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VOLUME TWENTY-FIVE

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A DICTIONARY  
of  
TERMS AND QUOTATIONS

Compiled from the Works of

V. I. LENIN

by

Thomas Bell

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## Foreword

There is no royal road to learning, least of all to the teachings of the great revolutionary thinker and leader—Lenin, the continuator of the work of the founders of scientific socialism Marx and Engels.

The voluminous writings of Lenin, of which we have yet only a selection, form a veritable treasure house of knowledge in the subjects of historical materialism, history, economics, politics and revolutionary party leadership.

In these works the serious student and worker, the propagandist and organiser will find almost everything necessary to equip them for the tasks before them.

Read Lenin, again and again; you will always find something startling and new, giving fresh inspiration and renewed enthusiasm for the cause of labour and Communism.

This little Dictionary is not a substitute for the study of Leninism; nor is it intended to encourage those who have a weakness for indulging in mere phrases.

It is intended to show how Lenin himself defined a number of the terms most frequently used in political literature and discussion; and, by further related quotations, how he extended and developed the content of the definitions.

The references to Volume and Page in the *Selected Works* should enable the reader, by studying the whole passage in question, to obtain a still more complete elucidation of the idea.

One special remark. It must be remembered that before October, 1917, the name of the Bolshevik Party was Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (Bolshevik), and that therefore Lenin referred to the members of this Party as Social Democrats. After the revolution the name of the Russian Party was changed to Communist and Communist Parties were formed in all countries; the old parties remaining Social Democratic, Socialist or Labour.

This selection of terms and quotations is limited for reasons

of space, and is confined to those most frequently used. No doubt the reader will be able to think of other definitions and quotations, important and useful, which he would have liked to see included. But that would have entailed a much larger book than is practicable for the moment. The compiler will be grateful for any suggestions, which may be sent through the publishers; all such suggestions will be carefully considered in relation to further editions.

THOMAS BELL.

#### NOTE TO THE READER

The quotations (with one exception, p. 17) are all taken from the twelve-volume edition of Lenin's *Selected Works*, published by Lawrence and Wishart, Ltd. References to the works quoted are given in the following abbreviated forms:

*S.W.* 6, p. 56, stands for *Selected Works*, Volume 6, page 56.

*L.L.L.* 9, p. 13, stands for *Little Lenin Library*, Volume 9, page 13.

Where the two references, "*S.W.*" and "*L.L.L.*," are found at the end of a quotation they refer to the same passage, which can be found either in the *Selected Works* or in the *Little Lenin Library*, though the text used is always that of the *Selected Works*. A full list of the *Little Lenin Library* will be found at the end of this volume.

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#### Agriculture

The development of agriculture lags behind that of industry. This is characteristic of *all* capitalist countries and is one of the most important causes of the disproportion in the development of the different branches of national economy, of crises, and of the high cost of living.

*S.W.* 12, p. 274.

#### Alliances

Only those who have no self-reliance can fear to enter into temporary alliances even with unreliable people; not a single political party could exist without entering into such alliances.

*S.W.* 2, p. 40. *L.L.L.* 4, p. 21.

But an essential condition for such an alliance must be complete liberty for Socialists to reveal to the working class that its interests are diametrically opposed to the interests of the bourgeoisie.

*S.W.* 2, p. 40. *L.L.L.* 4, p. 21.

#### Anarchism

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

*S.W.* 6, p. 56. *L.L.L.* 9, p. 13.

The philosophy of the anarchists is bourgeois philosophy turned inside out. Their individualist theories and their individualistic ideals are the very antithesis of socialism. Their views express, not the future of bourgeois society, which is irresistibly being driven towards the socialisation of labour, but the present and even the past of that society, the domination of blind chance over the scattered, isolated small producers. Their tactics, which amount to the negation of the political struggle, serve to disunite the proletarians and, in fact, to convert them into passive participants of one or another set of bourgeois politics; because it is impossible for the workers really to detach themselves from politics.

*S.W.* 3, p. 344.

## Annexation

Not every appropriation of "foreign" territory may be described as annexation, for, generally speaking, Socialists are in favour of abolishing frontiers between nations and the formation of larger states; nor may every disturbance of the *status quo* be described as annexation, for this would be extremely reactionary and a mockery of the fundamental concepts of the science of history; nor may every military appropriation of territory be called annexation, for Socialists cannot repudiate violence and wars in the interests of the majority of the population. The term annexation must be applied only to the appropriation of territory *against the will* of the population of that territory; in other words, the concept annexation is inseparably bound up with the concept self determination of nations.

*S.W.* 5, p. 236.

It is not sufficient for the socialists in every country to pay lip service to the equality of nations, or to declaim, vow and solemnly declare that they are opposed to annexations. The socialists in every country must demand immediate and unconditional *freedom of secession* for the colonies and nations that are oppressed by *their own* "fatherland."

*S.W.* 5, p. 237.

## Banks

The principal and primary function of banks is to serve as an intermediary in the making of payments. In doing so they transform inactive money capital into active capital, that is, into capital producing a profit; they collect all kinds of money revenues and place them at the disposal of the capitalist class.

As banking develops and becomes concentrated in a small number of establishments, the banks become transformed, and instead of being modest intermediaries they become powerful monopolies having at their command almost the whole of the money capital of all the capitalists and small business men and also a large part of the means of production and of the sources of raw materials of the given country and of a number of countries. The transformation of numerous intermediaries into a handful of monopolists represents one of the fundamental processes in the transformation of capitalism into capitalist imperialism.

*S.W.* 5, p. 27. *L.L.L.* 15, p. 30.

## Bolshevism

Bolshevism as a trend of political thought and a political party exists since 1903.\*

*S.W.* 10, p. 61.

## Bourgeoisie

Bourgeois means an owner of property. The bourgeoisie are all the owners of property taken together. A big bourgeois is the owner of big property. A petty bourgeois is the owner of small property.

*S.W.* 2, p. 254.

The bourgeoisie has always and everywhere risen against feudalism in the name of the abolition of social status. . . . The bourgeoisie has always and everywhere opposed the obsolete framework of the estates and other medieval institutions in the name of the whole "people" within which class contradictions were still undeveloped. And it was right, both in the West and in Russia, because the institutions criticised were actually hampering *everybody*.

*S.W.* 11, p. 636.

## Bribery of Workers

All of you who have read trade union literature know that there are not only trade unions in England, but also alliances between workers and capitalists in a particular industry for the purpose of raising prices and of robbing everybody else.

*S.W.* 7, p. 419.

## Capital : (accumulation of)

The *accumulation of capital*, i.e., the transformation of a part of surplus value into capital, not for satisfying the personal needs or whims of the capitalists, but for new production.

*S.W.* 11, p. 26. *L.L.L.* 1, p. 31.

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\* At the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party in 1903, serious differences arose on various questions of principle, particularly as to the character of the Party organisation and the composition of its central institutions. The elections to the Central Committee and to the editorial board of the paper (*Iskra*) resulted in a majority for Lenin's followers. Hence the term *Bolshevik*, meaning in Russian one of the majority.

### Capital : (genesis of)

The historical conditions necessary for the genesis of capital were, firstly, the accumulation and a relatively high level of development of commodity production in general, and secondly the existence of a labourer who is "free" in a double sense: free from all constraint, or restriction on the sale of his labour power, and free from the land, and of all means of production in general, a propertyless labourer, a "proletarian," who cannot subsist except by the sale of his labour power.

*S.W.* 11, pp. 25-26. *L.L.L.* 1, p. 30.

### Capitalism

Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism. Hence, the victory of socialism is possible, first in a few or even in one single country.

*S.W.* 5, p. 141.

The progressive feature of capitalism consists precisely in the fact that it destroyed the old, cramped conditions of human life, which dulled the mind and prevented the producers from taking their destinies into their own hands. The tremendous development of trade relations and world exchange and the constant migrations of vast masses of the population shattered the ancient fetters of the tribe, family and territorial community and created that variegation of development, that "variegation of talents and wealth of social relations" which plays so great a role in the modern history of the West.

*S.W.* 11, p. 628.

