

AMK. 6. Page 32 (cont.): "the State machine arrests and im- 1
prisons 'seditious' people, stops 'seditious' liter-
ature, and so on, by apparently peaceful means; but
when the movement is of a wider character, force is
used openly by the police and, if necessary, the armed
forces. It is this apparatus of force, acting in the 5
interests of the ruling class, which is the essential
feature of the State.

"Is the State machine controlled by the Parliament
or other representative institution of the country? So
long as the representative institution of the country 10
represents only the ruling class it may appear to con-
trol the State machine. But when the Parliament or
other institution does not adequately represent the
ruling class, and attempts to carry through measures
disturbing to the ruling class, the fact that it does 15
not control the State machine soon becomes obvious.
History is full of representative institutions which
have attempted to serve the interests of a class other
than the ruling class; they have been closed down, or 20
dispersed by armed force where necessary. Where - as,
for example, in Britain in Cromwell's time - the rising
class has triumphed over the old order, it has not done
so by mere votes in Parliament, but by organising a
new armed force against the State, against the armed 25
force of the old ruling class.

^m"The class which is dominant in the system of
production maintains its control of the State machine,
no matter what happens in the representative institution.
A change of real power therefore involves the use of 30
force against the old State machine, whose whole

AMK. 6. Page 32 (cont.): "apparatus of force is turned against 1
the new class which is trying to change the system."

Page 57: "The theory of the alliance of the working
class with other sections against the main enemy,
worked out by Lenin and Stalin in Russian conditions,
has been of great significance in the further develop- 5
ment of Marxism as a guide to working-class action."

"The working class is the only consistent fighter
against capitalism; it grows as capitalism extends,
and is directly exploited by the capitalist class. On
the other hand, the peasants are in direct conflict 10
with the landowners, and are always being declassed
as capitalism extends - the poorer peasants are forced
into the working class (landless labourers), while
the richer peasants become capitalists themselves, em-
ploying labour. Therefore the conception of an 15
alliance against the capitalist class necessarily im-
plies that the working class is the core of the alliance,
the leading force in the alliance. But the working
class needs the alliance, all the more because when
it fights the capitalist class the other sections 20
gravitate either to the working class or to the capit-
alists. To win a section for alliance with the working
class is to deprive the capitalists of that section's
support.

"Conditions become more favourable for a broad 25
alliance between the workers and other sections against
the main enemy, to the extent that in the monopoly
stage of capitalism, economic (and therefore political)
power is more and more concentrated in the hands of
small and very rich groups. It is true that the 30

AMK. 6. Page 57 (cont.): "capitalist class has always had 1
richer and less rich individuals in it; but in the
stage of world-wide monopolies the monopoly capital-
ists are divided from the mass of smaller capitalists
by a great gulf. The interests of the monopolists
in extending their grip on industry and trade, in 5
conquering new territory to exploit, and in dealing
with their rival groups in other countries (dividing
up markets with them, making price-fixing agreements,
or fighting them with tariffs and even war) come into
direct conflict with the interests of the small shop- 10
keepers and small employers. These feel that they are
being squeezed out of existence by the monopolists.
On one issue after another - at first only individuals,
but sometimes also as whole sections - the small shop-
keepers and small employers come to regard the mono- 15
polists as their 'main enemy'.

"It is important to realise that this opposition
develops not only on directly economic grounds. Econo-
mic monopoly, with its inevitable drive against the
working class and the colonial peoples as well as 20
against the smaller capitalists, tends also towards
reactionary policies both at home and abroad. The
smaller capitalists and the middle classes, professional
workers and a large part of the intelligentsia, brought
up in the liberal and democratic traditions associated 25
with earlier capitalist periods, turn against the mono-
polists who violate these traditions. This opposition
grows stronger when in some countries the monopoly
capitalists turn to the open, unrestricted dictator-
ship of fascism, destroying all democratic organis- 30

AMK. 6. Page 57 (cont.): "ations and violating widely accepted humanitarian principles.

"In these circumstances, when the fascists are seen by very wide circles as the main enemy in the way of peace and social advance, the interests of the workers and the middle sections coincide, and it becomes possible to form a wide alliance - a 'People's Front' - against the fascists. Failing this, the fascists may succeed in deceiving the middle classes and even workers into supporting them.

"There cannot be any real alliance except on issues on which the interests of the workers coincide with the interests of other sections of the people. It is not a question of either the workers or their allies abandoning their own special interests, or deceiving their partners in the alliance as to their real aims. That is the characteristic fascist approach. The essence of the class alliance is that for the time being, in the special circumstances, the interests of the allies are identical. It was this that brought the Spanish workers, peasants, middle classes, smaller capitalists and nationalist groups into alliance in 1936 against the big landowners and bankers and foreign invaders associated with General Franco.

"Nor is it only against facism that such a wide alliance is possible. History shows many examples of a "National Front" embracing almost all sections of the people for struggle against foreign conquerors or invaders, as in the Second World War. The 'National Front' is always evident in the struggles of the colonial peoples for liberation from foreign imperialist rule, v. 191

AMK. 6. Page 57 (cont.): "which is the common interest of 1
all but a small section of big landowners, bankers and
big capitalists who look to the foreign imperialists
to protect their exploitation of the people. At first,
these national liberation struggles are led by the ris-
ing capitalists. But the development of capitalism 5
in a colonial country, together with the operations of
the foreign imperialists, creates a working class; and
as this grows in numbers and becomes organised, it takes
an increasing part in leading the struggle for liber-
ation. The formation of Marxist Parties helps for- 10
ward this process, which is further quickened by the
fact that a part of the capitalists formerly associated
with the liberation movement comes to terms with the
imperialists and sides with them against the people.

