a great influence upon them and refuted every compromise with middle class parties. They put up three great slogans; ~~the~~ firstly: dictatorship of the working class by means of soviets, workers councils; ~~and~~ no parliament, therefore where delegates of other classes could become political leaders. Secondly: all the land to the ~~peasants~~ farmers. Thirdly: immediate cessation of the war, ~~stop the war immediately~~, because it served ~~only~~ capitalist interests only.

So they won ~~power~~. The ~~peasants~~ farmers, taking the land and driving away the great land owners, stood as an unshakable stronghold for the new government. The workers in the great towns and industrial centres, through their strong unity, due to ~~concentration~~ of big industry and common fighting, ~~and organisation~~ were its solid force. ~~There came~~ Difficult years ensued, when ~~Europe attacked by~~ the powers of all Europe and America attacked them, either directly, or indirectly by providing the white armies with war materials. The Russian workers then showed and taught ~~reached the heights~~ to the world, to what height of self sacrifice, of heroism, of bravery, of endurance and efficiency a class may rise in which the love of newly won freedom and the proletarian feelings of brotherhood are united.

The new government called itself ~~named~~ soviet-republic, Union of Socialistic Soviet Republics. Soviet-congresses actually assembled now and then; but they could not really rule. Rule of the soviets, democratic bodies of delegates from all the working, producing classes meant rule of the farmers ~~peasants~~ as the most numerous class. The farmers ~~peasants~~, having got the land, wanted wished to sell its products in free trade to Europe, in order to become wealthy and rich, individually; their rule would have meant the growth of a capitalistic society. The workers could prevent this only by setting up a strong government, in which all the state power was centralized, not dependent on soviets. Thus the ~~Bolsheviki~~ party, consisting of the vanguard of the working class, concentrated all power in its hand. Now soviet congresses

at the same time the leaders of the party, were the real rulers of Russia.

became (big shows) (with beautiful speeches). The real parliaments of the new state were the (annual) Party Congresses, where the interests and difficulties were discussed, (where) the different tendencies and groups struggled with (one another), and the lines of further development were fixed. The Communist Party (provided most of the) State officials, who formed the ruling bureaucracy. The chiefs of this bureaucracy, being

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It was not the intention of the Bolsheviks to carry through communist production; (they knew that this can only be achieved as) the sequel of highly developed capitalism. At the first factory committees were chosen by the workers to supervise and even to manage production; but this system was abolished after half a year; Directors were appointed by the Central Economic Board, a (state organ); the workers had to obey them as well as their staff, the engineers, specialists of the intellectual class. Trade unions were turned into state organs, with (compulsory) membership for the workers; they had to ensure mainly zeal and a good working tempo. Wages were fixed by the same state organs.

The whole industry was built up on lines of an organized system, directed by central committees, having to determine, what products were most needed, where they could be produced best, what plants and factories were to be founded. It was a planned collective production (after projects previously established), the direct reverse of capitalist production by chance, for personal profit, without a general plan. It was a system of state capitalism; the state being the general director of production and all the workers being its employees. Also for this management of industry a large bureaucracy was needed, partly taken from the ranks of the communist workers, partly from the intellectual specialists.

This huge bureaucracy had to be recruited as much as possible from the working class. It was a heavy drain upon so small a class, numbering only one tenth of the population. Immediately after the revolution all the old party members, all the able men

among the workers were dragged into the government posts, where they were badly needed, or enlisted as volunteers and officers in the armies, where they fell in the civil wars for the revolution. And then in the rapidly developing industry a still larger number of new specialists and scientists was needed, which all were taken from the working class, and afterwards also (in increasing number) from the farmers. All their able young men, all their children with good brains were sent to the high schools, the technical schools, the universities. Out of their numbers grew up the new intellectual class, to fill the ranks of the political and economic bureaucracy of the state..

Thus what before had been one working class was now split up into different classes. One part grew into the state bureaucracy, the new ruling class which held all the social, economic and political power in its hands. What was left in the factories, supplied by more primitive peasants from the village, was also differentiated, from the engineers and the skilled technicians, the eager party members and foremen down to the badly paid „black workers", the unskilled laborers. So we can understand, how Russian bolsherwists could consider their rule as rule of the working class, though the real workers in the factories had hardly any influence upon government. How they could frame the aphorism, that the dictatorship of the working class was realized in the dictatorship of the Communist Party. A party consisting for the greater majority of state- and other officials! Whenever on the party congreses a proposal was made to restore the real workers' democracy, to give the power to the real wageworkers, it always was deemed impossible. The ruling bureaucracy did not feel itself as a new ruling class already. Moreover it felt that it had a big task to perform, for which it needed the concentration of all power in its hands.

What in Russia and in Communist-Party-literature is called the building up of communism is in reality the building up of industrialism. Lenin once said: communism is electrification combined with the soviet system. In other words, less aphoristical: big industry combined with workers rule. The soviet system, as we have seen, soon disappeared, workers rule became an empty show. But big industry and electrification were a reality. Communist future was a nice word to harmonize present day practice with time-honoured doctrines. But without these the present day task was important enough.

Russia was at an extremely low level of development; there was little industry, the productive forces were small and ineffective, the farmers used the most primitive working methods, intellectual culture was lacking, large parts of the population lived in barbarism. To raise Russia to the level of the capitalist countries its productive forces had to be developed, factories built, the natural riches of the country exploited. Big electric power plants were built in the rivers, new railways were constructed, new lands cultivated; Universities, technical schools, agricultural academies were founded to procure the intellectual forces and to raise the productivity of the soil by scientific methods. To combat the improductivity of the petty farmers holdings large state farms were founded, and the peasants were induced by privileges, by persuasion and by compulsion, to combine their small fields to big cooperative farms (kolchozes)

This was the great task of the Bolshewist rulers: to do away with the enormous backwardness of Russia through a rapid development, to bring it in line with the old capitalist countries. This could not be left to the individual enterprise of a capitalist class, this would have involved not only a great number of years, but also an enormous

waste of energy and enormous sufferings for the working class. Now it was done by official experts according to a preconceived plan based on the conscious effort of the state power. By state capitalism. The Russians are so well aware of the greater efficiency of this system that they speak, in the programme of their five year plan, of not only overtaking but outstripping the old world. This development was beset with heavy difficulties.

