the more readily since people are accustomed from childhood to imagine that the affairs and interests common to the whole of society could not be looked after other than as they have been looked after in the past, that is, through the state and its lucratively positioned officials. And people think they have taken quite an extraordinarily bold step forward when they have rid themselves of belief in hereditary monarchy and swear by the democratic republic. In reality, however, the state is nothing but a machine for the oppression of one class by another, and indeed in the democratic republic no less than in the monarchy. And at best it is an evil inherited by the proletariat after its victorious struggle for class supremacy, whose worst sides the victorious proletariat will have to lop off as speedily as possible, just as the Commune had to, until a generation reared in new, free social conditions is able to discard the entire lumber of the state."

Engels warned the Germans not to forget the principles of socialism with regard to the state in general in connection with the substitution of a republic for the monarchy. His warnings now read like a veritable lesson to the Tsere-

telis and Chernovs, who in their "coalition" practice have revealed a superstitious belief in, and a superstitious reverence for, the state!

Chapter VI

THE VULGARISATION OF MARXISM BY THE OPPORTUNISTS

The question of the relation of the state to the social revolution, and of the social revolution to the state, like the question of revolution generally, was given very little attention by the leading theoreticians and publicists of the Second International (1889-1914). But the most characteristic thing about the process of the gradual growth of opportunism that led to the collapse of the Second International in 1914 is the fact that even when these people were squarely faced with this question they *tried to evade* it or ignored it.

In general, it may be said that *evasiveness* over the question of the relation of the proletarian revolution to the state—an evasiveness which benefited and fostered opportunism—resulted in the *distortion* of Marxism and in its complete vulgarisation.

To characterise this lamentable process, if only briefly, we shall take the most prominent theoreticians of Marxism: Plekhanov and Kautsky.

1. PLEKHANOV'S CONTROVERSY WITH THE ANARCHISTS

Plekhanov wrote a special pamphlet on the relation of anarchism to socialism, entitled *Anarchism and Socialism*, which was published in German in 1894.

In treating this subject, Plekhanov contrived completely to evade the most urgent, burning, and most politically essential issue in the struggle against anarchism, namely, the relation of the revolution to the state, and the question of the state in general! His pamphlet falls into two distinct parts: one of them is historical and literary, and contains valuable material on the history of the ideas of Stirner, Proudhon and others; the other is philistine, and

contains a clumsy dissertation on the theme that an anarchist cannot be distinguished from a bandit.

It is a most amusing combination of subjects and most characteristic of Plekhanov's whole activity on the eve of the revolution and during the revolutionary period in Russia. In fact, in the years 1905 to 1917, Plekhanov revealed himself as a semi-doctrinaire and semi-philistine who, in politics, trailed in the wake of the bourgeoisie.

We have seen how, in their controversy with the anarchists, Marx and Engels with the utmost thoroughness explained their views on the relation of the revolution to the state. In 1891, in his foreword to Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, Engels wrote that "we"—that is, Engels and Marx—"were at that time, hardly two years after The Hague Congress of the [First] International,⁶¹ engaged in the most violent struggle against Bakunin and his anarchists".

The anarchists had tried to claim the Paris Commune as their "own", so to say, as a corroboration of their doctrine; and they completely misunderstood its lessons and Marx's analysis of these lessons. Anarchism has given nothing even approximating true answers to the concrete political questions: Must the old state machine be *smashed*? And *what* should be put in its place?

But to speak of "anarchism and socialism" while completely evading the question of the state, and *disregarding* the whole development of Marxism before and after the Commune, meant inevitably slipping into opportunism. For what opportunism needs most of all is that the two questions just mentioned should *not* be raised at all. That *in itself* is a victory for opportunism.

2. KAUTSKY'S CONTROVERSY WITH THE OPPORTUNISTS

Undoubtedly, an immeasurably larger number of Kautsky's works have been translated into Russian than into any other language. It is not without reason that some German Social-Democrats say in jest that Kautsky is read more in Russia than in Germany (let us say, in parenthesis, that this jest has a far deeper historical meaning than those

who first made it suspect. The Russian workers, by making in 1905 an unusually great and unprecedented demand for the best works of the best Social-Democratic literature in the world, and by receiving translations and editions of these works in quantities unheard of in other countries, rapidly transplanted, so to speak, the enormous experience of a neighbouring, more advanced country to the young soil of our proletarian movement).

Besides his popularisation of Marxism, Kautsky is particularly known in our country for his controversy with the opportunists, with Bernstein at their head. One fact, however, is almost unknown, one which cannot be ignored if we set out to investigate how Kautsky drifted into the morass of unbelievably disgraceful confusion and defence of social-chauvinism during the supreme crisis of 1914-15. This fact is as follows: shortly before he came out against the most prominent representatives of opportunism in France (Millerand and Jaurès) and in Germany (Bernstein), Kautsky betrayed very considerable vacillation. The Marxist *Zarya*,⁶² which was published in Stuttgart in 1901-02, and advocated revolutionary proletarian views, was forced to *enter into controversy* with Kautsky and describe as "elastic" the half-hearted, evasive resolution, conciliatory towards the opportunists, that he proposed at the International Socialist Congress in Paris in 1900.⁶³ Kautsky's letters published in Germany reveal no less hesitancy on his part before he took the field against Bernstein.

Of immeasurably greater significance, however, is the fact that, in his very controversy with the opportunists, in his formulation of the question and his manner of treating it, we can now see, as we study the *history* of Kautsky's latest betrayal of Marxism, his systematic deviation towards opportunism precisely on the question of the state.

Let us take Kautsky's first important work against opportunism, *Bernstein and the Social-Democratic Programme*. Kautsky refutes Bernstein in detail, but here is a characteristic thing:

Bernstein, in his *Premises of Socialism*, of Herostratean fame, accuses Marxism of "*Blanquism*" (an accusation since repeated thousands of times by the opportunists and liberal bourgeoisie in Russia against the revolutionary

Marxists, the Bolsheviki). In this connection Bernstein dwells particularly on Marx's *The Civil War in France*, and tries, quite unsuccessfully, as we have seen, to identify Marx's views on the lessons of the Commune with those of Proudhon. Bernstein pays particular attention to the conclusion which Marx emphasised in his 1872 preface to the *Communist Manifesto*, namely, that "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes".

This statement "pleased" Bernstein so much that he used it no less than three times in his book, interpreting it in the most distorted, opportunist way.

As we have seen, Marx meant that the working class must *smash, break, shatter* (*Sprengung*, explosion—the expression used by Engels) the whole state machine. But according to Bernstein it would appear as though Marx in these words warned the working class *against* excessive revolutionary zeal when seizing power.

A cruder and more hideous distortion of Marx's idea cannot be imagined.

How, then, did Kautsky proceed in his most detailed refutation of Bernsteinism?⁶⁴

He refrained from analysing the utter distortion of Marxism by opportunism on this point. He cited the above-quoted passage from Engels's preface to Marx's *Civil War* and said that according to Marx the working class cannot *simply* take over the *ready-made* state machinery, but that, generally speaking, it *can* take it over—and that was all. Kautsky did not say a word about the fact that Bernstein attributed to Marx the *very opposite* of Marx's real idea, that since 1852 Marx had formulated the task of the proletarian revolution as being to "smash" the state machine.⁶⁵

The result was that the most essential distinction between Marxism and opportunism on the subject of the tasks of the proletarian revolution was slurred over by Kautsky!

"We can quite safely leave the solution of the problem of the proletarian dictatorship to the future," said Kautsky, writing "*against*" Bernstein. (P. 172, German edition.)

This is not a polemic *against* Bernstein, but, in essence, a *concession* to him, a surrender to opportunism; for at

present the opportunists ask nothing better than to "quite safely leave to the future" all fundamental questions of the tasks of the proletarian revolution.

From 1852 to 1891, or for forty years, Marx and Engels taught the proletariat that it must smash the state machine. Yet, in 1899, Kautsky, confronted with the complete betrayal of Marxism by the opportunists on this point, fraudulently *substituted* for the question whether it is necessary to smash this machine the question of the concrete forms in which it is to be smashed, and then sought refuge behind the "indisputable" (and barren) philistine truth that concrete forms cannot be known in advance!!

A gulf separates Marx and Kautsky over their attitudes towards the proletarian party's task of training the working class for revolution.

Let us take the next, more mature, work by Kautsky, which was also largely devoted to a refutation of opportunist errors. It is his pamphlet, *The Social Revolution*. In this pamphlet, the author chose as his special theme the question of "the proletarian revolution" and "the proletarian regime". He gave much that was exceedingly valuable, but he *avoided* the question of the state. Throughout the pamphlet the author speaks of the winning of state power—and no more; that is, he has chosen a formula which makes a concession to the opportunists, inasmuch as it *admits* the possibility of seizing power *without* destroying the state machine. The very thing which Marx in 1872 declared to be "obsolete" in the programme of the *Communist Manifesto*,⁶⁶ is *revived* by Kautsky in 1902.

A special section in the pamphlet is devoted to the "forms and weapons of the social revolution". Here Kautsky speaks of the mass political strike, of civil war, and of the "instruments of the might of the modern large state, its bureaucracy and the army"; but he does not say a word about what the Commune has already taught the workers. Evidently, it was not without reason that Engels issued a warning, particularly to the German socialists, against "superstitious reverence" for the state.

Kautsky treats the matter as follows: the victorious proletariat "will carry out the democratic programme", and he goes on to formulate its clauses. But he does not say

a word about the new material provided by 1871 on the subject of the replacement of bourgeois democracy by proletarian democracy. Kautsky disposes of the question by using such "impressive-sounding" banalities as:

"Still, it goes without saying that we shall not achieve supremacy under the present conditions. Revolution itself presupposes long and deep-going struggles, which, in themselves, will change our present political and social structure."

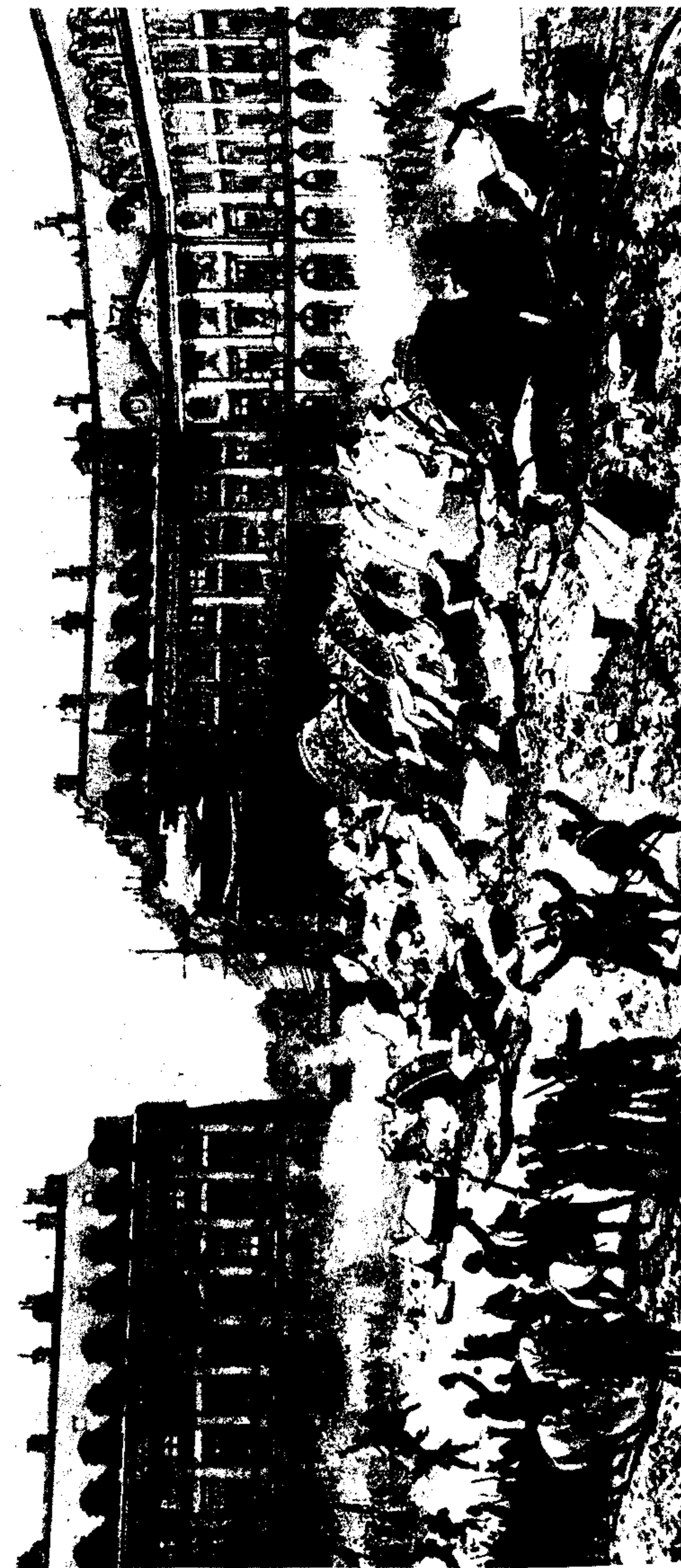
Undoubtedly, this "goes without saying", just as the fact that horses eat oats or the Volga flows into the Caspian. Only it is a pity that an empty and bombastic phrase about "deep-going" struggles is used to *avoid* a question of vital importance to the revolutionary proletariat, namely, *what* makes *its* revolution "deep-going" in relation to the state, to democracy, as distinct from previous, non-proletarian revolutions.

By avoiding this question, Kautsky *in practice* makes a concession to opportunism on this most essential point, although *in words* he declares stern war against it and stresses the importance of the "idea of revolution" (how much is this "idea" worth when one is afraid to teach the workers the concrete lessons of revolution?), or says, "revolutionary idealism before everything else", or announces that the English workers are now "hardly more than petty bourgeois".

"The most varied forms of enterprises—bureaucratic[??], trade unionist, co-operative, private ... can exist side by side in socialist society," Kautsky writes. "... There are, for example, enterprises which cannot do without a bureaucratic [??] organisation, such as the railways. Here the democratic organisation may take the following shape: the workers elect delegates who form a sort of parliament, which establishes the working regulations and supervises the management of the bureaucratic apparatus. The management of other enterprises may be transferred to the trade unions, and still others may become co-operative enterprises."

This argument is erroneous; it is a step backward compared with the explanations Marx and Engels gave in the seventies, using the lessons of the Commune as an example.

