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PROGRAMME

of the

COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

(Draft adopted at the Fifth Congress of the Communist International.)

Introduction.

In the revolutionary fight against capitalist domination, the international proletariat must unite the efforts of its separate detachments and merge these detachments into one international proletarian army. The organisation, which unites the fighting revolutionary proletariat, regardless of state boundaries, nationality, race, creed, sex, or occupation, is the International Workers' Association, the Communist International. The Communist International, uniting all the Communist Parties and constituting in itself the militant world party of the proletariat, aims at the emancipation of labour from the yoke of capital; it openly advocates the violent overthrow of the bourgeois order by means of the communist revolution, and thus continues the revolutionary tradition of the communist association, and the First International, founded by Marx. It entirely and unreservedly maintains the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism, which found its most complete expression in Leninism which is pure and simple Marxism of the epoch of the direct proletarian fight for the conquest of power. The Communist International is fighting on this basis for clarity in the class-consciousness of the masses by placing its dialectic materialism in opposition to the teachings of bourgeois ideology, and thereby leading the fight against any kind of bourgeois influence over the proletariat, such as religion, idealistic and nonmaterialist-dialectic philosophy, the doctrine of harmony between capital and labour, socialistic opportunism — thereby consistently maintaining the basis of the class struggle. The Communist International formulates its entire fundamental principles, aims and fundamental methods for struggle on this basis, and in the **Programme**, which unites millions of toilers, explains the position of the oppressed under capitalist rule, and shows them the way to victory over the bourgeoisie, and to the construction of the communist society.

I. Capitalist Wage-Slavery.

§ 1. General Characteristics of Capitalism as a System of Exploitation.

- a) Private Property and the production of Commodities for Sale.
- b) The Monopoly of the Means of Production.
- c) Wage Labour.
- d) State Power as a Monopolist Organisation of the Ruling Class; Monopoly in Arms.
- e) Monopoly of Education.
- f) The worker as wage-slave.
- g) The exploitation relationship.

At the present time almost the whole globe is under the rule of capitalism. Only in the Soviet Union has the domination of capital been superseded.

This rule is based upon private property and the production of commodities for the market.

A small group of persons is in possession of the monopoly of the means of producing these goods, and of the means of distributing them; this group is the capitalist class. This monopoly assures to this class an undivided economic domination over millions of proletarians, who possess no means of production, and who are forced to sell their labour power.

The relation of wage-labour to capital forms the basis of bourgeois society.

The economic domination of the bourgeoisie is secured by its political rule, and by its state organisation, which secures it a monopoly over arms and all other means of applying physical force.

The rule of the bourgeoisie is also secured culturally, for it possesses the monopoly of education, which is in the hands of the capitalists.

The working class, economically oppressed, subjected politically and culturally, is the wage-slave of capital.

The working class, which forms a constantly growing section of the population, thus serves as a living source of profit to the bourgeoisie, which exploits its labour.

§ 2. Contradictions in the Development of the Capitalist System.

- a) The Class War.
- b) Anarchy of Production, Competition, Crises.
- c) The Struggle of Capitalism for Domination: Wars.
- d) The Process of Centralisation of Capital Reflects the Contradictions of Capitalism.
- e) Organisation of Antagonistic Social Forces.
- f) Inevitability of the Collapse of the Capitalist System.

The hunt for profits forced the bourgeoisie to develop its productive powers continuously and increasingly, and to extend the sphere of operations of capitalist production. The fundamental contradictions of the capitalist system, however, reveal themselves at the same time with ever growing distinctness; these defects inevitably lead to the complete breakdown of the capitalist system.

Capitalist society, built upon the exploitation of an overwhelming majority of the population by an inconsiderable minority, is torn in two, and its whole history is one of conflicts between the classes.

The rule of private property imparts an anarchic character to production, and leads to blind production regulated by no conscious power. This is shown on the one hand in the severe conflicts between various competing concerns and groups of concerns, causing an enormous waste of energy; on the other hand the unregulated production, — absence of proportion between its various branches, and the result of this anarchy of production — the contradiction between the increased production and the restricted consuming ability of the proletarian masses, — causes periodically recurring crises, accompanied by destruction of productive forces and mass unemployment among the proletariat.

The struggle of the capitalists for world domination leads to a special form of competition among the capitalist states, finally expressed in wars which are inevitable accompaniments of capitalism, as are crises and unemployment.

The extension of capitalist production, involving the development of productive forces, is accompanied by the decay of pre-capitalist economic forms in the competitive struggles, the decay of a part of the peasantry, by the disappearance of handicrafts, by the economic defeat of small and middle capital, and by the open plundering and merciless exploitation of the colonial countries. This process leads on the one hand to an accumulation of capital, to its concentration in the hands of a few millionaires, and is, on the other hand, accompanied by a tremendous increase in the numbers of the proletariat which, having passed through the severe school of the capitalist system, become the deadly enemy of the bourgeoisie and its system of society.

The process of the concentration of capital, and of the extension of the capitalist system, constantly reproduces the fundamental contradictions of capitalism on an ever-increasing scale. The competition among small capitalists ceases, only to be replaced by that among big capitalists; where competition among big capitalists comes to a standstill, it widens its radius and becomes a competition between the gigantic associations of the millionaires and their states; the crises change from those of local and national character to crises extending over a number of countries, and finally to world crises; the local wars are replaced by alliances and world wars; the class war develops from isolated actions of single groups of workers, first to a national struggle, and then to an international struggle of the world proletariat against the world bourgeoisie.

