

to keep the masses down, the power of the bourgeoisie has deeper roots in society, material and spiritual roots. Its material power consists in its ownership of all the richness of the earth, of the entire production apparatus, on which the working people is dependent for ~~the~~ life. Its spiritual power consists in that its mode of thinking, the middle-class world view, dominates the minds of the masses, who by tradition, by education, by the ~~press~~ ^{press} ~~papers~~, by literature and art, by film and broadcasting, in a continual effective propaganda are kept in spiritual dependence.

~~To vanquish~~ ^{all-embracing} ~~this formidable power~~ the working class has to develop a superior power. ^{Through} the growth of capitalism itself it ever more constitutes the majority of the people. Since the decline of small trade it ^{represents} ~~has~~ ^{fulfills} the most important function in society; on its productive work, its handling of the productive apparatus, depends the life of society. By the very practice of work and life it learns class-consciousness; the knowledge of the real character of capitalist exploitation, thus acquired, undermines the middle-class ideas and teachings. ^{Through} By the practice of its unceasing enforced fight to improve or uphold its working and living conditions it acquires the strong unity, the solidarity, the devotion to common class interests, that makes the separate individuals into a solid unbreakable block able to withstand and at last to break the power of the foe.

The belief that the working class can win mastery by parliamentary majority means ^{it is sufficient if} that ^{its} ~~only one of the~~ ^{power} factors of power is used, ^{namely the} ~~its~~ large number ^{possessing only} ~~with~~ a first trace of class-consciousness. But more than number counts social importance. A majority class without an important function in social economy cannot win a ruling place, cannot even keep it when it had it before; ^{thus} ~~so~~ the proletarian class in ancient Rome. The social importance of the modern proletarian class is the chief warrant that it will be able to win; and this is entirely left out of play in the election of a parliament. In its most direct coercive force it comes forward in a political strike, such as in 1893 in Belgium, by which universal suffrage was conquered from an unwilling ruling class. Moreover, in the voting ^{for} of a socialist candidate class-consciousness is needed in its most primitive form only, not in ^{more} its necessary, developed character of broad knowledge

^{among} ~~the~~ ^{about} workers of social structure, involving their capability of managing their own work, social production. ^{What forms their special plan} ~~What forms their special plan~~ ^{what constitutes} ~~What constitutes~~ character, ^{the chief strength of the working class,} their strong unity- and community-feeling, the most essential condition for defeating the power of bourgeoisie and State, ~~it~~ remains entirely unused.

Imposes it sacrifices hardships dangers?

The conquest of mastery and freedom ^{by the working class} (is a hard and difficult fight) Can simply putting ^{secretly} a name into a ballot-box be called a fight at all? It is by ^{means of} the exigencies of this fight, ^{through} its sacrifices its hardships, its dangers, in defeat and victory, that the working class must acquire those qualities that make it strong and capable for selfrule, for ruling society. Parliamentary elections may ^{afford} bring some propaganda in increasing social knowledge, ^{and} may awaken confidence; that is all. The German Social Democracy in its ^{great} ~~prime~~ time succeeded in combining this with a broad organisation and instruction of the masses; but the real force to withstand capitalist and State power was lacking; so it had to ^{submit} follow when called ^{up} for war, and ^{after that} ~~then~~ the decline went on. ^{According to abstract doctrine} ~~According to abstract doctrine~~ ^{theoretically} a socialist majority in Parliament could be elected by masses ~~who are~~ ^{who are} submissive, ignorant, and selfish, as they were in the first rise of capitalism. Practically, to be sure, this ^{does} ~~will~~ not happen; on the reverse it ^{might} ~~may~~ be surmised that just an instinctive feeling of the workers that in this way freedom and mastery cannot be won, deters them from voting for socialist revolution and directs their vote to immediate reforms of capitalism.

Thus our first remark can be summarized: in parliamentary action ~~only~~ the least essential only of the power factors of the working class are used.