The greater, more productive new machines and plants in capitalist countries are built by means of fresh capital, accumulated from former surplus value; big capital grows continually in the same time as it is wanted. In Russia this big capital had been but there no time for its accumulation. It must be produced on the spot. In other words: labor spent on railways and electric power stations could not at the same time be spent on food or clothes; future productivity must be paid for by privation and hardships now. The wages paid to the workers, the prices paid to the farmers for their harvests were kept down as much as possible, to leave a greater surplus for new installations.

Another handicap was the slow tempo of working. The Russian workers, coming from the village with its easy going, variable, self determined tempo, could only gradually adapt themselves to the regular rapid tempo of machine working. The training acquired by the workers in old capitalist countries during several generations, is lacking here, and this too diminishes the surplus

All this was counterbalanced, however, by the enormous enthusiasm which filled the young people, which inspired them to the greatest exertions, to the utmost of their energy and endurance. The Revolution has lifted Russia out of the immobility of barbarism and stagnant misery, has forced her upon the road of rapid, continuous development, has opened unlimited horizons of progress and freedom, has raised energy and culture. It is the awakening of a hundred million people. Now life is worth living there.

To be sure, this is not communism. The workers are not free masters of their work, it is not a society without classes. The workers are exploited wage workers; the surplus of the product over their needs is taken from them and spent by others. As a new ruling class, bureaucracy which sprang up from the working class and the intellectuals holds political and economic sway. As a ruling class it feels sufficiently related to the rulers of other states to mingle with them and to make alliances in their politics. When workers criticize it and propagate real communism, they are persecuted as "contrarevolutionary". By the economic system of state capitalism they have a great advantage above the world of private capitalism. To spend all one's energy in acquiring personal wealth is despised in Russia just as it is admired in America; this collectivity feeling is the moral strength of the new Russian society.

There is no free press — "the proletarian dictatorship cannot allow the capitalists to undermine the revolution" — nor the right of free speech for contrary opinions. The workers have not the right of organisation, nor the right to strike. They have fewer rights than in capitalist countries; a despotic rule imposes its views upon the country and does not allow the workers to feel themselves as a separate exploited class. When workers criticize the government and speak up for real communism, they are persecuted for being "contrarevolutionary".

Considered, however, as a class society, with an exploited and a ruling class, its economic system of state capitalism, Russia represents a higher state of development than the private capitalist society of Europe and America. Through the organisation of production a higher rate of productivity of labor can be reached. This economic organisation brings about also higher intellectual and moral standards, which show some traits of future communism. Spending all one's energy in acquiring personal wealth is despised in Russia just as much as it is admired in America. This strong community feeling is the moral backbone of the new Russian society.

The Communist Party

During the world war in all countries small groups arose, convinced that out of this ordeal of capitalism a proletarian revolution must ensue, and ready to prepare for it. They once more took up the name of communists, forgotten since the old times of Marx and 1848, to identify themselves from the socialist parties. The Bolshewik party, then having its centre in Switzerland, was one of them. Limited into 7 proletarian world revolution. After the war had ceased they united into communist parties, standing for the In opposition to the socialist parties, who supported the war politics of the capitalist government and represented the submissive fearful tendencies in the working class, the communist parties gathered all the young fighting spirit in its ranks.

In opposition to the socialist theory that not in a ruined, but only in a prosperous capitalism the workers could build up a true commonwealth, the communists put forth the truth, that it was this very ruin of capitalist production which made a revolution necessary and which would incite the working class to fight for revolution with all its energy.

In opposition to the social democratic view, that a parliament chosen by general suffrage was a fair representation of society and the basis of socialism, the communists put forth the new truth, already stated by Marx and Engels, that the working class had to take to attain its aims, the power entirely in its own hand, had to set up its dictatorship, excluding the capitalist class from any share in government.

In opposition to the parliamentarism they put forth, after the Russian example, the soviets, the workers councils.

In the defeated Germany, November 1918, a vigorous communist movement sprang up and united the Spartacus groups and other groups, that had secretly grown up during the war. It was crushed in January by the following counter revolutionary forces of the socialist government.

This prevented an independant strong communist power in Germany the rise of

animated by the spirit
~~in Germany~~, ~~and~~ of a highly developed modern proletariat. So the communist party of Russia dominated entirely the young rising communist groups of the world. They ~~were~~ united in the 3d International, directed from Moscow. Now Russia remained the only centre of world revolution; the interests of the Russian state ~~dominated~~ directed the communist workers all over the world. The ideas of Russian Bolshevism ~~determined~~ dominated the communist parties in the capitalist countries

~~As~~ Russia was attacked by the capitalist governments of Europe and America. Russia, in defence, attacked these governments by inciting the working classes, to rebellion by calling them to world revolution. ~~It~~ A communist revolution not in the future, but as soon as possible. And if they could not be won for communism, then at least for opposition to the policy of their governments. Hence the communist groups were forced to go into parliament and to go into the trade unions, to drive them as an opposing force against their capitalist governments.

World revolution was the great battle cry. And everywhere in the world, in Europe, in Asia, in America, among the oppressed classes and the oppressed peoples, the call was heard and workers arose. Animated by the Russian example, feeling that now through the war, capitalism was shaken, in its foundations, that it was weakened still more by the economic disorder and crisis. They were small minorities only; but the masses of the workers stood awaiting, (certain) with sympathy towards Russia, still hesitating because their leaders said Russians were backward people and the capitalist papers spoke of atrocities and predicted an inevitable and rapid breakdown. These very infamies of the capitalist press however, showed how much the example was hated and feared.

