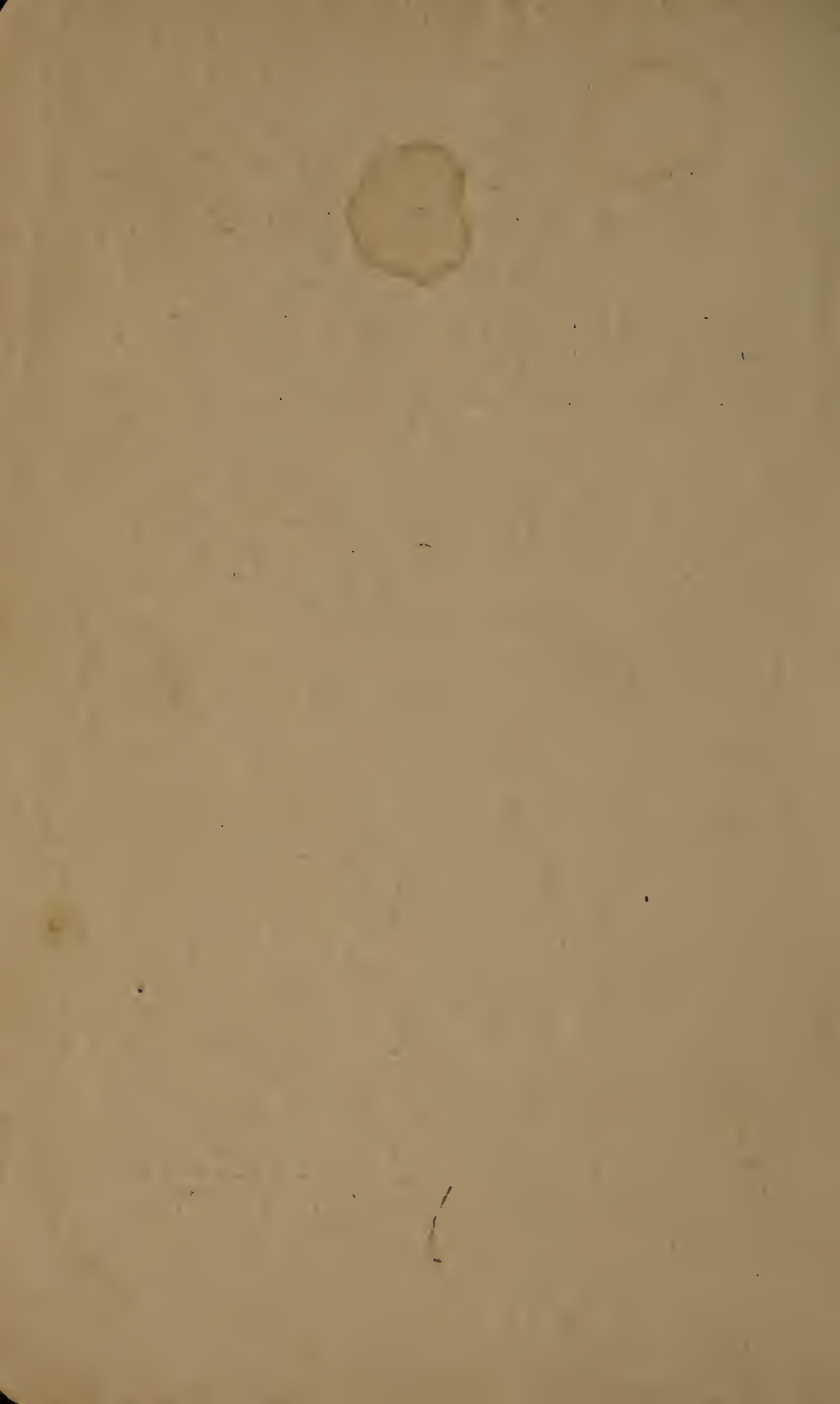


A. B. C.
OF
COMMUNISM

BY
N. BUCHARIN
E. PREOBRASCHENSKY

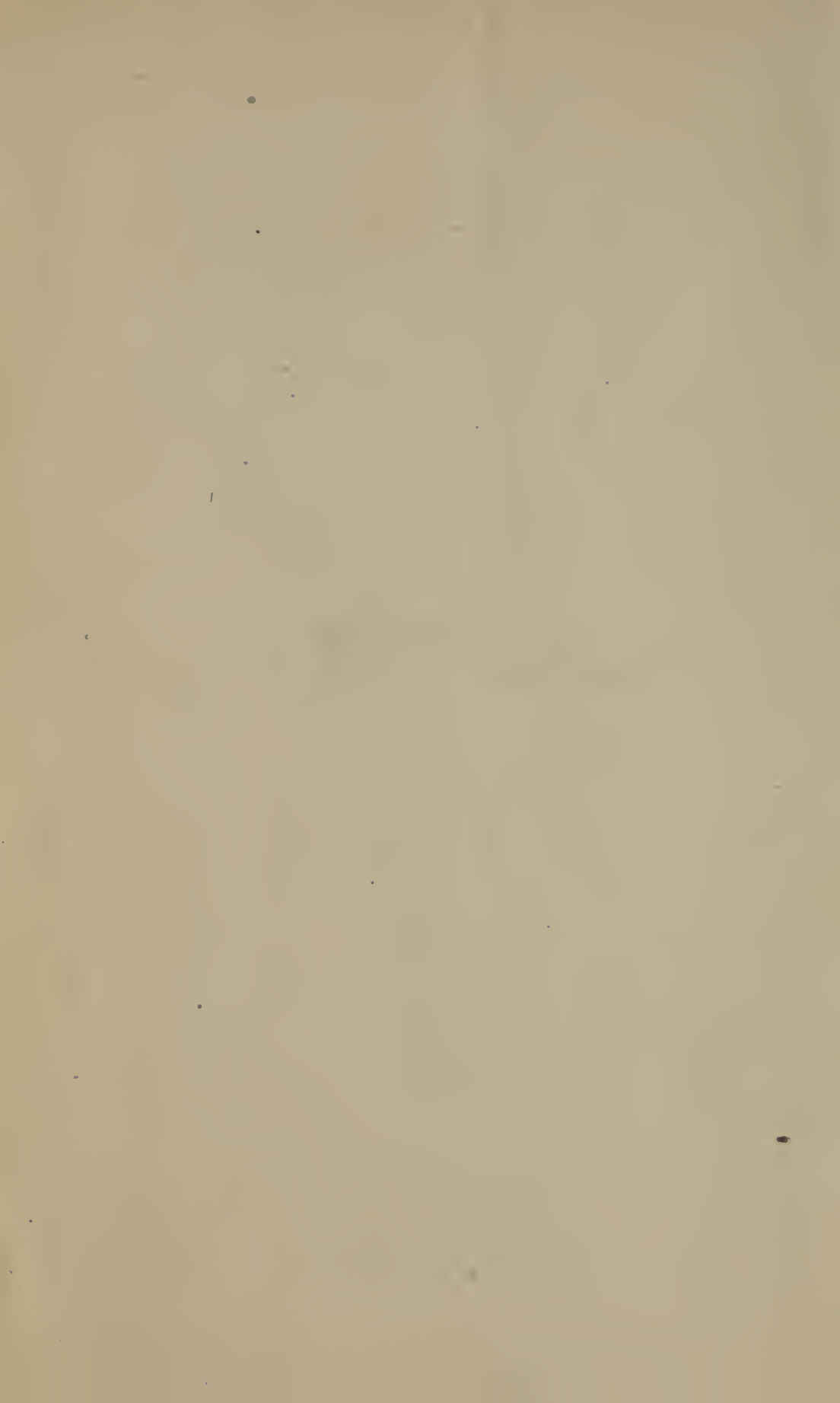
THE MARXIAN EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY
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A. B. C. of Communism

By N. Bucharin

E. Preobraschensky

Translated by P. Lavin

VOLUME I

THE MARXIAN EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY

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A. B. C. of Communism

P R E F A C E

Our comrades Bucharin and Preobraschensky describe in this book the wonderful process of the development of wealth-production and distribution, which appears to be approaching a culminating point in all advanced capitalist countries, and which inevitably leads, as Marx and Engels taught, to the creation of a state of society in which classes will not exist.

In the 'forties of last century, according to Marx and Engels, a spectre was haunting Europe—the spectre of Communism. According to the authors of the “A B C of Communism,” that spectre has now taken on flesh and blood. But it has done more (in Russia, at least): in its firm hands of flesh and blood it has grasped a rifle, and by scattering the mercenaries of a score of capitalist states, it has shown that not only the “Powers of old Europe” where were opposed to it seventy years ago, but also the new Empire of American and the Asiatic Empire of Japan, are powerless against it.

But not only professing Imperialists are opposed to the first proletarian State. Socialist “leaders,” of whom the sinister figure, Mr. Philip Snowden, may be taken as a type, have, to the huge delight of their capitalist patrons, been vilifying the Russian Bolsheviks for years; and Intellectuals—perhaps the meanest of all the mean enemies of the working class—of the stamp of the late Prince Kropotkin and Mr. Bertrand Russell, have added their yelp to the capitalist chorus of disapproval of the Russian workers' revolution. The latter gentleman says he cannot support any movement which aims at world revolution. The authors of this book tell us (and few people will disagree with them) that the Communist revolution can succeed only as a world revolution. It follows that those who are not in favor of a world revolution are really opposed to Communism. These scientifically-minded people would like

resolutions to be carried through in a way that would not involve the infliction of injury on anyone, although history furnishes no instance of a dying ruling caste quietly renouncing its office and allowing its historical successor to assume its power. In their scientific zeal they want to see suspended the laws of social development which inevitably work out to revolutions, and which determine the tactics of those who are chosen to guide a revolutionary movement through the period of crisis. If the opposition of people of this kind to revolution be founded upon conviction—a hypothesis which should not be too readily granted—they are utterly incapable of appreciating the revolutionary spirit. To them a man like, let us say, Michael Bakounin, is utterly incomprehensible. To him, we are told, the revolutionist was a consecrated man who would allow no scruples of religion, patriotism, or morality, to turn him aside from his mission—the destruction by all available means of the existing order of society. He expressed his views, says Thomas Kirkup, with a destructive revolutionary energy which has seldom been equalled in history. The same writer describes Bakounin's principles as "universally subversive." This trick of insisting upon the "destructiveness" of revolutionary movements and ignoring, or but inadequately treating, their constructive side, has become painfully familiar to us since the great days of November, 1917.

The meretricious nature of the distinction between revolutionary "destructiveness," and "constructiveness" was eloquently exposed by John Mitchell, the Irish Bakounin of 1848. After showing that the work of some natural forces is of a destructive, and that of others of a constructive, character, he goes on to say:—

"Now in all this wondrous procedure you can dare to pronounce that the winds and the lightnings, which tear down, degrade, destroy, execute a more ignoble office than the volcanoes and subterranean deeps that upheave, renew, recreate? . . . In all nature, physical and spiritual, do you not see that some powers and agents have it for their function to abolish and demolish and derange—other some

to construct and set in order? But is not the destruction, then, as natural, as needful, as the construction? Rather tell me, I pray you, which is construction—which destruction? . . . The revolutionary leveller is your only architect. Therefore take courage, all you that Jacobins be, and stand upon your rights, and do your appointed work with all your strength, let the canting fed classes rave and shriek as they will: where you see a respectable, fair-spoken lie sitting in high places, down with it, strip it naked, and pitch it to the devil: wherever you see a greedy tyranny (constitutional or other) grinding the faces of the poor, . . . confederate and combine against it, resting never till the huge mischief come down, though the whole 'structure of society' come down along with it. Take no heed of 'social disorganization'; you cannot bring back chaos. . . . No disorganization in the world can be so complete but there will be a germ of new order in it: Sansculottism, when she hath conceived, will bring forth venerable institutions."

The "canting classes" and their lackeys of the capitalist and Labor Press have certainly raved and shrieked and plotted against the Russian revolutionaries. The reason for their failure to crush the Soviet Republic, in spite of the vast resources at their disposal, will be found in the following pages. It may be summed up by saying that our old comrade, Evolution, is still with us, and that the economic stars in their courses are fighting for the Workers' Revolution.

PATRICK LAVIN.

June, 1921.

FOREWORD.

To the embodiment of the greatness and power of the proletarian class, to its heroism, to the clearness of its class-consciousness, to its deadly enmity to Capitalism, to its mighty impulse towards the creation of a new society, and to the great Communist Party, we dedicate this book.

We dedicate it to the party which commands an army numbering millions, which governs a large and powerful State, which works on its "Saturdays" in order to prepare the day of the resurrection of mankind.

We dedicate it to the Old Guard of the party seasoned by fighting and victories, and to the younger members of the party who are destined to bring our task to a successful conclusion.

To the warriors and martyrs of the party, to those who fell on the various fronts, to those who were killed in prison, to those who were tortured to death, to those who were hanged, and those who were shot by the enemy for their fidelity to the principles of the party—to them we dedicate this book.

The "A. B. C. of Communism" is designed as an elementary manual of Communist teaching. The daily experience of propagandists and agitators has shown that a work of this kind has become a pressing necessity. More and more recruits are joining our ranks, but there is a scarcity of instructors and of text-books, even in the schools of the party.

The old Marxist literature—the "Erfurt Program," for example—is obviously no longer serviceable; and answers to new questions are very difficult to find, scattered as they are throughout newspapers, books and pamphlets.

This want we mean to supply. We look upon the "A. B. C." as an elementary course which will be used in

the party schools. We have taken care, however, to write it in such a way that it can be read independently by any worker or peasant who desires to understand the program of our party.

Every comrade who picks up this book must read it to the end in order to gain a clear idea of the task and the goal of Communism. The book is so written that its matter and the text of the program correspond. For the convenience of the reader this text, which is divided into paragraphs, is also given at the end. To every paragraph of the program several explanatory paragraphs of this book correspond, and these are marked accordingly.

Fundamental important deductions are in heavy type; detailed explanations, illustrations, etc., are in ordinary type. The latter are specially intended for those comrades—particularly workers—who desire to know the subject, but who have neither the time nor the opportunity to study the necessary materials at first hand.

For those who wish to go more deeply into the subject, a list of books is given at the end.

The authors are well aware that the book leaves much to be desired. It was written in snatches and at odd moments. The Communists are everywhere compelled to do their literary work under conditions which can scarcely be called normal. In this respect this book is an interesting example. The manuscript, together with its authors, was almost destroyed by the explosion in the Moscow Committee Rooms. . . . Still, in spite of its faults, we consider that it should be published as soon as possible, but desire to ask our comrades to bring their practical experience to our knowledge.

The whole theoretical (the first) part, the beginning of the second, as well as the chapters on the Soviet Power, the Organization of Industry, and the Protection of Public Health, were written by Bucharin; the rest by Preobrazhensky. Each of us, of course, accepts full responsibility for statements of the other.

The titles of our book ("A. B. C.") is vindicated through-

out. If the book proves to be of service to beginners and to working class propagandists, we shall know that our work has not been in vain.

N. Bucharin.

E. Preobraschensky.

Moscow, October 15th, 1919.

PART I

DEVELOPMENT AND DECLINE OF CAPITALISM.

INTRODUCTION.

What is a Program?

Every party pursues a definite end. Be it a party of landlords or capitalists, be it a party of workers or peasants—the same thing holds. Every party must have its aims, otherwise it is not a party. If it is a party which represents the interests of landlords, it will pursue the aims of the landlords: How to maintain their ownership of the land, how to keep the peasants in check, how to sell the grain of the owners at increased prices, how to obtain higher rents, and how to secure cheap agricultural workers. If it is a party of capitalists or manufacturers, it will likewise have its own ends in view—to get cheap labor, to bridle the factory workers, to discover ways by which goods can be sold at the highest possible price, and, above all, to so arrange matters that the idea of establishing a new society will not occur to the workers; that they will believe that there have always been masters, and that there always will be. That is the aim of the employers. It is evident that the workers and peasants must have a wholly different aim, because their interests are different. “What is good for Russians is bad for Germans.”* This can be more truly rendered, “What is good for workers is bad for landlords and capitalists.” That means that the workers have one end in view, the capitalists another, the landlords still another. Not every landlord, however, thinks of how he can, with the least exertion, override his peasants. Many of them drink uninterruptedly, and do not even know what their managers do. So is it with the workers and peasants. There are some who say, “We will fight our way through somehow; why should we trouble? Our forefathers lived thus from time immemorial; so shall we live.” Such people fail to understand their own interests. There are others, on the other hand, who consider the question how their interests

* Russian Proverb.

can best be advanced, and who organize themselves in a party. The whole working class, therefore, does not belong to the party, but its best and most energetic members does. These members lead the others. To the workers' party (the Bolsheviki) the best workers and peasants attach themselves; to the party of the landlords and capitalists ("Cadets," "Party of Peoples' Freedom"), the most energetic landlords, capitalists, and their servants: lawyers, professors, officers, etc., belong. Consequently every party represents the most thoughtful members of its class. Therefore, a landlord or capitalist, who is in an organized party, can better fight workers and peasants than one who is not. Similarly, organized workers can more successfully fight capitalists and landlords than those who are unorganized. The former have reflected upon the aims and the interests of the working class; they know how these interests can best be served; and they know the shortest way to their goal.

All those aims which a party strives to realize, while representing the interests of its class, constitute a party program. In the program is therefore shown what a certain class aspires to. In the program of the Communist Party is consequently shown what the workers and poor peasants strive for. A program is a most important thing for a party. From a program we can always ascertain whose interests are represented by the party to which the program belongs.

What Was the Nature of Our Old Program?

Our present program was adopted at the eighth Congress of the party at the end of March, 1919. Until that time we had no definite written program. There was only the old program which was worked out at the second Congress of the party in 1903. When this program was written Bolsheviki and Mensheviki formed one party with one program. At that time the working class first began to organize. Large works were few in number. It was still a disputed question whether the working class would grow much more numerous. The "Narodniki" (the fathers of the present

Socialist Revolutionary Party) believed that the working class could not be developed in Russia, and that factories and workshops would not be multiplied. The Marxist (Social Democrats) as well as the future Bolsheviki, and also, later, the Mensheviki, maintained, on the other hand, that in Russia, as in all other lands, the working class would increase and that it would form the principal revolutionary power. Events have shown how the views of the "Narodniki" were wrong and those of the Social Democrats right.

But when the Social Democrats drew up their program at the second Congress of the party (in the drawing up of which program Lenin as well as Plekhanoff took part) the working class was not yet very powerful. Therefore, no one thought at that time that it would be possible to immediately proceed to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. At that time all were agreed that it would be well to break the back of Czarism, to fight for the union of workers and peasants, to win an eight-hour day, and to strike at the landlords wherever possible. No one thought of aiming at the immediate expropriation of the bourgeoisie from their factories and workshops by the workers. This, then, was our old program of the year 1903.

Why Must We Have a New Program?

From that time till the year of the revolution (1917) is a long time, and in that period conditions altered very much. Great industry in Russia took a mighty stride forward, and with it advanced the working class. As early as 1905 the working class revealed itself as a powerful force. At the time of the second revolution it was clear that it could only succeed if the working class succeeded. The working class would not now be contented with what would have satisfied it in 1905. It was now so powerful that it demanded the unconditional taking over of the factories and workshops, workers' control, and the curbing of the capitalists. Since the formulation of the first program internal conditions had fundamentally altered. Also (and still more important), external conditions had changed. In 1905

“quiet and peace” reigned in the whole of Europe. In 1917 every thinking person could see that in the world-war the world-revolution would have its origin. In 1905 the Russian Revolution was followed merely by an insignificant movement of the Austrian workers and by revolutions in the backward countries of the East—Persia, Turkey and China. The Russian Revolution of 1917 was followed by revolutions not only in the East, but also in the West, where the working classes gathered under the flag of the downfall of Capitalism. External and internal conditions are therefore wholly different from those of 1903. Consequently, it would be absurd for the workers’ party to have had one and the same program for 1903 and 1917-19. When the Mensheviks reproach us with having broken away from our old program, and, therefore, with having thrown over the teaching of Karl Marx, we reply that the teaching of Marx consists in this—that a program proceeds not from the inner consciousness, but must be created from the conditions of life. In winter people wear furs; in summer only fools would do so. Similarly in politics. Marx taught us to observe the conditions of life, and to act accordingly. This does not mean that we must change our convictions as a lady changes her gloves. The great aim of the working class is the realization of the Communist order of society. And that aim is the permanent aim of the workers’ movement. But it is evident that, according to its distance from its goal, the demands it makes must be different. During the autocracy the working class had to work in secret. Its party was prosecuted as a criminal party. Now the workers are in power, and their party is the ruling party. Only an unintelligent person can maintain that one and the same program can serve for 1903 and for our own times. Changes in the internal conditions of Russia and changes in the whole international situation have rendered necessary changes in our program.

The Meaning of Our Program.

. Our new (Moscow) program is the first program of a workers’ party which has been a long time in power. Therefore, our party must turn to account all the experience which

Program, 1917

the working class has gained in governing and in the building up of the new life. This is important not only for us, the Russian workers and poor peasants, but also for foreign comrades, because in our successes and failures not only we ourselves learn, but the whole international proletariat. Therefore, our program includes not only that which our party has actually realized, but also that which it has partly realized. Our program must be known in all its details by every member of the party. It is the most important guide in the activity of every party group and of every individual comrade. Only those who "recognize" the program (that is, those who believe it to be right) can be members of the party. It can be considered to be right only by those who understand it. There are, naturally, many people who have never seen the program, but who nevertheless insinuate themselves into the ranks of the Communists, and who swear by Communism, but who are, at the same time, animated only by a desire to acquire wealth or to secure comfortable positions. We do not want such members: they only injure our cause. Without a knowledge of the program no one can be a real Communist-Bolshevik. Every (class) conscious Russian worker and poor peasant must know the program of our party. Every foreign proletarian must study it in order to turn to account the experiences of the Russian Revolution.

The Scientific Character of Our Program.

We have already said that a program must be constructed from the actual conditions of life, and not merely thought out in the study. Before M̄arx those who represented the interests of the working people often drew wonderful pictures of the future Paradise, but did not ask themselves how this Paradise was to be achieved or which road thereto should be taken by the workers and peasants. Marx introduced wholly different methods. He took the unjust and barbarous system of society which obtained over the whole world, and inquired how it had been created. Just as we should take a machine and examine it, so Marx examined the capitalist system of society—a system in which manufacturers and landlords rule and in which workers and peasants are oppressed.

If we see that two wheels of the machine impinge upon each other, and that with every revolution they catch each other more and more, we can say with certainty that the machine will break and come to a standstill. Marx examined, not a machine, but the capitalist system of society; he studied it, observed its life, and saw how it was dominated by Capital. From this study he perceived clearly that Capitalism was digging its own grave, that the machine would break, and that it would break in consequence of the inevitable rising of the workers, who would re-arrange the whole world according to their own desires. Marx bade all his followers, above all, to study life as it is. Only by doing this can we draw up a correct program. It is therefore self-evident that our program must begin with a description of the rule of Capital.

The rule of Capital in Russia is now overthrown. That which Marx foretold unfolds itself before our eyes. The old order crashes. Crowns fall from the heads of kings and kaisers. Everywhere the workers are marching to revolution and the setting up of the Soviet power. In order to understand exactly how all this has come about we must know the nature of capitalist society. Then we shall see that it must inevitably break up. When we have recognized that there can be no going back to the old régime, and that the victory of the workers is certain, we shall prosecute with more strength and determination the fight for the new order of society.

CHAPTER I.

THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM OF SOCIETY.

Commodity Production.

If we examine closely the manner in which production has developed under Capitalism, we see that in that system commodities are produced. Well, what is there remarkable in that? someone will say. The remarkable thing about it is that the article is not merely a product of labor, but is a product which is produced for the market.

An article is not a commodity when it is produced for the use of the maker. When a farmer sows corn, reaps, threshes, and grinds it, and then makes it into bread to be eaten by himself, that bread is not a commodity: it is simply bread.

An article becomes a commodity only when it is bought and sold; that is, when it is produced for the market,

In the capitalist system of society all articles are produced for the market: they are all commodities. Every factory, every workshop usually produces only a certain few commodities, and one can easily see that in cases of this kind the wares are not produced for personal use. When a funeral undertaker carries on a business for the manufacture of coffins, it is clear that these coffins are not produced for himself and his family, but for the market. When a manufacturer produces castor oil, it is evident that, even if he took some every day in his desire to guard against indigestion, he could use only the very smallest portion of the castor oil his factory produces. Under Capitalism, it is exactly the same with all other products.

In a button factory countless buttons are made, but these buttons are not made to be sewn on the clothes of the manufacturer. They are made for sale. Everything that is pro-

duced in capitalist society is intended for the market: to the market come gloves and sausages, books and boot polish, machinery and spirits, bread, stockings and guns—in short, everything.

Commodity production presupposes private property. The handicraftsman and tradesman who produced commodities owned their own workshops and tools; the manufacturer and works proprietor own the factory and the works, with all buildings, machinery, and other property. As soon as private property and commodity production appear there is a struggle for purchasers, or competition amongst the sellers. When there were no manufacturers or great capitalists, but only handicraftsmen, there was also a struggle for customers. He who was strongest and most skilful, he who possessed the best tools, and above all, he who had gathered together a little money, always succeeded in securing the customers and out-distancing his rivals. The small private property of the handicraftsman, therefore, contained *the germ* of the great private property of today.

The first remarkable characteristic of the capitalist system of society is, therefore, commodity production; that is, production for the market. ✖

Monopoly of the Means of Production by the Capitalist Class.

To realize the nature of Capitalism, it is not sufficient merely to cite one of its characteristics. There can be a system of commodity production which is not necessarily Capitalism: for example, the handicraft system. The handicraftsmen work for the market and sell their produce. Those products are, therefore, commodities, and the whole system is a commodity-producing system. In spite of this, however, the system is not a capitalist one, but a mere simple system of commodity production. Before this simple system can become capitalistic the means of production (tools, machines, buildings, land, etc.) must first pass into the possession of a small class of rich capitalists, and, on the other hand, the numerous independent handicraftsmen and peasants must be degraded to the position of workers.

We have already seen that the simple system of commodity production contains within itself the germ of its own destruction and that of the birth of another system. That has actually come to pass. In all countries the handicraftsman and the small master have for the most part disappeared. The poorer amongst them sold their tools, and from being masters became men who possessed nothing but a pair of hands. Those who were somewhat better off became still richer. They rebuilt their workshops, extended them, introduced better fittings, and, later, machinery; began to engage workers, and became manufacturers.

Gradually they acquire possession of everything necessary for production: factory buildings, raw materials, warehouses, shops, houses, works, mines, railways, steamships—in short, everything indispensable to production. All these instruments of production became the exclusive property of the capitalist class (or, as it is usually put, the monopoly of the capitalist class). A small handful of rich men possess everything: The majority of the poor possess only their power to labor. *This monopoly possessed by the capitalistic class of the means of production is the second characteristic of the capitalist system of society.*

Wage-Labor.