II.
^{in their original sense,}

Socialism or communism, means that the workers take their lot entirely in their own hands. In the conception of parliamentary conquest of power they put their lot into the hands of a parliament and a government; ^{these} ~~that~~ have to transform society and abolish capitalism, by means of parliamentary acts and governmental regulations. Parliament and Government do the essential work; the workers after having voted play a mostly passive rôle. That is the reason why no qualities

in the working class were needed. The conquest could look so easy because it is no conquest at all; new better rulers have replaced the old bad rulers. The workers are no masters of the means of production; production is organized and regulated by the State, the community as it is called, i.e. in reality by the State organs, the officials; the workers ~~thems~~ can exert their influence only directly. Those who do the essential work needs command the work. So the outcome of a parliamentary conquest cannot be other than State socialism, based on public ownership of the production apparatus. State organs and officials, having (practically) the direction, the disposal over production, over the product, over its distribution between workers, officials, reparation funds etc., by necessity develop into a new ruling and exploiting class.

The conception of parliamentary conquest of socialism was natural, and came up by necessity, in the 19th century, when the working class was a powerless mass of sufferers. The only way to liberate them from exploitation and to annihilate capitalism under such conditions was the ^{legislative} action of State power ^{handed by} in the hands of clear-sighted socialists. This liberation ^{was to} ~~would be~~ the glorious task of Social democracy, as an array of leaders, intellectuals, politicians and revolutionists, backed by the host of followers and adherents. The decline, afterwards, of social democracy, visible in socialist and communist parties ^{standing or} ~~everywhere~~ governing ^{one or another form of} for capitalism, ^{this conception now is obsolete.} indicates that the working class is entering into another period of its fight. It is another class now than it was ~~or~~ century ago; it is growing into a social power, by its mere presence determining all politics; it begins to feel confident that it will be able to win social ascendancy. Now the belief that they have only to vote and that others will liberate them, ~~has become obsolete~~, and can only have a paralysing effect on the exertion of their own forces. They have to face the hard but promising truth that they have it all to do themselves, alone.

State power, Government, when ^{organising} ~~regulating~~ and directing production does it by command, from above. The working class organising and directing production, i.e. their own work, the contents of their life, does it ^{means of} (by mutual understanding, based on from below,)

$9 \times 82 \times 2 = 1476 = 1 \text{ Hourly Soc Standard}$
 $14 \times 28 \times 6 = 2352 = \text{Hours 2 etc}$

the share of the working ^{class} in the total product has to diminish. This is the meaning of "reconstruction". Thus all powers of capitalism are put to work to intensify the exploitation, to press down the standard of living, to hurry up the tempo of work, to squeeze labour power to the extreme limit. Since the single capitalists are not able to do that sufficiently their common organ, the State, supplies its physical and moral power ^{forwards} ~~to~~ (this noble aim of saving the capitalist world). So the workers have to resist in an embittered struggle; they are fighting for their very life, against all the powers dominating them, the capitalists, the State, the Unions, the political parties. They ^{break both} ~~burst out~~ in wild strikes, ever again, because ^{every} ~~any~~ just won increase of nominal wage lags behind the rising costs of living. In these strikes they stand single-handed, ^{over} (against an entire hostile world). Here they can only have success by developing those moral and spiritual qualities: boldness, solidarity, devotion, endurance, that once will enable them to win Freedom.

Whereas in all its other actions the working class acts in the rôle of followers, directed ~~by~~ and ~~led~~ by others, we see them in the wild strikes resume their own liberty of action, direct their action themselves. That means a fundamental jump forward. But these actions are too limited as yet to bring ^{important} great results. They are spontaneous outbursts ⁱⁿ against unbearable conditions, but they are lacking consciousness of wider scopes. As separate little squads the striking groups are defeated one by one. Once this consciousness ^{is} arising and the strikes growing more massal they are by necessity directed against the State organs as their most powerful and direct foe. The constraining power of the State trying to crush them has to be attacked and defeated in massal actions by the superior firmly welded power of the united working class.

