

Symposium  
on the  
Programme  
Question



Published by the Communist International

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# Programme of the Russian Communist Party

THE October revolution of October 25 (November 7 new style), 1917, realised the dictatorship of the proletariat which, assisted by the poorest peasantry or semi-proletariat, began to lay the foundation of a Communist society. The course of development of the revolution in Germany and Austria-Hungary, the growth of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in all advanced countries, the spreading of the Soviet movement, that is, a form that is directed to the immediate realisation of the dictatorship of the proletariat—all this proved that a new era had begun—the era of the world-wide Proletarian Communist Revolution.

This revolution was the inevitable outcome of the development of capitalism which still reigns in the majority of the civilised countries. Our former programme, except for the incorrect designation of the party, *i.e.*, Social-Democratic Party, quite correctly describes the nature of capitalism and of bourgeois society in the following theses:—

“The chief characteristics of capitalist society is the production of goods on the basis of capital, where the most important and the greatest part of the means of production and exchange belongs to a small group of people. All the rest of the population consists of proletarians and semi-proletarians whose economic position compels them permanently or periodically to sell their labour power, *i.e.*, to become the wage slaves of capitalists and to create by their labour profits for the upper classes.

“The sphere of domination of the capitalist system of production extends more and more to the development of technique which, increasing the economic importance of large enterprises, leads to the abolition of small independent manufacturers. Some of these are reduced to the state of proletarians; the part played by the remainder in social and economic life is greatly narrowed, and in some cases the small manufacturers are put into a more complete, obvious, and burdensome dependence upon capital.

“The same progress of technique, moreover, gives the capitalists the opportunity to apply in greater dimensions women and child labour in production and circulation of goods. On the other hand, the development of technique leads to a relative decrease in the demand for human labour on the part of

the capitalists, and the supply of a labour power exceeds the demand; therefore, the dependence of hired labour upon capital increases, and the degree of exploitation becomes higher.

“Such a state of affairs within the country, together with the continual sharpening of rivalry on the world market, makes the sale of goods, the production of which continually increases, more and more difficult. As a result of over-production, industrial crises occur which are followed by more or less lasting periods of industrial stagnation. Over-production is the inevitable outcome of the development of productive power in bourgeois society. Crises and the periods of industrial stagnation in their turn ruin the small manufacturers still more, increase the dependence of wage labour upon capital, lead more quickly to a relative and sometimes to an absolute deterioration of the conditions of the working class.

“Thus the improvement of technique, which means an increase in the productivity of labour, and the growth of social wealth, in bourgeois society, leads to the increase of social inequality, widens the gulf between the rich and the poor, and leads to increased insecurity of existence, unemployment, and privation for the masses of workers.

“Just as all these contradictions which are inherent in bourgeois society grow and develop, so the discontent of the working and the exploited masses with the existing state of things grows also. The number and the solidarity of the proletariat increases and its struggle with the exploiters becomes keener. At the same time, the development of technique, as a result of which means of production and exchange are concentrated in a few hands and the process of labour in capitalist enterprises becomes more collective, more and more rapidly creates the opportunity for replacing the capitalist system of production by a communistic system and for bringing about a social revolution which is the final aim of the International Communist Party, the conscious expression of the working-class movement.

“Social revolution, replacing private property by social production and exchange, and introducing systematic organisation of production to secure the welfare and the development of all the members of society, will abolish the division into classes and liberate oppressed humanity. It will put an end to all kinds of exploitation of one section of society by the other.

“The necessary condition for a social revolution is the dictatorship of the proletariat, *i.e.*, the proletariat must seize political power which will enable it to crush the resistance of the capitalists. The International Communist Party, the aim of which is to make the proletariat capable of fulfilling its great historic mission, organises the proletariat into an independent political party which opposes all the bourgeois parties, leads the workmen in the class struggle, reveals to the proletariat the

irreconcilable difference of interests between exploiters and exploited, and explains to the proletariat the historic significance and the essential conditions of the approaching social revolution. At the same time, the International Communist Party reveals to all the rest of the toiling and exploited masses the hopelessness of its condition in capitalist society and the necessity for a social revolution for its own liberation from the yoke of capital. The party of the working class, the Communist Party, calls to the toiling and to the exploited masses who have a proletarian point of view to join its ranks.

