

the apparatus of Officialdom, Law, War and Police, and to put in its place the autonomous mass-organization of the worker, which recognized no division between legislative and executive power. All middle-class Democratic Republics in our times, including the German, which are held up as proletarian by the truth-falsifying traitors of Socialism, still maintain this bourgeois State-Apparatus, which continually demonstrates more clearly and plainly than ever that the outcry in defence of "Democracy in general" is nothing else but a defence of capitalism and the privileges of profiteers.

7.—"Freedom of Assembly" can be taken as an example of the demands of "pure Democracy." Every enlightened worker who has not broken with his class understands that it were a ridiculous thing to promise the profiteers freedom of assembly for every period and situation where it prevented their overthrow and defended their privileges. The bourgeoisie when they were revolutionary, neither in England in the year 1649, nor in France in the year 1793, granted to the monarchist and nobility Freedom of Assembly while the latter poured foreign troops into the country and "assembled" in order to organize their efforts at restoration. If the bourgeoisie of to-day, which has long since become reactionary, demands from the proletariat this unrestricted right of Free Assembly, it will only be laughed at by the workers as an example of bourgeois hypocrisy.

Besides, the workers know very well that "Freedom of Assembly" even in the democratic bourgeois Republic is only an empty phrase, for the rich have the best public and private buildings at their disposal, and have also plenty of spare time for meetings and looking after their own ends in protecting the capitalist Power-Apparatus.

The town and village proletariat, as well as the small farmer, i.e., the great majority of the population, have none of these advantages. And so long as this is the case the word "Equality," that is to say, "Pure Democracy" is a fraud. To get real Equality, for Democracy to definitely realize it for the workers, the fine public and private buildings must be taken away from the exploiters, and it is also of the highest importance that the workers see to it that the freedom of their meetings is defended by armed workers, and not by young sons of nobles (Soehnen des Adels) or officers from the capitalist circles and their conscript soldiers.

Only after such an alteration can one without humbugging the worker, the working population, the poor, speak about "Freedom of Assembly" and Equality. But this alteration nobody else can bring about except the vanguard of the working people, the proletariat, which overthrows the exploiter, the bourgeoisie.

8.—The "Freedom of the Press" is another of the main watchwords of "Pure Democracy." The worker knows, and it has been millions of times agreed by Socialists in every country, that this freedom is sheer fraud so long as the best printing presses and big stores of paper are in the hands of the capitalists, and so long as the power which capital has over the Press remains, which is so plain and clear all over the world, so cynically interwoven with democratic and republican regimes, as, for example, in America. To obtain a genuine equality and a genuine democracy for the working masses, one must first of all take away from the capitalist the possibility of employing writers in their service and the buying up of newspapers and publishing offices. And to do this it is necessary to throw off the yoke of capitalism, to overthrow the exploiter and their resistance. Capitalists have always explained the word "freedom" as freedom of profits for the rich and freedom of starvation for the poor. Capitalists explain "Freedom of the Press" as freedom of bribery by the rich, the freedom for employing wealth to fabricate and falsify so-called public opinion. The defender of "Pure Democracy" shows himself, in reality, as the defender of the dirty and mercenary system of the power of riches over the means of brushing aside the well-known historical task of freeing the Press from capital. The Communists will establish real freedom and equality, in which there is no possibility of enriching oneself at the expense of others, which will prevent the submission of the Press, directly or indirectly, to money-power, and where nothing will hinder the worker (or any particular group of workers) from equal rights to the use of the printing presses and paper that belong to the community.

9.—The history of the 19th and 20th century showed us before the war what in reality the much-talked-of "Pure Democracy" meant under capitalism. The Marxists have always asserted that the more developed, i.e., the "purer" democracy is, the more pitiless and keen will the class-war be, and the more developed will be the oppression of capital and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The Dreyfus case in Republican France, the bloody settlement of accounts between the paid hireling armies of the capitalists and the workers on strike in the free and democratic Republic of America, and thousands of the same class of instances, show the fact, which the bourgeoisie try in vain to hide, that in democratic Republics terrorism and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie assume the reins of power openly immediately it appears to the exploiters that the power of capital is tottering.

