

way to Socialism leads through the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is characterized by the government of the revolutionary Soviets. The first task of the working class is the struggle to obtain the downfall of the political, economic and intellectual dominance of Imperialism, and to institute proletarian dictatorship. This struggle can only come to a victorious end when the proletariat decisively breaks away from the Second International, which has struck fast in the mire of reformism and compromises with the bourgeoisie, and is endeavoring to save bourgeois society, betraying thereby all the working class. Only then will the working masses unite under the standard of the Communist International, the leader of the proletariat in its revolutionary struggle. In a revolutionary epoch one must employ primarily the means of revolutionary struggle of the masses—demonstrations, strikes, general strikes, armed uprisings. But at the same time the proletariat cannot reject in principle other political resources, such as the Parliament. The entry into Parliament depends on the political situation of the moment, and must be decided in each case separately by the organization of each country.

2. If the position of mature workmen under the rule of capitalism is exceptionally hard, the position of the working youth is quite intolerable. Low wages, a long working day, barbarous treatment from the contractors and immediate superiors, characterize the position of the young workers. Conditions are still worse in the trades, where the apprentices are wholly in the power of their trade masters. Such an unlimited exploitation of young workers hinders their intellectual and physical development. The bourgeois government allows the working youth only as much education as is necessary to be able to utilize it to the utmost degree, in the capacity of zealous and useful domestic cattle. The bourgeoisie strives to entice the youth into its own circle of ideas. Schools, clerical and bourgeois unions of young people, as well as militarization, have but one object—to alienate the proletarian Youth from the struggle for Socialism, and to train them into devoted soldiers of Imperialism. The world war considerably aggravated the situation: millions of youthful proletarians were sent to the front as cannon-fodder, and millions driven into munition works.

But although the State and the contractors exhaust the strength of the youth to the utmost, political and personal rights are only permitted them in the very slightest degree. Such a state of things has incited the working youth to a merciless struggle against Imperialism.

3. The formation of a separate organization of proletarian youth is dictated: a. By the position of the Youth in the process of production and in society; this position forces it to fight in defence of its own interests, in the organizing of labor, reforming of schools, etc. b. By the psychological peculiarities of youth (the prevalence of sentiment over reason, aptitude for cooperation, great receptivity as regards all new and revolutionary ideas, readiness for sacrifice and action). c. By the necessity of special methods for its Socialist and revolutionary education (independent organizational work, active participation in political manifestations), the application of all methods which give youthful workers an opportunity

of acquiring qualities which will be extremely necessary to them in the future, as champions of the proletariat and bearers of the Revolution.

4. The working Youth is the most active and most revolutionary part of the proletariat. The most important task of the Communist organization of Youth is, for the present, an unwearying agitation in the wide masses of workers, the organization and carrying out of political demonstrations, the immediate struggle for Communism, taking part in the overthrow of capitalist tyranny, and the education of the Youth to make them fit for the building of the Communist community.

5. The Communist organization of the Youth carries on an energetic struggle against all the bourgeois parties, and also against such right Socialists, lackeys of the bourgeoisie, as Scheidemann, Reuter, Bissolati, Renaudel, Henderson, Gompers, Troelstra, Branting, Vandervelde, etc. and against the Socialist "centre" (Kautsky, MacDonald, Robert Grimm, Hauser and others), who by their hesitations only tend to uphold capitalist society. The struggle likewise against the Syndicalist ideology, which opposes itself to the political struggle for the conquest of proletarian dictatorship, rejects the right of the political party to conduct this struggle, and rejects proletarian centralization. They equally struggle against the Anarchist ideology, which does not admit the proletarian government as an intermediate phase between capitalism and Communism, and which preaches in the sphere of political economy petty bourgeois ideas. The same struggle is directed against those organizations of the Youth which are connected with the above-mentioned parties. In their political struggle the organizations of the Youth keep to the principles of that party or local faction which is affiliated with the Third International, or to the principles proclaimed in the program of the Communist International. The organizational relations towards the Party are determined by two fundamental principles: 1) The independence of the Youth; 2) Close contact and reciprocal help.

