

by relations, ~~the~~ social standing and culture feel themselves middle class men, who can rise even to ^(the post of) ~~directors~~ ^{and then be ranked with} ~~places~~ ^{(the big capitalists).}

Some
Wang

~~Part~~ ^{Some} of them sympathized with social democracy, but the bulk was filled with the capitalist spirit of striving ~~to improve~~ ^{for} a better position for ~~their~~ ^{themselves} ~~person~~ only. In Italy and Germany they form the ^{intellectual} backbone of fascism.

What must be the social ideals of this class?

They ~~perceive~~ ^{realize} that capitalism is not eternal; they perceive already ^{revolts and} the signs of its decline, in ~~social~~ economic crises, in political ^{in social struggles} revolutions, in world war, in ~~the general unrest over the world.~~

It is not the exploitation of labor, that ^{in capitalism} ~~is~~ ^{greatest} wrong for the workers, that annoys them (It is the disorder, the anarchy of production ^{in capitalism} that provokes their criticism. Where they rule, in the factory, by ^{means of} strict order and conscious regulation the efficiency of labor is ^{raised} ~~increased~~ to the highest degree.

But outside the factory, in society, where capitalists, stock gamblers, politicians rule ^{they see} ~~the~~ the worst disorder, ^{and} inefficiency, ^{a scandalous waste of human labor,} ~~with their sequel of~~ ^{and the inevitable consequence} ~~poverty and ruin for the whole~~ ^{society.}

~~that~~ ^{therefore, is} they want, (organization of production), conscious regulation of ~~the~~ labor ~~power~~ over the whole of society. They feel themselves the spiritual leaders, the ^{class} ~~man~~ of intellect and knowledge, destined to take over the leading from the incapable hands of the present rulers. In America the ideas of "technocracy" are the first tokens of such a

mode of thinking. By a scientific management of the whole of production, ^(does away with competition and) ~~to~~ ^{which directs the individual capitalists} ~~the~~ ^{from their} arbitrary power, ^{amount of} the product can be raised to such a height, that there will be abundance for everybody. ~~It will be~~

from their ~~individual~~ ^{individual} ~~arbitrary~~ ^{single} ~~power~~

This social ideal of the intellectual middle class is a kind of socialism. But it is not ~~directed~~ ^{necessarily} (directed) against the capitalist class. It does not mean ~~to~~ to expropriate them or to take their profits ^{away} from them. On the contrary, ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ depriving them of their ^{arbitrary} power to damage one another, ~~by~~ ⁱⁿ abolishing the enormous waste, it will raise the productivity of labor to such a degree, that the profits will increase considerably. And ~~at the same time~~ ^{it renders} ~~the~~ ^{possible} ~~increase~~ ^{and securing of} (the workers' portion), so that all reason for revolt or revolution is taken away.

possible
it is to be
possible

It is not a socialism of the workers but only a socialism for the workers, a socialism made by others, for the benefit ^{also} of the workers ~~too~~. The exploitation of the workers ~~will~~ ^{will} not cease, it ~~shall~~ ^{will} be made more rational. ^{With equal justice this} ~~social~~ ^{social} system may be called ~~as~~ ^{organized} organized capitalism.

With equal justice
this social system

~~There~~ There is of course no place for democracy in this system. Democracy means, at least formally, rule of the mass, ^{of} the whole people. But this socialism is founded upon the rule, the leadership of the few, ^{of} the intellectual minority. ^{present day} In ^{capitalism} the technical middle class are leaders and directors of the labor process, they command the workers. They can imagine ~~only~~ an ideal society only with this leading and commanding function preserved and extended. The intellectual class does not admit class differences founded ^{noble} on birth or riches ~~but~~ ^{but} it admits ~~that~~ ^{distinctions} differences ⁱⁿ in brains ⁱⁿ mental capacity and it considers itself as the class of men with the best ^{the} brains, selected to lead ~~and command~~ ^{lead} the great masses of the ungifted common people, destined to be common workers.

Hence the political system belonging to this middle class socialism can never be democracy; ~~but~~ it must be the dictatorship of a leading bureaucracy. The socialism once proclaimed as their social goal by the vanguard of the

Some characteristics of the social ideals of the intellectual class are found 255/ in social democracy, especially in its state-socialist programme, ^{through} its relation 113 of leaders to masses has a more democratic ~~form~~. In German National Socialism 100 stamp

working class, was international. Because they saw production as a worldwide ^{unit} process and the class struggle of the workers as ~~the~~ common ^{the} cause of the working class of the whole world. The intellectual class, however, ~~is~~ ^{has a} strongly national ^{(feeling) owing to} its middle class ~~is~~ origin, ^{to} its ~~own~~ close connection with the capitalist class. Moreover the instruments ^{necessary, the} for regulation of ~~the~~ production exist only as ^{power} state organs of the state. Its socialist ~~is~~ ^{therefore} a national goal ^(means) state socialism. Its rule is the rule of a state bureaucracy, its system of production is state capitalism. International world unity is a far away dream to them, not a matter of ~~practical~~ ^{practical} ideals.

In ~~German National Socialism~~ ^{others)} some of these ~~characteristics~~ ^{characteristics} are perceptible. The tendencies of a class ~~are~~ ^{are} never ~~completely~~ ^{completely} reproduced in a political party, or a political movement. They are the ^{underlying basis, the} underground stream, ^{taking its course} ~~forming~~ (and growing after fixed laws, determined by class interests, by ~~necessities~~ ^{needs} of social development, by the deepest subconscious feelings which the social conditions ~~of~~ ^{of} a class produced ~~are~~ ^{are} in a class. They are not ~~always~~ ^{are} ~~represented~~ ^{represented} in ^{phenomena} the surface, in the political events, the ~~party platforms~~, the government's changes, ^{the} ~~and~~ ^{taken} measures, the revolutions, the programmes — because in all these ~~the~~ ^{the} traditions, ^{the existing power factors, the} ~~relative forces~~ ^{contesting or cooperating} of classes, groups, parties play a role. But ~~always~~ ^{hidden} ~~the~~ ^{the} realities, ^{hidden} beneath the surface, break through ~~and~~ ^{and} upset the old and determine the new ideas and ~~constructions~~ ^{political} events. So we have to look into these events for the class forces ^{at work} ~~working~~ in them, ^{just} as for the nature ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{forces of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~phenomena~~ ^{phenomena} we look into the natural phenomena.

In fascism and national socialism the class ^{spirit} ~~feeling~~ of the intellectual middle classes appears ~~in~~ ^{first germs.} in its ~~beginning~~, ~~only~~ ^{only} as a ~~small~~ ^{small} ~~with~~ ^{with} the ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~yet~~ ^{yet} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~spirit~~ ^{spirit}. We see as yet only a common revolt together with the

stage
origin
German
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Germans
influence

petty-capitalist and big-capitalist classes against democracy, with only a faint and vague desire for ^(an economically) constructive policy. Nevertheless ^{the} spiritual force of ^{the} slogans ^{of the intellectual class} ^{carry away} ~~was~~ ^{a great part of the} ~~was~~ ^{numbers} of workers, who saw in it an organizing power against capitalist disorder.

Is it possible that these parties will realize, or try to realize, the class ideals of the intellectual class? ~~Against the powerless~~ ^{This class is well-nigh} ~~social~~ ^{powerless} of the intellectuals, measured by ~~the~~ ^{their number, their} class-consciousness, their social feeling ^{is still far} ~~is~~ ^{below the power,} which ^{formerly only} ~~the~~ ^{had already attained.} ~~the~~ ^{need} ~~the~~ ^{tolerate} The capitalist class in Europe and America is ~~so~~ ^{so} powerful, that it ~~will~~ ^{will} not ~~allow~~ ^{allow}

any organization or regulation of production beyond its own interests. ~~It is~~ ^{It is} Only when capitalism feels itself extremely ^(weakened and) ~~(endangered)~~, by heavy and long crises, by ~~expanding~~ ^{workers} revolts, ~~by~~ ^{by} world war, ~~that~~ ^{that} conditions are ~~then~~ ^{then} different. Then the intellectual class ^{together} ~~with~~ ^{with} part of the workers ~~combined~~, ^{be called upon to introduce} ~~may~~ ^{may} ~~get~~ ^{get} ~~achieve~~ ^{achieve} ~~for~~ ^{for} constructive policy ~~for~~ ^{leading toward} ~~for~~ ^{for} state capitalistic experiments.