As far as the supposedly necessary "bureaucratic" organisation is concerned, there is no difference whatever between a railway and any other enterprise in large-scale



Toppling the Vendôme Column, May 16, 1871

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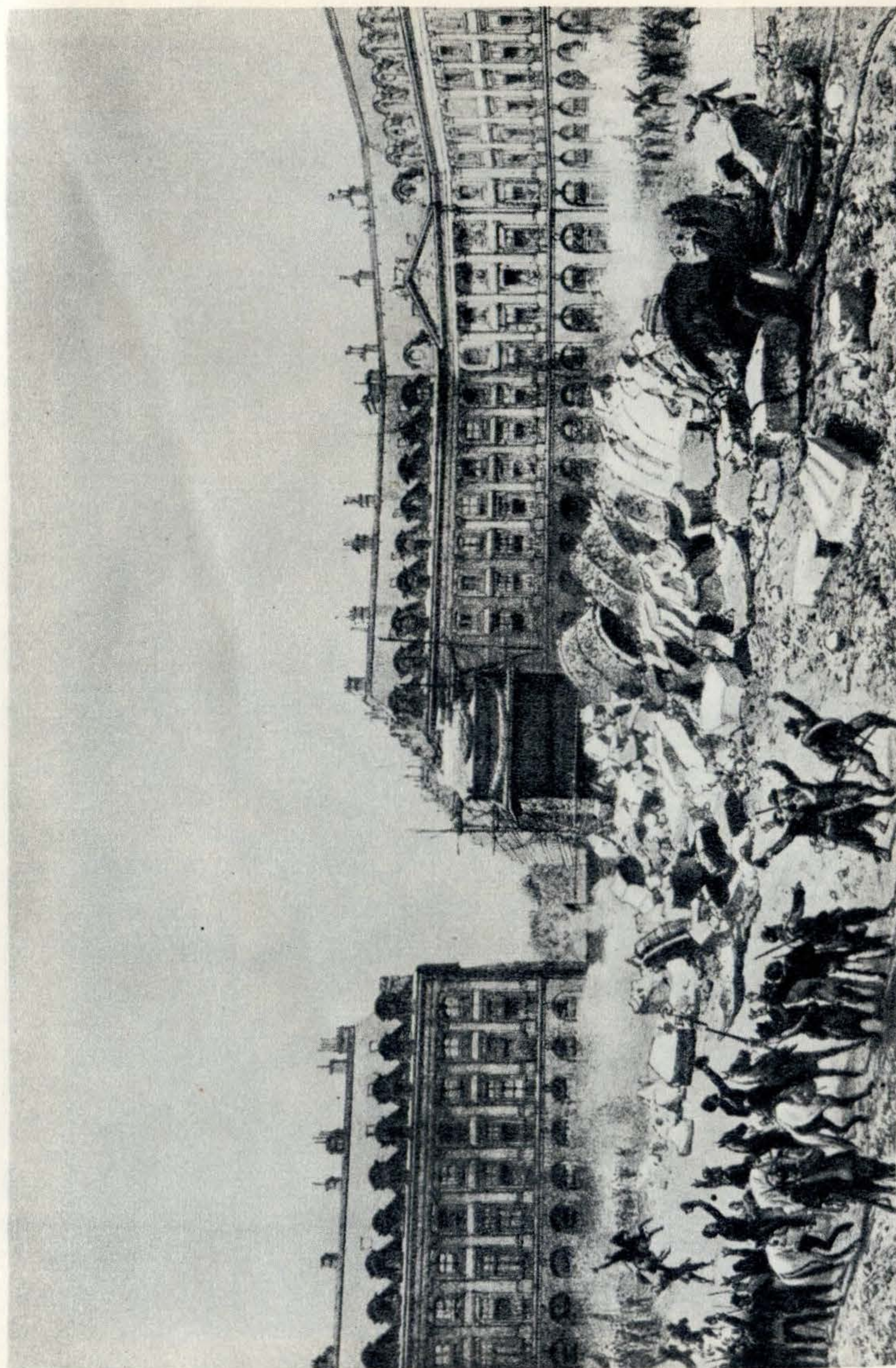
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The last skirmish between the Communards and Versailles troops at the Père Lachaise Cemetery

machine industry, any factory, large shop, or large-scale capitalist agricultural enterprise. The technique of all these enterprises makes absolutely imperative the strictest discipline, the utmost precision on the part of everyone in carrying out his allotted task, for otherwise the whole enterprise may come to a stop, or machinery or the finished product may be damaged. In all these enterprises the workers will, of course, "elect delegates who will form a sort of parliament".

The whole point, however, is that this "sort of parliament" will *not* be a parliament in the sense of a bourgeois parliamentary institution. The whole point is that this "sort of parliament" will *not* merely "establish the working regulations and supervise the management of the bureaucratic apparatus", as Kautsky, whose thinking does not go beyond the bounds of bourgeois parliamentarism, imagines. In socialist society, the "sort of parliament" consisting of workers' deputies will, of course, "establish the working regulations and supervise the management" of the "apparatus", *but* this apparatus will *not* be "bureaucratic". The workers, after winning political power, will smash the old bureaucratic apparatus, shatter it to its very foundations, and raze it to the ground; they will replace it by a new one, consisting of the very same workers and other employees, *against* whose transformation into bureaucrats the measures will at once be taken which were specified in detail by Marx and Engels: (1) not only election, but also recall at any time; (2) pay not to exceed that of a workman; (3) immediate introduction of control and supervision by *all*, so that *all* may become "bureaucrats" for a time and that, therefore, *nobody* may be able to become a "bureaucrat".

Kautsky has not reflected at all on Marx's words: "The Commune was a working, not a parliamentary, body, executive and legislative at the same time."⁶⁷

Kautsky has not understood at all the difference between bourgeois parliamentarism, which combines democracy (*not for the people*) with bureaucracy (*against the people*), and proletarian democracy, which will take immediate steps to cut bureaucracy down to the roots, and which will be able to carry these measures through to the end, to the com-

plete abolition of bureaucracy, to the introduction of complete democracy for the people.

Kautsky here displays the same old "superstitious reverence" for the state, and "superstitious belief" in bureaucracy.

Let us now pass to the last and best of Kautsky's works against the opportunists, his pamphlet *The Road to Power* (which, I believe, has not been published in Russian, for it appeared in 1909, when reaction was at its height in our country). This pamphlet is a big step forward, since it does not deal with the revolutionary programme in general, as the pamphlet of 1899 against Bernstein, or with the tasks of the social revolution irrespective of the time of its occurrence, as the 1902 pamphlet, *The Social Revolution*; it deals with the concrete conditions which compel us to recognise that the "era of revolutions" is *setting in*.

The author explicitly points to the aggravation of class antagonisms in general and to imperialism, which plays a particularly important part in this respect. After the "revolutionary period of 1789-1871" in Western Europe, he says, a similar period began in the East in 1905. A world war is approaching with menacing rapidity. "It [the proletariat] can no longer talk of premature revolution." "We have entered a revolutionary period." The "revolutionary era is beginning".

These statements are perfectly clear. This pamphlet of Kautsky's should serve as a measure of comparison of what the German Social-Democrats *promised to be* before the imperialist war and the depth of degradation to which they, including Kautsky himself, sank when the war broke out. "The present situation," Kautsky wrote in the pamphlet under survey, "is fraught with the danger that we [i.e., the German Social-Democrats] may easily appear to be more 'moderate' than we really are." It turned out that in reality the German Social-Democratic Party was much more moderate and opportunist than it appeared to be!

It is all the more characteristic, therefore, that although Kautsky so explicitly declared that the era of revolutions had already begun, in the pamphlet which he himself said was devoted to an analysis of the "political revolution", he again completely avoided the question of the state.

These evasions of the question, these omissions and equivocations, inevitably added up to that complete swing-over to opportunism with which we shall now have to deal.

Kautsky, the German Social-Democrats' spokesman, seems to have declared: I abide by revolutionary views (1899), I recognise, above all, the inevitability of the social revolution of the proletariat (1902), I recognise the advent of a new era of revolutions (1909). Still, I am going back on what Marx said as early as 1852, since the question of the tasks of the proletarian revolution in relation to the state is being raised (1912).

It was in this point-blank form that the question was put in Kautsky's controversy with Pannekoek.

3. KAUTSKY'S CONTROVERSY WITH PANNEKOEK

In opposing Kautsky, Pannekoek came out as one of the representatives of the "Left radical" trend which included Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Radek and others. Advocating revolutionary tactics, they were united in the conviction that Kautsky was going over to the "Centre", which wavered in an unprincipled manner between Marxism and opportunism. This view was proved perfectly correct by the war, when this "Centrist" (wrongly called Marxist) trend, or Kautskyism, revealed itself in all its repulsive wretchedness.

In an article touching on the question of the state, entitled "Mass Action and Revolution" (*Neue Zeit*, 1912, Vol. XXX, 2), Pannekoek described Kautsky's attitude as one of "passive radicalism", as "a theory of inactive expectancy". "Kautsky refuses to see the process of revolution," wrote Pannekoek (p. 616). In presenting the matter in this way, Pannekoek approached the subject which interests us, namely, the tasks of the proletarian revolution in relation to the state.

"The struggle of the proletariat," he wrote, "is not merely a struggle against the bourgeoisie *for* state power, but a struggle *against* state power.... The content of this [the proletarian] revolution is the destruction and dissolution [Auflösung] of the instruments of power of the state with the aid of the instruments of power of the proletariat... (p. 544). The struggle will cease only when, as the result of it, the state organisation is completely destroyed. The organisation of the

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

The formulation in which Pannekoek presented his ideas suffers from serious defects. But its meaning is clear nonetheless, and it is interesting to note *how* Kautsky combated it.

"Up to now," he wrote, "the antithesis between the Social-Democrats and the anarchists has been that the former wished to win state power while the latter wished to destroy it. Pannekoek wants to do both." (P. 724.)

Although Pannekoek's exposition lacks precision and concreteness—not to speak of other shortcomings of his article which have no bearing on the present subject—Kautsky seized precisely on the point of *principle* raised by Pannekoek; and *on this fundamental point of principle* Kautsky completely abandoned the Marxist position and went over wholly to opportunism. His definition of the distinction between the Social-Democrats and the anarchists is absolutely wrong; he completely vulgarises and distorts Marxism.

The distinction between the Marxists and the anarchists is this: (1) The former, while aiming at the complete abolition of the state, recognise that this aim can only be achieved after classes have been abolished by the socialist revolution, as the result of the establishment of socialism, which leads to the withering away of the state. The latter want to abolish the state completely overnight, not understanding the conditions under which the state can be abolished. (2) The former recognise that after the proletariat has won political power it must completely destroy the old state machine and replace it by a new one consisting of an organisation of the armed workers, after the type of the Commune. The latter, while insisting on the destruction of the state machine, have a very vague idea of *what* the proletariat will put in its place and *how* it will use its revolutionary power. The anarchists even deny that the revolutionary proletariat should use the state power, they reject its revolutionary dictatorship. (3) The former demand that the proletariat be trained for revolution by utilising the present state. The anarchists reject this.

In this controversy, it is not Kautsky but Pannekoek who represents Marxism, for it was Marx who taught that the proletariat cannot simply win state power in the sense that the old state apparatus passes into new hands, but must smash this apparatus, must break it and replace it by a new one.

Kautsky abandons Marxism for the opportunist camp, for this destruction of the state machine, which is utterly unacceptable to the opportunists, completely disappears from his argument, and he leaves a loophole for them in that "conquest" may be interpreted as the simple acquisition of a majority.

To cover up his distortion of Marxism, Kautsky behaves like a doctrinaire: he puts forward a "quotation" from Marx himself. In 1850 Marx wrote that a "resolute centralisation of power in the hands of the state authority"⁶⁸ was necessary, and Kautsky triumphantly asks: does Pannekoek want to destroy "Centralism"?

This is simply a trick, like Bernstein's identification of the views of Marxism and Proudhonism on the subject of federalism as against centralism.

Kautsky's "quotation" is neither here nor there. Centralism is possible with both the old and the new state machine. If the workers voluntarily unite their armed forces, this will be centralism, but it will be based on the "complete destruction" of the centralised state apparatus—the standing army, the police and the bureaucracy. Kautsky acts like an outright swindler by evading the perfectly well-known arguments of Marx and Engels on the Commune and plucking out a quotation which has nothing to do with the point at issue.

"Perhaps he [Pannekoek]," Kautsky continues, "wants to abolish the state functions of the officials? But we cannot do without officials even in the party and the trade unions, let alone in the state administration. And our programme does not demand the abolition of state officials, but that they be elected by the people.... We are discussing here not the form the administrative apparatus of the 'future state' will assume, but whether our political struggle abolishes [literally *dissolves*—*aflöst*] the state power *before we have captured it* [Kautsky's italics]. Which ministry with its officials could be abolished?" Then follows an enumeration of the ministries of education, justice, finance and war. "No, not one of the present ministries

will be removed by our political struggle against the government.... I repeat, in order to prevent misunderstanding: we are not discussing here the form the 'future state' will be given by the victorious Social-Democrats, but how the present state is changed by our opposition." (P. 725.)

This is an obvious trick. Pannekoek raised the question of *revolution*. Both the title of his articles and the passages quoted above clearly indicate this. By skipping to the question of "opposition", Kautsky substitutes the opportunist for the revolutionary point of view. What he says means: at present we are an opposition; what we shall be *after* we have captured power, that we shall see. *Revolution has vanished!* And that is exactly what the opportunists wanted.

The point at issue is neither opposition nor political struggle in general, but *revolution*. Revolution consists in the proletariat *destroying* the "administrative apparatus" and the *whole* state machine, replacing it by a new one, made up of the armed workers. Kautsky displays a "superstitious reverence" for "ministries"; but why can they not be replaced, say, by committees of specialists working under sovereign, all-powerful Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies?

The point is not at all whether the "ministries" will remain, or whether "committees of specialists" or some other bodies will be set up; that is quite immaterial. The point is whether the old state machine (bound by thousands of threads to the bourgeoisie and permeated through and through with routine and inertia) shall remain, or be *destroyed* and replaced by a *new* one. Revolution consists not in the new class commanding, governing with the aid of the *old* state machine, but in this class *smashing* this machine and commanding, governing with the aid of a *new* machine. Kautsky slurs over this *basic* idea of Marxism, or he does not understand it at all.

His question about officials clearly shows that he does not understand the lessons of the Commune or the teachings of Marx. "We cannot do without officials even in the party and the trade unions...."

We cannot do without officials *under capitalism*, under *the rule of the bourgeoisie*. The proletariat is oppressed, the working people are enslaved by capitalism. Under

capitalism, democracy is restricted, cramped, curtailed, mutilated by all the conditions of wage slavery, and the poverty and misery of the people. This and this alone is the reason why the functionaries of our political organisations and trade unions are corrupted—or rather tend to be corrupted—by the conditions of capitalism and betray a tendency to become bureaucrats, i.e., privileged persons divorced from the people and standing *above* the people.

That is the *essence* of bureaucracy; and until the capitalists have been expropriated and the bourgeoisie overthrown, *even* proletarian functionaries will inevitably be "bureaucratised" to a certain extent.

According to Kautsky, since elected functionaries will remain under socialism, so will officials, so will the bureaucracy! This is exactly where he is wrong. Marx, referring to the example of the Commune, showed that under socialism functionaries will cease to be "bureaucrats", to be "officials", they will cease to be so *in proportion as*—in addition to the principle of election of officials—the principle of recall at any time is *also* introduced, as salaries are reduced to the level of the wages of the average workman, *and* as parliamentary institutions are replaced by "working bodies, executive and legislative at the same time".⁶⁹

As a matter of fact, the whole of Kautsky's argument against Pannekoek, and particularly the former's wonderful point that we cannot do without officials even in our party and trade union organisations, is merely a repetition of Bernstein's old "arguments" against Marxism in general. In his renegade book, *The Premises of Socialism*, Bernstein combats the ideas of "primitive" democracy, combats what he calls "doctrinaire democracy": binding mandates, unpaid officials, impotent central representative bodies, etc. To prove that this "primitive" democracy is unsound, Bernstein refers to the experience of the British trade unions, as interpreted by the Webbs.⁷⁰ Seventy years of development "in absolute freedom", he says (p. 137, German edition), convinced the trade unions that primitive democracy was useless, and they replaced it by ordinary democracy, i.e., parliamentarism combined with bureaucracy.

In reality, the trade unions did not develop "in absolute freedom" *but in absolute capitalist slavery*, under which,

it goes without saying, a number of concessions to the prevailing evil, violence, falsehood, exclusion of the poor from the affairs of "higher" administration, "cannot be done without". Under socialism much of "primitive" democracy will inevitably be revived, since, for the first time in the history of civilised society, the *mass* of the population will rise to taking an *independent* part, not only in voting and elections, *but also in the everyday administration of the state*. Under socialism *all* will govern in turn and will soon become accustomed to no one governing.

