

THE COMMUNIST

ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS!

Official Organ of the Communist Party of America

Vol. II, No. 9

SEPTEMBER 1, 1920

PRICE 5 CENTS

Thesis of the Executive Committee of the Communist International

Presented to the Second Congress on the Role of the Communist Party in the Proletarian Revolution.

The first year's activity of the Communist International was devoted principally to propaganda and spreading of Communist ideas. At the present moment, before the Second Congress of the Communist International, the world wide organization of the proletariat is entering a new phase: the Communist International is entering the period of organization and construction. Hitherto in the various countries there existed only Communist tendencies amongst the workers. At the present moment, in nearly every country where there is a serious working-class movement, we have no longer tendencies, but Communist organizations and parties. This circumstance must move the Second Congress of the International to take up a perfectly clear and exact position on the subject of the role of the Communist Party before and after the conquest of power by the working class. Amongst certain supporters of Communism (the "Left" movement in Germany, the supporters of the I. W. W. in America, certain groups of revolutionary Syndicalists and Anarchists) there may be noticed an insufficient estimate of the role of the Communist Party, as such, and even a direct denial of the necessity of the existence of a Communist Party. This will serve as an additional motive to impel the Second Congress of the Communist International clearly and definitely to deal with the question stated above.

(1) The Communist Party is a section of the working class. To be more precise, its most advanced, its most class-conscious, and therefore, its most revolutionary section. The Communist Party has no interests distinct from those of the working class. The party is distinguished from the general mass of the workers by the fact that it reviews the whole historical development of the working class in its entirety and strives at every turning point in that path, to defend the interests not of separate professions, but of the working class as a whole. The Communist Party is that lever of political organization with the help of which the foremost section of the working class guides along the right road the whole mass of the proletariat and semi-proletariat.

(2) Until the time when state power has been conquered by the proletariat, until the time when the proletariat has once and for all firmly established its supremacy, and has secured the working class against a bourgeois restoration—until that time the Communist Party will naturally include in its organized ranks only a minority of the workers. Until the seizure of power, and in the transitional period, the Communist Party may, under favorable circumstances, enjoy an undivided ideological influence on all the proletarian and semi-proletarian elements of the population, but cannot unite them in an organized fashion within its ranks. Only when the proletarian dictatorship has deprived the capitalist class of such mighty weapons as the press, the school, parliament, the church, the apparatus of government, etc., only when the final defeat of the bourgeois order becomes apparent to all—only then will all, or nearly all, the workers begin to enter the ranks of the Communist Party.

(3) The idea of a party must be very strictly distinguished from the idea of a class. The members of the "Christian" and the liberal professional unions of Germany, England, and other countries are undoubtedly a section of the working class. The more or less considerable masses of workers who still support the Scheidemanns, Gompers and Co., are undoubtedly a section of the working class. In given historical circumstances there may be present in the working class reactionary straits of large numerical strength. The problem of Communism does not consist in the Party adapting itself to these backward sections of the working class, but in raising the whole working class to the level of its Communist vanguard. The confusion of these two ideas—party and class—may lead to the greatest possible mistakes and chaos. Thus, for example, it is clear that, in spite of the mood of the "prudent," defending the historical interests of the proletariat—interests which demanded on the part of the proletarian party a declaration of war against war.

Thus, for example, at the beginning of the imperialist war in 1914, the socialtraitors of all countries supporting the bourgeoisie of "their" country, with common accord advanced in their defense the claim that such was the will of the working class, and

they forgot that, even if this were not so, the duty of the proletarian party, under such conditions, was to declare itself against the opinion of the majority of the workers and to defend the historical interests of the proletariat in spite of all. Thus, in the early years of the twentieth century, the Russian Mensheviks of the time the so called "economists" repudiated an open political struggle against Tsarism on the basis that, forsooth, the working class as a whole had not yet attained to an understanding of the political struggle.

(4) The Communist International is unshakably convinced that the collapse of the old "social-democratic" parties of the 2nd International can in no wise be represented as a collapse of proletarian party life altogether. The period of direct struggle of the dictatorship of the proletariat gives birth to a new party of the proletariat—the Communist Party.