Was a communist revolution possible? Could the working class conquer power and defeat capitalism in England, in France, in America? Certainly not, it had not (yet) the strength that was needed. ~~necessary. Perhaps~~ Only in Germany perhaps.

What ~~ought to be done~~ ought to have been done then? ~~The capitalist system was ripe~~ The communist revolution, the victory of the working class is not a matter of ~~some~~ a few years; it is a whole period of rising and fighting. ~~The~~ This crisis of capitalism could only be the starting point for this period. The task of the Communist Party was to build up the power of the working class in this period, step by step. ~~It must be~~ This perhaps was a long way; but there was no other.

The Russian Bolshevik leaders did not understand world revolution in this way. They meant it (to come) immediately, in a near future. ~~The future.~~ That which had ~~We must in other countries had only to~~ happened in Russia, why could it not happen in other countries? The workers there had only to follow the example of their Russian comrades.

In Russia a (firmly organized) party of some ten thousands (of revolutionists), by means of a working class of ~~30000~~ hardly a million, within a hundred millions population, (and by defending their interests, platforms it stood for) masses conquered power, and afterwards by the right slogans ~~of the~~ it won ~~to~~ its side.

In the same way ~~must~~ in the rest of the world communist parties, comprising the most eager, class conscious, able and energetic minorities of the working class, led by capable leaders, could conquer political power, if only the mass of the workers would follow them. Were not the ~~existing~~ capitalist governments ruling minorities also?

The whole of the working class, which now suffers this minority to rule, has only to back the Communist Party, to vote for it, to follow its call, ~~when it calls~~.

Russia stood ~~before~~ on the threshold of capitalism, at the beginning of industrialism. The great capitalist countries stand at the ~~end~~ close of industrial capitalism.

Hence the goals were entirely different. Russia had to be ~~be~~ raised from primitive barbarism to the high level of productivity reached in America and Europe. This could be done by a party, governing the people, organizing state capitalism. America and Europa, on their high level of capitalist productivity, have to transform themselves to communist production. This can be done only by the common effort of the ~~whole~~ working class in its ~~entirity~~ entirety.

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And the Party will do the real work, it is the vanguard, it attacks, it defeats (and) replaces it, the capitalist government, and when in power it will carry through communism, just as in Russia.

And the dictatorship of the working class? It is embodied in the dictatorship of the Communist Party, just as in Russia.

Do as we did – this was the advice, the call, the directive given by the Bolshevist party to the communist parties of the world. It was based upon the idea of the equality of Russian conditions with conditions in capitalist countries.

The conditions were, however, so widely different, that hardly any resemblance was to be seen.

In Russia the working class was a small minority, and nearly the whole population consisted of primitive peasants. In England, Germany, France, America nearly half, or even the majority of the population consisted of proletarians, wage workers.

In Russia there was a very small, insignificant capitalist class, without much power or influence. In England, Germany, France, America a capitalist class, more powerful than the world had ever seen, dominated society, dominated the whole world.

The Communist Party leaders, by proclaiming that they, that the Party should be able to beat the capitalist class, showed by this very assertion, that they did not see the real power of this class. By setting Russia as the example to be followed – not only in heroism and fighting spirit, but also in methods and aims – they betrayed their inability to see the difference

between the Russian Czarist rule and the capitalist rule in Europe and America.

We have already seen what are the elements of power of the capitalist class. With its complete domination of the economic forces, with its money power, its intellectual power, there is not a chance for a minority groups to vanquish and destroy it. No party, though led by the ablest leaders, can defeat it.

There is only one power, strong enough to vanquish this mighty class. This power is the working class.

The essential basis of capitalist power is its economic power. No political laws issued from above can seriously affect it. It can only be attained by another economic power, by the opposing class, striking at her very root. It is the entirety of the workers, who have to come into the field, if capitalism is to be overthrown.

At first sight this appeal to the whole of the working class may appear illusionary. Its mass, its majority is not clear class conscious, it is ignorant as to social development, indifferent to the revolution, with more egoism for personal interests than solidarity for class interests, submissive and fearful, seeking futile pleasures. Is there much difference between such an indifferent mass and a population as in Russia? Can anything be expected from such a people, rather than from that class-conscious, eager, energetic, self sacrificing clear minded communist minority?

This, however, is only relevant if it should be a question of a revolution conceived of to-morrow, as conceived by the Communist Party.

For the proletarian revolution not the superficial chance character of to day, is essential, which of course is determined by the present

surrounding capitalist world. ~~The~~ The real communist revolution depends on the deeper essential class nature of the proletariat.

The working class of Europe and America has qualities in itself that enable it to rise to great force. They are descendants of a middle class of artisans and ~~peasants~~ farmers who for many centuries as free people worked their own ~~soil~~ soil or their own shops. So they acquired skill and independance, capability and a strong individuality to act for themselves, perseverant industry and the habit of personal energy in ~~the~~ work. These qualities the modern workers have inherited from their ancestors. Dominated Thereafter during one or more generations ~~dominated~~ by capitalism,

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In Europe and in America there ~~are~~ are living hundreds of millions of people possessing these qualities. That as yet they stand before their task, that they have not yet finished it, that they hardly made a beginning does not mean that they are not able to perform it. ~~begin~~ And no other power can tell them how to act. They have to find their way themselves, by hard suffering and bitter experience. But they have brains and they have hearts to find it out and to do it and to build up that class unity out of which the new mankind will arise.

~~[illegible]~~

Certainly, a party in its ascendance consists of the best elements of the class, exceeding the mass of it. And its leaders, usually, are the prominent forces in the party, embodying the great aims in their names, admired, hated, honored. They stand in the front, and when a great fight is lost, its great leaders are

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The working class of Europe and America has qualities in itself that enable it to rise to great force. They are descendants of a middle class of artisans and farmers who for many centuries as free people worked their own soil or their own shops. So they acquired skill and independance, capability and a strong individuality to act for themselves, perseverant industry and the habit of personal energy in work. These qualities the modern workers have inherited from their ancestors. Dominated thereafter during one or more generations by capitalism, they were trained by the machine to regular intensity and discipline in collective work. And after the first depression there grew in them, in a continual fight, the new rising virtue of solidarity and class unity.