The inevitable aggravation of class antagonism is accompanied by a simultaneous consolidation of the antagonistic class forces. On the one hand, the capitalist bourgeoisie forms its associations, secures its state power, and organises its armed forces; on the other hand, the working class, brought into one camp and united by the mechanism of capitalist production itself, creates its own powerful organisations, which are sooner or later transformed into weapons of the proletariat in the war against the bourgeoisie and its main support — state power.

The natural course of capitalist evolution thus inevitably sharpens the contradictions of the capitalist system, and finally renders the existence of the system itself impossible. The living force which overthrows the capitalist system is the proletariat, which revolts against its bondage, annihilates the regime of capital, and organises the systematic economics of socialism, the premises of which are created by capitalism itself.

g) The Pre-requisites of the New Society.

These pre-requisites of the new form of society which have to replace capitalism, are: the concentration of the means of production, the powerful 'capitalist technique, the science created by capitalist evolution, the workers' organisations which will be able to furnish the first organisers of the new order of society; finally, the Marxian theory, the greatest weapon of the proletarian struggle, which is becoming a powerful force, as soon as it captures the masses.

§ 3. Imperialism the Last Stage of Capitalism.

a) The Universal Character of Capitalism.

The last decades of the rule of capital are characterised by special features of evolution, rendering the internal contradictions intensely acute, resulting in the unheard-of war crisis of 1914, and leading to the mighty revolutionary crisis (beginning with the Russian October 1917 revolution) and the general capitalist crisis.

Capitalism became world capitalism; a universally dominant force. The survivals of the social relations of the past — primitive communism, feudal relations, chattel slavery, merchant capital, the simple exchange of commodities of the handicraftsman, peasant barter and commodity exchange — all these forms, scattered in the various parts of the globe, are being destroyed partly by force, and partly by "peaceful" means, and subjected to the rule of big capital.

b) The Monopolist Character of Modern Capitalism.

The numerous private undertakings competing with one another and destroying each other in this competition, have been replaced by mighty associations of industrial magnates (syndicates, trusts, cartels and companies consolidated by the banks. This new form of capital, in which banking capital amalgamates with industrial capital, in which the possessions of the large landowners also become a part of the general organisation through the agency of the banks, where there are cliques of enormously rich financial oligarchies almost possessing the character of hereditary dynasties, bears a sharply accentuated monopolist character. Free competition, which has taken the place of the feudal monopolist economics, now changes into a monopoly of finance capital.

c) New Forms of the Competitive Struggle and its Acuteness.

This organisation of capital, essentially monopolist in character, and frequently causing separate groups of the bourgeoisie of different branches of industry to unite, also gives rise to substantial changes in the type of competitive struggle. Instead of competing by means of low prices, there is a growing tendency to use force openly: boycotts and other forms of pressure within the country itself; high protective duties, tariff wars, the employment of armed force backed by state power — in international relations. This increasing acuteness of competition is, in international economic relations, largely due to two facts: first to the general division of the colonies among the greatest capitalist states; secondly, to the extraordinary increase in the export of capital, accompanied by the increased endeavour to occupy and control the territories fully to which the exported capital flows.

d) The State Power of Finance Capital. Militarism. Imperialism.

Under such conditions state power and its armed forces assume a special significance for the bourgeoisie. The policy of finance capital is directed to rapacious activity of the utmost intensity (Imperialism), requiring enormous reinforcements for armies, air fleets, and every description of means of annihilation. The gigantic development of competition is one of the causes of the increasing acuteness of the competitive struggle which ends in disastrous wars.

e) The Centres of Capitalist Oppression. Independent State Economic Associations. Colonies.

The process of the centralisation of capital on a world scale has thus led to the creation of great powers of finance capital, which have become the centre of the capitalist pressure extending throughout the world, of the capitalist predatory raids, and of the exploitation and enslavement of enormous numbers of proletarian, semi-proletarian, and peasant elements. The weaker bourgeois states exist in direct or indirect dependence on these mighty powers, and are at their mercy. A definite object for enslavement and exploitation is supplied by the colonies, which possess hundreds of millions of working and exploited inhabitants.

f) Anti-capitalist Forces (Working Class, Colonial peoples). Obstructive Tendencies (Labour Aristocracy, Social Democrats, etc.).

There are two main forces being organised under the hegemony of the proletariat against the mighty organised forces of finance capital: the workers of the capitalist states, and the peoples of the colonies oppressed by foreign capital. The basic revolutionary tendency is, however, temporarily paralysed by the corruption of a considerable section of the European and American proletariat by the imperialist bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie of the most powerful imperialist states, which have reaped enormous profits by plundering colonies and semi-colonies, have raised the wages of a section of their own workers out of the booty of their plunder, thereby interesting these workers in allegiance to the imperialist "Fatherland" and in its plunderings. This systematic bribery has taken special effect among the labour aristocracy (the workers in the particularly privileged trades, the highly skilled workers, the workers in state and municipal enterprises, and so on), and among the leading bureaucratic elements of the working class, social-democracy and trade unions, which have become absolute tools in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

g) Intensification of Differences and the War of 1914 — the Beginning of the Collapse of Capitalism.

The keen competition among the most powerful of the great powers for the possession of the colonies led to the world war of 1914. This war shook the foundations of capitalist economics to such an extent, rendered the position of the working class so much worse, destroyed so many imperialistic illusions among the proletariat, that it introduced a new historic phase in the disintegration of capitalist production, on a world scale.

