

STATE & REV.  
(SEL. WKSVpp.3-113)

Preface---imperialist war///accelerated... transformation of  
mon. cap. into STATE MONOPOLY CAPITALISM.

I --Class Society & the State

- 1) state as product of irreconcilable class antagonisms
- 2) special bodies of armed men, prisons etc.  
vs  
SELF ACTING ARMED ORG.
- 3) state as instrument of exploitation
- 4) Withering Away of State--Dialectics & Eclectics

II--State & Rev, 1848-51 (CM--"abstract"; 18th Brumaire--"concrete")  
2 institutions most characteristic of centralised state power that is peculiar to bourg. society in per of fall of absolutism:

- 1) BUR.
- 2) STANDING ARMY

III-S & R--1871 1) Where Lay Heroism of Communards--smashing state machine

- 2) What is to supersede it--prol. orgd as ruling class
- 3) Abolition of parliamentarism--
- 4) National unity against bourg. military bur. central.
- 5) Abolition of parasitic state & its replacement by POL. FORM AT LAST DISCOVERED\*COMMUNE

IV--Supplementary Explanation 1) Engels Housing Ques 1872

- 2) Controversy with Anarchists -1873
- 3) Letter to Bebel
- 4) Criticism of Erfurt
- 5) E's 1891 introd to CW in Fr.

p.63: (after planlessness ceases)

"Here we have what is most essential in the theoretical appraisal of the latest phase of cap., i.e., imp., viz., that cap. becomes mon. cap. The latter must be emphasised because the erroneous bourg. ref. view that mon. cap. or state monopoly capitalism is no longer capitalism, but can already be termed "state socialism" or something of that sort is very widespread. The trusts, of course, have not created, do not create now & cannot create full & complete planning."

Ch.V--The Economic Basis of the Withering Away\*

p.92: "The ques. of control & acct'g must not be confused with ques. of scientifically educated staff of engineers & agronomists & so on."

- 1) Mx's presentation of ques
- 2) Transition from cap. to com
- 3) 1st phase of communist soc.
- 4) Higher phase "

S & R , Cont.

VI--Vulgarisation of Marxism by Opportunists

- 1) Plekhanov's Controversy with Anarchists
  - 2) KK's Controversy with Opportunists
- KK "SYSTEMATICALLY GRAVITATED TOWARD OPPORTUNISM PRECISELY ON THE QUES OF STATE"

a) 1900--against Bernstein  
b) 1902--Social Rev. ("there are enterprises that cannot be without bur", said KK, in reality workers will smash bur. apparatus  
"THEY WILL NOT LEAVE A SINGLE STONE OF IT STANDING"  
0-1-200--Road to Power

ALL BUREAUCRATS  
SO NONE IS

3) KK's controversy with Pannekoek  
Under cap. democracy is mutilated by wage slavery "THIS IS WHY & THE ONLY REASON WHY ... This is ESSENCE OF BUR."

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L'S NOTEBOOKS ON MARXISM AND STATE JAN\*FEB 1917 (cf. Letter to Kamenev, July 1917: "Entres nous: if they do away with me, I ask you to publish my notebook "Mxism & the State" (lost in Stockholm). Bound in blue cover. Collected all quotations from M & E, precisely from KK against Pannekoek; There are some remarks & zametok. Formulate. I think that the work can be gotten out in a week. Consider it important because it is not only Pl & K who have wandered. Condition: all this is absolutely entres nous.)

- 1) E's letter to Bebel, 1875 "no longer a state"
- 2) Mx's Critique of Gotha Program -- "When in the course of dev class distinctions have disappeared & all prod has been concentrated in the hands of a VAST ASSOCIATION OF THE WHOLE NATION, the public power will lose its pol. character"
- 3) Mx: Pov of Phil
- 4) THE CM ON THE STATE

VIL:

Selected Works.

I. Dev. of Cap. in Russ. "mission of cap."

II. What is To Be Done

The 2nd Congress & Split  
(Object to Plekhanov's Draft's as being  
"characteristic of cap. in general" & not  
of Russ. cap. & prol. & being "textbook"  
instead of "fighting" program)

One Step Forward, Two Steps Back: The Crisis in  
Our Party.

p.411 At the very outset Iskra in its announcement in  
1900 which preceded the publication of that  
paper declared that we MUST FIRST SEPARATE AND  
THEN UNITE.

character of maj. of Congress not "accidental"

pp.461-6 Something about Dialectics  
2 Revolutions

p.462: Our struggle cannot be understood unless a  
study is made of the concrete situation in each  
battle. When we have done that we shall find that dev. does  
actually proceed dialectically, by way of contradictions

p.463: process in all its concreteness.  
The fundamental thesis of dialectics is:  
there is no such thing as abstract truth; truth is always  
concrete.