"The case of China can be taken to illustrate this.¹⁵
In 1911 the 'bourgeois' revolution reached a decisive
stage against the old feudal rulers supported by the
foreign imperialists. By the 1920s the working class
in the industrial cities and ports had developed con-
siderable strength and organisation; in 1921 the 20
Communist Party was formed. The principle force in
the national liberation movement throughout this per-
iod was the party formed in 1912 by Sun Yat-sen, the
Kuomintang; but the shock force against the foreign
imperialists became more and more the working class, 25
which conducted great strikes and demonstrations in
industrial centres throughout 1924, 1925 and 1926.
After Sun Yat-sen's death in 1925, the Kuomintang
armies - with the full support of the working class
and the Communist Party - marched northwards from 30

AMK. 6. Page 57 (cont.): "Canton with the programme of uni- 1
fying China and carrying through social reforms.
In April, 1927, however, Chiang Kai-shek, the mili-
tary leader of the Kuomintang armies, came to terms
with the foreign imperialists, and turned against
the Communist Party and the working class. From 5
that time on the national liberation movement was
led not by the Kuomintang but by the Communist Party;
although at certain stages of the later struggle
against the Japanese invaders a common national front
was again restored. 10

"The theory of the alliance of the working class
with other sections of the people against the main
enemy was drawn by Marx and developed by Lenin and
Stalin from the actual experience of the struggle
both in capitalist and in colonial or semi-colonial 15
countries; in fact, all Marxist theory is a general-
isation from experience, and is, like all scientific
theory, developed or modified by further experience.
In the course of the Second World War, and particularly
after its termination, new experienced in many coun- 20
tries led to extremely important new developments of
the theory of allies, and of the strategy of the work-
ing class in the struggle to win socialism.

"In the European countries occupied by the Nazi
German imperialists during the war, there arose at 25
some stage a national resistance movement drawing its
strength from the working class and led by the Com-
munity Party, but embracing all sections of the people
who were not "Quislings" or traitors to their country.
Chief among these traitors were the big landowners 30

AMK. 6. Page 57 (cont.): "and capitalists, who came to terms 1
with the Nazi conquerors in order to retain their pri-
vileges and profits. On the other hand, the bulk
of the smaller capitalists and most middle-class
sections joined with the working class and peasants
against the Nazi occupation and for the liberation 5
of their country.

"With the military defeat of the Nazis and the
liberation of the occupied countries, this broad
national alliance in each country became the basis
for the provisional government, within which the work- 10
ing-class parties - Communist and Social Democratic -
had considerable strength. Broad local committees,
formed on the basis of the national alliance, but
closer to the mass of working people, also strengthened
working-class influence, and broke down the local in- 15
fluence of the former big landowners and capitalists.
The programmes of the governments, because of these
factors, were generally progressive, involving in
Eastern Europe taking over the big landed estates
and distributing this land to the peasants, and the 20
establishment of democratic government nationally and
locally. This was the first stage of a 'People's
Democracy' in the countries of Eastern Europe.

"The Communist Parties of those countries saw
that this new type of Government and State could be 25
developed into an instrument for carrying through the
change from capitalism to socialism. On the one hand
the leaders of the capitalist and peasant parties, as
well as of the Social Democrats, had no liking for
fundamental social changes, and regarded the initial 30

AMK. 6. Page 57 (cont.): "programme of the government, which 1
they had accepted under popular pressure, as the limit
of change. On the other hand, the bulk of working
people in town and country, elated by the victory over
fascism and their own old rulers, and for the first time
given full political rights, fully supported the more 5
far-reaching measures insisted on by the Communist
Party, even though they belonged to other parties in
the alliance.

"Thus the leaders of the other parties in the
alliance, losing their influence over the working 10
people in their parties, sought a solution from out-
side the country, entering into intrigues and plots with
American and British military and diplomatic represent-
atives aimed at restoring the former regimes and stopp-
ing the advance to socialism. The exposure of these 15
plots led to the final discrediting of many of the
leaders among the members of their own parties, and
the election of new leaders who fully supported the
Communist Party's proposals in the interests of all
working people. This was a new stage in the de- 20
velopment of People's Democracy, marking the beginning
of building socialism; the Social Democratic Party,
rid of opportunist elements and now won for the Marxist
outlook, merged with the Communist Party, and the single 25
Marxist party of the working class thus formed had the
full support of the other parties, which now repre-
sented only the interests of working people. Through
a series of parliamentary measures supported by an
overwhelming majority of the people, industry and 30

AMK. 6. Page 57 (cont.): "trade were taken over by the 1
State and a planned economy developed; the turn
was made towards collective agriculture; through
a series of administrative measures the leading
positions in the armed forces, civil service,
nationalised industry and trade were filled by ad- 5
vocates of socialism, replacing supporters of capit-
alism. Working-class rule, real democracy for the
overwhelming majority of the people - which as we
saw in Chapter V is at the same time dictatorship over
those who resist and sabotage the people's will - was 10
fully established, without armed struggles such as
had been necessary in carrying through the Soviet
Revolution in Russia, although each step forward had
to be taken against the resistance of the old ruling
classes and their attempts, with the aid of foreign 15
imperialism, to undermine and defeat the advance.

"This transition to socialism through the
People's Democracy was made possible and aided through-
out by the socialist Soviet Union. After the Nazi
armies had been smashed by the Soviet army and the 20
national liberation movement in each country, the
provisional government set up by the latter was able
to carry through the agreed programmes without the
threat of imperialist intervention such as the Soviet
Government in its early days had had to face. In- 25
stead of being isolated and having to build up social-
ism in a hostile world, as the Soviet Government had
had to do, the People's Democracies, secure from
armed intervention, received help in food, materials
and machinery from the Soviet Union, besides being 30

AMK. 6. Page 57 (cont.): "able to draw on the immense fund 1
of experience accumulated in the Soviet Union in the
socialist solution of economic, political and social
problems.

"A development somewhat similar to that of the
People's Democracies took place in China after the 5
defeat of the Japanese in the Second World War. The
armed struggle between Chiang Kai-shek and the Com-
munist Government established in north-western China
was to some extent suspended during the war, in re-
sponse to the Communist call for national unity against
the Japanese. But when the war ended, the efforts of
the Communist Party to bring about a united democratic
government for China were resisted by Chiang Kai-shek,
who with great military and financial resources supplied
by the United States Government resumed armed struggle 15
against the Communist Government. By 1949 Chiang
Kai-shek, defeated and discredited, had fled to For-
mosa; and the Communist Party summoned a 'People's
Consultative Council' to set up a new government.
The Chinese People's Republic was formed; its 20
government was based on alliance between the working
class, the peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie, and
the "national" (that is, patriotic) capitalists, as
opposed to the "bureaucratic" or monopoly capitalist
group associated with Chiang Kai-shek. Thus the 25
nation was united against the small group of traitors
who had amassed fortunes at the expense of the people
and had become tools of the United States imperialists;
the land of the landowners was distributed among the
peasants; industry and trade were revived, partly 30