(5) The Communist International decisively repudiates the view that the proletariat can in any way accomplish its revolution without having its own independent political party. Every class struggle is a political struggle. The aim of that struggle, inevitably transforming itself into a civil war, is the conquest of political power. But political power cannot be

achieved without a centralized political apparatus, that is, without a political party. Consequently, the propaganda of the revolutionary syndicalists and of the supporters of the Industrial Workers of the World against the necessity of an independent working class party, objectively speaking, has helped, and helps, only the capitalist class and counter revolutionary "Social Democrats." In their propaganda against the Communist Party, which the syndicalists and the industrialists wish to replace by Trade Unions alone, or by formless "General" Labor Unions, they come on to common ground with acknowledged opportunists. The Russian Mensheviks, after the defeat of the 1905 revolution, for several years preached a so-called "Labor Conference," which was to take the place of the revolutionary party of the working class. All kinds of "Laborists" in England and America, who in practice are openly engaged in carrying out bourgeois policy, preach to the workers the creation of shapeless "Labor Unions" in place of a political party. The revolutionary syndicalists and industrialists are anxious to struggle against the dictatorship of the capitalist class, but do not know how to set about it. They do not notice that the working class without an independent political party is a body without a head.

Revolutionary syndicalism and industrialism represent a step forward only in comparison with the old, worn out, counter revolutionary ideology of the Second International. But, in comparison with revolutionary Marxism, i. e., with Communism, syndicalism and industrialism represent a step back. The declaration of the "Left" Communists of Germany (made by them in their program statement at their first congress in April) to the effect that they are creating a party, "but not a party in the usual, traditional sense of the word" ("Keine Partei im üblichen Sinne")—is a surrender to those views of syndicalism and industrialism which are in essence reactionary.

(6) The Communists wholeheartedly support the formation, side by side with the Communist Party, of the widest possible non-party labor organizations. The Communists consider as their most important task a systematic work of organization and education within these wide labor organizations. But, precisely to ensure that this work will bear fruit, precisely to ensure that the enemies of the revolutionary proletariat will not gain possession of these organizations, the foremost working class Communists must always have their independent, strongly organized Communist Party, acting always in an organized way, and be capable of defending the general interests of Communism at every turn of events and in all forms of the movement.

(7) The Communists do not avoid the mass non-party working class organizations even when they bear an openly reactionary, "Black Hundred," character (the "Yellow" Unions, the "Christian" Unions, and so on). But the Communist Party ceaselessly carries on its own work within these organizations, and untiringly demonstrates to the workers that the non-party idea, as a principle, is consciously fostered amongst the workers by the capitalist class and its lackeys, in order to divert the proletariat from the organized struggle for Socialism.

(8) The old "classical" division of the working class movement into three forms (the Party, the Trade Unions, and the Cooperatives) has obviously outlived its usefulness. The Proletarian Revolution in Russia has produced the fundamental form of working class dictatorship—the Soviets. But work in the Soviets also, just as in the revolutionized producers' unions, must unswervingly and systematically be guided by the party of the proletariat, i. e., by the Communist Party. The Communist Party, the organized vanguard of the working class, simultaneously serves the interests of the economic, the political, and the educational struggles of the working class, in their entirety. The Communist Party must appear as the heart and soul of the producers' unions, of the Councils of Workers' Deputies, and of all other forms of proletarian organization.

The appearance of Soviets as the chief form, historically speaking, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in no way diminishes the guiding role of the Communist Party in the Proletarian Revolution. The German "Left" Communists see the appeal of their party to the German proletariat, April 14th, 1920, signed, "The Com

One Day's Pay

The second convention of the Communist Party adopted a resolution calling upon the members to contribute ONE DAY'S PAY to the party organization.

In accordance with the decision of the Convention, the C. E. C. issues this call to all members of the Communist Party to contribute one day's pay for the national organization.

Comrades, the need is great. You know it. We need not waste time and space telling you about it.

The Communist Party is unified and solidified on the basis of principles and tactics as never before in its history.

There are difficult tasks ahead of us—organization, education, propaganda, and agitation.

The spirit, the will, the determination, the energy exists to carry on this highly important work.

BUT WITHOUT FUNDS WE CANNOT CARRY ON!

Comrades! Rally to the support of the Communist Party!

GIVE ONE DAY'S PAY TO MAKE THE PARTY A PARTY OF ACTION.

assumed, organized, and directed except by one political party or another. Only in the case when the proletariat has a guide and organized and experienced party, with strictly defined aims and a concretely worked out program of immediate activity both in internal and in external politics, will the conquest of political power not be a mere accidental episode, but will serve as the point of departure of a prolonged period of Communist reconstruction by the proletariat.

The same class struggle requires the centralization at one point of the general direction of the various forms of the proletarian movement (the Trade Unions, the Co-operative, factory and workshop committees, educational work, elections, and so forth). Only a political party can act as a general unifying and guiding centre of this kind. The refusal to create and strengthen it, and to be controlled by it, signifies a refusal to admit unity of control of the isolated fighting detachments of the proletariat serving on various fronts. Finally, the class struggle of the proletariat requires concentrated agitation, throwing light on the various stages of the struggle from a single point of view, and concentrating the attention of the proletariat at every given moment on definite problems common to the whole of the working class. This cannot be

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