§ 4. The Results of the War and the Beginning of the Decay of Capitalism.

a) War Costs and the Destruction of Productive Forces.

The war of 1914—18 brought about a destruction of productive forces unprecedented in history; it led to the immediate annihilation of gigantic means of production and of the best living forces of humanity; it caused an unheard of waste of energy as a result of the use of productive power for unproductive purposes.

b) Disorganisation of the World's Traffic.

The total disorganisation of the world's traffic thus brought about, the chaos in the division of labour hitherto obtaining throughout the world, the collapse of the reciprocal and regulated modes of payment, the disturbed rates of exchange, and the unprecedented state debts, all these factors intensify still more the ruin of capitalist world economics.

c) Liberation of Colonial Reserves.

The imperialistic economic system underwent essential changes, for the colonial and semi-colonial countries take advantage of the slackening of the imperialist grip to gain for themselves greater economic independence. This circumstance undermined the sources of the affluence of the mother countries, and intensified the general crisis.

d) The Redistribution of the Reduced Income of Society.

All the above stated fundamental facts of the war and post-war periods are expressed in the diminution of the total income of society.

e) Acuter Struggle between the Imperialist Oligarchial Groups.

The diminution of the collective income of society led in the first place to an acuter struggle in the re-division of income, not only in the competitive struggles of the various groups of the financial oligarchies, and in the struggles of the colonies with the mother countries, but in the class war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, in which the intermediate groups display the tendency to join the proletariat in those cases where they have particularly suffered during the war.

f) Acuter Struggles between Colonies and Mother Countries.

g) Intensification of the Class Struggle.

h) The Absolute Instability of the Capitalist System.

The post-war position of capitalism can in general be characterised as being absolutely unstable in every sphere of its existence: economic, political, social, and even on the ideological and cultural fields; for in the background of the general crisis there appear obvious signs of the decomposition of the bourgeoisie, the return to religion, to mysticism, to occultism, and so forth, which demonstrate the coming fall of bourgeois civilisation.

The period of capitalist decay will not be kept in check by part restoration of its regime and in the further development of productive forces. Every fresh development of capitalism at the same time develops its contradictions, revealing the inevitability

of even greater conflicts, involving even more formidable and destructive methods (e. g. chemical warfare), and menacing the further existence of human society.

§ 5. The Breach in the Imperialist Front and the Epoch of Social Revolution.

- a) The November Revolution of the Russian Proletariat as the First Link in the Chain of World Proletarian Revolution.
- b) Other Revolutions.

The growing intensification of the class war, which became apparent during the war itself, led to a breach being made through the imperialist front at its most vulnerable spot — Russia.

The November Revolution of the Russian proletariat, which was able to overthrow the bourgeois regime, thanks to specially favourable fighting conditions, started a new era of international revolution, and became the first link in the chain.

The proletarian uprisings which followed the Russian Revolution, and which ended in the defeat of the proletariat after a brief victory (Finland, Hungary, Bavaria), or which remained standing halfway, owing to the treachery of the social-democrats who were actively engaged against revolutionary communism (Austria, Germany), formed stages in the general development of international revolution — stages in which the bourgeois illusions are being shattered and the forces of Communist revolution are being mobilised and consolidated.

- c) The Significance of the Soviet Union.

It is just for the above reasons that the mere fact of the existence of the Soviet Union in of such significance as an organising centre of the proletarian world movement. By the mere fact of its existence the Soviet Union drives a wedge into the capitalist system, since, with a fundamentally anti-capitalist structure, it comprises one-sixth of the globe. Besides this, it represents the most powerful vanguard of the proletarian movement, for here the working class has all the means and auxiliaries of state power at its disposal.

- d) The Counter-Revolutionary Forces (Social-Democracy and Fascism).

In the course of development of international revolution, Social-Democracy and the trade unions under its leadership became an extraordinarily powerful counter-revolutionary force. Not only did these abandon the interests of the workers during the war, in that they supported their "own" imperialist governments (social patriotism and social chauvinism), but they also supported the rapacious treaties of peace (Brest-Litovsk, Versailles); they stood by the side of the generals (Noske), as an active force, when proletarian uprisings were being drowned in blood; they led an armed struggle against the first proletarian republic (Russia); they treacherously betrayed a proletariat which had already attained power (Hungary); they became members of the rapacious League of Nations (Thomas); they openly took sides with the employers against the colonial slaves (the British "Labour" Party). The pacifist wing of the Social Democrats (Centre) demoralised the workers by their varied pacifist illusions and anti-force propaganda, thereby providing capitalism with the best weapons in acute revolutionary situations. International social-democracy of all shades thus forms the last reserve and strongest support of bourgeois society.

Alongside social-democracy, through which and by means of which the bourgeoisie either suppresses the workers or lulls their class vigilance, we see the emergence of fascism, another form of utilising the discontent of the masses, and of directing this discontent into anti-revolutionary channels. Both these methods, which are unusual for "normal" capitalism and which betoken a general crisis of capitalism, at the same time check the onward march of the revolution.

- e) The Communist Party and the Comintern.

The abandonment of imperialist illusions in the ranks of the working class has freed the proletariat from the influence of social-democracy and fascism, and forms the soil for the development of the communist parties, which are uniting in the course of the struggle in a mighty revolutionary association of revolutionary workers: the Communist International. From out of the chaos and the misery, out of the falling debris of decaying capitalism, out of the mad and monstrous new wars in which the bourgeoisie is ready to destroy millions of workers and the last remnants of its own culture — out of all this, the Communist International will lead humanity on to a new path, from the depths of death and destruction to Communism.