On these foundations the future greatness of the revolutionary class will be built up.

They are not a neutral indifferent mass that does not count when a revolutionary minority tries to overthrow the ruling capitalist minority. So long as they do not take part actively the revolution cannot be won. But when they do take part they are not the people to be led in obedience by a party.

~~A communist worker could not strongly combat false theories and should not weaken in propagating the true principles of communist Party, they cannot win the masses of the workers.~~

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destroyed, the party is crushed. Knowing this the lesser leaders, the party officials will often shrink from the supreme fight, from the boldest aims. The working class itself can be defeated, but it never can be crushed. Its forces are indomitable, it is rooted in the firm earth; as a growing green turf the blooming tops of which are mown, it always comes up anew. The workers can temporarily desist from fighting, when weakened, but their forces will increase afterwards. A party that should then follow them in their retreat, cannot recover; it must lose its character and repudiate its principles; it is lost for ever. A party, a groups leaders have a limited force, which is spent, is sacrificed — in honor, or in dishonor — entirely in the events of class struggle; the class itself draws upon an unlimited store.

+ retreat

Prominent leaders can show the way, parties in their principles and platforms can express the ideas, the aims of the class, temporarily. The class at first follows them, but then it has to pass them, putting up bolder aims, higher ideas conform to the widening and deepening of the class struggle. The party tries to keep the class at its former lower level, at its more modest aims, and has to be discarded. The doctrine that a Party stands above the Class, that it should remain its leader always, being theoretically false, in practice means strangling the class and leading it into defeat.

We will show how this doctrine in the Communist Party, this doctrine after its first glorious ascendance, this doctrine led to rapid decay.

These are the principles leading the Communist Party and determining its practice: the party has to win dictatorship, to conquer power, to make revolution and by this to liberate the workers; the workers have to follow, to back the party and to bring it to power.

Hence its direct aim is: to win the masses of the workers as adherents, as followers, to bring them to its side. Not: to make them good independent fighters, able to find their own way and force.

Parliamentary action is one of the means. Though the C.P. declared that parliamentarism was useless for the revolution, still it went into parliament; this was called „revolutionary parliamentarism", to demonstrate in parliament the uselessness of parliamentarism". In reality it was a means to get votes and voters, followers of the party. It served to detract the workers' votes from the socialist parties. Numerous workers, who were disillusioned by the capitalist policy of socialdemocracy, who wished to stand for revolution, were won over by the big talk and furious criticisms of the CP against capitalism. Now this policy opened a new way for them to stick to their old belief that by only voting and following leaders, new and better leaders this time, they would be liberated. Those famous revolutionists, who in Russia had founded the State of the workers, told them this was the easy way, the right way.

Another means was trade unionism. (Though the CP declared the unions useless for the revolution, yet the communists had to become members of them, to go in order to win the unions for communism. This did not mean the making of clear class conscious revolutionists; it meant the replacing of the "corrupt" old leaders by Communist Party men. It meant the taking of the ruling machine of the unions, the Party controlling so that it might command the big armies of union members. Of course the old leaders were not willing to give way; they simply excluded

the red opposition groups. Then new „red" unions were formed.

Strikes are the schools for communism. When the workers are on strike, are fighting the capitalist class face to face, then they learn the real power of capitalism, they see all its forces directed against themselves. But then they realize more strongly and fully the forces of solidarity, the necessity of unity, they are keen to understand, their spirit is eager to learn. And what they learn as the most important lesson, is that communism is the only salvation. The Communist Party varied this truth according to its principles. At each strike it was present to take part or, more rightly, to take the lead. The direction must be taken out of the hands of the trade union leaders, who do not have the right fighting spirit. The workers should lead themselves; the meaning of this statement was — because the working class, as you know, is represented by the C. P. that the Party should lead them. Each success was used to advertise the party. Instead of the communist education, which is a natural outcome of each big fight in capitalism, came the artificial aim: to increase the influence of the party on the masses. By its revolutionary talk they caught and absorbed all the eager fighting spirit of the strikers, but diverted it to its own aims. Quarrels (which were) injurious to the workers cause often were the result.

] Instead of: communism is the salvation, came the artificial lesson: the Communist Party is the saviour. (the natural lesson)

A continual fight, of course, was made against the socialdemocratic party, to detract its followers from it by criticism of its policies. Their leaders were denounced and by the most spicy names, as accomplices of capital and traitors of the working class. But now, at once, the scene changed and an alliance was offered to these „traitors" for a common fight against capitalism. This was called solemnly: "the unity of the working class restored". In reality it would have been nothing but the temporary collaboration of two competing groups of leaders, both trying to keep or win obedient followers.

] critical exposition a serious showing that socialdemocracy had left the way of class struggle, will open the eyes of many workers. Doubtless

To win followers and votes, it is not necessary to call upon the working class. All the poor classes living miserably under capitalism will hail the new and better masters who promise them freedom. So just as the socialist party did, the communist party addressed its propaganda to all who suffer.

Russia gave the example. The Bolshevist party, though a workers party, had won power only by their alliance with the peasants. When,

once in power, they were threatened by the capitalist tendencies in the wealthy peasants they called upon the poor peasants as the allies of the workers. Then the C.P. in America and Europe, always imitating Russian slogans, directed their appeals to the workers and the poor peasants also. It forgot that in highly developed capitalistic countries there lives in the poor peasants an eager spirit of private ownership, the same as in the big farmers. Could they be won over by promises but they would be unreliable allies ready to desert at the first contrariety

But The working class in its revolution can only count upon its own force. Other poor classes of society will often join them; but they cannot give additional weight of importance, because the strong innate force, which proletarian solidarity and mastership over the production gives to the working class, is lacking in them. Therefore even in rebellion they are uncertain and fickle. What can be aimed at, is that they will not be tools in the capitalists hands. This cannot be obtained by promises; promises and platforms count with parties; but classes are directed by deeper feelings and passions, founded on interests. It can be reached only when their respect and their confidence is aroused, because they see that the workers bravely and energetically attack the capitalist class.