The numerous class of men who were not left in possession of any property became wage-workers under Capitalism. What was the impoverished peasant or handicraftsman to do? He could either hire himself as slave to a capitalist landlord or go into the town and enter a factory as a wage-worker. There was no other course. He chose the latter course, *and so originated wage labor—the third characteristic of the capitalist system of society.*

What, then, is wage-labor? Formerly, in the period of slavery, the slave-owner could buy and sell the slaves. Men with all the attributes of men were the private property of other men. The owner could beat his slave to death just as, in a drunken fit, he might destroy a piece of furniture. The slave was simply a thing. The ancient Romans actually divided all property which was necessary for production into

“dumb workers” (things); “half-articulate workers” (beasts of burden, sheep, cows, etc.); and “speaking articulate workers” (slaves—men). The shovel, the ox, and the slave were alike in the eyes of the owner—merely instruments of labor which he could buy or sell or destroy.

Under wage-labor the man himself is neither bought nor sold. What is bought and sold is his power to labor, not himself. The wage-laborer is free in person. The capitalist cannot beat him or sell him to another, or exchange him for a young hound, as the slave-owner could do with his slave. The worker is merely hired. It even appears as if capitalist and worker were equal. “If you do not want to work—well, do not work; no one will compel you to work,” say the employers. They even assert that they keep the workers alive because they give them employment.

In reality, workers and capitalists live under different conditions. The workers are haunted by the fear of starvation. Hunger compels them to hire themselves to the employers; that is, to sell their labor-power. There is no other way out. With bare hands alone no “private” production can be carried on. Just try to forge steel or to weave or to build wag-gons without machinery and tools! Under Capitalism the land itself is in private hands: it is impossible to find a spot on which to start an industry. The freedom of the worker to sell his labor-power; the freedom of the capitalist to buy it; the “equality” of capitalists and workers—all this *simply means that the workers, in order to escape starvation, are compelled to work for the capitalists.*

Consequently the essence of wage-labor consists in the sale of labor-power, or in the transformation of labor-power into commodities. In the simple system of production, of which we have already spoken, milk, bread, raw materials, boots, etc., could be found upon the market, but not labor-power. Labor-power was not sold. Its possessor, the handicraftsman, possessed also a house and tools. He worked himself; he carried on his own industry; he exerted his own labor-power in his own business. Under Capitalism it is quite otherwise. He who works possesses no means of production. He cannot exert his labor-power in his own business. In

order to escape starvation he must sell his labor-power to the capitalist. Near the market, where wool, cheese or machines are sold, rises the labor market where the proletarians—i. e., the wage-laborers, sell their labor power. *Consequently the capitalist system is distinguished from the simple system of commodity production by the fact that in the capitalist system wage-labor itself is turned into a commodity.*

Wage-labor appears, therefore, as the third characteristic of the capitalist system.

Conditions of Capitalist Production.

The distinguishing marks of the capitalist system are, therefore, three in number: *Production for the market (commodity production); monopoly of the means of production by the capitalist class; wage-labor—that is, labor based upon the sale of labor-power.*

All these characteristics are connected with the question: *In what relation do men stand to one another when they engage in the manufacture and distribution of commodities? What do we mean by the term “commodity production” or “production for the market?”* We mean that men work for one another, but each produces for the market without knowing beforehand who will purchase this product. Let us take, for example, a worker (A) and a peasant (B). A takes the boots he has made to the market and sells them to B. With this money he buys bread from B. When A went to the market he did not know that he would meet B; and when B went he did not know that he would meet A. When A has bought the bread and B the boots it appears that B has worked for A and A for B without knowing it. The operations of the market have concealed the fact that each has worked for the other, and that without the other neither could live. In a system of commodity production men work for, and independently of, one another, and in a wholly unorganized manner, without even knowing what relation they bear to one another. In commodity production, therefore the parts played by men are allotted in a particular way. Men stand in certain relations to one another.

To speak of "the monopoly of the means of production," or of "wage-labor," is to speak of the mutual relations of men. And now, what does "monopoly" mean? It means that the workers produce goods with instruments of production not owned by themselves; and that the goods when produced belong to the owners of the instruments of production. In short, the question is one of the mutual relations of men during the process of production. These relations are called the *conditions of production*.

It is not difficult to see that the conditions of production were not always of this kind. A long time ago men lived in small communities. They worked communally together (hunted, fished, gathered fruits and roots,) and divided everything amongst themselves. That was one kind of conditions of production. When slavery existed there were other conditions of production. Under Capitalism there are still others. *There can be, therefore, different kinds of conditions of production. These kinds of conditions of production are called the economic structure of society, or the mode of production. "The capitalist conditions of production," or, what is the same thing, "the capitalist structure of society," and "the capitalist mode of production," are the relations of men in a system of commodity production in which we find, on the one hand, a handful of capitalists in exclusive possession of the means of production; and on the other the wage-labor of the working class.*

Exploitation of the Workers.

The question arises: Why do capitalists engage workmen? Everybody knows that capitalists engage workmen, not from a desire to feed them, but from a desire to extract profit from them. The thirst for profit causes the capitalist to build his factory, and impels him to hunt around everywhere to see where he can get the highest rate. The getting of profit wholly absorbs him. And here a very interesting feature of the capitalist system reveals itself. Under this system are produced not those things which are useful, but those things for which high prices will be paid, and from which, therefore, large profits will be obtained. For example,

strong drink is a very injurious thing, and should be produced only for technical work or for medicinal purposes. But throughout the world capitalists are engaged with all their might in its production. Why? Because from the people's desire for drink a great profit can be made.

We must now make it clear how profit arises. The capitalist receives his profit in the form of money when he sells the articles which have been produced in his factory. How much money does he receive for his goods? Or, in other words, what is the price of the goods? How is the price determined? Why is the price of one article high and that of another low? It is not difficult to see that, in consequence of the introduction of new machinery into some branches of production, labor becomes more productive; or, in other words, goods are produced more easily, and the prices of the commodities go down. If, on the other hand, production becomes more difficult and fewer wares are produced, or, in other words, if labor is less productive, the prices of the commodities rise.*

If society has to expend on the average a great deal of labor in the production of a certain article, the price of that article will be high. If little labor is required to produce it, its price will be low. The quantity of socially necessary labor of the average degree of skill (that is, labor performed with machines and tools which are neither of the highest nor lowest quality) necessary for the production of commodities determines their value. We now see that price is determined by value. When price is neither higher nor lower than value, it is clear that value and price are synonymous.

Now, remember what we said about the *hiring* of the worker. This transaction is the sale of a special commodity, which bears the name of labor-power. When labor-power becomes a commodity it is subject to the same conditions as other commodities. When the capitalist engages the worker, he pays him the price of his labor-power; or, in other words, pays for

* We are speaking here of the alterations in prices, without regard to money without considering whether there is much money or little; whether money is in the form of gold or of paper. These alterations in prices can be very great, but they express themselves in all goods at the same time. The difference in prices, therefore, as between one commodity and another is not accounted for. For an example, the great mass of paper money has greatly increased prices in all countries, but this general increase does not explain why one articles is dearer than another.

it according to its value. How is this value determined? We have seen that the value of all commodities is determined by the quantity of labor necessary for their production. So, therefore, is the value of labor-power. What do we mean by the production of labor-power? Labor-power is not produced in a factory. It is not linen, or boot polish, or machinery. What, then, is it? It is sufficient to look at life under the capitalist system in order to grasp what it is. Let us consider the situation when the workers have stopped work for the day. They are worn out; their energy has been expended; their labor-power is almost exhausted. How can it be renewed? In order to renew it the worker must rest, eat and sleep. Before it is possible for him to work again, his capacity to labor, or his labor-power, must be restored. Food, clothing, shelter, etc.—in short, *the things necessary to satisfy the requirements of the worker*—~~represent the production of labor-power.~~ Other things have to be added in the case of a specially skilled worker, such as the expenses of a long apprenticeship.

Everything that the working class consumes in order to renew its strength has a value. Consequently the value of the necessaries of life and the expenses of education represent the value of labor-power. Different kinds of commodities have different values. Different kinds of labor-power, therefore, have different values. The labor-value of a printer has a different value from that of his assistant.

Now to return to the factory. The capitalist buys raw material, fuel, machinery, oil, and other indispensable things. He then buys labor-power; that is, he engages workers. For everything he pays ready money. He begins production. The workers toil, the machines run, the fuel burns, the oil is consumed, the factory buildings suffer wear and tear, labor power is used up. From the factory a new commodity comes. This commodity, like all other commodities, has a value. How great is this value? In the first place, the new commodity contains within itself the value of the means of production consumed in its manufacture—the raw materials, fuel, that portion of the substance of the machinery worn away during the process of production, etc. All this has now passed into the value of the product. Secondly, the labor of

the worker is contained in it. If 30 workers each work 30 hours in producing the commodity, the total number of hours worked will be 900. The total value of the commodity will consist of the value of the materials used (let us suppose that this is equal to 600 hours' work), *Plus* the new value which the workers have added by their labor (900 hours.) The total value, then, will be represented by 600 plus 900 hours equals 1,500 hours.

But how much does the new commodity cost the capitalist? For the raw material he pays in full; that is, a sum of money corresponding to the value of 600 hours' work. And how much does he pay for the labor? Does he pay for the whole 900 hours? The solution of the whole problem lies here. He pays, according to our assumption, the full value of the labor-power for the number of days worked. If 30 workers work 30 hours—three days of 10 hours each—the employer will pay them a sum of money sufficiently large to enable them to renew their labor-power for that number of days. But how great is this sum? The answer is simple. It is clearly smaller than the value of 900 hours' work. Why? Because that quantity of labor which is necessary for the maintenance of labor-power pays for itself; the difference between that quantity and the 900 hours' labor is not paid for. Suppose I can work 10 hours daily, and suppose that in five hours I can produce the value of everything I consume during the whole period of 10 hours, I can therefore work much longer than is required to meet the expense of the maintenance of my labor-power. In our example the workers consume in three days food, clothes, etc., to the value of, say, 450 hours' work; and they perform work to the value of 900 hours. The value of 450 hours' work remains to the capitalist. *This number of hours is the source of his profit.* The commodities actually cost the capitalist, as we have seen, 600 plus 450 equals 1,050 hours; and he sells them at the value of 600 plus 900 equals 1,500 hours. The difference (450 hours) is the surplus value created by labor. In the half of the labor time (five hours out of each working day of ten hours) the workers, therefore, produce the value given back to them as wages, and during the other half they work wholly and solely

for the capitalist. Let us now consider society as a whole. We are not interested in what any individual capitalist or individual worker does. We are concerned with how the whole gigantic machine called the capitalist system is arranged. The capitalist class employs a vast number of members of the working class. In innumerable factories, mines, forests and fields millions of workers labor like ants. Capital pays them their wages, the value of their labor-power. This money enables them to renew their labor-power, to be again expended in the service of Capitalism. The working class not only pays for itself by its labor, but creates also the income of the upper class—surplus value. Through innumerable channels this surplus value flows into the coffers of the ruling classes: the capitalist himself receives a share—profit; a part goes to the landlord; a part goes to the Capitalist State in the form of taxes; a part to the merchants, shopkeepers, clergymen, actors, bourgeois writers, etc. On this surplus value live all the parasites who are created by the capitalist system.

A portion of the surplus value is used over again by the capitalists. They add to it their capital. Their capital grows ever greater. They extend their undertakings. They engage more workers. They instal better machines. A greater number of workers create for the capitalists a still greater amount of surplus value. Capitalist enterprises grow larger and larger. Capital goes ever forward with giant strides. More and more surplus value is heaped up. Because capital extracts surplus-value from labor, because it *exploits* labor, it grows continuously greater.

Capital.

We now see clearly what capitalism is. Above all, it is a definite value, either in the form of money or raw materials, factory buildings, or finished products. But it is only value of such a kind as serves for the production of a new value—surplus-value. *Capital is a value which produces surplus-value. Capitalist production is the production of surplus-value.*

In capitalist society machines and factory buildings appear as capital. Are machines and buildings, then, always capital?

Clearly, no. When there is a communal industry embracing the whole of society, which produces everything for itself, then neither machinery nor raw material will be capital, because it will not be employed as a means of extracting profit for a small handful of rich men. Machinery, therefore, becomes capital only when it is the property of the capitalist class; when it is used for the exploitation of wage-labor; when it serves for the production of surplus-value. The form of this value does not matter. It can have the form of coins or of paper money, for which the capitalist buys the means of production and labor-power; it can have the form of machinery with which the workers toil, or of raw material out of which they produce commodities, or of finished products, which later will be sold. *Where this value serves for the production of surplus-value, it is capital.*

Capital changes its outward appearance. Let us now consider how this transformation takes place.

1.—The capitalist has not, as yet, bought any means of production or labor-power. But he is eager to engage workers, to provide himself with machinery, to procure goods of the best quality and coal in sufficient quantity. He has in his hand nothing but money. Here capital appears in its *money form*.

2.—With this money the capitalist goes to the market. (He, naturally, does not go himself; he does his business by telephone or telegraph.) Here the purchase of means of production and of labor-power takes place. He returns to the factory without money, but with workers, machinery, fuel and raw materials. These things are no longer commodities. They have ceased to be commodities because they are not sold again. The money has changed itself into means of production and labor-power; the money appearance is thrown off; capital now stands before us in the form of *Industrial capital*.

Work then begins. The machinery is set in motion, the workers toil and sweat, the machinery suffers wear and tear, the raw materials are used up, the labor-power is fully utilized.

3.—All the raw materials, that part of the substance of the machines which has been worn out, all the labor-power

which performs the work, are gradually turned into a mass of commodities. Capital then throws off the appearance of industrial capital and appears as an aggregation of commodities. This is capital in its *Commodity form*. But now, after production, capital has not only changed its form; *It has become greater in value because it has increased during the process of production by the amount of the surplus-value.*

4.—The capitalist does not produce goods to satisfy his own wants, but for the market, for exchange. The commodities which are heaped up in his warehouses must be sold. The capitalist goes to the market, at first as a buyer. Now he must go as a seller. At first he had money, and wanted to buy commodities—means of production. Now he has commodities, and wants money for them. When his commodities are sold, capital throws off its *Commodity form* and assumes again its *Money Form*. But the amount of money which he receives for his wares is greater than that he originally spent, because it has increased by the amount of the total surplus-value.

But the movement of capital is not yet finished. The increased capital is again set in motion, and receives a still greater quantity of surplus-value. This surplus-value is, in part, added to the capital, and begins another circulation. The capital rolls, like a snowball, ever farther and farther, and with every turn larger masses of surplus-value adhere to it. And so capitalist production extends farther and farther, and sucks ever more surplus-value from the working class. This rapid growth is a feature peculiar to Capitalism. Exploitation of one class by another existed in former times. Let us take, for example, a landowner in the feudal period or a slaveowner of antiquity. He lived on the labor of his serfs or slaves. But everything that was produced was consumed either by himself or by his court and his numerous hangers-on. Commodity production was almost non-existent. Commodities could not be sold anywhere. If the landowner or slaveholder had compelled his serfs or slaves to pile up quantities of bread, fish or meat, these would simply have rotted away. Production, therefore, was limited to the supplying of bodily wants of the masters and their families. It is quite otherwise

under Capitalism. Now things are not produced for use, but for profit. Wares are produced so that they may be sold, and profit thereby heaped up. The more profit the better. Hence the mad search of the capitalist class for profit. Their greed for profit knows no bounds. It is the pivot and the driving force of capitalist production.

The Capitalist State.

Capitalist society is, as we have seen, based upon the exploitation of the working class. A small group of men are all-powerful. The majority of the working class possess nothing. The capitalists give orders; the workers obey them. The capitalists exploit; the workers are exploited. The essence of capitalistic society consists in this incessant, ever-growing exploitation.

Capitalist production is a veritable machine for the extraction of surplus-value. How has this machine been preserved so long? Why do the workers tolerate this state of affairs?

It is not easy to give an answer to these questions off-hand; but, broadly speaking, the cause is to be found, firstly, in the fact that organization and power are in the hands of the capitalist class; and, secondly, that the bourgeoisie control the minds of the working class.

The most powerful weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie is the machinery of the State. In all capitalist countries the State is neither more nor less than a union of capitalists. Take any country you like, England or the United States, France or Japan. Ministers, higher officials, etc., are everywhere capitalists, landlords, bankers, or their faithful, well-paid servants: lawyers, bank directors, professors, generals and ecclesiastics.

The union of all these members of the bourgeoisie, which comprises the whole country and holds it in the hollow of its hand, is called the State. This organization has two objects—first (and this is the chief one), to allay unrest amongst and suppress risings of the workers, and so ensure the undisturbed extraction of surplus-value from the working class, and further secure the system of capitalist production; and, secondly, to fight similar organizations (that is, other bourgeois

States) to prevent having to share the surplus value thus extracted. The Capitalist State is, therefore, a union of capitalists having for its object the maintenance of the system under which the workers are exploited. *First and foremost, the activities of this robber group are directed to serving the interests of capital.*

Against this description of the Capitalist State the following objections may be urged:—

You say that the State concerns itself solely with protecting the interests of capital. But consider. In all capitalist countries there are factory laws which prohibit or restrict child labor. The working day is much shorter than formerly. In Germany, for example, in the time of William II., there was a comparatively good system of workmen's insurance; in England the zealous bourgeois Minister, Lloyd George, introduced workmen's insurance and old-age pensions; in all bourgeois States hospitals and convalescent homes for workers have been established. Railways are built, upon which all, rich and poor, may travel; waterways are constructed, and in the towns sanitation arrangements are provided. These things are for the benefit of all. Therefore (it may be said), in those countries where capital rules, the State does not look after the interests of capital exclusively, but after those of the workers as well. The State even punishes, at times, capitalists when they infringe the factory laws.

Such answers are not convincing, and for the following reasons:—It is true that the bourgeois governing power sometimes passes laws and regulations which are useful to the working class; but, nevertheless, these measures really serve the interests of the bourgeoisie themselves. Take, for example, the railways. They are used by the workers, but they also make use of the workers. They are not built at the desire of the workers. They are used by merchants and manufacturers for carrying their merchandise; they are used for the transport of troops, for taking workers to the scene of their labors, etc. Capital uses railways. It builds them, and thereby pursues its own aims. They are useful to the workers, but they are nevertheless built by the Capitalist State. Or let us take the cleansing of the towns, the so-called muni-

cipal "welfare work," and hospitals. The bourgeoisie pay attention to the working-class quarters. But the parts of the town in which the workers live are not so clean as the bourgeois districts. Disease finds in them a favorable breeding ground. Still, the bourgeoisie do something. Why? Simply because if they did not disease would become epidemic and would spread over the whole town, and the bourgeoisie would suffer as well as the workers. It is evident, therefore, that here also the bourgeois State and its municipal machinery serve the interests of the bourgeoisie in the first place. Still another example. In France the workers learned during the last century from the bourgeoisie how to artificially limit families. They had either no children at all or not more than two. The workers are so poor that it is very difficult, or almost impossible, to support a large family. The result is that the population of France is almost stationary. The French bourgeoisie wanted soldiers. They raised the alarm: "The nation is going to ruin! The Germans are increasing more quickly than we! They will have more soldiers!" It is noteworthy that the standard of health of recruits to the army was getting lower every year. The new soldiers were undersized and weak-chested. All of a sudden the bourgeoisie became "generous." They began of themselves to press for improvements in the condition of the workers, so that these would become physically fitter and would be able to bring more children into the world. The bourgeoisie had no desire to kill the goose that laid the golden egg.

In all these examples the bourgeoisie themselves enacted measures beneficial to the workers, and thereby followed *their own* interests. But there are also instances where these beneficial measures were passed by the bourgeoisie *under pressure from the working class*. Such laws are numerous. Almost all the "factory laws" were passed in this way—through threats on the part of the workers. In England the first shortening of the working day (to ten hours) was achieved by pressure from the workers. In Russia the Czarist Government passed the first factory laws through fear of strikes and industrial unrest. The State, the enemy of the working class, reasoned in this way: "It is better to give something today

than to be compelled to give twice as much to-morrow, or to place our lives in jeopardy." Just as the manufacturers gave way to the strikers and agreed to give them part of what they demanded without ceasing to be manufacturers, so the bourgeois State does not cease to be bourgeois when, under the menace of industrial unrest, it flings a sop to the workers.

The Capitalist State is not only the greatest and most powerful organization of the bourgeoisie, but also the most intricate. It has numerous divisions from which tentacles stretch out in all directions. And all this has for its main object the preserving of the right *to exploit the working class and to extend the area of exploitation.* Against the working classes brute force is used, as is also machinery for compassing their mental enslavement. These constitute the most important organs of the Capitalist State.

The machinery of brute force consists of the army, police and gendarmerie, prisons, courts of justice, and their auxiliaries—spies, agents provocateur, organizations of strike breakers, hired murderers, etc.

The army of the Capitalist State is organized on a special plan. At its head stand the officers, the gold-braided ones. They are drawn from the ranks of the sons of the nobility and of the grand bourgeoisie, and in part also from the Intellectuals. They are the bitterest enemies of the proletariat. In their boyhood they are taught in special schools how to browbeat soldiers, and to guard the "honor of the officer's uniform;" that is, to keep the soldiers in complete slavery and turn them into automata. The foremost of the nobles and grand bourgeoisie are generals and admirals.

The officers have the whole mass of common soldiers completely in their power. And the soldiers are so trained that they do not dare to ask why they have to fight. They have to obey implicitly the orders of their officers. Such an army is, in the first place, designed for the purpose of subduing the workers.

In Russia the army was used repeatedly as a means of suppressing the workers and peasants. Under Alexander II. there were, before the abolition of serfdom, many peasants'

risings. They were crushed by the army. In the year 1905 workers were shot down by the army during the rebellion in Moscow. The army carried through the punitive expeditions in the Baltic Provinces, in the Caucasus, in Siberia. In the years 1906-8 it suppressed the rising of the peasants against the landlords, and saved the landlords' property. During the war the workers of Ivanovo-Vosnoessask, Kostroma, etc., were shot down. The officers everywhere were particularly obnoxious. In other countries the same thing occurred. In Germany the army of the Capitalist State acted the part of the murderer of the workers. The first mutiny of the sailors was smothered by the army. The movements of the workers in Berlin, Hamburg, Munich, and all over Germany were suppressed by the army. In France workmen on strike were frequently shot down. Even now, in that country, workers and Russian revolutionary soldiers are shot. In England, the English army, in recent times, has smothered in blood rebellions of Irish workers, of Egyptian semi-slaves, and of Indians, and in England itself has dispersed gatherings of workmen. In Switzerland, during every strike, the machine gun commandoes and the so-called militia (the Swiss Army) are mobilized. In the United States of America the army has several times completely burned down workers' settlements (as during the strike in Colorado.) The armies of Capitalist States are now throttling the workers' revolutions in Russia, Hungary, in the Balkans, in Germany. They are suppressing revolutionary movements the whole world over.

Police and Gendarmerie.

The Capitalist State possesses, besides the regular army, another army of picked scoundrels, and a specially trained military force to fight against the workers. It is true that part of the duty of these bodies (as in the case of the police) is to prevent depredations by thieves and to protect "the persons and property of the citizens;" but at the same time they have to persecute and punish discontented workers. In Russia the police were the most zealous protectors of the landlords and of the Czar. Especially brutal, in all Capitalist States, are the secret police (called in Russia the "Ochrana") and the

gendarmarie. There are in addition to these large numbers of informers, provocateurs, spies, strike breakers, etc.

In this connection, the methods of the American secret police are interesting. They work in conjunction with immense numbers of private and semi-official "detective bureaus." The famous adventures of Nat Pinkerton were really operations directed against the workers. The informers offered bombs to the leaders of the workers, and endeavored to persuade them to assassinate capitalists. They also raise gangs of strike-breakers (scabs) and troops of armed vagabonds, who fire upon the workers when the opportunity offers. There is no crime these scoundrels do not commit in the service of the "democratic" States of Capitalist America.

The legal system of the bourgeois State is a class weapon for the protection of the bourgeoisie. In the first place, it enables the bourgeoisie to settle accounts with those who venture to interfere with their property or who endeavor to undermine the stability of the capitalist system. The legal system of the bourgeoisie sentenced Liebknecht to penal servitude, but acquitted his murderer. The authorities, acting for the Capitalist State, carried these findings into effect. The point of this weapon is directed, not against the rich, but against the poor and their champions.

It is evident, then, that the machinery of the Capitalist State has for its object the suppression of the working class.

Of the means at the disposal of the Capitalist State for mentally enslaving the working class, the most important are the State Schools, the State Church, and the Press, owned or subsidized by the State.

The bourgeoisie know very well that they cannot keep the masses of the workers in subjection by naked force alone. It is necessary to confuse the minds in every possible way. The bourgeois State considers the workers as beasts of burden. It is essential that the animals should work, but they must not be allowed to bite. Not only must they be whipped or shot when they show a disposition to bite, but they must also be broken in and tamed, as animals are trained in a menagerie. To that end the Capitalist State employs experts to blindfold and stupify the proletariat: teachers, professors,

clergymen, authors and newspaper men. In the schools, experts teach the children in their early years to obey the rule of the Capitalist State, and to hate and despise "rebels." Untruthful stories of the revolutionary movement are served up to the children. Kings, emperors and industrial magnates are glorified. Clergymen, who receive their hire from the State, preach in their churches that "there is no power which does not come from God." Bourgeois newspapers trumpet forth bourgeois lies day in and day out, while workers' newspapers are frequently suppressed. Is it easy for the workers to escape from the influence of such surroundings? A German Imperialist robber once said: "We want not only the bodies of the soldiers, but their brains and hearts as well." The bourgeois State strives to train the workers as domesticated animals, to get them to work hard to produce surplus-value for their masters, and to make them as contented as slaves. In this way the development of the Capitalist State is secured. The machinery of exploitation is kept moving. From the working class surplus-value is unceasingly extracted. And the Capitalist State keeps guard over the wage-slaves, and sees to it that they do not get an opportunity to elevate themselves.

The Contradiction of the Capitalist System.

It is now necessary to inquire if the capitalist system of society is as strongly built as it seems to be. A machine is serviceable only when its parts fit into one another exactly. Consider the mechanism of a clock. It works smoothly only when each wheel, tooth for tooth, fits its fellow.

Now let us examine capitalist society. We shall see that it is not so compact as it appears to be at first sight. On the contrary, gaping fissures disclose themselves. In the first place, under Capitalism *there is no organized production and distribution of commodities*. There is instead "anarchy in production." What does that mean? It means that every manufacturer (or every group of manufacturers) produces independently of every other manufacturer (or every other group of manufacturers). Society does not calculate what quantity of goods or what kind of goods it requires. Manufacturers

simply produce goods in an endeavor to secure more profit and to drive their opponents off the market. It, therefore, sometimes happens that too many wares are produced. (We are, naturally, speaking of the period before the war.) These wares cannot be sold. The workers cannot buy them; they have not enough money. Then a crisis occurs. Works are closed, and the workers are thrown on the streets. The anarchy in production causes competition on the market. Everyone wishes to secure buyers from the others and to capture the market. This fight assumes many different forms. It begins with the fight between two manufacturers, and ends with the world-war between the Capitalist States for the capture of the world market. There does not succeed to this a more harmonious working of the component parts of the capitalist machine, but instead friction becomes more pronounced.

The first cause of the lack of foresight of Capitalism, therefore, lies in the anarchy of production, which finds expression in crises, competitions and wars.