II. The Emancipation of the Workers and the Communist Order.

§ 1. The Abolition of the Fundamental Contradictions of Capitalism.

- a) The Abolition of Social Anarchy, of Classes and of Class War.

The goal towards which the Communist International strives is the substitution of the capitalist order by the Communist order of society. The Communist order of society, prepared by the whole course of evolution, is the sole means of escape for humanity; it alone is capable of removing the fundamental contradictions of the capitalist system which lead to inevitable and unavoidable ruin.

The Communist order of society does away with the division of society into classes, that is, it destroys social anarchy. The opposing classes are replaced by members of one great equal working community. The gigantic unproductive expenditure caused by human beings combating one another, in a society composed of classes, now disappears, and the energy thus released is employed in the struggle with nature, and for the progress and development of the power and dominance of mankind.

- b) The Abolition of Private property, of Anarchy in Production, of Competition and of War.

By the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production, and the passing of these means into common property, the Communist society replaces the unregulated force of competition and the blind course of production by a rational organisation and an appropriate plan. The abolition of anarchy in production and of competition implies the simultaneous disappearance of war. The colossal waste of productive energy, and the spasmodic development of society will here be substituted by a systematic utilisation of all sources of help, and by a harmonious, painless, economic evolution.

- c) Abolition of Exploitation, of the State, of Rule and of Compulsion.

The abolition of private property does away with the exploitation of one human being by another. The work done is no longer done for others; differences between rich and poor disappear. At the same time the organs of class rule also vanish, above all — state power. State power, which is the embodiment of class rule, vanishes in proportion to the vanishing of the classes. Together with it all standards of compulsion gradually die.

- d) Universal Education and Qualification for Education.

The abolition of classes will be accompanied by the abolition of all monopoly of education. All education, including the very highest, becomes general. Such a state of affairs in the first place renders a dominance of any group of persons over another group impossible, and in the second place, offers a wide field of selection and sifting of talent and genius in every branch of culture.

- e) Growth of Productive Forces.

Here there are no barriers of a social nature placed in the way of productive forces. In communist society there is no private property, no profit-making for personal benefit, no artificially maintained ignorance among the masses, nor poverty which retards technical progress in capitalist society, nor gigantic unproductive expenditure.

- f) Organisation of Economics and Science.

The uniting of technique and science, the scientific organisation of production, statistics, social book-keeping, the utilisation of every economic possibility (correct apportioning of enterprises, concentration, the best possible productivity of labour) set human energy free for the mighty task of developing science and art.

- g) Improvement in General Well-being and Culture.

The development of productive forces is conducive to the improvement of the general wellbeing of the whole of humanity in the new society and consequently creates a degree of culture hitherto unexampled in history.

- h) Character of Communist Culture and United Humanity.

This new culture of a humanity united for the first time, and having now abolished all limits set by intermediate state boundaries, will be founded on clear and unalloyed reciprocal relations among human beings. Hence it will bury all mysticism, religion, and superstition for all time, and give a mighty forward impetus to the development of the all-conquering Human Mind.

III. The Fall of the Bourgeoisie and the Fight for Communism.

§ 1. General Characteristics of the Transition Period.

Between the Capitalist and Communist systems there lies a long period of proletarian struggle, of its victories and defeats, a period of continuous decay of capitalist relations with intermittent periods of revival. A period of national wars, of colonial uprisings which, although not revolutionary movements of the proletariat as such, are objectively becoming a component part of the proletarian world revolution, inasmuch as they undermine imperialist domination, of armed and "peaceful" warfare of capitalist states against the budding socialist states — a period which comprises temporary agreements between social-economic systems contrary to one another, and life and death struggles. Finally, the complete victory of the proletariat, and the firm establishment of the power which it has gained through so much suffering and privation will be followed by an epoch of accelerated development of various types of socialist construction in the different countries. The multiplicity of the types of capitalism and of the conditions of the revolutionary process renders inevitable also the formation of a variety of types of new relations — this will be the main feature of the tedious transition period of development. Here the capture of power by the proletariat constitutes the essential preliminary for the peaceful growth of socialistic forms of economy, as well as the cultural development of the proletariat, which becomes transformed, and grows in maturity while in charge of all the spheres of public life, drawing the other classes into this process of regeneration and thereby laying the foundation for the total abolition of class-distinction. In the fight for the proletarian dictatorship, and for the subsequent transformation of the social order, the workers' and peasants' alliance is formed, under the ideological and political hegemony of the former against the alliance of landowners and capitalists. The transition period on the whole is characterised by the cultural growth of the proletariat and of the entire toiling masses. Not until this epoch has fulfilled this historical task will society begin to become a Communist society.

§ 2. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat as the Unavoidable Pre-Requisite of the Struggle for Communism.

a) Necessity of the proletarian dictatorship.

An unavoidable premise for the transition from capitalism to communism — the starting point without which the further evolution of mankind is entirely impossible, is thus the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois State, and the seizure of power by the working class, which has to set itself the first and most important task of suppressing the enemy and firmly establishing the new regime. Dictatorship of the proletariat — that is the most elementary pre-requisite for social evolution.

b) Destruction of the Bourgeois State by the Organs of Proletarian Class War.