10.—The imperialist war, 1914-1918, has once for all shown the least progressive workers the true character of the capitalist democracy even in the freest Republic, which is nothing

less than bourgeois dictatorship. With the aim of enriching the German and English groups of millionaires and multimillionaires, dozens of millions of men have been murdered, and in the most free Republics the bourgeois military dictatorship is set up. This military dictatorship still continues in the Entente countries even after the overthrow of Germany. The war, more than anything else, has opened the eyes of the workers. The false mask has been torn from the bourgeois democracy, and the people can see the whole picture of speculation and profit-seeking during the war and opportunities opened up by the war. Capitalism has carried on this war in the name of freedom and equality. In the name of freedom and equality it has enriched the supplies of war materials to an unheard of extent. Yet not a bit does the Yellow International at Berne bother itself about this, but continues to whitewash before the old character of bourgeois freedom, bourgeois equality, and bourgeois democracy.

11.—In the most capitalist developed country of Europe, namely, in Germany, the first few months of full Republican freedom, which the overthrow of Imperialistic Germany brought about, have shown to the German workers and to the whole world what is the true character of the democratic bourgeois Republic. The murders of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg are events of world-historical meaning; not only because the best leaders of genuine proletarian International Communism were tragically done to death, but because it demonstrated the class-character of the first European State—and one can also say the first State of the whole world without exaggeration. If prisoners, i.e., people taken under State control, can be murdered with impunity by officers and capitalists, under a Government of Socialists, it follows as a logical conclusion that the democratic Republic wherein this could happen is a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. People who showed their indignation of the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, and who do not understand the truth of this are proving either their stupidity or their hypocrisy. In one of the freest and most civilized Republics of the world, in the German Republic, "freedom" is shown to be freedom to strike down the arrested leaders of the proletariat. And it can be nothing else so long as capitalism asserts itself, and the evolution of the democratic class struggle that to-day, as the result and consequences of the war, has reached the boiling point, is not weakening but increasing.

At the present time throughout the whole of the civilized world expulsions, hunting down, and imprisonment of Bolsheviks is taking place, as, for example, in one of the free "democratic" Republics, Switzerland; further, we have in America Bolshevik pogroms and so on. From the historical point of "democracy in general" or pure democracy, it is simply laughable that advanced civilized democracies, countries armed to the teeth, should be afraid of a few dozen people from backward, starving, ruined Russia, depicted as savage and criminal in millions of copies of capitalist newspapers. It is clear that the society in which such obvious contradictions can find a hearing is in reality a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

12.—In such a situation the dictatorship of the proletariat is not only fully justified as a means for the overthrow of the exploiter and the suppression of his resistance, but is also absolutely necessary for the whole mass of the workers, as the one protection against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, which led to the war and is preparing new wars.

The main thing which so many Socialists do not understand, and which causes their theoretical shortsightedness, their clinging to middle-class prejudices, and their political betrayal of the proletariat, is that, in capitalist society, with increasing grounds for the class war, there can be no half-way between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Every dream of any kind of third thing is only the reactionary lamentations of the petty bourgeois. This is shown in the experience of more than a hundred years of evolution of the bourgeois democracy and the workers' movement in every civilized country, and especially in the experience of the last five years. It is also furnished by the whole lesson of national economies, the whole tenor of Marxism, which has demonstrated the fatal economic necessity of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie for every capitalist business, a dictatorship that can only be overthrown by the class that is developed, augmented and reinforced by the very development of capitalism, i.e., by the proletariat.

13.—The second theoretical and political blunder of Socialists consists in that they do not understand that the forms of democracy commencing with the germ in ancient times have, during thousands of years, inevitably undergone radical transformation through the replacement of one governing class by another. In the Republic of ancient Greece, in the States of the Middle Ages, in the advanced capitalist States, democracy has different forms and different extensions. It would be the greatest folly to think that the most profound revolution in the history of mankind, the first transference of power out of the hands of the exploiter-minority into the hands of the exploited majority, can fully develop within the confines of the old bourgeois Parliamentary democracy, or can be accomplished without a revolution; without the construction of new forms of democracy, new institutions, conditions, stipulations, and so on.