This is the significance of the strike movements flaring up again and again in different countries. They should be attentively followed, studied and supported by every socialist ~~communist~~ — ~~the latter name used in its original meaning, not in that of a follower of someone's fascism~~. We cannot determine in advance what forms of action will be serviceable in future; the creative power of a fighting class will ^{develop} ~~continue~~ them in future as it did in the past. But the essential thing is that in the present ^{struggles} ~~fight~~ those ^{capabilities} ~~qualities~~ and powers are engendered that will form the basic conditions of the workers' revolution.

Thus our third remark is: The most heavy and genuine class fight of the workers against the capitalist class going on at present, preparing them for revolution, stands outside the realm of parliamentarism.

community feeling. For this purpose they have to build up a social organisation of production expressing and ascertaining the self-action of free mankind in its productive work, different, hence, from ~~the~~ political organs embodying foreign command. Such an organisation of self-action completely under control of the workers, is usually denoted by the name of council organisation. In the future fight for social dominance this form of organisation is likely to replace parliament - ~~that was~~ the genuine instrument of the ~~working~~ ^{middle} class - as an instrument of the revolutionary working class.

Even when in a country with so mighty parliamentary traditions as England, in the turmoil of heavy social contests parliaments are elected with genuine socialist majorities, the essential work of new organisation must be done in the shops by the workers themselves. The transformation of society cannot be accomplished by decrees from above; it consists in the establishment of new working conditions, of new mutual relations in the ^{entireties, the} pursuits of practical life. In the French revolution the farmers had already taken the land and burned the feudal titles, ~~the~~ the urban citizens had already taken administration and jurisdiction in their own hands before legislation formulated and enacted the new conditions.

Our second remark may be summarized: parliamentarism cannot bring freedom and mastery to the working class, but only new masters in stead of the old ones.

III.

Whilst ~~on~~ the parliamentary field in all countries the parties are fighting which of them shall, in its special way, rule ^{and guide direct} the working masses, these themselves are involved in a heavy fight against the ^(masters) ~~all~~, ~~(exploding in strikes ever again)~~. It is a continual struggle for life itself, the only actual class struggle. Declining, devastated and impoverished capitalism can keep ^{itself} only by pressing down the life- and working conditions of the working class to the utmost. It is not that the capitalists have grown more greedy than before; it is the simple fact that the production apparatus has greatly been destroyed by world war, hence ^{on} To rebuild it capitalism has to spend more of the total social labour ~~to~~ ^{on} the means of production, less ~~to~~ ^{on} the articles of consumption; this means, since the former are private property of the capitalists, that their share must increase,

the share of the working^{class} in the total product has to diminish. This is the meaning of "reconstruction". Thus all powers of capitalism are put ^{to} work to intensify the exploitation, to press down the standard of living, to hurry up the tempo of work, to squeeze labour power to the extreme limit. Since the single capitalists are not able to do that sufficiently their common organ, the State, supplies its physical and moral power ^{forwards} ~~to~~ (this noble aim of saving the capitalist world). So the workers have to resist in an embittered struggle; they are fighting for their very life, against all the powers dominating them, the capitalists, the State, the Unions, the political parties. They ^{break forth} ~~burst out~~ in wild strikes, ever again, because ^{every} ~~any~~ just won increase of nominal wage lags behind the rising costs of living. In these strikes they stand single-handed, ^{over} against an entire hostile world. Here they can only have success by developing those moral and spiritual qualities: boldness, solidarity, devotion, endurance, that once will enable them to win freedom.

Whereas in all its other actions the working class acts in the role of followers, directed ~~by~~ and ~~led~~ by others, we see them in the wild strikes resume their own liberty of action, direct their action themselves. That means a fundamental jump forward. But these actions are too limited as yet to bring ^{important} great results. They are spontaneous outbursts ~~in~~ against unbearable conditions, but they are lacking ⁱⁿ consciousness of wider scopes. As separate little squads the striking groups are defeated one by one. Once this consciousness ~~is~~ ^{is} arising and the strikes growing ^{more} ~~more~~ massal they are by necessity directed against the State organs as their most powerful and direct foe. The constraining power of the State trying to crush them has to be attacked and defeated in massal actions by the superior firmly welded power of the united working class.