The seizure of power by the proletariat is nothing else than the destruction of the bourgeois state apparatus by the fighting organs of the proletarian class struggle, and the organisation of a new proletarian class power by those organs.

c) Soviets as a Form of State Power.

The form of proletarian state power generally best adapted to its purpose is that of the type of the Soviet State. This has been demonstrated by the experiences of the Russian and Hungarian Revolutions, which greatly extended the experience gained by the Paris Commune in 1871. It is precisely this type, arising immediately out of the broadest mass movement, which assures the greatest activity of the masses, and consequently the best guarantee of ultimate victory.

d) Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship.

The Soviet type of state is flatly opposed to bourgeois democracy, which is invariably a veiled form of bourgeois dictatorship. The mass organisations of the workers, which are at best merely tolerated under bourgeois dictatorship, form in the Proletarian Democracy the main supports and organs of the proletarian state everywhere.

The Soviet State differs from Bourgeois Democracy in that it openly reveals its class character, and openly sets itself the task of suppressing

the exploiters in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population.

While Bourgeois Democracy leaves quite untouched the monopoly of the capitalist class with respect to the means of production, and all material values of decisive importance, and thus reduces the formal rights of the workers to blatant hypocrisy; the Soviet State first creates the premises for these rights by actually securing the liberty of the working class, by rendering the functions of the workers' organisations possible, etc.

For the first time in history Proletarian Democracy removes the inequality of all exploited citizens regardless of sex, race, religion, and nationality — it establishes an equality which has never been realised in any capitalist State.

Proletarian Democracy and its organs which realise the broadest democracy amongst the workers, are in incomparably closer relation with the masses, and enable them to take part in the administrative machine. The right to elect new delegates, the right to recall them at any time, the combination of executive and legislative power, the arrangement of electoral districts not according to territorial, but according to economic units (according to factories, undertakings, etc.) — all this draws a sharp dividing line between the Bourgeois Parliamentary Republic and the Soviet Dictatorship of the proletariat.

The proletariat, as leader and vanguard of all other workers, and above all of the peasant masses, strengthens its leading role by legal privileges, which are unavoidable in the first stages of development. These privileges must gradually die out in proportion to the progress of the education received by the rest of the working masses, and later by the other citizens of the State, and on the basis of the new relations.

e) Destruction of the bourgeois monopoly of arms and the Concentration of these in the hands of the proletariat.

An essential part of the seizure of power by the working class is the destruction of the bourgeois monopoly of arms, and the concentration of arms in the hands of the proletariat. During the course of the struggle the main object in view must be the disarmament of the bourgeoisie and the arming of the proletariat.

f) Organisation of armed forces.

The further organisation of armed forces, based on strict revolutionary discipline, must be carried out on precisely the same fundamental class principle; it must correspond with the structure of the proletarian dictatorship, and the principles assuring leadership to the proletariat.

g) Expropriation of the expropriators and abolition of the bourgeois monopoly of the means of production. The conquest of the points of vantage (land and territory, big industry, Banks, wholesale trade, foreign trade, printing shops and the press) by the proletariat. Establishment of a proper relation between the economic sphere of the proletarian State and that of private economy; war communism; capitalist economic forms and methods, the struggle for economic machinery, the workers and peasants economic front.

The victorious proletariat utilises the power which it has seized, first, to break the resistance of the enemy and to guarantee the further rule of the working class against the attacks of the bourgeoisie. Secondly, it utilises this concentrated power for the expropriation of the expropriators, that is, for the revolutionary transformation of economic, and consequently of all other social relations. As a rule, this expropriation will assume the form of confiscation that is, by the expropriation of the means of production without compensation and the delivery of these means into the hands of the Proletarian State. In this connection the Communist International proposes the following fundamental measures:

1. The expropriation of the large industrial undertakings, of the means of transport and traffic (telegraph, telephone), electric works, etc.

2. The proletarian nationalisation of large landed estates, which are to be handed over to the administration of the organs of proletarian dictatorship; their collective cultivation by means of the agricultural proletariat, who are drawn into the work of the administration of the State-owned agricultural estates; one part of the landed estates, especially that part being worked under lease, to be handed over to the poor and partly to the middle peasantry. (The extent of the ground area to be delivered up to the peasantry is determined by economic expe-

diency, and by the necessity of neutralising the peasantry, and by the social-political importance of the peasantry); the organisation of credits for agricultural improvements, combating usury and land speculation; the organisation of agronomic aid to the peasantry by means of suitable schools etc.

3. Proletarian nationalisation of the banks. Delivery of all gold reserves, securities, etc., into the hands of the Proletarian State. Security of the interests of small depositors, centralisation of the banks, subordination of all large banking concerns to the Central State Bank of the republic.

4. Nationalisation and municipalisation of wholesale trade.

5. Annulment of national debts.

6. Monopoly of foreign trade.

7. Monopoly of the most important printing establishments and newspapers.

In the execution of these measures, the following principles must be observed:

Nationalisation should as a rule not include small and medium enterprise. The chief reason for this is that the proletariat which has just seized power has not the required number of organising forces at its disposal, especially during the first days of the dictatorship, to enable it not only to destroy the old order, but to bring about a union of the small and medium units of production.

The second reason is that the proletariat should not provoke the antagonism of the intermediate groups. The victorious proletariat must find the right course of action to be adopted towards these spheres of production which can be subjected to centralised and systematic management, and those which would only be cumbersome ballast. The latter must be left to private initiative.