### Cartels : (combines)

Cartels\* come to agreement on the conditions of sale, terms of payment, etc. They divide the markets among themselves. They fix the quantity of goods to be produced. They fix prices. They divide the profits among the various enterprises, etc.

*S.W.* 5, p. 19. *L.L.L.* 15, p. 22.

Certain bourgeois writers . . . express the opinion that international cartels are the most striking expressions of the internationalisation of capital, and that they, therefore, give the hope of peace among the nations under capitalism.

\* The word cartel is usually applied to combinations for controlling prices and sales, as distinct from those directly controlling production (trusts).

Theoretically this opinion is absurd, while in practice it is a sophism and a dishonest defence of the worst opportunism. International cartels show to what point capitalist monopolies have developed, and they *reveal the object* of the struggle between the various capitalist groups.

*S.W.* 5, p. 57. *L.L.L.* 15, p. 68.

The statement that cartels can abolish crises is a fable spread by bourgeois economists who at all costs desire to place capitalism in a favourable light.

*S.W.* 5, p. 25. *L.L.L.* 15, p. 27.

### Classes

Classes are large groups of people which differ from each other by the place they occupy in a historically definite system of social production, by their relation (in most cases fixed and formulated in laws) to the means of production, by their role in the social organisation of labour, and, consequently, by the dimensions and method of acquiring the share of social wealth that they obtain. Classes are groups of people one of which may appropriate the labour of another owing to the different places they occupy in the definite system of social economy.

*S.W.* 9, pp. 432-433.

### Class Consciousness

Class consciousness means that the workers understand that the only way to improve their conditions and to secure their emancipation is to fight against the class of capitalists and factory owners that was created by the big factories. Furthermore, class consciousness means that the workers understand that the interests of all the workers in the given country are identical, that all the workers represent a single class, separate from all other classes. Finally, class consciousness means that the workers understand that in order to achieve their aims, the workers must strive to influence the affairs of state in the same way as the landlords and the capitalists influence it, and strive to influence it still more.

*S.W.* 1, p. 485.

### Class Struggle

"It is often said and written that the core of Marx's theory is the class struggle; but it is not true. And from this error.

very often, springs the opportunist distortion of Marxism; its falsification to make it acceptable by the bourgeoisie. The theory of the class struggle was *not* created by Marx, but by the bourgeoisie *before* Marx, and generally speaking it is *acceptable* to the bourgeoisie. Those who recognise *only* the class struggle are not yet Marxists; those may be found to have gone no further than the boundaries of bourgeois reasoning and bourgeois politics. To limit Marxism to the theory of the class struggle means curtailing Marxism, distorting it, reducing it to something which is acceptable to the bourgeoisie. A Marxist is one who *extends* the acceptance of the class struggle to the acceptance of the *dictatorship of the proletariat*. This is where the profound difference lies between a Marxist and an ordinary petty (and even big) bourgeois."

S.W. 7, p. 33.

### Communism : (transition to)

Theoretically, there can be no doubt that between capitalism and communism there lies a definite transition period. The latter cannot but combine the features and properties of both these systems of social enterprise. This transition period cannot but be a period of struggle between moribund capitalism and nascent communism—in other words, between capitalism which has been defeated, but not yet destroyed and communism which has been born but which is still very feeble.

S.W. 8, p. 3.

### Communism : (the first phase)

In the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, Marx goes into some details to disprove Lassalle's idea that under socialism the worker will receive the "undiminished" or "whole proceeds of his labour." Marx shows that from the whole of the social labour of society it is necessary to deduct a reserve fund, a fund for the expansion of production, for the replacement of "worn-out" machinery, and so on; then, also, from the means of consumption must be deducted a fund for the expenses of the management, for schools, hospitals, homes for the aged and so on. . . .

And it is this communist society . . . that Marx terms the "first," or lower, phase of communist society.

The means of production are no longer the private property

of individuals. The means of production belong to the whole of society. Every member of society, performing a certain part of socially necessary labour, receives a certificate from society to the effect that he has done such and such an amount of work. According to this certificate, he receives from the public warehouses, where articles of consumption are stored, a corresponding quantity of products. Deducting that proportion of labour which goes to the public fund, every worker, therefore, receives from society as much as he has given it. . . .

"Equal right," says Marx, we indeed have here; but it is *still* a "bourgeois right," which, like every right, *presupposes inequality*. Every right is an application of the *same* measure to *different* people who, in fact, are not the same and are not equal to one another; that is why "equal right" is really a violation of equality and an injustice. As a matter of fact, every man having performed as much social labour as another receives an equal share of the social product (less the above-mentioned deductions).

But people are not alike: one is strong, another is weak, one is married, another is not; one has more children, another has less, and so on. And the conclusion Marx draws is:

" . . . with an equal output and hence an equal share in the social consumption fund, one will in fact receive more than another, one will be richer than another, and so on. . . ."

Hence, the first phase of communism cannot produce justice and equality; differences, and unjust differences, in wealth will still exist, but the *exploitation* of man by man will have become impossible, because it will be impossible to seize the *means of production*, the factories, machines, land, etc., as private property.

S.W. 7, pp. 83-85. L.L.L. 14, pp. 70-71.

### Communism : (the higher phase)

Marx continues:

"In a higher phase of Communist society after the enslaving subordination of individuals under division of labour, and therewith also the antithesis between mental and physical labour, has vanished; after labour has become not merely a means to live, but has become itself the primary necessity of life; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more abundantly—only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be fully left

behind and society inscribe on its banners: from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

*S.W.* 7, p. 87. *L.L.L.* 14, pp. 72-73.

Communism . . . is the name we apply to a system under which people become accustomed to the performance of public duties without any specific machinery of compulsion, when unpaid work for the common good becomes the general phenomenon.

*S.W.* 8, p. 239.

Communism is the Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country.

*S.W.* 8, p. 276.

### Compromises

To reject compromises "on principle," to reject the admissibility of compromises in general, no matter of what kind, is childishness which it is difficult even to take seriously. . . . There are compromises and compromises. One must be able to analyse the situations and the concrete conditions of each compromise, or of each form of compromise. . . . In politics it is not always possible to do this so easily. . . . But anyone who wanted to invent a recipe for the workers that would provide ready-made solutions of all cases that occur in life, or who promised that the politics of the revolutionary proletariat would never encounter difficult or intricate situations, would simply be a charlatan.

*S.W.* 10, pp. 76-77. *L.L.L.* 16, p. 22.

To tie one's hands beforehand, openly to tell the enemy, who is at present better armed than we are, whether and when we shall fight him, is stupidity and not revolutionariness. To accept battle at a time when it is obviously advantageous to the enemy and not to us is a crime; and those political leaders of the revolutionary class who are unable "to tack, to manoeuvre, to compromise," in order to avoid an obviously disadvantageous battle, are good for nothing.

*S.W.* 10, pp. 118-119. *L.L.L.* 16, p. 58.

The whole point lies in *knowing how* to apply these tactics in such a way as to *raise* and not lower the *general* level of proletarian class consciousness, revolutionary spirit, and ability to fight and to conquer.

*S.W.* 10, p. 116. *L.L.L.* 16, p. 56.

### Concessions

The fundamental thing in the matter of concessions, from the standpoint of political considerations . . . is the rule which we have not only mastered theoretically but have also applied practically, and which will, until socialism finally triumphs all over the world, remain a fundamental rule with us, namely, that we must take advantage of the antagonisms and contradictions between two capitalisms, between two systems of capitalist state, inciting one against the other. As long as we have not conquered the whole world, as long as, from the economic and military standpoint, we are weaker than the capitalist world, we must adhere to the rule that we must know how to take advantage of the antagonisms and contradictions existing among the imperialists. Had we not adhered to this rule, every one of us would have long ago been hanging from an aspen tree, to the satisfaction of the capitalists.

*S.W.* 8, pp. 279-280.