Marx's critico-analytical genius saw in the practical measures of the Commune the *turning-point* which the opportunists fear and do not want to recognise because of their cowardice, because they do not want to break irrevocably with the bourgeoisie, and which the anarchists do not want to see, either because they are in a hurry or because they do not understand at all the conditions of great social changes. "We must not even think of destroying the old state machine; how can we do without ministries and officials?" argues the opportunist, who is completely saturated with philistinism and who, at bottom, not only does not believe in revolution, in the creative power of revolution, but lives in mortal dread of it (like our Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries).

"We must think *only* of destroying the old state machine; it is no use probing into the *concrete* lessons of earlier proletarian revolutions and analysing *what* to put in the place of what has been destroyed, and *how*," argues the anarchist (the best of the anarchists, of course, and not those who, following the Kropotkins and Co., trail behind the bourgeoisie). Consequently, the tactics of the anarchist become the tactics of *despair* instead of a ruthlessly bold revolutionary effort to solve concrete problems while taking into account the practical conditions of the mass movement.

Marx teaches us to avoid both errors; he teaches us to act with supreme boldness in destroying the entire old state machine, and at the same time he teaches us to put the question concretely: the Commune was able in the space of a few weeks to *start* building a *new*, proletarian state machine by introducing such-and-such measures to provide wider democracy and to uproot bureaucracy. Let us learn

revolutionary boldness from the Communards; let us see in their practical measures the *outline* of really urgent and immediately possible measures, and then, *following this road*, we shall achieve the complete destruction of bureaucracy.

The possibility of this destruction is guaranteed by the fact that socialism will shorten the working day, will raise the *people* to a new life, will create such conditions for the *majority* of the population as will enable *everybody*, without exception, to perform "state functions", and this will lead to the *complete withering away* of every form of state in general.

"Its object [the object of the mass strike]," Kautsky continues, "cannot be to *destroy* the state power; its only object can be to make the government compliant on some specific question, or to replace a government hostile to the proletariat by one willing to meet it half-way [entgegenkommende].... But never, under no circumstances, can it [that is, the proletarian victory over a hostile government] lead to the *destruction* of the state power; it can lead only to a certain *shifting* [Verschiebung] of the balance of forces *within the state power*.... The aim of our political struggle remains, as in the past, the conquest of state power by winning a majority in parliament and by raising parliament to the rank of master of the government." (Pp. 726, 727, 732.)

This is nothing but the purest and most vulgar opportunism: repudiating revolution in deeds, while accepting it in words. Kautsky's thoughts go no further than a "government ... willing to meet the proletariat half-way"—a step backward to philistinism compared with 1847, when the *Communist Manifesto* proclaimed "the organisation of the proletariat as the ruling class".⁷¹

Kautsky will have to achieve his beloved "unity" with the Scheidemanns, Plekhanovs and Vanderveldes, all of whom agree to fight for a government "willing to meet the proletariat half-way".

We, however, shall break with these traitors to socialism, and we shall fight for the complete destruction of the old state machine, in order that the armed proletariat itself *may become the government*. These are two vastly different things.

Kautsky will have to enjoy the pleasant company of the Legiens and Davids, Plekhanovs, Potresovs, Tseretelis and

Chernovs, who are quite willing to work for the "shifting of the balance of forces within the state power", for "winning a majority in parliament", and "raising parliament to the rank of master of the government". A most worthy object, which is wholly acceptable to the opportunists and which keeps everything within the bounds of the bourgeois parliamentary republic.

We, however, shall break with the opportunists; and the entire class-conscious proletariat will be with us in the fight—not to "shift the balance of forces", but to *overthrow the bourgeoisie, to destroy* bourgeois parliamentarism, for a democratic republic after the type of the Commune, or a republic of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, for the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

* * *

To the right of Kautsky in international socialism there are trends such as *Sozialistische Monatshefte*⁷² in Germany (Legien, David, Kolb and many others, including the Scandinavians Stauning and Branting); Jaurès's followers and Vandervelde in France and Belgium; Turati, Trèves and other Right-wingers of the Italian Party⁷³; the Fabians⁷⁴ and "Independents" (the Independent Labour Party,⁷⁵ which, in fact, has always been dependent on the Liberals) in Britain; and the like. All these gentry, who play a tremendous, very often a predominant role in the parliamentary work and the press of their parties, repudiate outright the dictatorship of the proletariat and pursue a policy of undisguised opportunism. In the eyes of these gentry, the "dictatorship" of the proletariat "contradicts" democracy!! There is really no essential distinction between them and the petty-bourgeois democrats.

Taking this circumstance into consideration, we are justified in drawing the conclusion that the Second International, that is, the overwhelming majority of its official representatives, has completely sunk into opportunism. The experience of the Commune has been not only ignored, but distorted. Far from inculcating in the workers' minds the idea that the time is nearing when they must act to smash the old state machine, replace it by a new one, and

in this way make their political rule the foundation for the socialist reorganisation of society, they have actually preached to the masses the very opposite and have depicted the "conquest of power" in a way that has left thousands of loopholes for opportunism.

The distortion and hushing up of the question of the relation of the proletarian revolution to the state could not but play an immense role at a time when states, which possess a military apparatus expanded as a consequence of imperialist rivalry, have become military monsters which are exterminating millions of people in order to settle the issue as to whether Britain or Germany—this or that finance capital—is to rule the world.*

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Vol. 25, pp. 413-42, 449-54.
475-91

* The MS. continues as follows:

Chapter VII

THE EXPERIENCE OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONS OF 1905 AND 1917

The subject indicated in the title of this chapter is so vast that volumes could and should be written about it. In the present pamphlet we shall have to confine ourselves, naturally, to the most important lessons provided by experience, those bearing directly upon the tasks of the proletariat in the revolution with regard to state power. (Here the manuscript breaks off.—Ed.)

From CAN THE BOLSHEVIKS RETAIN STATE POWER?

The third plea, that the proletariat "will not be able technically to lay hold of the state apparatus", is, perhaps, the most common and most frequent. It deserves most attention for this reason, and also because it indicates one of the most *serious* and *difficult* tasks that will confront the victorious proletariat. There is no doubt that these tasks will be very difficult, but if we, who call ourselves socialists, indicate this difficulty only to *shirk* these tasks, in practice the distinction between us and the lackeys of the bourgeoisie will be reduced to nought. The difficulty of the tasks of the proletarian revolution should prompt the proletariat's supporters to make a closer and more definite study of the means of carrying out these tasks.

The state apparatus is primarily the standing army, the police and the bureaucracy. By saying that the proletariat will not be able technically to lay hold of this apparatus, the writers of *Novaya Zhizn*⁷⁶ reveal their utter ignorance and their reluctance to take into account either facts or the arguments long ago cited in Bolshevik literature.

All the *Novaya Zhizn* writers regard themselves, if not as Marxists, then at least as being familiar with Marxism, as educated socialists. But Marx, basing himself on the experience of the Paris Commune, taught that the proletariat *cannot* simply lay hold of the ready-made state machine and use it for its own purposes, that the proletariat must *smash* this machine and substitute a new one for it (I deal with this in greater detail in a pamphlet, the first part of which is now finished and will soon appear under the title *The State and Revolution. The Marxist Theory of the State*

and the Tasks of the Proletariat in the Revolution*). This new type of state machinery was created by the Paris Commune, and the Russian Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies are a "state apparatus" of the *same type*. I have indicated this many times since April 4, 1917; it is dealt with in the resolutions of Bolshevik conferences and also in Bolshevik literature. *Novaya Zhizn* could, of course, have expressed its utter disagreement with Marx and with the Bolsheviks, but for a paper that has so often, and so haughtily, scolded the Bolsheviks for their allegedly frivolous attitude to difficult problems to evade this question completely is tantamount to issuing itself a certificate of mental poverty.

The proletariat *cannot* "lay hold of" the "state apparatus" and "set it in motion". But it can *smash* everything that is oppressive, routine, incorrigibly bourgeois in the old state apparatus and substitute its *own*, new apparatus. The Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies are exactly this apparatus.

That *Novaya Zhizn* has completely forgotten about this "state apparatus" can be called nothing but monstrous. Behaving in this way in their theoretical reasoning, the *Novaya Zhizn* people are, in essence, doing in the sphere of political theory what the Cadets are doing in political practice. Because, if the proletariat and the revolutionary democrats *do not* in fact *need* a new state apparatus, then the Soviets lose their *raison d'être*, lose their right to existence, and the Kornilovite Cadets are *right* in trying to reduce the Soviets to nought!

This monstrous theoretical blunder and political blindness on the part of *Novaya Zhizn* is all the more monstrous because even the internationalist Mensheviks⁷⁷ (with whom *Novaya Zhizn* formed a bloc during the last City Council elections in Petrograd) have on this question shown some proximity to the Bolsheviks. So, in the declaration of the Soviet majority made by Comrade Martov at the Democratic Conference,⁷⁸ we read:

"... The Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, set up in the first days of the revolution by a mighty burst of creative

* See *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, pp. 381-492.—Ed.

enthusiasm that stems from the people themselves, constitute the new fabric of the revolutionary state that has replaced the outworn state fabric of the old regime....”

This is a little too flowery: that is to say, rhetoric here covers up lack of clear political thinking. The Soviets have *not yet* replaced the old “fabric”, and this old “fabric” is *not* the state fabric of the old regime, but the state fabric of *both* tsarism *and* of the bourgeois republic. But at any rate, Martov here stands head and shoulders above *Novaya Zhizn*.

The Soviets are a new state apparatus which, in the first place, provides an armed force of workers and peasants; and this force is not divorced from the people, as was the old standing army, but is very closely bound up with the people. From the military point of view this force is incomparably more powerful than previous forces; from the revolutionary point of view, it cannot be replaced by anything else. Secondly, this apparatus provides a bond with the people, with the majority of the people, so intimate, so indissoluble, so easily verifiable and renewable, that nothing even remotely like it existed in the previous state apparatus. Thirdly, this apparatus, by virtue of the fact that its personnel is elected and subject to recall at the people’s will without any bureaucratic formalities, is far more democratic than any previous apparatus. Fourthly, it provides a close contact with the most varied professions, thereby facilitating the adoption of the most varied and most radical reforms without red tape. Fifthly, it provides an organisational form for the vanguard, i.e., for the most class-conscious, most energetic and most progressive section of the *oppressed* classes, the workers and peasants, and so constitutes an apparatus by means of which the vanguard of the oppressed classes can elevate, train, educate, and lead *the entire vast mass* of these classes, which has up to now stood completely outside of political life and history. Sixthly, it makes it possible to combine the advantages of the parliamentary system with those of immediate and direct democracy, i.e., to vest in the people’s elected representatives both legislative *and executive* functions. Compared with the bourgeois parliamentary system,

this is an advance in democracy’s development which is of world-wide, historic significance.

In 1905, our Soviets existed only in embryo, so to speak, as they lived altogether only a few weeks. Clearly, under the conditions of that time, their comprehensive development was out of the question. It is still out of the question in the 1917 revolution, for a few months is an extremely short period and—this is most important—the Socialist-Revolutionary and Menshevik leaders have *prostituted* the Soviets, have reduced their role to that of a talking shop, of an accomplice in the compromising policy of the leaders. The Soviets have been rotting and decaying alive under the leadership of the Liebers, Dans, Tseretelis and Chernovs. The Soviets will be able to develop properly, to display their potentialities and capabilities to the full only by taking over *full* state power; for otherwise they have *nothing to do*, otherwise they are either simply embryos (and to remain an embryo too long is fatal), or playthings. “Dual power” means paralysis for the Soviets.

If the creative enthusiasm of the revolutionary classes had not given rise to the Soviets, the proletarian revolution in Russia would have been a hopeless cause, for the proletariat could certainly not retain power with the old state apparatus, and it is impossible to create a new apparatus immediately. The sad history of the prostitution of the Soviets by the Tseretelis and Chernovs, the history of the “coalition”, is also the history of the liberation of the Soviets from petty-bourgeois illusions, of their passage through the “purgatory” of the practical experience of the utter abomination and filth of *all* and *sundry* bourgeois coalitions. Let us hope that this “purgatory” has steeled rather than weakened the Soviets.

Written at the end of
September-October 1 (14), 1917

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No. 1-2

Collected Works,
Vol. 26, pp. 101-04

From THE REPORT ON THE ACTIVITIES
OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS,
DELIVERED AT THE THIRD ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS
OF SOVIETS
JANUARY 11 (24), 1918

Comrades, on behalf of the Council of People's Commissars I must submit to you a report of its activities for the two months and fifteen days that have elapsed since the establishment of Soviet power and the Soviet Government in Russia.

Two months and fifteen days—that is only five days more than the preceding workers' power lasted and ruled over a whole country, or over the exploiters and the capitalists, the power of the Paris workers at the time of the Paris Commune of 1871.

We must first of all remember this workers' power, we must cast our minds back and compare it with the Soviet power that was formed on October 25. And if we compare the preceding dictatorship of the proletariat with the present one we shall see at once what a gigantic stride the international working-class movement has made, and in what an immeasurably more favourable position Soviet power in Russia finds itself, notwithstanding the incredibly complicated conditions of war and economic ruin.

After retaining power for two months and ten days, the workers of Paris, who for the first time in history established the Commune, the embryo of Soviet power, perished at the hands of the French Cadets, Mensheviks and Right Socialist-Revolutionaries of a Kaledin type. The French workers had to pay an unprecedentedly heavy price for the first experience of workers' government, the meaning and purpose of which the overwhelming majority of the peasants in France did not know.

We find ourselves in immeasurably more favourable cir-



Versailles butchers search for traces of gunpowder

cumstances because the Russian soldiers, workers and peasants were able to create the Soviet Government, an apparatus which informed the whole world of their methods of struggle. It is this that puts the Russian workers and peasants in a position that differs from the power of the Paris proletariat. They had no apparatus, the country did not understand them; we were immediately able to rely on Soviet power, and that is why we never doubted that Soviet power enjoys the sympathy and the warmest and most devoted support of the overwhelming majority of the people, and that therefore Soviet power is invincible.

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Collected Works, Vol. 26, pp. 455-56



Banner of the 67th Battalion of the Paris Communards

From the REPORT ON THE REVIEW
OF THE PROGRAMME
AND ON CHANGING THE NAME OF THE PARTY,
DELIVERED AT THE EXTRAORDINARY
SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE R.C.P.(B.)
MARCH 8, 1918

Following this, our task is to define the Soviet type of state. I have tried to outline theoretical views on this question in my book *The State and Revolution*. It seems to me that the Marxist view on the state has been distorted in the highest degree by the official socialism that is dominant in Western Europe, and that this has been splendidly confirmed by the experience of the Soviet revolution and the establishment of the Soviets in Russia. There is much that is crude and unfinished in our Soviets, there is no doubt about that, it is obvious to everyone who examines their work; but what is important, has historical value and is a step forward in the world development of socialism, is that they are a new type of state. The Paris Commune was a matter of a few weeks, in one city, without the people being conscious of what they were doing. The Commune was not understood by those who created it; they established the Commune by following the unfailing instinct of the awakened people, and neither of the groups of French socialists was conscious of what it was doing. Because we are standing on the shoulders of the Paris Commune and the many years of development of German Social-Democracy, we have conditions that enable us to see clearly what we are doing in creating Soviet power. Despite all the crudity and lack of discipline that exist in the Soviets—this is a survival of the petty-bourgeois nature of our country—despite all that the new type of state has been created by the masses of the people. It has been functioning for months and not weeks, and not in one city, but throughout a tremendous country, populated by several nations. This

type of Soviet power has shown its value since it has spread to Finland, a country that is different in every respect, where there are no Soviets but where there is, at any rate, a new type of power, proletarian power.⁷⁹ This is, therefore, proof of what is theoretically regarded as indisputable—that Soviet power is a new type of state without a bureaucracy, without police, without a standing army, a state in which bourgeois democracy has been replaced by a new democracy, a democracy that brings to the fore the vanguard of the working people, gives them legislative and executive authority, makes them responsible for military defence and creates state machinery that can re-educate the masses.