When, however, the working class, rising against the unbearable ~~oppression and suppression~~ ^{oppression and suppression} of monopolistic capitalism, ~~by~~ ^{by} means of ~~revolutionary~~ ^{revolutionary} movements, ~~and~~ ^{should succeed in} ~~beating~~ ^{beating} down capitalist power, what will the intellectual class do? Then the positions ~~are~~ ^{will be} reversed; the working class ^{the strength of its} ~~by~~ ^{by} its ~~mighty~~ ^{mighty} ~~fighting~~ ^{fighting} ~~power~~ ^{power}, ~~by~~ ^{by} the ~~force~~ ^{force} of its ~~ideals~~ ^{ideals} ~~carries~~ ^{carries} the other discontented classes ^{along} ~~with~~ ^{with} it, in a common assault on capitalism. Then great parts of the intellectual class will join ^{them, won over} ~~captured~~ ^{captured} by the great socialist and communist ideals, and ^{will} ~~consider~~ ^{consider} them as their common cause. In every revolutionary movement in history we see ~~that~~ ^{that} great numbers ~~joining~~ ^{joining} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ a common enthusiasm for aims ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~are~~ ^{are} more radical than their own

[national-socialist]

H already

Y tending toward

ideas, ^{thereby making the} ~~more~~ ^{more easy.} ~~victory easier.~~ But then afterwards it appeared, that each of the ^{allies} ~~parties~~ interpreted the slogans and aims in ^{his} ~~his~~ own way, ^{thus causing} ~~thus~~ ^{disensions} ~~disensions~~ and new fights ~~between~~ ^{between} the former comrades. The same ^{doubtless by} ~~will~~ be the case in future revolutionary movements.

The slogans : against capitalism, for socialism or communism, will be common to the revolutionary classes. But ^{for each class} ~~they~~ mean different ^{forms of} ~~social~~ organisations. ~~The~~ working class has to build up production from below, by their ~~immediate~~ ^{over} direct hold ^{over} the factories, ^{and} to organize them by means of their workers councils ⁱⁿ to a democratic commonwealth. The intellectual class will ^{try to} ~~install~~ ^{centrally} an organized state socialism, directed by a ^{leading} ~~central~~ ^{intellect} bureaucracy. ~~It will~~

Is not the intellectual class right in this? Is it not necessary that ~~just~~ ^{most} in these difficult times of fight and social reconstruction the ignorant masses ~~should be~~ ^{should be} directed by ^{those who have} ~~people with~~ the best brains? Is it not true that ^{then, for that period} ~~this~~ large selected minority class, trained in science, in general and special knowledge, are the natural leaders ^{up to} ~~the~~ ^{when} ~~the~~ new generations have been born?

^{No; this is not true.}
The organization of society is not a matter of technics, of scientific knowledge.

The technics of production are excellent already. Capitalism has developed ^{the science} ~~the~~ ^{of nature} ~~the~~ ^{of the forces of nature} ~~the~~ ^{and its application} ~~to~~ ^{to a high level}. This is the domain of the ^{superior} ~~special~~ knowledge of the intellectuals. ^{As} ~~As~~ technical ^{experts} ~~in~~ the production process they may apply their brains for the benefit of the community

But social organization has to ^{deal} ~~deal~~ with other things, with social forces and with the knowledge of social forces. It is an organization of men. And here the intellectuals have no special capacities. What they bring with

Such as

them is only the haughty prejudices of the capitalist class. ~~That~~ men will only work when ^{subordinated} commanded by a boss. In social insight, ~~and~~ ⁱⁿ knowledge of the real class relations ^{of} society the intellectuals stand below the working class. Because their mind ^{clings to} ~~is~~ ^(belonging to a passing period) ~~attached to~~ ^{ideas} ~~of the past~~. Because ^{outside their physical machines, in matters of human relations} they are wont to deal not with the realities of social life itself but with their spiritual images, ~~abstract~~ conceptions, theories, abstractions.

Social organisation does not depend on qualities of intellect of a minority.

It depends on qualities of character of the ~~mass~~ whole working people. It is only possible by ^{virtue of} the moral force of brotherhood and self-sacrifice ~~in~~ ^{the} enthusiasm, the self-imposed discipline, ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~spirit of community~~ ^{spirit of community in} the utmost exertion of ^{all} physical and mental forces, ~~the~~ ^{by} ~~virtue of~~ ^{high ideals} all the workers, animated by the ~~common~~ ^{strong} spirit of communism. It is the consolidation ^{of the workers} into one unity ^{through} moral forces, ~~which~~ ^{cannot be commanded} by leaders but must grow up in the masses ⁱⁿ their fight for freedom.

^{Thus the} social ideals and aims of the ~~state~~ intellectual middle class and the working class ^{oppose} ~~stand against~~ one another. The ~~first~~ ^{intellectual class,} ~~must call upon~~ ^{old instincts of obedience,} ~~upon the~~ ^{feelings} ~~of a~~ ^{bygone} ~~humanity.~~ ^(establish for) ~~its~~ ^{make an} ~~state-socialist~~ ^{all upon} aims it will find allies in social-democratic and party-communist platforms, in union leaders, in the capitalistic ideas of timid and backward workers, who think communist freedom too high for them, and in the ~~beaten~~ ^{defeated} remnants of the capitalist force. Then the working class, finding ~~against~~ ^{opposed by} itself this block, ^{trying} ~~the~~ under the banner of "socialism against anarchy" ~~to~~ ^{to} preserve the domination of a ruling class over the working masses, will ~~need~~ ^{need} all its wisdom and all its unity to find and to fight its way to freedom.

work in an all day practice by virtue of

of the workers

is not to establish

The Workers' Revolution

wilderness

The workers' fight for freedom is only in its beginnings. We have struggled through the capitalist ^{wilderness,} jungle, to find ourselves ^{only} at the foot of the mountain. What the workers' parties, what trade unions did, was only preliminary ^{actions; it} was not the real fight. They ^{assured for} ~~assured~~ the workers their place in capitalism. ^{just by this, in so doing they} But at the same time, ^{made clear} that ~~it~~ is no living place for ^{the workers; that} ~~them~~. They must go on. Now ^{for the time} ~~at first~~ they can see their real task before them.

In so doing, they made it quite clear

The revolutionary movement, obviously, is at a low ebb. Always socialists and communists spoke of ^{the} ~~revolution~~ ^{as} being near; and now, that capitalism is in ~~an~~ economic crisis ^{more and than ever} ~~deep~~ ^{and long} before, and ^{that is} misery and hopelessness increase beyond measure, now the revolution holds off. ^{On the} ~~the~~ ^{contrary} reaction ~~came~~ up, capitalist power ^{is} taking a stronger ^{brilliant} grip. The ^{light} hopes that first socialism and then communism ^{lit} ~~lighted~~ in the hearts of the workers, faded. They were reflected lights only, ^{that} ~~now~~ led them astray. When the workers seek their new ways and prepare for the real great fight, the illusions ^{awakened} by their first uprising ~~of~~ ^{become stumbling blocks} ~~of~~ ^{stones} on their ~~way~~ ^{way}.

W

From the insufficiency of the methods ~~used~~ ^{used} till now the workers learn that new methods of action have to be followed. Certainly, they ^{old ones} were no failures; they ~~had been~~ ^{were} useful ⁱⁿ their time. But conditions ^{have} ~~changed~~ ^{have led}. They ~~taught~~ the working class so far that it can see the mountain slope to be climbed. They were the experience, ^{obtained at the cost of} ~~the~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~best~~ ^{best} ~~lives~~ ^{lives}, ~~necessary~~ ^{that was needed for the} ~~to put~~ ^{to put} and

putting and the ~~the~~ answer ^{of} (the supreme question):

How can the workers win?

The foundation of capitalist power is their economic power, their possession of the factories, their ^{hold on} command of production. Here the workers face them ~~immediately~~ ^{directly}; and they are many, the ~~the~~ others are few. Let them try, however, ~~not to~~ ^{instead of} striking and leaving the factory, ~~and~~ to take possession of it. At once the political power of the State ^{will} ~~comes~~ into action; the courts, the police, the militia are directed, the civil guards, the Pinkertons are protected by the State. The workers now try to ~~take~~ ^{take} hold ^{of} ~~the~~ State; with their ^{their representatives would be bought by} ~~big~~ numbers they ~~go to~~ ^{take} it by voting. In America the capitalists ^(with their immense money power,) ~~buy~~ ^{buy} their representatives. In Europe they delegated honest and devoted socialists to conquer ^{the} State power. But when these ^{men} ~~came~~ ⁱⁿ to power they were transformed into petty capitalist politicians. ^{On} ~~at~~ all sides ^{the workers} ~~they~~ are ~~shut in~~ ^{shut in} and ~~bound~~ ^{bound} in the strong webs ^{which the} ~~the~~ big spider capitalism ~~has~~ ^{has} ~~woven~~ ^{woven} around them.

hemmed in
~~XXX~~

Political and economic power is one firm unity ^{the hands of} in ~~the~~ capitalists' ~~hands~~. Workers and socialists sometimes quarrelled ^{about} ~~what~~ was their real power, and ^{about their having} ~~whether they had~~ to fight capitalism ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ political

V. being merged

or ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ the economical field. These distinctions have only a meaning for the fight within capitalism. They are futile for the revolutionary fight, where all means of action form a unity against the unity of capitalist power. They are futile still more where State rule and industrial rule are ^{merged} together in the hands of few leaders.