The second cause of this lack of foresight lies in the class character of the capitalist system. Fundamentally, capitalist society is not a unity, but is in reality divided into two sections—capitalists on the one hand, and workers on the other. These sections stand to each other in a relation of permanent and implacable enmity, whose expression is class war. The different parts of capitalist society, therefore, do not work smoothly together, but, on the contrary, each retards the progress of the other.

Will Capitalism Break Up or Not?

The nature of our reply to this question depends upon the following considerations:—If, after tracing the development of Capitalism, we find that its lack of foresight is continuously being remedied, we can be certain that it will have a long life. If, on the other hand, we discover that each part of society inevitably encroaches more and more upon the other, and that the divisions in society inevitably grow deeper and wider, we can be certain that its end is near.

In order to answer the question, therefore, the process of the development of Capitalism must be examined.

CHAPTER II.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM OF SOCIETY

The Struggle between Small and Large Production (between Individual Ownership and Capitalist Ownership).

Large factories, containing powerful machinery and employing thousands of workers, did not always exist. They rose slowly and grew from the remnants of the almost extinct system of handicraft and small industry. In order to understand how this came about, it should be borne in mind that a system of private property in which commodities are produced the struggle to secure customers (competition) is inevitable. Who conquers in this struggle? He who best understands how to entice customers away from his competitors. The chief means of winning customers, however, is to offer goods at lower prices than others.* And who can sell at a lower price than others? The large manufacturer can sell his wares at a lower price than either the small manufacturer or the handicraftsman, because they cost him less to produce. The great industry has here an immense advantage. The capitalist manufacturer is in a position to install better machinery and tools than his rival can afford. The handicraftsman struggles through life with great difficulty. He generally works with hand-driven machinery. He cannot even think of good machinery, let alone purchase it. The small capitalist is no better able to afford the latest machinery. The larger the undertaking the more highly finished is the technique, the more productive is the work, *and, therefore, every article produced is turned out at a lower price than is possible in a small establishment.*

The great factories of America and Germany have their own laboratories, in which new processes are continually being invented. Science is thus linked to industry. These inventions are kept secret, and are used exclusively for the

* The pre-war period is here considered. At the present time, owing to the destruction caused by the war, the seller does not run after the buyer, but, on the contrary, the buyer runs after the seller.

benefit of the owners of the factories in which they are made. In small industry and in handicraft one and the same worker makes almost the whole of one article from beginning to end. In machine industry, in which many workers are engaged, one man makes one part of an article, a second makes another part, a third another part, and so on. In this way the work is done much more quickly. This is called division of labor. The extent of the advantage gained by this method may be gauged from the following details from an American inquiry into the subject which was made in the year 1908:—

Product—10 Ploughs.

Hand Labor. Workers required, 2 (each performing 11 different operations). Hours worked, 1,180. Money earned, 54 dollars.

Machine Industry. Workers required, 52. Operations performed, 97 (the more workers the more operations). Time worked, 37 hours 28 minutes. Money earned, 7.9 dollars: Consequently a much shorter time suffices for the production of a given number of articles; and the labor does not cost nearly so much.)

Product—500 yards checked cloth.

Hand Labor. Workers required, 3. Operations, 19. Hours worked, 7,534. Money earned, 135.6 dollars.

Machine Industry. Workers required, 252. Operations, 43. Hours worked, 84. Money earned, 6.81 dollars.

Such examples could be multiplied indefinitely.

It should be remembered, moreover, that many branches of production are absolutely inaccessible to small capitalists and handicraftsmen. In these industries (for example, coal mining, the construction of locomotives, the building of iron-clads, etc.), work can be performed only by means of the highest technical equipment.

Large industry effects economies in all directions—in buildings, in machinery, in raw materials, in lighting and heating of workshops, in utilizing waste products, etc. Suppose there are several little workshops, and one large factory which produces as much as all of them put together. It is easier to build one large factory than many small ones. In small factories there is more waste of raw materials than in a large

one. It is easier to light and heat one large factory than many small ones. It is easier to put it in order, easier to clean it and to effect improvements in it. In short, in large workshops, saving is effected in innumerable ways. *In the purchase of raw materials and other necessaries large production has also a great advantage.* Materials can be had at a much lower price when large quantities are bought, and the resulting product is cheaper. Besides, the large manufacturer knows more of the state of the market than the small one, and consequently is in a better position to buy. The large dealer not only knows where goods can be sold at high prices at a given moment (he has agents who are in touch with the exchanges, and who keep him informed of the movements of the market in all parts of the world), but he can wait. If, for example, the price of his commodities fall too low, he can withdraw the wares from the market and await the time when prices will rise again. The small man cannot do this. He lives from hand to mouth. Immediately he sells his wares, he must buy necessaries with the money received for them. He has no surplus. Therefore, he must sell at the price ruling at any specified time or starve. It is clear, therefore, that he labors under great difficulties.

Finally, large industry has an immense advantage in the matter of credit. When a large undertaking is in urgent need of money, it can always borrow without any trouble. Banks are always ready to lend money at a comparatively low rate of interest to a "solid firm." Hardly anybody, however, will trust a small business. When someone is found willing to lend, he demands an extravagant rate of interest. Hence the small manufacturer easily gets into the clutches of usurers.

All these advantages possessed by large industry explain why small production in capitalist society inevitably goes under. Large production drives it off the field and changes the small manufacturer into a proletarian, or propertyless man. Naturally, the small business man clings desperately to his means of livelihood. He exerts all his strength, compels his workers and his family to work as hard as himself, but is eventually compelled to yield to the large undertaking.

Many manufacturers who appear to be independent are in

reality dependent upon large capitalists. They work for them, and cannot make a single move without them. The small man is frequently dependent upon usurers. His independence is only apparent. He depends now upon the firm which has purchased his wares—now upon the concern for which he is working. He has really been turned into a wage-worker dependent upon the capitalist owner of the business. It sometimes happens also that the capitalist supplies him with raw materials (as frequently happened in the case of home workers). It is clear, therefore, that the home worker has been turned into a mere hanger-on of the capitalist. There are still other instances of dependent industries under Capitalism. Large undertakings frequently establish repair workshops: in some cases these are simply parts of the factory; in others not. But in the latter case also independence is more apparent than real. Sometimes ruined handicraftsmen, small masters, home workers, dealers, etc., are driven from one branch of production or trade into another in which large capital is not so powerful. Dispossessed small masters frequently become petty dealers, street vendors, etc. Thus, step by step, large capital supplants small production. Giant undertakings arise which employ thousands, and in some cases tens of thousands, of workers. Large capital is becoming the ruler of the world. Individual ownership of the means of production is disappearing: its place is being taken by large capitalist ownership.

The home worker is a good example of the way in which small industry is being driven under in Russia. Many home workers (furriers, basketmakers, etc.) worked with their own raw materials, and sold their products to whom they pleased. Then the home workers (Moscow hatters, toy and brush makers, etc.) began to work for one particular capitalist. Later they received raw materials from their employers, and entered into formal servitude (as did the locksmiths of Pavlovsk and Burmakino). Finally, they were paid by the piece by the person who ordered their goods (for example, the nailers of Tver, the shoemakers of Kimry, and the cutlers of Pavlov). The hand-weaver fell into the same state of servitude. So bad was the dying mode of small industry that in England it received the name of "the sweating system." In Germany

the number of small concerns decreased between 1882 and 1895 by 8.6 per cent.; the number of medium-sized industries (those employing from 6 to 50 workers) increased by 64.1 per cent.; and the number of large industries increased by 90 per cent. Since that time a considerable number of medium-sized industries have gone under. In Russia the factory has displaced the home worker with similar rapidity. One of the most important branches of production in Russia is the textile industry. When we see how the relative numbers of factory hands and home workers in the cotton industry have changed, we get an idea of how quickly the factory system has supplanted the home worker.

Here are the figures:—

Year	No. of Factory Workers	No. of Home Workers
1866	94,566	66,178
1879	162,691	50,152
1894-95	242,051	20,475

In the year 1866, of every hundred persons employed in the cotton industry, 70 were home workers; in the years 1894-95 not more than eight in every hundred were home workers. In Russia large production grew apace, one reason being that foreign capital was sunk in it.

In 1902 large industries employed almost one-half (40 per cent.) of all industrial workers.

In 1903 factories which employed more than 100 persons comprised 17 per cent. of all factories and works in European Russia, and employed 76.6 per cent. of the total number of industrial workers.

The victory of large production is accompanied in all countries by the suffering of the small producer. Sometimes occupations die out over entire districts, as in the case of the weaving industry of Silesia, India, etc.

The Struggle Between Small and Large Production in Agriculture.

The conflict between small and large production, which we have seen takes place in industry, occurs also, under Capitalism, in the domain of agriculture. The land owner who conducts his agricultural enterprise exactly as the capitalist car-

ries on his factory, the extortionate large farmers, the better off peasants, the village poor, who in many cases receive extra work from the landowners or large farmers, and the agricultural laborers—these classes in agriculture correspond to the large capitalists, the proprietors of medium sized works, handicraftsmen, and home—and wage—workers in industry. In the country, as in the town, the advantage is with large production.

The large proprietor can afford good technical equipment. Agricultural machinery (electric and steam ploughs, mowing machines, binders, sowing and threshing-machines, etc.) is generally beyond the reach of the small landlord or peasant. Just as the man with the small workshop has no idea of installing expensive machinery (even if he could afford the price of it, it would be unable to pay for itself), so the peasant does not think of buying a steam plough. Before such a substantial machine could pay for itself it would be necessary to have a considerable area in which it would operate, and not a mere speck of land such as often makes up the holding of the ordinary peasant.

The fullest utilization of machinery and of implements depends upon the extent of the land to be worked. A plough drawn by horses can be profitably used on a piece of land 30 hectares in extent, and a drill-plough, a mowing-machine, or an ordinary threshing-machine on 70 hectares. A steam threshing-machine, however, requires 250 hectares for its full utilization, and a steam plow 1,000 hectares. Electric machinery has lately come into use for land work, but it can be profitably employed only on a very large scale.

Irrigation and drainage, too, can only, as a rule, be carried through effectively on large estates. Agriculture on a large scale, as industry on a large scale, economizes in tools, materials, labor-power, lighting, heating, etc.

In large estates there are fewer fences, ridges and hedges; and less seed is lost than in small ones.

Besides, the owner of a large estate can employ expert agriculturists and conduct his enterprise according to the principles of science.

In the spheres of trade and credit, as in that of industry,

the man who operates on a large scale knows the market better than his less important competitors. He can hold on longer; he can buy at a lower rate, and sell at a higher. The man in a small way of business has only one course open to him: to work with all his might. The small landlord ekes out his existence only by intense application to his work and by strictly limiting his wants. Only in this way can he hope to hold his own under Capitalism. His misery is increased by high taxation. The capitalist State imposes a huge burden upon the small landowner. It is sufficient in this connection to remember what the Czarist system of taxation meant to the peasant: "Pay your taxes, even if you have to sell all you possess to do it."

It may be said that in general small production in agriculture is capable of a much stronger resistance than small production in industry. In the towns the handicraftsman and the small employer are superseded comparatively quickly. In the villages, however, of all countries the small peasant farmers are strongly entrenched. Still, the impoverishing of the majority goes on steadily, if slowly. Sometimes it happens that a branch of agriculture which, judged by the quantity of land worked, is not large, is from the point of view of returns, very large indeed. Such undertakings are sometimes well supplied with capital and have a large number of workers (for example, gardens in the vicinity of large towns). Sometimes, on the contrary, what appears to be a number of quite independent small landlords are really almost all wage-workers. They either hire themselves to neighboring estates or go into the towns as seasonal workers. Under the system of peasant agriculture the same thing happens in all lands as happens amongst handicraftsmen and home workers. A few of them become usurers; others cling on for a time, but at last are completely ruined. They sell all their possessions, and are ultimately forced even to part with their land. They then go into the town for good or become agricultural laborers. They become wage-workers, while the blood-sucking usurer, who lends to the worker, becomes a *landowner or capitalist*.

So it happens that in agriculture a great quantity of land,

tools, machinery and cattle are in the hands of a small group of large capitalist landowners, upon whom millions of peasants depend.

In America, the most highly developed capitalist country, there are large estates worked on the same system as factories. Only one product is turned out. There are large fields set apart for growing strawberries or pears. Special areas are reserved for poultry rearing. Where wheat is cultivated, the work is wholly done by machinery. Many branches of production are united in a few hands. There are, for example, a "chicken king" (a capitalist who holds almost the entire monopoly of the chicken-rearing industry), an "egg king," and so on.

The Dependent Position of the Proletariat; the Reserve Army; Woman—and Child—Labor.

Ever larger numbers of people are changed into wage-workers under Capitalism. The impoverished handicraftsman, the home worker, the farmer, the dealer, the small capitalist—in a word, all who are reduced to extremities by Capitalism, fall into the ranks of the proletariat. The further the concentration of capital in fewer hands proceeds, the more rapidly the masses of the people are turned into wage-slaves.

Owing to the continual ruin of the middle classes of society the number of workers becomes much larger than capital requires. The workers are thereby chained to capital. They must work for the capitalists. If a worker refuses to labor for a capitalist, a dozen can be found eager to take his place. This dependence upon capital, however, is maintained in other ways than the ruin of the middle classes. The domination of capital over the working class becomes ever greater by reason of the fact that capital continually throws superfluous workers on the streets; and thus creates for itself a supply of labor-power. How does this happen? In this way: We have already seen that each manufacturer strives to reduce the cost of his wares to the lowest possible point. To effect this reduction new machines are continually being introduced. A machine, however, always displaces a number of workers. The introduction of a new machine means that some of the

workers will be thenceforth superfluous. The people who formerly worked in the factory become unemployed. But as new machinery is always being introduced, now in one factory, now in another, it is clear that *under Capitalism unemployment must always exist*. The object of the capitalist is not to give employment to people, nor to supply them with goods, but to make the greatest possible profit. Therefore, he has no compunction in discharging those workers who can no longer supply him with as much profit as formerly.

And in actual fact we see in the large towns of every capitalist country an ever-growing mass of unemployment. In China and Japan, workers crushed out of the ranks of the farming class come flocking to the towns to look for work. Village youths become dealers and handicraftsmen. But there also metal-workers, printers and weavers, after years of work in large establishments, are thrown on the streets in consequence of the introduction of up-to-date machinery. Together these constitute a source of supply of labor-power for the capitalists: they form, in Marx's words, the industrial reserve army. The existence of a reserve army of permanently unemployed men enables the capitalists to take full advantage of the helplessness of the workers and to intensify their oppression. From the employed portion of the working class the capitalists, with the aid of machinery, extract more profit than ever before, because of the fact that the unemployed are at the gate. The workless men on the streets serve as a whip in the hands of the capitalist for using against the workers in the factory.

The industrial reserve army furnishes examples of men driven to utter desperation of poverty and starvation, and even of crime. Those who are unable to find work throughout a prolonged period gradually take to drink, or become vagabonds, beggars, etc. In large towns—as London, New York, Hamburg, Berlin, Paris—there are entire districts inhabited by such workless people. Such a quarter is the Chitrov Market in Moscow. In the place of the proletariat a stratum appears in society which has forgotten how to work (the “lumpenproletariat”.)

With the introduction of machinery came woman—and

child—labor. These kinds of labor are cheap, and, therefore, are more profitable to the capitalist. Before the advent of machinery considerable skill, and in some cases a long apprenticeship was necessary. But many machines can be attended to by children. There is nothing to be done but to raise an arm or to move a leg. That is the reason why, since the invention of machinery, the labor of women and children has been extensively used. Besides, women and children cannot offer the same resistance to the capitalist as men workers. They are more timid, and believe more readily what the clergyman and others in authority tell them. Therefore, the manufacturer often replaces men by women, and compels little children to coin their blood into gold pieces for his benefit.

In the year 1913 the number of women capable of earning their living and in employment was—in France, 6,800,000; in Germany, 9,400,000; in Austria-Hungary, 8,200,000; in Italy, 5,700,000; in Belgium, 930,000; in the United States, 8,000,000; in England and Wales, 6,000,000. In Russia the number of women in employment increases rapidly. In 1900 it amounted to 25 per cent. of the total number of working men and women. In 1908 it was 31 per cent. (almost one-third); in 1912, it was 45 per cent. In a few branches of industry women are in a majority. In the textile industry, for example, there were in 1912, out of 870,000 employees, 453,000 women (more than one-half).

During the period of the war the number of women employed reached an enormous figure. As for child-labor, it flourishes in spite of the fact that it is prohibited in many countries. In the most advanced capitalist country—America—it is to be met with at every turn.

This leads to the disintegration of the worker's family. When the wife, and often the child as well, is in the factory, what becomes of family life?

When women go into the factory to become wage-workers they become subject to the same conditions as men. They can be thrown into the ranks of the industrial reserve army. They can, like men, become morally depraved. Closely connected with the phenomenon of unemployment is the problem of prostitution—the sale of their bodies by women to any

purchaser in the streets. Workless, hungry, and driven from place to place, women are compelled to sell themselves. Even sometimes when in employment the wage is so small that they are compelled to supplement it by the same means. And in course of time the occasional occupation becomes the habitual one. Thus arises the class of professional prostitutes.

In large towns the number of prostitutes reaches a formidable figure. In cities like Hamburg and London there are tens of thousands of these unfortunate creatures. They are a source of profit for capital which establishes great "houses of pleasure." There exists a widely-extended trade in white slaves. The center of this traffic is the towns of Argentina. Particularly shocking is child-prostitution, which flourishes in all European and American cities.

In capitalist society the more machines that are invented, the better these machines are, and the larger the factories that are erected, the more oppressive becomes the yoke of capital, the greater grow the poverty and the misery of the industrial reserve army, and the more abject is the dependence of the workers upon the exploiters.

If common property instead of private property were the rule conditions would be entirely different. People would reduce the hours of labor. They would have due regard to periods of rest, and so conserve their strength. But when a capitalist installs machines in a factory he is thinking, in the first place, of profit. He does not shorten the working day of his employees; he would lose profit if he did. Under the rule of capital machinery *enslaves* men instead of *frees* them.

With the development of the capitalist system an ever-larger portion of capital is set aside for the purchase of machinery, buildings, and apparatus of various kinds. *The reward of the workers*, on the other hand, becomes a smaller and smaller part of the total capital. Formerly, when handicraft prevailed, the expenditure on furnishings was very small. Almost all the capital went in wages to the workers. The opposite is the case now. The larger portion is expended on machinery and buildings. The demand for labor, however, does not increase at the same rate as the number of people who are forced into the ranks of the proletariat. The more

finished technique becomes under Capitalism, the more oppressive is the yoke laid upon the working class, because the difficulty of finding work becomes greater.

Anarchy in Production; Competition; Crises.

The misery of the workers grows as technique improves. Improved technique, which should bring abundance of useful articles within the reach of all, results instead in greater profits for the capitalist and unemployment and ruin for masses of working people. Other causes, however, contribute to this result.

We have already seen that capitalist society is very faulty in construction. Private ownership, without a common plan of action, prevails. Each manufacturer carries on his industry independently of all others. Each maintains a struggle with his rivals for the capture of the market; in other words, he "competes" with them.

The question arises at this point whether this struggle increases or decreases in intensity as Capitalism develops. At first it would seem that it grows less intense. The number of capitalists is always decreasing. The large ones overwhelm the small. Formerly, innumerable manufacturers strove with one another; and the struggle was a bitter one. At the present time there are only a few competitors. It would appear, therefore, that competition is less keen than it was. Such is not the case, however. It is, in reality, keener. It is indeed true that the number of competitors is smaller than it was. But each of them *is much stronger than his former opponents*; and the struggle is more bitter than ever. If there were in the whole world only two or three capitalists they would strive with one another. That is, indeed, the position now. At the present time the fight is between gigantic unions of capitalists—otherwise capitalist States. Their weapons are not only low prices, but armaments—as well. Therefore, as Capitalism develops, competition *merely diminishes the number of adversaries.* The struggle grows more bitter and more ruinous.*

It is necessary to call attention to still another phenomenon—*crises*, so-called. What are crises? They occur in this

* For further details on this point, see Chapter on Imperialist War.

way. One fine morning it transpires that various kinds of wares have been produced in too great quantities. Warehouses are filled to overflowing with all kinds of goods. Prices fall. The articles cannot be sold, however, as no buyers present themselves. There are many needy workers, but they receive scarcely as much money as suffices for their ordinary wants. Destitution makes its appearance. In any branch of industry the small and mediumsized undertakings are first affected, and are forced to close down. Some of the larger ones follow suit. Now, one industry depends for its goods upon another. For example, the tailoring industry buys cloth from the manufacturers; and these buy the materials for making cloth—wool, etc.—from the firms which produce them. If the tailoring trade comes to a standstill there is no demand for the goods in the warehouses of the cloth manufacturers; and the textile industry collapses. The production of wool ceases. Factories and workshops close down everywhere. Thousands of people are thrown on the streets; unemployment assumes gigantic dimensions; the lot of the workers becomes worse and worse. And all the time there is abundance of all things required. Granaries are bursting with foodstuffs. This happened repeatedly before the war. Industry goes on briskly for a while; business is prosperous; and then suddenly the crash comes, bringing with it misery, unemployment and stagnation. After a time industry recovers, and all goes well for a time; and then another crash occurs, and so the process is repeated again and again.

How can this insane system be explained—a system in which men are turned to beggars in the midst of abundant wealth?

The question is not easily answered.

We have already seen that in capitalist society there is chaos in the field of production. Each manufacturer produces commodities independently of the others, at his own risk and on his own responsibility. The result is that sooner or later too many wares are produced. If goods were made for use and not for profit—that is, if articles were not produced for the market—over-production would do no harm. But under Capitalism it works great havoc. Each manufacturer,

before he can purchase materials for the further production of commodities, must sell the goods he has already manufactured. If, in the confusion of production, one part of the machine comes to a standstill, the effect is immediately communicated to another branch of the industry, and from that to another, and so a general crisis occurs.

These crises cause widespread devastation. Great quantities of goods are destroyed. The remnants of small production are relentlessly swept away. Many large firms, too, are unable to hold their ground, and become bankrupt.

Some factories close down completely; others restrict their output or reduce the number of working days per week; and still others suspend operations for an indefinite period. The number of unemployed increases; and the misery and hardship of the working class grow greater. During a period of crisis the lot of the working class steadily deteriorates.

Let us cite, in proof of this assertion, the crisis of 1907-1910, which spread over the whole of Europe and America—over the entire capitalist world, in fact. In the United States the number of unemployed who were members of trade unions increased in the following manner: — In June, 1907, 8.1 per cent.; in October, 18.5 per cent.; in November, 22 per cent.; in December 32.7 per cent. (in the building industry the increase was 42 per cent.; in the confectionery trade, 43.6 per cent.; and in the tobacco industry it was actually 55 per cent.). It is clear that the general mass of unemployment (taking into consideration unorganized workers as well as members of trade unions) must have been very much greater. The percentage of unemployed in England in the summer of 1907 was 3.4 to 4; in November it was 5; in December, 6.1; and in June, 1908, it reached the figure 8.2. In Germany the number of workless people at the beginning of January, 1908, was twice as great as that in the preceding year. Similar phenomena were observed in other countries.

In connection with the question of decreased production, it may be mentioned that the output of cast-iron sank from 26 million tons in 1907 to 16 millions in 1908.

In a time of crisis the prices of commodities fall. The capitalists, in order to safeguard their profits, do not hesitate

to *impede production*. In America, for example, they allowed the blast furnaces to cool. The proprietors of coffee plantations in Brazil, in order to maintain the high price of their commodity, threw sacks of coffee *into the sea*. At the present time the whole world is suffering from hunger and want consequent upon the decline in production caused by the recent war. This want is due to Capitalism, for the destructive war itself was the outcome of the working of the capitalist system. In times of peace Capitalism produced a superfluity of goods, but these goods did not reach the workers. Those who produced them had not the means to purchase them. The abundance of wealth meant to the workers nothing but unemployment, with its attendant horrors.

The Development of Capitalism; the Intensification of Class Antagonisms.

We have said that there are two fundamental evils in capitalist society: first, "anarchy" (absence of organization) in production; second, the existence of two opposing classes. We have said also that with the development of Capitalism, anarchy in production, which finds expression in competition, leads to ever greater class divisions, confusion and waste. The inability of society to make provision for the future grows greater. At the same time the gulf which separates society into two parts (classes) becomes wider and deeper. On the one hand are the capitalists, who possess the wealth of the world; and on the other the workers, who are doomed to misery and want. The reserve army of industry comprises the downfalled, desperate, and impoverished ranks of society. The workers, moreover, differ more and more from the capitalists in their manner of living. In earlier times there were numerous small and medium capitalists, many of whom stood in close relation to, and lived scarcely better than, the workers. That is no longer the case. The large capitalists now live in such a luxurious style as no one in former ages ever dreamed possible. It is no doubt true that the lot of the workers has also improved with the development of Capitalism. Up to the beginning of the twentieth century the wages of the workers as a whole increased. In the same period, however, the profits

of the capitalists increased at a more rapid rate. At the present time the masses of the workers are as far removed from the capitalists as the earth is from the heavens. And the further Capitalism develops the more powerful becomes this handful of rich capitalists, and the deeper grows the chasm between these uncrowned kings and the millions of the enslaved proletariat.

We have said that wages were on the up grade till the beginning of the twentieth century, but that profits increased at an even faster rate, and that, therefore, the chasm between the two classes is always growing wider. But since the beginning of the present century wages have not risen: they have fallen. The profits of the employers, however, have increased since then more rapidly than ever before, and, therefore, social inequality is now more marked than in any previous period.

It is evident that this growing inequality must sooner or later lead to a conflict between capitalists and workers. When the difference between the two classes disappears and the economic position of the workers resembles that of the capitalists then there will be "peace on earth and goodwill towards men." Under Capitalism, however, the lot of the workers, instead of becoming more like that of the capitalists, increasingly differs from it. This means that the class war—the war between the proletariat and bourgeoisie—must inevitably grow more and more bitter.

Bourgeois writers protest vehemently against this presentation of the case. They desire to prove that the worker in capitalist society is always becoming better off. Socialists of the Right have also talked much in the same strain. Both these schools maintain that the workers are gradually becoming richer, and that they can even become small capitalists. This view can be easily shown to be incorrect. In actual fact the situation of the workers, in comparison with that of the capitalists, grows steadily worse.

An example from the most highly-developed capitalist country—the United States of America—will prove this. If we suppose the number 100 to denote the purchasing power of wages (that is, the total value of the number of useful articles the worker can purchase with the money he receives in pay-

ment for his services) in relation to the prices of goods in the years 1890-1899, the figures for the under-mentioned years will be as follows: 1890, 98.6; 1895, 100.6; 1900, 103.0; 1905, 101.4; 1907, 101.5. We see, then, that the workers' standard of living scarcely improved in the period under review. They received in 1907 practically the same quantity of food, clothing, etc., as in 1890; the increase in purchasing power of their wages have been merely 3 per cent. In the same period, however, the American "millionaires" (the great industrial magnates) secured huge profits, and the surplus value that found its way into their coffers increased to unheard-of dimensions. And, of course, the standard of living of the capitalists improved accordingly.

The class war is based upon the conflict of interests between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The interests of these two classes can no more be reconciled than those of wolves and sheep.