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Communist Party. Verbatim Report.*
March 6-8, 1918

Collected Works,
Vol. 27, pp. 132-33

From THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION
AND THE RENEGADE KAUTSKY

HOW KAUTSKY TURNED MARX
INTO A COMMON LIBERAL

The fundamental question that Kautsky discusses in his pamphlet is that of the very essence of proletarian revolution, namely, the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a question that is of the greatest importance for all countries, especially for the advanced ones, especially for those at war, and especially at the present time. One may say without fear of exaggeration that this is the key problem of the entire proletarian class struggle. It is, therefore, necessary to pay particular attention to it.

Kautsky formulates the question as follows: "The contrast between the two socialist trends" (i.e., the Bolsheviks and non-Bolsheviks) "is the contrast between two radically different methods: the *dictatorial* and the *democratic*" (p. 3).

Let us point out, in passing, that when calling the non-Bolsheviks in Russia, i.e., the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, socialists, Kautsky was guided by their *name*, that is, by a word, and not by the *actual place* they occupy in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. What a wonderful understanding and application of Marxism! But more of this later.

For the moment we must deal with the main point, namely, with Kautsky's great discovery of the "fundamental contrast" between "democratic and dictatorial methods". That is the crux of the matter; that is the essence of Kautsky's pamphlet. And that is such an awful theoretical muddle, such a complete renunciation of Marxism, that Kautsky, it must be confessed, has far excelled Bernstein.

The question of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a question of the relation of the proletarian state to the bour-

geois state, of proletarian democracy to bourgeois democracy. One would think that this is as plain as a pikestaff. But Kautsky, like a schoolmaster who has become as dry as dust from quoting the same old textbooks on history, persistently turns his back on the twentieth century and his face to the eighteenth century, and for the hundredth time, in a number of paragraphs, in an incredibly tedious fashion chews the old cud over the relation of bourgeois democracy to absolutism and medievalism!

It sounds just like he were chewing rags in his sleep!

But this means he utterly fails to understand what is what! One cannot help smiling at Kautsky's effort to make it appear that there are people who preach "contempt for democracy" (p. 11) and so forth. That is the sort of twaddle Kautsky uses to befog and confuse the issue, for he talks like the liberals, speaking of democracy in general, and not of *bourgeois* democracy; he even avoids using this precise, class term, and, instead, tries to speak about "pre-socialist" democracy. This windbag devotes almost one-third of his pamphlet, twenty pages out of sixty-three, to this twaddle, which is so agreeable to the bourgeoisie, for it is tantamount to embellishing bourgeois democracy, and obscures the question of the proletarian revolution.

But, after all, the title of Kautsky's pamphlet is *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat*. Everybody knows that this is the very *essence* of Marx's doctrine; and after a lot of irrelevant twaddle Kautsky *was obliged* to quote Marx's words on the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But the *way* in which Kautsky the "Marxist" did it was simply farcical! Listen to this:

"This view" (which Kautsky dubs "contempt for democracy") "rests upon a single word of Karl Marx's." This is what Kautsky literally says on page 20. And on page 60 the same thing is repeated even in the form that they (the Bolsheviks) "opportunistly recalled the little word" (that is literally what he says—*des Wörtchens!*) "about the dictatorship of the proletariat which Marx once used in 1875 in a letter".

Here is Marx's "little word":

"Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into

the other. Corresponding to this is also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."⁸⁰

First of all, to call this classical reasoning of Marx's, which sums up the whole of his revolutionary teaching, "a single word" and even "a little word", is an insult to and complete renunciation of Marxism. It must not be forgotten that Kautsky knows Marx almost by heart, and, judging by all he has written, he has in his desk, or in his head, a number of pigeon-holes in which all that was ever written by Marx is most carefully filed so as to be ready at hand for quotation. Kautsky *must know* that both Marx and Engels, in their letters as well as in their published works, *repeatedly* spoke about the dictatorship of the proletariat, before and especially after the Paris Commune. Kautsky must know that the formula "dictatorship of the proletariat" is merely a more historically concrete and scientifically exact formulation of the proletariat's task of "smashing" the bourgeois state machine, about which both Marx and Engels, in summing up the experience of the Revolution of 1848, and, still more so, of 1871, spoke *for forty years*, between 1852 and 1891.

How is this monstrous distortion of Marxism by that Marxist pedant Kautsky to be explained? As far as the philosophical roots of this phenomenon are concerned, it amounts to the substitution of eclecticism and sophistry for dialectics. Kautsky is a past master at this sort of substitution. Regarded from the point of view of practical politics, it amounts to subservience to the opportunists, that is, in the last analysis to the bourgeoisie. Since the outbreak of the war, Kautsky has made increasingly rapid progress in this art of being a Marxist in words and a lackey of the bourgeoisie in deeds, until he has become a virtuoso at it.

One feels even more convinced of this when examining the remarkable way in which Kautsky "interprets" Marx's "little word" about the dictatorship of the proletariat. Listen to this:

"Marx, unfortunately, neglected to show us in greater detail how he conceived this dictatorship..." (This is an utterly mendacious phrase of a renegade, for Marx and Engels gave us, indeed, quite a number of most detailed indications, which Kautsky, the Marxist

pedant, has deliberately ignored.) "... Literally, the word dictatorship means the abolition of democracy. But, of course, taken literally, this word also means the undivided rule of a single person unrestricted by any laws—an autocracy, which differs from despotism only insofar as it is not meant as a permanent state institution, but as a transient emergency measure.

"The term, 'dictatorship of the proletariat', hence not the dictatorship of a single individual, but of a class, *ipso facto* precludes the possibility that Marx in this connection had in mind a dictatorship in the literal sense of the term.

"He speaks here not of a *form of government*, but of a *condition* which must necessarily arise wherever the proletariat has gained political power. That Marx in this case did not have in mind a form of government is proved by the fact that he was of the opinion that in Britain and America the transition might take place peacefully, i.e., in a democratic way" (p. 20).

We have deliberately quoted this argument in full so that the reader may clearly see the methods Kautsky the "theoretician" employs.

Kautsky chose to approach the question in such a way as to begin with a definition of the "word" dictatorship.

Very well. Everyone has a sacred right to approach a question in whatever way he pleases. One must only distinguish a serious and honest approach from a dishonest one. Anyone who wants to be serious in approaching the question in this way ought to give *his own definition* of the "word". Then the question would be put fairly and squarely. But Kautsky does not do that. "Literally," he writes, "the word dictatorship means the abolition of democracy."

In the first place, this is not a definition. If Kautsky wanted to avoid giving a definition of the concept dictatorship, why did he choose this particular approach to the question?

Secondly, it is obviously wrong. It is natural for a liberal to speak of "democracy" in general; but a Marxist will never forget to ask: "for what class?" Everyone knows, for instance (and Kautsky the "historian" knows it too), that rebellions, or even strong ferment, among the slaves in ancient times at once revealed the fact that the ancient state was essentially a *dictatorship of the slaveowners*. Did this dictatorship abolish democracy *among*, and *for*, the slaveowners? Everybody knows that it did not.

Kautsky the "Marxist" made this monstrously absurd and untrue statement because he "*forgot*" the class struggle....

To transform Kautsky's liberal and false assertion into a Marxist and true one, one must say: dictatorship does not necessarily mean the abolition of democracy for the class that exercises the dictatorship over other classes; but it does mean the abolition (or very material restriction, which is also a form of abolition) of democracy for the class over which, or against which, the dictatorship is exercised.

But, however true this assertion may be, it does not give a definition of dictatorship.

Let us examine Kautsky's next sentence:

"... But, of course, taken literally, this word also means the undivided rule of a single person unrestricted by any laws...."

Like a blind puppy sniffing at random first in one direction and then in another, Kautsky accidentally stumbled upon *one* true idea (namely, that dictatorship is rule unrestricted by any laws), *nevertheless*, he *failed* to give a definition of dictatorship, and, moreover, he made an obvious historical blunder, namely, that dictatorship means the rule of a single person. This is even grammatically incorrect, since dictatorship may also be exercised by a handful of persons, or by an oligarchy, or by a class, etc.

Kautsky then goes on to point out the difference between dictatorship and despotism, but, although what he says is obviously incorrect, we shall not dwell upon it, as it is wholly irrelevant to the question that interests us. Everyone knows Kautsky's inclination to turn from the twentieth century to the eighteenth, and from the eighteenth century to classical antiquity, and we hope that the German proletariat, after it has attained its dictatorship, will bear this inclination of his in mind and appoint him, say, teacher of ancient history at some gymnasium. To try to evade a definition of the dictatorship of the proletariat by philosophising about despotism is either crass stupidity or very clumsy trickery.

As a result, we find that, having undertaken to discuss the dictatorship, Kautsky rattled off a great deal of mani-

fest lies, but has given no definition! Yet, instead of relying on his mental faculties he could have used his memory to extract from "pigeon-holes" all those instances in which Marx speaks of dictatorship. Had he done so, he would certainly have arrived either at the following definition or at one in substance coinciding with it:

Dictatorship is rule based directly upon force and unrestricted by any laws.

The revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat is rule won and maintained by the use of violence by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, rule that is unrestricted by any laws.

This simple truth, a truth that is as plain as a pikestaff to every class-conscious worker (who represents the people, and not an upper section of petty-bourgeois scoundrels who have been bribed by the capitalists, such as are the social-imperialists of all countries), this truth, which is obvious to every representative of the exploited classes fighting for their emancipation, this truth, which is beyond dispute for every Marxist, has to be "extracted by force" from the most learned Mr. Kautsky! How is it to be explained? Simply by that spirit of servility with which the leaders of the Second International, who have become contemptible sycophants in the service of the bourgeoisie, are imbued.

Kautsky first committed a sleight of hand by proclaiming the obvious nonsense that the word dictatorship, in its literal sense, means the dictatorship of a single person, and then—on the strength of this sleight of hand—he declared that "hence" Marx's words about the dictatorship of a class were *not* meant in the literal sense (but in one in which dictatorship does not imply revolutionary violence, but the "peaceful" winning of a majority under bourgeois—mark you—"democracy").

One must, if you please, distinguish between a "condition" and a "form of government". A wonderfully profound distinction; it is like drawing a distinction between the "condition" of stupidity of a man who reasons foolishly and the "form" of his stupidity.

Kautsky *finds it necessary* to interpret dictatorship as a "condition of domination" (this is the literal expression

he uses on the very next page, p. 21), because then *revolutionary violence, and violent revolution, disappear*. The "condition of domination" is a condition in which any majority finds itself under ... "democracy"! Thanks to such a fraud, *revolution happily disappears!*

The fraud, however, is too crude and will not save Kautsky. One cannot hide the fact that dictatorship presupposes and implies a "condition", one so disagreeable to renegades, of *revolutionary violence* of one class against another. It is patently absurd to draw a distinction between a "condition" and a "form of government". To speak of forms of government in this connection is trebly stupid, for every schoolboy knows that monarchy and republic are two different forms of government. It must be explained to Mr. Kautsky that *both* these forms of government, like all transitional "forms of government" under capitalism, are only variations of the *bourgeois state*, that is, of the *dictatorship of the bourgeoisie*.

Lastly, to speak of forms of government is not only a stupid, but also a very crude falsification of Marx, who was very clearly speaking here of this or that form or type of *state*, and not of forms of government.

The proletarian revolution is impossible without the forcible destruction of the bourgeois state machine and the substitution for it of a *new one* which, in the words of Engels, is "no longer a state in the proper sense of the word".⁸¹

Because of his renegade position, Kautsky, however, has to befog and belie all this.

Look what wretched subterfuges he uses.

First subterfuge. "...That Marx in this case did not have in mind a form of government is proved by the fact that he was of the opinion that in Britain and America the transition might take place peacefully, i.e., in a democratic way."

The *form of government* has absolutely nothing to do with it, for there are monarchies which are not typical of the *bourgeois state*, such, for instance, as have no military clique, and there are republics which are quite typical in this respect, such, for instance, as have a military clique and a bureaucracy. This is a universally known historical and political fact, and Kautsky cannot falsify it.

If Kautsky had wanted to argue in a serious and honest manner he would have asked himself: Are there historical laws relating to revolution which know of no exception? And the reply would have been: No, there are no such laws. Such laws only apply to the typical, to what Marx once termed the "ideal", meaning average, normal, typical capitalism.

Further, was there in the seventies anything which made England and America exceptional *in regard to what we are now discussing*? It will be obvious to anyone at all familiar with the requirements of science in regard to the problems of history that this question must be put. To fail to put it is tantamount to falsifying science, to engaging in sophistry. And, the question having been put, there can be no doubt as to the reply: the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat is *violence* against the bourgeoisie; and the necessity of such violence is *particularly* called for, as Marx and Engels have repeatedly explained in detail (especially in *The Civil War in France* and in the preface to it), by the existence of *militarism and a bureaucracy*. But it is precisely these institutions that were *non-existent* in Britain and America in the seventies, when Marx made his observations (they *do* exist in Britain and in America *now*)!

Kautsky has to resort to trickery literally at every step to cover up his apostasy!

And note how he inadvertently betrayed his cloven hoof when he wrote: "peacefully, i.e., in a democratic way"!!

In defining dictatorship, Kautsky tried his utmost to conceal from the reader the fundamental feature of this concept, namely, *revolutionary violence*. But now the truth is out: it is a question of the contrast between *peaceful* and *violent revolutions*.

That is the crux of the matter. Kautsky has to resort to all these subterfuges, sophistries and falsifications only to *excuse* himself from *violent* revolution, and to conceal his renunciation of it, his desertion to the side of the *liberal* labour policy, i.e., to the side of the bourgeoisie. That is the crux of the matter.

Kautsky the "historian" so shamelessly falsifies history that he "forgets" the fundamental fact that pre-monopoly

capitalism—which actually reached its zenith in the seventies—was by virtue of its fundamental *economic* traits, which found most typical expression in Britain and in America, distinguished by a, relatively speaking, maximum fondness for peace and freedom. Imperialism, on the other hand, i.e., monopoly capitalism, which finally matured only in the twentieth century, is, by virtue of its fundamental *economic* traits, distinguished by a minimum fondness for peace and freedom, and by a maximum and universal development of militarism. To “fail to notice” this in discussing the extent to which a peaceful or violent revolution is typical or probable is to stoop to the level of a most ordinary lackey of the bourgeoisie.

Second subterfuge. The Paris Commune was a dictatorship of the proletariat, but it was elected by *universal* suffrage, i.e., without depriving the bourgeoisie of the franchise, i.e., “*democratically*”. And Kautsky says triumphantly: “...The dictatorship of the proletariat was for Marx” (or: according to Marx) “a condition which necessarily follows from pure democracy, if the proletariat forms the majority” (*bei überwiegendem Proletariat*, S. 21).

This argument of Kautsky's is so amusing that one truly suffers from a veritable *embarras de richesses* (an embarrassment due to the wealth ... of objections that can be made to it). Firstly, it is well known that the flower, the General Staff, the upper sections of the bourgeoisie, had fled from Paris to Versailles. In Versailles there was the “socialist” Louis Blanc—which, by the way, proves the falsity of Kautsky's assertion that “all trends” of socialism took part in the Paris Commune. Is it not ridiculous to represent the division of the inhabitants of Paris into two belligerent camps, one of which embraced the entire militant and politically active section of the bourgeoisie, as “pure democracy” with “universal suffrage”?

