

# TOWARDS A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT

—

The Communist Party  
& The Labor Party



Price : **THREEPENCE**

The Communist Party of Australia  
395 Sussex St., Sydney

1929

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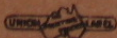
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## The Communist Party and The Labor Party

### INTRODUCTION

The present period in Australia is one of rapidly intensifying class struggle. The employers aided by the Arbitration Courts are conducting a determined offensive against the living standards of the working class. It is their intention if possible to bring down wages in Australia to the level prevailing in European countries. The miners, transport workers and timber workers have already been seriously affected. Preparations are now being made to continue the onslaught against workers in the metal and other industries.

In this offensive the workers can identify clearly the role of the Nationalist Government as the direct agent of the Australian and British employers. In co-operation with the imperialist Governments of Great Britain and other countries mass migration schemes are adopted (Bruce's £34,000,000 migration scheme, etc.), which serve only to augment the already vast army of unemployed and thereby provide the Australian employers with an additional weapon to use in the attack against working conditions. By means of the ban on working-class literature, the Crimes Act, the Anti-Trade Union Bill, etc., the Bruce Nationalist Government has restricted, to a degree hitherto unknown in Australia, the legal activities of the working-class movement and has deprived the trade unions of the right to strike—the most vital principle of the trade union movement. The enactment of the legislation compelling waterside workers to secure a licence to

work (the Transport Workers' Act), the gaoling of militant working-class leaders (Johnson and Dickenson), etc., have demonstrated the preparedness of the Nationalist Government to strengthen the attacks of the employers upon the workers with the whole force of the State apparatus.

In such circumstances, it is comparatively easy for the working class to recognise the class character of political parties and quite natural that many workers should look towards the Labor Party for a means to stem the capitalist offensive and assist them to maintain their standards of living.

To such workers it is confusing and bewildering to find that, instead of aiding the workers in their struggles, the Labor Governments are systematically betraying the workers and vying with the Nationalists in giving the utmost support to the employers. During the recent waterside dispute, the Labor Governments of Western Australia, Victoria and Queensland threw all their weight behind the employers. Under the Labor Government in Victoria, waterside workers were shot down in a melee with the police. In Queensland the attitude of the Government in protecting and herding strike-breakers resulted in the almost complete elimination of union labor from the waterfront.

In the face of such "shortcomings" on the part of Labor Governments, the workers of Australia must frankly ask the question: "What is the explanation of the contradiction between the actions of the various Labor Governments and the avowed objective of the Labor Party—the socialisation of industry?" The entry of the Communist Party into the electoral struggle in Queensland will give point to this question, the answer to which will explain not only the failure of Labor Governments but also the main differences between the Communist Party and the Labor Party.

## Futility of Parliament

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The ruling class can well afford to laugh at the vain efforts of the working class to use Parliament as a means to improve their position at the expense of the capitalists. While the capitalists remain in possession of the banks, fields, factories and workshops, etc., any "refractory" parliament may be easily bent to their will or removed from office. By virtue of their control of the means of production the capitalists in turn control the channels for moulding "public opinion" in its own interests. A tremendously powerful press and an army of prostitute journalists at the command of the capitalist owners disseminate a poisonous stream of anti-working-class propaganda.

To give organised expression to its will and to enforce it upon the workers, the capitalist class has built up a special State apparatus which functions continuously in the interests of capitalism, irrespective of the changing of parliamentary majorities which come and go. The most important sections of the capitalist State are the organs of force—the army, the navy, police and judiciary, etc.—with vast accumulations of laws which protect the private property of the ruling class. Similarly, the other State organs—the various government departments—dealing with trade, industry, education, etc.—have been developed into bulwarks of capitalism and are controlled by government "officials" who have innumerable ties binding them to the capitalist system through material interests and ideological training. Woe betide the Labor Party "Government" which attempts to interfere with the administration of the vital organs of the State apparatus! If it interferes in a serious matter,

endangering capitalism, then some capitalist Mussolini, De Rivera, or Pilsudski will sweep it from office; if in a comparatively trivial matter, such as the attempt of the MacDonal Labor Government in England to make an appointment for a position in the Admiralty, it is simply told to mind its own business.

Not only are Labor Governments incapable of utilising the State apparatus on behalf of the workers, but they find themselves at the mercy of the finance capitalists whenever money is required to be raised for administrative purposes. Fresh in the minds of Australian workers is the action of the imperialist financiers in 1921 when they frustrated the efforts of the Theodore Labor Government of Queensland to float a loan on the London market. This opposition was incurred by the Labor Government because it had dared to increase the rents on big pastoral leases previously held at a ridiculously low rental. It is significant that "statesmanship" reasserted itself and matters were adjusted to the satisfaction of the financiers.