### Conciliation

One view of unity may place in the forefront the "reconciliation" of "given persons, groups and institutions." The identity of their views on party work, on the policy of that work, is a matter of secondary importance. Differences of opinion must be hushed up, their causes, their significance, their objective conditions should not be elucidated. The principle thing is to "reconcile" persons and groups. If they do not agree upon the carrying out of a common policy, that policy must be interpreted in such a way as to be acceptable to all. Live and let live. This is philistine "conciliationism," which inevitably leads to narrow circle diplomacy.

*S.W.* 4, p. 41.

The role of the conciliators during the period of counter-revolution may be characterised by the following picture. With immense efforts the Bolsheviks are pulling our Party waggon up a steep slope. . . . *In the waggon* sits a conciliator; he is a picture of tenderness. He has such a sweet, sweet face. like that of Jesus. He looks the very incarnation of virtue. And modestly dropping his eyes and raising his hands, he exclaims: "I thank the Lord, that I am not like one of *these*"—a nod in the direction of the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks—"vicious

factionalists who hinder all progress." But the waggon moves slowly forward and in the waggon sits the conciliator.

*S.W.* 4, p. 110.

### **Constructive Work**

In constructive work you cannot avoid a vast number of repetitions, you cannot avoid turning back every now and again, you cannot avoid testing what you have done, making certain corrections, adopting new methods, bending every effort to convince the backward and untrained.

*S.W.* 8, p. 256.

### **Co-operatives**

There is no doubt that under the capitalist State the co-operatives are collective capitalist institutions. . . . Under private capitalism, co-operative enterprises differ from capitalist enterprises as collective enterprises differ from private enterprises. Under state capitalism, co-operative enterprises differ from state capitalist enterprises, firstly, because they are private enterprises, and secondly because they are collective enterprises. Under our system, co-operative enterprises differ from private capitalist enterprises because they are collective enterprises, but they do not differ from Socialist enterprises if the land on which they are situated and the means of production belong to the State, *i.e.*, the working class.

*S.W.* 9, p. 407.

Why were the plans of the old co-operators, from Robert Owen onwards, fantastic? Because they dreamt of peacefully transforming present-day society into Socialism without taking into account a fundamental question like the question of the class struggle, of the working class winning political power, of overthrowing the rule of the exploiting class. That is why we are right in regarding this "co-operative" Socialism as being entirely fantastic, and the dream of being able to transform the class enemies into class colleagues and the class struggle into class peace (so-called civil peace), merely by organising the population in co-operative societies, as something romantic and even banal.

*S.W.* 9, p. 407.

### **Demagogues**

Demagogues are the worst enemies of the working class, because they arouse bad instincts in the crowd, because the ignorant worker is unable to recognise his enemies in men who represent themselves, and sometimes sincerely represent themselves, to be his friends . . . in this period of dispersion and vacillation, when our movement is just beginning to take shape, nothing is easier than to employ demagogic methods to sidetrack the crowd, which can realise its mistakes only by bitter experience.

*S.W.* 2, p. 137.

### **Democracy**

Can a class-conscious worker ignore the democratic struggle for the sake of the Socialist struggle, or ignore the latter for the sake of the former? No, a class-conscious worker calls himself a Social Democrat precisely because he understands the inter-relation between the two struggles. He knows that there is no other road to socialism but the road through democracy, through political liberty. He, therefore, strives for the complete and consistent achievement of democracy for the sake of attaining the ultimate goal—socialism.

*S.W.* 3, p. 153.

### **Democrats : (petty bourgeois)**

Petty bourgeois democrats are distinguished by an aversion from the class struggle, by the hope of getting along without the class struggle, by their endeavour to smooth over and reconcile, and to take the edge off sharp corners. Such democrats, therefore, either avoid recognising the necessity for a whole historical period of transition from capitalism to communism or regard it as their duty to concoct plans for reconciling the two contending forces, instead of leading the struggle of one of these forces against the other.

*S.W.* 8, p. 4.

### **Deviations**

By saying "deviations" we emphasise the fact that we do not yet regard them as something definitely formed, as something absolutely and fully defined, but merely as the beginning of a political trend of which the Party must give its appraisal.

*S.W.* 9, p. 123.

A deviation is something that can be rectified. People have just wandered somewhat from the path, or are beginning to wander from the path, but they can still be put right.

*S.W.* 9, p. 126.

### Dialectics

The fundamental thesis of dialectics is: there is no such thing as abstract truth, truth is always concrete.

*S.W.* 2, p. 463.

Dialectics, as understood by Marx, and in conformity with Hegel, includes what is now called the theory of knowledge, or epistemology, which, too, must regard its subject matter historically, studying and generalising the origin and development of knowledge, the transition from *non-knowledge* to knowledge.

*S.W.* 11, p. 17. *L.L.L.*, p. 21.

### Dialectical Materialism

Frederick Engels writes: "The great basic question of all philosophy, especially of modern philosophy, is that concerning the relation of thinking and being . . . spirit to nature . . . which is primary, spirit or nature. . . . The answers which the philosophers gave to this question split them into two great camps. Those who asserted the primacy of spirit to nature and, therefore, in the last instance, assumed world creation in some form or other . . . comprised the camp of idealism. The others, who regarded nature as primary, belong to the various schools of materialism."

*S.W.* 11, p. 15. *L.L.L.* 1, p. 19.

Marx and Engels considered the fundamental limitations of the "old" materialism, including the materialism of Feuerbach (and still more of the "vulgar" materialism of Büchner, Vogt and Moleschott). To be:

(1) That this materialism was "predominantly mechanical," failing to take account of the latest developments of chemistry and biology (in our day it would be necessary to add: and of the electrical theory of matter).

(2) That the old materialism was non-historical, non-dialectical (metaphysical, in the sense of anti-dialectical), and did not adhere consistently and comprehensively to the standpoint of development.

(3) That it regarded the "human essence" abstractly and not as the "*ensemble*" of all concretely defined historical "social relations," and therefore only "interpreted" the world, whereas the point is to "change" it; that is to say, it did not understand the importance of "revolutionary," practical-critical activity.

*S.W.* 11, p. 15. *L.L.L.* 1, pp. 19-20.

### Dictatorship of the Proletariat

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the rule of *one* class, which takes into its hands the *whole* apparatus of the new state, which *vanquishes* the bourgeoisie and *neutralises* the whole of the petty-bourgeoisie, the peasantry, the lower middle class and intelligentsia.\*

*S.W.* 10, pp. 51-52.

### Doctrine

Our doctrine—said Engels, referring to himself and his famous friend (Marx)—is not a dogma but a guide to action.

*S.W.* 11, p. 53.

### Economism

The characteristic features of this tendency are: in the matter of principles—vulgarisation of Marxism . . . in politics—a striving to restrict or to fragmentise political agitation and political struggle, a failure to understand that unless social Democrats take the leadership of the general democratic movement in their *own* hands, they will never be able to overthrow the autocracy; in tactics—complete instability . . . in regard to organisation—the failure to understand that the mass character of the movement does not diminish but increases our obligation to establish a strong and centralised organisation of revolutionaries capable of leading the preparatory struggle, all unexpected outbursts and the final decisive attack.

Lenin: *Collected Works IV.*, 2, p. 69.

The fundamental political tendencies of Economism, viz.: Let the workers carry on the economic struggle (it would be more correct to say the trade union struggle, because the latter also embraces specifically labour politics), and let the Marxian intelligentsia merge with the liberals for the political "struggle."

*S.W.* 2, p. 41. *L.L.L.* 4, p. 22.

\* See also *Class Struggle*.

Any trade union secretary, an English one for instance, helps the workers to conduct the economic struggle, helps to expose factory abuses, explains the injustice of the laws and of measures which hamper the freedom to strike and the freedom to picket (*i.e.*, to warn all and sundry that a strike is proceeding at a certain factory) explains the partiality of arbitration court judges who belong to the bourgeois classes, etc., etc. In a word, every trade union secretary conducts and helps to conduct "the economic struggle against the employers and the government." It cannot be too strongly insisted that *this is not* enough to constitute Social-Democracy. The Social Democrat's ideal should not be a trade union secretary, but a *tribune of the people*, able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it takes place, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects.

*S.W.* 2, p. 99. *L.L.L.* 4, p. 77.