Secondly, the Paris Commune waged war against Versailles as the workers' government of *France* against the bourgeois government. What have “pure democracy” and “universal suffrage” to do with it, when Paris was deciding the fate of France? When Marx expressed the opinion that the Paris Commune had committed a mistake in fail-

ing to seize the bank, which belonged to the whole of France,⁸² did he not proceed from the principles and practice of “pure democracy”?

In actual fact, it is obvious that Kautsky is writing in a country where the police forbid to laugh “in crowds”, otherwise Kautsky would have been killed by ridicule.

Thirdly, I would respectfully remind Mr. Kautsky, who has Marx and Engels off pat, of the following appraisal of the Paris Commune given by Engels from the point of view of ... “pure democracy”:

“Have these gentlemen” (the anti-authoritarians) “ever seen a revolution? A revolution is certainly the most authoritarian thing there is; it is an act whereby one part of the population imposes its will upon the other by means of rifles, bayonets and cannon—all of which are highly authoritarian means. And the victorious party must maintain its rule by means of the terror which its arms inspire in the reactionaries. Would the Paris Commune have lasted more than a day if it had not used the authority of the armed people against the bourgeoisie? Cannot we, on the contrary, blame it for having made too little use of that authority?”⁸³

Here is your “pure democracy”! How Engels would have ridiculed the vulgar petty bourgeois, the “Social-Democrat” (in the French sense of the forties and the general European sense of 1914-18), who took it into his head to talk about “pure democracy” in a class-divided society!

But that's enough. It is impossible to enumerate all Kautsky's various absurdities, since every phrase he utters is a bottomless pit of apostasy.

Marx and Engels analysed the Paris Commune in a most detailed manner and showed that its merit lay in its attempt *to smash, to break up* the “ready-made state machinery”.⁸⁴ Marx and Engels considered this conclusion to be so important that this was the *only* amendment they introduced in 1872 into the “obsolete” (in parts) programme of the *Communist Manifesto*.⁸⁵ Marx and Engels showed that the Paris Commune had abolished the army and the bureaucracy, had abolished *parliamentarism*, had destroyed “that parasitic excrescence, the state”, etc. But the sage Kautsky, donning his nightcap, repeats the fairy-tale about “pure

democracy", which has been told a thousand times by liberal professors.

No wonder Rosa Luxemburg declared, on August 4, 1914, that German Social-Democracy was a *stinking corpse*.

Third subterfuge. "When we speak of the dictatorship as a form of government we cannot speak of the dictatorship of a class, since a class, as we have already pointed out, can only rule but not govern...." It is "organisations" or "parties" that govern.

That is a muddle, a disgusting muddle, Mr. "Muddle-headed Counsellor"! Dictatorship is not a "form of government"; that is ridiculous nonsense. And Marx does not speak of the "form of government" but of the form or type of *state*. That is something altogether different, entirely different. It is altogether wrong, too, to say that a *class* cannot govern: such an absurdity could only have been uttered by a "parliamentary cretin", who sees nothing but bourgeois parliaments and notices nothing but "ruling parties". Any European country will provide Kautsky with examples of government by a ruling *class*, for instance, by the landowners in the Middle Ages, in spite of their insufficient organisation.

To sum up: Kautsky has in a most unparalleled manner distorted the concept dictatorship of the proletariat, and has turned Marx into a common liberal; that is, he himself has sunk to the level of a liberal who utters banal phrases about "pure democracy", embellishing and glossing over the class content of *bourgeois* democracy, and shrinking, above all, from the use of *revolutionary violence* by the oppressed class. By so "interpreting" the concept "revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat" as to expunge the revolutionary violence of the oppressed class against its oppressors, Kautsky has beaten the world record in the liberal distortion of Marx. The renegade Bernstein has proved to be a mere puppy compared with the renegade Kautsky.

Written October-not later than
November 10, 1918

Published in
pamphlet form in 1918 by Kom-
munist Publishers, Moscow

Collected Works,
Vol. 28, pp. 231-42

From the LETTER TO THE WORKERS OF EUROPE AND AMERICA

"Soviet power" is the second historical step, or stage, in the development of the proletarian dictatorship. The first step was the Paris Commune. The brilliant analysis of its nature and significance given by Marx in his *The Civil War in France* showed that the Commune had created a *new type* of state, a *proletarian state*. Every state, including the most democratic republic, is nothing but a machine for the suppression of one class by another. The proletarian state is a machine for the suppression of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat. Such suppression is necessary because of the furious, desperate resistance put up by the landowners and capitalists, by the entire bourgeoisie and all their hangers-on, by all the exploiters, who stop at nothing when their overthrow, when the expropriation of the expropriators, begins.

Written January 21, 1919

Published in *Pravda* No. 16
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January 24, 1919

Collected Works,
Vol. 28, pp. 431-32

From the THESES AND REPORT ON BOURGEOIS
DEMOCRACY AND THE DICTATORSHIP
OF THE PROLETARIAT,
DELIVERED AT THE FIRST CONGRESS
OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL
MARCH 4, 1919

5. The Paris Commune—to which all who parade as socialists pay lip service, for they know that the workers ardently and sincerely sympathise with the Commune—showed very clearly the historically conventional nature and limited value of the bourgeois parliamentary system and bourgeois democracy—institutions which, though highly progressive compared with medieval times, inevitably require a radical alteration in the era of proletarian revolution. It was Marx who best appraised the historical significance of the Commune. In his analysis, he revealed the exploiting nature of bourgeois democracy and the bourgeois parliamentary system under which the oppressed classes enjoy the right to decide once in several years which representative of the propertied classes shall “represent and suppress” (*ver- und zertreten*) the people in parliament.⁸⁶ And it is now, when Soviet movement is embracing the entire world and continuing the work of the Commune for all to see, that the traitors to socialism are forgetting the concrete experience and concrete lessons of the Paris Commune and repeating the old bourgeois rubbish about “democracy in general”. The Commune was not a parliamentary institution.

6. The significance of the Commune, furthermore, lies in the fact that it endeavoured to crush, to smash to its very foundations, the bourgeois state apparatus, the bureaucratic, judicial, military and police machine, and to replace it by a self-governing, mass workers’ organisation in which there was no division between legislative and executive power. All contemporary bourgeois-democratic republics, including the German republic, which the traitors



The shadow of Thiers (a cartoon)

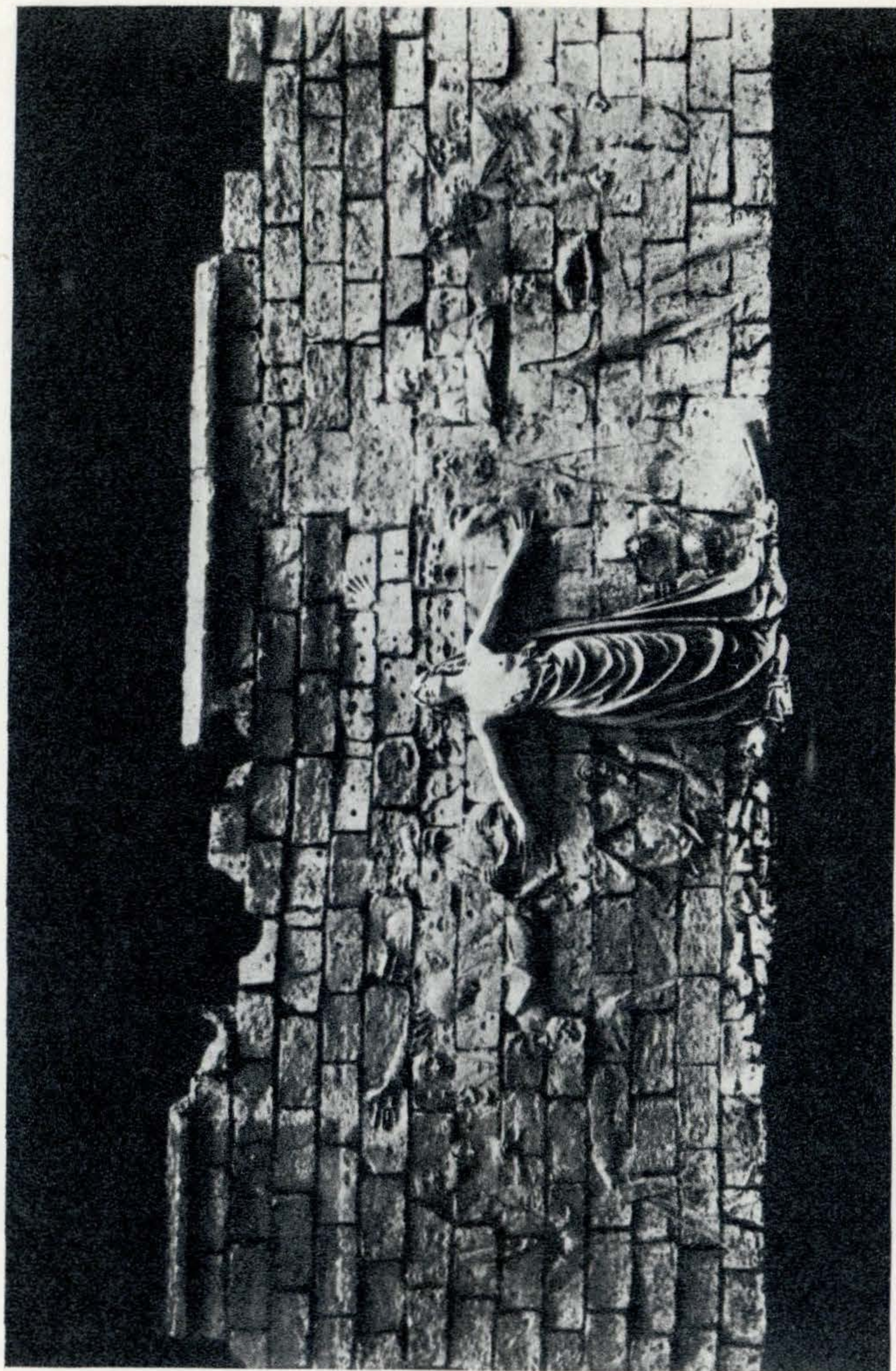
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The shadow of Thiers (a cartoon)



The Wall of the Communards. Monument to the heroes of the Commune at the Père Lachaise Cemetery in Paris

to socialism, in mockery of the truth, describe as a proletarian republic, retain this state apparatus. We therefore again get quite clear confirmation of the point that shouting in defence of "democracy in general" is actually defence of the bourgeoisie and their privileges as exploiters.

19. Only the Soviet organisation of the state can really effect the immediate break-up and total destruction of the old, i.e., bourgeois, bureaucratic and judicial machinery, which has been, and has inevitably had to be, retained under capitalism even in the most democratic republics, and which is, in actual fact, the greatest obstacle to the practical implementation of democracy for the workers and working people generally. The Paris Commune took the first epoch-making step along this path. The Soviet system has taken the second.

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and *Izvestia VTsIK* No. 51,
March 6, 1919

Collected Works,
Vol. 28, pp. 459, 466

**APPENDIX:
THE PARIS COMMUNE AND THE TASKS
OF THE DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP**

Iskra's position on the question whether it is permissible for Social-Democrats to participate in the Provisional Government is now extremely confused. It appears, even according to the followers of Martynov, that, given favourable conditions, there may be such a scale of the revolution which will serve as the immediate preface to a grand social upheaval, but the Party itself, its will, its work and its plans, will seem to have nothing at all to do with this. "Rely on God, but be up to the mark yourself", says a proverb, the object of which is to render religious fatalism harmless. We shall say: "Rely on circumstances, on the historic process, but be up to the mark yourself." Otherwise you will be a fatalist Economist and not a Social-Democratic revolutionary. I read in the resolution of the Menshevik conference: "Only in one case should Social-Democracy on its own initiative direct its efforts at taking power in its hands and retaining it as long as possible: namely, in the case when the revolution spreads to the advanced countries of Western Europe, in which the conditions for putting socialism into practice have already reached a definite maturity." First of all, one cannot help asking oneself: can one direct one's efforts at something not *on one's own initiative*? And secondly, what if the sentence is turned about as follows: "Only in one case will the revolution in Russia spread to advanced countries of Western Europe, namely, if the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party succeeds in seizing power and retaining it in its hands for a long time...." If suppositions are to be made, then why not that one? Maximum energy is never a hindrance. By

the way, nobody is even talking about the seizure of power by the party; it is a question only of participation—as far as possible leading participation—in the revolution at the time when power is in its hands (if such a time comes), and when efforts are made to snatch that power from it.

In connection with the possibility and permissibility of such a democratic dictatorship of the proletariat, it is of interest to collect some historical information on the Paris Commune, which was a revolutionary power and carried out revolution from above as well as from below.

—Was the Commune a dictatorship of the proletariat?

Engels's Introduction to the third edition of Marx's *The Civil War in France* ends with the words: "Of late, the Social-Democratic philistine has once more been filled with wholesome terror at the words: Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Well and good, gentlemen, do you want to know what this dictatorship looks like? Look at the Paris Commune. That was the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

But there are various dictatorships. Perhaps it was a true, pure dictatorship of the proletariat in the sense of the pure Social-Democratic composition of its membership and the character of its practical tasks? By no means! The class-conscious proletariat (and only more or less class-conscious at that), i.e., the members of the International, were in the minority; the majority consisted of representatives of petty-bourgeois democracy. One of the latest researchers (Gustav Jaekh) says so quite unequivocally. In the Central Committee of the National Guard, for example, there were 35 members and only two socialists (i.e., members of the International), but, on the other hand, they (Varlin and Avoine) carried enormous weight with all their colleagues in power. Lissagaray wrote about that same committee: "Who were these men? The agitators, the revolutionists of La Corderie, the socialists? No, there was not a known name amongst them. All those elected were men of the middle classes, shopkeepers, employees...." And yet Varlin and Avoine participated in that committee. Later, Pindy, Ostyn and Jourde also entered the committee. The *New York Arbeiter Zeitung*, the organ of the International, wrote on July 18, 1874: "The International did not

therefore make the Commune and was not identical with it, but the members of the International made the programme of the Commune their own in order to extend it beyond itself, and they were at the same time the most zealous and faithful defenders of the Commune, because they had realised its importance for the working class."

The General Council, which was headed, as we know, by Marx, approved those tactics of the Paris Federation of the International. Its Manifesto said: "Wherever and in whatever form the class struggle is waged, the members of our association must be in its front ranks." But our predecessors, the members of the International, had no desire to merge with the Commune, they always defended their own special, purely proletarian party organisation. Jaekh writes: "The Federal Council of the International was obliged very early to ensure itself constant influence on the development of important questions by plenipotentiaries with the authorities, first in the Central Committee and then in the Paris Commune." A splendid proof of the seclusion of the proletarian organisation at that time, with, however, participation of its members in the government, is provided by the text of the following invitation: "Next Saturday, May 20, at one o'clock sharp, there will be an extraordinary sitting of the Federal Council of the International Working Men's Association. Members of the Commune belonging to the International are invited to attend. They will be required to give an account of the position they have adopted in the Commune and of the cause and essence of the disagreements that have arisen within it. Admission to the sitting by membership card." Here is another interesting document—a decision taken by the above-mentioned extraordinary sitting: "The International Working Men's Association adopted the following decisions at its extraordinary sitting on May 20: 'Having heard co-members who are also members of the Commune, the meeting recognised that their conduct was completely loyal and invited them to defend the interests of the working class and to strive to maintain the unity of the Commune so necessary for winning the struggle against the Versailles government. It approved their having demanded publicity for the sittings of the Commune and modification of Para-

graph 3 of its Manifesto establishing the Committee of Public Safety, which makes it impossible to exercise control over the activity of the executive authority, that is, the Committee of Public Safety."