“In the beginning of the twentieth century, the process of concentration and centralisation of capital, destroying free competition, led to the creation of great capitalist monopolies, syndicates, cartels, trusts, which dominated economic life. The same process brought about the amalgamation of bank capital with highly concentrated industrial capital, and to the exportation of capital abroad. The trusts, uniting all groups of capitalist States, began the economic partition of the world, the territories of which had already been divided between the richest countries. This period, in which the struggle between the capitalist countries inevitably grows sharper, is the period of imperialism.

“Imperialist wars therefore become inevitable, wars for markets, for the sale of goods, wars for spheres for investing capital, for raw material and for labour power, *i.e.*, wars for world domination and for the rule over small and weak nations. Such was the nature of the first great imperialist war of 1914-1918.

“The exceedingly high stage of development of world capitalism: the replacement of free competition by capitalist State monopolies, the regulation of production and distribution, the rise of the cost of living and the oppression of the working class by the imperialist State, the tremendous difficulties for the proletariat to carry on an economic and political struggle, and all the horrors, misery, and destruction which an imperialist war brings—all this makes the failure of capitalism and the transition to the higher type of public economy inevitable.

“The bourgeois Governments could finish the imperialist war neither by the conclusion of a just peace nor of any kind of stable peace. Capitalism has reached the point where imperialist war must inevitably become transformed, and is becoming transformed, into a civil war between the exploited toiling masses, headed by the proletariat, against the bourgeoisie.

“The increasing pressure of the proletariat, particularly its victories in some countries, strengthens the resistance of the exploiters and compels them to create new forms of international capitalist solidarity (League of Nations, &c.) which, organising the systematic exploitation of all nations on a world scale, directs

all its efforts to the immediate suppression of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat of all countries.

“All this inevitably leads to the blending of civil war within various countries with the defensive wars of revolutionary countries, and the struggles of oppressed nations against the yoke of imperialist States.

“Under such conditions, the watchwords of pacifism, ‘international disarmament,’ ‘courts of arbitration,’ &c., are not merely a reactionary utopia, but a deception of the working classes, directed to the disarming of the proletariat and to diverting it from its own task of disarming the exploiters.

“Only the proletarian Communist revolution is able to lead humanity out of the blind alley which was created by the imperialists and imperialist wars. In spite of all the difficulties the revolution will have to face, temporary failures, waves of counter-revolution—the final victory of the proletariat is inevitable.

“To attain the victory of the proletarian world revolution, the fullest confidence, the closest unity and co-ordination of all revolutionary activity of the working class in all countries is necessary.

“These conditions cannot be realised without a complete break with and bitter opposition to the bourgeois perversion of socialism, which had obtained the upper hand in the higher circles of the official social-democratic and socialist parties.

“One form of this perversion is the current of opportunism and social chauvinism—socialism in name, but chauvinism in fact, disguising the defence of the interests of the bourgeoisie under the false watchwords of defence of the fatherland, particularly during the imperialist war of 1914-1918.

“This current of opportunism is due to the opportunities created by the robbery of colonial and weak nations by advanced capitalist States. The surplus profits acquired therefrom by the bourgeoisie enables them to bribe the upper strata of the working-class, placing them in a privileged position by guaranteeing them in time of peace a tolerable existence and taking their leaders into their service.

“The opportunists and the social-chauvinists are the servants of the bourgeoisie and the direct enemies of the proletariat, especially now, when together with the capitalists they are suppressing the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in their own and in foreign countries.

“The other form is the so-called ‘Centre,’ which is also a bourgeois perversion of Socialism. This current is observed in equal degrees in all capitalist countries, and fluctuates between social-chauvinists and communists who at the same time strive to preserve unity with the former, and try to revive the bankrupt Second International. The new Third Communist

International alone conducts the struggle of the proletariat for its emancipation, and the Russian Communist Party is one of its detachments. This International was in fact created when the real proletarian elements of former Socialist parties in different countries, particularly in Germany, formed Communist parties, and was formally established in March, 1919, at the first conference in Moscow. The Communist International, which is more and more gaining the sympathies of the masses of the proletariat of all countries, not only in words but by deeds, by its political content and ideology restores Marxism and realises the revolutionary teaching of Marx now relieved from all bourgeois and opportunist perversions.