The fundamental weakness of the Labor Party therefore lies in the fact that it is, first of all, a parliamentary party—that is to say, its chief aim is to secure a majority in the capitalist parliaments. It is hoped by the Labor Party that a majority in parliament will make possible a gradual and peaceful transformation of capitalist society into socialist or communist society; that through the vaguely outlined process of State control of industry, etc., the capitalist elements will quietly vanish from society, leaving a community of free and equal citizens. Thus the workers, according to the Labor Party, are to achieve everything by the peaceful and simple process of voting for Labor Party candidates.

The Communist Party rejects this reformist con-

ception of parliamentary democracy and declares unequivocally that the working class, to achieve its historic mission—the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism—must build up its industrial and political organisations for the purpose of enforcing its will upon the capitalist class through organised struggle. The Communist Party, therefore, maintains that the centre of gravity of the workers' struggles lies outside of parliament, in the industrial field; that parliament at the best can serve a loyal working-class representative only as a means for rallying and aiding the workers' struggle by unmasking and denouncing the enemies of the workers and destroying the illusions of parliamentary democracy. Thus the Communist Party makes clear to the working class that there is no easy path to socialism; that, as shown by social revolutions throughout history, the ruling class will not voluntarily surrender its power but, to the contrary, must be compelled to do so by organised struggle of the subject classes.

The world to-day gives numerous examples of the futility of parliament as a means of leading the working class out of the morass of capitalism. In Italy, Hungary, Poland, Spain, Roumania, Jugoslavia, Bulgaria, etc., where the decline of capitalism has greatly intensified the struggle of the classes, the capitalist class has thrown off the mask and assumed open and ruthless dictatorship, crushing the working-class movement with the utmost ferocity, murdering and imprisoning its leaders. In every case the reformist leaders of the working class played the same despicable role as our McCormacks, Hogans, Colliers, etc. The working class was fed on the promises and illusions of "peaceful" and "gradual" progress and was therefore unable to combat successfully the forces and fascist terrorism used by the employing class.

## Failure of the Labor Party

The inability of the Labor Governments to carry out their programme of reform in the face of capitalist opposition leads inevitably to their degeneration until we have seen, as in Queensland, the Labor majority in parliament openly deserting the working class and entering the camp of its enemies. Concerning even the most elementary demands of the workers (for recognition of the unions, for the right to strike, for increased wages, etc.) the Labor Government assumes more and more openly the role of agent of the capitalist class and violently opposes the workers. Increasing numbers of workers come to recognise that Labor Governments, as well as Nationalist Governments, are nothing more or less than management boards which carry on the current affairs of the capitalist State. **The history of the Labor Party in parliament is a record of political degeneration ending in political bankruptcy.**

The "palmy days" of the Australian Labor Party was the period when Australian capitalism, rapidly and prosperously expanding on the basis of internal markets, could well afford to grant petty concessions to the working class in order to ensure the peaceful and uninterrupted operation of industry.

The Labor Party in Australia at its inception could justly claim, to some extent, to voice the class interests of the workers. It was founded during a period of intense class struggle when serious defeats in the industrial field (the maritime strike of 1890) impelled the workers to seek redress through Parliament. This urge to parliamentary activity and the exaggerated importance attached to it at the time are clearly outlined in the following extracts from the reports of the N.S.W. Labor De-

fence Committee, published at the close of the 1890 strike:—

"A still more important lesson, learnt in the hour of defeat, is this: that whilst we must go on ever increasing our capacity for fighting as we have fought before, the time has come when trade unionists must use the parliamentary machinery that has in the past used them.

"Once the worker has determined, as he has determined, that the very basis of modern industry is antagonistic to his welfare—once he questions the right of any man to interpose a partition between himself and the fruits of his labor—he must set about the work of reform where it seems that reform can alone be obtained—and that is in parliament."

The concluding words of the report are:—

"This, then, is over and above all things the greatest lesson of the strike—that our organisations must become a means of education and constitutional power. Already it is half learnt. We have come out of the conflict a United Labor Party, destined amid all the hypocrisy of political life to brighten the lot of our children—if not our own lot."

It is the children of this generation which received the bullets and batons of the police of Hogan and McCormack.