The meeting was attended by six members of the Commune, and three sent their apologies. On March 19, Lisagaray counted 25 representatives of the working class in the Commune, but they did not all belong to the International; even then the petty bourgeoisie was in the majority.

This is not the place to relate the history of the Commune and the role played in it by members of the International. We shall merely say that Duval sat on the Executive Committee; Varlin, Jourde and Beslay on the Finance Committee, and Duval and Pindy on the Military Committee; Assi and Chalain were on the Committee of Public Safety; Malon, Frankel, Theisz, Dupont and Avrial on the Labour Committee. At the new elections on April 16, some more members of the International, including Marx's son-in-law, Longuet, were elected; but the Commune also included some of its declared enemies, such as Vésinier. Towards the end of the Commune, finance was administered by two highly talented members of the International, Jourde and Varlin.

Trade and labour were directed by Frankel; the posts and telegraph, the Mint and direct taxation were administered by socialists. But still, most of the highly important ministries were, as Jaekh notes, in the hands of the petty bourgeoisie.

Hence there is no doubt that, when Engels called the Commune a dictatorship of the proletariat, he had in mind only the participation, and ideologically leading participation at that, of representatives of the proletariat in the revolutionary government of Paris.

But perhaps the immediate aim of the Commune was all the same a complete social revolution? We cannot harbour such illusions.

Indeed, the General Council's famous Manifesto, written beyond doubt by Marx, says: "The Commune was therefore to serve as a lever for uprooting the economic foundations upon which rests the existence of classes, and therefore of class rule." But it continues: "The working class

did not expect miracles from the Commune. They have no ready-made utopias to introduce *par décret du peuple*. They know that in order to work out their own emancipation and along with it that higher form to which present society is irresistibly tending by its own economical agencies, they will have to pass through long struggles, through a series of historic processes, transforming circumstances and men. They have no ideals to realise, but to set free the elements of the new society with which old collapsing bourgeois society itself is pregnant." All the measures, all the social legislation adopted by the Commune, were practical and not (utopian) the Commune was carrying out what we now call the minimum programme of socialism. In order to recall what the Commune actually did in that direction, we shall quote another passage from the same Introduction by Engels:

"On March 26 the Paris Commune was elected and on March 28 it was proclaimed. The Central Committee of the National Guard, which up to then had carried on the government, handed in its resignation to the Commune after it had first decreed the abolition of the scandalous Paris 'Morality Police'. On March 30 the Commune abolished conscription and the standing army, and declared the sole armed force to be the National Guard, in which all citizens capable of bearing arms were to be enrolled. It remitted all payments of rent for dwelling houses from October 1870 until April, the amounts already paid to be booked as future rent payments, and stopped all sales of articles pledged in the municipal loan office. On the same day the foreigners elected to the Commune were confirmed in office, because 'the flag of the Commune is the flag of the World Republic'. On April 1 it was decided that the highest salary to be received by any employee of the Commune, and therefore also by its members themselves, was not to exceed 6,000 francs. On the following day the Commune decreed the separation of the church from the state, and the abolition of all state payments for religious purposes as well as the transformation of all church property into national property; as a result of which, on April 8 the exclusion from the schools of all religious symbols, pictures, dogmas, prayers—in a word, 'of all that belongs to the

sphere of the individual's conscience'—was ordered and gradually put into effect. On the 5th, in reply to the shooting, day after day, of captured Commune fighters by the Versailles troops, a decree was issued for the imprisonment of hostages, but it was never carried into execution. On the 6th the guillotine was brought out by the 137th Battalion of the National Guard, and publicly burnt, amid great popular rejoicing. On the 12th the Commune decided that the Victory Column on the *Place Vendôme*, which had been cast from captured guns by Napoleon after the war of 1809, should be demolished as a symbol of chauvinism and incitement to national hatred. This was carried out on May 16. On April 16 it ordered a statistical tabulation of factories which had been closed down by the manufacturers, and the working out of plans for the operation of these factories by the workers formerly employed in them, who were to be organised in co-operative societies, and also plans for the organisation of these co-operatives in one great union. On the 20th it abolished night work for bakers, and also the employment offices, which since the Second Empire had been run as a monopoly by creatures appointed by the police—labour exploiters of the first rank; these offices were transferred to the mayoralities of the twenty *arrondissements* of Paris. On April 30 it ordered the closing of the pawnshops, on the ground that they were a private exploitation of the workers and were in contradiction with the right of the workers to their instruments of labour and to credit. On May 5 it ordered the razing of the Chapel of Atonement, which had been built in expiation of the execution of Louis XVI."

We know that, partly because of the mistakes it made and its excessive nobleness, the Commune did not succeed in overcoming reaction, and the Communards perished. Well, did they disgrace or compromise the cause of the proletariat, as Martynov croakingly affirms of the possible future revolutionary government in Russia? Apparently not, for Marx wrote about the Commune:

"Workingmen's Paris, with its Commune, will be forever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators history has already nailed to that

eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priests will not avail to redeem them.”

Our small historic reference seems to us not uninformative. It teaches us first of all that the participation of representatives of the socialist proletariat with the petty bourgeoisie in a revolutionary government is in principle entirely permissible, and in certain conditions a direct obligation. It shows us further that the real task which the Commune had to carry out was above all to put into effect a democratic, and not a socialist dictatorship, to carry out our minimum programme. Finally it reminds us that when we draw lessons for ourselves from the Paris Commune, we must imitate not its mistakes (it did not capture the Bank of France, did not undertake an offensive on Versailles, did not have a clear programme, etc.), but its practically successful steps, which chart out the correct road. What we must do is not take over the word “commune” from the great fighters of 1871, not blindly repeat each of their slogans, but must clearly mark out our programme and practical slogans corresponding to the state of affairs in Russia and formulated in the words: revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry.

Published in *Proletary* No. 8,
July 17(4), 1905

NOTES

- ¹ Volume 41 of Lenin's *Collected Works* includes “Three Outlines for a Report on the Paris Commune”. Lenin delivered the report at a meeting of Social-Democrats in Geneva on March 22, 1904. We give here the first of these outlines. p. 5
- ² A reference to the June 1848 insurrection, one of the greatest class battles of the French proletariat in the 19th century. p. 5
- ³ In his Introduction to Marx's *The Civil War in France*, Engels analysed the situation in France after the June 1848 insurrection, saying: “If the proletariat was not yet able to rule France, the bourgeoisie could no longer do so” (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in two volumes, Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, p. 475). p. 5
- ⁴ I.A.A. (*Internationale Arbeiter Assoziation*)—the International Working Men's Association (First International)—the first international mass organisation of the proletariat set up at an international workers' meeting in London, called by British and French workers in 1864. The establishment of the First International was the result of long and persistent efforts by Marx and Engels to organise a working-class revolutionary party. Karl Marx was the organiser and leader of the First International and wrote its Inaugural Address, Rules and other programme and tactical documents. The International Working Men's Association existed until 1876. p. 5
- ⁵ *The 1862 London exposition*—a world industrial exhibition at which a delegation of French workers met British workers. p. 5
- ⁶ *Proudhonism*—an anti-Marxist trend in petty-bourgeois socialism, so called after its ideologist, the French anarchist Pierre Joseph Proudhon. Proudhon criticised big capitalist property from the petty-bourgeois position and dreamed of perpetuating small property ownership; he proposed the foundation of “people's” and “exchange” banks, with the aid of which the workers would allegedly be able to acquire the means of production, become handicraftsmen, and ensure the “just” marketing of their wares. Proudhon

did not understand the historic role of the proletariat and rejected the class struggle, the proletarian revolution, and the dictatorship of the proletariat; as an anarchist, he denied the necessity for the state. Marx and Engels struggled persistently against the Proudhonists' efforts to impose their views on the First International. Proudhonism was subjected to a ruthless criticism, as an unscientific and reactionary trend, in Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon, 1847*, and his other works. The Proudhonists constituted a minority in the Paris Commune. p. 5

⁷ *Blanquism*—a trend in the French socialist movement led by the prominent revolutionary and exponent of French utopian communism, Louis Auguste Blanqui (1805-1881). The Blanquists expected "that mankind will be emancipated from wage-slavery, not by the proletarian class struggle, but through a conspiracy hatched by a small minority of intellectuals" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 10, p. 392). In substituting the actions of a secret group of conspirators for the activity of a revolutionary party, the Blanquists lost sight of the real conditions necessary for a victorious uprising and ignored contacts with the people. They constituted a majority in the Paris Commune. p. 5

⁸ A reference to Louis Bonaparte and his supporters. p. 5

⁹ Lenin refers to the war of 1866 between Austria and Prussia, which ended in Prussia's victory. This secured Prussia's leading role among the German kingdoms and principalities in the unification of Germany. p. 5

¹⁰ *La débâcle* (1892)—Émile Zola's novel describing the Franco-Prussian War. p. 6

¹¹ The manifesto issued by the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany on September 5, 1870, said: "We protest against the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine.... We shall faithfully stand by our fellow-workmen in all countries for the common international cause of the Proletariat!" (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in two volumes, Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, p. 496.) p. 6

¹² Lenin is quoting from the "Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War", written by Marx (see Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in two volumes, Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, p. 497). p. 6

¹³ Lenin refers to the following passage in Marx's "Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Civil War in France, 1871": "The infamous impostors resolved upon curing the heroic folly of Paris by a regimen of famine and broken heads, and to dupe her in the meanwhile by ranting manifestoes, holding forth that Trochu, 'the governor of Paris, will never capitulate', and Jules Favre, the foreign minister, will

'not cede an inch of our territory, nor a stone of our fortresses'. In a letter to Gambetta, that very same Jules Favre avows that what they were 'defending' against were not the Prussian soldiers, but the working men of Paris" (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in two volumes, Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, p. 500). p. 7

¹⁴ Alphonse Simon Guiod, commander of the Paris army artillery, wrote to artillery division General Susane that he could take his protégé on his staff, where he would be bored by inaction, or could send him to Mont Valérien, where only a pretence of firing was made. This letter, published by the Commune in No. 115 of *Journal Officiel de la République Française* (Official Journal of the French Republic) on April 25, 1871, showed that the Government of National Defence merely pretended that it was defending Paris. p. 7

¹⁵ In 1870, the Government of National Defence passed the death sentence on Louis Auguste Blanqui; it was later commuted to imprisonment for life. p. 7

¹⁶ A reference to Leo Frankel, a Hungarian revolutionary émigré, who was a member of the Paris Commune and its Minister for Labour, Industry and Commerce. p. 9

¹⁷ "Plan of a Lecture on the Commune"—an outline of Lenin's lecture on the Paris Commune delivered in Geneva on March 5 (18), 1905, for the Russian colony of political emigrants. p. 11

¹⁸ See Note 3. p. 11

¹⁹ Here and further, Lenin refers to the German edition of Karl Marx's pamphlet *The Civil War in France*, which appeared in Berlin in 1891. p. 11

²⁰ *Sedan*—a city in France, where the French Army, under the command of MacMahon, was routed by the Prussians on September 1-2, 1870, during the Franco-Prussian War. More than 100,000 French soldiers, together with their Emperor Napoleon III, were taken prisoner. p. 11

²¹ *The Legitimists*—adherents of the "legitimate" Bourbon dynasty representing the interests of the big landed nobility, which was overthrown in 1830.

The Orleanists—supporters of the Orleans dynasty, which relied on the finance aristocracy and the big bourgeoisie. It came to power in 1830. p. 11

²² Lenin draws a comparison between the executioners of the Paris Commune of 1871 and the executioners of the first Russian revolution of 1905. p. 12

²³ The article "The Paris Commune and the Tasks of the Democratic Dictatorship" was published in *Proletary* No. 8, July 17 (4), 1905. Its author is not known. It was edited by Lenin, who changed the

- title, made a number of amendments in the wording, and wrote the conclusion. See Appendix. p. 14
- ²⁴ This refers to the armed uprising of the Moscow workers against the autocracy in December 1905, which was brutally suppressed. p. 15
- ²⁵ Lenin has in mind the "Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War", written by Marx (see Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in two volumes, Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, pp. 491-98). p. 15
- ²⁶ *The Man in a Muffler*—a character from Chekhov's story of the same title, personifying the narrow-minded philistine afraid of all innovation and initiative. p. 17
- ²⁷ A cowardly philistine in a tale by M. Y. Saltykov-Shchedrin. p. 17
- ²⁸ A reference to Karl Marx's *The Civil War in France* (see Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in two volumes, Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, pp. 473-545). p. 18
- ²⁹ *Cadets*—members of the Constitutional-Democratic Party, the leading party of the liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie in Russia, set up in October 1905. To hoodwink the working people, the Cadets hypocritically called themselves "the party of people's freedom", although actually they did not go beyond the demand for a constitutional monarchy. After the bourgeois-democratic revolution of February 1917, they held leading posts in the bourgeois Provisional Government, pursuing a counter-revolutionary policy opposed to the interests of the people. After the victory of the October Socialist Revolution, the Cadets became irreconcilable enemies of Soviet power and participated in all armed counter-revolutionary acts and campaigns of the interventionists. p. 18
- ³⁰ See Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, p. 264. p. 19
- ³¹ The article "*Lessons of the Commune*" is the verbatim report of a speech made by Lenin at the international meeting in Geneva on March 18, 1908. The editors of *Zagranichnaya Gazeta* (Foreign Gazette), in which the article was published, introduced it with the following note: "An international meeting was held in Geneva on March 18 to commemorate three proletarian anniversaries: the twenty-fifth anniversary of the death of Marx, the sixtieth anniversary of the March revolution of 1848, and the anniversary of the Paris Commune. Comrade Lenin, on behalf of the R.S.D.L.P., spoke at the meeting on the significance of the Commune." p. 20
- ³² See Karl Marx, "Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian

- War" (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in two volumes, Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, p. 497). p. 20
- ³³ Lenin refers to the Manifesto of October 17, 1905, in which the tsar, frightened by the growth of the revolutionary movement, promised the people "civil liberties" and a "legislative" Duma. This was a political manoeuvre on the part of the autocracy, aimed at gaining time, splitting the revolutionary forces, foiling the strike, and crushing the revolution. p. 22
- ³⁴ *Sotsial-Demokrat*—an illegal newspaper, Central Organ of the R.S.D.L.P., published from February 1908 to January 1917. No. 1 was published in Russia and subsequent issues appeared abroad: Nos. 2-32 (February 1909-December 1913) in Paris, Nos. 33-58 (November 1914-January 1917) in Geneva. In all there were 58 issues. From December 1911 the paper was edited by Lenin. More than 80 articles and short items by Lenin were carried in it. p. 33
- ³⁵ See Lenin's *The State and Revolution* (*Collected Works*, Vol. 25, pp. 381-492). p. 33
- ³⁶ See Engels's letter to A. Bebel of March 18-28, 1875 (Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, p. 293). p. 37
- ³⁷ See Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France. Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association* (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in two volumes, Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, p. 522). p. 38
- ³⁸ Lenin has in mind the "Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War. To the Members of the International Working Men's Association in Europe and the United States", written by Marx in London between September 6 and 9, 1870. p. 41
- ³⁹ See Marx's letter to L. Kugelmann of April 12, 1871 (Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, p. 262). p. 41
- ⁴⁰ Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in two volumes, Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, p. 22. p. 42
- ⁴¹ *Die Neue Zeit* (New Times)—a theoretical journal of the German Social-Democratic Party, published in Stuttgart from 1883 to 1923. It carried some of Marx's and Engels's writings for the first time. Engels gave pointers to its editors and often criticised them for their deviations from Marxism. Beginning with the mid-nineties, after Engels's death, it regularly published articles by revisionists. During the First World War of 1914-18 the journal formally occupied a Centrist position but virtually backed the social-chauvinists. p. 43
- ⁴² *The Mensheviks*—an opportunist trend in the Russian Social-Democratic movement.