Is there any way out? To find it we have to go to the root of these power ~~mechanisms~~ ^{structures.}

State Power, strictly speaking, is a group of officials and politicians. They form an organized minority, ^{governing} ~~ignoring~~ the ^{majority} ~~people~~ as a ^{power} ~~class~~ above the people, though originating from the people. Its power ^{consists} ~~is dependent~~, directly, in its strong organization. A strongly organized minority can always dominate an unorganized majority.

The policeman who clubs a striker, knows that ~~he~~ he obeys ~~the~~ orders of his superiors; he does his duty, and he is paid for it. The striker knows, that it is not a single man, who beats him; he knows that the whole government of the U.S. ~~is~~ stands behind that man. If he defends himself, more policemen come; if ~~they~~ cannot win, the whole army ^{can} be called ⁱⁿ; the authority of the State ~~is~~ is at ~~the~~ stake. The judge in court is not a single man against the strikers he condemns to jail; he represents Uncle Sam, and the whole State Power stands behind him. Not only with ^{its} physical force but with all its moral force too.

The State power is an organisation led and commanded by one common will. The decisions and ^{orders} ~~commands~~ of the chiefs of government ^{are} ~~are~~ obeyed and executed without hesitation, automatically, by ~~each~~ ^{every} official. ~~However~~ ^{the} a long tradition, fed by (necessity of capitalist rule,

has led to it
~~make~~ that every official, even without ^{orders} ~~commands~~, knows what he has to do in ~~case~~ daily work as well as in case of emergency. A common feeling of official solidarity, of ~~order~~ the necessity of authority and order, a common capitalist mode of thinking directs ~~the~~ will and action of ~~every~~ ^{every} official in line with the will of ^{the} central government. And it is strengthened to a moral force, to a high duty by ~~the~~ tradition, by education, by the feeling of ^{that for society the obedience of} ~~necessity of dominating~~ the masses. State Power and Authority are sacred, and ~~not~~ ^{to} attacking them is considered ^{the most} ~~an~~ execrable ^{crime} ~~crime~~, as ^{those wicked people} ~~the worst~~ sacrilege.

If, however, all this ^{should} ~~is not~~ suffice ~~to~~ withhold ^{from} ~~the~~ ^{populace} ~~the~~ state has its physical power. It has its army, a heavily armed minority group, bound by the still more rigid bonds of military discipline. By education from childhood, by drill, by fear the soldier ^{has been turned into} ~~is~~ a will-less tool in the hands of his ^{ready} ~~own~~ chiefs, even to murder his kindred and comrades.

This is the structure ~~of the mechanism~~ by which political power as a steel frame work upholds the society machine for producing and distributing wealth. Is there any possibility ~~of~~ ^{of} vanquishing such a strong structure?

(Certainly) There is. ~~The~~ A minority organization can be ~~be~~ ^{was able to} ~~vanquished~~ and destroyed by the organization of the majority. It ~~is~~ ^{form} ~~is~~ ^{an} ~~is~~ ^{an} unorganized mass of individuals. As soon as this mass becomes an organized mass it ^{must} ~~needs~~ grow stronger than any minority organization.

It is clear that ~~here~~ organization does not mean simply ~~an~~ ^{his} ~~a~~ member of some union or other body. This is only an ^{ward} ~~outward~~ form. Its essence is the discipline, the inner cement that ^{binds} ~~connects~~ the loose grains ~~elements~~ to a ^{solid} ~~solid~~ body.

Organization consists in inner qualities of mind and heart, and ~~organization~~ ^{only by better organization, by} is defeated ^{(better qualities of mind and heart.}
 Self-confidence and ^{the} custom of commanding ^{on the part of} the superiors, hope of reward,
 fear for punishment ^{on the side of} the inferiors, obedience, duty, faith, these are the
 moral qualities constituting the discipline of the ruling power. Clear
 knowledge of society ~~and~~ ^{of} class interests, unbreakable unity and solidarity,
 indomitable courage and self-sacrifice are the ~~main~~ ^{from the basis of} intellectual and
 moral qualities, ~~which~~ ^{form the basis of} the working class discipline ~~found~~.

Revolution is the conflict of these two ~~disciplines~~ ^{organizations}, in which the ~~proletarian~~
 working class discipline grows to such a degree that it outgrows and
 destroys the inner coherence of state power.

In each fight these two stand ^{in opposition to} ~~one another~~ ^{in the beginning}. In the beginning
 the workers coherence had ^{to come into being and} to grow up against the oppression of the capitalist
 class, ~~that~~ ^{that} (in vain tried) to destroy it. In strikes solidarity grows because
 the workers perceive that without it they ^{are bound to} ~~lose~~ ^{that it is their} ~~only~~ ^{only}
 chance to win. This virtue is felt and proclaimed as a high command of
 proletarian morals, the neglect of which brings shame and ~~disgrace~~ ^{dishonour}.

The protection of scabs by state ~~authorities~~ ^{officials} by arbitrary means
 destroys the respect for state authority in ~~strikes~~ ^{increasing} numbers
 of workers. ^{Crudgingly} ~~Crudgingly~~ the state must allow the workers' unions to fight
 the capitalist class by means of this new force of proletarian solidarity.

Now the fights grow larger and lead to big class conflicts. Great
 strikes by their extension become public, ^{they} become state affairs. The State
 tries to overawe the workers by ^{a display} ~~the exhibition~~ of its powers, and at the
 same time ^{to} ~~conciliate~~ ^{arbitration and} them by (small concessions. If the workers ^{do not} ~~let~~

Each strike is a bit of rebellion against the existing order, though with
 legal means, ^{as such, it} ~~and is treated~~ ^{is}

~~not~~ themselves ~~been~~ overawed, the state power must come into action.
 The aim is always to loosen the coherence of the workers, ^{and to dissolve them} ~~into~~ single
 individuals with different opinions and character. Therefore the common
 legal rights are actually, if not legally, suspended. The ordinary means
 of understanding, discussing, persuading are repressed by brutal methods.
 If ~~the~~ strikers ^{want to} ~~keep~~ ^{show} and ~~prohibit~~ ^{up} their unity and
 assemble in forbidden meetings, they have to stand against police attacks.
 If then their thousands ^{make a} ~~stand~~ ^{now inadequate} with firm determination ~~and~~ ^{ion}
 and do not yield the ~~small~~ ^{being it} police force is powerless. The State power
 is obliged to ~~bring it~~ ^{bring it} stronger forces into the field and to send soldiers.

Class
Theory
Time

Coming into being

Crudgingly

The same case occurs, when in a fight for political rights the working class, ^{carrying through} a forbidden demonstration overflows the streets in endless numbers. A strong conviction and a firm readiness to suffer and ^{to make} sacrifices for the ^{cause} is necessary to bring about such a demonstration of unity. ^{then in its turn it} exalts the ^{spirit} feeling of unity and the enthusiasm of the ^{workers} to a higher level, the police forces are powerless ^{to cope with} the fearless masses, and stronger forces of repression, the strongest power of the state, ^{needed} the army is ^{serve to} ^{the} reactions involved.

With the army, however, the same conditions ^{repeat} ^{repeat themselves} Against a rebellion ^{on a} ^{scale} limited ^{it is} a successful weapon; but ^{it stands over} against the mass of the people ^{that} fighting for its life necessities, matters are different. ^{The armed force} may shoot at masses filling the streets or ^{meeting} assembling in large meetings; but it cannot exterminate them.

The shooting means frightening the masses by killing some of them. If, however, the masses have such a great unity in their common ^{firm conviction} ^{of} ^{their} great aims ^{that they} do not disperse, ^{do not run away,} ^{panic-stricken,} ^{that, if they do, they always} ^{assemble} ^{anew,} then the aim of the rulers is missed. ^{On the contrary,} ^{the} coherence of their ^{army} is shaken. Military discipline can be put ^{no harder test} ^{than} to be ordered against peaceful masses standing ^{up} for a just cause. Once or twice they ^{soldiers} ^{may} obey, then they ^{cannot be relied upon any more.} ^{become} ^{unreliable.} ^{They} hesitate, they begin to think for themselves, they begin to ^{feel uneasy,} ^{seeing} ^{the} firm courage ^{on} the other side; still more ^{if} they are ^{informed} ^{about} the workers' ^{cause.}

that, if they do they

any more

Thus the strongest discipline dissolves the weaker discipline: ^{when they} ^{(measuring} ^{swords} ^{one} ^{with} ^{another)} ^{the} free spontaneous organization of

the working masses, if it ^{be} strong enough, is able to destroy the enforced discipline of the State's armed organs. This is the weak spot ~~point~~ of these sharpest power factors of the State: if really they are compelled to come into action against the ^{risings} new power of the working class, they become blunted.