It is easily seen that it is to the interest of the capitalists to work their employees as long as possible and to pay them as little as possible; and that, on the other hand, it is to the interest of the workers to do as little work as possible and get as high wages as possible. It is clear, therefore, that the fight for increased wages and shorter hours of labor began with the appearance of the working class itself.

This fight is never completely suspended, but it sometimes becomes merely a struggle for an advance in wages of a few pennies per day. In every country in which the capitalist system has developed, the conviction has forced itself upon the working class that it is necessary to make an end of the system once and for all. The workers began to consider how this hateful system could be replaced by a just and fraternal society of workers. *And so originated the Communist movement of the working class.*

The struggle of the workers has often been marked by defeats; but nevertheless the capitalist system bears within itself the promise of the ultimate victory of the proletariat. Why is this? Simply because the development of Capitalism involves the transformation of the broad masses of the people into proletarians. The triumph of large capital means the

overthrow of handicraftsmen, dealers and farmers, and continually increases the ranks of the wage-workers. The numbers of the proletariat are added to at every step in the progress of Capitalism. They increase as fast as the heads of the Hydra, ten of which immediately grew for every one that was struck off. The bourgeoisie suppress the workers' movements in the endeavor to make Capitalism secure. The development of the system, however, ruins millions of small proprietors and farmers, and leaves them at the mercy of the capitalists. This process increases the number of proletarians—the enemies of the capitalist system. That is not all, however. The working class not only grows stronger numerically, but its members are being more closely welded together. Why? Because large factories grow up with the development of Capitalism. Each of these factories unites within its walls thousands, and perhaps tens of thousands of workers. These workers perform their tasks shoulder to shoulder. They see how the capitalist exploits them. Each recognizes in every other a friend and comrade. The conditions of their work teach them the value of united action. Therefore, with the development of Capitalism, not only the number, but also the *solidarity*, of the working class increases.

The more rapidly large production proceeds, the faster handicraftsmen, rural home-workers and farmers are displaced. Large cities arise with millions of inhabitants. Great masses of people are congregated in relatively small areas. Factory workers form the great majority of this population. They live in the poorer quarters of the towns, while the small number of gentlemen who own everything reside in magnificent villas. The workers are always growing more numerous, and are always being bound more closely together.

The fight, under such conditions, must end in victory for the working class. Sooner or later there is bound to be a collision between bourgeoisie and proletariat. The bourgeoisie will be hurled from their present commanding position; the proletariat will destroy the robber State and establish in its stead a Communist society of workers. The development of Capitalism, therefore, leads inevitably to the Communist revolution of the Proletariat.

The class war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie assumes various forms. Three kinds of organizations have been employed by the workers in this fight: trade unions, which unite the workers according to their occupations; co-operative societies, principally consumers' societies, which have for their aim the liberation of society from the middleman; and political parties (Socialist, Social-Democratic, and Communist) whose object is political rule by the working class. The more bitter the fight between the classes becomes the more closely must all forms of the workers' organizations be united for the purpose of putting an end to the rule of the bourgeoisie. Those leaders of the working class movement who really understood the problem always insisted upon a close understanding amongst all forms of the workers' organizations, and upon the necessity of their mutually assisting one another. They said, for example, that it was necessary to have unity of action of trade unions and political parties, and that, therefore, trade unions should not be "neutral" (that is, unconcerned) in political affairs, but should support the party which represented the interests of the working class.

In recent times new forms of working class organizations have been created. The most important of these—Workers' Councils—will be dealt with later.

Our survey of the development of the capitalist system, then, enables us to make, without fear of contradiction, the following assertions: — *The number of capitalists decreases, but the capitalists grow richer and more powerful; the number of workers increases; the solidarity of the workers also increases, though not, perhaps, so rapidly as their numbers; the difference between capitalists and workers grows more marked. The development of Capitalism, therefore, leads inevitably to a conflict between the classes—that is, to the Communist revolution.*

Concentration and Centralization of Capital as Conditions for the Realization of the Communist Order of Society.

We have seen that Capitalism is digging the grave in which the proletariat, already preparing for the task, will bury it; and that the more it develops the more deadly enemies it makes

and unites against itself. It not only makes enemies, however, but prepares the way for the creation of the new Communist society. How does it do this? We have already seen (see Section 11: "Capital") that capital is always growing larger. The capitalist adds to his capital a portion of the surplus value he extracts from the workers. When capital is increased, however, production can be extended. This acquisition of capital by one and the same person is called the *concentration of capital*.

We have also seen (see Section 14: "The Struggle Between Small and Large Production") that with the development of Capitalism small and medium-sized undertakings are destroyed. The smaller manufacturers and dealers and handicraftsmen are totally ruined by large capital. The capital of the smaller capitalists slips from their grasp and finds its way through various channels into the hands of the larger robbers. The mass of capital owned by the latter is thus continually augmented. The capital formerly divided amongst many people is now in the hands of those who have conquered in the struggle. This accumulation of capital formerly distributed amongst many owners is called the *centralization of capital*.

The concentration and centralization of capital—that is, its accumulation in the hands of a few men—does not, however, mean the concentration and centralization of *production*. Suppose that a capitalist, in order to accumulate surplus value, buys the small factory of his neighbor and carries on the business as before. There is here an accumulation of capital, but there is no extension of production. As a rule, however, the capitalist who requires another factory transforms the process of production and enlarges the business, and then there is not only an increase of the amount of capital held by one man, but also an extension of production. As production extends, a large number of machines are used, and many thousands of workers are brought together. And so it comes about that a few large factories are capable of supplying the wares required by an entire country. The workers under this system produce for the whole society; they are said to perform their work *socially*.

The capitalist, however, remains in control and appropriates the profits.

This centralization and concentration of production makes the erection of a really fraternal system of society possible after the proletarian revolution. If the proletariat had seized power while production was still carried on in thousands of little workshops, each employing only two or three workers, it would have been impossible to organize these workshops on a social or communal basis.

The more highly Capitalism is developed, and the more production is centralized, the easier will it be for the proletariat to exercise control after the revolution.

Capitalism, therefore, not only makes enemies for itself and prepares the way for the social revolution, but also creates the economic foundations for the realization of the Communist order of society.

CHAPTER III.

COMMUNISM AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.

Characteristics of the Communist Society.

We have seen why capitalist society must disappear (and, indeed, we see that it is disappearing even now). It is bound to break up because of the two contradictions it contains: first, *anarchy of production*, which leads to competition, crises and wars; and, second, the class character of society, which has as an inevitable consequence—the class-war. Capitalist society is so constructed that one part of it is always impinging against another. [See Section 13: “The Contradictions of the Capitalist System of Society.”] Sooner or later, therefore, the machine must collapse.

It is clear that the Communist society will be much more solidly built than the capitalist system. When the contradictions which prevail under Capitalism bring the system to the ground, a new form of society, which will not have the defects inherent in the old, will rise on the ruins. The Communist mode of production will be distinguished from Capitalism in the following respects:—(1) It will be an *organized* society. Under Communism there can be no anarchy in production, no competition amongst private capitalists, no wars, and no crises. (2) It will be a society without classes. It will not consist of two opposing sections, perpetually at war with each other. It cannot be a society in which one class will be exploited by another. A society in which there are no classes, and in which the whole process of production is organized, cannot be other than a *Communist society in which all are workers and comrades.*

Let us consider this society more closely. The basis of the Communist form of society is common ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth—that is, the ownership and control by society of machinery, locomotives, steamships, factories, warehouses, granaries, mines, telegraphs and telephones, land, etc. Neither one capitalist, nor a league of capitalists, will have the right to dispose of the means of life. That right will belong to society as a whole—that is to say, not merely to *one class*, but to *all those* who make up society. In such conditions society will be a great association of comrades and workers. There will be no dissipation of the forces of production and no anarchy. On the contrary, only such a society will make organization of production really possible. There will be no competition amongst captains of industry, because all factories, mines, and other means of production will be part of a great system of people's workshops which will comprise the whole of society. It is obvious that such a colossal organization presupposes a common plan of production. When all factories and works and the whole of the agricultural industry comprise one gigantic co-operative commonwealth, then naturally it will be carefully estimated how labor will be distributed amongst the various branches of industry, what kind of goods, and how many, will be produced, and where technical skill will be most advantageously exercised. All this must be calculated, if only approximately, and a course shaped accordingly. It is precisely in this matter that the organization of Communist production asserts itself. Without a common plan and common direction, without careful forecasting, there can be no organization. In the Communist system of society there is such a plan. Organization alone, however, will not suffice. The root of the matter is that this organization is a fraternal union of *all* members of society. The Communist order of society is further distinguished by the circumstance that it *destroys exploitation and abolishes class divisions*. Let us represent the position in this way:—A small group of capitalists control everything, but they control *in common*. Production is organized. The capitalists do not fight one another. They share in common the profits drawn from their workers,

who are reduced to the position of semi-slaves. This, it is true, is organization, but it is also *exploitation* of one class by another. There is also here, to be sure, common ownership of the means of production, but in the interests of one class—the exploiting class. Therefore, it is not Communism, in spite of the fact that there is organization of production. Such a form of organization would remove only one of the fundamental evils of society—anarchy of production; while it would aggravate the other—the division of society into two hostile camps, and would consequently make the class war still more bitter. Such a society would be organized only in one respect, since, class divisions would remain. Communist society, however, would be organized not only in production, but in all its other parts as well. It would abolish the domination of one class by another.

The social character of Communist production will find expression in every detail of organization. For example, under Communism the same persons will not always hold the position of factory managers; nor will people do the same kind of work their whole life long. That is the custom at present. If a man is a shoemaker, he makes shoes all his life (he “sticks to his last”); if he is a confectioner, he makes cakes his whole life long; if he is a works director, he spends his life in managing and giving orders. If he is a simple worker, he must obey the orders of others. In the Communist society, however, conditions will be different. There all men will enjoy a many-sided education, and will receive an insight into all branches of production.

At one time a man may be an administrator, and be occupied in calculating how many pairs of shoes or how much bread will be required in the ensuing month; at another time he may be employed in a soap works; and, later still, he may be working in an electrical establishment. This will be possible only when all members of society shall have an all-round education.

Distribution Under Communism.

The Communist mode of production, therefore, is not production for the market, but for the needs of the community. Each individual does not produce for himself, how-

ever, but the whole gigantic association for all. Consequently there are no *commodities*, but simply *goods*. These goods are not exchanged against one another; they are neither bought nor sold. They are simply taken to the communal stores, and there given to whomsoever requires them. Under this system money is not necessary. "Well, then," someone may ask, "will not some people take a great deal more goods than they require and leave very little for others? What advantage, then, will accrue from this system of division of wealth?" The answer is that at first, for a period of, say, 20 or 30 years, it will be necessary to have various rules governing distribution. For example, certain products will be assigned to those who can show a corresponding entry in their labor-book or labor cards. In course of time, when the Communist society is securely established and developed, all these will be superfluous. There will be an abundance of all things required, and everyone will have as much as he requires. But it may be asked, will not people be tempted to take more than they require? Certainly not. At the present time a man, on entering a tram car, does not buy three tickets, and then take possession of one seat and leave two unoccupied. Under Communism it will be the same with all products. Each person will take from the common storehouse what articles and as many of them as he needs, and depart. No one will have an interest in buying the surplus, because everyone can have what he wants and when he wants it. Money will then be valueless. Consequently at the beginning of the Communist era goods will probably be distributed according to services performed, and later simply according to the needs of the citizen-comrades.

It is often said that in the future society the right of every person to the full product of his labor will be realized. That is not so, however. Such a scheme could not be carried into effect. Why? Because if each worker received what he produced it would not be possible to extend and improve production. Part of the work performed at any given time must always be devoted to the development and extension of production. If we were all to consume what we made by our labor no machinery would be produced, because machines

can neither be eaten nor worn. It must be plain to everyone that life is rendered fuller and more enjoyable by the extensive use of machinery. But in the manufacture of machines, part of the labor embodied in them does not return to those who perform the work. Therefore it is not possible for every individual worker to receive the full result of his labor. Indeed, it is not necessary. By the employment of good machinery the forces of production will be so regulated that the needs of everyone will be satisfied.

At first, therefore, distribution of goods will be arranged according to work done (although each will not receive "the full product of his labor"); and later according to need. Poverty and scarcity will be unknown.

Administration Under Communism.

There will be no classes in the Communist society. Now, when there are no classes *there will be no State*. We said before that the State is an organ of class domination: it has always been used by one class against another. If the State is a bourgeois one, it is used against the proletariat; if it is a proletarian one, it is used against the bourgeoisie. In the Communist society, however, there will be no landowners, no capitalists, no wage-workers; there will be simply human beings, comrades. There will be no classes, no class war, no class organizations. Consequently, there will be no State. Where there is no class struggle there is nobody to hold in check, and therefore a State would be superfluous. But now someone will ask: "How can such a great organization be kept in being without guidance? Who will work out the common economic plan? Who will distribute labor-power? Who will reckon the social income and expenditure? In short, who will supervise the whole system?"

It is not difficult to answer these questions. The principal work of administering will be done in various counting-houses and statistical bureaus. From these places the whole field of production will be surveyed, and the quantity of goods required will be ascertained. It will also be learned where the number of workers should be increased and where decreased, and how long their working day should be. All will

be familiar with the idea of common work from their childhood, and will realize that this work is necessary. They will understand that the conditions of life will be easier when everything is conducted on a well-thought-out plan, and will therefore work according to the regulations of these bureaus. There will be no necessity for having Ministers for special departments, and no need for policemen, prisons, laws, etc. As in an orchestra all the performers take their cue from the conductor, so all members of society will read the instructions of the bureaus and arrange their work accordingly. The State will exist no longer. There will be no group or class standing above all other classes. In the bureaus there will be one set of workers today, and another set tomorrow. Bureaucracy—government by permanent officials—will disappear. The State will die out.

It is self-evident that this will be the condition of society when the Communist order has been developed and strengthened; when the complete and final victory of the proletariat has been achieved. This condition will not prevail, however, immediately after the proletarian victory. The working class will have to wage a prolonged struggle against all their enemies—above all, against the evil inheritance of the past: idleness, carelessness, crime, vanity. Two or three generations will have to grow up under the new conditions before laws and punishments will cease to be, before the power of the working class State will be unnecessary, before all traces of the capitalist past will disappear. *catch* The proletarian State is necessary till, in the fully-developed Communist system, there is left no trace of Capitalism. The proletarian State will disappear with the last remnants of the capitalist system. The proletariat and all other classes will be united into one, because all will gradually be trained in the common work. After twenty or thirty years a new world will appear in which there will be other men and other manners.

Development of the Powers of Production Under Communism (Advantages of Communism).

When the Communist society is established and has recovered from its wounds the development of the powers of

production will proceed rapidly. A rapid development will take place for the following reasons: First, a great mass of human energy will be set free which was formerly consumed in the class struggle. Imagine what a mass of nervous energy and labor goes to waste at present in politics, strikes, rebellions, suppression of rebellions, law courts, police systems, and in other ways in the daily warfare of the classes! The class struggle eats up an immense quantity of vigor and material. Under Communism this vigor will be available for useful purposes, for men will not fight against one another. Second, the energy and wealth which are used up and destroyed in competition, crises and wars will be devoted to social purposes. If the losses by war alone are reckoned up they will be seen to amount to a colossal figure. And how much does society lose by the struggle amongst sellers, the struggle amongst buyers, and the struggle of sellers against buyers? How much energy is lost in crises? What a useless expenditure of energy is caused by the want of organization in production! All this energy, which is now lost to society, will be conserved under Communism. Third, organization not only prevents waste (large production is always economical!); it also makes possible the improvement of technical production. Production will be carried on on a large scale, and with the very best technical equipment. Under Capitalism there are definite limits to the extent to which machinery can be employed. The capitalist introduces machinery only when there is a scarcity of cheap labor. If a large enough supply of cheap labor is available he does not need to use machinery; he can make quite a good profit without it. He needs machinery only when labor is expensive. Labor under Capitalism is generally cheap; and the low status of the working class is a hindrance to the improvement of technique. This can be very clearly seen in agriculture. Labor in agriculture is, and always has been, cheap; and consequently the development of machine labor proceeds but slowly. Communist society, however, does not concern itself about profit; its concern is for the worker. Therefore it immediately seizes upon and utilizes every invention. Com-

munism does not proceed along the same lines as Capitalism. Under Communism technical invention will make continuous progress, because everyone will receive a good education; and those who, under Capitalism, have no chance of developing their talents (as, for example, a clever workman) will have every opportunity of doing so in the communist society.

In the Communist society parasitism in any form will be unknown. That is to say, no one will live at the expense of others. The wealth that is now squandered by capitalists in riotous living will be turned, in the Communist society, to productive purposes. The capitalist class, with their lackeys and their large establishments, parsons, prostitutes, etc., will disappear, and all members of the community will do useful work of some kind.

The Communist mode of production will cause an immense increase of productivity, and, therefore, less labor will fall to the lot of each worker than formerly. The working day will grow shorter, and men will be freed from the fetters which nature has imposed upon them. Where men require only a short time to provide food and clothing for themselves, they will devote a large part of their leisure to intellectual pursuits. Human culture will reach a height never hitherto attained. It will be a really human culture, and not a class one. Simultaneously with the disappearance of the oppression of man by man will disappear the domination of man by nature. Men will then for the first time lead a really rational, and not an animal, life.

The enemies of Communism have always represented it as a scheme for the *equal division* of wealth. They say that Communists want to confiscate all property and divide it equally amongst the people. Communists do not, of course, propose anything so silly. Such a division is, in the first place, impossible. Land, money, and cattle can be divided; but railways, machinery, steamships, and intricate apparatus cannot. In the second place, this kind of division would not do any good; it would be a retrograde step. It would mean the creation of an immense number of *small proprietors*. We have seen already large property evolved from small property

and the competition of small proprietors. If, therefore, this division could be carried out, the same process would have to be gone through again. Proletarian Communism (or proletarian Socialism) is a great community of comrades. This follows from the whole process of development of Capitalism and from the position of the workers in the capitalist system. Proletarian Communism must be distinguished from the following systems:

Anarchism.

Anarchists reproach Communists with desiring to maintain, in the future society, the power of the State. As we have seen, this does not dispose of the question. The real point at issue is simply this: Anarchists devote more attention to the distribution of wealth than to the organization of production. They do not conceive of the new society as a gigantic fraternal system, but as a number of small, "free," and self-governing communes. It is clear that such a system of society cannot free man from the yoke of nature. In such a society the power of production cannot reach the height attained under Capitalism, because Anarchism, so far from enlarging production, actually splits it up. It is therefore not surprising that Anarchists in practice are frequently inclined to consider favorably a division of wealth, and are often opposed to the organization of large production. Anarchism does not represent the interests and the aspirations of the workers, but those of the vagabond class, who fare badly under Capitalism, but who are incapable of doing independent, productive work.

Petit-Bourgeois Socialism.

Petit-Bourgeois Socialism does not depend upon the proletariat, but on the disappearing artisan, the petit-bourgeoisie of the towns, and, in part, on the Intellectuals. It protests against large capital in the name of "freedom" and of small capitalism. For the most part, it defends bourgeois democracy against the Socialist revolution, and seeks to attain its ideal by "peaceful means"—by the extension of co-operation, associations of home-workers, etc. Under Capitalism these societies frequently degenerate into ordinary capitalist organiza-

tions, and those interested in them are scarcely distinguishable from members of the bourgeoisie.

Agrarian Socialism.

Agrarian Socialism takes many forms. Sometimes it approximates to peasant Anarchism. Its chief characteristic is that it never views Socialism as a great compact system. It is distinguished from Anarchism principally by its demand for a strong authority which shall protect it on the one hand from the landlords, and on the other from the proletariat. This kind of "Socialism" is the "Socialism of land and capital" of the Socialist Revolutionaries, and would make small production permanent. It fears the proletariat and the transformation of the whole of society into a great union of comrades. There are still other kinds of Socialism amongst various sections of peasants which more or less resemble Anarchism, in that they do not recognize the authority of the State, but which are distinguished by their peaceful character (such as the Communism of the Doukhobors and other sects.) The mentality of the agrarian Socialist will only be altered in the course of years, when the masses of the peasants realize the advantages of large production in agriculture. (We shall treat of this again later.)

Slave-holding Socialism and State Socialism, So-called.

Here there is not even a shadow of Socialism to be found. In the three groups described above there are some traces of Socialism, and they voice some kind of protest against oppression, but in the present case the word is treacherously used in order to suit the purposes of those who employ it. This method was introduced by bourgeois teachers, and has been followed by moderate Socialists like Kautsky and Co. The "Communism" of the Greek philosopher Plato was of this kind. In this system the slave owners exploit the slaves "fraternally" and "in common." There is complete equality and fraternity—amongst the slave holders. The slaves own nothing; their condition is that of animals. There is not even a semblance of Socialism here. A similar kind of "Socialism" is advocated by some bourgeois professors under the name of

State Socialism; the only difference being that the modern proletariat has taken the place of the ancient slaves, and the large capitalists that of the slave owners. This is not Socialism; it is State Capitalism with compulsory labor. (We shall speak of this later.)

The petit-bourgeois, agrarian, and Anarchist forms of Socialism have one feature in common: all these kinds of non-proletarian Socialism fail to observe the actual course of evolution. Social evolution leads inevitably to the enlargement of production. To these Socialists small production is all sufficient. Therefore, these forms of Socialism are really Utopian; there is not the least likelihood of their being realized.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

In order to bring into being the Communist system of society the proletariat must have all power in their hands. They cannot destroy the old order so long as they do not possess this power. In order to accomplish their task they must become the ruling class in the State. It goes without saying that the bourgeoisie will not surrender their position without a fight. For them Communism means the loss of privilege and of place, the loss of "freedom" to coin money from the blood and sweat of the workers, the loss of rent, interest and profit. The Communist revolution, therefore, will meet with the fiercest opposition from the exploiters. The task of the dominant working class, therefore, consists in the merciless suppression of this opposition. As the resistance of the exploiters will inevitably be strong, therefore the rule of the proletariat will have to be a *dictatorship*. In a "dictatorship" there is a strong form of government, and men must agree to a high degree of resoluteness in the work of suppressing an enemy. It is evident that in such a situation there can be no talk of "freedom" for everybody. The dictatorship of the proletariat is incompatible with the freedom of the bourgeoisie. The dictatorship is, in fact, necessary to deprive the bourgeoisie of their freedom, to chain them hand and foot in order to make it absolutely impossible for them to fight the revolutionary proletariat. The more stubborn the resist-

ance of the bourgeoisie is, the more desperately they muster their strength, the more dangerous they become; the harsher and more bitter must be the proletarian dictatorship, which in an extreme case dare not cease till the terror is overcome. Only after the complete overthrow of the exploiters and the crushing of their resistance; when it is no longer possible for them to injure the working class; only then will the dictatorship of the proletariat become milder. The bourgeoisie will gradually be merged in the proletariat, the workers' State will gradually die away, and society will become a Communist society in which there will be no class divisions.

Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is only a temporary arrangement, the means of production will not, of course, belong to the whole of society, but to the proletariat, its political organ. The working class (that is, the majority of the population), will temporarily monopolize the means of production. Therefore, at this stage of the process of transition the conditions of production are not completely Communist. There still exist class divisions; there is still a ruling class, the proletariat; there is monopoly of the means of production by a new class; there is a State power (a proletarian power), which crushes its enemies. But when the resistance of the former capitalists, landlords, bankers, generals, and bishops is broken, *the proletarian dictatorship disappears, and society passes into Communist conditions without revolution.*

The proletarian dictatorship is not only a weapon for the overthrow of enemies, but also a means of economic revolution. Through this revolution private ownership in the means of production will be replaced by common ownership. This revolution must take the means of production and exchange from the hands of the bourgeoisie. Who is to execute this task? Evidently no single person can do it. If a single person, or even a group of persons, were to do this a new division, at the best, would result; and at the worst, a system of sheer robbery. It will therefore be seen that the expropriation of the bourgeoisie will have to be carried through by the organized power of the proletariat. And this

organized power is precisely the workers' State—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Opposition to the proletarian dictatorship comes from all quarters. Anarchists offer the strongest resistance. They declare that they will fight every kind of domination and every State, while the Communists (Bolsheviks), on the other hand, support the power of the Soviets. The Anarchists maintain that every kind of rule is a violation and a limitation of freedom; and that, therefore, the Bolsheviks, the Soviet power, and the dictatorship of the proletariat must be overthrown. The Anarchists say, finally, that no dictatorship and no State is necessary. While they declare this belief they believe themselves to be revolutionary. Then only appear to be so, however. In reality, they are not more to the Left, but more to the Right, than the Communists. For what purpose is the dictatorship used? In order to administer the last blow to the rule of the bourgeoisie, the enemy of the proletariat. (We have said this repeatedly.) The dictatorship of the proletariat is an axe in the hands of the workers. He who is against the dictatorship, who shrinks from resolute action, who hesitates to attack the bourgeoisie—such a one is not revolutionary. When the bourgeoisie are completely subdued the dictatorship will be no longer necessary. As long as the struggle is a life-and-death one it is the sacred duty of the working class to exert all their power to compass the overthrow of their enemies. *In the transition from Capitalism to Communism there must be a period of proletarian dictatorship.*

The Social-Democrats (especially the Mensheviks) are opposed to the dictatorship. These gentlemen have quite forgotten what they themselves have written on the subject. In our old program, which we drew up in conjunction with the Mensheviks, it is expressly stated that an indispensable condition of the social revolution is the *dictatorship of the proletariat*, that is, “the conquest of political power by the proletariat, the use of every political means to enable them to crush the resistance of the exploiters.” The Mensheviks assented to this—in words. When it came to deeds, however, they began to cry out against the suppression of the freedom

of the bourgeoisie, against the suppression of bourgeois newspapers, against the Bolshevik "Terror," etc. Even Plekhanoff approved of the sternest measures against the bourgeoisie. He declared, for instance, that they would have to be disfranchised. All this is now conveniently forgotten by the Mensheviks, who are now in the camp of the bourgeoisie.

Finally, some people criticize us from the standpoint of morality. They say that we condemn our enemies after the manner of Hottentots. The Hottentot reasons in this way: "When I carry off my neighbor's wife, that is good; but when my neighbor carries off my wife, that is bad." Our critics say that the Bolsheviks are in no wise different from the savages, because they say: "When the bourgeoisie use violence against the proletariat, that is bad; but when the proletariat use violence against the bourgeoisie, that is good."

Those who speak in this way do not understand the position. In the case of the Hottentots, we have two men who are equals, and who, in carrying off each other's wives, are actuated by the same motive. The proletariat and the bourgeoisie, on the other hand, are not equal. The former class is a very large one, the latter a mere handful. The proletariat fight for the liberation of the whole of humanity; the bourgeoisie fight for the maintenance of oppression, of exploitation, of militarism. The proletariat fight for Communism, the bourgeoisie for the preservation of Capitalism. If Capitalism and Communism stood for the same ideals, then the comparison with the Hottentots would be valid. Only the proletariat fight for the new order of society. Every measure likely to aid them in the struggle ought, therefore, to be adopted.

The Conquest of Political Power.