The matter is different for a communist party, wishing to win power for itself. All the poor who suffer under capitalism are equally good as followers of the party. Their despair seeing no sure way out, by their own force, makes them the right adherents to a party, that says it will liberate them. They are apt to break out in explosions, but not to climb in continuous fight. In the heavy world crisis of these last years the increasing masses of the regularly unemployed, in which the need and the idea of a rapid, immediate world revolution became dominant, also turned to the communist party. Especially by means of this army the C.P. hoped to conquer political supremacy for itself.

The Communist Party did not try to increase the power of the working class. It did not educate its adherents to clearness, to wisdom, to unity of all the workers. It educated them into enthusiastic but blind, hence fanatical believers and followers, in obedient subjects of the party in power. Its aim was not to make the working class strong, but to make the party powerful. Because its fundamental ideas originated from primitive Russian, not from highly capitalistic European and American conditions.

When a party wishes to win followers with all means and cannot attract them by arousing their interest in revolution, then it will try to win them by appealing to their reactionary prejudices. The strongest feeling which capitalism awakes and raises with all its might against revolution is nationalism. When in 1923 French troops occupied the Rhineland and everywhere in Germany the waves of nationalism went high, the C.P. also played the nationalist game, trying to compete with the capitalist parties. In the Reichstag it proposed a companionship of the communist armed forces, the "Red Guards", with the German capitalist army (Reichswehr). Here international politics played a part; Russia, at that time hostile to the Western victor governments, tried to make an alliance with Germany; hence the German Communist Party had to make friends with its own capitalist government.

This was the chief character of all the communist parties, affiliated to the 3d International: they were directed by Moscow, by the Russian communist leaders; so they were tools of Russian foreign politics. Because Russia was "all the workers' fatherland", the centre of communist world revolution, the interest of Russia should be the prominent interest of the communist workers all over the world. It was stated clearly by Russian leaders, that when a capitalist government should be the ally of Russia against other powers, the workers in that country had to stand by their government; in other countries they had to fight their government. To the class struggle between the capitalist and the workers class, this fundamental fact of society, had to be made

subordinate to the temporary needs and fortunes of Russian foreign politics.

Its dependance on Russia, materially and spiritually, is at the root of all the weakness of the Communist Party. All the ambiguities in the Russian development are reflected in the position of the C.P. The Russian leaders have to tell their subjects that their state capitalistic building up of industrialism is the building up of communism. Hence each new factory or electric power plant is hailed in the communist papers as a triumph of communism. In order to encourage the minds of the Russians to persevere they were told by their papers, that the capitalist world was nearly succombing to world revolution, and that, envious of Russia, it meditated to make war with Russia. This was repeated in the communist papers all over the world, while at the same time Russia was concluding commercial treaties with those capitalist governments. When Russia made alliances with some capitalist states and took part in their diplomatic quarrels, the communist papers glorified this as a capitulation of the capitalist world before communism. Always it was the advertising of Russian „communism" before the workers of the world.

Russia is the great example; hence the Russian example has to be imitated in the Communist Party. Just as in Russia the Party has to dominate the class. In the Russian party the leaders dominate, because they have all the power factors in their hands. In the same way in the C.P. the leaders dominate, the members have to show „discipline". Moscow, the „Comintern" (Central Committee of the 3d International) are the highest leaders; at their command the leaders in every country are dismissed and replaced by others.

It is natural that ever anew in the ~~capitalist~~ other countries doubts arose among the members ~~of~~ as to the ~~[illegible]~~ rightness of these Russian methods. But always ~~this~~ such ~~an~~ opposition was beaten down and excluded from the party. Not independent judgment but obedience was ~~demanded~~.

After the revolution the Russians had built up a "red army" ~~[illegible]~~ to defend their new ~~[illegible]~~ freedom against the attacks of the white armies". ~~[illegible]~~. In the same way in Germany the Com P. formed a "red guard", bodies of armed young communists, to ~~[illegible]~~ fight against the armed nationalists. The C.P. supposed ~~thought~~ in this way to form the kernel of an army ready to conquer power, it forgot that capitalist violence is much stronger than workers violence, and that the chief power of the working class lies in quite another direction than that of violence.

Moreover it was not simply a workers army against capitalism, but a weapon against all the adversaries of the C.P. Wherever in meetings opposition came up, and other workers criticised the party politics, the red guard had to ~~[illegible]~~ at the command of the leaders deal with them and to maltreat them. Not opening the brains but breaking the skulls, was the method employed against criticizing fellow workers. ~~[illegible]~~ Thus young eager fighters were educated into rowdies instead of ~~educating them~~ in to communists. And when the national revolution came, when ~~capi~~ nationalist violence proved to be ~~[illegible]~~ far stronger and more irresistable than communist violence, numerous ~~the~~ young workers, who had learnt nothing but to beat their leaders' adversaries, at once changed their colors and became ~~[illegible]~~ first as zealous nationalsocialists as before they had been zealous communists

Through the glory that radiated from the Russian revolution, through its own gallant talk the C.P. assembled year by year all the ardent enthusiasm of young workers under its colors. This is dissipated into idle shamfights, or spill in useless party politics; all these valuable qualities were lost to the revolution. The best of them, disillusioned, turned their back on the party and tried to find new ground in found separate groups.

Looking backward we see the world war, as a culmination of capitalist oppression, arouse the revolutionary spirit of the workers, everywhere. Barbarous Russia, as the weakest of the governments, fell at the first stroke, and as a bright meteor the Russian revolution rose and shone over the earth. But it was another revolution than the workers needed. Its dazzling light first filling them with hope and force, blinded them so that they did not see their own way. Now they have to recover and to turn their eyes to the dawn of their own revolution.