So these great class conflicts ^{acquire} ~~take~~ a revolutionary character, ^{State Power,} ~~that~~ ^{is beginning to} ~~dissolve~~. In Europe, where the steel frame of capitalist dominion, ~~is beginning to~~ ~~dissolve~~. In Europe, where some dozens of nations are jammed together on a small continent, with immense hatreds and impending wars, political conflicts may most easily lead to revolution. Because the working class has to make ^{this revolution,} ~~big~~ ^{universal} ~~big~~ ^{political strikes,} ~~big~~ ^{big} strike movements, will be its prominent form. In America, where the richest and most arrogant capitalist class dominates a one-state continent, big strikes ^{in the first place} ~~may~~ ^{may} be expected to lead ~~to~~ ^{to} revolutionary class conflicts. The State may try to conciliate the workers by small concessions; but they cannot be conciliated for ever, and the fight will break out again. The State may try to repress a strike by force; then the workers ^{in defense} ~~will~~ ^{will try to} ~~enlarge it,~~ ^{and in this way.} ~~enlarge it,~~ ^{to augment} ~~enlarge it,~~ ^{to augment} their pressure upon capitalist society. They will try to make it more general, to make a ^{universal} ~~general~~ strike ^{in the end} ~~at last~~ ~~of the whole working class~~. ^{in each} ~~the workers fight~~ ~~trade~~ ^{and it} ~~separately and alone,~~ ^{against} ~~the whole capitalist class~~ ~~and the~~ ^{State Power,} ~~of course~~ ~~are~~ ~~defeated~~ ~~one~~ ~~trade~~ ~~after~~ ~~another,~~ ^{all,} ~~then~~ ~~naturally~~ ~~must~~ ~~come~~ ~~the~~ ~~idea~~ ~~to~~ ~~unite~~ ~~the~~ ~~forces~~ ~~of~~ ~~all~~ ~~the~~ ~~trades,~~ ^{and} ~~at~~ ~~the~~ ~~same~~ ~~time~~ ~~strike~~ ~~against~~ ~~the~~ ~~capitalist~~ ~~class~~ ~~as~~ ~~a~~ ~~whole~~. In these general fights of class against class all ~~distinction~~ distinction between political and economical fights has disappeared.

By trades,

A ~~general~~^{universal} strike usually breaks out for ~~some~~ special aim: to win a strike for one trade, or to defend or to ~~obtain~~^{obtain} an important political right. This aim may ~~be reached~~^{be reached} or may not (reached); ~~this fades~~^{this fades} into ~~the~~^{the} (background) ~~of~~^{when compared to} the unintentional effects. Just as in the world war the special ~~part~~^{part} objects of ~~general~~^{general} were forgotten in the great contest ~~of~~^{of} power in general. ~~In the same way~~

a universal strike immediately becomes primarily a measuring of strength of the classes.

Like other ~~methods~~^{fighting} of the workers a ~~general~~^{universal} strike ~~has the character~~^{only yet it} that it makes ~~only~~^{use of legal rights}, and ~~it~~^{has} stronger effects than an illegal rebellion. Hence it can not be ~~suppressed~~^{suppressed} by legal ~~means~~^{actions} of the ~~rulers~~^{rulers}. They can only try to weaken the force that enabled the strike, the fighting spirit, the unity, the ~~clear~~^{clear} determination of the workers. The state mobilizes all its forces against it as against a rebellion. ~~By~~^{By} exhibiting its military forces, its machine guns, it tries to break the courage; by prohibiting meetings it ~~tries~~^{tries} to isolate the individuals, and to break ^{up} their unity; by publishing false rumours on defeats of the workers in other towns it tries to ~~throw~~^{instill} uncertainty and doubt into their hearts; by publishing calumnies about atrocities ~~they~~^{they} it tries to detract part of the fighters. Hence the strike can only be won, if the unity, the clear insight, the courage, the independance ~~of the workers~~^{of the workers} (rise to such a height, that all these means cannot ~~reach~~^{attain} them).

A ~~general~~^{universal} strike means firstly a demonstration of the whole working class in ~~a fighting~~^{an} attitude ~~(In ordinary times all their energy is absorbed by their work, and only some night hours (their fatigued heads may be occupied with general interests, ~~of their class~~ Now they ~~quit~~ work; all their energy ~~is devoted to~~ the public cause, and ~~with~~ their utmost attention ~~they stand for~~ the interests of their class. This~~

mobilization of forces, alone means already a serious warning to the ruling class. It means at the same time a heavy blow to State Power; for it shows that the State ~~with~~ cannot ensure capitalist order.

~~More~~ More efficient ^{still} than this demonstration is its effect ~~on~~ on production. When the production apparatus is stopped the whole ^{of} society becomes paralysed. If the workers refuse to work society cannot exist. A ^{universal} ~~general~~ strike demonstrates to all classes that the workers are the direct masters of production.

Now the workers ^{constitute} ~~are~~ the chief part of society; so they cannot allow society to be paralysed for a long time. ~~They must live themselves.~~ They must live themselves. The aim of a ^{universal} ~~general~~ strike is never to starve society, but ~~to~~ only to put a heavy constraint upon the capitalist class and its central organ, the State Power. A capitalist government ~~not being~~ ^{very} able to check a general strike is like a government of olden times ~~not being~~ ^{that was not} able to crush a rebellion. It loses its authority, its self-confidence, its inner ~~solidity~~ ^{solidity}. Especially ~~by~~ ^{through} the ~~moral~~ moral effects of the workers' fight. Their demands, the motive of the fight, must appear just and right, even to many members of the capitalist class. Politicians and intellectuals will raise their voice ^{to proclaim} that ~~the~~ ^{of} ~~granting~~ these demands is to prefer ^{be} ~~to~~ ^{it to the risk} the danger of civil war. The unity of the ruling class is broken.

This is added to by

To this ^{are added} (The direct effects of the strike on the functions of government) A ^{general} ~~traffic~~ strike ~~may~~ ^{may} prevent the ^{transport} transport of soldiers, it ~~may~~ cuts off local ~~authorities~~ ^{authorities} from regular intercourse with the central ^{resorts} ~~institutions~~, it ~~may~~ paralyzes several functions of government. Emergency methods, ~~aircraft~~ ^{aircraft}, scabbing by capitalist volunteers may give some ^{relief} ~~relief~~, but cannot entirely ~~take away~~ ^{neutralise} these effects. Local and provincial officials

standing face to face ^{with} the difficulties, ^{reduced} ~~reduced~~ to their own resources, acting on their own responsibilities will try to ~~not~~ ^{not} compromise here, will use the heaviest violence at another place. The political power of the State ^{its organization is loosened,} is breaking up into fragments. The lower functionaries lose ~~the~~ ^{faith} in the power they represent, ^{they lose} ~~and~~ their self-confidence, its rigid discipline begins to dissolve.

Here we presuppose ^{Here is presupposed} (The case is taken here of) a strike, where the working class develops such ~~a~~ ^{complete} unity, discipline, ^{insight} ~~and~~ and firmness that it ^{comes out} ~~is~~ victorious; ^{we are considering} (here its effects, the mechanism ^{through which} it could win, ~~is~~ ^{it depends on the power} ~~is~~). Of course a ^{universal} ~~general~~ strike can be lost as well as won; history shows instances of both. There have been ^{universal} ~~general~~ strikes, ^{proclaimed} ~~declared~~ by the leaders to satisfy the fighting spirit of the masses, ^{and meant} ~~to~~ cease after some meddling with the capitalist class. There have been ^{universal} ~~general~~ strikes where the workers, trying to ^{attain} ~~reach~~ what was beyond their powers, had to break off the strike ⁱⁿ ~~complete~~ exhaustion.

If we ^{discuss} ~~study~~ ^{universal} ~~general~~ strikes we can only make use of the experiences of the past, what they ^{teach us} ~~show~~ about conditions and effects. ~~Certainly~~ They will ^{doubtlessly} ~~surely~~ play a much more important role in future; ~~but~~ ^{they will assume in the future,} ~~they will be~~ ^{are} ~~larger~~ ^{larger} (and more powerful, we can have only uncertain ^{the broadest of notions} ~~prognostications~~).

The working class has always created its new methods of action, ^{itself} ~~finding~~ them ~~out~~ according to ^{its} ~~their~~ needs and ^{its} ~~their~~ feeling of power. Theorists and writers could do no more than transfer the experience of ~~the~~ ^{warfare} ~~the~~ in the past, summarizing ^{them} (and explaining them) to the later generations.

^{A few} ~~Only a few~~ remarks must ^{yet} ~~be~~ added. A ^{universal} ~~general~~ strike ~~cannot~~ is not an event to happen once and as one tremendous ^{upheaval} ~~uprising~~ destroying

But then ^{however} concessions, new ~~but~~ "socialistic" governments, ^{embodying} their victory, but at the same time intending to stop the fighting, to arouse inner dissensions and to break their unity, may (restore temporarily) the capitalist power.