This is the significance of the strike movements flaring up again and again in different countries. They should be attentively followed, studied and supported by every socialist ~~and~~ ~~Communist - the latter name used in its original meaning, not in that of a follower of bourgeois fascism.~~ We cannot determine in advance what forms of action will be serviceable in future; the creative power of a fighting class will ^{develop} ~~continue~~ them in future as it did in the past. But the essential thing is that in the present ^{struggle} ~~fight~~ those ^{capabilities} ~~qualities~~ and powers are engendered that will form the basic conditions of the workers' revolution.

Thus our third remark is: The most heavy and genuine class fight of the workers against the capitalist class going on at present, preparing them for revolution, stands outside the realm of parliamentarism.

$9 \times 82 \times 2 = 1476 = 1 \text{ (Kilobyte) Soc Standard}$
 $14 \times 28 \times 6 = 2352 = \text{Kyma 2 682}$

I

- 1 In the second half of the 19th century the opinion spread widely among the workers ^{and must} that socialism can be won by a parliamentary conquest of political power; T
- 2 The advantages of socialist order above capitalist disorder and exploitation can be demonstrated by continuous propaganda. The working masses ~~and the labourer~~ constitute the majority of the population, and they have the ballot. ^{So} as soon as they are ^{see} convinced of the necessity of socialism, they can by their vote establish a majority in Parliament that installs a socialist Government; then acts of Parliament and measures of Government can bring about the necessary changes in social structure.
- 3 ~~The success of this policy has not been satisfactory. Whereas the (so-called) socialist parties rose to power, but~~ ^{had now in} ~~the hands of the reformist~~ ^{many of} deteriorates into agencies of capitalism, ~~and~~ the most sincere militant groups have lost their confidence in parliamentary action, and the masses stand aloof, indifferent. Whilst socialist opinion is ^{only} slowly advancing, the capitalist world is storming through crises and world war and the working class is desperately fighting against impoverishment and annihilation without, obviously, seeing its way to freedom.
- 4 So a critical examination will be necessary ~~not~~ ^{to} how far the parliamentary way recommended to them can ~~bring them the desired freedom from exploitation.~~ ^{offer liberate the working class.}
- 2 ~~In the 19th century the working class~~ and it seemed well on the way. In the 20th century ~~disappointment brought~~ ^{disappointment brought} ~~the working class~~ ^{the working class} ~~to scepticism;~~ ^{to scepticism;}

Thus the working class has won mastery over society, has won socialism without needing anything of a violent revolution. - It is quite easy.

That is just the difficulty. It is too easy. [Every body knows that the conquest of freedom ^{by} the working class, its conquest of mastery over society, the annihilation of capitalism can only be the result of a ^{long and} heavy ~~and~~ class war, of the utmost exertion of the working masses, of ^{stubborn fight and} great sacrifices. The parliamentary method ^{pretends that} fundamentally, ~~is~~ ^{is} all this ⁱⁿ superfluous. [If ~~you are~~ ^{you are} attacking a strong fortress, you find the gate open, inviting to enter, you suspect a trap or at least you know that the real fight has to come elsewhere.] ~~without~~ There must be a flaw in the argument.

The working class stands over against a foe more powerful than ever ^(there) was a ruling class. The bourgeoisie is not simply master because it disposes over the State power, and it disposes over State Power not simply because it has the majority in Parliament. The entire fabric of public institutes, of ^(as) bureaucracy and of higher and lower officials is in its hands; the practice of the present Labour Government is highly instructive to show these powers ^{able} to follow their own old ^(in policy) ways independent of Parliament. ^{Though State power is its mightiest instrument to keep the masses down,} The power of the bourgeoisie has deeper roots in society, material and spiritual roots. Its material power consists in its ownership of all the richness of the earth, ~~all the means of~~ ^{of the} production apparatus, on which the ~~working~~ ^{entire} people is dependent for her life. Its ^{spiritual power consists in that its} ~~(mode of thinking, its world view)~~ ^{dominates} the minds of the masses, ^{who} by tradition, by education, by the papers, by literature and art, ^{is a continual effective propaganda} by film and broadcasting (are kept in spiritual dependence.

