Il Soviet - Theses on the Constitution of the Workers' Councils proposed by the CC of the Communist Abstentionist Fraction of the PSI

1) The soviets or workers' and peasants' (and soldiers') councils are the bodies with which the working class exercises political power after the revolution has brought down the power of the bourgeois state, and suppressed its representative bodies (parliament, city councils, etc.). They are the "state organs" of the proletariat.

2) The soviets are elected exclusively by the workers, with all those who employ wage labour and exploit the proletariat being excluded from electoral rights. This is their substantial characteristic, all the other modalities of their constitution are completely secondary. The exclusion of the bourgeois class from any representation, even as a minority, in the political organs of society, that is the "dictatorship of the proletariat", constitutes the historical condition for the political struggle against bourgeois counter-revolutionary resistance, for the elimination of all exploitation and for the organisation of the communist economy.

3) The process must be implemented by a collective and central action of the proletariat, subordinating all the measures to be taken to the general class interest and to the final outcome of the whole revolutionary process. Therefore, while organs reflecting the particular economic interests common to these groups (works councils, industry unions, trade unions, consumer organisations) arise in the individual groups of proletarians, all the activity of these organs must be subordinate to the directives set by the system of political soviets, which by their essence and constitution represent the general interests.

4) Workers' councils arise at the moment of the proletarian uprising, but they can also arise at a historical moment when the power of the bourgeoisie goes through a serious crisis and the proletariat's historical consciousness and desire to assume power is widespread. The revolutionary problem does not consist in the formal creation of the councils, but in the passage of political power into their hands.

5) The instrument of the political struggle of the proletariat is the class party, the communist party. It gathers those who have a historical awareness of the process of the crisis of capitalism and proletarian emancipation, and are willing to sacrifice any group or individual interest for the final victory of communism. In the current historical period, it is the communist party that defends the watchword "all power to the councils".

When the councils are constituted, the communist party puts its action in this field to win the majority of their mandates and the central organs of the council system. In this work, the party persists after the conquest of power, always with the objective of creating political consciousness and unity of intent towards proletarian action, fighting egoism and particularism.

6) The communist party also penetrates and conquers all the proletarian economic bodies, as soon as they arise under the pressure of the living conditions of groups and categories of proletarians, in order to take advantage of their actions to broaden the field and bring the attention of the masses to the general and final aims of communism.

7) The communist party fights every form of collaboration and combination of workers' councils with the organs of bourgeois power, spreading in the masses the awareness that the former cannot fulfil their historical value until after the violent overthrow of the latter.
8) The present needs of revolutionary action in Italy do not consist in the artificial and bureaucratic constitution of workers' councils, and even less in a work dedicated to the activity of trade unions and factory councils as ends in themselves, but in the constitution of a communist party free of reformist and opportunist elements. Such a party will always be ready to act or intervene in the soviets, when the vital hour of their formation, which is not far away, will sound.

9) A vast task awaits, before such a historical moment, the communist party in Italy.

Such a task consists:

a) In studying with seriousness of intent and breadth of means the problems of the revolution and aspects of the revolutionary process; and in the widest oral and written propaganda among the masses of the principles and methods that result from it;

b) In maintaining continuous and effective relations with the foreign communist movement and with the organs of the Communist International;

c) To have secure contact with the masses and to prepare for those forms of action and organisation which are indispensable in the decisive struggle and which require, in addition to the complete devotion of the militants to the cause, special tactical training, unknown in the traditional life of the Socialist Party.

d) The communist party does not consider as objectives of its action the partial conquests that proletarian groups can achieve within the present regime, not even in the sense of preparing its men for the future performance of technical activities after the conquest of power. However, it intervenes in agitations of this nature with the sole aim of propagandising its maximum objectives and of highlighting the factual relations which demonstrate the necessity of the whole political action of the proletarian class, on the road to revolution, for the elimination of the capitalist regime.