“The Russian Communist Party developing the concrete aims of the dictatorship of the proletariat with reference to Russia, the chief characteristic of which is that the majority of the population consists of petty bourgeoisie, defines these aims as follows :—

#### GENERAL POLITICS

(1) Bourgeois republics, even the most democratic, and sanctified by such watchwords as “will of the people,” “will of the nation,” “no class privilege,” remain in fact, owing to the existence of private property in land and other means of production, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, an instrument for exploitation and oppression of the broad masses of workers by a small group of capitalists. Contrary to this, the proletariat of Soviet democracy transformed all purely working-class organisations, organisations of proletarians and poorest peasantry or semi-proletarians, *i.e.*, the vast majority of the population, into a single and permanent basis of the State apparatus, local and central. By this act, the Soviet State realised among other things local and regional autonomy without the appointment of authorities from above, on a much wider scale than is practised anywhere. The aim of the party is to exert the greatest efforts in order to realise fully this highest type of democracy which to function accurately requires a continually rising standard of culture, organisation, and activity on the part of the working masses.

(2) Contrary to bourgeois democracy which concealed the class character of the State, the Soviet authority openly acknowledges that every State must inevitably bear a class character until the division of society into classes has been abolished and all government disappears. By its very nature, the Soviet State directs itself to the suppression of the resistance of the exploiters, and the Soviet constitution does not stop at depriving the exploiters of their political rights, bearing in mind that any kind of freedom is a deception if it is opposed to the emancipation of labour from the yoke of capital. The aim of

the party of the proletariat consists in carrying on a determined suppression of the resistance of the exploiters, in struggling against the deeply rooted prejudices concerning the absolute character of bourgeois rights and freedom, and at the same time to explain that deprivation of political rights and any kind of limitation of freedom are necessary as temporary measures in order to defeat the attempts of the exploiters to retain or to re-establish their privileges. With the disappearance of the possibility of the exploitation of one human being by another the necessity for these measures will also gradually disappear.

(3) Bourgeois democracy has limited itself to formally proclaiming political rights and freedom, such as right of combination, freedom of speech, freedom of press, equality of citizenship. In practice, however, particularly in view of the economic slavery of the working masses, it was impossible for the workers to enjoy these rights and privileges to any great extent while the bourgeois democracy was in power.

The proletarian democracy, on the contrary, instead of merely proclaiming those rights and freedom, actually grants them first of all to those classes and to the peasantry. For that purpose, the Soviet State expropriates premises, printing offices, stores of paper, &c., from the bourgeoisie, placing these at the disposal of the working masses and their organisations. The aim of the Russian Communist Party is to encourage the working masses to enjoy democratic rights and liberties, and to offer them every opportunity for doing so.

(4) Bourgeois democracy through the ages proclaimed equality of nations, irrespective of religion, race, or nationality, and the equality of the sexes. Capitalism prevented the realisation of this equality, and in its imperialist stage developed race and national suppression. The Soviet Government, by being the government of the working classes, for the first time in history could in all spheres of life realise this equality, destroying the last traces of woman's inequality in the sphere of marriage and the family. At the present moment the work of the party is principally intellectual and educational with the aim of abolishing the last traces of former inequality and prejudices, especially amongst the backward sections of the proletariat and peasantry.

The party's aim is not to limit itself to the formal proclamation of woman's equality, but to liberate woman from all the burdens of antiquated methods of housekeeping by replacing them by house-communes, public kitchens, central laundries, crèches, &c.

(5) The Soviet Government, guaranteeing to the working masses incomparably more opportunities to vote and to recall their delegates in the most easy and accessible manner than

they possessed at the time of bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism, at the same time abolishes all the negative features of parliamentarism especially the separation of legislative and executive authorities, the isolation of the government institutions from the masses, &c.

In Soviet Russia, not a territorial district, but a productive unit (a factory, mill), forms the electoral unit and the unit of the State. The State apparatus is thus connected with the masses.

The aim of the party consists in endeavouring to bring the government apparatus into closer contact with the masses, for the purpose of realising democracy more fully and strictly in practice by making Government officials responsible to, and placing them under the control of, the masses.

(6) The Soviet Government includes in its organs, the Soviets, workmen and soldiers, on a basis of complete equality and unity of interests, whereas bourgeois democracy, in spite of all its declarations, transformed the army into an instrument of the wealthy classes, separated it from the masses, and set it against them, destroying or depriving the soldiers of any opportunity of exercising their political rights. The aim of the party is to defend and to develop this unity of the workmen and soldiers in the Soviets, and to strengthen the indissoluble connection between the armed forces and the organisations of the proletariat and semi-proletariat.