The proletariat realize their dictatorship through the conquest of the power of the State. But what is meant by "the conquest of the power of the State"? Many people believe that it is a very simple thing to deprive the bourgeoisie of power. This view is quite erroneous, and a little consideration will enable us to ascertain where the error lies.

The State is an organization. The bourgeois State is a

bourgeois organization in which each minister the affairs of the army; and above these are Ministers drawn from the ranks of the rich classes, and so on. When the proletariat fight to acquire power, against what do they fight? Against the bourgeois organization in the first place. When they fight this organization their problem consists in finding that part of their enemy's defenses where their blows will take most effect. But as the chief power of the State lies in the army, it is necessary, above all things, to undermine and destroy the army in order to overcome the bourgeoisie. The German Communists cannot overthrow Scheidemann and Noske without first scattering the White Army. As long as the army of your opponent is intact the revolution cannot succeed. When the revolution conquers, the army of the bourgeoisie falls to pieces. The victory over Czarism meant only a partial destruction of the Czarist State and the partial ruin of the army. It was the success of the October revolution that definitely completed the ruin of the State organization of the Provisional Government and the dissolution of the army of Kerensky.

The revolution, therefore, *destroyed the old power and created a new one*. As a matter of course, the new power retained some features of the old but put them to another use. The conquest of the power of the State, therefore, is not the capture of the old organization, but the creation of a new one—the organization of that class which has conquered in the fight.

This question has an immense practical significance. The Bolsheviks of Germany are reproached, for example (as are those of Russia), for having promoted indiscipline and disobedience amongst the soldiers, and for having destroyed the army, etc. That appeared, and still appears to many, a serious accusation. There is nothing terrible about it, however. The army, which marches against the workers at the order of the generals of the bourgeoisie, must be destroyed, even if the last of our countrymen are killed in the process. The revolution means death to them in any case. We have therefore nothing to fear from the destruction of the bourgeois army; and a revolutionary must account it a gain to have destroyed

the State apparatus of the bourgeoisie. Where the bourgeois discipline is sound the bourgeoisie are invincible. Those who really want to overthrow the bourgeoisie must not shrink from inflicting a little pain.

The Communist Party and Classes in Capitalist Society.

In order that the proletariat may conquer in any country it is necessary that they be united and organized, and that they possess their own Communist party. This party must see clearly whither the development of Capitalism leads; it must understand the actual political conditions and comprehend the real interests of the workers; it must explain the situation to them, and lead them in the fight. No party at any time or in any place has united in its ranks all the members of its class. That height of class-consciousness has not been reached by any class.

It is generally the most advanced and daring, the most energetic and persevering members of a class that join a party—in short, those who properly understand their class interests.

The members of a party, therefore, are always much smaller than those of the class whose interests it represents. In representing the interests of classes, properly understood, parties usually play a leading part. Each party leads its entire class, and the fight of the classes for power finds expression in the struggle of *political parties* for the mastery. In order to understand the nature of political parties we must inquire into the position of every single class in capitalist society. From this position definite class interests are seen to emerge, and the representation of these interests constitutes the essence of political parties.

Land-Owners.

In the early days of capitalist development husbandry depended upon the semi-slave labor of peasants. The landlords leased their land to the peasants on condition that the latter made money payments or rendered personal service on their estates. The landlords were interested in preventing the peasants from going into the towns. They set themselves against all innovations, so that they might maintain the semi-

slave conditions of the villages. They were therefore opposed to the development of industry. Such landowners, for the most part, did not engage in agriculture themselves, but lived as parasites on the labor of the peasants. Naturally, therefore, the landowners' parties were always supporters of the worst reaction, and are so still. They are the parties which everywhere want the return of the old order — the domination of the land-owners, the rule of the squirearchy, and the complete enslavement of peasants and workers. They are the so-called Conservatives or real reactionary parties.

As the militarists have always come from the ranks of the noble landlords, it is not surprising that landlords are on the best of terms with generals and admirals. It is so in all countries.

The Prussian junkers are a good example of this. (In Prussia large land-owners are called junkers.) From these the officers' corps are formed, as was the case with our Russian nobles. The Czarist Privy Council consisted for the most part of representatives of this landlord class.

In Russia there were the following landlord parties: the League of Russian People, the Party of Nationalists (with Krupenski at its head), the Right Octobrists, and others.

The Capitalist Bourgeoisie.

Their efforts are directed towards obtaining the highest possible profit from the developing industry of the country; that is, towards obtaining surplus value from the workers. It is clear that their interests do not entirely coincide with those of the land-owners. When capital penetrates into the villages it destroys the old conditions; it draws the peasants from the villages to the towns; it creates an enormous proletariat in the towns, and calls forth new requirements in the villages. The formerly contented peasants begin to get "unruly." These innovations do not suit the landlords. The capitalist bourgeoisie, on the other hand, see their well-being in these conditions. The more workers the towns draw from the villages the more labor-power is at the disposal of the capitalist, and therefore the lower is the rate at which he can hire it. As the village decays, the small holder ceases to produce various

things for his own use and is forced to buy more and more from the large capitalist. The more rapidly the old conditions disappear in which the village produced everything for itself, the more the market for factory products extends, and therefore the higher is the profit of the capitalist class.

The capitalist class cry out against the old land-owners. There are also capitalist landowners who carry on their industry with the help of wage-labor and machines. They have therefore much in common with the bourgeoisie, and they generally enter into the bourgeois parties. Obviously their principal fight is against the working class. When the working classes direct their fight principally against the landlords and only slightly against the bourgeoisie, they are on good terms with the workers (for example, in 1904-1905). But when the workers begin to realize their Communist interests and to enter the field against the bourgeoisie, the latter unite with the landlords against the workers. At the present time, in all countries, the capitalist bourgeoisie (the so-called Liberal parties) conduct a bitter fight against the revolutionary proletariat, and build up *the political general staff of the counter revolution*.

Parties of this kind in Russia are the Party of People's Freedom, the Constitutional Democrats, or simply Cadets, and the almost defunct Octobrists.* The industrial bourgeoisie, capitalist land-owners and bankers, with their henchmen, the Intellectuals (professors, highly-paid lawyers, and writers and directors)—these people are the really important members of these parties. In 1905 they complained about the autocracy, but already they feared the workers and peasants. After the February revolution the Cadets placed themselves at the head of all parties that were opposed to the party of the working class—the Bolsheviks. In 1918 and 1919 the Cadets led all conspiracies against the Soviet Power and attached themselves to the Governments of General Denikin and Admiral Koltchak. They were, in short, the leaders of the bloody reaction, and identified themselves completely with the parties of the land-owners. Under the pressure of the rule of the workers all

* This party appeared when the Czar Nicholas the Second issued his manifesto on the Constitution (October 17th, 1905).

groups of large proprietors united under one unholy banner, and at their head the most energetic party generally stood.

The Urban Petit-bourgeoisie and the Petit-bourgeoisie Intellectuals.

To this group belong artisans and small shopkeepers, brain-workers, and minor officials. It is not a class but a motley collection. All these elements are more or less exploited by capital, and often work beyond their strength. Many of them go to the wall in the course of the development of Capitalism. But their conditions of labor are of such a kind that for the most part they do not realize the hopelessness of their position under Capitalism. Take, for instance, an artisan. He works like a slave. Capital exploits him in many different ways. He is exploited by money-lenders, and by the concern for which he works, and is used up. But still the artisan imagines he is an "independent gentleman": he works with his own tools; he is to all appearance "independent." He takes great pains not to mingle with the workers, and imitates the manners of gentlemen, because he cherishes in his heart the ambition to become a gentleman. Thus it is that, in spite of the fact that he is as poor as a church mouse, he frequently feels more akin to his exploiters than to the working class. The petit-bourgeois parties generally gather under the banner of Radical, Republican, and sometimes even of "Socialist" parties. It is very difficult to turn small masters away from their wrong position. This is not their fault but their misfortune.

In Russia, as in other countries, the petit-bourgeois parties were accustomed to hide behind the mass of the Socialist population, as did the Party of People's Socialists, the Socialist Revolutionaries, and—to some extent—the Mensheviks. It is worthy of note that the Socialist Revolutionaries relied principally upon the middle-class and money-lender elements of the country districts.

The Peasantry.

The peasants occupy a position in the country similar to that of the petit-bourgeoisie in the towns.

The peasants are not really a class by themselves, but

under Capitalism they continually fall into one or other of the existing classes. In each village there are always some peasants looking for work. Some of the peasants finally pass into the ranks of the proletariat, or become money-lenders. A somewhat similar process is to be seen in the case of the middle-class peasants. Some of them go under, are forced to part with their horses, and become agricultural laborers or industrial workers. Others work their way up, acquire businesses, engage hands, instal machinery—in a word, become capitalists. The peasantry, however, do not form a class. Three groups at least must be distinguished amongst them: the agricultural bourgeoisie, who exploit wage-workers; the middle class (who carry on agriculture independently, but do not exploit wage-workers); and finally, the semi-proletariat and the proletariat.

It is not difficult to see that these groups will take up different positions in the matter of the class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie. The money-lenders are generally allied with the bourgeoisie, and frequently also with the landlords (in Germany, for example, the large farmers are in the same organization as clergyman and landowners; the same is true also of Switzerland and Austria and, to some extent, of France. In Russia the village usurers supported all counter-revolutionary conspiracies in 1918). The semi-proletarian and proletarian sections naturally sided with the workers in their fight against the bourgeoisie and the money-lenders. With the middle-class peasants the position is more complicated.

If these understood that for the majority of them there is no salvation under Capitalism, and that very few of them can become well-to-do, while others must lead a life resembling that of beggars, they would support the united workers. Their misfortune, however, is that exactly the same thing is happening to them that happened to the handicraftsmen and the petit-bourgeoisie of the towns. Each one, in the depths of his soul, hopes to become rich. But he is oppressed by capitalists, land-owners and usurers. Therefore, the middle-class peasants oscillate between proletariat and bourgeoisie. They

cannot wholly accept the standpoint of the working class; but at the same time they regard the land-owners with dread.

This can be seen very clearly in Russia. The middle-class peasants at first supported the workers against the landowners and the usurers. They were afraid, however, that they would fare badly under Communism, and they turned against the workers. The usurers succeeded in winning them over to their side, but when the danger threatened from the landlords (Denikin, Koltchak, etc.) they began to assist the workers again.

The middle-class farmers side now with the workers' party (the Communists), now with the party of the rural money-lenders and large farmers (the Socialist-Revolutionaries).

The Working Class (the Proletariat)

The working class (the proletariat) is the class which has "nothing to lose but its chains." Its members are not only exploited by the capitalists, but, as we have said already, they have been welded in the course of historical development into a mighty power, and have been taught to work together and to fight together. Therefore, *the working class is the most advanced class in capitalist society.* Therefore, *the party of the working class is the most advanced party, the most revolutionary party, that can possibly exist.*

It is also natural that the goal of this party is the Communist revolution. The party of the proletariat must be inexorably set on the attainment of this object. Its task is not to bargain with the bourgeoisie, but to overthrow them and to break their resistance. It must lay bare "the unbridgable chasm between the interests of the exploiters and those of the exploited" (as our old program put it—the program that was subscribed to by the Mensheviks, who, unfortunately, have completely forgotten it, and who now flirt with the bourgeoisie).

What attitude ought our party to adopt in relation to the petit-bourgeoisie? Our attitude is clear from the foregoing details. We must show in every possible way that every promise of a better life under Capitalism is a lie or a self-deception. We must patiently and continually explain to the

middle-class peasant that it is in his interest to make common cause with the proletariat and to aid them in their fight, without considering the difficulties in the way. It is our duty to show him that by the victory of the bourgeoisie, only the usurers will win, and that these will become a new class of land-owners. In a word, we must call upon all workers to come to an *understanding with the proletariat* and bring them round to the workers' standpoint. The petit-bourgeoisie and the middle-class peasants are full of prejudices born of their conditions of life. Our duty consists in explaining to them the real situation: that the position of handicraftsmen and working peasant is hopeless under Capitalism. Under Capitalism the neck of the peasant is under the heel of the landowner. Only after the victory of the proletariat and the firm establishment of proletarian rule can life be ordered on entirely new lines. But as the proletariat can only win by their solidarity and their organization and with the help of a strong, resolute party, we must summon to our ranks all workers who value the new life and who have learnt to live and to fight as proletarians.

What the significance is of a Communist party which is united and prepared to fight can be seen from the example of Germany and Russia. In Germany, which had a developed proletariat, there was not before the war such a fighting party of the working class as the Russian Bolsheviks. It was only during the war that our comrades, Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, and others began to build up their own Communist party. Therefore, the German workers, in 1918 and 1919, did not succeed in conquering the bourgeoisie, in spite of a succession of rebellions. In Russia there was such a determined party—the Bolshevik party. The Russian proletariat, therefore, enjoyed good leadership. And despite all difficulties it was the first proletariat to enter the fight in a united manner, and knew how to conquer quickly. Our party can, in this respect, serve as a model for other Communist parties. Their solidarity and discipline are known everywhere. It is, in fact, the best fighting party and the leading party of the proletarian revolution.

CHAPTER IV.

HOW THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM LEADS TO THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION.

Finance Capital.

As we have already seen, an uninterrupted fight went on amongst individual capitalists for purchasers; and in this fight the large capitalists always won. The small capitalists went under, while capital and the whole machinery of production concentrated in the hands of the large capitalists. About the beginning of the 'eighties of last century capital was already somewhat centralized. In place of the former individual capitalists a large number of joint-stock companies appeared. These were, naturally, associations of capitalists. What significance had they? Where is their origin to be sought? The answer is not difficult to find. Any new undertaking had to have a fairly large amount of capital at its disposal. If a weak enterprise were founded anywhere, the likelihood of its surviving would not be great, because it would be surrounded on all sides by powerful enemies, the large capitalists. A new undertaking, therefore, if it was not to fail, but to thrive and prosper, had to be, from the very beginning, organized on a large scale. That was only possible, however, when a large amount of capital was available for the purpose. The necessity for this called into being joint-stock companies. The essence of the joint-stock system is that by means of these companies a few large capitalists utilize the capital of small ones, and also the savings of non-capitalist groups—officials, peasants, etc. This happens in this way: Each one buys one or more shares, and receives in return a slip of paper which entitles him to a certain portion of the revenue. Thus, by the addition of many small sums a large share-capital is built up.

When these companies appeared many learned bourgeois gentlemen, and also moderate Socialists, declared that a new era had begun; that Capitalism did not move in the direction of domination by a handful of capitalists, but that every

worker could buy shares with his savings, and in this way become a capitalist himself; that capital would become ever more "democratic," and ultimately the difference between capitalist and worker would disappear without a revolution.

All this proved to be absolute nonsense. The reality was the exact opposite. The large capitalists simply used the capital of the smaller men for their own purposes; and the concentration of capital *proceeded more rapidly than before*, because now the large joint-stock companies took up the fight amongst themselves.

It is easy to see how the large capitalist shareholders reduced the smaller ones to the position of hangers-on. The small shareholder sometimes lives in a distant town, and is not in a position to travel to the general meetings of the company. If, however, a certain number of such shareholders attend they are not organized. The large shareholders, on the other hand, are well organized, and are always able to carry out any program they decide upon. Experience has shown that with possession of only a third of the shares it is possible for them to become absolute masters of the whole undertaking.

But the concentration and centralization of capital did not stop here. In the last century there appeared, in the place of individual capitalists and joint-stock companies, associations of capitalists—*syndicates (or cartels) and trusts*.

Let us suppose that in any branch of production—say the textile or the metal industry—the small capitalists have disappeared, and that only five or six large concerns, which produce almost all the wares in that industry, remain. They compete with one another, they cut prices, and thereby reduce profits. Suppose, further, that some of these concerns are larger and more powerful than the others. These large ones can hold out till their weaker neighbors are destroyed. But suppose that they are all approximately of the same strength; that they manufacture an equal number of products; that they have the same kind of machinery and the same number of workmen; and that the net price of a commodity is the same in each case. What happens then? In this case none of the undertakings can kill the others; they all exhaust themselves at the same rate; and their profits decrease in the same measure. The

capitalists are at last driven to the conclusion that it is suicidal to lower each other's profits. They ask themselves if it would not be better if they united and plundered the public in common; and then, when they had abolished competition and had control of the market, they could raise prices as high as they pleased.

Thus arose unions of capitalists—syndicates or trusts. A syndicate differs from a trust in the following respects: When a syndicate is organized the capitalists composing it undertake not to sell their goods under a certain price, and to distribute orders proportionately or to divide the market into spheres, one man selling in one place and another in another place, etc. The management of the syndicate, however, has not authority to bargain for any of its component undertakings. Each is a member of a league, and has a certain amount of independence. In a trust, on the other hand, all undertakings are knit so closely together that each individual member completely loses its independence. The management has power to place any member on another footing, and to order it to remove from any district, provided that the interests of the trust as a whole are thereby advanced. The capitalist in this concern obviously draws profit from a wider area. His profit may even be increased, but over all and ruling all is the closely-knit league of the capitalists, the trust.

The syndicate and the trust almost wholly dominate the market. They have no competition to fear, as they have already destroyed it in all its forms. In the place of competition we have capitalist monopoly, or, in other words, the rule of the trust.

Competition was abolished by the concentration and centralization of capital. Competition killed itself. The more frantically it developed the more rapidly centralization proceeded, because the weaker capitalists went to the wall all the more quickly. At last centralization of capital, which had been called into being by competition, killed competition itself. In the place of free competition appeared domination of monopolistic unions of capitalists, the rule of syndicates and trusts.

It is not necessary to give more than a few examples to indicate the gigantic power of trusts and syndicates. In the

United States of America the proportion of syndicates taking part in production in the year 1900 was as follows:—in the textile industry, over 50 per cent.; in the glass industry, 54 per cent.; in the paper industry, 60 per cent.; in the metal industry (exclusive of iron and steel), 84 per cent.; in the iron industry and in the steel-smelting industry, 84 per cent.; in the chemical industry, 81 per cent.; and so on. Since that time the proportion has, of course, greatly increased. *The whole production of America at the present time is actually in the hands of two trusts—the Oil Trust and the Steel Trust.* On these trusts all other enterprises depend. In Germany, in the year 1913, 92.6 per cent. of the coal industry in Rhenish Westphalia was in the hands of a single syndicate. The Steel Syndicate produced almost the half of the total steel output of the country. The Sugar Trust supplied 70 per cent. of the market and 80 per cent. of the foreign, and so on.

Even in Russia a whole series of branches of production was under the sole control of syndicates. The Produzol Syndicate produced 60 per cent. of all the coal of the Donetz basin. The Prod wagore Syndicate controlled 14 of the 16 building concerns, the Copper Syndicate 90 per cent. of the copper industry, the Sugar Syndicate the whole of the sugar industry, and so on. According to the estimate of a Swiss authority, which relates to the beginning of the twentieth century, *the half of all the capital in the world was in the hands of syndicates and trusts.*

Syndicates and trusts do not get control merely of industries of the same kind. It is happening more and more frequently that trusts are appearing that operate several branches of production at the same time. How does this come?

All branches of production are connected with one another by purchase and sale. Take, for example, the production of iron ore and coal. These products serve as raw material for foundries and metal works; these works, on their part, produce, let us say, machines; the machines are employed as means of production in a series of other branches of industry, and so on. Now, suppose that there is an iron foundry. This requires iron ore and coal. It is to its interest to procure these at the lowest price. But if the ore and the coal are in the pos-

session of another syndicate, what then? In that case a fight begins between the two syndicates, which ends either in a victory for one of them, or in amalgamation. In either event, a new syndicate is formed which unites in itself two branches of production. It is obvious that in this way not only two or three, but several, branches of industry can be united. Such undertakings are called "combines."

Syndicates and trusts organize in this way not only single branches of production: they also unite various kinds of industries in one organization, link up one branch of production with a second, a third, a fourth, and so on. Formerly manufacturers of every kind were independent of one another; and the whole system of production was carried on in thousands of small factories. By the beginning of the twentieth century, however, the process of production was already concentrated in gigantic trusts which united in themselves many branches of production.

The uniting of various branches of production is not due solely to the formation of trusts, however. We must now direct attention to a phenomena which is more important than combines. That phenomenon is the *domination of the banks*. Something must therefore be said about these banks.

We have already seen that when the concentration and centralization of capital had attained a somewhat high level of development, the need arose for capital in large quantities to set new undertakings on foot on a large scale at the very beginning. (To satisfy this want, by the way, joint-stock companies appeared.) The organization of new undertakings therefore demanded ever-larger sums of capital.

Let us now consider what the capitalist does with his profit. We know that he devotes a portion of it to the satisfaction of his own personal needs—food, clothing, etc. He stores up the remainder. How does he do this? Is he able to extend his business, and to add to the capital employed in it this portion of his profit at any time he pleases?

No; he cannot, for the following reasons: money, it is true, comes to him in a steady stream, but at the same time only gradually. A consignment of goods is sold and money comes in; a second one is sold, and another sum of money is

realized. These sums, however, must amount to a certain figure before they can be used to extend production. Till that takes place they cannot be utilized. This is true not only of one or two capitalists, but of all of them. There is always free capital. As we have seen, however, the demand for capital always exists. On the one hand, there are sums of money lying unused, and on the other hand there is a need for them. The more rapidly capital is concentrated the greater is the necessity for large sums, and all the greater becomes the mass of free capital. These conditions increase the importance of banks. In order that his money may not be unproductive, the business man takes it to a bank. The bank lends it to other men who desire to use it for the extension of old undertakings or for the creation of new ones. With the aid of this capital the capitalists gather in more surplus value. They give a part of this to the bank as interest for the loan. The bank, on its part, pays out a part of the money received to its depositors, and retains the remainder as profit. Thus the wheels of the machine work upon one another. In recent times the importance of the part played by banks has increased enormously. Banks absorb larger and larger sums of capital and invest more and more in industrial concerns. Bank capital "works" continually in industry; it becomes itself industrial capital. Industry gets into a position of dependence on the banks which it supports and nourishes with its capital. Bank capital grows with industrial capital and becomes finance capital.

Finance capital binds all branches of industry together by means of banks in greater measure than through combines. Why?

Take any large bank. It lends money not only to one firm or syndicate, but to several. It is interested in seeing that these concerns do not strive against one another; it therefore unites them. Its policy is consistently directed towards making them all into one united whole under its own direction. It acquires control of the whole industry, or of a whole series of industries. Tried servants of the bank are nominated as directors of trusts, syndicates, and individual undertakings.

We are therefore led to the following conclusion: the industry of the whole country is united in syndicates, trusts,

and combines. All these are knit together by the banks. At the head of the whole economic life of the country is a handful of large bankers who control the entire system of industry. And the State Authority executes the will of these directors of banks and syndicates.

This can be clearly seen in America. The "democratic" Government is merely the servant of the American trust. Congress accepts only those measures which have been already decided upon by the chiefs of the banks and syndicates in their consultations behind the scenes. The trusts spend enormous sums in bribing public representatives, in election campaigns, and similar activities. An American writer (Mayers) estimates that in the year 1904 the Mutual Insurance Trust distributed in bribes 364,254 dollars, the Equitable Insurance Trust 172,698 dollars, and the New York Insurance Trust 204,019. Mr. M'Adoo, the ex-Secretary to the Treasury (who is a son-in-law of ex-President Wilson), is one of the largest bank and trust directors in America. Senators, Congressmen and Ministers are merely representatives of, or shareholders in, the large trusts. The power of the State, in this "free Republic," is merely an instrument for the robbery of the public.

It can therefore be said that a capitalist country, under the rule of finance capital, is turned into a gigantic combine or trust, at the head of which are the banks, and whose executive committee may be considered to be the bourgeois State. America, England, France, Germany, etc., are nothing but *State capitalist trusts*, powerful organizations of directors of syndicates and banks, which exploit and dominate millions of wage-slaves.

Imperialism.

Finance capital removes the anarchy of capitalistic production to a certain extent in any given country. The individual capitalist, instead of fighting one another, unite in a State capitalist trust.

How does it stand, then, with one of the fundamental contradictions of Capitalism? We have said repeatedly that the destruction of Capitalism must come about because of the lack of organization in society, and because of the class strug-

gle waged within it. But if one of these contradictions is done away with, is our prophecy of the downfall of Capitalism likely to be fulfilled?

The important thing for us to note is this: Anarchy of production and competition are not really set aside; or, to put it in another and better way, they are removed to another place where they appear in an aggravated form. Let us endeavor to explain this matter in detail.

The present form of Capitalism is World-Capitalism. All countries are interdependent; each one buys from every other. There is no place on earth which has not come under the rule of capital, and no country which, independently of the others, produces all it requires to satisfy its own wants.

A whole series of products can only be produced in certain places: oranges grow only in warm countries; iron ore can only be worked in those countries in whose soil it is met with; coffee, cocoa, and caoutchouc can only be grown in hot countries. Cotton is planted in the United States of America, India, Egypt, Turkestan, etc., and exported from these places to all parts of the world. Coal is exported by England, Germany, the United States, Czecho-Slovakia, and Russia. Italy has no coal deposits, and consequently is entirely dependent upon England or Germany for coal supplies. Wheat is exported all over the world from America, India, Russia and Roumania.

Moreover, some countries are more advanced than others. Therefore, the products of all the industries of the advanced nations are thrown on the markets of the backward countries. For example, hardware was sent to all parts of the world, chiefly from England, the United States and Germany, and chemical products principally from the last-named country.

In this way one country is dependent upon another. How far this dependence can go is seen in the case of England, which imports from three-fourths to four-fifths of the grain, as well as half of the meat, it requires, but which must export the greater part of its industrial products.

Is competition *on the world-market* removed by finance capital? Does finance capital create a world-organization when it unites the capitalists in a given country? No. An-

archy in production and competition do indeed grow less intense in a given country, because the larger capitalists are busy organizing State capitalist trusts. But the struggle among these large trusts themselves proceeds all the more fiercely. One result of the concentration of capital can always be seen: the small men go to the wall. The number of competitors is reduced in this way, because only the larger ones remain. The latter now fight with more powerful weapons; instead of a struggle amongst individual manufacturers there is the strife of individual trusts. The number of the latter is obviously smaller than the number of manufacturers. Their fight is on that account all the more bitter and destructive. When, however, all the smaller capitalists of any country have been ousted and the others have organized themselves in a State capitalist trust, the number of competitors is not further decreased. The competitors now are the great capitalist Powers; and their struggle is waged at a fabulous cost and attended with enormous waste. The competition of the State capitalist trusts expresses itself in times of "peace" in the rivalry of armaments, and eventually leads to destructive wars.

Finance capital, then, destroys competition within individual States, but leads to widespread and embittered competition of these States against one another.

Why must competition amongst capitalist States lead at last to a policy of conquest and to war? Why cannot this competition be peaceful? When two manufacturers compete against each other they do not confront each other with knives in their hands. Each seeks to capture the market in a peaceful way. Why, then, has competition on the world-market assumed such a bitter and warlike form? We must here consider, in the first place, how the policy of the bourgeoisie had to be altered with the transition from the old form of Capitalism, in which free competition reigned, to the new form, in which finance capital began its domination.