Can we believe that defeated at the polls it will modestly surrender all this power?

Against this formidable power ^{has to develop a superior power.} the power factors of the working class, are still small, but ^{By the growth of capitalism itself} continually growing. ^{ever more it does} It ever more constitutes the majority of the people. ^{Since with the decline of small trade} It has the most important function in society; on its productive work, its handling of the productive apparatus depends the life of society. By the very practice of ~~the~~ work and life it learns class-consciousness; it ^{the} ~~acquires~~ knowledge of the real character of capitalist society, ^{exploitative} thus acquired, undermines the middle-class ^{ideas and} teachings. By the practice of its ^{unceasing} fight to improve, or uphold its working and living conditions it acquires the solidarity, the strong unity, the devotion to common class interests, that makes ~~it~~ ^{the separate individuals} into a solid unbreakable block, able to withstand and at last to break the power of the foe.

The belief that the working class can win mastery by parliamentary majority ^{means} ~~comes down to the belief~~ that only one of its power factors is used, ^{its numerical majority} ~~that~~ ^{large number, with} ~~and~~ ^{or} ~~the~~ ^{first place of class-consciousness.} ~~others are left unused.~~ But more than number counts social importance. A majority class without an important function in social economy cannot win a ruling place, cannot even keep it when it had it before; so. the proletarian class in ancient Rome. The social importance of the modern

proletarian class is the chief warrant that it will be able to win, and ^{this} ~~it~~ is entirely left out of play in the election of Parliament. In its most direct, coercive force it comes forward in a political strike, such as in 1893 in Belgium by which universal suffrage was conquered. ^{from an unwilling (bourgeois) class} Moreover, in ~~electing~~ ^{the} a socialist candidate class-consciousness is needed only in its most primitive ^{form} ~~form~~, not in its necessary developed ^{character} ~~form~~ of broad knowledge of ^{the workers of} social structure, ^{involving} carrying with it their capability of managing ^{their} own work, social production. ~~The~~ ^{their} new class-character, the chief strength of the working class, ^{their} strong ^{unity and} (community-feeling, the most essential condition for defeating the power of ~~the~~ bourgeoisie and State, ~~remains~~ ^{remains} entirely unused.

The conquest of ^{manly and} ~~freedom~~ ^{freedom} is a hard and difficult fight. ~~Can anybody believe~~ ^{Can} ~~it can be won by~~ ^{simply} ~~simply~~ ^{putting} ~~writing~~ ^{into the ballot box} a name on a ballot. ^{be called a} ~~is~~ ^{is} fight at all? It is by the exigencies of this fight, by its sacrifices, its hardships, its dangers, in defeat and victory, that the working class must acquire those qualities that make it ~~fit~~ ^{and capable} ~~and strong~~ ^{and capable} ~~to direct its action and~~ ^{may} for selfrule, for ruling society. Parliamentary elections bring some propaganda, ^{increasing} ~~increasing~~ ^{social} ~~theoretical~~ ^{may awaken} ~~some~~ ^{some} confidence, that is all. The German Social Democracy in its ^{grand} ~~fine~~ ^{time} succeeded in combining ^{this} ~~it~~ with a broad organisation and instruction; ^{of the masses} but the real force to withstand capitalist and State power was lacking; so it had to follow when called for war, and ~~then~~ ^{then} ~~the decline went on.~~ ^{According to abstract doctrine} ~~Parliamentarily, theoretically~~ a socialist majority in Parliament could be elected by ~~winning~~ ^{winning} masses ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~not~~ ^{not} ~~submissive,~~ ^{submissive,} ignorant and selfish, as they were in the first rise of capitalism. Practically, ^{to be sure,} ~~sure~~ ^{does} ~~this will~~ ^{does} not happen; on the reverse it may be surmised that just an instinctive feeling of the workers that in this way freedom and mastery cannot be won, deters them from voting for socialist revolution and directs their vote to immediate reforms of capitalism.

