

in this their final battle for freedom. And the degree of suffering will depend upon the preparation and organization of the workers in each country. If the workers heed the lessons of the Russian Revolution, if communist propaganda reaches them, and the road to power made plain, the overthrow of the capitalist dictatorship will be less sanguinary. But if the workers follow false teachers of the Russell type and the "yellow" Socialist, the blood brothers of the Russells, with their siren song of peace, peace, when there can be no peace, then indeed, led into a blind alley of social reform, the way out may be bloody beyond compare.

"The working class did not expect miracles from the Commune. They have no ready-made Utopias to introduce, par decret du peuple. They know that in order to work out their own emancipation, and along with it that higher form to which present society is irresistibly tending, by its own economical agencies, they

will have to pass through long struggles, through a series of historic processes, through suffering circumstances and men. They have no ideals to realize, but to set free the elements of the new society with which collapsing bourgeois society itself is pregnant. In the full consciousness of their historic mission, and with the heroic resolve to act up to it, the working class can afford to smile at the coarse invective of the gentlemen with the pen and ink horn, and at the didactic patronage of the well-wishing bourgeois doctrinaire, pouring forth their ignorant platitudes and sectarian crotchets in the oracular tone of scientific infallibility." (The Civil War in France.—Karl Marx)

Thus Marx disposed of the bourgeois and "yellow" socialist critics of the commune fifty years ago. These these owls of our generation, blinking in the sunlight of the workers dawn, will never know, can never understand.

THESIS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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unist labor Party of Germany") declare that "the party, too, must adapt itself more and more to the idea of the Soviets and to, adopt a proletarian character—"Wird gefordert dass auch die Partei sich immer mehr dem Satzungsgemassen anpasst und proletarischen Charakter annimmt" ("Kommunistische Arbeiterzeitung). This is a misleading statement of the idea that the Communist Party, forsooth, must melt into the Soviets, that the Soviets, can, somehow, take the place of the Communist Party.

This idea is fundamentally incorrect and reactionary.

In the history of the Russian Revolution, we witnessed a whole epoch when the Soviets opposed the proletarian party and supported the policy of the agents of the bourgeoisie. The same was witnessed in Germany. The same is possible in other countries also.

On the contrary, in order that the Soviets may carry out their historical mission, the existence is required of such a strong Communist Party that it will not merely "adapt itself" to the Soviets, but will be able to exercise a decisive influence on their policy to force them of their own accord to reject "adaptation" to the capitalist class and the White Social Democracy, and, through the medium of the Communist groups in the Soviets, to lead the latter in the path laid down by the Party.

Those who propose that the Communist Party should "adapt" itself to the Soviets, those who see in such an adaptation a strengthening of the "proletarian character" of the Party—such persons are conferring a very doubtful favor upon both the Party and the Soviets, and are ignorant both of the meaning of the Party and of the meaning of the Soviets. The "Soviet idea" will be victorious the more quickly, the stronger are the Communist parties which we are able to create in every country. The "Soviet idea" is now recognized in words by many "independent" Socialists and even by Right Socialists. We shall only be able to prevent these elements from distorting the Soviet idea if we have a strong Communist Party, capable of defining the policy of the Soviets, and of leading them in its train.

(8) The Communist Party is required by the working class not only before the conquest of power, and not only during the conquest of power into the hands of the working class. The history of the Russian Communist Party, which for three years has been in power in a gigantic country, shows that the part played by the Communist Party after the conquest of power by the working class has not only not been diminished, but, on the contrary, has had a colossal development.

(9) On the morrow of the conquest of power by the proletariat, its party nevertheless remains, as before, only a section of the working class. But it is precisely that section of the working class which organized victory. The Communist Party during twenty years, as we saw in Russia—during thirteen years, as we see in Germany—in its struggle not only with the capitalist class but with those "Socialists" who were the instruments of bourgeois influence on the workers, attracted into its ranks the most steadfast, the most far-sighted, the most advanced fighters of the working class. Only in the presence of such a strongly knitted organization of the best section of the working class is it possible to overcome all those difficulties which arise before the working class dictatorship on the morrow of victory. The organization of a new proletarian Red Army, the practical annihilation of the bourgeois state apparatus and the creation in its place of the beginnings of a new proletarian state apparatus, the struggle against the sectional strivings of individual groups of workers, the struggle against local and regional "patriotism," the beating out of paths towards a new labor discipline—in all those spheres a decisive voice belongs to the Communist Party, the members of which, by their living example, lead in their

train the majority of the working class.