The communist party cannot recover. Russia is making its peace with the capitalist powers and taking its place among them, with its own economic system. The communist party, inseparably linked to Russia, is doomed to live on shamfighting. Opposition groups split off ascribing the decay to false tactics of some particular leaders, to deviations from the right principles. In vain; the basis of the downfall lies in the principles themselves

The working class however will come out of this depression wiser and more conscious of its task.

But now capitalist power arises more formidable out of the failings of the working class parties.

Fascism

1 Fascism was the ~~reaction~~ capitalist reaction on the deficiency of communism or socialism. puts up a strong fight

When the working class arises, and proclaims its aims to destroy capitalism, ~~it excites~~ at first fear and hatred are roused in the capitalist hearts. When however, it becomes apparent, that it is incapable of carrying out its menaces, when its force lags far behind its boasting words, then with recovered self confidence capitalism strikes back. The fear is not forgotten and must be avenged; disdain for the opponent is now mixed with it, and leads to a firm determination to destroy his force and block his way for the future.

In Italy after the war there arose a large movement of the syndicalist trade union workers, who were strongly influenced by the Russian communist propaganda. This movement culminated in the occupation of the factories by the workers. But then it became evident that it was a blow in the air. The workers did not know what to do with it. [Occupation of factories can be a strong fighting form in the midst of a great revolutionary uprising, as was shown on a small scale in Germany in 1923. There the workers find themselves together in their natural grouping, as masters of the production apparatus, of which for them the strongholds and centres of resistance. Of course only as an episode of the real fight for power; for this occupation of factories arouses the most resolute hostility in the capitalist class.

In Italy the working class was not prepared for a real revolutionary fight. The occupation was not a result of their power but rather of the weakness and disorganization of capitalist power. They began to work the factories as collective workshops

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believing that the capitalist class would let them produce and sell in peace. After some weeks they had simply to clear out, utterly disappointed as to the possibilities of a workers' commonwealth.

But the capitalist class had felt the danger. Capitalists and middle class. citizens, intellectuals and military men, all held together against „disorder". If capitalist disorder is not replaced by a new working class order, then it has to be replaced by a new capitalist order. Young people, disappointed by talkative impotent socialism and braggarding communism, imbued with a strong nationalist spirit and educated to brutality in the experience of war, formed the ranks of fascism. In years of street guerilla against the workers, beating them down with brutal force, aided by capitalist money power (burning their "People's Houses") they grew up to a large and firmly disciplined mass-party, which grasped the state power from the hands of the old political parties.

The first and chief characteristic of fascism is that it organizes by the petty-capitalist and middle class with its narrow minded spirit of private business into a mass organization, strong enough to beat and check the proletarian organizations. This class, squeezed in between capitalist and working class, unable to fight capitalism, is always ready to turn against the workers' class struggle. Though it hates big capitalism and puts forth anticapitalistic slogans, it is a tool in the hands of capitalism, which pays and directs its political action towards the subduing of the workers.

Its ideas and theories are directed chiefly against the class struggle, against the working workers feeling and acting as a separate class. Against this it brings forward a strong nationalist feeling, the idea of the unity of the nation against foreign nations. In this nation the workers

have their place, not as a separate class, but combined with the employers as industrial or agrarian groups of production. Representatives of these groups form advising boards for the government. This is called the Corporative State, founded directly on representation of the economic grouping of society, on capitalist labor. It is opposed to the parliamentary system, for which fascism has hardly any use; and which it denounces as a power of disruption, a mischievous preaching of internal dissension.

Parliamentarism is the expression of the supremacy of the people, the citizens, and the dependance of the government. Fascism puts the State above the citizens; the State as the organization of the nation, is the superior objective, to which the citizens are subordinate. Not democracy, not the people's rights, but authority, the people's duties stand first. It places the party chief as a dictator at the head of the State, to rule with his party companions, without interference from parliamentary delegates.

It is clear that this form of government corresponds to the needs of modern capitalism. In a highly developed capitalism economic power is not, as it was in the beginning, in a numerous class of independent producers, but in a small group of big capitalists. Their interests can be served better by influencing a small body of absolute rulers, and their operations seem more safely secured if all opposition of the workers and all public criticism is kept down with an iron fist. Hence a tendency is visible in all countries to increase the power of the central government and of the chief of the State. Though this also sometimes is called fascism, it makes some difference whether parliamentary control is maintained,

or ~~the~~ an open dictatorial rule is ~~established~~ founded upon the terrorism of a mighty party-organisation.

In Germany an analogous development of the national-socialist movement took place somewhat later. The revolution of 1918 had brought socialism to power; but ~~the~~ this power was ~~used~~ made use of to protect capitalism; the socialists in government let the capitalists operate as they liked ~~at pleasure~~. ~~The~~ The petty-capitalist classes, ~~who saw~~ seeing their antagonists on both sides now united ~~with~~ and socialist officials involved in foul capitalist affairs, considered socialist state concern and capitalist ~~graft~~ speculation as one common principle of corruption of an international ~~band~~ gang of grafters. It opposed to them the ~~small~~ honest small business of petty capitalists and sturdy farmers of olden times. Young intellectuals of the ~~old~~ universities, who found their former monopoly of ~~state~~ public offices infringed upon by detested socialist leaders ~~pushed aside~~, and former officers, ~~unemployed by~~ jobless through ~~the~~ the diminution of the army, ~~founded~~ organized the first groups of national-socialism.

They were eager nationalists, because they belonged to the capitalist middle classes and ~~fought against~~ were opposed to the internationalism of the ruling socialdemocracy. They called themselves socialist, because their petty-capitalistic feeling was hostile to big business and big finance. They were strongly antisemitic too. Firstly because Jewish capital played an important role in Germany, especially in the great stores that caused the ruin of the small shopkeepers. Secondly because ~~of the~~ numerous Jewish intellectuals flooded the universities and the learned professions, ~~and~~ and by their keener wits often – e.g as lawyers and physicians – left their German competitors behind them.