14.—The dictatorship of the proletariat is in

so far like the dictatorship of other classes in that it, as in every other dictatorship, is faced with the necessity of suppressing with force the resistance of the class which is losing its political power. The fundamental difference of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of other classes, the dictatorship of the big landlords in the Middle Ages, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in every civilized capitalist country, is that the dictatorship of the big landlords and bourgeoisie was a suppression by force of the resistance of the overwhelming majority of the people, namely, the working classes. While on the other hand the dictatorship of the proletariat, is a suppression by force of the exploiter, i.e., the minority of the people, the big landlords and capitalists.

From this is very evident that the dictatorship of the proletariat must not only bring with it inevitable changes in the forms and institutions of democracy, but also changes that will permit an extension of democracy in the hands of the wage-slaves of capitalism, such as the world has never yet witnessed.

In reality the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat which as a matter of fact has already been worked out, i.e., the Soviets in Russia, the Council System (Ratensystem) in Germany, the Shop Stewards' Committees and other analogous Soviet institutions in other countries, all these render it possible for the working classes, i.e., for the overwhelming majority of the people, practically to utilize democratic rights and liberty to an extent that has never before been approached in the best democratic bourgeois Republics.

The essence of Soviet power lies in the direct organization of the class which capitalists would suppress, i.e., the worker and half proletarian (the peasant, who does not exploit the labor of others, and is at least compelled to sell part of his own). This is the fixed and only foundation for the whole power of the State, the whole State apparatus. The masses, which plainly, even in the "democratic" bourgeois Republics, where according to the law they stand on an equal footing, but by thousands of artful dodges of one sort and another are prevented from taking part in the political life and the exercise of democratic rights and freedom, are now called upon to participate constantly, directly, and in decisive manner in the democratic management of the State.

15.—The equality of the citizen (burger) without respect of sex, creed, race, nationality, which the bourgeois Republic always and above all promises but because of the powers of capitalism never carries out, the Soviet-power or dictatorship of the proletariat has at one stroke fully realized. The workers alone are able to attain this power, as they have no interest in the fight over the division of private property, means of production, and so forth.

16.—The old (that is the capitalist) democracy and Parliamentarism were so organized that the working classes were clearly the furthest removed from the management-machine. The Soviet-power (that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat) is on the contrary so organized that the working classes are closely identified with the management-machine by the uniting of legislative and executive power in the Soviet organization of the States, and in the substitution of territorial voting circles by industrial entities, such as those of the works and the factory.

17.—The army was an apparatus for suppression not only in monarchy; it remained the same in all (even in the most democratic) bourgeois Republics. Only the Soviet-power, as the one established State-organization of the capitalist-oppressed classes, is in the position to remove the dependency of the military into the proletariat by the arming of the proletarians and disarming of the bourgeoisie, without which it is not possible to carry through the conquest of Socialism.

18.—The Soviet organization is therefore so contrived that the proletariat as a class, which for the most part is enlightened concerning capitalism, plays the leading part in the inner State. The experience of every revolution and every movement of the enslaved classes, the experience of the world-wide Socialist movement, teaches us that only the proletariat is in the position to unite and lead forward the misdirected, backward, and exploited workers.

19.—Only the Soviet organization of the State is in the position to overthrow once and for all the old bourgeois officialdom and law-apparatus, which is preserved, and must inevitably be preserved, even in the most democratic Republics, and which was in fact the greatest obstacle to the workers and working masses in the carrying out of democracy. The Paris Commune took the first world-historical step in this direction, the Soviet power has taken the second.

20.—The destroying of State-power is the object held out by all Socialists, with Marx at their head. Without realizing this object true democracy—i.e., equality and freedom—cannot be reached. But it is only the Soviets or proletarian democracy which leads directly towards this object, for it draws the workers and their mass organizations towards a lasting and definite participation in the management of the State.

21.—The complete bankruptcy of the Socialists who met together at Berne, their complete lack of understanding of modern proletarian democracy, can be seen, especially in the following: On 10th February, 1919, at Berne, Branting declared the international conference of the Yellow International to be closed (geschlossen). On 11th February their members in Berlin, in the paper "Die Freiheit," published an appeal