The victorious proletariat ensures to itself the most important prerequisites for the solution of the economic political basic tasks by the accomplishment of these fundamental measures, which have to be fulfilled in the early stages of the transition from capitalism to socialism. The manner and method for carrying out these basic tasks will be determined on the one hand by the economic measures necessary for the attainment of this goal; on the other hand by the long continued or repeated political necessity of civil war or foreign war. According to the concrete demands of the economic and political position of every country and its international relations an economic political system can be proved necessary for a longer or shorter period, which undermines the material basis of the hostile strata, and ensures a rational consumption of existing provisions but ruins productive endeavour of private enterprises (by a system of requisition, etc.). This is linked up on the one hand with proletarian forms of economy and stems thereby the growth of productive forces in a high degree, and occasionally renders them impossible (war communism).

At the close of the open civil war, that is, after the installation of the political rule of the working class, the interests and necessities of the rational economic policy will be determined, whereas the methods of war communism are pushed aside and finally absolutely discontinued.

Thus the economic system in the initial stage of the transition period will be as follows:

There is a large variety of economic forms, extending from socialised big industry and agricultural estates to small artisans and peasants. The more backward the country under the capitalist regime, the more numerous and varied are its economic forms.

In conformity with these various economic forms, we find on the one hand, various classes, and on the other hand various forms of **economic stimuli**, the operations of which determine the actual progress of production, and consequently, the development of the productive forces.

The varying forms of economy and industry, in their turn, inevitably also determine the **form of their interrelations**. The greater the influence of small private enterprise the more inevitable is the growth of the importance of **simple market relations**, with all the logical consequences thereof.

This determines the fundamental tasks of the economic policy of the proletariat, which holds in its hands the large and economically decisive branches of industry. While taking advantage of the economic power of big industry and transport, as well as of the power of the State machinery, it is necessary to regulate private economy and the stimuli of private economic activity in such a manner as to ensure in the long run, the least painful method of removal of these forms. The adaptation to market conditions and the regulation of market conditions are most important in this respect. The proletariat, through the market relations and through competition with the backward types of economy, as well as with the constantly emerging elements of the new bourgeoisie, such as tradesmen, capitalists etc. must abolish these economic forms. Adaptation to the market inevitably entails the adoption of capitalist forms and methods of economic activity (calculation of costs, money payments, organisation of commerce, even to the extent of organising stock exchanges, and banks, etc.) Nevertheless, these capitalist forms as applied in the enterprises of the proletarian state are essentially of an anti-capitalist character in the same way as the formation of the proletarian standing army ensures the strength and growth of its anti-capitalist character. On the other hand, the application of these forms and methods harbours the seeds of their own suppression; the more rapid the victorious progress of large scale proletarian production, the less the importance of the market relations; the larger the growth of systematised economy, the less necessary become the capitalist forms of economic activity.

In view of the survivals of capitalist influences and of the heterogeneity of the working class itself, it becomes necessary for a time to adopt capitalist methods in the socialised enterprises in one form or another (the bonus system, piece-work rates, etc. etc.)

On the other hand the proletarian state must do its utmost to support and encourage all and every form of transition to social economy on the part of small producers. The question of the promotion of cooperation among the peasantry is of great importance, and particularly in agrarian countries. If under capitalist conditions and bourgeois dictatorship peasants' cooperatives inevitably become transformed into collective-capitalist organisations, and the so-called "agrarian socialism" is but a miserable reformist Utopia, because cooperation becomes merged into the general system of capitalist economy — then under the proletarian dictatorship, under a wise economic policy, under the growth of large socialised production, peasants' cooperation will inevitably merge into the economic system of the proletarian dictatorship.

The class struggle, in the period of the proletarian dictatorship, to a considerable extent assumes the character of an economic fight between the rival economic forms, which may for a certain period grow side by side. The chief task is to ensure the steady removal of the backward economic units which are hostile to the proletariat. In this connection the fundamental policy should be a wise combination of State industry and peasant cooperation against merchant capital and the first seedlings of industrial capital.

It is also necessary to make such use of State finances and taxation as to regulate the distribution of productive forces even in those branches of industry which are not in the hands of the proletarian State.

The proletariat must devote particularly careful attention to and the utmost precaution concerning reciprocal relations between city and country, and set up no barriers to the individualistic working motives of the peasantry.

It is natural that the extent of market relations and together with that the application of the methods of the new Economic Policy depend

on the relative extent of capitalist large scale enterprise in comparison with small enterprise, that is, on the degree of national economy under consideration.

§ 3. The Proletarian Dictatorship and the Classes.

a) The Bourgeoisie and the Landowners.

b) Greatest possible utilisation of their organising forces.

c) Technical Brain Workers.

d) Neutralisation of the Peasantry.

e) Organisation of the poor peasantry.

f) Petty bourgeoisie of the towns.

g) Proletarian Organisations and the Proletarian State.

The struggle for the expropriation of the expropriators requires the most thorough study of all elements of this struggle.

The big bourgeoisie and the rich landowners, as well as that part of the officers' and army staff subject to them, are the most consistent enemies of the working class, and a bitter struggle against them is absolutely inevitable. As a rule it is only possible to utilise the organising powers of these circles after the dictatorship has been established, and all conspiracies of exploitation and uprisings have been determinedly suppressed.

The question of the technical brain workers plays a most important role for the proletarian revolution. Every counter-revolutionary action originating in the ranks of the technical brain workers must be rigorously suppressed, but at the same time the proletariat must take into consideration the absolute necessity for these skilled workers, and carefully avoid any action which could injure them economically, especially those groups which have already suffered through the war. These intellectual forces should be brought under proletarian influence by pointing out to them the prospects of building up socialist culture.