AMK. 6. Page 57 (cont.): "State-owned, but much of it still in private hands; democratic institutions were set up in town and country. The People's Republic was firmly established in a united and democratic China, and the economic transformation of the country - the foundation for the advance in the direction of socialism - had begun, under a broad-based government of a national unity led by the Communist Party. 5

"These experiences in Eastern Europe and in the semi-colonial country of China show that new conditions have arisen for solving the problem of the advance to socialism. In the general crisis of capitalism, the monopolist groups are more and more driven to desperate measures in their efforts to maintain their robbery of the peoples. Fascism, war and the forcing down of conditions for working people - that is one side of the picture. The other side is the growth of the socialist sector in the world, the growing resistance of the workers and colonial peoples, and the ability of the Communist Parties, with their Marxist outlook, to draw into the struggle against the monopolists not only the working class but the majority of the people. The desperate measures taken by the monopolists cannot for long hold back the advance; the monopolists find themselves more and more isolated, while the alliance of the people against them grows wider and stronger in the fight for peace, national independence, democracy and a better life. A people's Democracy and a People's Government to begin the transition to Socialism become possible. 10 15 20 25

"But this victory over the monopolists requires 30

AMK. 6. Page 57 (cont.): "as its first condition the de- 1
feat of opportunism, or Social Democracy as it now
calls itself, within the working-class movement.
For the fundamental experience of history and of the
working class, embodied in Marxism, shows that the
road to a new stage of human society lies through . 5
class struggle, not collaboration with the rulers of
an outworn society. No 'bi-partisan' policy either at
home or abroad, but only a working-class policy and
an active struggle directed against the policy of the
monopolists can give the working class the irresist- 10
ible strength and determination to carry through its
historic mission.

"Although the road to-day is easier, the funda-
mental lessons drawn by Marx, Lenin and Stalin from
past experience remain valid. The advance to a 15
higher form of society can only be won in struggle
against capitalism and imperialism; it can only be
maintained by continuing that struggle against both
the remnants of the old ruling class at home and the
foreign imperialists. The transformation of society 20
can only be realised through the winning of political
power. This requires an alliance of working people
led by the working class, guided by a revolutionary
party which has mastered the lessons drawn by Marx,
Lenin and Stalin from the class struggle itself. This 25
has been shown by the long experience of the Soviet
Union, and is daily confirmed by the experience of the
People's Democracies and People's China. And it is
shown too, in a negative way, by the experience of
Yugoslavia, where the treachery of the leaders to the 30

AMK. 6. Page 57 (cont.): "cause of socialism, and their re- 1
jection of the principles of Marxism, has robbed the
people of victory and delivered them temporarily into
the hands of the imperialists.

"The experience of People's Democracy as a form
of carrying through the transition from capitalism to 5
socialism has important lessons for all countries
under capitalist or foreign imperialist rule. Pre-
sent world conditions make this form generally applic-
able through the precise basis of the alliance which
can win People's Democracy, the form of the new State,¹⁰
and the speed of the transition, must depend on the
conditions in each country.

"In Britain, the Communist Party has put forward
a programme, The British Road To Socialism, calling
for Labour-Communist working-class unit as the basis 15
for the broader united struggle to win a People's
Government which, with the backing of the people, would
break the economic power of the monopolists by social
nationalisation of industry; transform the State machine
by putting "men and women who are determined and 20
loyal advocates of the people's power" into all pos-
itions of authority; transform the existing Empire
into an equal association of peoples by granting
national independence to the colonies; and carry
through an extensive social programme. These aims 25
would be carried through, with the help of the united
movement, against whatever form of resistance was or-
ganised by the big capitalists.

"A somewhat similar programme, based on a broad
alliance of the working class with the peasants and 30

EXHIBIT.

6913.

AMK. 6. Page 57 (cont.): "all democratic anti-feudal and anti-imperialist sections of the people, has been put forward by the Communist Party of India. The aim is a People's Democratic Government to set India "on the wide road of progress, cultural advancement and independence".

"Programmes aiming at People's Democracy as a first step towards socialism have also been worked out by other Communist Parties.

"Thus Marxist theory, beuilt on actual experience, is able to guide the working class towards that line of action which, in present world conditions, will most easily and speedily enable it to bring a socialist society into existence."

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Page 10:

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"HOW KAUTSKY TRANSFORMED MARX INTO A COMMON OR GARDEN LIBERAL"

"The fundamental question that Kautsky touches upon in his pamphlet is the question of the root content 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 belligerent countries, and especially at the present time. One may say without fear of exaggeration that this is the most important problem of the entire proletarian class struggle. Hence it is necessary to deal with it with particular attention."

"Kautsky formulates the question as follows:

"The antithesis between the two Socialist trends" (i.e., the Bolsheviks and the non-Bolsheviks) is "the antithesis between two radically different methods: the democratic and the dictatorial" (p.3).

Page 11: "But, after all, the title of Kautsky's pamphlet is The Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Everybody knows that this is the 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 he, the "Marxist," did so 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 even repeated in the form that they (the Bolsheviks) "opportunistly recalled the

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little word" (that is literally what he says - des Wortchens!!) "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 5
the period of the revolutionary transformation of the
one into the other. There corresponds to this also
a political transition period in which the state can
be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the
proletariat" - Cf., Karl Marx, Selected Works, Eng. 10
ed., Vol. II. p. 577 - Marx's letter to Wilhelm
Bracke of May 5, 1875 (Critique of the Gotha Program).
- Ed.

"First of all, to call this celebrated argument of
Marx's, which sums up the whole of his revolutionary 15
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 20
in which all that was ever written by Marx is carefully
filed so as to be ready at hand for quotation. Kautsky
cannot but know that both Marx and Engels, in their
letters as well as in their published works, repeatedly
spoke about the dictatorship of the proletariat, 25
especially both before and after the Paris Commune.
Kautsky cannot but know that the formula "dictatorship
of the proletariat" is but a more historically concrete
and more scientifically exact formulation of the
proletariat's task of "smashing" the bourgeois state 30
machine, about which Marx and Engels, in summing up

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the experience of the Revolution of 1848, and, still more so, of 1871, spoke for forty years, between 1852 and 1891."