During the elections to the Party's central organs at the Second R.S.D.L.P. Congress in 1903, the revolutionary Social-Democrats headed by Lenin won the majority (*bolshinstvo*), and the opportunists found themselves in the minority (*menshinstvo*); hence the names Bolsheviks and Mensheviks.

During the revolution of 1905-07, the Mensheviks opposed the hegemony of the working class in the revolution and the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, and demanded agreement with the liberal bourgeoisie, which, in their opinion, should have led the revolution. In the years of reaction which followed the defeat of the revolution of 1905-07, most Mensheviks became liquidators, demanding that the illegal revolutionary party of the working class be liquidated. After the victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in February 1917, the Mensheviks accepted posts in the bourgeois Provisional Government, supported its imperialist policy and waged a struggle against the mounting proletarian revolution.

After the October Socialist Revolution, they became an openly counter-revolutionary party, organising and participating in conspiracies and revolts against Soviet power. p. 44

⁴³ This refers to the *Portuguese revolution* of 1910, which overthrew the king and proclaimed a republic, and the *Turkish revolution* of 1908-09, as a result of which Turkey became a constitutional monarchy. p. 44

⁴⁴ See Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in two volumes, Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, p. 53). p. 45

⁴⁵ *Socialist-Revolutionaries* (S.R.s)—a petty-bourgeois party founded in Russia in late 1904-early 1902.

After the February bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1917 the S.R.s, together with the Mensheviks and Cadets, were the mainstay of the counter-revolutionary bourgeois-landowner Provisional Government, and S.R. leaders (Kerensky, Avksentyev and Chernov) were members of the cabinet. The S.R. Party refused to support the peasants' demand for the abolition of the landed estates and advocated their preservation. The S.R. members of the Provisional Government sent punitive expeditions against peasants who had seized landed estates. On the eve of the October armed uprising, the party openly sided with the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie in defence of the capitalist system and found itself isolated from the revolutionary masses.

During the foreign military intervention and the Civil War, the S.R.s took part in counter-revolutionary conspiracies and organised acts of terrorism against Soviet statesmen and Communist Party leaders. p. 46

⁴⁶ A reference to the February 1917 bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia. p. 46

⁴⁷ See Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France* (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in two volumes, Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, pp. 519-20). Further, on pp. 49, 55-63 of this book, Lenin quotes from the same work by Marx (op. cit., pp. 522, 519-22). p. 47

⁴⁸ *Dyelo Naroda* (People's Cause)—an S.R. daily published in Petrograd from March 1917 to July 1918. p. 51

⁴⁹ The *Girondins*—a political grouping of the bourgeoisie during the French bourgeois revolution at the end of the eighteenth century. They expressed the interests of the moderate bourgeoisie, wavered between revolution and counter-revolution, and made deals with the monarchy. p. 58

⁵⁰ See Frederick Engels, *The Housing Question* (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in two volumes, Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, pp. 570-71). Further, on pp. 61-62 of this book, Lenin quotes from the same work by Engels (op. cit., pp. 629, 613). p. 61

⁵¹ Lenin refers to the articles "L'indifferenza in materia politica" (Political Indifferentism) by Karl Marx and "Dell' Autorita" (On Authority) by Frederick Engels, published in the Italian annual *Almanacco Repubblicano per l'anno 1874* (Republican Almanac for 1874). In 1913, they appeared in German in *Die Neue Zeit*. p. 63

⁵² Karl Marx, "Der politische Indifferentismus" (Political Indifferentism) (see Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 18, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1962, S. 300). p. 63

⁵³ Frederick Engels, "On Authority" (see Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in two volumes, Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, p. 638). p. 64

⁵⁴ Frederick Engels, "On Authority" (see Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in two volumes, Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, pp. 638-39). p. 66

⁵⁵ See Karl Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in two volumes, Vol. II, Moscow, 1962, pp. 15-37). p. 67

⁵⁶ A reference to Karl Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy*. p. 67

⁵⁷ See Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in two volumes, Vol. II, Moscow, 1962, p. 42. p. 68

⁵⁸ See Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in two volumes, Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, pp. 473-74.

Further, on pp. 70-74 of this book, Lenin quotes from the same work (op. cit., pp. 475, 479, 483-85). p. 70

⁵⁹ The *Los-von-Kirche-Bewegung* (the "Leave-the-Church" movement) or *Kirchenaustrittsbewegung* (Movement to Secede from the Church)

assumed a vast scale in Germany before the First World War. In January 1914 *Neue Zeit* began, with the revisionist Paul Göhre's article "Kirchenaustrittsbewegung und Sozialdemokratie" (The Movement to Secede from the Church and Social-Democracy), to discuss the attitude of the German Social-Democratic Party to the movement. During the discussion, prominent German Social-Democratic leaders failed to rebuff Göhre, who asserted that the party should remain neutral towards the Movement to Secede from the Church and forbid its members to engage in propaganda against religion and the Church on behalf of the party. p. 72

⁶⁰ The figures of the possible salaries are given by Lenin in the paper currency of the second half of 1917.

During the First World War, the Russian paper ruble was considerably devalued. p. 73

⁶¹ *The Hague Congress of the First International* was held from September 2 to 7, 1872. It was attended by 65 delegates representing 15 national organisations. In preparing for the Congress, Marx and Engels did much to rally the proletarian revolutionary forces. The powers of the General Council and the political activity of the proletariat were the main items on the agenda.

The Congress passed a resolution extending the General Council's powers.

Its resolution on the political activity of the proletariat stated that "the winning of political power has become the proletariat's great task", and that "to ensure the triumph of the social revolution and the achievement of its ultimate goal—the abolition of classes", the proletariat should organise a political party of its own (see Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 18, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1962, S. 149).

The Congress witnessed the culmination of the struggle which Marx, Engels and their followers had waged for many years against all kinds of petty-bourgeois sectarianism. The anarchist leaders, Bakunin, Guillaume and others, were expelled from the International. p. 76

⁶² *Zarya* (Dawn)—a Marxist scientific and political journal, published legally in Stuttgart in 1901-02 by the *Iskra* Editorial Board. Four issues appeared. It criticised international and Russian revisionism and defended the theoretical principles of Marxism. Some of Lenin's works were published in it. p. 77

⁶³ A reference to the *Fifth World Congress of the Second International*, which met in Paris from September 23 to 27, 1900. On the fundamental issue, "The Winning of Political Power, and Alliances with Bourgeois Parties", put on the agenda in connection with A. Millerand's becoming a member of the Waldeck-Rousseau counter-revolutionary government, the Congress carried a motion, tabled by Kautsky, saying that "the entry of a single socialist

into a bourgeois Ministry cannot be considered as the normal beginning for winning political power: it can never be anything but a forced and exceptional makeshift in an emergency situation". Afterwards, opportunists frequently referred to this point to justify their collaboration with the bourgeoisie. p. 77

⁶⁴ *Bernsteinism*—an opportunist, anti-Marxist trend in international Social-Democracy, which arose in Germany at the end of the nineteenth century and derived its name from Eduard Bernstein, its most outspoken representative, who sought to revise Marxism. p. 78

⁶⁵ See Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in two volumes, Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, p. 332). p. 78

⁶⁶ See the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. "Preface to the German Edition of 1872" (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in two volumes, Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, pp. 21-22). p. 79

⁶⁷ See Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France* (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in two volumes, Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, p. 519). p. 81

⁶⁸ See Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "Address of the Central Committee to the Communist League" (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in two volumes, Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, p. 115). p. 85

⁶⁹ See Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France* (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in two volumes, Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, p. 519). p. 87

⁷⁰ This refers to Sidney and Beatrice Webb's *Industrial Democracy*. p. 87

⁷¹ See Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in two volumes, Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, p. 53. p. 89

⁷² *Sozialistische Monatshefte* (Socialist Monthly)—the chief journal of the German opportunists and one of the organs of international revisionism. It was published in Berlin from 1897 to 1933. During the First World War of 1914-18, it took a social-chauvinist stand. p. 90

⁷³ *The Italian Socialist Party* was founded in 1892. From the very outset, a sharp ideological struggle ensued between its opportunist and revolutionary wings which differed over policy and tactics. At the Congress in Reggio-Emilia in 1912, the more outspoken reformists, supporters of the war and of co-operation with the government and the bourgeoisie (Bonomi, Bissolati and others), were expelled under pressure from the Left forces. After the outbreak of the First World War and before Italy's entry into it, the Italian Socialist Party opposed the war under the slogan "Against War, for Neutrality!" In December 1914, a group of renegades (Mussolini and others) who defended the imperialist policy of

the bourgeoisie and supported the war, were expelled from the party. The Italian socialists held a joint conference with the Swiss socialists in Lugano in 1914 and took part in the international socialist conferences at Zimmerwald in 1915 and Kienthal in 1916. However, the majority of the party adhered to the Centrist stand. After Italy had joined the war on the side of the Entente in May 1915, the Italian Socialist Party renounced its opposition to the war and advanced the slogan of "no participation in the war and no sabotage of the war", which boiled down to supporting the war.

p. 90

⁷⁴ *Fabians*—members of the Fabian Society, a British reformist organisation founded in 1884. They were chiefly bourgeois intellectuals—scientists, writers and politicians (Sidney and Beatrice Webb, George Bernard Shaw, Ramsay MacDonald and others). They denied the need for the proletariat's class struggle and the socialist revolution, and maintained that the transition from capitalism to socialism could be effected by petty reforms and gradual social evolution. In 1900, the Fabian Society joined the Labour Party.

During the First World War of 1914-18, the Fabians took a social-chauvinist stand.

p. 90

⁷⁵ *The Independent Labour Party of Britain (I.L.P.)*—a reformist organisation founded by the leaders of the "new trade unions" in 1893, when there was a revival of strikes and a growing movement for the independence of the working class from the bourgeois parties. The I.L.P. united the "new trade unions", a number of the old ones, and also intellectuals and petty bourgeois who were under the influence of the Fabians. The party was led by Keir Hardie and Ramsay MacDonald. From its very inception, it pursued a bourgeois reformist policy and concentrated on the parliamentary struggle and parliamentary deals with the liberals. Lenin wrote of the I.L.P. that it "is actually an opportunist party that has always been dependent on the bourgeoisie" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 494).

At the beginning of the First World War, the I.L.P. issued a manifesto against the war but soon took a social-chauvinist stand.

p. 90

⁷⁶ *Novaya Zhizn* (New Life)—a daily published in Petrograd from April 18 (May 1), 1917, to July 1918. It was founded by a group of Menshevik internationalists and writers.

It was hostile to the October Socialist Revolution and Soviet power. From June 1, 1918, it appeared in two editions, one in Petrograd and the other in Moscow. Both were closed down in July 1918.

p. 92

⁷⁷ *Menshevik internationalists*—a small group within the Menshevik Party which took an inconsistently internationalist attitude during the First World War. Prominent among them were L. Martov,

Y. Larin and A. Martynov. From April to June 1917, they published the monthly *International*.

They took a Centrist stand and criticised the social-chauvinists, but were afraid to break with them and opposed the basic principles of Lenin's tactics adopted by the Bolshevik Party on war, peace and revolution.

The Bolsheviks made several attempts to unite the internationalist forces for joint action against the social-chauvinists, but the Menshevik internationalists did not break off their relations with the latter. The question of uniting the internationalists was raised at the Petrograd City and the Seventh (April) All-Russia conferences of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.), and also at the Sixth Party Congress, but unity was not achieved through the fault of the Menshevik internationalists' leaders, who laid down a number of unacceptable conditions for unification.

After the October Socialist Revolution, some of the Menshevik internationalists sided with avowed enemies of Soviet power and left the country. Others accepted Soviet power and worked in Soviet institutions. Some of them joined the Bolshevik Party.

p. 93

⁷⁸ *The All-Russia Democratic Conference* was called by the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, ostensibly to decide who would rule the country. The organisers' real aim, however, was to distract the attention of the masses from the mounting revolution. It was first set for September 12 (25), 1917, and later postponed to September 14 (27). It was held in Petrograd from September 14 to 22 (September 27-October 5).

p. 93

⁷⁹ The revolutionary government of Finland, the Council of People's Representatives, was set up on January 29, 1918, after the overthrow of Svinhufvud's bourgeois government. In addition there was also the Main Council of Workers' Organisations, which was the supreme organ of government. State power was based on the "seims of workers' organisations", which were elected by the organised workers.

p. 99

⁸⁰ A quotation from Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in two volumes, Vol. II, Moscow, 1962, pp. 32-33).

p. 102

⁸¹ See Engels's letter to A. Bebel of March 18-28, 1875 (Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, p. 293).

p. 106

⁸² This proposition is contained in Engels's Introduction to Karl Marx's *The Civil War in France* (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in two volumes, Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, p. 481).

p. 109

⁸³ Lenin quotes from Frederick Engels's article "On Authority" (see Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in two volumes, Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, p. 639).

p. 109

- ⁸⁴ See Marx's letter to L. Kugelmann of April 12, 1871 (Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, p. 262), his work *The Civil War in France* (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in two volumes, Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, pp. 516 and 520-21), and Engels's Introduction of 1891 to *The Civil War in France* (ibid., p. 483). p. 109
- ⁸⁵ This refers to the Preface to the 1872 German edition of the *Communist Manifesto* written by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in two volumes, Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, p. 22). p. 109
- ⁸⁶ See Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France* (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in two volumes, Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, p. 520). p. 112

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Bracke, Wilhelm (1842-1880)—German socialist. The Central Committee having issued an anti-war manifesto in September 1870, Bracke was arrested and detained in a fortress for 3 months; released in March 1871. One of the leading publishers and distributors of party literature.—6, 67,

Branting, Karl Hjalmar (1860-1925)—leader of the Swedish So-

cial-Democratic Party, one of the leaders of the Second International, took an opportunist stand; became a member of the Nils Eden coalition liberal-socialist government in 1917.—50, 90

C

Cavaignac, Louis-Eugène (1802-1857)—French general, reactionary politician; War Minister from May 1848; dictator from June 1848; suppressed the Paris workers' uprising of June 1848 with extreme brutality.—70

Chalain, Louis Denis (b. 1845)—prominent figure in the French labour movement, member of the Paris Commune, member of the Social Security Commission and the Labour-Exchange Commission of the Paris Commune.—117

Chernov, Viktor Mikhailovich (1876-1952)—one of the leaders and theoreticians of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party; Minister of Agriculture (May-August 1917) in the bourgeois Provisional Government; pursued a policy of severe repressions against peasants who seized landed estates; one of the organisers of anti-Soviet revolts after the October Socialist Revolution; emigrated in 1920 and continued anti-Soviet activities.—51, 75, 90, 95

D

Dąbrowski, Jaroslaw (1836-1871)—revolutionary, took part in the 1863-64 Polish uprising, general of the Paris Commune in 1871, commander of the Commune's armed forces. Killed May 23, 1871, defending the Montmartre heights.—9

Dan (Gurevich), Fyodor Ivanovich (1871-1947)—leader of the

Mensheviks; supported the bourgeois Provisional Government after the February 1917 bourgeois-democratic revolution; opposed Soviet rule after the Great October Socialist Revolution.—95

David, Eduard (1863-1930)—leader of the Right wing of German Social-Democracy, revisionist; a social-chauvinist during World War I; became member of the first coalition government of the German Republic in 1919; Minister of the Interior in 1919-20.—50, 89, 90

Dupont, Eugène (1831-1881)—French revolutionary, took part in the June 1848 uprising in France, then emigrated to London; member of the First International General Council in 1864-72, supporter of Marx.—12, 117

Duval, Emile Victor (1841-1871)—member of the National Guard C.C. and of the Paris Commune; arrested on April 4, 1871, and shot by the Versailles troops.—117