### Education

When the bourgeois gentry and their uncritical chorus of satellites, the social reformists, talk priggishly about the "education" of the masses, by education they usually mean something schoolmasterly, pedantic, something that demoralises the masses and imbues them with bourgeois prejudices.

The real education of the masses can never be separated from the independent, the political, and particularly from the revolutionary, struggle of the masses themselves. Only the struggle educates the exploited class.

*S.W.* 3, p. 6.

### Factions

A faction is an organisation within the party, united not by its place of work, language, or other objective conditions. . . . Every faction is convinced that its platform and policy are the *best* means of abolishing factions, for no one regards the existence of factions as ideal. The only difference is that factions with clear consistent platforms *openly* defend *their* platform, while unprincipled factions *hide* behind cheap shouts about their virtue, about their non-factionalism.

*S.W.* 4, p. 100.

There is an objective logic in factional struggles which inevitably leads even the best of people—if they persist in

occupying a wrong position—to a position which actually differs in no way from unprincipled demagoguery.

*S.W.* 9, p. 36.

### Fatherland

The fatherland, *i.e.*, the given political, cultural and social environment, is the most powerful factor in the class struggle of the proletariat. . . . The proletariat cannot treat the political, social and cultural conditions of its struggle with indifference or equanimity, consequently, it cannot remain indifferent to the destiny of its country. But it is interested in the destiny of its country only *in so far* as it affects its class struggle, and not by virtue of some bourgeois "patriotism" which sounds altogether indecent on the lips of a Social-Democrat.

*S.W.* 4, pp. 327-328.

### Finance Capital \*

The concentration of production; the monopoly arising therefrom; the merging or coalescing of banking with industry, this is the history of finance capital and what gives the term "finance capital" its content.

*S.W.* 5, p. 42. *L.L.L.* 15, p. 44.

Finance capital, concentrated in a few hands and exercising a virtual monopoly, exacts enormous and ever increasing profit from the floating of companies, issue of stocks, state loans, etc., tightens the grip of the financial oligarchies, and levies tribute upon the whole of society for the benefit of the monopolists.

*S.W.* 5, p. 47. *L.L.L.*, p. 49.

### Frontiers

The method of accomplishing a socialist revolution under the slogan "down with frontiers" is utterly absurd. . . . We maintain that the state is necessary and the existence of a state pre-supposes frontiers. The state may, of course, be ruled by a bourgeois government, while we want Soviets. But even Soviets are confronted with the question of frontiers. . . . The "method" of socialist revolution under the slogan of "down with frontiers" is a hodge podge.

*S.W.* 5, p. 309.

\* See also *Imperialism*.

## Historical Materialism

In the preface to his *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Marx gives an integral formulation of the fundamental principles of materialism as extended to human society and its history, in the following words:

"In the social production which men carry on, they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material forces of production. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society—the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production in material life determines the social, political and intellectual life processes in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material forces of production in society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, or—what is but a legal expression for the same thing—with the property relations within which they have been at work before. From forms of development of the forces of production those relations turn into fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such transformations a distinction should always be made between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production, which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophic—in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out. Just as our opinion of an individual is not based on what he thinks of himself, so can we not judge of such a period of transformation by its own consciousness; on the contrary, this consciousness must be explained rather from the contradictions of material life, from the existing conflict between the social forces of production and the relations of production. . . . In broad outlines we can designate the Asiatic, the ancient, the feudal, and the modern bourgeois modes of production as so many epochs in the progress of the economic formation of society."

*S.W.* 11, p. 18. *L.L.L.* I, pp. 22-23.

## Imperialism

Imperialism, or the epoch of finance capital, represents a high stage of development of the capitalist economic system, one in which monopolist association of capitalists—syndicates, cartels and trusts—have assumed decisive importance; enormously concentrated banking capital has fused with industrial capital; the

export of capital to foreign countries has assumed enormous dimensions; the whole world has been divided up territorially among the richer countries, and the economic partitioning of the world among international trusts has begun.

*S.W.* 6, p. 114.

STAGES IN DEVELOPMENT.—The principal stages in the history of monopolies are the following:

(1) 1860-70, the highest stage, the apex of development of free competition; monopoly is in the barely discernible, embryonic stage.

(2) After the crisis of 1873, a wide zone of development of cartels; but they are still the exception. They are not yet durable. They are still a transitory phenomenon.

(3) The boom at the end of the nineteenth century and the crisis of 1900-3. Cartels become one of the foundations of the whole of economic life. Capitalism has been transformed into imperialism.

*S.W.* 5, p. 19. *L.L.L.* 15, p. 22.

BASIC FEATURES.—(1) The concentration of production and capital developed to such a stage that it creates monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life.

(2) The merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of "finance capital," of a financial oligarchy.

(3) The export of capital, which has become extremely important, as distinguished from the export of commodities.

(4) The formation of international capitalist monopolies which share the world among themselves.

(5) The territorial division of the whole world among the great capitalist powers is completed.

*S.W.* 5, p. 81. *L.L.L.* 15, p. 81.

## Insurrection

To be successful, insurrection must rely not upon conspiracy and not upon a party, but upon the advanced class. That is the first point. Insurrection must rely upon the revolutionary spirit of the people. That is the second point. Insurrection must rely upon the *crucial moment* in the history of the growing

revolution, when the activity of the advanced ranks of the people is at its height, and when *vacillations* in the ranks of the enemies and in the ranks of the *weak, half-hearted, and irresolute friends of the revolution* are strongest? That is the third point. And these three factors in the attitude towards insurrection distinguished *Marxism from Blanquism*.

S.W. 6, p. 218.

### International

The First International (1864-1872) laid the foundations of the proletarian, international struggle for Socialism. The Second International (1889-1914) marked the epoch in which the soil was prepared for a broad, mass, widespread movement in a number of countries.

The Third (Communist) International (March, 1919) gathered the fruits of the work of the Second International, purged it of its opportunist, social-chauvinist, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois dross, and *has begun to effect* the dictatorship of the proletariat.

S.W. 10, p. 31.

### Kulaks

Rich peasants, profiteers in grain . . . they have raked in thousands and hundreds of roubles by screwing up the price of grain and other products . . . gathering the landed estates into their hands; they are once more enslaving the poor peasants.

S.W. 8, p. 130.

Exploiters and profiteers, who used their surplus grain to enrich themselves at the expense of the starving non-agricultural parts of Russia.

S.W. 8, p. 162.

The experience of every revolution that has hitherto occurred in Europe offers striking corroboration of the fact that revolution is inevitably doomed if the peasants do not throw off the domination of the kulaks.

S.W. 8, p. 137.

### Leader

A political leader is not only responsible for the way he leads but also for what is done by those he leads. Sometimes he does not know that, often he does not want that, but he is responsible all the same.

S.W. 9, p. 19.

### Market : (home)

The home market appears when commodity production appears: it is created by the development of commodity production; and the degree to which social division of labour has taken place determines the height of its development. . . . The degree of development in the home market is the degree of development of capitalism in the country.

S.W. 1, pp. 224-225.

### Market : (foreign)

The fact that capitalism stands in need of a foreign market is explained, not by the impossibility of realising the product on the home market, but by the fact that capitalism is unable to repeat one and the same process of production in the same magnitude in unchanged conditions (as was the case under the pre-capitalist system), and that it inevitably leads to the unlimited growth of production which overflows the old, narrow limits of previous economic units.

S.W. 1, p. 376.

### Masses

“The meaning of the term “masses” changes in accordance with the changes in the character of the struggle. . . . If the Party succeeds in enlisting others besides its own members for the struggle, if it succeeds in rousing non-Party workers as well, it is the beginning of the process of winning the masses. . . . When several thousand non-Party workers who usually have a humdrum life and eke out a miserable existence, who have never heard about politics, begin to act in a revolutionary manner, you have masses before you. If the movement spreads and becomes stronger, it gradually grows into a real revolution. . . . When the revolution has been sufficiently prepared, the term “masses” acquires a different meaning. Then, several thousand workers can no longer be called masses. . . . The term masses then means the majority; not merely the majority of the *workers*, but the majority of all the exploited.”