Page 15

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"As a result, we find that, having undertaken to discuss the dictatorship, Kautsky rattled off a great deal that is obviously untrue, but has not given a definition! Yet, without trusting to his mental faculties, he might have had recourse to his memory and extracted from his "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 the main coinciding with it:"

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"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."

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"And this simple truth, a truth that is as plain as noonday to every class-conscious worker (representing the masses, and not an upper stratum 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 that are fighting for their emancipation, this truth, which is indisputable for every Marxist, has to be "extorted by main force" from the most learned Mr. Kautsky. How

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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, have become imbued."

"Kautsky first committed a subterfuge by pro- 5
claiming 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 subterfuge! - he declared that Marx's words about the dictatorship of a class were not meant in the literal 10
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 governing"! A wonder- 15
fully profound distinction: it is like drawing a distinction between the stupid "condition" of a man who reasons foolishly and the "form" of his stupidity!"

"Kautsky finds it necessary to interpret dictatorship as a "condition of rulership" (this is the 20
literal expression he uses on the very next page, p.21), because then revolutionary violence, and violent revolution, disappear. The "condition of rulership" is a condition in which any majority finds itself under "democracy." Thanks to such a 25
fraudulent trick, revolution happily disappears.

"But the trick is too crude and will not save Kautsky. One cannot do away with the fact that dictatorship presupposes and implies a "condition", one so disagreeable to all renegades, of revolutionary 30

AMK.19Page 15 (Contd.)

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violence of one class against another. The absurdity of drawing a distinction between a "condition" and a "form of government" becomes patent. To speak of forms of government in this connection is trebly stupid, for every schoolboy knows that monarchy and 5 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 governing" under capitalism, are but so many varieties of the bourgeois state, that is, of the dictatorship of the 10 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". 15

"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 20 sense of the word".

"But Kautsky finds it necessary to gloss this over and to lie - his renegade position demands it".

"See to what miserable evasions he resorts".

"First evasion: "That Marx did not have in 25 mind a form of governing is proved by the fact that he was of the opinion that in England and America a peaceful revolution was possible, i.e., by democratic means".

"The form of government has nothing to do with the case here, for there are monarchies which are not 30

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Page 15 (Contd.)

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typical of the bourgeois state, such, for instance, as have no military and there are republics which are quite typical, such, for instance, as have a military and a bureaucracy. This is a universally known historical and political fact, and Kautsky will not succeed in falsifying it". 5

"If Kautsky had wanted to argue in a serious and honest manner he would have asked himself: are there historical laws of 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". 10

"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 the domain 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 for such violence is particularly created, 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 a military and a bureaucracy. But it is precisely these institutions that were non-existent in England and America in the 1870's, when Marx made his observations (they do exist in England and in 30

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Page 15 (Contd.)

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America now).

"Kautsky has to be dishonest literally at every step to cover up his renegacy!"

"And note how he inadvertently betrayed the cloven hoof; he wrote: "peacefully," i.e. in a democratic way!!" 5

"In defining dictatorship, Kautsky tried his utmost to conceal from the reader the fundamental symptom of his concept, namely, revolutionary violence. But now the truth is out: it is a question of the contrast 10 between peaceful and violent revolutions".

"That is where the trouble lies. Kautsky had to resort to all these evasions, sophistries and fraudulent falsifications only in order to dissociate himself from violent revolution, and to conceal his renunciation of 15 it, his desertion to the liberal labour policy, i.e., to the side of the bourgeoisie. That is where the trouble lies."

Page 20:

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"Thirdly, I would respectfully remind Mr. Kautsky, who knows Marx and Engels by heart, of the following appreciation of the Paris Commune given by Engels from the point of view of - "pure democracy": - - -

"Have these gentlemen (the anti-authoritari- 25 ans) ever seen a revolution? A revolution is undoubtedly the most authoritarian thing there is, an act whereby one part of the population imposes its will upon the other part by means of rifles, bayonets and cannon, all very authoritari- 30

AMK.19Page 20 (Contd.)

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an means; and the victorious party must perforce maintain its rule by means of the terror which its arms inspire in the reactionaries. Would the Paris Commune have lasted a single day if it had not made use of the authority of the armed people
5
against the bourgeoisie? Should we not, on the contrary, reproach it for having made too little use of this authority?" *

* Cf. F. Engels: Uber das Autoritätsprinzip (Dell' Autorita). Die Neue Zeit, 1913-14. Vol. 1, p. 39. - Ed.

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Page 22:

"To sum up: Kautsky has in a most unparalleled manner distorted the concept dictatorship of the proletariat, and has transformed Marx into a common or garden 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
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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 beat the world
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record in the liberal distortion of Marx. The renegade Bernstein has proved to be a mere puppy compared with the renegade Kautsky.

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Page: 23: "Kautsky takes from Marxism what is accept-

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Page 23: (Continued)

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able to the liberals, to the bourgeoisie (the criticism of the Middle Ages, and the progressive historical role of capitalism in general and of capitalist democracy in particular), and discards, ignores, glosses over all that in Marxism which is unacceptable to the bourgeoisie (the revolutionary violence of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie for the latter's destruction). That is why Kautsky, by virtue of his objective position and irrespective of what his subjective convictions may be, inevitably becomes a lackey of the bourgeoisie."

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Page 34: "Kautsky is as far removed from Marx and Engels as heaven is from earth, as a liberal from a proletarian revolutionary. The pure democracy and simple "democracy" that Kautsky talks about is merely a paraphrase of the "free people's state," i.e., pure nonsense. Kautsky, with the learned air of a most learned armchair fool, or with the innocent air of a ten-year-old schoolgirl, asks: "why do we need a dictatorship when we have a majority?" And Marx and Engels explain:"

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Page 36: "If the exploiters are defeated in one country only - and this, of course, is the typical case, since a simultaneous revolution in a number of countries is a rare exception - they still remain stronger than the exploited, for the international connections of the exploiters are enormous. The fact that a section of the exploiters, or the least developed section of the middle peasant, artisan and similar masses, may, and

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AMK.19

Page 36 (Continued)

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indeed do, follow the exploiters has been proved hitherto by all revolutions, including the Commune (for there were also proletarians among the Versailles troops, which the most learned Kautsky seems to have "forgotten")

"In these circumstances, to assume that in a revolution which is at all profound and serious the issue is decided simply by the relation between the majority and the minority is the acme of stupidity, the stupid prejudice of a common or garden liberal, an attempt to deceive the masses by concealing from them a well-established historical truth. This historical truth is that in every profound revolution, a prolonged, stubborn and desperate resistance of the exploiters, who for a number of years enjoy important practical advantages over the exploited, is the rule. Never - except in the sentimental phantasies of the sentimental simpleton Kautsky - will the exploiters submit to the decision of the exploited majority without making use of their advantages in a last desperate battle, or series of battles.