Q p .466

ground down by slave labor to cap

III. 1905--Two Tactics of S-D in the Democ. Rev.. Agrarian Ques.  
The Party in the Per of the Rev., pp.431-519

End of 1910

His. Meaning of the Internal Party Struggle  
in Russ., pp.499-518

eco. content of the Russ. Rev.--eco. conditions  
of Rev. of 1905 brought the prol. into hostile  
rels. with the liberal bourgeoisie

school of cap. bourgeoisie vs. school of cap.-ism.  
ques. one of overthrow of hegemony of  
liberals over peasantry...

IV--Yrs. of Reaction (1908-11)

6/1910 Notes of a Publicist, pp.26/71

objective causes of lack of unity rooted in peculiarities  
of present per. of BOURG. dev. in Russia,

"the per. of bourg. counter-rev. & attempts by the  
autocracy to reorg. itself on the model of a  
bourgeois monarchy.....are indissolubly linked  
up with ch. changes in the character of the labor  
movement....bourg. influence over  
prol. ~~bring about~~ create liquidations & tzovism

The New Faction of Conciliators or the Virtuous, pp.92//LT only one  
who gave conciliationism a theoretical foundation

VIL, 2,  
May 1916

IV, Cont. -Yrs. of Revival -NQ, 1908-14  
Violations of Unity Over cover for Unity--  
(Collapse of August Bloc)  
pb wing of SD reveals itself as  
Economism, (1896-1903), continues as  
Menshevism (1903-08) &  
"Liquidations" (1908-14)

V--Imp.  
War, Rev. Crisis & Tactics of Party  
Collapse of the 2nd Int.  
Imp & the Right of Nations to S-D

VI--Feb. Rev. --Letters from Afar  
Report delivered at April Conf.  
pp. 88-105

p. 90: "Our task is to help those who are lagging behind/us, the Soviets are important NOT AS A FORM; what is imp. is the classes the Soviets represent."

Imp. from point of view of Mxism means not one country but world analysis

p. 99. As far back as 1891, i.e. 27 yrs ago when the Germans adopted their Erfurt programme, Engels maintained that cap. could no longer be regarded as planless.... Monopoly has in general has evolved into state monopoly.

Objective conditions show that the war has accelerated the dev. of cap. which advanced from cap. to imp., from monopoly to state contraction."

Speech in favor of Res. on Pol. Situation, May 1917  
"Up to the war ~~xxxxxx~~ had there were monopolies, trusts, syndicates; since the war we have had state monopoly."

Changes in Programme/ On the Road to October.  
Oct. Rev. & Its Significance

(pp. 332: (Mar. 1918) "We must raise the ques. of piece work & apply & test it in practice; we must raise the ques. of applying much of what is scientific & progressive in the Taylor system.... The Taylor system, the last work of cap. in this respect, like all cap. progress, is a combination of the subtle brutality of bourgeois exploitation & a no. of its greatest scientific achievement in the field of analysing mechanical motions during whk, the elimination of superfluous & awkward motions, the working out of correct methods of work, the introd. of the best system of the best system of acctg. & contr.

Left Childishness: p. 365: in 1919 two unconnected halves of soc. existing side by side like two future chickens in the shell of int. imp.  
p. 378: a person unlike the present man in the street

VIL:Selected, XI

1914-July-Nov.KM

again(p.37)ontactics of class struggle VIL contrasts "vulgar conception evolutionists' who see only slow changes" to dialectics

Hegelian dialectics is contrasted to evolution "the idea of dev." as being "far richer in content than the current idea of evolution" as "a dev. by leaps, catastrophes, revolutions"

--p.17--

p.28:"The 3rd vol. of Cap. solves the problem of the formation of the av. r of p on the basis of the law of value."

social contrasted to individual cases p.30:"Further the equalisation of profit in all branches of industry & nat. eco. in general PRESUPPOSES COMPLETE FREEDOM OF COMPETITION & the free flow of cap. from one branch to another. But the pvt. ownership of land creates monopoly, which hinders this free flow.....the landowner BEING A MONOPOLIST can keep the price above the av. & this monopoly price engenders absolute rent."

MONOPOLY is thus contrasted to competition and freedom to absolutism; so far as industry is concerned VIL still uses expression "large scale prod., cap. cartels, syndicates & trusts" and this gigantic increase creates "chief material foundation for the inevitable coming of Soc.", whereas proletariat is not an eco. but an intellectual force, thus "THE INTELLECTUAL & MORAL DRIVING FORCE THE PHYSICAL EXECUTANT OF THIS TRANSFORMATION IS THE PROL. WHICH IS TRAINED BY CAP. ITSELF."

(p.34) And same page (34) NB NB NB

"The socialisation of production is bound to lead to the conversion of the m of p into the property of society, to the 'expropriation of the expropriators'....."

Finally, p.38 Br. "monopoly" demoralizes workers and AS LONG AS THIS MONOPOLY lasts we will have a "bourgeois proletariat" opportunism.