S.W. 10, pp. 286-287.

But in order to achieve victory you must have the sympathy of the masses. An absolute majority is not always essential, but in order to achieve victory, in order to retain power, it is not

only necessary to have the majority of the working class—I use the term “working class” here in the West European sense, meaning the industrial proletariat—but also the majority of the exploited and the toiling rural population.

*S.W.* 10, pp. 287-288.

### Menshevism

Menshevism was formed at the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Party (August, 1903) from the *minority* of the *Iskra-ists* (hence the name Menshevism) and from all the opportunist opponents of *Iskra*.\*

It is the unquestionable and uncontrovertible fact that *the minority was composed of those members of our Party who are the most inclined towards opportunism*. The elements that comprised the minority were those that *were least steady in theory, least stable in matters of principle*. It was from the *Right wing* of the Party that the minority (the Mensheviks) was formed.

*S.W.* 2, p. 424.

### The Middle Peasant

. . . Is a peasant who does not exploit the labour of others, who does not live on the labour of others, who does not in any shape or form take advantage of the fruits of the labour of others, but who himself works and lives by his own labour.

*S.W.* 8, p. 188.

### Mistakes

To admit a mistake openly, to disclose its reasons, to analyse the conditions which gave rise to it, to study attentively the means of correcting it—these are the signs of a serious party; this means the performance of its duties, this means education and training the *class*, and then the *masses*.

*S.W.* 10, p. 98. *L.L.L.* 16, p. 40.

The fighting party of the advanced class is not afraid of mistakes. The danger is when one persists in one's mistake, when false pride prevents recognition of one's mistake and its correction.

*S.W.* 6, p. 239.

\* *Iskra* (the Spark), the paper edited by Lenin when he was striving to organise a revolutionary Party of the working class.

What is said of individuals is applicable—with necessary modifications—to politics and parties. It is not the one who makes no mistakes who is wise. There are no such men, nor can there be. He is wise who makes not very important mistakes and knows how to rectify them early and quickly.

*S.W.* 10, p. 74. *L.L.L.* 16, p. 21.

We must not conceal our mistakes from the enemy. Whoever is afraid of talking openly about mistakes is not a revolutionary. If, however, we openly say to the workers, “Yes, we have made mistakes,” it will prevent us from repeating these mistakes in the future.

*S.W.* 10, p. 288.

Communists must not stew in their own juice, but learn how to penetrate into prohibited premises, where the representatives of the bourgeoisie exercise influence over the workers; and in this they must not hesitate to make certain sacrifices and not be afraid to make mistakes, which are inevitable at first, in every new and difficult undertaking.

*S.W.* 10, p. 304.

### Municipalisation

“The bourgeois intelligentsia of the West, like the English Fabians, has converted municipal socialism into a separate “trend” precisely because it dreams of social peace and class conciliation, and wishes to deflect the attention of the people from the fundamental questions of the economic system as a whole and of the whole state system to minor questions of local government. . . .” Any attempt on the part of socialist municipalities to go a little beyond the boundaries of their normal, *i.e.*, petty activities, which give no substantial relief to the workers, any attempt to touch capital, is invariably and absolutely vetoed in the most categorical fashion by the central government of the bourgeois state.

*S.W.* 3, p. 27.

### National Movements

Throughout the world, the period of the final victory of capitalism over feudalism was linked up with national movements. The economic basis of these movements is that in order to achieve complete victory for commodity production the

bourgeoisie must capture the home market, must have politically united territories with a population speaking the same language, while all obstacles to the development of this language and to its consolidation in literature are removed. Language is the most important means of human intercourse; unity of language and unimpeded development are the most important conditions of a genuinely free and extensive commercial turnover corresponding to modern capitalism, of a free and broad grouping of the population in all their separate classes; finally, they are a condition for the close connection between the market and each and every proprietor and petty proprietor, seller and buyer.

The formation of *National states*, under which these requirements of modern capitalism are best satisfied is therefore, the tendency of every national movement.

*S.W.* 4, p. 250.

*"To the extent* that the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation struggles against the oppressing one, *to that extent*, we are always in every case, and more resolutely than anyone else, *for it*, because we are the staunchest and most consistent enemies of oppression. In so far as the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation stands for its own bourgeois nationalism we are against it."

*S.W.* 4, p. 266.

### **Nationalisation of Land**

The abolition of private property in land does not by any means change the bourgeois foundations of commercial and capitalist agriculture. There is nothing more erroneous than the opinion that the nationalisation of the land has something in common with socialism, or even with the equal right to the use of the land. Socialism, as is well known, means the abolition of commodity production.

*S.W.* 1, p. 208.

Private property in land is an obstacle to the investment of capital on land. . . . The possibilities of free investment of capital in land, free competition in agriculture, are much greater under the system of free renting than under the system of private property in land. Nationalisation of the land, is, as it were, landlordism without the landlord.

*S.W.* 1, p. 211.

### **Opportunism**

Opportunism is the sacrifice of the fundamental interests of the masses to the temporary interests of an insignificant minority of the workers, or in other words the alliance of a section of the workers with the bourgeoisie against the mass of the proletariat.

*S.W.* 5, p. 203. *L.L.L.* 2, p. 39.

Opportunism means sacrificing fundamental interests in order to gain temporary and partial advantages.

*S.W.* 8, p. 281.

Opportunists always and everywhere passively abandon themselves to the stream.

*S.W.* 4, p. 74.

Opportunism in the upper ranks of the working-class movement is not proletarian socialism, but bourgeois socialism. Practice has shown that the active people in the working-class movement who adhere to the opportunist trend are better defenders of the bourgeoisie than the bourgeoisie itself. Without their leadership of the workers, the bourgeoisie could not have remained in power.

*S.W.* 10, p. 196.

### **Organization**

In the struggle for power the proletariat has no other weapon but organisation . . . the proletariat can become, and will inevitably become, an invincible force only when its ideological unity round the principles of Marxism is consolidated by the material unity of an organisation, which unites millions of toilers in the army of the working class.

*S.W.* 2, p. 466.

The role of a paper is not confined solely to the spreading of ideas, to political education, and to attracting political allies. A paper is not merely a collective propagandist and collective agitator. It is also a collective organiser.

*S.W.* 2, p. 21.

### **Party Members**

Only those who carefully study, ponder over and independently solve the problems and *destiny* of their Party deserve to be called Party members and builders of the workers' Party.

*S.W.* 4, p. 134.

## The " People "

Social Democracy has justly fought and continues to fight against the bourgeois-democratic abuse of the word " people." It demands that this word shall not be used to cover up a failure to understand the significance of class antagonisms. It absolutely insists on the need for complete class independence for the party of the proletariat. But it divides the " people " into " classes," not in order that the advanced class may become self-centred, or confine itself to narrow aims and restrict its activity, so as not to frighten the economic masters of the world, but in order that the advanced class, which does not suffer from the half-heartedness, vacillation and indecision of the intermediate classes, shall with all the greater energy and enthusiasm fight for the cause of the whole of the people, at the head of the whole people.

S.W. 3, p. 121. L.L.L. 17, p. 94.

## Polemics (i.e., controversy)

A worker who wishes to decide independently the destinies of his Party will not waive polemics even if they are not quite intelligible at first sight, but will earnestly seek and find the truth.

S.W. 4, p. 124.

## Political Consciousness

Working-class consciousness cannot be genuinely political consciousness unless the workers are trained to respond to all cases of tyranny, oppression, violence and abuse, no matter what class is affected.

S.W. 2, p. 88. L.L.L. 4, p. 68.

Class political consciousness can be brought to the workers only from without, that is only outside of the economic struggle, outside of the sphere of relations between workers and employers. . . . The sphere from which alone it is possible to obtain this knowledge is the sphere of relationships between all classes and the state and the government—the sphere of the inter-relations between all classes. . . . To bring political knowledge to the workers the Social Democrats must go among all classes of the population, must dispatch units of their army in all directions.

S.W. 2, p. 98. L.L.L. p. 76.