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Page 39: Kautsky talks about everything, about everything that is acceptable to liberals and bourgeois democrats and does not go beyond their circle of ideas, but he does not talk about the main thing, namely, the fact that the proletariat cannot achieve victory without breaking the resistance of the bourgeoisie, without forcibly suppressing its enemies, and that, where there is "forcible suppression," where there is no "freedom," there is, of course, no democracy."

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"This Kautsky has not understood".

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HJ. 17. Page 67: "Lastly, the question of the Party of the 1
proletariat. Marx and Engels gave the main outlines
of the idea of the Party as the vanguard of the pro-
letariat, without which (the Party) the proletariat
could not achieve its emancipation, either in the sense
of capturing power or in the sense of reconstructing 5
capitalist society. Lenin's contribution to this
field was that he developed these outlines further and
applied them to the new conditions of the struggle of
the proletariat in the period of imperialism, and
showed: a) that the Party is a higher form of class 10
organization of the proletariat compared with other
forms of proletarian organization (labour unions, co-
operative societies, the organization of state) whose
work it is the Party's function to generalize and to
direct; b) that the dictatorship of the proletariat 15
can be realized only through the Party, the directing
force of the dictatorship; c) that the dictatorship
of the proletariat can be complete only if it is led
by one party, the Communist Party, which does not
and must not share the leadership with any other party; 20
and d) that unless there is iron discipline in the
Party, the task of the dictatorship of the proletariat
of suppressing the exploiters and transforming class
society into Socialist society cannot be accomplished.

"This, in the main, is the new contribution made 25
by Lenin in his works, giving more specific form to
and developing Marx's doctrine as applied to the new
conditions of the struggle of the proletariat in the
period of imperialism."

HJ. 17. Page 120: "Further, as we have already seen, entire sections of the ruling classes are, by the advance of industry, precipitated into the proletariat, or are at least threatened in their conditions of existence. These also supply the proletariat with fresh elements of enlightenment and progress. (1)

"Finally, in times when the class struggle nears the decisive hour, the process of dissolution going on within the ruling class, in fact within the whole range of old society, assumes such a violent, glaring character that a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift, and joins the revolutionary class, the class that holds the future in its hands. Just as, therefore, at an earlier period, a section of the nobility went over to the bourgeoisie, so now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat, and in particular, a portion of the bourgeois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole.

"Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie to-day, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product.

"The lower middle class: the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant - all these fight against the bourgeoisie, to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are therefore not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary, for they try

1. The German text has "education" instead of "Enlightenment and progress" - Ed.

HJ. 17. Page 120 (cont.): "to roll back the wheel of his- 1
tory. If by chance they are revolutionary, they are
so only in view of their impending transfer into the
proletariat; they thus defend not their present,
but their future interests; they desert their own
standpoint to place themselves at that of the pro- 5
letariat.

"The 'dangerous class', the social scum,² that
passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers
of old society, may, here and there, be swept into the
movement by a proletarian revolution; its conditions 10
of life, however, prepare it far more for the part of
a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue.

"In the conditions of the proletariat, those of
old society at large are already, virtually swamped.
The proletarian is without property; his relation 15
to his wife and children has no longer anything in
common with the bourgeois family relations; modern
industrial labour, modern subjection to capital, the
same in England as in France, in America as in Germany,
has stripped him of every trace of national character. 20
Law, morality, religion, are to him so many bourgeois
prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush just as many
bourgeois interests.

"All the preceding classes that got the upper
hand sought to fortify their already acquired status 25
by subjecting society at large to their conditions
of appropriation. The proletarians cannot become
masters of the productive forces of society, except
by abolishing their own previous mode of appropriation,
and thereby also every other previous mode of 30

(2) In the 'German - Lumpenproletariat. - Ed.

HJ. 17. Page 120 (cont.): "appropriation. They have nothing 1
of their own to secure and to fortify; their mission
is to destroy all previous securities for, and insur-
ances of, individual property.

"All previous historical movements are movements
of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The 5
proletarian movement is the self-conscious, indepen-
dent movement of the immense majority, in the interest
of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest
stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot
raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent 10
strata of official society being sprung into the air.

"Though not in substance, yet in form, the
struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is
at first a national struggle. The proletariat of
each country must, of course, first of all settle 15
matters with its own bourgeoisie.

"In depicting the most general phases of the
development of the proletariat, we traced the more or
less veiled civil war raging within existing society,
up to the point where that war breaks out into open 20
revolution, and where the violent overthrow of the
bourgeoisie lays the foundation for the sway of the
proletariat.

"Hitherto, every form of society has been based,
as we have already seen, on the antagonism of oppress- 25
ing and oppressed classes. But in order to oppress
a class, certain conditions must be assured to it
under which it can, at least, continue its slavish
existence. The serf, in the period of serfdom,
raised himself to membership in the commune, just 30

HJ. 17. Page 120 (cont.): "as the petty bourgeois, under the yoke of feudal absolutism, managed to develop into a bourgeois. The modern labourer, on the contrary, instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. And here it becomes evident that the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society, and to impose its conditions of the existence upon society as an overriding law. It is unfit to rule because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery, because it cannot help letting him sink into such a state that it has to feed him, instead of being fed by him. Society can no longer live under this bourgeoisie, in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society.

"The essential condition for the existence and for the sway of the bourgeois class is the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage labour. Wage labour rests exclusively on competition between the labourers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the labourers, due to competition, by their revolutionary combination, due to association. The development of modern industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, is its own gravediggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.

HJ. 17. Page 142: "In short, the Communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things. 1

"In all these movements they bring to the front, as the leading question in each, the property question, no matter what its degree of development at the time. 5

"Finally, they labour everywhere for the union and agreement of the democratic parties of all countries.