With regard to the peasantry, the Communist Party is confronted with the task of winning over a great part of the peasantry for the party. The victorious proletariat must differentiate strictly between the various groupings within the peasantry itself, estimate their specific importance, and aid the landless, semi-proletarian elements of the peasantry by every possible means, give them a part of the big landowners' property, help in their struggle against usurious capital, etc. The proletariat must utilise the middle elements by leaving their land and their possessions untouched, and by combating every attack made by the rich peasantry in combination with the rich landowners.

In this struggle the proletariat should base its activities upon the organisations of the poorer population of the country, which are under the leadership of the country proletariat in all countries where the system of agricultural wage labour is developed.

The petty bourgeoisie of the cities, which has always wavered between extreme reaction and sympathy for the proletariat, is also to be neutralised as far as possible. Their neutrality is assured if their property is not touched, if they are allowed liberty of economic intercourse, aided in their struggles against usurious forms of credit, etc.

In order to fulfil all these tasks the most varying organisations of the proletariat (cooperatives, trade unions, and other associations, and chiefly the Party as leading power in the Revolution) must be actual organs of proletarian power. It is only when these organisations lend unlimited support to the proletarian power, only when the class will is perfectly united, and when the Party has the leadership, that the proletariat can successfully carry out its part as organiser of society as a whole in the most critical period of human history.

The proletariat, when abolishing the monopoly of the capitalist class of the means of production, must simultaneously destroy the monopoly of education in the hands of the bourgeoisie, that is, it must take over all schools and universities.

One of the most important tasks of the proletariat is to train skilled technicians from the ranks of the working class, not only in the sphere of production (engineers, mechanics, organisers, book-keepers, etc.), but for scientific and military work, etc. This is the

§ 4. Abolition of the Bourgeois Monopoly of Education.

a) Breach in the bourgeois monopoly of Education.

b) Training of skilled proletarian forces.

only way possible of enabling fresh groups of qualified workers to be continually added to the proletarian power, so that this may in reality become a leading power in the development of society.

c) Raising the Cultural Level of the proletariat.

To this task must be added the further task of raising the general cultural level of the proletarian masses, the task of their political enlightenment, raising the level of their knowledge and technical qualifications, their practical introduction into social work, and farther, the combating of vestiges of bourgeois and petty bourgeois prejudices, etc.

d) The fight against religion and Church.

Amongst the tasks of combating bourgeois prejudices and superstitions, the first place is taken by the fight against religion, a fight which must be carried on with all requisite tact and all caution, especially among those sections of workers in whose daily life religion has hitherto been deeply rooted.

The proletarian State power must discontinue all State support to churches, prevent any interference by the Church in State organised education and further fight against all counter-revolutionary activity of Church organisations or their individual representatives.

§ 5. The Removal of Imperialist Pressure and the Organisation of Voluntary State Associations of the Proletariat.

The main supports of the gigantic imperialist state were and are the artificially created relations between the colonies and semi-colonies, and imperialist mother countries. The colonial and national questions thus play an exceedingly important role, not only from the viewpoint of the decay of capitalist relations, but also from the viewpoint of capitalist structure.

In this respect the programme of the Communist International makes the following demands, in complete opposition to the policy of the bourgeoisie and of social-democracy:

a) Right of Self-Determination.

1. The right of self-determination, under which is also to be understood the right of complete separation from the state. This principle is binding as a requirement to be demanded of the bourgeois state, where it serves as a weapon against imperialism, and is equally binding under the regime of proletarian dictatorship, where it serves as a means of overcoming the national distrust nurtured through centuries of bourgeois government.

b) Liberation of the Colonies.

2. The liberation of the colonies, and the support of all colonial movements against imperialism. In the case of a proletarian state embracing former colonies, the latter are to be accorded the right of separation.

c) Federated Soviet Republics.

3. Unions of Soviet Republics, at first in the form of a federation.

Besides these programme-planks which relate to the system of the state, the Communist International puts forward demands for the equality of nations, and for the abolition of all anti-racial laws.

The Communist International also fights against capitalist immigration laws (for instance the anti-Japanese immigration law in U. S. A.), and conducts propaganda against all kinds of chauvinism and nationalism, even if such prejudices should exist among the working class. The Communist International is particularly energetic in its campaign against chauvinism among the peoples of the Great Powers.

d) The Fight against the Capitalist States and the Possibilities of Compromises.

In view of the fact that the power cannot be seized by the proletariat simultaneously in all, or even in the most important countries, and that therefore proletarian states exist beside capitalist states, in spite of the enmity because of basic principles between capitalist and proletarian states, — compromises on the field of foreign diplomacy by the proletarian states are possible, permissible, and at times even obligatory. (Foreign commercial agreements, loans, policy of concessions, participation in general conferences, and other forms of agreements, including military agreements).

IV. The Road to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

§ 1. The Party and its Role.

The successful fight for the proletarian dictatorship presupposes the existence of a strong, solid, tried, disciplined, and centralised Communist Party.

The Party is the vanguard of the working class consisting of the best, most class-conscious, most active and courageous members of the class; it embodies the whole collective experience of the proletarian struggle, based on the revolutionary theory of Marxism. Representing the general and permanent interests of the class as a whole, the party embodies in itself the unity of proletarian principles, of proletarian will and of proletarian revolutionary action.