## Political Liberty

Political liberty means the freedom of the people to settle affairs relating to the people as a whole, to the state. . . . Political liberty means the right of the people to choose their own officials, to call any meetings they please for the discussion of all the affairs of state, to publish whatever papers and books they please, without having to ask permission."

S.W. 2, p. 246.

There is no other means and there can be no other means of fighting poverty except the unification of the workers. But millions of people cannot unite unless there is political liberty.

S.W. 2, p. 250.

## Political Struggle

What do we mean when we say that the struggle of the working class is a political struggle? We mean that the workers cannot wage the struggle for their emancipation without striving to influence affairs of state, to influence the administration of the state, the passing of laws.

S.W. 1, p. 490.

## Principles

" Principles are not an aim, not a programme, not tactics and not theory. . . . The principles of Communism are the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the employment of state coercion in the transition period. Such are the principles of Communism, but not its aim."

S.W. 10, p. 280.

## Productive Forces : (the Golden Age)

The story that primitive man obtained all his requirements as a free gift of nature is a silly fable that would call forth jeers and ridicule even from first year students. Our age was not preceded by a Golden Age; and primitive man was absolutely crushed by the burden of existence, by the difficulties of fighting against nature. The introduction of machinery and improved methods of production immeasurably eased man's fight against nature generally, and the production of food in particular. It has not become more difficult to produce food; it has become more difficult for the workers to obtain it because capitalist

development has inflated ground-rent and the price of land, concentrated agriculture in the hands of large and small capitalists, and, to a still larger extent, concentrated machinery, implements and money, without which successful production is impossible. To explain the fact that the conditions of the workers have become worse by the argument that nature has ceased to shower her gifts implies that one has become a bourgeois apologist.

S.W. 12, p. 55.

### Proletariat

Throughout the whole of Europe, workers who own no land and no workshops, who work for other people for wages all their lives, are called *proletarians*. Over 50 years ago,\* the first call was sounded for the working people to unite. "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" During the past 50 years these words have sounded and resounded all over the world. . . .

S.W. 2, p. 250.

Apart from the proletariat, the other sections of the "toiling and exploited mass" (*i.e.*, mainly the small producers) are only *partly* revolutionary in their struggle against the bourgeoisie. To be precise, they are revolutionary "only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat . . . they desert their own standpoint to *place themselves at that of the proletariat.*" (*Communist Manifesto*). . . . The proletariat represents the whole of the toiling and exploited mass . . . we *accuse* capitalism of being the cause of the poverty of the *masses* (and not of the working class alone).

S.W. 2, p. 232.

### Propaganda and Agitation

A propagandist, dealing with, say, the question of unemployment, must explain the capitalistic nature of crises, the reasons why crises are inevitable in modern society, must describe how present society must inevitably become transformed into socialist society, etc. In a word, he must present "many ideas," so many indeed that they will be understood as a whole only by a (comparatively) few persons. An agitator, however, speaking on the same subject will take as an illustration a fact that is most

widely known and outstanding among his audience, say, the death from starvation of the family of an unemployed worker, the growing impoverishment, etc., and utilising this fact, which is known to all and sundry, will direct all his efforts to presenting a *single idea* to the "masses," *i.e.*, the idea of the senseless contradiction between the increase of wealth and increase of poverty; he will strive to *rouse* discontent and indignation among the masses against this crying injustice, and leave a more complete explanation of this contradiction to the propagandist. Consequently, the propagandist operates chiefly by means of the *printed* word; the agitator operates with the *living* word.

S.W. 2, p. 86. L.L.L. 4, p. 65.

### Putsch

The term "putsch" in the scientific sense of the word, may be employed only when the attempt at insurrection has revealed nothing but a circle of conspirators or stupid maniacs, and has aroused no sympathy among the masses.

S.W. 5, p. 303.

### Reformism

Reformism, in general, means that people confine themselves to agitation for changes which do not require the removal of the main foundations of the old ruling class, changes that are *compatible* with the *preservation* of these foundations.

S.W. 4, p. 145.

### Religion

Religion should be a private affair as far as the state is concerned, but under no circumstances can we regard religion as a private affair so far as our own Party is concerned. . . . Everybody must be absolutely free to profess any religion he pleases or not to believe in any religion at all, that is to be an atheist, as every socialist usually is. . . . There must be absolutely no subsidies to a state church, no grants of government funds to church and religious societies, which must become associations absolutely free and independent of the state, associations of citizens holding the same ideas.

S.W. 11, p. 659. L.L.L. 7, p. 12.

If that is so, why do we not declare in our programme that we are atheists? Why do we not refuse Christians and those who believe in God, admission to our Party? . . .

\* Written by Lenin in 1903, referring to the *Communist Manifesto*, 1848.

It would be absurd to think that in a society which is based on the endless oppression and stultification of the working class masses, religious prejudices can be dispelled merely by preaching. It would be bourgeois narrow-mindedness to forget that the yoke of religion on mankind is only a product and reflection of the economic yoke in society. No books or sermons can enlighten the proletariat if it is not enlightened by its own struggle against the dark forces of capitalism. Unity in this truly revolutionary struggle of the oppressed class for the creation of a paradise on earth is more important to us than unity of opinion among the proletarians about a paradise in heaven.

That is why we do not and must not proclaim our atheism in our programme: that is why we do not and must not forbid proletarians who still cherish relics of the old superstitions to approach our Party.

*S.W.* 11, pp. 660-1. *L.L.L.* 7, pp. 14-15.

## Rent

**ABSOLUTE RENT.**—Has no connection whatever with the difference in productivity of different investments of capital and . . . *has its genesis in the private ownership of land.*

*S.W.* 12, p. 69.

**DIFFERENTIAL RENT.**—Is the surplus profit over and above the normal average profit on capital. . . . Private property in land does not create differential rent; it merely transfers it from the hands of the farmer to the hands of the landowner.

*S.W.* 12, p. 68.

**GROUND RENT** is that part of surplus value which remains after the average rate of profit on invested capital is deducted.

*S.W.* 12, p. 38.

**LABOUR RENT.**—The direct producer cultivates during a part of the week, with instruments of labour (plough, cattle, etc.), actually or legally belonging to him, the soil owned by him in fact, and works during the remaining days upon the estate of the feudal lord, without any compensation from the feudal lord.

*S.W.* 1, p. 229.\*

\* Quoted by Lenin from Marx, *Capital*, III, p. 926.

**MONEY RENT.**—The direct producer no longer turns over the product, but its price, to the landlord.

*S.W.* 1, p. 229.

**RENT IN KIND.**—The direct producer produces the whole product on land which he himself exploits and gives the landowner the whole of the surplus in kind.

*S.W.* 1, p. 229.

## Republic

The Republic, *i.e.* (the bourgeois form) the form of State organisation in which class relations appear in their most unconcealed form.

*S.W.* 11, p. 50.

## Revolution

The working class is not severed by a Chinese wall from the old bourgeois society. And when a revolution takes place, it does not happen as in the case of the death of an individual when the deceased person is simply removed. When the old society perishes, you cannot nail the corpse of bourgeois society into a coffin and lower it into the grave. It disintegrates in our midst; the corpse rots and poisons us. There has not been and cannot be a single great revolution otherwise.

*S.W.* 8, p. 117.

The socialist revolution is not one single act, not one single battle on a single front, but a whole epoch of intensified class conflicts, a long series of battles on all fronts, *i.e.*, battles around all the problems of economics and politics, which can culminate only in the expropriation of the bourgeoisie.

*S.W.* 5, p. 268.

Whoever expects a "pure" social revolution will *never* live to see it. Such a person pays lip service to revolution without understanding what revolution is.

Vol. 5, p. 303.

## Revolutionary Situation

(1) When it is impossible for the classes to maintain their rule in an unchanged form; when there is a crisis, in one form or another, among the "upper classes," a crisis in the policy of the ruling class which causes fissures, through which the discontent and indignation of the oppressed classes burst forth.