"The communists disdain to conceal their views and aims, They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. 10 15

"Working men of all countries unite!"

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D. 64. Page 113: "C. POLITICAL EXPOSURES AND "TRAINING
IN REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY." 1

"In advancing against the Iskra his "theory" of
'raising the activity of the masses of the workers',
Martynov, as a matter of fact, betrayed a striving to
belittle this activity, because he declared the very
economic struggle, before which all Economists have
grovelled, to be the preferable, the most important
and 'the most widely applicable' means of rousing this
activity, and the widest field for it. This error
is characteristic, precisely because it is by no
means peculiar to Martynov alone. As a matter of
fact, it is possible to 'raise the activity of the
masses of the workers' only provided this activity
is not restricted to 'political agitation on an economic
basis'. And one of the fundamental conditions for
the necessary expansion of political agitation is
the organisation of comprehensive political exposure.
The masses cannot be trained in political conscious-
ness and revolutionary activity in any other way except
by means of such exposures. Hence, activity of this
kind is one of the most important functions of inter-
national Social-Democracy as a whole, for even the
existence of political liberty does not in the least
remove the necessity for such exposures; it merely
changes somewhat the sphere against which they are
directed. For example, the German party is especially
strengthening its position and spreading its influence,
thanks precisely to the untiring energy with which it
is conducting a campaign of political exposure. Work-
ing-class consciousness cannot be genuinely political
consciousness unless the workers are trained to respond

D. 64. Page 113 (cont.): "to all cases, without exception, 1
of tyranny, oppression, violence and abuse, no matter
what class is affected. Moreover, to respond from a
Social-Democratic, and not from any other point of view.
The consciousness of the masses of the workers cannot be
genuine class consciousness, unless the workers learn 5
to observe from concrete, and above all from topical
(current), political facts and events, every other
social class and all the manifestations of the intell⁺
ectual, ethical and political life of these classes;
unless they learn to apply in practice the materialist¹⁰
analysis and the materialist estimate of all aspects
of the life and activity of all classes, strata and
groups of the population. Those who concentrate the
attention, observation and consciousness of the work-
ing class exclusively, or even mainly, upon itself alone¹⁵
are not Social-Democrats; for its self-realization is
indissolubly bound up not only with a fully clear theo-
retical - it would be even more true to say not so
much with a theoretical, as with a practical under-
standing, of the relationships between all the various²⁰
classes of modern society, acquired through experience
of political life. That is why the idea preached by
our Economists, that the economic struggle is the most
widely applicable means of drawing the masses into the
political movement, is so extremely harmful and ex- 25
tremely reactionary in its practical significance.
In order to become a Social-Democrat, the worker must
have a clear picture in his mind of the economic
nature and the social and political features of the
landlord and the priest, the high state official and 30

D. 64. Page 113 (cont.): "the peasant, the student and the 1
tramp; he must know their strong and weak points; he
must see the meaning of all the catchwords and soph-
isms by which each class and each stratum camouflages
its selfish strivings and its real "inside workings";
he must understand what interests certain institutions
and certain laws reflected and how they reflect them.
But this 'clear picture' cannot be obtained from books.

"It can be obtained only from living examples and
from exposures, following hot upon the heels of what
is going on around us at a given moment, of what is 10
being discussed, in whispers perhaps, by each one in
his own way, of the meaning of such and such events,
of such and such statistics, of such and such court
sentences, etc., etc., etc. These comprehensive
political exposures are an essential and fundamental 15
condition for training the masses in revolutionary
activity."

Page 130: "Class political consciousness can be
brought to the workers only from without, that is,
only from outside of the economic struggle, from out-20
side of the sphere of relations between workers and
employers. The sphere from which alone it is poss-
ible to obtain this knowledge is the sphere of re-
lationships between all the classes and strata and
the state and the government, the sphere of the in- 25
terrelations between all the classes. For that
reason, the reply to the question: what must be done
in order to bring political knowledge to the workers?
cannot be merely the one which, in the majority of
cases, the practical workers, especially those who 30

D. 64. Page 130 (cont.): "are inclined towards Economism, 1
mostly content themselves with, i.e., 'go among the
workers'. To bring political knowledge to the
workers the Social-Democrats must go among all classes
of the population, must dispatch units of their army
in all directions. 5

"We deliberately select this awkward formula,
we deliberately express ourselves in a simplified,
blunt way - not because we desire to indulge in para-
doxes, but in order to "bring home" to the Economists
those tasks which they unpardonably ignore, to make 10
them understand the difference between trade-unionist
and Social-Democratic politics, which they refuse
to understand. We therefore beg the reader not to
get excited, but to listen patiently to the end.

"Take the type of Social-Democratic circle that 15
has become most widespread in the past few years, and
examine its work. It has "contacts with the workers,"
and rests content with this, issuing leaflets, in
which abuses in the factories, the government's
partiality towards the capitalists and the tyranny of 20
the police are strongly condemned. At meetings of
workers the discussions never, or rarely, go beyond
the limits of these subjects. Lectures and dis-
cussions on the history of the revolutionary movement,
on questions of the home and foreign policy of our 25
government, on questions of the economic evolution
of Russia and of Europe, and the position of the
various classes in modern society, etc., are extremely
rare. As to systematically acquiring and extending
contact with other classes of society, no one even 30

D. 64. Page 130 (cont.): "dreams of that. In fact the 1
ideal leader, as the majority of the members of such
circles picture him, is something far more in the
nature of a trade union secretary than a socialist
political leader. For the trade union secretary of
any, say British trade union, always helps the work- 5
ers to conduct the economic struggle, helps to ex-
pose factory abuses, explains the injustice of the
laws and of measures which hamper the freedom to
strike and the freedom to picket (i.e., to warn all
and sundry that a strike is proceeding at a certain 10
factory), explains the partiality of arbitration court
judges who belong to the bourgeois classes, etc., etc.
In a word, every trade union secretary conducts and helps
to conduct "the economic struggle against the employers
and the government". It cannot be too strongly in- 15
sisted that this is not yet Social-Democracy. The
Social-Democrat's ideal should not be a trade union
secretary, but a tribune of the people, able to re-
act to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression,
no matter where it takes place, no matter what stratum 20
or class of the people it affects; he must be able to
generalize all these manifestations to produce a single
picture of police violence and capitalist exploitation;
he must be able to take advantage of every event, how-
ever small, in order to explain his Socialistic con- 25
victions and his democratic demands to all, in order
to explain to all and everyone the world-historic
significance of the proletariat's struggle for eman-
cipation."