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state power and capitalist rule. It is not revolution itself but only an episode in a long process of revolution. It raises the power of the workers, because ^{it is that} their unity and their wisdom are increased, ^{just by the} ~~and at the same time~~ ^{and at the same time} ~~it diminishes~~ the power of capitalism. ^{So} ~~But always~~ over and over again ^{the fight} has to recur, ^{alternated or} combined with other modes of mass action, (always mightier, capitalist power cannot fall at one ~~stroke~~, ^{blow,} however heavy. ^{in the lurch.})

Owing to these ^{strong} ~~appeals~~

The capitalist class will not leave its state ~~alone~~. When the state, using its ordinary powers, cannot withstand ^{the} working class in ^{universal} ~~general~~ strike, ^{using} ~~and~~ its strict striking rights, then the deeper sources of capitalist power are brought into the field. If the army cannot be trusted, ^{groups} ~~young~~ ~~bands~~ of young capitalists, eager to fight the "reds", will replace them as a volunteer army, ~~increased by~~ ~~handicrafts~~ and with their money power they will organize armies of hooligans. With all brutal means of ^{ism) and} ~~terror~~ ^{(contrivances} ~~with~~ the most horrible modern war ~~materials~~ they will attack the workers. Their appearance tends to turn a peaceful strike movement into a civil war.

When, however, such forces come into the field, it confirms ^{very} ~~just~~ ~~the~~ ~~decay~~ of the ~~political power~~ State power as a separate ^{supreme} power factor that ~~acts as~~ ^{through} protector of the capitalist class ^{by its authority, its} ~~body~~ ^{embodiment} in law and order. It ~~must~~ ^{needs to} be protected itself; the new ^{forces} ~~powers~~ become independent powers, ^{directly rooted in the capitalist class.} ~~The~~ ~~stronghold~~ is crumbling; the defendants ~~must~~ rely on their own fighting force. ^{this force} It is still big enough; but ~~among~~ ^{them} its former power factors ^{are} reduced chiefly to ~~its~~ money power and to ~~its~~ ^{its} spiritual influence, the capitalist spirit of personal greed, of brutal oppression, of low servility living ^{skills} in large parts of the people. These forces are ^{strong} enough ^{to bring} ~~that~~ hard

to be the cause of
to occasion
to give rise to
to originate
to bring on

and fighting and heavy losses for the working class; but they are not sufficient to win ⁱⁿ the long run against the idealism, the ~~solidarity~~ growing unity, the radiant goal of the revolutionary process. The capitalist class will build up new political organizations, new forms of government, usurping the power and proclaiming ^{that} they stand for law and order. ^{In reality} ~~But they bear the~~ ^{character} ~~of~~ ^{is already that} organizations for disorder and lawlessness. ^{their inmost}

Indeed, ^{during} ~~by~~ ^{period of revolutionary} ~~epoch of class~~ ^{struggles} ~~progress~~ the picture has changed continuously. The working class, ~~standing as a unity in these~~ ^{forming one united whole in these struggles} ~~fight~~ ^{collectivity of} is growing ^{to} the position of the real society, the ^{working} people ruling itself and ruling society, ^{Whereas} ~~the~~ ^{are} the fighting forces of the capitalist class ^{growing} into the position of lawless ^{groups} ~~of~~ rebels, trying to disturb the new proletarian order by violence and murder. The ^{forms of} ~~organization~~ ^{forms of} ~~which~~ the working class has ^{been} ~~built up~~ ^{ing} in its fight, ^{now} ~~develops~~ ^{into} the organization forms of the new society.

Social revolution is the transfer^{ing} of supremacy in society from an old ruling class to a new class. Its characteristic feature is the downbreak of the power institutions of the old class. Its political organization ^{is} ~~crumbles~~ ^{to} nothing; is dissolved and disappears. The people stands as the master of society.

In ^(history European) ~~capitalist revolutions~~ ^{something similar} ~~of the kind~~ happened several times in capitalist revolutions; the ~~people~~ ^{working masses} stood as masters, ^{by street fights or strikes} ~~after they had~~ ^{in street fights or strikes.} dispersed the government power. But they could not always remain in the streets or ^{on} ~~in~~ strike; ~~they had to~~ after the victory they had to go to work again. So their momentary fighting ^{their mass power vanished} ~~unity~~ ^{vanished}; they changed back to a number of isolated groups or

persons. Then a new ascending capitalist group could easily form a new government, in line with the needs of ~~the rapid~~ production. The difference with the ^{coming} (communist revolution ~~is~~) is that then the workers will hold ^{the} power firmly in their hands. This is only possible by means of the new ~~form~~ ^{the working class} organization forms ^{they have} built up during ~~its~~ ^{its} fight. They ^{constitute} are the constructive side of the revolution.

Revolutions were always the constructive moments in human history. ~~Contrary to~~ ^{Contrary to} (the legend, ~~that~~ ^{frightened}) which ~~reactions~~ ^{reactions} try to make believe, that revolutions are only destructive, history shows that all great progress in political and social institutions is made or started in revolutions. ^{Firstly because} ~~the~~ ^{power of} (the ~~strong~~ ^{resistance of} ~~the~~ ^{old} ~~class~~ ^{that} ~~profiting~~ ^{ed} from the old institutions ^{has been} ~~is~~ removed. ~~And~~ ^{Then} also because the ^{constructive} force of men has ^{grown} ~~increased~~.

In revolution mankind seems ^{to be turned} ~~to~~ ^{into different} ~~other~~ beings. The ~~high~~ ^{extreme} demands of the fight, ^{from the scales between,} ~~where~~ ^{where} ~~victory or annihilation~~ ^{are decided by the} ~~are~~ ^{highest} ~~are~~ ^{pitch.} ~~where~~ ^{where} mental and moral qualities, ~~raises~~ ^{raises} those qualities to the ~~highest~~ ^{highest} ~~pitch.~~ ^{pitch.}

With mind and heart in the utmost tension ~~they perform~~ ^{man is capable to} brilliant deeds of high courage. New ideas arise ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ the ~~men~~ ^{men} minds; with daring spirit ~~they~~ ^{men} (create their new material and mental world, thinking thoughts they never had dared to dream, ^{shedding} ~~throwing off~~ ^{shedding} their old traditions as dead scales, building up ~~their~~ ^{their} new social institutions. The workers revolution ~~is~~ ^{is} in all these points ~~exceeds~~ ^{exceeds} former revolutions, and moreover binds men ⁱⁿ to the strongest unity, ~~and~~ ^{and} enlightens them to the ^{utmost clarity} ~~fullest~~ ^{fullest} ~~clearness~~ ^{clearness} of mind, and builds up a new organization of society, the expression and the warrant of its lasting freedom and unity.

~~It is to these forms of~~ ^{that we must now turn our eyes.} ~~we have to look to these organizations~~ ^{we} ~~as~~ ^{now} ~~we~~ ^{turn} ~~our~~ ^{eyes} ~~to~~ ^{to} these forms of organization that we must ~~look~~ ^{look}.

The Workers' Councils

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In these revolutionary fights the working class ~~wants~~ ^{needs} organization. Not only in the sense, now, of ^aspiritual force, the spirit of organized action, but in the sense of a visible form, a form of organization. When great masses have to act ^{as a unit} ~~after one~~ ^{according to one} common will, ~~they~~ ^{such a} mechanism is ^{needed} ~~necessary~~ for understanding and ^{discussion} ~~discussion~~, for ^{the} ~~proclaiming~~ ^{of} actions and ~~the~~ aims, for ~~collecting~~ and ~~giving~~ ^{the taking} ^{issuing} of decisions.

This does not mean, of course, that all great actions, ^{and universal} ~~great~~ strikes are ~~carried out~~ ^{carried out} with soldierlike discipline after ^{the} ~~decisions~~ of a central board. Such cases will occur, certainly. But ~~they will occur more often through~~ ^{they will occur more often through} their eager fighting spirit, ^{their} ~~by~~ solidarity and passion, masses ^{will} break out in strikes, ~~having~~ ^{with no} ~~plan~~ to help their comrades or to protest against some capitalist atrocity, ~~without~~ ^{with no} general plan, in passionate revolt; and ~~then~~ ^{will spread} such a strike (like a prairie fire ~~runs~~ ^{spreads} all over the country. In the first Russian revolution the strike waves went up and down; ~~the~~ ^{if it were} most successful ~~was~~ ^{that had} ~~not~~ ^{been} decided in advance, ~~while~~ ^{whilst} strikes that had been ~~proclaimed~~ ^{proclaimed} by central committees, often failed. Nevertheless, also in ~~such~~ ^{such} cases the strikers, once ~~in~~ ^{they are fighting} ~~fight~~ ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~come~~ ⁱⁿ ~~touch~~ ^{contact} and ~~to~~ ^{understanding} ~~to~~ ^{in order to unite} ~~unite~~ ^{man} organized force ~~what~~ ^{what} ~~spreads~~ ^{spreads} up spontaneously. Here a difficulty ^{presents itself} ~~is~~ ^{without} strong organization, ^{(joining forces and} ~~without~~ ^{without} ~~uniting~~ ^{uniting} ~~them~~ ^{binding} ~~them~~ ^{binding} ~~into~~ ^{into} one solid body, their actions ~~into~~ ^{into} one common deed, they cannot win against the strong organization of capitalist power. But when thousands and millions of workers are united in one body, this can only be managed by ~~officials~~ ^{acting} ~~as~~ ^{as} representatives of the members. And we have seen ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~then~~ ^{these officials} ~~they~~ ^{they} become masters of the organization, with ~~special~~ ^{special} ~~their~~ ^{their} ~~own~~ ^{own} interests different from the revolutionary interests of the workers.