7. The urban proletariat being the more concentrated, united, and educated section of the working class hardened in battle, played the part of leader in revolution. This was evidenced while the Soviets were being created, as well as in the course of development of the Soviets into organs of authority. Our Soviet constitution reflects that in certain privileges it confers upon the industrial proletariat in comparison with the more scattered petty bourgeois mass in the village.

The Russian Communist Party explaining the temporary character of those privileges, which are historically connected with the difficulties of Socialist organisation of the village, must try undeviatingly and systematically to take advantage of the position of the industrial proletariat in order closer to unite the backward and the scattered masses of the village proletarians and semi-proletarians as well as the middle-class peasantry, as a counter-balance to the close corporation and narrow craft interests which were fostered by capitalism amongst the workmen.

8. The proletarian revolution owing to the Soviet organisation of the State was able at one stroke finally to destroy the old bourgeois, official, and judicial State apparatus. The comparatively low standard of culture of the masses, the absence of necessary experience in State administration on the part of responsible workers who are elected by the masses, the pressing

necessity owing to the critical position for engaging specialists of the old school, and the calling up to military service of the more advanced section of city workmen—all this led to the partial revival of bureaucracy within the Soviet State.

The Russian Communist Party carrying on a resolute struggle with bureaucracy suggests the following measures for overcoming this evil :—

(1) Every member of the Soviet is obliged to perform a certain duty in State administration.

(2) These duties must change in rotation, so as to gradually embrace all branches of administrative work.

(3) All the working masses, without exception, must be gradually induced to take part in the work of State administration.

The complete realisation of these measures will carry us in advance of the Paris commune, and the simplification of the work of administration, together with the raising of the level of culture of the masses, will eventually lead to the abolition of the State.

#### NATIONAL RELATIONS

9. The Russian Communist Party with reference to the national question is guided by the following theses :—

(1) The principal aim is to bring into closer connection the proletarians and semi-proletarians of different nationalities for the purpose of carrying on a general struggle for the overthrow of the landlords and the bourgeoisie.

(2) In order to remove mistrust on the part of the working masses of the oppressed countries towards the proletariat of those States which formerly oppressed them, it is necessary to abolish all privileges of any national group, to proclaim the fullest equality of all nationalities, and to recognise the rights of colonies and oppressed nations to separation.

(3) For the same purpose, as a temporary measure towards achieving the unity of nations, the party suggests a federative combination of all States organised on the Soviet basis.

The Russian Communist Party regards the question as to which class expresses the desire of a nation for separation from an historical class point of view, taking into consideration the level of historic development of the nation, *i.e.*, whether the nation is passing from medievalism towards bourgeois democracy or from bourgeois democracy towards Soviet or proletarian democracy, &c.

In any case, particular care and attention must be exercised by the proletarian of the oppressing nations towards the pre-living national feelings of the working masses of the oppressed nations, or nations which are limited in their rights. Only by such a policy is it possible to create favourable conditions for a voluntary and real unity of different national elements of the

international proletariat, as has been proved by the combination of different national Soviet republics with Soviet Russia.

### MILITARY AFFAIRS

10. The aims of the party with reference to military matters can be expressed by the following fundamental theses :—

(1) In the period when imperialism is decaying and civil war is spreading, it is possible neither to retain the old army nor to construct a new one on a national and non-class basis. The Red Army, as the instrument of the proletarian dictatorship, is compelled to have an undisguised class character, *i.e.*, its ranks must be filled exclusively with proletarians and semi-proletarian sections of the peasantry. Only with the abolition of classes will this kind of army be transformed into a national socialist militia.

(2) All proletarians and semi-proletarians must undergo a course of military training. Military training must be introduced into schools.

(3) The work of military training and the education of the Red Army is conducted on the basis of class solidarity and socialist education. Therefore, political-commissaries chosen from devoted and trustworthy Communists are as necessary as military officials, and Communist groups must be organised in all sections of the army in order to establish class conscious discipline and an intellectual link with the party.

(4) As a counter-balance to the old order of things in the army, the following changes are necessary : shorter periods of barrack training, barracks to be nearer to the type of military and military-political schools, closer connection between military formations and mills, factories, trade unions, and organisations of the poorest peasantry.

(5) Only officers corps drawn at first from the lower ranks and from amongst class-conscious workmen and peasants can add the necessary organisation and stability to the young revolutionary army. Therefore, one of the principal aims in the construction of the army is the training of the most energetic and capable soldiers devoted to the cause of Socialism to be able to perform the duties of commanders.