HJ.17

Page 67:

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"Lastly: the question of the Party of the proletariat. Marx and Engels gave the main outlines of the idea of the Party as the vanguard of the proletariat, without which (the Party), the proletariat could not achieve its emancipation, either in the sense of capturing power or in the sense of reconstructing capitalist society. Lenin's contribution in this field was that he developed these outlines further and applied them to the new conditions of the struggle of the proletariat in the period of imperialism, and showed:

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(a) that the Party is a higher form of class organization of the proletariat compared with other forms of proletarian organization (labour unions, co-operative societies, the organization of state), whose work it is the Party's function to generalize and to direct;

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(b) that the dictatorship of the proletariat can be realized only through the Party, the directing force of the dictatorship;

(c) that the dictatorship of the proletariat can be complete only if it is led by one party, the Communist Party, which does not and must not share the leadership with any other party; and

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(d) that unless there is iron discipline in the Party, the task of the dictatorship of the proletariat of suppressing the exploiters and transforming class society into Socialist society cannot be accomplished.

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HJ. 17.

Page 120: (Continued)

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HJ.17

Page 120 (Continued)

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"Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie."

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HJ.17. Page 120 (Continued)

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"The essential condition for the existence and for the sway of the bourgeois class is the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage labour. Wage labour rests exclusively on competition between the labourers. The advance of 25 industr , whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the labourers, due to competition, by their revolutionary combination, due to association. The development of modern industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation 30

HJ.17

Page 120 (Continued)

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"In short, the Communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things".

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"Working men of all countries, unite!"

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EXHIBIT "LENIN AND STALIN ON THE STATE" - Little Lenin Library
Volume Twenty-Three

NEM. 1Page 14:

1

"If you examine the state from the standpoint of this fundamental division, you will find that before the division of society into classes, as I have already said, no state existed. But as the social division into classes arose and took firm root, as class society arose, the state also arose and took firm root. The history of mankind knows scores and hundreds of countries that have passed through, and are still passing through, slavery, feudalism and capitalism. In each of these countries, despite the immense historical changes that have taken place, despite all the political vicissitudes and all the revolutions associated with this development of mankind, in the transition from slavery through feudalism to capitalism and to the present world-wide struggle against capitalism, you will always discern the rise of the state. It has always been a certain apparatus which separated out from society and consisted of a group of people engaged solely, or almost solely, or mainly, in ruling. People are divided into ruled and into specialists in ruling, those who rise above society and are called rulers, representatives of the state".

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"This apparatus, this group of people who rule others, always takes command of a certain apparatus of coercion, of physical force, irrespective of whether this coercion of people is expressed in the primitive club, or - in the epoch of slavery - in more perfected types of weapons, or in the firearms which appeared in the Middle Ages, or, finally, in modern weapons, which, in the twentieth century, are marvels

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NEM. 1Page 14 (Continued)

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of technique and are entirely based on the latest achievements of modern technology."

"The methods of coercion changed, but whenever there was a state there existed in every society a group of persons who ruled, who commanded, who dominated, and who, in order to maintain their power, possessed an apparatus of physical coercion, an apparatus of violence, with those weapons which corresponded to the technical level of the given epoch. And by examining these general phenomena, by asking ourselves why no state existed when there were no classes, when there were no exploiters and exploited, and why it arose when classes arose - only in this way shall we find a definite answer to the question of the essence of the state and its significance."

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"The state is a machine for maintaining the rule of one class over another. When there were no classes in society, when, before the epoch of slavery, people laboured in primitive conditions of greater equality; in conditions when productivity of labour was still at its lowest, and when primitive man could barely procure the wherewithal for the crudest and most primitive existence, a special group of people, especially separated off to rule and dominate over the rest of society, had not yet arisen, and could not have arisen. Only when the first form of the division of society into classes appeared, only when slavery appeared, when a certain class of people, by concentrating on the crudest forms of agricultural labour, could produce a certain surplus, when this surplus was not absolutely essential

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NEM. 1

Page 14 (Continued)

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for the most wretched existence of the slave and passed into the hands of the slaveowner, when in this way the existence of this class of slaveowners took firm root - then in order that it might take firm root, it was essential that a state should appear."

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Page 17:

"The state is a machine for the oppression of one class by another, a machine for keeping in subjugation to one class other, subordinated classes. There are various forms of this machine. In the slaveowning state we had a monarchy, an aristocratic republic, or even a democratic republic. In fact, the forms of government varied extremely, but their essence was always the same: the slaves enjoyed no rights and constituted an oppressed class; they were not regarded as human beings. We find the same state of affairs in the feudal state."

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Page 24:

"Whatever forms a republic may assume, even the most democratic republic, if it is a bourgeois republic, if it retains private property in land, mills and factories, and if private capital keeps the whole of society in wage slavery, that is, if it does not carry out what is proclaimed in the programme of our Party and in the Soviet Constitution, then this state is a machine for the suppression of certain people by others. And we shall place this machine in the hands of the class that is to overthrow the power of capital. We shall reject all the old prejudices about the state meaning universal

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NEM.1

Page 24: (Continued)

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equality. That is a fraud: as long as there is exploitation there cannot be equality. The landlord cannot be the equal of the worker, the hungry man the equal of the full man. The proletariat casts aside the machine which was called the state and before 5 which people bowed in superstitious awe, believing the old tales that it means popular rule - the proletariat casts aside this machine and declares that it is a bourgeois lie. We have deprived the capitalists of this machine and have taken it over. With this 10 machine, or bludgeon, we shall destroy all exploitation. And when the possibility of exploitation no longer exists anywhere in the world, when there are no longer owners of land and owners of factories, and when there is no longer a situation in which some gorge while 15 others starve - only when the possibility of this no longer exists shall we consign this machine to the scrap-heap. Then there will be no state and no exploitation. Such is the view of our Communist Party. I hope that we shall return to this subject 20 in subsequent lectures, and return to it again and again." (July 11, 1919).

Page 25: "CLASS SOCIETY AND THE STATE".