II
Socialism or communism means that the working class takes their lot entirely in their own hands. In the conception of parliamentary conquest of power they put their lot into the hands of a parliament and a government that have to

† So our first remark is summarised: in parliamentary action only the least essential of the power-factors of the working class are used.

^(abolish capitalism) transform society, by means of parliamentary acts and government regulations. ^(Parliament and government) ~~they~~ do the essential work, ^(after having voted) ~~on which~~ the workers themselves play a ^{could look} mostly passive rôle. ^{that is the reason of this} ~~There are no qualities~~ of the working class were needed. The conquest ~~was~~ so easy, because ^{new better rulers have substituted the old bad rulers.} it is no conquest at all. ^{replaced} The workers are no masters of the means of production; ~~indirectly only they can influence~~; production is organized and regulated by the State, the community as it is called, ~~in i.e. in reality~~ by the State organs, the officials; the workers themselves can influence ^{even exert their} only indirectly. ^{Those who do the essential work, needs command the work.} The outcome of a parliamentary conquest cannot be other than State-socialism, based on public ownership of the production apparatus. State organs and officials ^{practically} ~~disposing~~ ^{direction, the} having the disposal over production, over the product, over its distribution, ^{between workers, officials, reparations-funds etc.} by necessity develop into a new ruling and exploiting class.

The conception of parliamentary conquest of power was natural, and came up by necessity in the 19th century ^(when) the working class was ~~was~~ a powerless mass of sufferers, ^{The only way to} ~~which could be~~ liberated ^{from} from exploitation and to annihilate capitalism under such conditions was the help of State power ~~directly~~ ^{action} in the hands of clear sighted socialists. ^{of liberation} This ^{leaders, politicians, revolutionaries and} would be the glorious task of social democracy, as a leading array of intellectuals, ~~and~~ (reformers, backed by the host of followers and adherents) ~~Then Marxism, the theory~~ that the working class had to free themselves by conquering political power was identified with ^{of social democracy} the decline indicates that ^{the working class is} ~~we are~~ entering another period of its fight; ^{It is another class now than it was in the 19th century.} it is growing ^{visible in socialist and communist parties everywhere growing for capitalism,} into a political power, ^{social} ~~and to develop~~ ^{it began to feel confident that it will be able to} with social ascendancy. Now the belief that they have only to vote and that parliamentarians and officials will liberate them, can only ^{has become obsolete and} have a ^(but promising) paralysing effect ^{on} ~~the growth~~ of their own forces. They have to face the hard ^{truth that they} have to do it all themselves, alone ^{in a country with so mighty parliamentary traditions as England,} ~~the task of liberating~~ them.

Even when ^{in the} ~~in the~~ turmoil of heavy social contests parliaments are ~~chosen~~ ^{re} elected with genuine socialist majorities, the essential work of new organisation ^(of new relations between man and his work) must be done in the shops by the workers themselves. The transformation of society cannot be accomplished by decrees from above; it consists in the establishment of new working conditions, of ^{mutual} new relations in the units of practical life. In the French revolution the farmers had already taken the land and burned the feudal titles, the urban citizens had already taken administration and jurisdiction in their own hands, before legislation by parliament formulated and enacted the new ^{and mastery} ~~code~~.

So our 2^d remark may be summarized: parliamentary ^{majority} cannot ~~liberate~~ ^{bring freedom to} the working class, but only new masters in stead of the old ones.