The Labor Party in the various States ("Colonies") was formed on the initiative of the central trade union bodies—the Labor Councils, which for several years had possessed "parliamentary committees"—and under their direction electoral organisations were established. Considerable success was soon achieved, and the hopes and feelings of the workers ran high. In the N.S.W. Elections of 1891 there were thirty-six Laborites elected. Four Labor members were elected in Queensland in 1892; this number was increased to twenty in 1895. In 1903 the Labor Party became the direct opposition in N.S.W., and in the same year the Labor Party in Queensland became represented by Kidston in a coalition Ministry. In 1904 the first Commonwealth Labor Party Ministry was formed. Succeeding years witnessed a gradual strengthen-

ing of the Labor Party's position and the securing of majorities in all States. The return of the Ryan Labor Government in Queensland in June, 1915, commenced a term of Labor Governments which has not yet ended.

During the early years of the Labor Party in parliament, the adoption of petty reforms secured some alleviation for the workers, but nevertheless the essentially reactionary character of reformism was made apparent from the very beginning.

It was the Labor Party which pressed for the adoption of compulsory industrial arbitration, the logical development of which has been the sapping of the militancy of the workers and the shackling of trade unions with innumerable legal restrictions against their activities. The working-class movement, thus weakened, has been placed to a great disadvantage in the present capitalist offensive. A break with compulsory arbitration and a return to militant direct struggle is the urgent need of the trade union movement.

Again it was the Labor Party which magnified into a "social principle" and placed in the forefront of its programme the exclusion of all colored workers from Australia—the so-called White Australia policy—with its assumption of racial superiority. The Australian workers rightly fought against the employers who were enticing to Australia workers accustomed to a much lower standard of living and who consequently were being used as a means to lower the standard of living of the Australian working class. But this was a purely economic question based on fear of competition for jobs. For the reformists to assume that it was a matter of "inferior" and "superior" races and thereby to stimulate racial prejudices was to deal a most deadly blow at the working-class movement which demands the utmost solidarity of the workers of all lands and races for the realisation of socialism.

## The Queensland Labor Governments

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In more recent years the record of the Labor Party Governments and their repressive acts against the working-class movement are fresh in the minds of all workers. The Queensland Government in particular has taken its stand openly with the employers in all conflicts of importance.

In the Townville meatworkers' strike in July, 1919, the Labor Government's action in sending armed police against the strikers came as a great shock to many workers who had placed their hopes in the Labor Party. Those who were still optimistic regarding progress in the direction of socialism further received a shock when in 1922-3 the Labor Government, under Theodore, answered the demands of the capitalist class for Government economy, by reducing the wages of civil servants 5 per cent., and the basic wage from £4/5/- per week to £4 per week. (To be "fair," and share the sacrifice, the salaries of members of parliament were also reduced by 5 per cent., but later were increased by 10 per cent. as an allowance for travelling expenses. Later again the politicians increased their salaries by a "meagre" £250 per year.)

The ten days' strike of Queensland railway workers in August, 1925, in which the Labor Government adopted a viciously hostile attitude towards the workers, was another example of the futility of reformist policy and the role of the Labor Governments as agents of capitalism. The strike ended in victory for the workers to the extent that they compelled the Government to give back the 5/- which had been taken from their wages in 1922.

At the same period the Labor Government was

actively demonstrating to the waterside workers that it was out to defend the interests of the employers in opposition to the workers. The waterside workers were fighting for the rotary system of employment; the shipping combine refused to grant the rotary system to the Cairns and Bowen waterside workers, with the result that there was a complete hold up at these ports. The next step of the employers was to organise strike-breakers and armed force to use against the workers. The refusal of the Government to take action against these fascist elements which the employers organised will remain one of the blackest pages in the record of the betrayals of the workers by the Labor Governments.

A force of one thousand men recruited from the farming population invaded Cairns, and in collusion with the local capitalist elements instituted a reign of terror against the militant waterside workers. Houses were raided, workers were brutally assaulted in the streets and others were chased out of the town. The home of the president of the Union branch was raided, and at the point of the revolver he was made to resign from his position. What happened in Cairns was repeated on a lesser scale in Bowen; again the same sinister role was played by the leading members of the Labor Party in the locality.

Needless to say, the struggle of the waterside workers was smashed, but a valuable lesson regarding Labor Governments had been learned by the workers. It must here be remembered that McCormack, the Labor Premier, is the parliamentary representative for Cairns, where the terrorism was severest, and that after the struggle a telegram from McCormack to the reactionary secretary of the waterside workers of Bowen was discovered by the rank and file; in this telegram he stated that if the waterside men refused to work

ships loading sugar he would give protection to primary producers (fascist farmers) if they desired to work on the wharves.