Usually, for a revolution to break out it is not enough for the "lower classes to refuse" to live in the old way, it is necessary also that the "upper classes should be unable" to live in the old way. (2) When the want and suffering of the oppressed classes have become more acute than usual. (3) When, as a consequence of the above causes, there is a considerable increase in the activity of the masses, who, in "peace-time," quietly allow themselves to be robbed, but who in turbulent times are drawn both by the circumstances of the crisis and by the "*upper classes themselves*" into independent historical action. Without these objective changes, which are not only independent of the will of separate groups and parties, but even of separate classes, a revolution, as a general rule, is impossible.

*S.W.* 5, p. 174. *L.L.L.* 2, p. 11.

### Self-Determination

Self-determination of nations means the political separation of these nations from other national bodies, the formation of an independent national state.

*S.W.* 4, p. 251.

The proletariat cannot but fight against the forcible retention of the oppressed nations within the boundaries of a given state, and this is exactly what the struggle for the right of self-determination means. The proletariat must demand the right of political secession for the colonies and for the nations that "its own" nation oppresses.

*S.W.* 5, pp. 271-2.

### Slogans

Every slogan issued by the Party to the masses tends to become frozen and lifeless, to retain its validity for many people even when the conditions which rendered that slogan necessary have changed. That is an unavoidable evil, and it is impossible to give the Party a correct policy unless we learn to combat and overcome that evil.

*S.W.* 8, p. 149.

Too often has it happened when history has taken a sharp turn that even the most advanced of parties have been unable for a long time to adapt themselves to the new situation; they continued to repeat the slogans that were formerly true, but

which now had no meaning, having lost that meaning, as "suddenly" as the turn in history was "sudden."

*S.W.* 6, p. 167.

### Social Chauvinists

Socialists in word and chauvinists in action, people who are in favour of "national defence" in an imperialist war.

*S.W.* 6, p. 63.

### Social Democracy

Social Democracy\* is a combination of the labour movement with socialism. Its task is not passively to serve the labour movement at each of its separate stages, but to represent the interests of the movement as a whole, to point out to this movement its ultimate aims and its political tasks and to protect its political and ideological independence. Isolated from Social democracy, the labour movement becomes petty and inevitably becomes bourgeois; in conducting only the economic struggle, the working class loses its political independence; it becomes the tail of other parties and runs counter to the great slogan: "The emancipation of the working class must be the task of the workers themselves."

*S.W.* 2, p. 11.

### Social Democrat

To become a social democrat, a working man must have a clear picture in his mind of the economic nature and the social and political features of the landlord, of the priest, of the high state official and of the peasant, of the student and of the tramp; he must know their strong and weak sides; he must understand all the catchwords and sophisms by which each class and each stratum *camouflages* its selfish strivings and its real "nature"; he must understand what interests certain institutions and certain laws reflect and how they reflect them. This "clear picture" cannot be obtained from books. It can be obtained only from living examples and from exposures, following hot after their occurrence, of what goes on around us at a given moment, of what is being discussed, in whispers perhaps, by each one in his own way, of the meaning of such and such events, of such and such statistics, of such and such court

\* See explanation of the use of this word in the Foreword, p. 3.

sentences, etc., etc., etc. These universal political exposures are an essential and *fundamental* condition for training the masses in revolutionary activity.

*S.W.* 2, p. 89. *L.L.L.* 4, p. 68.

### **Socialism**

Socialism is the society which grows directly out of capitalism . . . the first form of the new society. Communism . . . is a higher form of society, which can develop only when Socialism has taken a firm hold. Socialism implies the performance of work without the aid of capitalists, it implies social labour accompanied by the strictest accounting, control and supervision on the part of the organised vanguard, the most advanced section of the toilers. Moreover, it implies that standards of labour and the amount of compensation for labour must be determined. They must be determined because capitalist society has left us such relics and habits as unco-ordinated labour, lack of confidence in social economy, the old habits of the small producer, which prevail in all peasant countries.

*S.W.* 8, p. 239.

### **Social Pacifist**

A social pacifist is a Socialist in words and a bourgeois pacifist in deeds; bourgeois pacifists dream of an everlasting peace *without* the overthrow of the yoke and domination of capital.

*S.W.* 6, p. 66.

### **Spontaneity**

The *spontaneous* development of the labour movement leads to its becoming subordinated to bourgeois ideology . . . for the spontaneous labour movement is pure and simple trade unionism . . . and trade unionism means the ideological enslavement of the workers to the bourgeoisie. Hence, our task, the task of Social Democracy, is to *combat spontaneity*, to *divert* the labour movement from its spontaneous, trade unionist striving to go under the wing of the bourgeoisie, and to bring it under the wing of revolutionary Social Democracy.

*S.W.* 2, p. 62. *L.L.L.* 4, p. 41.

### **State**

The State is a machine for the oppression of one class by another.

*S.W.* 11, p. 649. *L.L.L.* 23, p. 17.

History shows that the state as a special apparatus for coercing people arose only wherever and whenever there appeared a division of society into classes, that is, a division into groups of people some of whom are permanently in a position to appropriate the labour of others, when some people exploit others.

*S.W.* 11, p. 644. *L.L.L.* 23, p. 12.

### **State : (different forms of)**

**SLAVE-OWNING STATE.**—In the slave-owning state we had a monarchy, an aristocratic republic, or even a democratic republic. In fact the forms of government varied extremely, but their essence was always the same; the slaves enjoyed no rights and constituted an oppressed class; they were not regarded as human beings.

*S.W.* 11, p. 649. *L.L.L.* 23, p. 17.

**FEUDAL STATE.**—When the state was a monarchy the rule of one person was recognised; when it was a republic, the participation in one degree or another of the elected representatives of landlord society was recognised—this was in feudal society. Feudal society represented a division of classes under which the vast majority—the peasant serfs—were completely subjected to an insignificant minority—the landlords, who owned the land.

*S.W.* 11, pp. 650-51. *L.L.L.* 2, pp. 18-19.

**CAPITALIST STATE.**—The feudal state was superseded by the capitalist state, which proclaims liberty for the whole people as its slogan, which declares that it expresses the will of the whole people and denies that it is a class state.

*S.W.* 11, p. 651. *L.L.L.* 23, p. 19.

The most democratic bourgeois republic was never, nor could it be anything else than a machine with which capital suppressed the toilers, an instrument of the political rule of capital, of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The democratic bourgeoisie republic promised the rule of the majority, it proclaimed the rule of the majority, but it could never put this into effect as long as the private ownership of the land and other means of production existed.

*S.W.* 10, pp. 35-36.

The most perfect and advanced type of bourgeois state is the *parliamentary democratic republic*: power is vested in

parliament; the state machine, the apparatus and organ of administration, is of the customary kind: a standard army, a police and a bureaucracy which in practice is permanent and privileged and stands *above* the people.

*S.W.* 6, p. 55. *L.L.L.* 9, p. 12.

SOVIET STATE.—For the first time in history Soviet or proletarian democracy created *democracy* for the masses, for the toilers, for the workers and small peasants.

Never before in history has there been a state representing the *majority* of the population, the *actual* rule of the majority, such as is the Soviet state.

*S.W.* 10, p. 36.

### Subbotniks \*

The *Communist subbotniks*, organised by the workers on their own initiative, are positively of enormous significance. . . . It is the beginning of a revolution that is much more difficult, more material, more radical and more decisive than the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, for it is a victory over personal conservatism, indiscipline, petty bourgeois egotism, a victory over the habits that accursed capitalism left as a heritage to the worker and peasant. Only when *this* victory is consolidated will the new social discipline, Socialist discipline, be created; only then will a reversion to capitalism become impossible and Communism become really invincible. . . . "Communist subbotniks" are of such enormous historical significance precisely because they display the class conscious and voluntary initiative of the workers in developing the productivity of labour, in adopting the new labour discipline, in creating Socialist conditions of economy and life. . . . The "Communist subbotniks" are so important because they were initiated by workers who do not in the least enjoy exceptionally good conditions, by workers of various trades, and some with no trade at

\* Meaning literally: "Saturday work" (*Subbota*, Saturday). "Communist Subbotniks," voluntary labour performed gratis after ordinary working hours or on rest days, were first initiated by some railwaymen on the Moscow-Kazan railway, on May 10, 1919, during the war against Kolchak; this example, supported by other railwaymen, was soon widely followed elsewhere.

all, unskilled labourers, who are living under *ordinary, i.e., very hard*, conditions."