We shall begin with the so-called tariff policy. In the international struggle, States (each protecting its own capitalists) found in tariffs a weapon which long proved serviceable to the bourgeoisie. When, for example, the Russian textile

manufacturers began to fear that their English and German competitors would introduce their wares into Russia, and thereby cause a fall in prices, the zealous Government immediately put a tariff on English and German goods. This, of course, made it difficult for foreign goods to find an entry into Russia. The manufacturers declared, however, that the tax was necessary for the protection of home industry. But when we examine the various countries closely we see that they are influenced by quite other considerations. It was no accident that the largest and most powerful nations, with America at their head, generally called for, and introduced, the highest tariffs. Had foreign competition really injured them then?

Let us suppose that the textile industry in a certain country is monopolized by a syndicate or trust. What then is the effect of the introduction of a duty? The heads of the syndicate in that country kill two birds with one stone: firstly, they free themselves from foreign competition; secondly, they can safely increase the price of their wares by the amount of the tax. Suppose that the tax for one metre of cloth is increased by one rouble. In this case the barons of the textile syndicate quietly add to the price of their own wares one rouble or ninety copecks. If there were no syndicate, competition amongst capitalists would immediately bring prices down again. But the syndicate can easily insist upon the increase. The foreign capitalist is kept at a distance by the tax; and competition at home is eliminated. The State in which the syndicate is situated receives a revenue from the tax, and the syndicate itself, through the increase in price, secures a higher profit. In consequence of this higher profit the lords of the syndicate are in a position to export their goods to other countries, and to sell them there at a loss with the object of driving their opponents out of the markets of these countries. The Russian syndicate of sugar manufacturers was able in this way to raise the price of sugar in Russia, and to sell it in England at a low price in order to over-reach its English competitors. It was a common saying in Russia that ~~pigs were fed in England on Russian sugar.~~ With the help of tariffs, therefore, the chiefs of the syndicates are able to plunder *their own countrymen to*

their heart's content, and to bring foreign markets under their sway.

Important consequences follow from this. It is clear that the profits of the rulers of the syndicate must increase as the number of people included within the area covered by the tax grows. When the area is a small one there is not much to be gained; but when it includes territories with large populations the gain is large, and anyone entering boldly upon the world market may hope for great success. The customs frontier, however, generally coincides with the frontier of the State. And how can the latter be extended? How can a piece of foreign territory be taken and incorporated in another customs district, or in another State? By *war*. By means of wars of conquest the denomination of the syndicates is secured. Every robber capitalist State wants "to extend its frontiers." This promotes the interests of the rulers of the syndicates, of the owners of finance capital. "Extending the frontiers" is synonymous with waging war. In this way the tariff policy of the syndicates and trusts, which is bound up with their policy on the world-market, leads to the most violent conflicts. Other causes, however, contribute to this result.

We have seen that the development of production has as a consequence the uninterrupted accumulation of surplus-value. In every advanced capitalist country, therefore, surplus capital grows incessantly. This yields a smaller profit than it would in a backward country. The greater the mass of surplus capital in a country is, the greater is the effort made to export it, and to invest it in other countries. This process is greatly facilitated by a tariff policy.

Frontier duties prevent the importation of goods. When, for example, Russian manufacturers imposed high duties upon German goods it became very difficult for German manufacturers to sell their wares in Russia. But when the sale of their goods was rendered difficult, the German capitalists found another way out: they began to export their *capital* to Russia. They built factories and works, and bought shares in Russian undertakings, or founded new ones, with their capital. Were they handicapped in this work by the tariffs? Emphatically no. On the contrary, not only were they not handicapped by

the tariffs, but they were actually *assisted* by them. The tariffs served as *inducements* for the importation of capital. And that for the following reasons: If a German capitalist possessed a factory in Russia, and if he was also a member of a Russian syndicate, then the *Russian tariffs helped him to pocket a larger profit*. They were as useful to him in robbing the public as they were to his Russian colleagues.

Capital is exported from one country to another not only in order to establish and maintain new works there. Very often it is lent by one State to another at a certain rate of interest. (That is to say, the latter State increases its National Debt, or becomes a debtor to the former State.) In such circumstances the debtor State is generally obliged to raise all loans (especially those intended for military purposes) from the industrial magnates of the State which has lent the money. In this way enormous sums of money flow from one State to another, part of which is intended to be laid out in buildings and industrial enterprises, and part to be invested in the National Debt. Under the rule of finance capital, the export of capital reaches an undreamt-of height.

As an example of this, we shall give a few figures. These are already somewhat out-of-date, but they can teach us some things. In the year 1902 France had 35 milliard francs invested in 26 States, of which sum approximately half was in the form of Government loans. The lion's share of these loans (10 milliard francs) was in Russia. (By the way, the reason the French bourgeoisie are so enraged is because Soviet Russia has repudiated the Czarist debts and refused payment to the French usurers.) In 1905 the amount of exported capital reached the figure of 40 milliards. In 1911 England had about £1,600,000,000 invested in foreign countries. If the colonies are included, the sum will exceed £3,000,000,000. Germany had approximately 35 milliard marks invested in other countries before the war, and so on. In short, every capitalist State exported huge sums of capital to other lands in order to plunder foreign peoples.

The export of capital is attended with important consequences. The various powerful States begin to fight those countries to which they wish to export their capital. We must

here draw attention to an important fact: when capitalists export their capital to a foreign country they do not risk the loss of goods, but of gigantic sums of money which are to be reckoned in millions, and even in milliards. It is self-evident, therefore, that the capitalists will have a strong desire to have completely at their mercy the small countries in which their capital is invested, and to compel their own armies to protect their capital. The exporting States determine to subjugate and exploit these countries. The different robber States attack the weaker nations, and it is clear that they will ultimately come into conflict with one another. And this actually does happen. The export of capital, therefore, leads to *war*.

With the coming of syndicates the struggle for the sale of goods was rendered infinitely keener. Towards the end of the nineteenth century there were hardly any free countries left to which either goods or capital could be exported. The prices of raw material rose, as did those of metals, wool, wood, coal and cotton. In the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the world-war a fierce hunt began for markets and a struggle for new sources of raw materials. The capitalists ransacked the whole world for new mines, ore deposits and markets, in order to export metal products, as well as textile goods and other wares, and to plunder a new "fresh" public. In former days many firms competed "peacefully" with one another, and got on very well together. With the domination of banks and trusts the situation has altered. Suppose, for example, that a new deposit of copper ore has been discovered. This gets into the clutches of a bank or a trust, which immediately establishes a monopoly over it. There is nothing left for the capitalists of other countries to do but grin and bear it. The same thing happens not only with the sources of raw material, but also with markets. Suppose that foreign capital has penetrated to a distant colony. The sale of goods is here organized on a large scale. Some large firm generally takes the business in hand, establishes a branch, and endeavors, by means of pressure on the authorities of the district by a thousand and one devices, to get the monopoly of the whole trade in its hands, and thereby keep its competitors at a distance. It is

obvious that the operations of capitalists must be conducted on a large scale. We are no longer living in the "good old times," but in the era of the struggle of the monopolistic robbers for the world market.

Therefore, with the growth of finance capital the struggle for markets and raw materials grows more intense and leads to the most violent collisions.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the great robber States seized upon the territories of many small nations. From 1876 to 1914 the so-called "Great Powers" annexed about 25 million square kilometres. They plundered foreign lands whose area is more than double that of the whole of the continent of Europe. *The whole world was divided amongst the large robbers.* All countries turned *their colonies* into tributaries, and made their inhabitants slaves.

Here are a few examples. From the year 1870 England acquired the following territories: in Asia—Beluchistan, Burmah, Cyprus, North Borneo, the district opposite Hong Kong increased its hold upon the Straits Settlements, and settled in the peninsula of Sinai; in Australasia—a series of islands, the eastern part of New Guinea, the greater part of the Solomon Islands, the Tonga Islands, etc.; in Africa—Egypt, the Soudan, with Uganda, East Africa, "British" Somaliland, Zanzibar, Pemba. She conquered the two Boer Republics, Rhodesia, "British Central Africa," and occupied Nigeria, etc., etc.

Since the year 1870 France subjugated Annam, conquered Tongking, annexed Laos, Tunis, Madagascar, wide stretches of the Sahara, of Soudan and Guinea, acquired territory on the Ivory Coast, Somaliland, etc. The French colonies at the beginning of the twentieth century had a greater area than France itself (more than twenty times greater). In the case of England the colonies were a hundred times greater than the motherland.

Germany took a hand in the robber business in 1884, and in the short time since succeeded in acquiring similar large areas.

Czarist Russia likewise entered upon a robber policy, latterly principally in Asia. This led to conflict with Japan, which wanted to plunder Asia from the other side. The United States first obtained possession of numerous islands in the vicinity of America, then went further afield and established itself on the mainland. Its policy of conquest is particularly highly developed in Mexico.

The area of six of the Great Powers in the year 1914 was 16 million square kilometres, while their colonies comprised 81 million kilometres.

Obviously these robber campaigns affected first of all the small, defenceless and weak countries. These were despoiled first. Just as in the struggle between manufacturers and small artisans, the former destroyed the latter, so in this case the large States—trusts, the powerful, rapacious and organized capitalists—defeated and subjugated the small ones. In this way the centralization of capital in the world economy was accomplished. The small States went under, the great robber States grew richer, and increased in extent and in power.

But when the Great Powers had plundered the whole world the fight amongst themselves grew keener. The struggle for a re-division of the world had to begin; a fight for life or death had to take place amongst the remaining powerful robber States.

The policy of conquest pursued by finance capital in the struggle for markets, raw materials, and areas for the investment of capital is called Imperialism. Imperialism springs from finance capital. Just as a tiger cannot subsist on a vegetable diet, so finance capital could pursue, and can pursue, no other policy than that of conquest, rapine, violence and war. Each one of the State trusts ruled by finance capital actually wishes to conquer the whole world and found a world-kingdom in which a handful of capitalists belonging to the victorious nation alone will rule. The British Imperialists, for example, dreamt of a "Greater Britain" which should dominate the whole world, and in which the British bosses of the syndicates should have under their thumb negroes and Russians, Germans and Chinese, Indians and Armenians

—in a word, hundreds of different kinds of black, yellow, white and red slaves. England is even now almost such a Power. With the supply of food appetite grows. The same is true of other Imperialisms. The Russian Imperialists dreamt of a "Greater Russia," the German Imperialists of a "Greater Germany," etc.

It is clear that in this way the domination of finance capital must hurl the whole of humanity into a bloody abyss of war—war in the interests of bankers and members of syndicates; war, not for the defence of their own country, but for the plundering of foreign countries; war to put the world at the mercy of the finance capital of the victorious nation. Such a war was the great world-war of 1914-1919.

Militarism.

The rule of finance capital finds expression in another and very remarkable way: in the unheard-of growth of expenditure on armies, navies, and air fleets. The reason is plain enough. In former days none of the robbers dreamt of world dominion. Now, however, the Imperialists hope to realize such a dream. It is obvious that these States will use any means to arm themselves for the struggle. The Great Powers robbed uninterruptedly, and were always on the watch in case a neighbor, a robber like themselves, should perhaps attack them. Therefore, each Great Power had to have an army not only for use against its colonies and its own workers, but also against its fellow-robbers. If one Power adopted a new military system, the others immediately attempted to improve upon it in order not to be left behind. And thus the insane competition of armaments began, one State driving on another. The great establishments of the armament kings—Putilov, Krupp, Armstrong, Vickers, etc.—grew up. The armaments trusts pocket colossal profits. They are closely associated with the general staffs, and seek in every way to stir up trouble, because the continuance of their profits depends upon war.

The State trusts surrounded themselves with a forest of bayonets. On land and on sea and in the air everything was ready for the world conflict. The amount set aside for the army and the navy became an ever-greater part of the national

expenditure. In England the expenditure for war purposes in the year 1875 was 38.6 per cent. of the total outlay, and in 1907-08 it was 48.8 per cent., or almost half. In the United States it was 56.9 per cent., or more than half. Similarly with other States. "Prussian militarism" flourished in all the great State trusts. The armaments kings reaped their profits, and the whole world drew near with incredible rapidity to the bloodiest of all wars—the Imperialist world carnage.

The rivalry of armaments between the English and the German bourgeoisie was particularly interesting. In 1912 England decided to build three Dreadnoughts for every two built by Germany.

The expenditure on the armies and the navies of the Powers increased as follows:—

	Millions of Roubles.	
	1888	1908
Russia	210	470
France	300	415
Germany	180	405
Austria-Hungary	100	200
Italy	75	120
Britain	150	280
Japan	7	90
United States	100	200

Within 20 years the expenditure on armaments doubled; in the case of Japan it was 13 times greater in 1908 than in 1888. Shortly before the outbreak of war the competition in armaments changed from a fever into a madness. In 1910 France spent 502 million roubles for military purposes, and in 1914 she spent 740 millions. Germany spent 478 millions in 1906, and 943 millions in 1914. Therefore, with her war expenditure almost doubled, Britain increased her war expenditure in an even greater ratio. In 1900 it was 499 million roubles, in 1910 it was 694 millions, and in 1914 it was 804 millions. In 1913 Britain spent on her fleet alone more than all the Powers put together spent in 1886. The military expenditure of Czarist Russia amounted in 1892 to 293 million roubles, in 1912 it was 421 millions, and in 1906 it was

529 millions. In 1914 the expenditure on the army and the navy reached the sum of 975 million roubles.

The expenditure for purposes of war ate up a large part of the national income. For example, Russia devoted to war purposes one-third of her total expenditure, and if the interest on loans is included the proportion is still higher.

Every hundred roubles spent by the Czarist Government of Russia was apportioned in the following manner:—

	Roubles
For Army, Navy, Interest on Loans.....	40.14
For Education (1-30 of total).....	3.86
For Agriculture (1-25 of total).....	4.06
Administration, Judiciary, Diplomatic Service, Rail- way Management, Trade and Industry, Financial Affairs, etc.	51.94
Total.....	100.00

The same conditions can be seen in other countries. Take, for instance, “democratic” England. In 1904 every hundred roubles spent was allocated as follows:—

	Roubles
Army and Navy	53.80
Interest on Loans and Payment on National Debt.....	22.50
Civil Service	23.70
Total.....	100.00

The Imperialist War of 1914-1918.

The policy of Imperialism pursued by the “Great Powers” was bound, sooner or later, to lead to conflict. It is perfectly clear that the robber policy of all the “Great Powers” was the cause of the great war. Only a fool can still believe that the war broke out because the Serbians murdered the Austrian Crown Prince or because Germany attacked Belgium. At the beginning of the war there was much discussion as to who was to blame. The German capitalists asserted that Russia had attacked Germany, and the Russian capitalists declared with one voice that Russia had been attacked by Germany. In England it was said that the war was being fought for the

protection of the unfortunate Belgians. In France, likewise, it was written, said and sung that noble France entered the war on behalf of the heroic Belgian people. And at the same time it was stated throughout the length and breadth of Austria and Germany that they were protecting themselves from the onslaught of the Russian Cossacks, and were forced to wage a holy war of defense.

This was sheer nonsense from beginning to end, and was a betrayal of the working masses. The bourgeoisie made use of this betrayal in order to compel the soldiers to march off to the war. The bourgeoisie employed these means not for the first time. We have already seen how the lords of the syndicates introduced high tariffs in order, with the help of the robbery of their own countrymen, to carry on the struggle more effectively in foreign markets. The tariffs were for them a means of attack. The bourgeoisie, however, maintained that they wanted merely to defend home industries. It is the same in the case of war. The reason for the Imperialist war, which was intended to subject the world to the rule of finance capital, lay precisely in the fact that all were aggressors. That is perfectly clear now. The Czarist lackeys said that they were "defending" themselves. However, when the secret departments of the Ministries were burst open during the October revolution documentary evidence was found establishing the fact that Kerensky, as well as the Czar, in league with the English and the French, had carried on the war from motives of plunder; that the Russians were to be allowed to take Constantinople, to plunder Turkey and Persia, and to seize the Austrian province of Galicia.

The German Imperialists were similarly unmasked. One has only to remember in this connection the peace of Brest-Litovsk, after which they carried out raids into Poland, Lithuania, Ukrainia and Finland. The German revolution disclosed several important facts. We now have documentary proof that Germany, actuated by a desire for loot, prepared for a sudden onslaught with the idea of seizing upon almost all foreign lands and colonies.

And what of the "noble" Allies? They also are now thoroughly exposed. Since they robbed Germany by the

Peace of Versailles, and imposed an indemnity of 125 milliards upon her; since they took away her whole fleet, all her colonies, and almost all her locomotives, and drove off her milch cows, it is quite natural that no one should any longer believe in their generosity. They are plundering Russia in the same way, north and south. They also, therefore, carried on the war *for the sake of loot.*

The Bolsheviks said all this at the very beginning of the war. At that time few people believed it. Now, however, it is tolerably clear to every reasonable person. Finance capital is an avaricious, blood-soaked robber, no matter what the country of its origin—whether it be Russian, German, French, Japanese or American.

It is therefore absurd to say that in an *Imperialist* war one group of Imperialists is to blame and another not, or that one group attacks and another acts on the defensive. **These** excuses were thought out merely to deceive the workers. In reality, all the Imperialist groups attacked the small peoples in the first instance; they were all possessed of the idea of plundering the whole world, and of subjecting it to the rule of the finance capital of their own country.

The war was bound to be a world war. The whole world was parcelled out amongst the "Great Powers," and all the Powers were connected in the great world economy. Small wonder, therefore, that the war embraced almost all the divisions of the earth.

England, France, Italy, Belgium, Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Serbia, Bulgaria, Roumania, Montenegro, Japan, the United States, China, and many other smaller States were drawn into the bloody struggle. The population of the world is approximately a milliard and a half, and all these people bore, directly or indirectly, the burden of the war which a handful of capitalist criminals has forced upon them. Such colossal armies as were placed in the field and such mighty weapons of destruction had never previously been seen. Such power as capital possessed had never been known in the world. England and France compelled not only Englishmen and Frenchmen to subserve their financial interests, but hundreds of black and yellow-skinned slaves in sub-

ject territories as well. The civilized bandits did not shrink from employing cannibals in order to achieve their purpose. And all this was cloaked by professions of the noblest sentiments.

The war of 1914 had its forerunners in the colonial wars. Such wars were the campaign of the "civilized" Powers against China, the Spanish-American war, the Russo-Japanese war in 1904 (over Korea, Port Arthur, Manchuria, etc.), the Turco-Italian war of 1912 (over Tripoli), the Boer war at the beginning of the twentieth century, in which "democratic" England brutally strangled two Boer Republics. There were many occasions on which war threatened to blaze out on a gigantic scale. The division of territory in Africa almost led to war between England and France (over Fashoda), and again between Germany and France (over Morocco). Between Czarist Russia and England there was almost a war over the division of land in Central Asia.

At the beginning of the world-war the antagonistic interests of England and Germany came into sharp conflict on the question of the domination of lands in Africa, Asia Minor, and in the Balkan Peninsula. It turned out that England and France agreed that Alsace-Lorraine should be taken from Germany, and that Russia should be allowed a free hand in Galicia and in the Balkans. The piratical Imperialism of Germany found its principal ally in Austria-Hungary. American Imperialism later interfered after waiting for the mutual exhaustion of the European States.

Next to militarism the most usual weapon of the Imperialist Powers is *secret diplomacy*, which generally works by secret treaties and conspiracies, but does not scorn on occasion the methods of assassination and outrage. The real aim of the Imperialist war was contained in these secret treaties between England, France and Russia on the one hand, and Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria on the other. The assassination of the Crown Prince of Austria did not take place without the knowledge of the secret agents of the Entente. German diplomacy, for its part, had no objection to the deed. A German Imperialist wrote: "We must consider it a great piece of good fortune that the great anti-

German conspiracy was discovered through the murder of the Crown Prince Franz Ferdinand before the appointed time. Two years later war would have been much more difficult for us." The German provocateurs would have been ready to sacrifice their own Prince in order to provoke war.

State Capitalism and Classes.

The conduct of the Imperialist war was distinguished not only by its dimensions and by the devastation it caused, but also by the fact that the whole national economy which led to it was subordinated to its interests. In former times wars could be waged if only money were available for the purpose. Money alone, however, would not suffice for the world-war, as it was conducted on an immense scale and by countries on the same plane of development. The necessities of the war demanded that the foundries should be occupied exclusively in the production of powerful guns, that coal should be produced only for purposes of war, and that metals, textiles, leather, etc., should be applied to military uses. It is therefore plain that victory could reasonably be hoped for by the State capitalist trust which could best adapt its industry and transport system to war conditions. How was that to be achieved? Only by centralization of the whole system of production. It was essential that production should proceed ~~smoothly~~, that it should be well organized, that it should be under the immediate direction of the authorities, and subject to their orders; and that the directions of the military authorities, and subject to their orders; and that the directions of the military authorities should be implicitly obeyed.

The bourgeoisie could easily accomplish this. They had simply to place private production and individual private syndicates and trusts at the disposal of their robber State. This they actually did. Industry was "mobilized" and militarized"; that is, it was placed at the disposal of the State and of the military authorities. "But," someone may object, "if the bourgeoisie did that they would lose their income. That would be nationalization! If everything were taken over by the State what would happen to the bourgeoisie? Would they agree to such a proposal?" Well, the bourgeoisie did

agree to it. That is not to be wondered at, as the private syndicates were taken over not by the workers' State, but by their own *Imperialist* State. What was there in that to frighten the bourgeoisie? They merely transferred their money from one pocket to another: the actual amount was not one iota smaller.

The class character of the State must always be borne in mind. The State is no "third power" which stands above the classes, but a class organization from top to bottom. Under the dictatorship of the workers it is a workers' organization; under the rule of the bourgeoisie it is a capitalists' organization as much as a trust or a syndicate.

The bourgeoisie, therefore, lost nothing whatever by handing over the syndicates to the State (not the proletarian State, but their own plundering capitalist State). What difference does it make to the manufacturer, Smith or Jones, whether he draws his profit from the office of the syndicate or from the chests of the State bank? The bourgeoisie gained something in one direction and lost nothing in any other. They gained something because this centralization ensured a better working of the war machinery and increased the likelihood of success in the war for plunder.

Small wonder then that in all capitalist countries during the war State Capitalism developed in place of private syndicates. Germany, for example, was able to hold her own against the assaults of the superior enemy Powers only because her bourgeoisie so well understood how to organize this State Capitalism.

The transition to State Capitalism was effected under various forms and in different ways. State monopolies were most frequently created in the spheres of production and commerce—that is to say, production and commerce passed *wholly* into the possession of the bourgeois State. Sometimes it happened that the change did not take place all at once, but proceeded gradually, the State purchasing only a part of the shares in a syndicate or trust.

Such undertakings were half State-owned, half privately owned, and in this form served to carry out the policy of the bourgeois State. It often happened, too, that undertakings

remained in private hands. Strict orders were issued to them. For example, under the new regime industries were obliged to purchase from certain firms, and these had to supply the orders only in specified quantities and at fixed prices. The State prescribed methods of carrying on the work, materials to be used, etc., and introduced certificates of delivery for all important products. Thus State Capitalism grew at the expense of private Capitalism.

Under the rule of State Capitalism there appeared in place of the *scattered* organizations of the bourgeoisie one *compact* organization, the State. Till the war there existed in every capitalist country the bourgeois State organization, and distinct from it there were organizations such as syndicates, trusts, unions of capitalists and of large landlords, bourgeois political parties, unions of bourgeois journalists, teachers, and artists; clerical unions, Boys' Brigades, private detective bureaux and the like. Under State Capitalism all these separate organizations are merged in the bourgeois State. They become branches of it, execute its designs, and are under the direction of the State authorities. In the mines and factories the orders of the general staffs are carried out; the newspapers print what the general staffs tell them to print; the churches teach that which serves the purposes of the bandits of the general staffs; painters, authors and poets work to the orders of the same general staffs; machines, guns, ammunition, and gases required by the general staffs are invented. In this way the whole country is militarized in order that the bourgeoisie may protect their bloodstained property.

— State Capitalism results in an immense strengthening of the position of the large bourgeoisie. Just as under the dictatorship of the proletariat the working class is the more powerful, the more closely the Soviet power, the trade unions, and the Communist Party, etc., work together, so under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie the bourgeois class is the stronger the more firmly all bourgeois organizations are knit together. State Capitalism, by centralizing the bourgeois organizations and changing them into one single united whole, helps capital to attain to the summit of its power. In this

way the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie celebrates its triumph.

State Capitalism arose during the war in all the great capitalist countries. It began to appear, too, in Czarist Russia (in the form of war industry committees, monopolies, etc.). As time went on, however, the Russian bourgeoisie, alarmed by the revolution, began to fear that production would pass into the hands of the proletariat at the same time as the executive power. They therefore obstructed the organization of production after the February revolution.

We see then that State Capitalism not only does not abolish exploitation, but that it immensely increases the power of the bourgeoisie. The German Scheidemanns and other "conciliatory" Socialists preached, nevertheless, that this compulsory labor was Socialism. When everything is in the possession of the State, Socialism, it would seem, is realized. They did not see that they were not dealing with a proletarian State, but with an organization in which the whole apparatus of government was in the hands of the bitter enemies and assassins of the proletariat.

At the same time that State Capitalism united and organized the bourgeoisie and increased their power it weakened the strength of the working class. Under State Capitalism the workers became the white slaves of the robber State. They were deprived of the right to strike, and were mobilized and militarized. Anyone who opposed the war was forthwith condemned for high treason. In several countries the right of going from one place to another was taken away, and workers were forbidden to leave one workshop and go to another. The "free" wage-worker was reduced to slavery, and was condemned to die on the battlefield, not in his own cause, but in that of his enemies. He was condemned to work himself almost to death, not in his own interests or in the interests of his comrades or children, but in those of his oppressors.

The Working Class and the Collapse of Capitalism.

The war accelerated the process of the centralization and organization of the capitalist economy. State Capitalism endeavored to bring to a speedy conclusion the work which syndicates, trusts and combines had left unfinished. It created

a network of diverse organs which regulated production and distribution, and so prepared the way for the taking over by the proletariat of large centralized production.

It was inevitable that the war, which pressed most heavily upon the working class, should lead to the rising of the proletarian masses. The slaughter in the world-war was greater than that in any other war in history. According to estimates from various sources, the number of dead, wounded and missing up to March, 1917, was 25,000,000. Up to January 1st, 1918, the number of dead alone was 8,000,000. In order to arrive at an approximately correct estimate of losses in the war one must add to this figure several millions of sick. Syphilis, which spread during the war at an unheard-of rate, has infected almost the whole of mankind. The physical standard of men and women has been lowered as a consequence of the war, the workers and peasants being necessarily the greatest sufferers.

In the large centers of the belligerent countries small colonies of specially serious cases of injury and disfigurement have been established. Here men whose faces have been shot away, and of whose heads practically only the skulls remain, sit covered with masks—the poor stumps of human beings constituting terrible living witnesses of the nature of capitalist civilization.