Again in 1927 the Labor Government was to show its hand. The year opened with the struggle of Queensland building workers for the 40-hour working week. The Labor Government locked out its absent employees as did the private employers. **"We are fighting the unions,"** said the anti-working-class Labor Premier, speaking for the Government. The unions involved were deregistered from the Arbitration Court, and the Government refused to give any form of relief or sustenance to members of these unions and their families. Defeat ensued for the building workers, due largely to the strike-breaking tactics of the Labor Government.

**"Scab or be sacked"** was the slogan of the Labor Government in its ultimatum to railwaymen which resulted in the lockout of 1927 during the South Johnstone sugar workers' strike. The South Johnstone sugar workers had struck on the principle of resistance to victimisation. Armed police were immediately sent by the Labor Government into the strike area to protect the blacklegs in the fields and the mill. Jack Hynes was shot dead by a tool of the employers while on picket duty in the South Johnstone area; (by "proclamation" the workers had been relieved of all arms in their possession). The Labor Government insisted that the railway workers should transport the "black" sugar. This the railway workers loyally refused to do, and the lock-out resulted.

**"Labor must govern"** and **"the oath of office is above the pledge given to the workers"** were two of the many traitorous statements made by the Labor Government during this lock-out of 18,000 railway workers. As was to be expected, the capitalist press of Australia and Britain loudly applauded the actions of the Labor Government; they had good



reason to do so. (The Brisbane "Courier" referred to McCormack as "Our Commander-in-Chief"). The solidarity of the workers defeated the avowed intention of the Government to smash the Queensland branch of the Australian Railways Union.

## Challenge of the Communist Party

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This record of the Queensland Labor Governments is no mere accident which can be remedied by "honest" Labor Party parliamentarians. It is the inevitable working out of the reformist policy of the Labor Party, which ends in bankruptcy. In every country under capitalism the progress of reformism has given the same results. The degeneration of reformism has been proceeding step by step with the decline of world capitalism.

From a condition of healthy and expanding capitalism, well able to grant petty reforms and small concessions to the working class, we have advanced into the stage of capitalist imperialism, of giant trusts and combines—into the period of intense rivalry for possession of the shrinking world markets, of corresponding rivalry in armaments between the great powers, and of world war in which millions of lives are sacrificed in the sacred name of profits. We have entered the period of rationalisation—the intensive technical improvement of organisation and methods of production—with its consequent vast increase in the army of unemployed and hardship and want for the working class.

The new conditions are fatal to reformism, whose apostles wildly clamor for class peace while the class struggle becomes more and more intense.

In Australia as a whole, and particularly in Queensland, the working out of the programme of reformism has reached a stage where history formulates the following question for the working class: "The Labor Party has consistently betrayed the workers while occupying the government benches; it has attacked and still is attacking the workers, resisting their most elementary demands (e.g., agreement with Bruce Government in the transport workers' struggle), thus definitely allying itself with the capitalist class; what challenge can then be made in order to give the workers some organised articulate expression of their indignation and their disgust with reformism, and at the same time to rally them not only for their immediate needs but also for revolutionary struggle against capitalism?"

There can only be one answer to this question—support for the revolutionary party of the international working class (the Communist Party) which fights not only the Nationalist Party, the openly avowed Party of capitalism, but also the treacherous Labor Party lackeys of capitalism, the McCormacks, Langs, Hogans, Colliers, etc.

Already it has become manifest that the dissatisfaction of the workers with the reformist policy, programme and tactics of the Labor Party is very widespread, particularly in Queensland where the workers have had most experience of Labor Governments. In the various States many important unions have withdrawn their affiliation from the Labor Party. The withdrawal of these trade unions from the Labor Party has resulted from a general move to the left, towards a more militant, fighting policy, arising out of disillusionment with Labor Party reformism. In the selection ballots to choose Labor candidates for the various constituencies, the growing activity of the more militant elements amongst the rank and file of the Labor Party in-

dicates a developing opposition and revolt against the reactionary leaders of the Labor Party. (In Queensland the triennial Conference of the Labor Party clearly demonstrated that opportunity for democratic expression from the rank and file is very small and getting more and more difficult. The Labor Party machinery is coming more and more under the domination of the reactionary, bureaucratic leadership.)