1. THE STATE AS THE PRODUCT OF THE IRRECONCILABILITY 25
OF CLASS ANTAGONISMS:

"What is now happening to Marx's doctrine has, in the course of history, often happened to the doctrines of other revolutionary thinkers and leaders of oppressed classes struggling for emancipation. 30

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During the lifetime of great revolutionaries, the
oppressing classes relentlessly persecute them, and
treat their teachings with malicious hostility, the
most furious hatred and the most unscrupulous cam-
paign of lies and slanders. After their death, 5
attempts are made to convert them into harmless icons,
to canonise them, so to speak, and to surround their
names with a certain halo for the 'consolation' of the
oppressed classes and with the object of duping them,
while at the same time emasculating the revolutionary 10
doctrine of its content, vulgarising it and blunting
its revolutionary edge. At the present time, the
bourgeoisie and the opportunists in the labour move-
ment concur in this 'revision' of Marxism. They
omit, obliterate and distort the revolutionary side 15
of its doctrine, its revolutionary soul. They push
to the foreground and extol what is or seems acceptable
to the bourgeoisie. All the social-chaunvinists are
now 'Marxists' (don't laugh!) And more and more
frequently, German bourgeois professors, erstwhile 20
specialists in the extermination of Marxism, are speak-
ing of the 'national-German' Marx, who, they aver,
trained the labour unions which are so splendidly
organised for the purpose of conducting a predatory
war!" 25

"In such circumstances, in view of the incredibly
widespread nature of the distortions of Marxism, our
first task is to restore the true doctrine of Marx on
the state. For this purpose it will be necessary to
quote at length from the works of Marx and Engels. 30

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Of course, long quotations will make the text cumbersome and will not help to make it popular reading, but we cannot possibly avoid them. All, or at any rate all the most essential, passages in the works of Marx and Engels on the subject of the state must necessarily be given as fully as possible, in order that the reader may form an independent opinion on the totality of views of the founders of scientific socialism and on the development of those views, and in order that their distortion by the now prevailing 'Kautskyism' may be documentarily proved and clearly demonstrated".

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"On the other hand, the 'Kautskyan' distortion of Marxism is far more subtle. 'Theoretically', it is not denied that the state is the organ of class rule, or that class antagonisms are irreconcilable. But what is lost sight of or glossed over is this: if the state is the product of irreconcilable class antagonisms, if it is a power standing above society and 'in creasingly alienating itself from it', it is clear that the liberation of the oppressed class is impossible, not only without a violent revolution, but also without the destruction of the apparatus of state power which was created by the ruling class and which is the embodiment of this 'alienation'. As we shall see later, Marx very definitely drew this theoretically self-evident conclusion from a concrete historical analysis of the tasks of the revolution. And - as we shall show fully in our subsequent remarks - it is precisely this conclusion which Kautsky has 'forgotten' and distorted."

NRM.1 Page 34: "THE 'WITHERING AWAY' OF THE STATE AND 1
VIOLENT REVOLUTION"

"Engels' words regarding the 'withering away' of the state are so widely known, they are so often quoted, and they reveal the significance of the customary painting of Marxism to look like opportunism so clearly that we must deal with them in detail. We shall quote the whole passage from which they are taken". 5

"The proletariat seizes the state power and transforms the means of production in the first instance into state property. But in doing this, it puts an end to itself as the proletariat, it puts an end to all class differences and class antagonisms, it puts an end also to the state as the state. Former society, moving in class antagonisms, had need of the state, that is, an organisation of the exploiting class, at each period for the maintenance of its external conditions of production; that is, therefore, for the forcible holding down of the exploited class in the conditions of oppression (slavery, villeinage or serfdom, wage-labour), determined by the existing mode of production. The state was the official representative of society as a whole, its embodiment in a visible corporation; but it was this only in so far as it was the state of that class which itself, in its epoch, represented society as a whole: in ancient times, the state of the slave-owning citizens; in the Middle Ages, of the feudal nobility; in our epoch, of the bourgeoisie. When ultimately it becomes really representative of society as a whole, it makes itself superfluous. As soon as there is no

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longer any class of society to be held in subjection; as soon as, along with class domination and the struggle for individual existence based on the former anarchy of production, the collisions and excesses arising from these have also been abolished, there is nothing more to be repressed, which would make a special repressive force, a state, necessary. The first act in which the state really comes forward as the representative of society as a whole - the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society - is at the same time its last independent act as a state. The interference of the state power in social relations becomes superfluous in one sphere after another, and then ceases of itself. The government of persons is replaced by the administration of things and the direction of the process of production. The state is not "abolished", it withers away. It is from this standpoint that we must appraise the phrase "free people's state" - both its justification at times for agitational purposes, and its ultimate scientific inadequacy - and also the demand of the so-called anarchists that the state should be abolished overnight". (Frederick Engels, Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science (Anti-Dühring), Part III, Chap. II ('Socialism: Theoretical'), - Ed.)

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"It may be said without fear of error that of this argument of Engels', which is so singularly rich in ideas, only one point has become an integral part of socialist thought among modern Socialist Parties, namely, that according to Marx, the state 'withers away'

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- as distinct from the anarchist doctrine of the 'abolition of the state'. To emasculate Marxism in such a manner is to reduce it to opportunism, for such an 'interpretation' only leaves the hazy conception of a slow, even, gradual change, of absence of leaps and storms, of absence of revolution. The current wide-spread, mass, if one may say so, conception of the 'withering away' of the state undoubtedly means the slurring over, if not the repudiation, of revolution."

, "Such an 'interpretation' is the crudest distortion of Marxism, advantageous only to the bourgeoisie; in point of theory, it is based on a disregard for the most important circumstances and considerations pointed out, say, in the 'summary' of Engels' argument we have just quoted in full".

"In the first place, Engels at the very outset of his argument says that, in assuming state power, the proletariat by that 'puts an end to the state..... as the state'. It is not 'good form' to ponder over what this means. Generally, it is either ignored altogether, or it is considered to be a piece of 'Hegelian weakness' on Engels' part. As a matter of fact, however, these words briefly express the experience of one of the great proletarian revolutions, the Paris Commune of 1871, of which we shall speak in greater detail in its proper place. As a matter of fact, Engels speaks here of the 'abolition' of the bourgeois state by the proletarian revolution, while the words about its withering away refer to the remnants of the proletarian state after the socialist revolution.

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