(11) The necessity of a political party of the proletariat disappears only with the complete abolition of classes. On the road to this final victory of Communism, it is possible that the relative importance of the three fundamental proletarian organizations of today (the Party, the Soviets, and the Producers' Unions) will be altered, and that gradually one single type of labor organization will be crystallized out. But the Communist Party will be amalgamated entirely with the working class only when Communism ceases to be an aim of the struggle and the whole working class becomes Communist.

(12) The second Congress of the Communist International must not only affirm the historical mission of the Communist Party generally, but must point out to the international proletariat, if only in the most general terms, what kind of a Communist Party is required.

(13) The Communist International considers that, especially in the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Communist Party must be built up on the foundation of an iron proletarian centralism. In order successfully to guide the working class in the long and obstinate civil struggle that is upon us, the Communist Party itself must create within its ranks an iron military discipline. The experience of the Russian Communist Party, which has for three years successfully guided the civil war of the working class, has shown that in this sphere without the strictest discipline, the most perfect centralization, and the most complete comradesly confidence of all the Party organizations in the guiding party centre, the victory of the workers is impossible.

(14) The Communist Party must be built up on the foundation of democratic centralism. The chief principles of democratic centralism are: the elective character of the lower groups, the absolutely binding character of all the directions of a higher body for the subordinate groups, and the existence of a powerful party centre of unquestionable authority for all the leaders of party life from Congress to Congress.

(15) A whole series of Communist Parties in Europe and America, in view of the state of siege introduced by the capitalist class against the Communists, are forced to carry on an illegal existence. It is essential to remember that in such a state of things it is occasionally necessary to abandon the strict application of the principle of election, and to allow the directing organs of the party the right of co-optation, as was the case in Russia at one time. In a de facto state of siege the Communist Party will not only be unable to have recourse on every serious question to a democratic referendum amongst all the members of the party (the proposal of a section of the American Communists), but, on the contrary, must empower its executive centre to be able, if necessity requires to take, at short notice, decisions which are important for all members of the party.

(16) The preaching of wide "autonomy" for separate local organizations of the party at the present moment only weakens the ranks of the Communist Party, undermines its capacity for work, and assists the petty bourgeois, anarchical, centrifugal elements.

(17) In the countries where the bourgeoisie or the counter-revolutionary social democracy, is still in power, the Communist Parties must learn accurately to co-ordinate their legal work with their illegal, and, with this, the legal work must always remain under the de facto control of the illegal party. The parliamentary groups of Communists, both in the central and in the local government institutions, must be absolutely and entirely subordinate to the Communist Party as a whole independently of whether the party as a whole at the given moment is a legal or an illegal organization. Those deputies who, in one way or another, do not obey the orders of the party, must be expelled from the ranks of the Communists.

(To be concluded.)

ECONOMICS AND POLITICS DURING THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION.

(Continued from page 4)

PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP WITH END SOCIAL CLASSES.

Socialism is the abolition of classes. The dictatorship of the proletariat has done its utmost to bring about this abolition. But it is impossible to do away with the class system all at once. Thus the classes have remained and will remain, all through the period of proletarian dictatorship. When classes have dis-

appeared, there will be no need for dictatorship, but they will never disappear without the dictatorship of the working class.

The classes have remained, but each one of them has taken a different aspect during this period of proletarian dictatorship; a change has also taken place in their mutual relations. The class struggle does not disappear under proletarian dictatorship, it only takes a different form.