The lead given by the Communist Party for the setting up of electoral committees composed of the broadest and most representative working-class elements for the purpose of assisting the candidature of Communist Party and independent militant working-class candidates in the Queensland elections has met with a wide and sympathetic response from the workers of Queensland. These committees will consist of representatives from unions affiliated and unaffiliated to the A.L.P., Labor Leagues which are in opposition to the reactionary leadership of the A.L.P., representative bodies such as Labor Councils, Minority Movement Groups, Communist Party Groups, individual militants, etc.

### The Question of the United Front

It may be asked by many workers when the Communist Party enters the election lists: "Why has the Communist Party decided to repudiate the 'United Front'? Why run candidates now when previously you have supported the Labor Party at election time?"

It is desirable that possible misconceptions about the "United Front" be cleared up definitely. The United Front was the tactic adopted by the Communist Party for the purpose of rallying the workers upon a single front **in the immediate struggle against capitalism**. As part of the effort to secure a united front, the Communist party fought for the

right of affiliation with the Labor Party, which claimed to be a party in which all schools of working-class thought could co-operate. The Communist Party was willing to work democratically within the A.L.P., retaining the right of propaganda and criticism. Unity was not to be with the reformist leaders, the politicians, but with the workers who still supported the A.L.P. but were prepared to wage the class struggle.

The Labor Party bureaucratic leaders soon realised that class collaboration and class struggle cannot go hand in hand, and they broke the united front. In 1925 the A.L.P. Federal Executive imposed the ban against Communists. In the same year, without waiting for Convention endorsement, the Queensland A.L.P. Executive instituted an anti-communist pledge which meant the expelling of Communists who were members of the A.L.P. and their exclusion for the future. The Communists were expelled accordingly, despite widespread protest from affiliated trade unions and electoral branches.

When eventually the Communists were ousted, the heresy hunt against other militant fighters was operated in earnest. Rymer and Moroney of the A.R.U. were excluded from the Labor Party Executive and later from the Southport Convention because they refused to bow to the reactionary leaders and sign the anti-communist pledge. This led ultimately to the withdrawal of the A.R.U. from affiliation with the Labor Party. Other militant workers were prevented from participating in the plebiscite for the selection of candidates for Parliament.

For the reactionary leaders of the Labor Party to charge the Communist Party with having broken the united front is so much hypocrisy and should be treated as such by all loyal workers. The cast-

ing out of the militants and Communists; the discarding of every semblance of militant working-class demands from the programme of the A.L.P.; the Labor leaders' threat to introduce a "Crimes Act" to deal with Communists and "disrupters;" and the constant betrayal of the workers whenever the opportunity occurs—these actions show clearly that it is precisely the reformists themselves who have broken the united front and done everything else in their power to destroy the unity of the working class in the face of the capitalist offensive.

The united front is not broken by the Communist Party, rather it is developed and given greater significance, by the decision to unite with the general workers' opposition on the electoral field against the open enemy—the leaders of the Nationalist Party—and the masked enemy—the McCormacks, Forgan Smiths, etc.

It is apparent, then, that the present conditions fully justify and demand the Communist Party's policy of sharper criticism of the Labor Party and organised opposition to those of its leaders and members who have deserted the struggle of the workers and thrown in their lot with the ruling class.



## Immediate Demands

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The Communist Party is organising the opposition of the workers to the anti-working-class Labor governments into a definite form, not by creating a new reformist party—which would inevitably degenerate like the Labor Party because of its subjection to the same reformist illusions—but by rallying all the discontented and disillusioned elements and class-conscious workers around a fighting programme of immediate working-class demands, thus advancing the class struggle and bringing the most advanced workers nearer to the Communist Party.

These immediate practical demands must necessarily serve as the acid test for all representatives of the working class. All professed "Labor" and working-class candidates who refuse to support these demands must be unhesitatingly rejected by the working class as unworthy to act as their representatives. The acceptance of these demands can alone be the basis for support in the elections.

Demands which would serve the purpose outlined above must necessarily include:—

### Repudiation of Reformist Traitors

- (1) Repudiation of the past policy of the various Labor Governments.

### Removal of Restrictions on Trade Unions.

- (2) Abolition of the Arbitration Court and the elimination of State interference in industrial disputes.
- (3) Immediate repeal of all State legislation which restricts in any way the activity of the trade union movement.

- (4) Police and military not to be used against the workers during strikes and lockouts.

#### **Social Insurance**

- (5) Genuine social insurance which will guarantee to all wage workers their full wages during sickness or accident; the full cost to be met by the employers.
- (6) Payment at full basic wage rates to all workers when unemployed; no contributions to be made by the workers.