*S.W.* 9, pp. 423, 435, 437.

### Syndicalism

Syndicalism transfers to the masses of non-Party workers, who are divided according to industry, the management of branches of industry (the "Chief Committees and Central Boards"), thus destroying the need for the party, and without carrying on prolonged work either in training the masses or in *actually* concentrating in *their* hands the management of the *whole* of national economy.

*S.W.* 9, p. 35.

### Tactics

By Party tactics we mean the political behaviour of the Party, or the character, tendency or methods of its political activity. Tactical resolutions are adopted by Party Congresses for the purpose of determining exactly what the political behaviour of the Party as a whole should be in regard to new tasks, or in regard to a new political situation.

*S.W.* 3, p. 45. *L.L.L.* 17, p. 14.

### Theory

Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. This cannot be insisted upon too strongly at a time when the fashionable preaching of opportunism is combined with absorption in the narrowest forms of practical activity.

*S.W.* 2, p. 47. *L.L.L.* 4, p. 27.

*The role of vanguard can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by an advanced theory.*

*S.W.* 2, p. 48. *L.L.L.* 4, p. 28.

The theory of socialism, however, grew out of the philosophic historical and economic theories that were elaborated by the educated representatives of the propertied classes, the intellectuals. According to their social status, the founders of modern scientific socialism, Marx and Engels, themselves belonged to the bourgeois intelligentsia. Similarly, in Russia,

the theoretical doctrine of Social Democracy arose quite independently of the spontaneous growth of the labour movement, it arose as a natural and inevitable outcome of the development of ideas among the revolutionary socialist intelligentsia.

*S.W.* 10, pp. 90-91. *L.L.L.* 16, p. 33.

### Trade Unions

Trade unions represented enormous progress for the working class at the beginning of the development of capitalism as the transition from the disunity and helplessness of the workers to the *rudiments* of class organisation. When the *highest* form of proletarian class organisation began to rise, viz., the *revolutionary party of the proletariat* (which does not deserve the name until it learns to bind the leaders with the class and with the masses into one single indissoluble whole), the trade unions inevitably began to reveal *certain* reactionary traits, a certain craft narrowness, a certain tendency towards becoming non-political, a certain inertness, etc. But the development of the proletariat did not, and could not, anywhere in the world, proceed otherwise than through the trade unions, through their inter-action with the party of the working class.

*S.W.* 10, pp. 90-91. *L.L.L.* 16, p. 33.

To refuse to work in the reactionary trade unions means leaving the insufficiently developed or backward masses of the workers under the influence of the reactionary leaders, the agents of the bourgeoisie, the labour aristocrats, or the "completely bourgeois workers."

*S.W.* 10, p. 93. *L.L.L.* 16, p. 36.

The industrial workers cannot fulfil their world historic mission of emancipating mankind from the yoke of capital and from wars if these workers concern themselves exclusively with their narrow craft, narrow trade interests, and smugly confine themselves to care and concern for improving their own, sometimes tolerable, petty bourgeois conditions.\*

*S.W.* 10, p. 218.

### Trade Unions : (under Socialism)

Trade Unions are not only historically necessary, but

\* See also *Economism, Spontaneity.*

historically inevitable organisations of the industrial proletariat which under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat embrace nearly the whole of that class.

*S.W.* 9, p. 3.

The Party is the directly ruling vanguard of the proletariat, it is the leader. . . . The trade unions are reservoirs of state power, a school of Communism, a school of management. In this sphere, the specific and main thing is *not* administration, but "*contacts*" "*between* the central" (and local of course) "state administration, national economy and the *broad masses* of the toilers."\*

*S.W.* 9, p. 70.

### United States of the World

The United States of the World (not of Europe alone) is a state form of national federation and national freedom which we connect with socialism—until the complete victory of communism brings about the total disappearance of the state, including the democratic state. As a separate slogan, however, the slogan of a United States of the World would hardly be a correct one, first, because it merges with socialism; second, because it may be wrongly interpreted to mean that the victory of socialism in a single country is impossible; it may also create misconceptions as to the relations of such a country to the others.

Vol. 5, p. 14.

### Unity

Unity is an advantage when it raises all those who are united to the level of the intelligent and resolute programme of the thing that unites. Unity is a disadvantage when it degrades those who are united to the level of the prejudices of the masses.

*S.W.* 2, p. 219.

### Utopian Socialists

The earlier Socialists thought it enough to prove their views by pointing to the oppression of the masses under the existing regime, by pointing to the superiority of a system under which

\* Lenin's quotations are from the Party Programme of the C.P.S.U.(B).

every man would receive what he himself had produced, by pointing to the harmony between this ideal system and "human nature," the conception of a moral life, and so forth. Marx deemed it impossible to be contented with such a Socialism. He did not confine himself to describing the existing system, giving a judgment of it and condemning it; he gave a scientific explanation of it, reducing the existing system . . . to a common basis—the capitalist social formation, the laws of the functioning and development of which he subjected to an objective analysis.

S.W. 11 p. 437.

### Vanguard

A vanguard performs its task as vanguard only when it is able really to lead the whole mass forward. Without an alliance with non-Communists in the most varied sphere of activity there can be no question of any successful Communist constructive work.

S.W. 11 p. 71. L.L.L. 7, p. 35.

### War

*War is simply the continuation of politics by the other (i.e., violent) means.*" This formula belongs to Clausewitz, one of the greatest writers on the history of war, whose ideas were fertilised by Hegel. And this was always the standpoint of Marx and Engels, who regarded every war as the continuation of the politics of the given interested powers—and the various classes within these countries—at a given time.

S.W. , pp. 179-18. L.L.L. 2, p. 18.

It is not the offensive or defensive character of the war, but the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat, or, rather, the interests of the international movement of the proletariat that represent the only possible point of view from which the question of the attitude of Social Democracy towards a given phenomenon in international relations can be considered and solved.

S.W. 4, p. 332.

"Boycott war"—is a stupid phrase. Communists must take part even in the most reactionary war.

S.W. 10, p. 317.

We are not pacifists. We are opposed to imperialist wars for the division of spoils among the capitalists, but we have always declared it to be absurd for the revolutionary proletariat to renounce revolutionary wars that *may prove necessary in the interests of socialism.*

S.W. 6, p. 16. L.L.L. 8, p. 45.

### Women

Not a single democratic party in the world, not even in the most advanced bourgeois republic, has done in tens of years a hundredth part of what we did in the very first year we were in power. In the literal sense of the word, we did not leave a single brick standing of the despicable laws which placed women in a state of inferiority compared with men, of the laws restricting divorce, of the disgusting formalities connected with divorce, of the laws on illegitimate children and on searching for their fathers, etc. To the shame of the bourgeoisie and of capitalism, be it said, numerous survivals of these laws exist in all civilised countries.

S.W. 9, p. 440.

Woman continues to be a *domestic slave*, because *petty house-work* crushes, strangles, stultifies and degrades her, chains her to the kitchen and to the nursery, and wastes her labour on barbarously, unproductive, petty, nerve-racking, stultifying and crushing drudgery.

S.W. 9, p. 441.

There is no doubt that there is far more *organising talent* among the working women and peasant women than we are aware of, people who are able to organise in a practical way and enlist large numbers of workers, and a still larger number of consumers, for this purpose without the abundance of phrases, fuss, squabbling and chatter about plans, systems, etc., which our swell-headed "intelligentsia" or half-baked "Communists" "suffer" from.

S.W. 9, p. 441.

### Young Communists

The upbringing of the Communist youth must not consist of all sorts of sentimental speeches and moral precepts.

S.W. 9, p. 478.

The Young Communist League will justify its name as the League of the Young Communist generation when it links up every step in its tuition, training and education with participation in the general struggle of all the toilers against the exploiters.

*S.W.* 9, p. 479.

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