Not only were many members of the proletariat killed in the desperate fighting, but on the shoulders of those still living incredible burdens have been placed. The war demanded a colossal expenditure. While the capitalists secured fabulous gains—“war profits”—heavy taxes were imposed upon the workers in order to cover the immense costs of the war. The French Minister of Finance declared at the Peace Conference in August, 1919, that the cost of the war to all the belligerent Powers was *one trillion, five milliard francs*. The significance of this sum will not be clear to everyone: for many, indeed, it will have no meaning. Formerly men employed such figures to measure stellar distances, but now they use them to reckon the cost of a criminal war. A trillion contains a million millions. According to another estimate the cost of the war was as follows:—

	In Millions of Roubles.
First year of war.....	91.00
Second year of war.....	136.50
Third year of war	204.70
First half of fourth year (July 31st to Decem- ber 31st, 1917)	153.50
	<hr/>
Total.....	585.70

After that time the cost, of course, increased considerably. It is not a matter for surprise that the capitalist States now began to lay correspondingly heavy charges upon the workers, either in the form of direct taxes or in imposts on commodities, or (the bourgeoisie felt constrained to adopt this plan from patriotic motives) by the increase of prices. Scarcity grew more acute. The manufacturers, however, especially those who were engaged in war work, netted unheard-of-profits.

Russian manufacturers' dividends more than doubled. Here are a few figures showing the enormous profits made by some firms: — The Brothers Mirsojeff Naptha Company paid a dividend of 40 per cent.; the Brothers Damischewsky Joint Stock Company paid 30 per cent.; the Kalfa Tobacco Company paid 30 per cent., etc. In Germany the net profits of the firms engaged in four branches of industry — chemistry, metallurgy, munitions and automobiles — was 133 millions in the year 1913-14; in 1915-16 it was 259 millions—that is, almost double. In the United States the profits of the Steel Trust in the year 1915-16 trebled. In 1915 the profits were 98 million dollars, and in 1917 they were 478 million dollars. Dividends of 200 per cent. were frequently declared. The profits of the banks grew at a similarly rapid rate. During the war the small men were pushed to the wall, while the large ones grew fabulously rich. And want and high taxes increased the misery of the proletariat.

During the war the principal products were shrapnel, dynamite, guns, armored cars, aeroplanes, poison-gas, gunpowder, etc. In the United States towns grew up which were wholly

devoted to the production of explosives. These towns were very hurriedly built, and the factories were worked at full speed, and consequently many disastrous explosions occurred. Men were occupied exclusively in the production of explosives and in the pursuit of gain. No wonder then that the manufacturers of guns and explosives drove a thriving trade and netted enormous profits. The lot of the people, however, grew worse and worse. The quantity of really useful things produced — articles of food, clothing, etc. — grew smaller and smaller. With powder and shot men can shoot and destroy, but they cannot feed or clothe anyone. All the strength of the belligerents was expended in the production of gunpowder and other instruments of murder. The regular production of useful articles sank lower and lower. All the power of labor and all the processes of industry were devoted to producing necessities of war. Useful articles became scarcer, and hunger and famine began to rear their heads. Shortage of bread and coal and of all other useful things throughout the world, and exhaustion of the whole of mankind—these are the results of the criminal Imperialist war.

Here are some examples from different countries:—

In France the output of agricultural products in the first years of the war decreased as follows:

	In Cwts.	
	In 1914.	In 1916.
Corn	42,272,500	15,300,500
Root Crops	46,639,000	15,260,000
Products for industrial purposes.....	59,429,000	20,448,000

In England the supplies of ore were exhausted at the following rate:—

About the end of 1912 there were 241,000 tons on hand.

About the end of 1913 there were 138,000 tons.

About the end of 1914 there were 108,000 tons.

About the end of 1915 there were 113,000 tons.

About the end of 1916 there were 3,000 tons.

About the end of 1917 there were 600 tons.

In Germany the production of cast-iron in 1913 was 19.3 million tons; in 1916 it was not more than 13.3 millions; in

1917 it was 13.1 millions; in 1918 it was only 12 millions, and in 1919 even less.

The desperate situation arose of a world shortage of coal. In Europe, England was the source of coal supply, but in England the production of coal sank about the middle of 1918 to about 13 per cent. As early as 1917 the vital industries of the country were severely handicapped by want of coal. Electricity works were getting only a sixth part of their coal requirements, and the textile industry the eleventh part of its peace consumption. At the time of the "Peace" of Versailles almost the whole world was in the grip of a serious coal crisis. Factories closed down for want of fuel, and railway services were restricted. Thus originated the great dislocation of industry and of the transport system.

In Russia the same state of affairs prevailed. As early as 1917 the position of the country with regard to supplies of coal was very unsatisfactory. The industries of the Moscow district required 12 million poods per month. The Kerensky Government promised to procure 6 million poods (half the required quantity). The actual deliveries, however, were as follows: — In January, 1.8 million poods; in February, 1.3 millions; and in March 0.8 millions. It is no wonder, therefore, that Russian industry collapsed. There began, as in other countries throughout the world, the process of the dissolution of Capitalism.

In 1917 (under Kerensky) the number of factories closed and numbers of workers discharged were as follows:—

Month	No. of Factories.	No. of Workers.
March	74	6,646
April	55	2,916
May	108	8,701
June	125	38,455
July	206	47,755

The ruin of industry proceeded at a rapid rate.

In order to realize how great was the increase in prices which was caused by the small quantity of goods and the large amount of paper money in circulation, it will suffice to

take a look at the country which, after the United States, suffered least in the war—England.

The average price of the five most important articles of food (tea, sugar, butter, bread, meat) was as under:—

	Tea, Sugar.	Bread, Meat, Butter.
Average price, 1901-1905	500	300
End of July, 1914	579	350
End of January, 1915	786	413
End of January, 1916	946.5	465
End of January, 1917	1310.0	561
End of January, 1918	1221.5	681
End of May, 1919.....	1247.0	777.5

In the course of the war prices rose, even in England, more than 100 per cent., while wages in the same period increased only 18 per cent. The rate of increase of prices, therefore, was six times that of wages. The state of affairs was particularly bad in Russia, where the land was laid waste by the war, and the whole country reduced to abject poverty by the operations of the capitalists. Even in America, which suffered least by the war, the prices of fifteen of the most important products in the period from 1913 to the end of 1918 increased by 160 per cent., while wages rose by only 80 per cent.

The position of war industries at length became serious for want of coal, steel, and other indispensable materials. All the countries of the world, with the exception of America, were completely impoverished. Hunger, destruction, and cold marched in triumphant procession over practically the whole world. The workers suffered particularly from these afflictions. They endeavored to protest against them, but they were confronted with all the power of the bourgeois robber State. In all countries, democratic as well as monarchical—the working class was subjected to unheard-of persecution. The workers were not only deprived of the right to strike, but were mercilessly suppressed when they made the slightest attempt to protest. In this way the tyranny of Capitalism led to civil war between the classes.

The persecution of the working class during the war was described in brilliant fashion in the resolution of the Third International concerning the White Terror: "At the beginning of the war the ruling classes, who murdered and maimed more than ten million men on the battlefields, established in their own countries the regime of a bloody dictatorship. The Czarist Government hanged or shot down the workers, and organized pogroms against the Jews. The Austrian monarchy throttled the insurrection of the workers and peasants of Ukrainia and Czecho-Slovakia. The English bourgeoisie slaughtered the best representatives of the Irish people. German Imperialism raged throughout the land, and the revolutionary sailors were the first sacrifice to the monster. In France, the Russian soldiers who were not prepared to defend the profits of the French bankers were flogged. In America the bourgeoisie lynched international Socialists, sentenced hundreds of the cream of the working class to twenty years' imprisonment, and shot down workmen who were on strike."

The capitalist system of society cracked at every joint. Anarchy in production led to the war, which caused an immense accentuation of class antagonisms. The war thus paved the way for the *revolution*. Capitalism began to fall asunder because of its two principal tendencies (see section 13). *The epoch of the collapse of Capitalism began.*

Let us examine the question of the collapse of Capitalism a little more closely.

Capitalist society was built in all its parts after a certain pattern. The factory is organized exactly as a Government office or a regiment of the Imperialist army. At the top are the rich, who give orders; at the bottom are the poor, who carry them out; between these two classes are the skilled workers, officers of the lower ranks and better-paid employees. It will be seen, therefore, that the capitalist system can be maintained only so long as the soldier, who is a worker, feels himself bound to the general or other officer, who is a landowner or the son of a nobleman or bourgeois; and only so long as the factory worker obeys the orders of the factory director (who draws an enormous salary), and acquiesces in the arrangements of the capitalist who extracts surplus value from

his labor. As soon as the working classes realize that they are merely pawns in the hands of their enemies, the cords which bind the soldier to the general and the worker to the manufacturer will snap. The workers will cease to obey the capitalists, the soldiers their officers, and the officials their superiors. The period of the decline of the old discipline will begin — the discipline by means of which the rich rule the poor and the bourgeoisie keep the reins of power out of the hands of the proletariat.

This period is bound to last till the new class, the proletariat has overthrown the bourgeoisie and compelled them to perform some useful service, and till the proletariat have succeeded in creating the new discipline.

This period of confusion, in which the old order is destroyed and the new not yet created, can only end by the complete victory of the proletariat in the civil war.

The Civil War.

The civil war is an aggravated class struggle which changes into a revolution. The Imperialist world war between individual groups of bourgeoisie for the division and parcelling out of the world was waged with the help of the slaves of capital. It imposed upon the workers such burdens that the class struggle became a civil war between oppressors and oppressed—a war which Marx declared to be the only just one.

It is quite natural that Capitalism should lead to civil war, and that the Imperialist war between the bourgeois States should have as a sequel the class war. Our party predicted that this would happen as far back as the beginning of the war in 1914, when no one even so much as thought of the revolution. But it was clear that on the one hand the accumulated burdens imposed by the war on the working classes would provoke them into rebellion; and that, on the other hand, the bourgeoisie, in consequence of the great antagonism of interests amongst the various robber groups, would not be able to make an enduring peace.

Our prophecy is now in process of fulfillment. After the terrible years of bloodshed, cruelty and barbarism, the civil war against the oppressors broke out. The Russian Revolution

began this civil war in February and October, 1917, and the Finnish, Hungarian, Austrian, and German revolutions carried it on. The revolution then began in other countries Meanwhile it became notorious that the bourgeoisie were incapable of devising a lasting peace. The Allied Powers conquered Germany in November, 1918, the robber Peace of Versailles was only signed after many months; and when it will finally be ratified no one knows. All can see that this peace cannot endure. Already the Southern Slavs have fought with the Italians, the Poles with the Czecho-Slovaks and with the Lithuanians, and the Letts with the Germans. And all the bourgeois States together assail the Republic of the victorious Russian workers. Thus the Imperialist war ends with the civil war in which the proletariat must be the victors. The civil war is not the whim of any party; it is not an accident; it is the expression of the revolution, the outbreak of which was inevitable, because the Imperialist war for plunder at last opened the eyes of the great masses of the workers.

To say that the revolution can be achieved without civil war is to say that a "peaceful" revolution is possible. Those who believe in the possibility of a "peaceful" revolution (for example, the Mensheviks, who cry out against the waste of civil war), turn from Marx to the pre-scientific Socialists who believe that it is possible to "convert" the capitalists. As well believe that a tiger can be coaxed into feeding on grass and allowing calves to live in peace. Marx was a believer in civil war—that is, *the armed struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie*. Apropos of the Paris Commune (the rising of the workers of Paris in 1871), Marx said that the Communards were not sufficiently resolute. In the appeal of the First International he says in a tone of criticism: "The police sergeants, who ought to have been disarmed and imprisoned, found the gates of Paris wide open and a way of escape to Versailles thus secured. Not only that, but the 'party of law and order,' as the counter-revolutionaries were called, were even allowed to assemble and to occupy more than one strong position in Paris. . . . In its reluctance to picking up the gage of civil war thrown down by Thiers (a French Denikin) in his nightly invasions at Montmartre, the Central Committee

made a fatal and culpable error. The committee ought to have given the order to march immediately upon the then helpless Versailles, and thereby put a period to the conspiracies of Thiers and his country squires. But instead the party of law and order was allowed to try its strength once more at the ballot-box, when on March 26th the Commune was elected." Here Marx pronounces openly for the destruction of the White Guards in civil war with weapons in hand.

The teachers of Socialism took the revolution very seriously. It was clear to them that the proletariat could not convert the bourgeoisie, and that the workers would have to impose their will upon their enemies through a war carried on by guns and bayonets.

The civil war causes the classes of capitalist society, in consequence of their conflicting interests, to march against each other with weapons in their hands. The fact that capitalist society is divided into two parts; that, by its very nature, it represents at least *two* societies—this fact is, in normal times, quite lost sight of. Why? Because the slaves obey their masters unquestioningly. In a time of civil war, however, this acquiescence ceases and the oppressed section of society rises against the oppressing section. In these risings it is obviously quite impossible to think of the classes "living peacefully together." The army consists of White Guards (composed of nobles, bourgeoisie, the rich Intelligentsia, etc.) and the Red Guards (made up of workers and peasants). Any National Assembly, of whatever kind, in which both employers and workers were represented, would be impossible. How could they sit "peacefully" together in the Council Chamber while those in the streets were shooting one another down? In a civil war class rises against class. Therefore, it can only end with the complete victory of one class over the other, and not in any kind of understanding or compromise. What we have seen during the civil war in Russia and in other countries (Germany and Hungary) proves conclusively that there must be a dictatorship of the proletariat or a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and military. A Government of the middle classes and its parties (Social Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, etc.)

represents merely a transition to the rule of one side or the other.

When the Soviet Government of Hungary was overthrown with the help of the Mensheviks it was immediately succeeded by a "Coalition" which forthwith embarked upon a policy of reaction. The Constitutional Social Revolutionaries succeeded in gaining possession for a time of Ufa, the district on the other side of the Volga, and Siberia—and in twenty-four hours they were driven out by Admiral Koltchak, supported by the wealthy bourgeoisie and the great land-owners. In the place of the dictatorship of the workers and peasants there was set up the dictatorship of the landowners and the bourgeoisie.

Decisive victory over the enemy and the realization of the proletarian dictatorship—these are the inevitable results of the world-wide civil war.

✓ The Form and the Cost of the Civil War.

The epoch of civil war was opened by the Russian Revolution. The Russian upheaval, however, was merely a partial phenomenon, the beginning of the world revolution. In Russia the revolution broke out earlier than in other countries, because in Russia Capitalism began to decay earlier. The Russian bourgeoisie and the landowners, who wished to acquire Constantinople and Galicia, and who, together with their French and English allies, had plotted the world massacre, broke down earlier than the others in consequence of their weakness and want of organization. General instability and famine appeared earlier. It was therefore easier for the Russian proletariat to settle accounts with their enemies, as also to achieve victory and to realize their dictatorship.

It does not follow from this that the Russian Revolution is the most complete in the world, or that Communism can be realized the more easily in a country the less developed in that country Capitalism is. According to this view, Socialism would be realized first in China, Persia, Turkey, and other Countries in which Capitalism is not developed, and in which there are scarcely any proletarians. The whole teaching of Marx would be false if this were true.

Who thinks thus mistakes the beginning of the revolution

for the end. In Russia the revolution broke out in consequence of the low level of capitalist development. But precisely this weakness—the backwardness of Russia, the fact that the proletariat are a minority of the population, and that there are numerous small dealers, etc.—makes it difficult for us to organize the Communist economic order. In England the revolution will come later. But there the proletariat, after the victory, will be able to organize Communism more quickly than we, because they constitute the overwhelming majority of the nation and are accustomed to social labor. In England production is centralized to an extraordinary degree. The revolution will indeed begin later in England, but on a higher plane and in a more developed form than in Russia.

Many people believe that the horrors of the civil war are the results of the “Asiatic” outlook and the backwardness of the Russian people. The enemies of the Revolution in Western Europe continually assert that “Asiatic” Socialism flourishes in Russia, and that the revolution will be consummated in other countries without violence. That is nonsense. In a capitalistically developed country the resistance of the bourgeoisie must be stronger than in an undeveloped one. The Intellectuals (technical experts, engineers, officers, etc.) are more closely bound to capital, and therefore more antagonistic to Communism. The civil war in such a country must therefore be more violent than in Russia. We have ample evidence of this in the case of Germany. The German Revolution has shown that the struggle in an advanced capitalist country assumes a very violent form.

Those who complain about the Terror of the Bolsheviks forget that the bourgeoisie do not scruple to employ any means of protecting their property. The resolution of the International Communist Congress says on that very point: “When the Imperialist war began to change into a civil war the criminal ruling classes, who are well acquainted with history, saw that there was a danger of their bloodstained rule being overthrown, and their conduct became more and more brutal. . . .”

The Russian generals—the living embodiment of the Czar-

ist régime—have shot down, and are even now shooting down, multitudes of workers, with the help, direct and indirect, of the social-traitors. During the rule of the Social Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks in Russia the prisons were filled with workers and peasants; and the generals exterminated whole regiments for disobedience. Krasnov and Denikin, who enjoy the whole-hearted support of the Entente Powers, slaughtered thousands of workers. They shot every tenth man, and even allowed the corpses of those they had hanged to swing on the gibbets for three days in order to strike terror to the hearts of those who were spared. In the Ural and Volga districts bands of Czecho-Slovak White Guards cut the arms and legs off some of their prisoners, drowned others in the Volga, and buried others alive. In Siberia the militarists shot down thousands of Communists and destroyed countless workers and peasants. The German and Austrian bourgeoisie and the social traitors gave full play to their cannibal instincts when they hanged Ukrainian workers and peasants (whom they had previously robbed) on portable iron gibbets, and meted out a like fate to the Communists of their own countries — our Austrian and German comrades.

In Finland, the land of bourgeois democracy, the militarists assisted the bourgeoisie to shoot down between 13,000 and 14,000 proletarians, and to torture to death in prison more than 15,000 others. In Helsingfors they drove women and children before them as a protection against machine-gun fire. Through the social-traitors' support of the Finnish White Guards and their Swedish accomplices, the bloody campaigns against the defeated Finnish proletariat were made possible. In Tammerfors the women who were sentenced to death were compelled to dig their own graves. In Viborg hundreds of Russian and Finnish men, women and children were mown down.

In their own country the German bourgeoisie and Social-Democrats, by the bloody suppression of the Communist workers' insurrection, by the brutal murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, by the slaughter of the Spartacist workers — went to the uttermost limit of reactionary fury. The White

Terror, employed against both groups and individuals, is the policy upon which all the members of the bourgeoisie are united.

The same picture can be seen in other countries. In democratic Switzerland everything is ready for the slaughter of the workers in case they should venture to defy capitalist law. In America the prison, lynch law, and the electric chair are the chosen symbols of democracy and freedom. It is the same everywhere—in Hungary and in England, in Czechoslovakia and in Poland. The bourgeois assassins shrink from no deed of infamy. To strengthen their rule they foster the Jingo spirit. They organize Ukrainian bourgeois democracy with the help of the Menshevik Petlura; they support Polish democracy with the social patriot, Pilsudski, at its head; they set on foot great Jewish pogroms, which far exceed in cruelty those organized by the Czarist police. And if the Polish reactionary and “Socialist” criminals have murdered representatives of the Russian Red Cross, that is merely as a drop in the ocean compared with the sum of crime and cruelty for which the dying system of bourgeois cannibalism is daily responsible.

As the civil war progresses it will assume new forms. If the proletariat of all countries are oppressed they will wage war in the form of rebellions against the State power of the bourgeoisie. If the proletariat in any one country conquer and become the ruling power in the State, what will happen then? They will then have the governing machinery of the State, the proletarian army, the whole apparatus of power at their disposal. They will fight with their own bourgeoisie, who will organize conspiracies and revolts against them. But they will fight then as a State against the bourgeois States. The civil war will, therefore, in this case take a new form—that in which the proletarian State will be opposed to the bourgeois States. The position will not be merely that the workers of a country will rise against their own bourgeoisie, but that the workers' State will wage a regular war against the Imperialist capitalist States. This war will not be fought for the purpose of plundering other nations, but for the real-

ization of Communism, and of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

After the Russian Revolution of October, 1917, the capitalist States fell upon the Soviet Republic from all sides: Germany, France, America, Japan, etc. The more the example set by the Russian Revolution appealed to the workers of other countries the more closely international Capitalism united against the revolution, and the more eagerly it sought to organize a league of capitalists against the proletarian State.

The capitalists made such an attempt at the instigation of the clever and cunning knave, President Wilson, the leader of American Capitalism, by the so-called Peace Conference at Versailles. This league of bandits was given the name of the "League of Nations." In reality, it is not a league of nations, but a league of the capitalists and Governments of the nations concerned.

This League is an attempt to erect a huge trust spanning the entire globe. Its aim is the exploitation of the working class the world over, and the suppression, in the cruellest fashion, of the proletarian revolution. All talk to the effect that this League was established to ensure peace is so much trash. Its real aim is, first, the merciless exploitation of the proletariat of the whole world; and second, the throttling of the developing world-revolution.

America, which has enriched itself enormously by the war, "plays first fiddle" in the "League of Nations." America is now the creditor of all the bourgeois States of Europe. It is all the more a power to be reckoned with that it has raw materials, fuel and grain to dispose of. It will therefore keep all other robber States in a position of dependence upon it. In the "League of Nations" it will play the leading part.

It is interesting to see how the United States hid its policy of plunder behind all kinds of noble phrases. Its entry into the robber war was effected under the watchword of the "salvation of humanity," etc. It was to the advantage of the United States to have a dismembered Europe so that States could be created by the dozen, all having the appearance of

independence, but being in reality dependent upon America. And these robber interests were hidden under the mask of the "Self-Determination of Nations." According to Wilson's plan, capitalist gendarmerie, White Guards and police were to be established everywhere, to be ready to crush revolution under the plea of "punishment for breaking the peace." In 1919 all the peace-loving Imperialists declared, amidst immense clamor, that the real Imperialists and enemies of peace were—the Bolsheviks. The stranglers of the revolution in this case concealed their real intentions by means of phrases and words like that "love of freedom" and "democracy."

The "League of Nations" has acted the part of an international policeman and hangman. Its executors have throttled the Soviet Republic in Hungary and in Slovakia. They attempt continually to strangle the Russian proletariat. The English, American, Japanese, French, and other armies assailed Russia north, south, east and west. The "League of Nations" even let negro slaves loose on the Russian and Hungarian workers (at Odessa and at Buda-Pesth). To what depths of infamy the "League of Nations" can sink is seen by, for example, the fact the "civilized robbers with kid gloves supported a "League of Murderers," led by General Yudenitch, the head of the so-called "Government of North-West Russia." The League of Nations incited Finland, Poland, etc., against Soviet Russia, and organized conspiracies with the help of the consuls of foreign Powers. Its agents blew up bridges, threw bombs at Communists, etc. There is no iniquity of which the "League of Nations" is not capable.

The fiercer the assault of the proletariat is, the more closely do the capitalists knit themselves together. In the "Communist Manifesto" of 1847 Marx and Engels wrote: "A spectre is haunting Europe—the spectre of Communism. All the Powers of old Europe have united in a holy alliance against this spectre—the Pope and the Czar, Metternich and Guezot, French Radicals and German police." Since that time many years have elapsed. The spectre of Communism has taken on flesh and blood. And against it not only "old Europe," but *the entire capitalist world* has taken the field. The "League of Nations," however, *is not able to solve its two problems—*

the organizing of the whole world economy in a single trust, and the stifling of the flaming up all over the world. Amongst the great Powers themselves there is not complete unity. America and Japan are opposing each other, and both are increasing their armaments. It would be ridiculous to suppose that prostrate Germany can have any friendly feelings towards the "unselfish" robbers of the Entente. There is a gaping wound here. The small States are fighting amongst themselves. But it is more important that in the colonies rebellions and wars are breaking out: in India, Egypt, Ireland, etc. The subject countries are rising against their "civilized" European oppressors. The civil—and class—war which the proletariat are waging against the Imperialist bourgeoisie is being linked up with the revolts in the colonies. These will undermine and ultimately destroy the rule of world Imperialism. The capitalist system, therefore, is giving way on one side under the pressure of the rising working classes, the wars of the proletarian Republic, and the insurrections of the nations held in subjection by Imperialism; and on the other because of the clashing interests of, and want of unity amongst, the great Capitalist Powers. Instead of a "lasting peace" there is complete chaos; instead of a league of the proletariats of the world there is bitter civil war. In this civil war the power of the proletariat grows greater, while that of the bourgeoisie declines. Its inevitable end is the victory of the proletariat.

The victory of the proletarian dictatorship cannot be achieved without loss and suffering. The civil war, like every other war, demands sacrifices of men and materials. Such sacrifices are inseparable from any revolution. The struggle in the early stages of the civil war, which is a result of the dislocation caused by the Imperialist war, will be increased in intensity. The best of the workers, instead of attending to their work and organizing production, will have to shoulder their rifles and go to the front to defend themselves against the landowners and militarists. Industry will naturally suffer from this. But that is inevitable in *any* revolution. In the French bourgeois Revolution of 1789-1793, in which the French bourgeoisie overthrew the landowners, a great deal of

destruction was done. After the fall of feudalism, however, France soon recovered and advanced rapidly.

It will be apparent to everyone that in such a colossal upheaval as the world revolution of the proletariat, in which the system of society built up *in the course of centuries* will collapse, the sacrifices demanded will be exceptionally heavy. The civil war is carried on to-day on a world-wide scale. It is to a certain extent a war between bourgeois States and proletarian States. The proletarian States, which are defending themselves against the Imperialist banditti, are waging a holy class war. This war demands blood-sacrifices, however, and the more its theatre extends the more sacrifices will be offered up, and the more widespread will be the ruin.

The cost of a revolution, however, can in no way be considered as an argument against it. The capitalist order of society, gradually erected during hundreds of years, brought on the great Imperialist slaughter in which oceans of blood were shed. What civil war can be compared with this for wild destruction, and the ruin of property slowly accumulated by mankind? Capitalism must be ended once and for all.

A period of civil war is not too great a price to pay to bring that about, and to beat a path to Communism, which will heal all wounds and rapidly develop the productive powers of human society.

Universal Dissolution or Communism?

The revolution is developing into a world-revolution from the same causes that made the Imperialist war develop into a world-war. All the leading countries of the world, as members of the world economy, are closely connected with one another. They were all involved in the war, and thereby bound together in a special manner. In all countries the war caused fearful devastation. It led to famine, to the enslavement of the proletariat, to the gradual decay and downfall of Capitalism, to the dissolution of the enforced discipline of the army, the factory and the workshop. In the same inexorable way it leads to the Communist revolution of the proletariat.

When the dissolution of Capitalism has once begun and the Communist revolution is once under way, nothing can stop

them. Every attempt to guide society into the old capitalist paths is foredoomed to failure. The class-consciousness of the proletarian masses has attained to such a degree of intensity that they will neither work for Capitalism and its interests, nor will they murder one another for the sake of exploiting and oppressing colonial peoples. It is impossible today to rebuild the army of William the Second in Germany. It is impossible to restore the Imperialist discipline of the army in which the proletarian soldier is under the heel of the feudal general. It is not possible to re-establish capitalist labor discipline and to compel the worker to work for the capitalist and the landowner. The new army can only be created by the proletariat, and the new labor discipline can only be realized by the working class. One of two things must come to pass: either universal ruin, absolute chaos and barbarism, or *Communism*. All attempts to maintain Capitalism in a country in which the masses realize their own power confirms this. Neither the Finnish nor the Hungarian bourgeoisie, neither Koltchak nor Denikin nor Skowpadsky was able to introduce an economic system. The utmost these people could do was to set up their own bloodstained rule.