E

Engels, Frederick (1820-1895).—33, 37, 42, 60, 62-74, 76, 78-81, 85, 102, 106, 107, 109, 115, 117

F

Falloux, Frédéric Alfred Pierre (1811-1886)—French politician and writer, legitimist and clerical; instigated the suppression of the June 1848 uprising in Paris; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; Minister of Education and Public Worship in 1848-49.—11

Favre, Jules (1809-1880)—French bourgeois politician, member of the National Defence Government during the Franco-Prus-

sian War, 1870-71; Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Thiers government; one of the instigators of the blood-thirsty suppression of the Paris Commune.—6, 7

Ferry, Jules (1832-1893)—French politician, bourgeois republican, lawyer, publicist; secretary of the National Defence Government after the September 1870 revolution, then Mayor of Paris; one of the instigators of the suppression of the Paris Commune.—6

Frankel, Leo (1844-1896)—prominent figure in the Hungarian and international working-class movement; member of the Paris Commune, headed the Labour-Exchange Commission; emigrated to London after the defeat of the Commune and became a member of the General Council of the First International; associate of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.—13, 117

G

Guiod, Alphonse Simon (b. 1805)—French general, artillery commander in Paris during the 1870-71 siege.—7

H

Henderson, Arthur (1863-1935)—leader of the Labour Party and the British trade union movement; a social-chauvinist during World War I; after the February 1917 bourgeois-democratic revolution visited Russia to campaign for the continuation of the imperialist war; member of several British bourgeois governments.—50

Herostratus—a Greek who set fire to the temple of Artemis in Ephesus, a masterpiece of ancient art, in 356 B. C. in order to win fame for himself.—55, 77

J

Jaech, Gustav (1866-1907)—German journalist. Author of the book *International*.—115, 116, 117

Jaurès, Jean (1859-1914)—historian, prominent leader of the French and international socialist movement. Leader of the Right reformist wing of the French Socialist Party; founded *l'Humanité* in 1904 and was its permanent editor; an active fighter against militarism and preparations for imperialist war; murdered by a hired assassin in July 1914.—77, 90

Jourde, François (1843-1893)—prominent figure in the Paris Commune.—115, 117

K

Kaledin, Alexei Maximovich (1861-1918)—tsarist general, Don Cossack ataman; a leader of the Don Cossack counter-revolution after the Great October Socialist Revolution; one of the founders of the whiteguard Volunteer Army; headed the Cossack revolt.—96

Kautsky, Karl (1854-1938)—leader of the German Social-Democratic Party and the Second International; first a Marxist, later a renegade; the ideologist of Centrism, one of the most harmful varieties of opportunism; a social-chauvinist during the First World War; founded the reactionary theory of ultra-imperialism; a bitter enemy of the socialist revolution in Russia and the Soviet state.—33, 36, 38, 39, 43, 50, 56, 69, 72, 75, 76-87, 89, 100-110

Kolb, Wilhelm (1870-1918)—German Social-Democrat, extreme opportunist and revisionist;

a social-chauvinist during the First World War.—90

Kropotkin, Pyotr Alexeyevich (1842-1921)—leader and theoretician of anarchism; a social-chauvinist during the First World War.—88

Kugelmann, Ludwig (1830-1902)—German Social-Democrat, friend of Karl Marx; one of the leaders of the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; member of the First International.—15-16, 18, 19, 42, 43

L

Lecomte, Claude Martin (1817-1871)—French general; on the night of March 17, 1871 took part in the raid on Montmartre to seize the artillery of the National Guard; on March 18, 1871, the first day of the Paris Commune, was killed by soldiers who had gone over to the side of the people.—8

Legien, Karl (1864-1920)—German Right Social-Democrat, a leader of the German trade unions, revisionist; an extreme social-chauvinist during the First World War; member of the National Assembly of the Weimar Republic in 1919-20; opposed the revolutionary movement of the proletariat.—50, 52, 89, 90

Lieber (Goldman), Mikhail Isakovich (1880-1937)—Menshevik; supported the coalition government after the February 1917 bourgeois-democratic revolution; opposed the Great October Socialist Revolution.—95

Liebknecht, Wilhelm (1826-1900)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, one of the founders and leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party.—69

Lissagaray, Prosper Olivier (1838-1901)—French politician and publicist; took part in the work of the Paris Commune in 1871; emigrated to England after the suppression of the Commune; in 1876 published *History of the Commune, 1871*.—9, 115, 117

Longuet, Charles (1833-1903)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, member of the General Council of the International; took part in the defence of Paris in 1870-71, member of the Paris Commune.—117

Louis XVI (1754-1793)—King of France in 1774-92, executed during the French bourgeois revolution.—119

Louis Philippe (1773-1850)—King of France (1830-1848); dethroned during the 1848 February revolution; went to England and died there.—6

Luxemburg, Rosa (1871-1919)—prominent figure in the international working-class movement; a leader of the Left wing of the Second International; one of the founders of the Communist Party of Germany; assassinated in January 1919 by German counter-revolutionaries.—83, 110

Lvov, Georgi Yevgenyevich (1861-1925)—prince, big landowner; was Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of the Interior of the bourgeois Provisional Government after the February 1917 bourgeois-democratic revolution (March-July); White émigré after the Great October Socialist Revolution; took an active part in organising the armed intervention against Soviet Russia.—39

M

Malon, Benoît (1844-1893)—member of the National Guard

Central Committee and of the Paris Commune.—117

Martov, L. (Tsederbaum, Yuly Osipovich) (1873-1923)—Menshevik leader; headed the group of Menshevik internationalists after the February bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1917; enemy of the Soviet government after the October Socialist Revolution; emigrated to Germany in 1920.—93, 94

Martynov, A. (Picker, A. S.) (1865-1935)—leader of the Economists, prominent Menshevik.—114, 119

Marx, Karl (1818-1883).—12, 15-19, 20, 22, 33-34, 38, 41-45, 47-50, 52, 55-60, 63-64, 67-68, 76, 78-81, 83, 85-87, 92-93, 100-03, 105-10, 111, 112, 115-17, 119

Meller-Zakomelsky, Alexander Nikolayevich (b. 1844)—tsarist general, extreme reactionary; headed anti-revolutionary punitive expeditions in Siberia with General Rennenkampf in 1906.—27

Millerand, Alexandre Etienne (1859-1943)—French politician; joined the socialists in the nineties; headed the opportunist trend in the French socialist movement; became a member of the reactionary bourgeois government of Waldeck-Rousseau in 1899; collaborated with general Galliffet, hangman of the Paris Commune.

After his expulsion from the Socialist Party in 1904, Millerand formed with Briand and Viviani the Party of Independent Socialists; Minister in 1909-10, 1912-13, 1914-15.—77

Montesquieu, Charles Louis (1689-1755)—outstanding French bourgeois sociologist, economist and writer, champion of 18th-century Enlightenment.—58

N

Napoleon I (Bonaparte) (1769-1821)—Emperor of France in 1804-14 and 1815.—72, 119

Napoleon III (Bonaparte, Louis) (1808-1873)—nephew of Napoleon I; Emperor of France from 1852 to 1870.—5, 6, 9, 11

O

Ostyn, François Charles (1823-1912)—member of the National Guard Central Committee and of the Paris Commune.—115

P

Pannekoek, Anton (1873-1960)—Dutch Social-Democrat; one of the founders in 1907 of *De Tribune*, organ of the Left wing of the Dutch Social-Democratic Labour Party; an internationalist during World War I; member of the Communist Party of Holland in 1918-21; took an active part in the work of the Communist International; advocated extreme Left, sectarian views; left the Communist Party in 1921.—33, 83-87

Picard, Louis Joseph Ernest (1821-1877)—French politician, Right republican; Finance Minister in the National Defence Government in 1870; Minister of the Interior in the Thiers government in 1871; one of the hangmen of the Paris Commune.—6

Pindy—a worker, member of the Paris section of the International, member of the Paris Commune.—115

Plekhanov, Georgi Valentino- vich (1856-1918)—outstanding leader of the Russian and international working-class movement, first propagandist of Marxism in

Russia; founded the first Russian Marxist group—the Emancipation of Labour group—in 1883 in Geneva; joined the Mensheviks after the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903); adopted a social-chauvinist stand during World War I; supported the bourgeois Provisional Government after the February 1917 bourgeois-democratic revolution; adopted a negative attitude towards the October Socialist Revolution, but did not take part in the struggle against Soviet power.—15-19, 36, 38-39, 41, 44, 50, 53, 56, 75-76, 89

Potresov, Alexander Nikolaye- vich (1869-1934)—one of the Menshevik leaders; adopted a social-chauvinist stand during World War I; emigrated after the October Socialist Revolution.—89

Proudhon, Pierre Joseph (1809-1865)—French publicist, economist and sociologist; advocated the ideas of the petty bourgeoisie; one of the founders of anarchism.—17, 55-57, 67, 75, 78

R

Radek, Karl Berngardovich (1885-1939)—took an active part in the Social-Democratic movement in Galicia, Poland and Germany from the beginning of the 20th century; adopted an internationalist stand, sometimes swinging over to the Centrists, during World War I; had an erroneous attitude to the right of nations to self-determination; joined the Bolshevik Party in 1917; sided with “Left-wing” Communists at the signing of the Brest Treaty; actively supported the Trotsky opposition from 1923; expelled from the Party by the 15th Party Congress in 1927; rehabilitated in

1930, and expelled again in 1936 for his factional activities.—83

Renaudel, Pierre (1871-1935)—a reformist leader of the French Socialist Party, editor of *l'Humanité*; a social-chauvinist during World War I.—50

Rennenkampf, Pavel Karlovich (1854-1918)—tsarist general, one of the hangmen of the revolutionary movement in Russia; headed the punitive expedition in 1906; Commander of the 1st Russian Army in 1914-15.—27

Rusanov, Nikolai Sergeevich (b. 1859)—Russian publicist; supported the Narodnaya Volya; later became a Socialist-Revolutionary.—52

S

Scheidemann, Philipp (1865-1939)—one of the leaders of the opportunist, extreme Right wing of the German Social-Democratic Party; a social-chauvinist during World War I; member of the so-called Council of People's Representatives during the November 1918 revolution in Germany; inspired the violent agitation against the Spartacus group; headed the coalition government of the Weimar Republic in February-June 1919; one of the organisers of the blood-thirsty suppression of the German working-class movement in 1918-21; later abandoned political activities.—50, 52, 89

Sembat, Marcel (1862-1922)—a reformist leader of the French Socialist Party; a social-chauvinist during World War I; Minister for Public Works in the imperialist National Defence Government of France from August 1914 to September 1917.—50, 52

Skobelev, Matvei Ivanovich (1885-1939)—joined the Menshe-

vik Social-Democrats in 1903; adhered to the Centrists during World War I; Minister of Labour in the bourgeois Provisional Government after the February 1917 bourgeois-democratic revolution; after the October Socialist Revolution he dissociated himself from the Mensheviks.—51

Stauning, Thorwald August Marinus (1873-1942)—Danish statesman and publicist; one of the Right-wing leaders of Danish Social-Democracy and the Second International; took a social-chauvinist stand during World War I; Minister without portfolio in the bourgeois government in 1916-20.—50, 90

Stirner, Max (1806-1856)—German philosopher, one of the ideologists of bourgeois individualism and anarchism; outlined his views in 1844 in his book *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum*; was criticised by Marx and Engels.—75

Struve, Pyotr Berngardovich (1870-1944)—bourgeois economist and publicist, one of the leaders of the Cadet Party; a prominent representative of “legal Marxism” in the 1890s; came out with “criticism” and “revision” of Marx's economic and philosophical teachings; sought to adapt Marxism and the working-class movement to the interests of the bourgeoisie; ideologist of Russian imperialism; a rabid enemy of the Soviets after the October Revolution.—44

Susane, Louis (1810-1876)—French general, took part in the defence of Paris in 1870-71; author of a number of papers on military history.—7

T

Theisz, Albert Félix (1839-1880)—prominent figure in the

French labour movement; member of the Paris Commune.—117

Thiers, Adolphe (1797-1877)—French bourgeois historian and statesman; Prime Minister in 1836 and 1840; President of the French Republic (1871-73); hangman of the Paris Commune.—6, 9, 11, 12, 25, 27

Thomas, Clément (1809-1871)—French general, Bonapartist; suppressed the uprising of the proletariat in Paris in June 1848; was appointed commander of the National Guard of Paris in 1870; was killed on March 18, 1871, by soldiers who had gone over to the side of the people.—8

Trepov, Dmitry Fyodorovich (1855-1906)—in 1896-1905 chief of the Moscow police, then Deputy Minister of the Interior. Inspired the Black-Hundred pogroms.—12

Tréves, Claudio (1868-1933)—reformist leader of the Italian Socialist Party; a Centrist during World War I; adopted a hostile attitude to the Great October Socialist Revolution.—90

Trochu, Louis Jules (1815-1896)—French general, Bonapartist; headed the National Defence Government (September 1870-February 1871); governor-general of Paris in 1871; one of the hangmen of the Paris Commune; resigned and abandoned political activity in 1872.—6, 7, 11, 13

Tsereteli, Irakly Georgiyevich (1882-1959)—one of the Menshevik leaders; adopted a Centrist stand during World War I; member of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet after the February 1917 bourgeois-democratic revolution; entered the bourgeois Provisional Government in May 1917; one of the leaders of the counter-revolutionary Menshevik government of Georgia after the

October Socialist Revolution; a White émigré after the establishment of Soviet power in Georgia.—51, 53, 70-71, 74-75, 89, 95

Turati, Filippo (1857-1932)—active figure in the Italian working-class movement, one of the organisers of the Italian Socialist Party and leader of its reformist Right wing; advocated Centrist views during World War I; displayed a hostile attitude to the October Socialist Revolution.—90

V

Valentin, Louis Ernest—French general, Bonapartist, acting prefect of the Paris police on the eve of the March 18, 1871 uprising.—7, 12

Vandervelde, Emile (1866-1938)—leader of the Belgian Labour Party, Chairman of the International Socialist Bureau of the Second International, took an opportunist stand; social-chauvinist, a member of the bourgeois government during World War I; visited Russia after the February 1917 bourgeois-democratic revolution to carry on propaganda for the continuation of the imperialist war; an enemy of the Great October Socialist Revolution; supported the armed intervention against Soviet Russia.—50, 52, 89, 90

Varlin, Louis Eugène (1839-1871)—member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and of the Paris Commune, shot by the Versailles troops on May 28, 1871.—115, 117

Vasilchikov, Sergei Ivanovich (b. 1849)—general, Commander of a Guards corps in 1902-06, inspired and participated in the January 9, 1905 massacre of St. Petersburg workers.—12

Vésinier, Pierre (1826-1902)—member of the Paris Commune; attacked Marx and the General Council of the International.—117

Vinoy, Josef (1800-1880)—French general, Bonapartist, Commander of the Versailles army during the Paris Commune; one of the instigators of the brutal suppression of the Communards.—7

W

Webb, Beatrice (1858-1943) and *Sidney* (1859-1947)—well-known British public figures, authors of a number of books on the history and theory of the British labour movement; took a social-chauvinist stand during World War I; expressed great sympathy with the Soviet Union after the Great October Socialist Revolution.—87

Wilhelm I (1797-1888)—King of Prussia (from 1861); Kaiser of Germany (1871-88).—5

Wróblewski, Walery (1836-1908)—Polish revolutionary, took part in the Polish liberation uprising of 1863-64; general of the Paris Commune in 1871.—9

Z

Zenzinov, Vladimir Mikhailovich (b. 1881)—leader of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party; a defencist during World War I; member of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet in 1917; supported the idea of a bloc with the bourgeoisie; opposed Soviet rule after the Great October Socialist Revolution; White émigré.—52

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