Under capitalism the proletariat has always been the oppressed class—the class which was denied ownership of the means of production, which alone was directly and completely opposed to the bourgeoisie. Therefore it was the only class capable of remaining revolutionary right through the struggle. Having overthrown the bourgeoisie, and having conquered political power, the proletariat has become the governing class. The State Power is in its hands; it controls the socialized means of production, it guides the vacillating intermediate elements and classes, it crushes the power of resistance of the exploiters. All these are special tasks of the class struggle, tasks which, formerly, the proletariat did not and could not undertake.

THE EXPLOITERS ARE OVERTHROWN BUT NOT DESTROYED.

The class of exploiters, landowners and capitalists has not disappeared, and could not disappear at once under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The exploiters are overthrown, but not destroyed. They retain the basis of international capitalism, of which they are part and parcel. They still possess some means of production, as well as money and extensive social connections. Their power of resistance has increased a hundred, nay, a thousandfold by the very fact of their defeat. Their ability in State, military, and economic administration, affords them a great superiority, so that their importance is considerably out of proportion to their numerical strength, as compared with the whole population.

The class struggle of the overthrown exploiters against the victorious vanguard of the exploited, the proletariat, has become more intense. This is only a natural development of the revolution which the "heroes" of the Second International are vainly endeavoring to deny, by substituting reformist illusions for the hard facts of revolution.

Finally, the peasantry, and the entire small bourgeoisie are occupying, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, a medium, or interim, position. On the one hand, they represent a considerable and in backward Russia, an enormous mass of workers, united by the desire, common to all workers to free themselves from the domination of landowners and capitalists. On the other hand, they consist of small proprietors and traders in towns and villages. Such an economic situation must inevitably produce indecision and wavering in the relations between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. As the struggle of the bourgeoisie becomes intensified, all social relations undergo a great radical change, the ingrained conservatism of the peasants and small bourgeoisie is bound to lead to indecision and to sudden and spasmodic changes in the adherence of these elements to either one side or the other.

The proletariat must endeavor to influence and guide these vacillating social elements, steadying and spurring on the waverers and backsliders.

We have only to take into consideration all the fundamental forces or classes and the change brought about in their mutual relations by the proletarian dictatorship, in order to realize how infinitely absurd, nay, stupid, is the small bourgeois theory (so prevalent in the Second International) that Socialism will be attained through "democracy in general." This colossal error is based on the belief in the classless character of democracy, a belief instilled by the bourgeoisie. In reality, democracy itself enters on a new phase under proletarian dictatorship, and the class struggle is lifted into a higher plane, superseding all and every other form of contest.

Generalities about liberty, equality, democracy are nothing but a blind repetition of notions borrowed from conditions and relations in industrial production. The endeavor to solve by means of these phrases the concrete tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat is tantamount to adopting, all along the line, the theories and principles of the bourgeoisie. From the proletarian point of view, the only important questions are:

"Freedom from oppression by which class?"

"Equality between what classes?"

"Democracy on the basis of private property, or on the basis of the struggle for the elimination of private property?"

From "Workers Dreadnaught"
INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM AND THE GENERAL STRIKE

(Continued from page 5)

For that the fruit growing out of this seed is nothing less than the propertyless proletarian masses. When the gap between those who have and those who have not is widened to such an extent that it becomes unbridgeable, then, and then only, is the Revolution called. No body of men will starve to death without making a desperate effort to get the food from those who have it, but this is not sufficient. We demand the complete annihilation of Wage Slavery.

The Social Revolution can be successfully realized by a Triple Alliance that has fallen into the claws of lethargy and stuperflog; and is both lazy and impotent to take any action. A Triple Alliance of one solid organization acting constantly as a single unit will undoubtedly accelerate the "Day of Judgment." In all events, the complete extinction of the capitalist class can only be accomplished by a Communist Party that declares that to be its sole aim and effort. That is clearly the aim of the Third International and all its affiliated organizations. Therefore all hearts for a strong Communist Party of Great Britain. Around such a party the advanced class-conscious part of the working class will and must rally in order to assure the triumph of world-wide Communism.

From the Workers' Dreadnaught.