In His. Destiny of Mx's Doctrine, Mar.1913, where VIL divides his. in 3 per.: 1848 1871 since 1905

"The Paris Commune (1871) completed this dev. of bourgeois reforms; the rep. i.e., the form of state org. in which class rela. appear in their most unconcealed form, had only (the heroism of the prol. to thank for its consolidation."

1872-1904--peaceful character which creates opportunism: "The opportunists interpreted the per. of preparation of forces for the great battles as a renunciation of these battles". The improvement in the position of the slaves for the struggle against wage slavery they rep. as the necessity for the slaves to sell their right to livery for a mass of pottage."

From H's of Labour Press in Rus, Apr.1914

divides periods: 1825-61 (Nar-ism; lib. onrt; anarchist on 1861-95 (appearance of Mxism 1883) 1895-present (but fully only with St. Petersburg strikes, 95)

1905-7 test of Bol.&Men.: Martov: prol. "to assist bourgeois liberal democrats in their attempts to remove the reactionary section of the possessing classes from state power....." BOL. on the other hand: expose treachery of liberal & by consolidating rural p.8. to counterbalance treachery.

VIL 3

VII: State & Rev.  
Prolet. Rev. & Renegade Kautsky  
Immediate Tasks, etc. (p. 2MS)  
Left Wing Childishness

VIII--Speeches  
& Changes in Party Program  
to a man, p. 334

IX--TU debate  
NEP  
Socialist labour

X--Int.

XI--Marxism--

KM  
DM

Revisionism, 1908, incl. from the left (rev. syndicalism)  
ideological struggle of rev. Marxists against  
rev-ism prelude to great rev. battles  
AS LATE AS MAY 1914, in article on The Ideological Struggle in the  
Labour Movement "VIL speaks of opportunism  
in Rus. rather than other countries: "Of all  
cap. countries, Rus. is one of the most backward, the  
most p.b. It was therefore not fortuitous but  
inevitable that the mass movement of the  
wkr. should have engendered a p.b., opportunist  
wing within this movement."

CONTRAST TO: IMP. & THE SPLIT IN SOC., AUTUMN 1916

XII\*Cap. in Agriculture, incl. Data on Am. Sukhanov  
NB Hitler

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Coll. Wks, XIX,

Aug. 1916, Junius pamphlet:

nat. war tr. into imp. & v  
p. 203 "Of ~~the~~ fundamental proposition of Marxian

dialectics is that all boundaries in  
nature & soc. are conventional & mobile, that there  
is not a single phenomenon which cannot under  
certain ~~circumstances~~ conditions be transformed  
into its opposite....."

(dif. bet. sophistry & dialectics: concrete)  
otherwise it can serve as bridge to  
sophistry)

CONCRETE CONCRETE CONCRETE

Oct. 1916--Caricature of Marxism & Imp. Economism

"imp. economism which is a monstrous a  
caricature of Marxism as complete a failure  
to understand the rel. bet. soc. & dem. as  
was the economism of 1894-1902..."

Mxism&Revisionism, 1908--  
"The revived int. org. of the labour movement--  
in the shape of periodical int. congresses--~~frumxism~~" p.704

In the 90s struggle within Mxism.

1st PER.

"cartels & trusts ... aggravated anarchy of prod."

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Ideological Struggle in the Labour Movement, May 1914

1895 1st int. inseparable connection of S-D  
with labor movement and "IMMEDIATELY" began  
an ideological struggle between the 2 trends  
in Mxism. (Eco.) vs. Iskra-ists, then  
1903-8 Bol. & Men

attributes opportunism to BACKWARDNESS & P.B. character of Russ. &  
1908-14--Liquidators against Mxists.

1 9 1 4

Imp. & the Split in Socialism, Autumn 1916

"The substitution of mon. for free comp. is the fundamental eco.  
feature, the QUINTESSENCE of imp."  
p.748 MON. MON. MON. MON.

NB NB 2<sup>+</sup> the difference bet. the democ. republical & the "reactionary  
monarchist imperialist bourgeoisie is obliterated  
precisely because they are both ROTTING ALIVE....  
p.749

p.750: "The tremendous SOCIALISATION of labour by imp. (what the  
oppologists--the bourgeois economists--call  
'interlocking') means THE SAME THING."

"Katusky divorces imperialist politics from imp. economics,  
he divorces MON. POLITICS FROM MONOPOLY IN ECOS."....

p.754: "Neither Mx. nor Engels lived to see the imp. epoch of world cap.,  
which began not earlier than 1893-1900. But it had been a peculiar  
feature of Eng. that even in the middle of the 19th century she  
already revealed at least 2 outstanding characteristics of imp. 1)  
vast colonies, 2) MONOPOLY profit....

p.757: "Imp. is monopoly cap. Every cartel, trust, syndicate,  
every giant bank is a monopoly."

p.758: Eng. enjoyed a monopoly, that is why opportunism  
could prevail in Eng. for decades for decades

p.762 ESSENCE OF MXIST TACTICS TO GO TO THE "LOWEST MASS"  
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