Financially these nationalsocialists were backed by some big capitalist concerns, especially by the armament industry, which felt its interests endangered by the increasing disarmament conferences. They formed the illegal fighting groups of capitalism against the rising Bolshevism. Then came the world crisis aggravating the conditions in Germany, as it was exhausted by the peace treaty indemnities. The revolt of the desperate middle classes raised national socialism to the position of the mightiest party, and enabled it to seize the political power and to make its Leader the dictater of Germany.

To all outward appearances

Seemingly this dictatorship of middle-class ideas is directed against big capitalism as well as against the working class movement. It is clear, however, that a petty-capitalist program of a return to former times of small business cannot be carried out. It soon became evident in Germany that big capitalism and landowing aristocracy are still the real masters behind the ruling national socialist party. In reality this party acts as an instrument of capitalism to fight and destroy the workers organizations.

To strong was the power of the new slogans that they even drew a large number of workers with them, who joined the national-socialist party. They had learned to follow their leaders; but these leaders had disappointed them and were beaten by stronger leaders. The splendour and the spiritual power of the socialist and communist ideals had waned. National-socialism promised the workers a better socialism, by class-peace instead of class-war. It offered them their appropiate honored place in the nation, not as a separate class, as members of the united people. They were not allowed to make a class struggle.

The working class has been thrown back in its (upward ~~its~~ regular) strife for liberation. Its organizations have been wiped out, or, in the case of the trade unions, put directly under the command of capitalist state officials. The workers' papers have been suppressed, free speech is prohibited, ~~socialist~~ socialist or communist propaganda is forbidden and punished with imprisonment ~~deportation~~ in concentration camps or long incarceration. In the enforced uniformity of opinion there is no room for revolutionary teachings. The way ~~of progress~~ of regular progress towards proletarian power, in the development of insight and organization by means of propaganda and discussion, the way to revolution and freedom is blocked by (concrete wall) of the of reaction.

So it seems. But it means only that the smooth and peaceful way of growing to power is blocked for the workers. We said before that free speech, the right of organization, the right of propaganda and political parties were necessary for capitalism (of forming). It means that they are necessary to ensure a regular working of capitalist production and capitalist development. It means that once they are gone the class antagonisms must at last explode in heavy uprisings and violent revolutionary movements. The capitalist class has to decide, whether it prefers this way; we cannot order them to choose the other way.

It has its reasons. It strongly feels that the heavy world crisis of today is shaking the capitalist system in the heart. It knows that the diminished production is unable to feed the whole working class and at the same time to leave sufficient profits. It is resolved not to bear the losses itself. So it realizes that at last the workers, starved by unemployment must rise and will rise in revolts. And it tries to forestall them by fortifying its own position, by forging the whole capitalist class in to one strong unity, by pulling in strong armour the state power, by tying the workers to this state by means of strong letters of their old means of defense, their socialist spokesmen and their organizations. This is the reason why fascism became powerful in these last years.

At one time Capitalism seemed to be on the best way of fooling the workers by means of sham-democracy and sham-reforms. Now it is turning to the other way of heavy oppression. This must drive the workers to resistance and to determine class fighting. Why (does capitalism do so?) Not of its own free will, but compelled by material economic forces inherent to its innermost nature: by the heavy crisis that endangers its profits and arouses its fear for revolution.

Triumphant fascism because it has crushed the workers movement. It boasts that it has blocked the way to communism for ever. What it crushed really, were only the ineffective primitive forms. It destroys the illusions, the old socialist belief, the socialist and communist parties – all obsolete things hampering progress. It destroys at the same time the old party divisions that incited workers against workers. It thereby restores their natural class unity.

Parties are groups of common opinion, organizations depend on

F— and by tradition may continue to do so for some time;—
memberships — both ~~strand~~ secondary ~~accidentals~~ accidentals. Class is the primary
reality founded in the nature of capitalism itself. By tradition
the workers considered ~~thought of~~ political opinion as the real distinctions in
society, separating comrades and foes. Now they are thrown back upon
the real foundations of their life, the class distinctions between workers
and capitalists. They were thinking and feeling in terms of parties and
unions, now they are constrained ~~forced~~ to think and to feel in terms of class. Without
~~separating~~ any ~~wall~~ of partition one ~~wall~~ they stand beside the ~~one another~~ and they see that they are
subject to the same capitalist exploitation.
all comrades. No party discipline can call them to action; they will have
to think out and to make their own action, when the burden
makes itself too heavily felt.
~~to be too heavy.~~
of fascist capitalism ~~weighs~~. The mist of opposing party opinions,
of political slogans, of union narrowness, which dimmed the natural
class consciousness, has been ~~is~~ destroyed. Sharp and relentless the reality of capitalism
confronts ~~stands before~~ them; and to fight it they have only themselves, their
class unity, to rely upon.

~~This does not mean that the parties~~

political
The parties we speak of Germany and Italy— have disappeared; only the leaders in exile continue
to speak as if they were the parties. This does not mean that
they have disappeared for ever. If there should come an uprising
of the working class, they will come back and present themselves again
as leaders. They must be vanquished for the second time, now
~~The workers will have to vanquish them~~ by the
recognition
workers themselves, by conscious recognition that they are obsolete
understanding ~~that their practice~~
~~will decide on revolutionary upons, to express the differences in~~
in new situations no longer valid
~~tactical opinions within the working class. But they will not~~
~~have the power to put themselves in the place of the class. Class unity,~~
~~class action will be put above party opinion subordinate.~~

This does not mean that parties will be no more / there will be no more either; doubtless in future, new parties will arise in revolutionary periods, that their role is finished. In new situations the unavoidable differences of tactical opinions within the working class. Parties in this sense are necessary elements in social development. The working class cannot be given ready-made opinions and platforms from some Dictator Party, which claims to do the thinking work for her and forbids independent opinion. The working class has to think and to find her way herself. Then opinions (on what is and what must be done) will differ, because men are different, because what they have seen, read, heard, experienced, learnt, is different because their lives (though in the main rather alike) were different in particulars. Groups of common opinion will be formed, to discuss and to propagate their ideas, to wage the spiritual contest with other groups (to fight the scientists of the capitalist class) for this is the way of self-education of the working class.