Joining forces and uniting

How can the working class in revolutionary fight ~~be~~ unite ~~it~~ its force into a big organization without falling into the pit of officialdom?

The answer is ~~clearly~~ given by putting another question: ^{if all that} ~~the~~ workers ^{do, is to} pay their fees and ^{to} obey when their leaders ^{order} ~~call~~ them out and ^{order} ~~call~~ them in, are they then really fighting themselves ~~the~~ fight for freedom?

Fighting for freedom is not: letting your leaders think for you and decide, ^{and following} ~~obediently~~ ^{obediently} behind them, or ^{from time to time} ~~sometimes~~ scolding them. Fighting for freedom is ^{partaking to the full of one's capacity,} ~~with all powers to be applied,~~ thinking and deciding ^{for one} ~~oneself~~, taking all responsibilities as a self-relying individual, amidst equal comrades.

~~It is true that~~ ^{It is true that} ~~for oneself,~~ ^{for oneself,} to think out what is true and ^{right} ~~good~~, with a head dulled ^{by} ~~fatigue~~, is the hardest, the most difficult ^{task, it is} ~~thing~~, much harder than to pay and to obey. But ~~it~~ is the only way to freedom. To be liberated by others, who ^{leadership} ~~are~~ the essential part of the liberation, means ^{the getting} ~~to get~~ ^{of} new masters instead of the old ones.

Freedom, the goal of the ^{workers} ~~working class~~, means that they ^{shall be} ~~are~~ able, man for man, to manage the world, to use and ^{deal with} ~~control~~ the treasures of ^{the earth} ~~resources~~ so as to make it a happy home for all. How can they ensure this if they are not able to conquer and defend ^{this} ~~themselves~~ themselves?

The proletarian revolution is not simply ~~conquering~~ ^{the} vanquishing of capitalist power. It is the rise of the whole working people out of dependence and ignorance ^{into} independence and clear consciousness of ~~themselves~~ ^{how to make their life} ~~themselves~~ ^{is} ~~that~~ ^{that} (they are able to ~~beat~~ ^{crush} ~~it~~).

~~This is that enable them to overthrow capitalist power.~~

~~destroy as army with smaller crush fell~~

True organization, as the workers ^{need} ~~want~~ it in the revolution, implies that every ^{one} ~~body~~ takes part in it, ~~with~~ body and soul and brains,

that every one ^{that every one} ^{ship} takes part in leading ^{and} as well as in action, has to think out, to decide and to perform ^{to the full of} ~~with~~ his capacities. Such an organization is a body of selfdetermining people. There is no place for professional leaders. Certainly there is obeying; everybody has to follow the decisions, which he himself has ^{taken part in making.} ~~made~~. But the full power ~~is~~ always rests with the workers themselves.

Can such a form of organization be realized? What must be its structure? It is not necessary to construct ^{it} or think ^{it} out. History has already produced ^{it} ~~this form~~. It sprang into life out of the practice of the class struggle.

Its prototype, its first trace is found in ^{the} strike committees. In a big strike all the workers cannot assemble in one meeting. They choose delegates to act as ^a committee. ~~They choose delegates~~ Such a committee is only the executive organ of the strikers; it is continually in touch with them, and has to ^{carry out} ~~execute~~ the decisions of the strikers. Each delegate at every moment can be replaced by others; ~~therefore~~ never such a committee becomes an independent power. In such a way common action as one body ^{yet} can be secured, and ~~all~~ the workers have all decisions ~~in~~ in their own hands. Usually in strikes the ~~decisions~~ uppermost lead ~~is~~ is taken out of the hands of these committees by the trade unions and their leaders.

In the Russian revolution, when strikes broke out irregularly in the factories the strikers chose delegates which, for the whole town, ^{or for an industry or railway over the whole state or province,} assembled to bring unity into the fight. They had at once to discuss political matters because the strikes were directed against Czarism, and to assume political functions. They were called soviets, councils.

~~deduct~~

In these soviets ^{all the details of the} ~~the whole situation,~~ ^{of} all the workers interests, all political events were discussed. Continually ~~the~~ delegates went to and fro between the assembly and ^{in the factories and shops} ~~their factories;~~ ^{where} the workers in general meetings discussed the same matters, took their decisions and often sent new delegates: Able socialists were appointed ^{as} secretaries, to give advice based on their ^{wider} ~~broader~~ knowledge. Often these soviets ~~manually~~ had to act as political powers, as a kind of primitive government when the Czarist ^{power was paralysed, when} officials and officers did not know what to do and left the field to them.

Thus ~~the~~ ^{at these} soviets became the permanent centre of the revolution; ^{they were} ~~it was~~ constituted ^{by} delegates of all the factories, striking or working. ^{They} ~~it~~ could not think of becoming an independent power; ^{the} ~~its~~ members ~~changed~~ ^{were often,} and sometimes the whole soviet was arrested and had to be replaced by new delegates. Moreover they knew that all their force was rooted in the workers' ~~will~~ ^{will} to strike or not to strike; ~~and~~ often their calls ~~were~~ were not followed, when they did not ^{concur} ~~agree~~ with the workers feelings of power or weakness, of passion or prudence.

After consistent
has learned from
experience on

So the ~~soviet~~ ^{system} soviets ^{proved} (the appropriate ^{form of} organization ~~for~~ ^{at once} for a ~~revolutionary~~ revolutionary working class. In 1917 it was ^{adopted in Russia} immediately, and everywhere workers' and soldiers' soviets came into being and were the driving force of the revolution.

The complementary proof was given in Germany. In 1918, after the ^{and soldiers'} ~~downbreak~~ of the military power, workers' councils, ~~in the factories~~ ~~and~~ in imitation of Russia, were founded. But the German workers, full of social democratic ideas of republic and reform as the next political aims, educated in party and union discipline, ~~chose~~ ^{chose} their party- and union-officials as delegates into these councils. It is natural that ~~the~~ ^{the} Council ^{was} ~~was~~ ^{chosen} ~~chosen~~ as soon as possible. ^{such as this} ~~such as this~~ ^{then} ~~then~~ ^{abdicating for} ~~abdicating for~~ ^{to} ~~to ^{be} ~~be~~ ^{chosen} ~~chosen~~ as soon as possible.~~

such as this

When fighting and acting themselves they acted and fought in the right way; but ^{from} ~~by~~ lack of self-confidence they chose leaders ^{filled with} ~~filled with~~ capitalist ideas, and these always spoilt matters.

If the workers are not far enough advanced yet to see the way of revolution, if they are satisfied with the leaders doing all the work of ^{speechifying} ~~speechifying~~ and mediating and ^{bargaining} ~~negotiating~~ reforms within capital. 255/124

Here it ^{became evident} ~~is clear~~ that the council system is the appropriate form of organization ^{for} ~~only~~ for a revolutionary working class. ^{the workers} ~~it~~ do not intend to ^{go on with the} ~~make a~~ revolution ^{they} ~~it~~ had no use for soviets.

If the workers are not ^{in the degree} ~~far~~ enough advanced ^{yet} ~~to see the way of revolution,~~ if ^{when they} ~~are~~ ^{satisfied} ~~are~~ with the ^{content} ~~content~~ of the leaders' ^{all} ~~work~~ of ^{speechifying} ~~speechifying~~ and ^{mediating} ~~mediating~~ and bargaining for reforms within capitalism, then parliaments and party- and union congresses - called workers parliaments, because they work after the same principle - ~~are~~ ^{are} all they need. If however, they fight with all their ~~own~~ energy for revolution, ~~and~~ they take part ^{with} ~~in~~

This implies that workers' councils cannot be ^{formed} ~~made~~ by revolutionary groups. Such groups can only propagate the idea, by explaining to their fellow workers the necessity of councils organization ^{when} ~~the~~ working class as a self-determining power fights for freedom. Councils are ^{only} ~~the~~ ^{form of} ~~organization~~ ^{for} ~~for~~ fighting masses, for the working class as a whole, not for ^{revolutionary} ~~open~~ groups ^{or} ~~or~~

leaders and ^{rebel} ~~become~~ ^{against the unions and} ~~rebels~~ ~~at~~ these leaders.

In a ^{universal} ~~general~~ strike ^{are} ~~the~~ the functions of these committees ^{enlarged} ~~enlarged~~. Now delegates of all the factories and plants have to discuss and to ^{decide} ~~decide~~ about ^{the} ~~all~~ the conditions of ^{the} ~~fight~~; they will try to regulate into consciously ^{projected} ~~projected~~ devised ^{actions} ~~actions~~ all the ^{fighting} ~~fighting~~ power of the workers; they ^{must} ~~will~~ have to see how ^{they will} ~~react~~ upon the governments measures, the ^{movements} ~~movements~~ of soldiers or capitalist ^{gangs} ~~gangs~~.

It is ^{from} ~~the~~ the workers ^{that the actual decisions come} ~~that the actual decisions come~~ ^{themselves by just} ~~themselves by just~~ by means of this very strike-action. ^{So they cannot but} ~~So they cannot but~~

It is from the workers that the actual decisions ^{must} ~~must~~ come by means of this very strike-action. They should therefore give these matters careful consideration.