Being a militant organisation which leads the proletariat to the conquest of power, it consists of active revolutionary fighters, everyone of whom fulfils some duty for the party. It thus represents a revolutionary party bound by an iron discipline and by the strictest revolutionary order of democratic centralism, attained through the consciousness of the proletarian vanguard and through its devotion to the revolution, through its ability of maintaining close contact with the proletarian masses and with the masses in general and through correct and flexible political leadership, which is constantly tried and kept informed by the experiences of the broadest masses.

a) Strategy of the Communist Party. (The Conquest of the Majority of the Workers, the Trade Unions, the Young Workers, etc.)

In order to fulfil its historic task, the Communist Party must preliminarily undertake and carry out the following strategical aims:

Bring under its influence the majority of the members of its own class, including the women workers and young workers.

Bring under its influence the broad masses of toilers in general (the poor of the towns and villages, the impoverished elements of the intelligentsia, the so-called "small-men", i. e., the petty-bourgeois elements in general), and thus to achieve the political hegemony of the proletariat, under the leadership of the Communist Party.

It must utilise the conflicts in the ruling classes, both in its own country and on an international scale (i. e. utilisation of war crisis).

Discredit, expose and destroy the political influence of social-democracy and of the yellow trade union bureaucrats, who are the most reliable supporters of capitalism, and bring under its influence the mass organisations of the proletariat (trade unions, co-operative societies, factory and workers' councils, and so on).

b) Tactical Principles.

In its struggle for the ultimate goal of the proletarian movement, the party must take into consideration concrete circumstances, the correlation of class-forces; the degree of capitalist strength; the degree of proletarian preparedness, the attitude of the intermediate strata, and so on. The Party formulates its slogans and the manner of its struggle in conformity with these circumstances. While advancing a whole series of transitional slogans and partial demands, which are determined by the given circumstances, the party must subordinate these demands and these slogans to its revolutionary goal of the capture of power and overthrow of bourgeois-capitalist society. Hence, it is inadmissible for the Party either to hold aloof from the everyday needs and everyday struggles of the workers, or to limit its activities to these everyday needs and everyday struggles. It is the task of the Party, while starting out from these needs, to direct the thoughts and action of the working class beyond these limits, i. e., to lead the working class to the revolutionary fight for power.

c) The Tactics of the United Front, the Workers' and Peasants' Government.

To neglect the formulation of the partial demands and transition slogans is incompatible with the tactical principles of Communism, for it unavoidably leads the party to passivity and destroys its connection with the masses. The tactics of the United Front and the slogan of the Workers' and Peasants' Government form the most important section of the tactics of the Communist Party during the whole period of the conquest of the masses for Communism.

d) Revolutionary Situation and Party Tactics.

Given a direct revolutionary situation, when the ruling classes are more or less disorganised, when the masses are in a state of revolutionary excitement, when the intermediate strata are inclined to go over to the side of the proletariat — the party of the proletariat is confronted with the task of leading the masses to the direct attack on the bourgeois state. This is achieved by the advancement of more marked slogans and the increasing intensity of mass movements, to which must be subordinated all branches of party agitation and propaganda, including parliamentary activities. These comprise strikes, combinations of strikes and demonstrations, combination of armed demonstrations and strikes, and finally, the general strike in conjunction with the highest form of the direct military fight against the state-power of the bourgeoisie. This fight is subject to military rules; it presupposes a military plan (the fixing of time and place, etc.), aggressive operations, and undivided loyalty and heroism on the part of the proletariat. Such actions presuppose the organisation of the broad masses into militant bodies, which by their very form should attract and set into motion the largest number of toilers (councils of workers' and peasants' deputies, soldiers' councils, etc). A pre-requisite for victorious tactics is propagandist work in the army and navy.

e) The Fight Against Militarism and Imperialism.

The process of uniting the masses under the Communist flag must be developed in all actual questions of daily life. Above all, the fight against imperialism and militarism, the fight against the danger of fresh imperialist wars, etc.

f) The Fight Against the Economic Results of the Post-war Crisis.

Other questions coming under this heading are those connected with the struggle against the economic results of the war and post-war crisis. (Fight against increased prices, against unemployment, against longer working hours, against higher taxation, etc.)

g) Supports of Soviet Russia.

The support of Soviet Russia, as a means towards strengthening it and towards mobilising the masses about this anti-capitalist centre point, constitutes the most powerful organising instrument in the hands of the international working class.

h) The International Discipline of Communism and the Communist International.

For the co-ordination of actions, and for the purposeful leadership thereof, the international proletariat require an international class discipline, which must above all be strictly adhered to in the ranks of the Communist Parties. This international communist discipline must be expressed by the subordination of all partial and local interests of the movement to its general and permanent interests, and by the unqualified execution of all resolutions passed by the leading organs of the Communist International.

i) Different National Types and the Different Application of Communist Principles.

Being the united world party of the proletariat, the Communist International makes it incumbent upon all its sections carefully to weigh all the peculiarities of the situation in their respective countries. Only by studying these peculiarities is it possible to conduct a real Marxian policy. The difference between the countries of highly developed capitalism, which are on the threshold of the proletarian revolution; the countries on the eve of bourgeois revolution, which must be transformed into the proletarian revolution; and finally, the countries which are still colonies or semi-colonies of imperialist powers, and which must still inevitably pass through the phase of colonial and national wars, — this difference must determine the whole activity of the communist parties which are under the uniform and centralised leadership of the Communist International.