6. Although the Communist organizations of the Youth continue an energetic struggle against bourgeois militarism in all its abstract and practical forms, yet they do not defend the ideas of Liberal pacifism. They know that the working class will yet be forced to defend its own victorious dictatorship from unexpected attacks by the bourgeoisie, to have recourse to arms and to fight against bourgeois militarism. For the arming of the proletariat! For the Red Army! That is the cry of the Communist Youth.

7. The struggle for the amelioration of the economic situation of proletarian Youth is one of the principal problems of the organizations of the Youth. A radical reform of the conditions of labor is only possible in a Communist community. At the present period of capitalist domination it is possible to attain a partial amelioration of the situation of the Youth only through the revolutionary class-struggle, but in no wise by collaborating with the compromisers and with the bourgeois governments.

8. One of the elementary problems of Communist organizations of the Youth is the training of well developed proletarian champions and future builders of Communist society. Communist judgment and readiness for action are attained not only by taking part in the political struggle, but also through theoretical Socialist instruction, which proves a sharp weapon in

the fight against bourgeois ideology. Socialist education combined with active participation in the political struggle—these are the true methods of forming youthful proletarian champions.

9. Moreover the Communist organizations of the Youth set themselves the task of universal education of Youth in the Marxist spirit, thereby raising the culture level. The working Youth must extort from the bourgeoisie the treasures of human knowledge, which are indispensable to the workers as a guide in the liberating movement of the proletariat. They must conquer the paths to science, literature and art. Besides honest workmen and brave soldiers of the Red Army, the working Youth must supply scholars, technical specialists, organizers, philosophers, poets and artists of the new Communist Society. It is the mission of the working Youth and its organizations to be in the first ranks of the constructors of the new culture, conceived by the Communist Spirit.

10. The Communist organizations must turn the proletarian Youth into a healthy people, healthy bodily and spiritually. Therefore the Communist organizations of the Youth are concerned also with the physical development of the young. This work, to which at present we can only give part of our activity, is of great importance for the working Youth.

11. Although the Communist organizations of the Youth strive to influence with their ideas wide circles of proletarian Youth, nevertheless this is not done by sacrificing anything of the clearness of the Communist programme. The agitation by the Communist organizations of the Youth among the village workmen and the poorest peasants.

12. The Communist International of the Youth looks upon the existence of separate organizations. Honest revolutionists from the ranks of the young students must become members of the proletarian organization of Youth, as equals amongst equals, as comrades amongst comrades. The formation of groups of educated Youth within the general organizations of Youth must be regulated according to the conditions in each separate country.

13. In the present revolutionary epoch, the struggle of the proletariat can only be victorious, if it is world-wide.

This refers also to the struggle of the proletarian Youth. Therefore the political organizations of the Youth unite themselves under the standard of the Communist International of the Youth. The great aim of the International of Youth is centralization in the guidance of all work and struggle of the Communist organizations of Youth in all the different countries. Its regulations dictate the supreme law to all the organizations of the Youth. Its practical work consists in international agitation and international guidance of political manifestations. Its duty is to give unity to all the activity of the organizations of the Youth, to serve them as a directing force, to support them morally and materially, to form new unions and to connect as closely together, as possible the proletarian organizations of the Youth of all countries.

14. The Communist International of the Youth stands on the principles of the First Congress of the Communist International. The Central Committee of the Communist International of Youth is bound through its organization to the Third International, and works in close connection with it.

Lenin's Thesis On Bourgeois Democracy and Proletarian Dictatorship.

The growth of the proletarian revolutionary movement in every country has on the part of the bourgeoisie and their agents in the workers' organizations called forth arduous efforts to find plausible political arguments in defence of the domination of the exploiters. In these arguments the condemnation of dictatorship and defence of Democracy are favorite themes. The lying and hypocrisy of such arguments, which the capitalist Press and the Yellow International Conference at Berne, February, 1919, in a thousand ways repeated, is, however, clear to anyone who does not wish to be a traitor to Socialism.