~~the~~ in the councils only the summary, the fact is taken of all these decisions.

But the councils are the place where ~~the~~ ^{best points} the opinions, the will, the readiness, the hesitation or the eagerness, the energy and the ~~obstacles~~ ^{obstacles} of all these masses concentrate and combine ⁱⁿ to a common line of action. They are the symbols, the exponents of the workers' power;

but at the same time only the spokes men, ^{that can} be replaced at ~~any~~ ^{any} moment.

At one moment ^{At one moment they} ~~they~~ are ~~the~~ ^{to} outlaws ~~for~~ the capitalist world, and ^{than at the next they} have to treat as ^{no state} ~~confederate~~ equal parties with ~~against~~ the high functionaries of ~~the~~ government.

When the revolution develops ~~into~~ to such ~~of~~ power, that the State power is seriously affected, then the workers councils have ^{in a political revolution this is their first and chief function.} to ~~take~~ ^{take} political functions. They are the central bodies of the workers' power; they have to take all ^{measures to} ~~the~~ weaken and defeat the adversary; they have to look after a number of public affairs, which

assume possible

otherwise were state affairs: public health, public security, the ^{the most important and difficult task and concern of the work class in revolution.}

uninterrupted course

~~the~~ ^{uninterrupted} ~~course~~ of social life. They have to ~~take~~ ^{pay attention to} the whole ~~country~~ ^{the capitalist class} after the adversary, ~~as~~ ^{assemble or} ~~just as a~~ war raging power, ~~what~~ ^{to} ~~do~~ to recover its forces and subdue the workers. They are the ~~new~~ political organs of the workers' class, ~~which~~ ^{substituting} the crumbling political organs of the capitalist class.

carried out

A social revolution in history ~~is~~ never ^{began as} a simple change of political rulers ~~but~~, ^{who} ~~which~~ then, after ^{having acquired} ~~acquired~~ political power, ^{means of} ~~performed~~ the ^{already} ~~social~~ changes, by ~~new~~ laws. ~~Before~~ ^{Before} and during the fight ~~already~~ the rising class built up its new social organs, as new sprouting branches within the dead ^{husk husk} ~~of~~ the former organism.

In the French revolution the new capitalist class, the citizens, the ^{in each town and village} business men, the artisans built up ~~their~~ communal boards, illegal

like a power

at war they have to stand guard over the whole country, ^{controlling} ~~the~~ efforts of the capitalist class to collect and restore its forces, and to subdue the workers.

at ~~that~~ ^{the} time, ~~taking~~ ^{of loyalty.} usurping simply the functions of the powerless ~~functionaries~~ ^{of loyalty.} While their delegates ⁱⁿ discussed in Paris and made the new constitution, the ~~new~~ ^{actual} constitution ~~was made~~ ^{holding their political meetings,} was made all over the country by the citizens ~~the~~ building up their political organs, afterwards legalized by law.

In the same way ^{during} the proletarian revolution the new rising class creates its ~~new~~ ^{new} organization forms ^{step by step,} which ~~are replacing~~ ^{supersede} the old ~~parliamentary~~ ^{the old} State organization. ~~As parliamentarianism~~ ^{take the place of} The workers councils as ^{the} new form of political organization ~~take the place of~~ ^{take the place of} parliamentarism, the political form of capitalist rule.

Parliamentary democracy is considered by capitalist ~~writers~~ theorists as well as by social democrats as the perfect democracy, ~~the~~ ^{disguise} ~~which~~ conform to justice and equality. In reality it is only a ^{disguise} ~~garment~~ for capitalist domination, ^{and} ~~contrary to~~ justice and equality. ~~On the contrary~~ ^{It is} the council system that is the true workers democracy.

Parliamentary democracy is a foul democracy. The people ~~the~~ ^{are allowed to} ~~vote~~ ^{to} once in four or five years and choose their delegates; woe to ~~them if~~ ^{them if} ~~they~~ ^{then they} do not choose the right man; ~~for~~ only at the ~~polls~~ ^{polls} the voters can exert their power, thereafter they are powerless. The chosen delegates are ~~now the~~ ^{now the} ~~rulers~~ ^{of the people} (they make laws and constitute governments, and the people has to obey. Usually, by the election mechanism, only the big capitalist parties with their powerful ^{apparatus} ~~machines~~, with their papers, their noisy advertising have a chance to win. Real trustees of ~~the~~ ^{groups} discontented ~~of~~ seldom have

a chance to win some few seats

The principle of parliamentary representation is that the delegate in parliament ^{shall} act and vote ^{according to} his own conscience and ^{conviction.} ~~conviction.~~ ^{question, he should ask} ~~ask~~ If he acts on some point the opinion of his voters, ~~and~~ it is only his own ~~pre~~ ^{not} ~~responsibility~~ ^{people} ~~responsibility~~, the ~~responsibility~~ ^{of} people. The principle of the soviet system is just the reverse; the delegates express the opinion of the workers.

In the soviet system each delegate can be repealed at ~~any time.~~ ^{any moment} Not only ^{do} the workers continually remain in touch with the delegate, discussing and ^{for} deciding themselves, but the delegate is only a temporary messenger to the council assemblies. Capitalist politicians denounce this "characterless" role of a delegate, ^{in that he may} ~~to~~ have to speak ~~against~~ his personal opinion. They forget, that just ~~because~~ ^{only those will be} ~~because~~ there are no fixed delegates ^{whose opinion is} ~~sent~~ conform to the ^{workers'} ~~general~~ opinion.

~~Handwritten scribble~~

~~about~~
~~dwelling place~~

In the elections for parliament the citizens are grouped according to ^{voting} districts and counties, ^{hence that is to say according to} ~~according to~~ their ~~dwelling~~ place. Persons of different trades or classes, having nothing in common, ^{accidentally} ~~by chance~~ living near ^{to each other} ~~together~~, are combined into an artificial group which has to be represented by one delegate.

In the councils the workers are represented in their natural groups, according to factories, shops and plants. The workers of one factory or one big plant form a production unit; they belong together by their collective work, ~~by their~~ In revolutionary epochs they are ^{live under} ~~together~~ ^{have the same} ~~together~~ to interchange opinions, they ~~have~~ ^{live under} the same ~~conditions and interests~~ ^{immediate} conditions and interests; they must act together; the factory

When every individual took care of his ^{small} ~~own~~ ^{private} lot, then society, as their totality, ~~would~~ ^{went} right.

only a small part of the task of society. The most important part, the productive work, was the personal task of all the separate producers, the citizens as business men; it ~~required~~ ^{required} nearly all their energy and ~~care~~ ^{care}. The general regulations by law, ~~which were~~ ^{doubtlessly,} necessary conditions, ~~surely~~ ^{surely} but of minor extent, could be left to the care of a special group or trade, the politicians.

When every individual took care of his own small lot, then society as their totality went right. Care.

With communist production ~~just~~ the reverse is true. Here the all important thing, the collective productive work is the task of society as a whole; it concerns all the workers collectively. Their personal work does not claim their ~~entire~~ ^{whole} energy and ~~care~~ ^{care}; their mind is turned to the collective task of their ~~workshops~~ ^{factory}, to the still more collective task of society. The general regulation of this collective work, ~~is not a minor affair, but the most~~ ^{it is the vital} cannot be left to a special group of persons, ~~but it is the vital~~ interest of the whole working people.

There is another difference between parliamentarism and the soviet system: In parliamentary democracy one vote is given ^{every adult} to ~~each~~ ^{man} (and ~~each~~ ^{woman} sometimes), ^{on the strength of} their supreme, inborn right of belonging to mankind, as ~~is~~ ^{is} ^{so} (beautifully expressed) ^{in celebration speeches.} ~~while~~ ^{on the other hand,} in the soviets, only the workers are represented. Can ~~then~~ ^{then} the council system ^{be} said to be ~~really~~ ^{truly} democratic, ~~since~~ ^{if} it excludes the other classes of society?

The council system embodies the dictatorship of the proletariat. Marx and Engels ^{more than half a century ago} ~~in different times~~ explained that the social revolution ^{was to lead} ~~should lead~~ to the dictatorship of the working class as the next political form, and that this ^{essential in order to bring about} ~~was necessary to perform~~ the necessary changes in society. Socialists, thinking ~~not~~ ^{any} in terms of parliament ^{representation only,}

In the soviet system...

either tried to excuse, or to criticize ^{and} the ~~arbitrary~~ ^{injustice} ~~the~~ ^{arbitrarily} ~~exclusion~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{violation} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{of} ~~democracy~~ ^{of} ~~from~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{of} ~~polls~~ ^{of} ~~persons~~ ^{from} ~~because~~ ^{they} ~~belong~~ ^{to} ~~certain~~ ^{classes} ~~from~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{right} ~~polls~~ ^{polls}. ^{Now} We see ~~how~~ the development of the proletarian class struggle ~~produce~~ ^{produces} the organs of this dictatorship, the ~~councils~~ ^{soviets}. ⁱⁿ ~~a~~ ^a ~~natural~~ ⁱⁿ ~~way~~ ^a ~~way~~.