Parties in this sense may be called the scouting groups in the capitalist jungle. They have to investigate the ways, to study science and circumstances, to discuss these in mutual debate, to lay their advices, their explanations, their ideas before their fellow workers. In this way they are the necessary instruments to build up the intellectual power of the working class.

Their task is not to act instead of the workers, to do the real fighting work for the workers and to drag the class behind them. They will not have the power to put themselves in the place of the class. Class unity, class action will be paramount, party opinion subordinate.

There are points of similarity between fascist Italy and Germany and bolshevist Russia. They are ruled by dictators, the chiefs of dictator parties – the Communist Party in Russia, the Fascist Party in Italy, the National-Socialist Party in Germany. These parties are large strongly organised groups, which by their zeal and enthusiasm, their devotion to the cause, by their discipline and energy are able to dominate state and country and enforce upon it the stamp of one hard big unity.

This is a similarity in form; the contents are different. In Russia state capitalism builds up the productive forces; private capital is not tolerated. In Italy and Germany state and ruling party are intimately connected with private big capitalism. [Big business always means a certain organization of production, transport and banking in the hands of a small number of directing persons.] Political rulers were connected with these big affairs already before. Now the fascist programm proclaims it to be the task of state power to direct and regulate the economic forces. The increase of nationalism in all countries, and the preparing for world war, as expressed in the slogan of autarchy, i.e. the complete selfreliance of each state upon its own ressources, imposes

Included
Better

But here also a economical organisation is in the fascist aims.

And by these types a certain power of these persons over the mass of the lesser capitalists.

7 Imposing ~~state~~ regulations upon private business now means that (by the ~~state~~ fascist state power) the bulk of the lesser capitalists are subjected to big business, still more completely.

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a ~~narrow~~ close cooperation upon the political leaders with the leaders of industry. If in the old capitalism the state was a necessary instrument of industry, now industry becomes a necessary instrument of the state too. ~~Ruling~~ Ruling the state and ruling industry is being merged into one. ~~Whether~~ ~~To be sure~~ ~~To be sure~~ ~~Thereby~~ in fascist capitalism the ruling class clings to the principle of private enterprise, ~~as~~ if not for others then at least for themselves. The silent contest of big capitalists, monopolists, bankers for supremacy and profit goes on behind the scenes. If, however, the economic crisis lasts, their increasing ~~misery~~ ~~distress~~, the rebellions of workers or middle classes will compell the rulers to more efficient regulations of economic life. Already now capitalist economists look to Russia and study its economics as a possible model and ~~as a way out~~. ("Planned economics" is the talk of politicians in many countries.) A development in the direction of some form of state capitalism may offer itself as a means to prevent, or to thwart, or to turn back a proletarian revolution.

This will be called socialism then. If we compare it ~~with~~ to the last program, the „Plan", of the Belgian socialdemocratic party for regulating capitalism the difference is not fundamental. The Belgian plan, indeed, may be called an attempt to compete with fascism in a ~~saving~~ salvation action for capitalism.

If we now compare these three parties, the Socialdemocratic Party, the Communist Party, the Fascist Party, we find that they have their chief aim in common. They ~~will~~ want to dominate and rule the working class. Of course (in order to) save the workers, to make them happy, to make them free. They all say so.

Their means ~~are different~~, their platforms are different; ~~but~~ they are competitors, and each ~~abuses~~ abuses the others, ~~calling~~ calling them ~~counter~~ counter-revolutionaries or criminals.

Socialdemocracy (makes an) appeal to democracy; the workers shall choose their masters by vote. The communist party ~~appeals to~~ resorts to revolution; the workers shall rise at the call of the C.P., (and put the C.P. into office.) overthrow capitalist rule. The fascists (make an) appeal to national feelings and petty-capitalist instincts. They all aspire to some form of state capitalism or state socialism, where the working class is commanded and exploited by the state, by the community of leaders, (directors and officials, ~~who direct~~ the managers of the production.

Their common ~~fundament~~ foundation is the opinion that the working masses are unable to ~~direct~~ conduct their affairs themselves. The incapable and stupid many must be led (and educated) by the capable few.

When the working class fights for its (real) freedom, (in order) to take the direction of the production, the rule of society in its own hands, it finds these parties all opposed to it.

The Intellectual Class

The role of these parties in the workers movement is not entirely based on tradition and opinion differences of economic realities and modern class developments stand behind them too. It is necessary, in this connection, to consider the growing importance of the intellectual middle class in social development.

The intellectual middle class, the engineers, scientists, technical employees are a necessary part of industrial production, quite as indispensable as the workers themselves. Technical progress, by replacing workers by machines tends to increase their number. Our statistical data show that, while they only a fraction of the number of the working class, they are increasing at a much stronger rate. So their class interests and their class character must be of increasing importance in the social struggles.

Their growing numbers reflect the growing importance of science and theory in the production of life necessities. In a communist society all will partake of scientific knowledge. In capitalist society it is the privilege and the specialty of a separate class, the intellectual middle class.

The members of this new middle class, contrary to the old independent middle class of small business men, live by selling their labor power to the capitalists. In their salaries a higher cost of living and a more expensive education than for common workers are paid. In the socialist press they are called proletarians – indeed they are not owners of instruments of production – which needs must join the workers. But it is only their lower ranks that merge gradually into skilled labor; the higher ranks, by origin and living standard