Whilst on the parliamentary field in all countries the parties are fighting, which of them shall, in a special way, rule the working masses, these themselves are involved in a heavy fight against them all. ^(exploding in strikes, over again) It is a continual struggle for life itself, the only actual class struggle. Declining, devastated and impoverished capitalism can keep up itself only by pressing down the life- and working conditions of the working class to the utmost. It is not that the capitalists have grown more greedy than before; it is the simple fact that the production apparatus ^{greatly} has ^{been destroyed} ^(by world war), hence to rebuild it ^{capitalism} ~~has~~ ^{has} to spend more of ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{total} ^{social} labour to the means of production, ^{less} ~~than~~ to the articles of consumption; this means, since the former are private property of the capitalists, ^{that the share of the capitalists must increase} that the share of the working class in the total product has to diminish. ^{This is the means of "reconstruction".} Thus all powers of capitalism are put at work to press down the standard of living, ^{to} ~~and~~ ^{hurry up the tempo} ^(to intensify the exploitation) of work, to squeeze labour power to the extreme limit. Since the single capitalists ^{are not} ^{sufficiently} able to do that, ^{the} ~~their~~ ^{common organ}, State ^{physical and moral} ~~applies~~ ^{supplies} its power for this noble aim of saving the capitalist world. So the workers have to resist in an embittered struggle, they are fighting for their very life, against all the powers ^{dominating} trying to dominate them, the capitalists, the State, the Unions, ~~the~~ ^{any} ^{just won} the political parties. They burst out in wild strikes, ever again, because ^{the} ^{increase} of nominal wages lags behind the rising costs of living. In these strikes they stand single-handed, against an entire hostile world, ^{can only have success by} ^{moral and spiritual qualities, the} ~~even their own unions~~; here they have to develop the factors of their strength that ^{boldness, endurance, devotion, solidarity} will ^(once) enable them to win freedom.

Whereas in all other actions the working ^{class acts in the role of} ~~are~~ ^{followers}, directed and lead by others, in the wild strikes ^{we see them} ~~they~~ ^{resume} their own liberty of action, direct their action themselves. ^(That means a fundamental jump forward.) But these actions are too limited ^{as yet} ^{being} still to have great results. They are spontaneous outbursts against unbearable conditions, but ^{As directed little things, they are defeated one by one. (the striking groups)} ^{the lack} ^{consciousness} of wider scopes. Once this consciousness is arising and the strikes growing more massal they are ^{as their most powerful and direct foe.} by necessity directed against the State organs. ~~The~~ ^{The} ~~unrestrained~~ ^{unrestrained} power of the State ~~that~~ ^{trying} to crush them ~~has~~ ^{to be attacked and defeated} by the superior conscious power ~~of the united working class that has to build up in this fight its own organs~~ ^{of the massal actions of} ⁱⁿ

↓ squads

X

State Power, Government ^{when} (regulating and directing production, ^{does it} by command, from above. The working class ~~regulate~~ regulating and directing production, i.e. their own ^{the contents of their life} work, ^{from below} ~~do it by~~ mutual understanding, based on community feeling. (They have to ^{for this purpose} build up ^{a social} organisation ^{of production}) (expressing and ascertaining the self-action of ^{free} mankind) in its productive work, different, hence, from ^{political} State organs embodying foreign commands. Such an organisation ^{of self-action} (completely under ~~continuous~~ control of the workers is usually denoted by the name of council-organisation. In the future fight for social dominance it ^{is likely to} ~~probably will~~ replace ~~the~~ parliament as ~~the~~ an instrument of ^{the} revolutionary working class. — that was the genuine instrument of the middle class —

This is the ~~imp~~ significance of the strike movements flaring up again and again in ~~the~~ different countries. They ^{should} ~~have to~~ be attentively followed, studied and ^{supported} assisted by every socialist or communist — the latter name used in its original meaning, not in that of a follower of Moscow fascism. We cannot ^{determine by theory in advance} ~~prescribe~~ (what forms of action will be serviceable in future; ~~the workers~~ the creative power of a fighting class will ^{continue} ~~devise~~ devise them in future as it did in the past. But it ~~has~~ ^{the essential thing is that} seems likely ^{as if} in the present fights ^{will be of} ~~basic~~ ^{importance for} conditions of the ^{workers'} revolution are generated.

[those qualities
are developed that
generally
will form
engendered

Thus our 3^d remark may be summarised: The most heavy and genuine class fight of the working class, for their life conditions, against the bourgeoisie, ^{wa} prepares them for ~~their~~ fight for ~~free~~ revolution, ^{at present} ~~is going on now~~ stands outside the realm of parliamentarism