The only way out for mankind is Communism. As it is only through the proletariat that Communism can be brought into being, the proletariat are really the saviors of humanity from the horrors of Capitalism, from barbarous exploitation, from colonial policies, standing armies, famine, savagery and brutality — from all the horrors that financial capital and Imperialism have brought in their train. Therein lies the great historical significance of the proletariat. The proletariat may suffer defeat in one battle, or even in one country, but their victory is certain, just as the downfall of the bourgeoisie is inevitable.

From the foregoing it is clear that all groups, classes and parties that believe in the restoration of Capitalism, that think that the time is not ripe for Socialism, are in reality counter-revolutionaries; they play a reactionary part, whether intentional or not, and whether they are conscious of it or not. All parties of revisionary Socialists are of this type. On that point see the following chapter.

CHAPTER V.

THE SECOND AND THIRD INTERNATIONALS.

Internationalism of the Working Class Movement as a Condition for the Success of the Communist Revolution.

The Communist Revolution can triumph only as a world revolution. If, for example, the working class seized the power in any one country, while the proletariat of other countries still supported Capitalism, not from fear, but from conviction, the great predatory States would ultimately strangle the proletarian one. In the years 1917, 1918 and 1919 all the Powers sought to overthrow Soviet Russia; in 1919 they throttled Soviet Hungary. They were not able, however, to strangle Soviet Russia because internal conditions in their own countries were such that they feared they would be overthrown by their own workers who demanded the withdrawal of the armies from Russia. The existence of the proletarian dictatorship is in constant danger if the workers of other countries do not rally to its support. Moreover, in the country in which the proletariat have realized their dictatorship the work of economic construction is rendered very difficult. Such a country can import nothing or next to nothing from abroad. It is *blockaded* on all sides.

If it is true that for the victory of Communism the triumph of the world revolution and the mutual support of the workers are indispensable, then it follows that a necessary condition for success is the international solidarity of the working class. Just as the workers in any country can win a strike only when the workers in other factories assist them to build up a common organization, and to carry on the fight against all employers, so is it also with the workers of the various bourgeois States. They can achieve victory only when they go forward with closed ranks, when they cease fighting one another, and when they feel themselves to be members of one class, bound together by common interests. Only the most complete trust

in one another, a fraternal union, the unity of revolutionary deeds against world capital can ensure victory to the working class. The Communist working class movement can win only as an International Communist movement.

The necessity of the international fight of the proletariat has long been recognized. In the forties of last century, before the Revolution of 1848, there was already in existence a secret international organization called the Communist League. At its head were Marx and Engels. At the London Congress of the League they were commissioned to draw up a manifesto in its name. This was the origin of the "Manifesto of the Communist Party," in which the great champions of the proletariat expounded for the first time the teachings of Communism.

In 1864 the International Association of Working Men, or the First International, was formed under the leadership of Marx. In the First International there were many leaders of the working class movement from different countries, but there was little unity in their ranks. Besides, the International did not lean for support on the broad masses of the workers, but resembled rather an international union for revolutionary propaganda. In 1871 the members of the International took part in the insurrection of the Paris workers (the Paris Commune). Thereupon the persecution of the groups of the International began everywhere. In 1874 the International fell to pieces after it had been weakened by internal quarrels between the adherents of Marx and those of the Anarchist Bakunin. After the break-up of the First International the Social-Democratic parties of the various countries began to progress as a result of the development of industry. The necessity for mutual support was soon recognized, and in 1889 an International Conference of representatives of the Socialist parties of the various countries was called. The Second International was then founded. This International crumbled away at the outbreak of the world war. The reasons for the downfall of the Second International will be explained later.

Already in the "Communist Manifesto" Marx had proclaimed the watchword: "Proletarians of all lands, unite!"

Marx discoursed on that subject in the "Communist Manifesto," which closes with these words: "The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of the present system of society. Let the ruling classes tremble before a Communistic Revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Proletarians of all lands, unite!"

The international solidarity of the proletariat is not merely a toy or a fine phrase for the workers, but a vital necessity, without which the cause of the working class is doomed to destruction.

The Collapse of the Second International and Its Causes

When the great world carnage began in August, 1914, the Social-Democratic parties of all countries rallied to the side of their Governments and thus supported the war. Only the Russian, the Serbian, and later, the Italian, proletariat declared war on the war of their Governments. On one and the same day the Social-Democratic representatives of France and Germany voted the war credits of their Governments. Instead of organizing a universal rising against the criminal bourgeoisie, the Socialist parties sprang apart, each under the banner of its Bourgeois Government. The Imperialist war received the direct support of the Socialist parties, whose leaders deserted and betrayed Socialism. The Second International came to an inglorious end.

It is interesting to note that shortly before the betrayal, the Press and the leaders of the Socialist parties denounced the war. For example, G. Hervé, the betrayer of French Socialism, wrote in his newspaper: "The Social War" (which he renamed "Victory" at the beginning of hostilities): "To fight to maintain the prestige of the Czar! . . . What joy to die for such a noble cause!" Three days before the outbreak of war the French Socialist Party issued a manifesto against the war, and the French Syndicalists printed the following challenge in their paper: "Workers, if you are not cowards, protest!" The German Social-Democrats held numerous protest demonstrations. In the minds of all the decision of the Inter-

national Congress at Basle was still fresh. The resolution stated that in case of war *all* means would have to be used to bring the people to the point of "rebellion and to hasten the breakdown of Capitalism." But the next day the same parties and the same leaders were writing of the necessity of "defending the Fatherland" (that is, the robber-State of their own bourgeoisie); and the Vienna "Arbeiter Zeitung" declared that "German (!!)" humanity" must be defended.

In order to understand the inglorious downfall of the Second International we must be clear as to the conditions under which the working class movement developed before the war. Up to the time of this conflict Capitalism in Europe and America developed at the expense of the colonies. The repulsive and murderous side of Capitalism came here principal to the surface. From colonial peoples gains were extracted by barbarous exploitation, robbery, fraud, and violence. In this way enormous profits were brought to European and American financial capital. The stronger and more powerful a State Capitalist Trust felt itself to be on the world market, the greater profit it secured through the exploitation of the colonies. From this surplus profit it was able to pay its wage-slaves a little more than the usual wage. Naturally, not all workmen, but only the "qualified," that is, the so-called *skilled* workers were thus privileged. These sections of the working class were *won* over by the money of the Capitalists. They reasoned in this way: "If 'our' industry has access to markets in the African Colonies, it is so much the better for us. The industry will develop, the profits of its directors will grow, and something will also fall to our own share." Thus Capitalism chains its wage-slaves to its own State.

The working classes were not accustomed to (indeed they had no opportunity for carrying on a fight on an international scale). The activities of their organizations were, in most cases, confined to the bourgeoisie of their "own" State. And these—their "own" bourgeoisie—understood how to secure the services of part of the working class, (particularly the skilled workmen) for the furtherance of their Colonial policy. The leaders of working class organizations — the bureaucracy of

Labor, Parliamentary representatives, those who were in more or less comfortable positions, and who were accustomed to "peaceful," "quiet" and "constitutional" activities—were especially easy prey for the bourgeoisie. It was principally in the Colonies that Capitalism developed by methods of bloodshed. In Europe and America industry developed rapidly, and the fight of the working class took a more or less peaceful form. Nowhere but in Russia had there been a great Revolution since 1871—in most countries not since 1848. All were accustomed to the idea that Capitalism would henceforth develop peacefully, and but no one was skeptical when the coming war was spoken of. A section of the workers, however—amongst whom were the leaders—gave themselves up more and more to the idea that the working class had something to gain by the Colonial policy, and must promote, *together with their own bourgeoisie*, the prosperity "of the whole people." Consequently the Petit-Bourgeois Class began to flock to the standard of Social-Democracy. It was not surprising that, *at the critical moment, attachment to the Imperialist robber State overcame the international solidarity of the working class.*

The principal cause of the downfall of the Second International, therefore, was that the Colonial policy of the monopoly position of the great State trusts chained the workers—and especially the "leaders" of the workers—to the Imperialist Bourgeois State.

In the history of the working class movement there are earlier instances of the co-operation of the workers with their oppressors. There was a time, for example, when the worker sat at the same table with his master. He looked upon the workshop of his employer almost as his own; his master, in his eyes, was no enemy, but a "giver of work." In course of time, however, the workers in different factories began to unite against *all* employers. When the foremost countries were transformed into "State Capitalist Trusts" the workers displayed the same attachment to them as they did formerly to individual employers.

The war, however, has taught them that they must not

make common cause with their own *bourgeois* State, but that they must unite and overthrow the bourgeois States, and march forward to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Watchwords of the Defense of the Fatherland and Pacifism.

The treachery to the workers' cause and to the common struggle of the working class was justified by the leaders of the Socialist parties, and of the Second International by the pretence that the "Fatherland had to be defended."

We have already seen that in an Imperialist war none of the Great Powers defends itself, but that all are *aggressors*. The watchword of the Defense of the Fatherland (the *Bourgeois* Fatherland) was simply a deception with which the leaders sought to cover their treachery.

We must now examine this question more closely.

What really is the Fatherland? What do we understand by the word? Do we mean people who speak the same language, or a "nation?" By no means. Take, for instance, Czarist Russia. When the Russian bourgeoisie called for the defense of the Fatherland they were not by any means thinking of the country in which a nation—say the Great Russians—lived. No; for many different peoples which dwell in Russia. Of what, then, were they really speaking? Of nothing but *the supreme power of the Russian bourgeoisie and of the land-owners*. To "defend" this was the task set before the Russian workers. In reality they were not defending it, but endeavoring to extend its frontiers to Constantinople and Cracow. When the German bourgeoisie shouted for the defense of the "Fatherland," what really was the point at issue? It was the power of the German bourgeoisie, *the extension of the boundaries of the robber State*.

We must therefore be clear as to whether the working class, *under Capitalism*, really has a Fatherland at all. Marx answered this question in the "Communist Manifesto": "The workers have no Fatherland." Why? Simply because under Capitalism they have no power, because the bourgeoisie possess everything, because the State is a means for holding down and

suppressing the working class. The task of the proletariat consists in destroying the State of the bourgeoisie; not in defending it. The proletariat will have a Fatherland only when they have conquered the power of the State and becoming the rulers of the country. Then for the first time will it be the duty of the proletariat to defend their Fatherland. Only then will they be defending their *own* power and their *own* cause, and not the power of their enemies and the robber policy of their oppressors.

The bourgeoisie understand all this perfectly well, as is proved by the following: When the proletariat in Russia came into power the bourgeoisie took up the fight against Russia with all the means at their disposal. They allied themselves with all and sundry—with Germans, Japanese, Americans, and English. They would league themselves with Satan himself if necessary. Why? Because they had lost the power to rob, plunder and exploit their own Fatherland. They are prepared, at any time, to blow into the air proletarian Russia—that is, the Soviet power. It was so also in Hungary. The bourgeoisie called for the defence of Hungary as long as the power was in their hands; but afterwards they entered into a league with Rumanians, Czecho-Slovaks, Austrians, and the Entente Powers, and with them strangled proletarian Hungary. This shows that the bourgeoisie understand perfectly well what was at stake. With the cry of the Fatherland they summoned all the citizens to consolidate their *own* bourgeois power, and judged those guilty of high treason who refused to obey. They shrank from nothing that would enable them to destroy the *proletarian* Fatherland.

The proletariat must take a lesson from the bourgeoisie: they must *destroy* the bourgeois Fatherland, and not defend it or help to extend it; and they must defend their *own* proletarian Fatherland with all their strength, and to the last drop of their blood.

Our opponents may object at this point. So you recognize that colonial policies and Imperialism contributed to the development of the industry of the Great Powers, and that in that way a few crumbs from the masters' tables fell to the

working class. Should not the workers, then, defend their *own* masters and assist them in the competitive struggle?

This is by no means correct. Let us take, for example, two manufacturers, Schulz and Petroff. They are at daggers drawn on the market. Schulz says to his workers: "Friends! defend me with all your might! Injure as much as you can the factory of Petroff, Petroff himself, and his workers, etc. I will then deliver a knock-out blow to Petroff. My business will go briskly, and I will give you an increase of wages from the profits." Petroff says the same to his workers. Suppose that Schulz is victorious. Though he perhaps gave an increase of wages at first he will take it all back later. If Schulz's workers go on strike and turn for assistance to Petroff's workmen, these can reply, "What do you want? You helped to put us in our present position, and now you come to us for help. Well, you will have to go farther!" A general strike is not possible. The division of the workers makes the Capitalist strong. After the Capitalist has got the better of his competitors he turns against the workers, whose strength is dissipated. The workers of Schulz, it is true, profited for a time by the increase of wages, but ultimately they lost everything. It is exactly the same in the international fight. The bourgeois State represents a league of masters. If one such league wishes to enrich itself at the expense of another it can win the assent of the workers to its plans with money. The collapse of the Second International and the betrayal of Socialism by the leaders of the workers' movement were possible because the leaders were willing to "defend" and to magnify every little privilege vouchsafed to them by their masters. In the course of the war, however, when the workers, in consequence of this betrayal, were divided, capital brought terrible pressure to bear upon them from all sides. The workers saw that they had made a mistake, and that the leaders of the Socialist parties *had sold them*. With the recognition of the fact began the *rebirth of Socialism*. ~~The protests came principally from the ranks of the badly paid, unskilled workers.~~ The aristocracy of labor and the old leaders continued still to play the part of traitors.

A means of misleading and stupefying the working masses which was almost as effective as the watchword of the defense of the (bourgeois) Fatherland was pacifism, so-called. What is pacifism? It is the theory that *within the Capitalist system*, without revolution, without any rising of the proletariat, permanent peace will be established. It will be sufficient to set up courts of arbitration for the settlement of international disputes, to abolish secret diplomacy, to effect disarmament (perhaps at the beginning only limitation of armaments), etc., and all will be well.

The fundamental error of pacifism is the belief that the bourgeoisie will agree to all this—disarmament, etc. It is absolutely senseless to preach disarmament in the epoch of Imperialism and of civil war. The bourgeoisie will arm in spite of the desires of the pacifists. And if an armed proletariat disarm or an unarmed proletariat refuse to arm, it will simply deliver itself up to destruction. That is the danger to the proletariat which lies in the watchword of pacifism. The aim of pacifism is to turn the working class away from the armed fight for Communism.

The best example of the falseness of pacifism that can be cited is the policy of Wilson and his Fourteen Points by which, under the guise of noble ideals (such as the League of Nations) world-wide robbery and civil war against the proletariat were brought about. Of the depths to which pacifists can sink we get some idea from the following examples:—The ex-President of the United States, Taft, is one of the founders of the American Pacifist League, and at the same time a fanatical Imperialist. The well known American automobile manufacturer, Ford, organized several expeditions to Europe in order to trumpet his pacifism throughout the world. At the same time he drew hundreds of millions of dollars of war profits, as all his establishments were engaged on war work. One of the most authoritative pacifists, A. Fried, in his "Handbook of Pacifism" (Vol. II., page 149), sees, amongst other things, the "brotherhood of peoples," in the joint crusade of the Imperialists against China in 1900. The open robbery which was committed in China by all the

Powers was regarded as the "fraternization of peoples." In the same way the pacifists serve up the phrase, the "League of Nations," which really means nothing but a league of Capitalists.

The Socialist Jingo.

The treacherous rallying cries which the bourgeoisie, by means of their Press (magazines, newspapers, pamphlets, etc.), dinned into the ears of the masses, day in, day out, became also the watchword of the traitors to Socialism.

The old Socialist parties in almost all countries split into three groups: the open and unashamed traitors—the Jingo; the secret and vacillating traitors—the so-called "Centre"; and lastly, those who remained true to Socialism. From the last-named the *Communist Parties* were afterwards organized.

The leaders of almost all the old Socialist parties proved to be Jingo, that is, preachers of hatred, under the flag of Socialism, and advocates of the support of the predatory bourgeois States under the treacherous watchword of the defense of the Fatherland. In Germany there were Scheidemann, Ebert, David, Heine, and others; in England, Henderson; in America, Samuel Gompers, the Trade Union leader; in France, Renaudel, Albert Thomas, Jules Guesde, and the Trade Union leaders like Jouhaux; in Russia, Plekhanoff, Potressoff, and the Right Social Revolutionaries (Breshkov-Breshkovskaya, Kerensky, Tchernoff), and the Right Mensheviks (Liber and Rosanoff); in Austria, Renner, Seitz, Victor Adler; in Hungary, Garami, Buchinger, and others.

All were for the "defense" of the bourgeois Fatherland. Some of them quite openly declared for the policy of plunder, for annexations and indemnities, and for the robbery of the colonies. They supported this policy all through the war, not only by voting war credits, but also by propaganda. The manifesto of Plekhanoff was placarded throughout Russia by the Czarist Minister, Churostoff. General Korniloff appointed Plekhanoff a Minister in his Cabinet. Kerensky (Social Revolutionary) and Tseretelli (Menshevik) concealed from the people the secret treaties of the Czar; and they persecuted

the proletariat during the days of July. Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks participated in the Government of Kolchak. Rosanoff was a spy of Yudenitch's. In a word, they were, as were all the bourgeoisie, for the support of the plundering bourgeois Fatherland, and for the destruction of the Soviet Fatherland. The French Jingo, as Guesde, Albert Thomas, entered the Ministry of the robbers, they supported all the plundering schemes of the Allies, they were for the strangling of the Russian Revolution, and favored the dispatch of troops against the Russian workers. In like manner the German Jingo (Scheidemann, for example) joined the Ministry while William still ruled. They supported Wilhelm, when he throttled the Finnish Revolution, and plundered the Ukraine and Great Russia. Members of the Social Democratic Party (as Winnig in Riga) conducted the fight against the Russian and Lettish workers. They murdered Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, and suppressed in atrocious fashion the rebellions of the Communist workers in Berlin, Leipzig, Hamburg, Munich, and other places. The Hungarian Socialist Jingo, for their part, supported the monarchist government, and subsequently betrayed the Soviet Republic. In a word, the Socialist Jingos in all countries proved themselves to be veritable *executioners of the working class*.

While Plekhanoff was still a revolutionary he wrote in the newspaper "Iskra," published abroad, that the twentieth century, which was destined to realize Socialism, would, in all probability, witness a serious split amongst Socialists and a great and bitter fight amongst them. Just as, at the time of the French Revolution (1789-1793) the extreme revolutionary party (the Montagnards) waged a civil war against the moderate revolutionary party (the Girondists), later a counter-revolutionary party, so apparently (said Plekhanoff) in the twentieth century men hitherto of the same opinions would face one another as enemies, because some of them would go over to the side of the bourgeoisie.

This prophecy of Plekhanoff's was completely fulfilled. Only he did not know at that time that he himself would be amongst the traitors.

The Socialist Jingoos (and also the Opportunists) became open class enemies of the proletariat. In the great world revolution they fight in the ranks of the Whites against the Reds; they unite with the generals, the large bourgeoisie and the land-owners. It is self-evident that against them, as against the bourgeoisie, whose tools they are, a relentless war must be waged.

The remnants of the Second International, which these parties seek to rehabilitate, are really nothing but a bureau of the "League of Nations," a weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie to be used in the fight against the proletariat.

The "Centre."

This tendency derives its name from the circumstances that it ascillates between the Communists on the one hand and the Socialist Jingoos on the other. The following parties belong to the "Centre": in Russia, the Left Mensheviks with Martoff at their head; in Germany, the Independent Social Democratic Party led by Kautsky and Ledebour; in France, the group of Jean Longuet; in America, the American Socialist Party represented by Hillquit; in England, a part of the British Socialist Party, the Independent Labor Party, etc.

At the beginning of the war these people with all the social traitors, declared for the defense of the Fatherland and against the revolution. Kautsky wrote that the thing to be most dreaded was an "enemy invasion," and that only *after* the war could the fight against the bourgeoisie be again taken up. During the period of the war the International, in Kautsky's opinion, had no work to do. After the conclusion of "peace" Kautsky wrote that so much destruction had been wrought that Socialism could not even be thought of. Therefore, in a time of war we must not fight because nothing can be achieved: we must postpone the struggle till peace is restored; and in time of peace we must not fight because the war has caused universal exhaustion. The theory of Kautsky is a confession of absolute impotence which corrupts the proletariat. Worse still, Kautsky, in a time of revolution, institutes a frantic hue and cry against the Bolsheviks. He, forgetting the teachings of Marx, conducts a campaign

against the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Terror, etc., without perceiving that he thereby assists the *White Terror of the bourgeoisie*. His remedies (arbitration courts and the like) are really those of the average pacifist, and therefore he is akin to those of the school of bourgeois pacifism.

The policy of the "Centre" is to swing helpless between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, always standing in its own light, ever endeavoring to reconcile the irreconcilable, and in a time of crisis betraying the proletariat.

During the October Revolution the Russian "Centre" (Martoff & Co.) complained about the violent practices of the Bolsheviki. They endeavored to "reconcile" all things and thus afforded assistance to the White Guards and weakened the energies of the proletarian in the fight. The Menshevik Party did not even expel those of their members who conspired with the generals and acted as spies for them. In a difficult time for the proletariat the "Centre" commenced a strike agitation in favor of the Constituent Assembly and against the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. During the Kolchak offensive some of the Mensheviks (Plesskoff, for instance), in complete agreement with the bourgeois plotters, raised the cry, "Put an end to the civil war." In Germany the "Independents" played a treacherous part at the time of the workers' rising in Berlin when they began to try "reconciliation," and thereby contributed to the defeat of the rebellion. Amongst the Independents were very many advocates of co-operation with the Scheidemannites. The most important thing, however, is that they did not conduct an agitation for mass rebellion against the bourgeoisie, but confused the proletariat with pacifist rallying cries. In France and England the "Centre" "condemned" the counter-revolution, "protested" verbally against the strangling of the revolution, but exhibited an absolute incapacity for mass action.

At the present time the "Centre" groups are as dangerous as the Socialist Jingoists. The "Centrists" attempt to revive the Second International and to bring about "reconciliation" with the Communists. It is clear that without a definite rupture with them, and without fighting them, victory over the counter-revolution is inconceivable.

The attempt to restore the Second International was undertaken under the benevolent protection of the predatory "League of Nations." The Socialist Jingoës are really the *last* support of the decaying Capitalist system. The Imperialist War could not have raged for five years if the Socialist parties had not been guilty of a breach of faith with their class. The Socialist parties were the greatest impediments in the fight of the working class for the overthrow of Capitalism. During the war the parties of social traitors repeated everything the bourgeoisie said. After the Peace of Versailles, when the "League of Nations" was established, the remnants of the Second International (Jingoës as well as Centrists) adopted the slogans which the "League of Nations" accuses the Bolsheviks (as does the Second International) of terrorism, of destroying democracy, of "Red Imperialism." Instead of waging a determined fight against the Imperialists the Second Internationalists repeat their watchwords.

The Third Communist International.

As we have seen, the Socialist Jingoës and the Centrists, during the war, chose as their slogan the defence of the (bourgeois) Fatherland (the State organization of the enemy of the proletariat). From this came "peace" between the classes, that is, complete subjection to the Capitalist State. For example, strikes were forbidden, to say nothing of risings against the criminal bourgeoisie. The social traitors declared that we must first of all settle accounts with the "external enemy," and afterwards —.

In this way they delivered the workers of all lands into the hands of the bourgeoisie. Even at the beginning of the war, however, the groups of faithful Socialists recognized that the "defense of the Fatherland" and "peace" within the nation would bind the workers hand and foot, and that these watchwords were treason to the working class. As early as 1914 the Bolshevik Party declared that not peace with the criminal bourgeoisie, but civil war against them (that is, the revolution) was necessary. It was the duty of each proletariat, above all, to *overthrow* its own bourgeoisie. In Ger-

many Karl-Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg stood at the head of a band of comrades (the International Group). This group declared that the international solidarity of the proletariat was the all-important thing. Soon afterwards Karl Liebknecht openly adopted the watchword of civil war and began to summon the working class to armed insurrection against the bourgeoisie. Thus originated the party of German Bolsheviks—the Spartacists. In other countries there were similar splits in the old parties. In Sweden the so-called Left Socialist Party was formed. In Norway the Left obtained control of the entire party. The Italian Socialists throughout the war had held fast to the ideal of internationalism. On this ground were based the attempts at unity which, at the two Conferences at Zimmerwald and Kienthal, laid the foundations of the Third International. It soon became evident, however, that doubtful characters belonging to the Centre were included who only hindered the movement. Within the Zimmerwald International Association the so-called Zimmerwaldian Left was formed under the leadership of Comrade Lenin. The Zimmerwaldian Left insisted upon a resolute policy, and sharply criticised the Centre led by Kautsky.

After the October Revolution and the setting up of the Soviet power in Russia, that country became the principal centre of the international movement. In order to mark itself off from the social traitors, the Party reverted to the old glorious and inspiring name of the *Communist* Party. Under the influence of the Russian Revolution Communist Parties arose in other countries. The Spartakusbund altered its name to the “Communist Party of Germany.” In Hungary, German Austria, France and Finland, Communist Parties were founded. In America the Centrists expelled the Left members, whereupon the latter formed themselves into a Communist Party. In England the Communist Party was established in the autumn of 1920. *The Communist International* grew from these parties. *The First International Communist Congress* was held in March, 1919, at Moscow, in the Kremlin, the former stronghold of the Czar. At this Congress

the *Third (Communist) International* was founded. The Congress was attended by representatives of the Communist Parties of Russia, Germany, German Austria, Hungary, Sweden, Norway, Finland, and other countries, as well as by French, American and English comrades.

The Congress unanimously adopted the platform proposed by the German and Russian comrades; and showed that the proletariat had placed themselves solidly and resolutely under the banner of the dictatorship of the workers, the Soviet Power and Communism.

The Third International assumed the name of the *Communist International*, just as the organization at whose head was Karl Marx himself, was called the *Communist League*. Its every act shows that it walks in the footsteps of Marx, that is, on the *revolutionary pathway that leads to the forcible overthrow of the Capitalist system of society*.

It is not to be wondered at that all the spirit, the honor, and the revolutionary impulse that exist in the international proletariat are being attracted to the new International, which unites all the strength of the champions of the workers.

The Communist Party has shown by its very name that it has nothing in common with the social traitors. Marx and Engels held that it was not meant that a party of the revolutionary proletariat should adopt the name of "Social Democrats." "Democracy" means a certain form of the State. But, as we have seen, there will not be any State at all in the future society. In the period of transition, however, there must be a *dictatorship* of the workers. The traitors to the working class will not go beyond a bourgeois republic; we, however, will go forward to Communism.

In the Foreword to the "Communist Manifesto," Engels wrote that by the term "Socialism," in his day, the movement of the Radical Intelligentsia was understood, while by "Communism" was meant that of the workers. This state of affairs is with us again. The Communists rely exclusively on the workers; and the Social Democracy upon the aristocracy of labor, the Intellectuals and shopkeepers, upon the petit-bourgeoisie generally.

The Communist International consequently realizes the teachings of Marx whilst it frees them from those excrescences which grew so abundantly upon them during the "peaceful" period of the development of Capitalism. That which the great teacher of Communism preached sixty years ago is being realized today under the direction of the Communist International.

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