It is ~~clear~~ ^{certainly no violation of justice} that ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~councils~~ ^{councils}, as the fighting centres of a revolutionary working class, ~~do not contain~~ ^{include} ~~representatives~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~opposing~~ ^{ing} ~~class~~ ^{class}. And thereafter the matter is not different. In a ^{rising} ~~communist~~ ^{communist} society there is no place for capitalists; they have to disappear and they will disappear. Whoever takes part in the collective work is a member of the collectivity and ~~he~~ ^{he} takes part in the decisions; ~~he~~ ^{he} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~not~~ ^{not} ~~an~~ ^{an} ~~exploiter~~ ^{exploiter} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~robber~~ ^{robber}.

2) ~~Whatever~~ ^{Whatever} remains of the former exploiters and robbers ^{has} ~~no~~ ^{no} ~~vote~~ ^{no} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~regulation~~ ^{regulation} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~production~~ ^{production} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~which~~ ^{which} ~~they~~ ^{they} ~~take~~ ^{take} ~~no~~ ^{no} ~~part~~ ^{part}. ^{however, who} ~~Persons~~ ^{stand} ~~stand~~ ^{outside} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~collective~~ ^{collective} ~~production~~ ^{production}, ^{process} ~~process~~ ^{are} ~~automatically~~ ^{automatically} ~~excluded~~ ^{excluded} ~~from~~ ^{from} ~~influence~~ ^{influence} ~~upon~~ ^{upon} ~~it~~ ^{it}.

There are other classes in society, ^{that do} ~~not~~ ^{not} ~~directly~~ ^{directly} ~~belonging~~ ^{belonging} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~two~~ ^{two} ~~main~~ ^{main} ~~classes~~ ^{classes}. ~~small~~ ^{small} ~~business~~ ^{business} ~~independent~~ ^{independent} ~~artisans~~ ^{artisans}. ~~intellectuals~~ ^{intellectuals}.

To H — To make friends ^{with them} ~~or~~ ^{or} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~neutralize~~ ^{neutralize} ~~them~~ ^{them}, if ~~it~~ ^{this} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~possible~~ ^{possible} ~~without~~ ^{without} ~~impeding~~ ^{impeding} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~proper~~ ^{proper} ~~aims~~ ^{aims}, ~~or~~ ^{or} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~fight~~ ^{fight} ~~them~~ ^{them} ~~resolutely~~ ^{resolutely} ~~if~~ ^{if} ~~necessary~~ ^{necessary}, ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~find~~ ^{find} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~way~~ ^{way} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~dealing~~ ^{dealing} ~~with~~ ^{with} ~~them~~ ^{them} ~~with~~ ^{with} ~~equity~~ ^{equity} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~firmness~~ ^{firmness}, ~~will~~ ^{will} ~~be~~ ^{be} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~concern~~ ^{concern}, ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~a~~ ^a ~~matter~~ ^{matter} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~difficult~~ ^{difficult} ~~tactics~~ ^{tactics}, ~~for~~ ^{for} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~fighting~~ ^{fighting} ~~working~~ ^{working} ~~class~~ ^{class}.

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More than half a century ago Engels said that ^{through} ~~with~~ the proletarian revolution the state would disappear; instead of the ^{ruling over} ~~domination over~~ ~~men~~ comes the managing ^{ing} ~~of~~ of affairs. This was said at a time, when there could not be any clear idea about ~~how~~ how the working class would ^{come into} ~~take~~ power. Now we see the truth of this statement confirmed; in the process of revolution the old state power ^{will be} ~~is~~ destroyed. And the organs that take its place, the workers councils, ^{for the time being will} ~~certainly have~~ ~~still~~ important political functions ^{still} ~~in the first time~~, to repress the remnants of capitalist power; ~~but their political leading functions~~ ^{turns gradually into} ~~and the~~ ~~the nothing but the~~ ^{of} ~~economic functions~~ ^{collective process of} ~~managing the production process~~ ~~of goods~~ ~~for the needs of~~ ~~society.~~ Their political ^{function of governing,} however, will be gradually ^{turned into nothing but} ~~the~~ ^{function of governing,} the economic function of managing ^{the} ~~the~~ ~~collective process of~~ ~~production of goods for the needs of society.~~ ~~managing~~ ^{the} ~~collective process of~~ ~~production.~~ ~~(to produce~~ ~~of goods for~~ ~~the needs of society.)~~

By gradual steps mankind rose out of the animal state, where it ^{was} ~~depend~~ ^{ent} entirely on nature. The construction and improvement of tools was the basis of a steady increase of the product of its labor.

Before civilization, in the barbaric ^{stage} ~~state~~, agriculture and cattle breeding secured ^{them} a modest living. But men were still at the mercy of the forces of nature, entirely ~~fastened~~ ^{bound} to their small tribal communities, always at war. The world was full of supreme powers and enemies.

Civilization begins when with commerce, industry and richer agriculture the productivity of labor increases, so that ^(ruling class) can live on the surplus product. The exploitation of the laboring masses by the ruling few ^{constitutes} ~~is~~ the history of civilization.

^{Through} ~~the~~ ^{through} commerce and industry men, as artizans and merchants, ^{rise as} ~~become~~ independent individuals, free from the old tribal bonds, as self-determining, self-relying citizens. Art and science begin to grow.

Capitalism ~~unleashes~~ arises, the earth is discovered and ~~its~~ ^{its} treasures are exploited. The forces of nature are ^{closed} ~~discovered~~, and they are applied in the technical process of labor, in the increasing perfection of the tools, the ~~invention~~ ^{increased} machines, the working methods. And now, at an ^{ever} ~~always~~ increasing rate, with the ^{ever} ~~always~~ more rapid development of science and technics, ~~the productivity of labor~~ ^{by leaps and bounds} ~~increases~~ ^{ever} shoots up, ~~always~~ ^{it} steeper, in a tremendous expansion.

The whole world is conquered and ^{uprooted} ~~is~~ ^{conquered} (by capitalist industrialism). Mankind has built up a production mechanism ^{of which} that is ready to ~~melt~~ ^{in one world unit} ~~to~~ ^{unit} ~~world mechanism~~. But it cannot, ^{do so} because the capitalist ^{ers} ~~is~~ ^{are} directed by unrestrained individualism and blind greed, ~~is~~ ^{are} incapable ^{of} ~~to~~ handling it. And so ^{it} threatens to wreck the it

one general world in ~~total~~ destruction.

Until ~~the~~ ^{until} the working masses, the exploited class, grown up with capitalism, ~~at last~~ ^{at last} ~~conscious~~ ^{conscious} of their ~~own~~ ^{strength} and their ~~life necessities~~ ^{needs of existence}, take the ~~production~~ ^{mechanism} in their hands and ~~make it to~~ ^{turn it into} ~~the~~ ^{the} foundation of abundance and ~~freedom~~ ^{freedom} for mankind. Then for the first time man becomes master of ~~his~~ ^{his} own fate.

Threshold of the new era.

Capitalism brought ~~man~~ ^{man} to the ~~edge~~ ^{edge} of it. Because it made ~~him~~ ^{him} ~~the~~ ^{the} master of nature and its forces. But ~~they~~ ^{man} were not master of ~~their~~ ^{his} own nature. ~~They~~ ^{He} learnt to dominate physical forces. But ~~they~~ ^{he} could not dominate the psychical forces in ~~themselves~~ ^{himself}. ~~His~~ ^{His} independent individualism was in contradiction to the community of society. With ~~his~~ ^{his} greed and ~~his~~ ^{his} fear, ~~the~~ ^{his} egoism and ~~the~~ ^{his} passions ~~they~~ ^{he} destroyed ~~one another~~ ^{his fellow creatures} and kept the world in ~~miser~~ ^{a state of} misery.

Capitalism ~~lifted~~ ^{raised} man from ~~his~~ ^{his} primitive state to a high level. But only ~~his~~ ^{his} intellectual state. It left ~~the~~ ^{his} moral quality weak and low. Because egoism was a condition to success ^{a hard} (egoism was bred and ~~raised~~ ^{raised} by capitalism, ~~an indifference~~ ^{showing manifesting itself} against in a war of all against all.

Communism raises the moral quality of man to the highest ^{degree} ~~grade~~. Because ~~it~~ ^{this} is an absolute condition to success in the class fight against capitalism. Because ~~it~~ ^{this} is bred and fostered in the daily practice of communist production.

man master of his own nature.

Communism means: ~~that man has become~~ ^{man} ~~master~~ ^{are} ~~of~~ ^{of} their own nature. All ~~the~~ ^{his} faculties and energies are now ^{consciously} directed ^{towards} into one common aim. ~~They~~ ^{He} have learnt to dominate the psychical forces in ~~themselves~~ ^{himself}, in binding ~~their~~ ^{his} strong individuality into a stronger community feeling. So ~~the~~ ^{his} domination of nature becomes complete.