2.—In the first place, these demonstrations deal with "democracy in general" and "dictatorship in general" without stating what class one is talking about. To state the position thus, outside and above the class question, as if it were the position of the nation in general, is a direct contradiction to the fundamental lesson of Socialism, namely, the lesson of the class war, taught in words, but forgotten in practice by Socialists who have gone over to the bourgeois camp. For in none of the civilized capitalist countries does a "general democracy" exist, but only a bourgeois democracy, and it is not a question of "dictatorship in general," but of the dictatorship of the oppressed class, i.e., the proletariat, over the oppressors and exploiters, i.e., the bourgeoisie, with the object of overcoming the resistance of the exploiter in his fight to maintain his domination.

3.—History teaches that never has an oppressed class attained power nor can attain it without a period of dictatorship, i.e., the conquering of political power and the forcible suppression of the most desperate, furious and pitiless resistance which the exploiters have always, at the cost of any crime, maintained,

The bourgeoisie, whose mastery is now defended by Socialists, who speak against "dictatorship in general" and with body and soul advocate "democracy in general", has won its power by a series of revolts, civil wars, through violent suppression of monarchies, feudalism and slavery. Thousands and millions of times have Socialists in every country in their books, pamphlets, Congress resolutions and agitation speeches, pointed out to the people the class-character of these bourgeois revolutions. Therefore the present defence of "bourgeois democracy" in speeches on "democracy in general", and the present outcry against the dictatorship of the proletariat, in talking about "dictatorship in general," is a direct betrayal of Socialism and definite going over to the camp of the bourgeoisie. It is a denial of the rights of the proletariat to a proletarian revolution; a defence of middle-class snobs' reformism just at the very historical moment when such reformism has gone bankrupt throughout the whole world and the war has created a revolutionary situation.

4.—All Socialists in explaining the class-character of bourgeois civilization, democracy and parliamentarism, have spoken the thoughts which have been put forth with the greatest scientific exactitude by Marx and Engels, that the democratic bourgeois Republic is nothing but a machine for suppressing the working class by the bourgeoisie; the masses of the workers by a handful of capitalists. There is not one genuine revolutionary, and not one genuine Marxian among those who are now raising their cry against dictatorship, and standing for democracy, who has not solemnly sworn (hoch and helling) before the workers that he recognized this fundamental truth of Socialism; and yet now when a fermentation and move-

ment has begun amongst the revolutionary proletariat with the intention of smashing the Machine of Oppression and fighting for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat these traitors to Socialism talk about the matter as though the resistance of the capitalists was finished, and as though they were willing to put themselves under the workers' majority. In a word as though in the Democratic Republic there never had been and never would be a State-Apparatus for crushing Labor with Capital.

5.—The Paris Commune, which all praise who wish to appear as Socialists, because they know that the great mass of the workers look with sympathy upon it, has especially shown in a clear manner the historical, conditional, and limited value of bourgeois Parliamentarism and Democracy, which in comparison to the state of society in the Middle Ages constituted a great step forward, but which to-day at the time of the workers' revolution must be radically altered. Already Marx, who placed the greatest value on the historical meaning of the Commune, had in his analysis thereof pointed out the exploiting character of the bourgeois Democracy and Parliamentarism, in which the oppressed classes held it right to determine once in the course of many years what members of the possessing classes should go in or come out of Parliament. Yet now, when unrest is seething throughout the world, and before all eyes furthering the cause of Communism, the traitors of Socialism forget the practical experience and concrete lesson of the Paris Commune, and simply repeat the old rubbish about "Democracy in general". The Commune was a non-parliamentary concern.

6.—The significance of the Commune went further in that it attempted to overthrow and utterly destroy the bourgeois State-Apparatus.