#### **Hours and Wages**

- (7) A maximum working week of 40 hours (a 30-hour week for miners).
- (8) A minimum basic wage of £5/10/- per week for workers of both sexes.
- (9) Payment for all public holidays and a fortnight's holiday on full pay.

#### **Safety in Industry**

- (10) The provision of the latest technical devices for safety in mines and industry.

#### **Education**

- (11) The extension of the system of State education to include training for industry and agriculture, such training to take the place of the present apprenticeship system; all students to be maintained by the State.
- (12) Extension of the school-leaving age to 18.

#### **Farmers and Rural Workers**

- (13) Wages and conditions of agricultural and pastoral workers to be equal to those of industrial workers.
- (14) Relief and assistance to be given to small farmers, including a moratorium on their mortgages to financiers and the Government.

## **Aims of the Communist Party**

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The statement of immediate demands is by no means a final statement of Communist Party policy. We have made clear that no programme of reform can be sufficient for the needs of the working class, that the workers are faced with no other alternative than the overthrow of capitalism.

The final aims of the Communist Party therefore involve the seizure of the means of production by the workers and simultaneously the overthrow of the political power of the capitalist class and the setting up of a real Workers' Government.

In every State parliament and in the Commonwealth parliament there have been Labor Governments. Can any claim be made that these governments were real Workers' Governments? Without exception the records of the various governments may be given to prove the statement of the Communists that Labor governments are only disguised capitalist governments, tolerated by the capitalists in order to dupe the workers and with the aid of corrupt leaders to divert and obstruct the onward movement of the working class. Is it not clear to all reasoning workers that, after the Labor Governments' fourteen years of office in Queensland, the capitalist class is just as strongly entrenched as ever—that in actual fact capitalism has become strengthened.

A real Workers' Government can only mean a government in which the working class is all power-

ful—a working-class dictatorship, in place of the existing capitalist dictatorship.

All forms of the State represent class dictatorship; the slave State—the dictatorship of slave owners; the feudal State—the dictatorship of the feudal lords; and the modern capitalist State—the dictatorship of the capitalist exploiters of wage labor. The subject classes in all periods of history have been driven to overthrow the ruling class and set up their own forms of class dictatorship—the State organisation suitable to their own needs.

A real Workers' Government already exists—the Soviet Government—in Russia where the workers have deprived the capitalist class of all political power and have established a working-class dictatorship.

The modern capitalist State and parliamentary institutions which permit the workers once every few years to elect individuals to parliament to look after the interests of capitalism represent a form of democracy—bourgeois or capitalist-class democracy—which actually gives the working class no political powers. The Soviet State or working-class dictatorship represents a new form of democracy—working-class democracy—which gives to every worker a voice and opportunity for participation in the political life of the country.

Under a real Workers' Government the electoral system is based not on the place of residence but on the place of employment (factories, workshops, etc., as constituencies). This form of election and the right of recalling delegates when found to be unsatisfactory bring the Government in close touch with the masses and make it ever sensitive to their needs and desires. Further, instead of the sharp

division between the legislative bodies and the administrative bodies existing in the capitalist State, the organs of the Workers' State combine these functions.

The dictatorship of the working class will last throughout a whole historical period, the period of transition from capitalist society to communist society. With the ultimate achievement of complete socialist organisation of economic life all class divisions must necessarily disappear and consequently also all organs for the domination of one class by another, all forms of class dictatorship; as social classes are eliminated, the Workers' State will lose more and more its character as an instrument of class domination, until finally instead of organs of "government" there will remain only organs for economic and cultural administration.

The period of working-class dictatorship opens up tremendous vistas for humanity. The existing anarchy in production gives way to systematic and planned production (already giant strides in this direction have been made by the Russian working class). Planned production and the rule of the workers eliminate periods of industrial depression and competition and at the same time all the colossal waste involved in the capitalist method of production and distribution of wealth. With the elimination of capitalist control and competition the cause of war is removed; no longer will there be world wars and the slaughter of millions of human beings. All education from the elementary to the highest becomes free and accessible to all, and cultural development will become more rapid and intense.

The working class own one-sixth of the world—the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics; as the various capitalist nations in their turn come under



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the domination of the working class they will join with this federal union of Soviet Republics. The backward countries of the earth, with their hundreds of millions of exploited subject peoples—India, Egypt, China, Indonesia, etc.—will be freed from the domination of Imperialism and then brought into the federation of Workers' Republics on a status of equality. This process will continue until a single united world society is established.

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