(6) It is necessary to make use of and adopt on a wide scale the practical and the technical experience of the last world war. In connection with this it is necessary to attract military specialists who have gone through the training of the old army for the organisation of the army and for conducting military operations. At the same time this attraction of military specialists must be done on condition that political guidance and full control over military officials is concentrated in the hands of the working class.

(7) The demand that the military command should be elective had great significance with reference to the bourgeois army where the military command were chosen and trained to become an instrument of class oppression of soldiers, and through them of the working masses. This demand has no significance with reference to the Red Army composed of class-conscious workmen and peasantry. The possibility of contriving the election and appointment of the military command of the revolutionary class-conscious Red Army is dictated exclusively by practical consideration and depends upon the standard of organisation attained, the degree of solidarity of the parts of the army, and the effective force of the command, &c.

#### JURISPRUDENCE

11. Proletarian democracy, taking power into its own hands and finally abolishing the organs of domination of the bourgeoisie—the former courts of justice—has replaced the formula of bourgeois democracy: ‘judges elected by the people,’ by the class watchword: ‘the judges must be elected from the working masses and only by the working class.’

In order to induce the broad masses of the proletariat and the peasantry to take part in the administration of justice, a bench of jury-judges sitting in rotation under the guidance of a permanent judge is introduced and various labour organisations and trade unions must impanel their delegates.

The Soviet Government has replaced the former endless series of courts of justice with their various grades by a very simplified, uniform system of people’s courts accessible to the population and devoid of useless delay.

The Soviet Government, abolishing all the laws of the overthrown Governments, commissioned the judges elected by the Soviets to carry out the will of the proletariat in compliance with its decrees and in cases of absence or incompleteness of decrees to be guided by Socialist conscience.

Constructed on such a basis, the courts of justice have already led to a fundamental alteration of the character of punishment, introducing conditional verdicts on a wide scale, applying public censure as a form of punishment, replacing imprisonment by obligatory labour with the retention of freedom, reformation in tribunals, institutions and applying the principle of ‘Comrade Tribunals’ (tribunals selected from an accused person’s fellow workers).

The Russian Communist Party, in order to assist the further development of the courts of justice on these lines, will try its utmost to induce all workmen without exception to perform judicial duties and finally strive to substitute the system of punishment by educational measures.

12. The Russian Communist Party in the sphere of education considers its task to bring to fulfilment the work begun after the October Revolution, 1917, which consists in transforming the school from being the instrument of the domination of the bourgeoisie into an instrument for the abolition of the class division of society, into an instrument for a Communist regeneration of society.

In the period of dictatorship of the proletariat, *i.e.*, in the period when conditions suitable for the realisation of Communism are created, the school must be not only the conductor of Communist principles, but become the conductor of intellectual, organisational, and educational influences of the proletariat to the semi-proletariat and non-proletariat sections of the working masses, in order to educate a generation capable of establishing Communism. The immediate aim in this direction is at the present time the further development of the following basis of the school and educational work which was already established by the Soviet Government.

(1) The introduction of free and compulsory general and technical education (instruction in the theory and practice of the principal branches of production) for all children of both sexes up to the age of 17.

(2) The foundation of a system of pre-school institutions: crèches, kindergartens, homes, &c. This would improve the social development of women and assist their emancipation.

(3) Full realisation of principles of a uniform industrial school with co-education for children of both sexes, free from religious influence; a school where tuition is closely connected with socially useful labour and which prepares accomplished members of a Communist society.

(4) The supply of all pupils with food, clothes, boots, and school appliances at the cost of the State.

(5) The preparation of a new class of teachers who are imbued with the ideas of Communism.

(6) To induce the working masses to take an active part in educational work (the development of 'councils of public education,' mobilisation of educated people, &c.).

(7) General State assistance of self-education and an intellectual development of workers and peasants (creation of a system of institutions for out of school education such as libraries, adult schools, people's palaces, and universities, courses of lectures, cinemas, studies, &c.).

(8) Spreading on a large scale of professional education for persons from the age of 17 in connection with technical knowledge.

(9) To make all universities accessible to all desiring study, particularly for the workman: to attract all people able to

lecture to become instructors in these universities, to abolish all artificial barriers standing in the way of young scientists reaching professional chairs: financial support of students in order to offer the proletarians and the peasants the fullest opportunity to take advantage of the universities.

(10) To open and make accessible to the working classes all the art treasures which were created by the exploitation of their labour and which were formerly at the exclusive disposal of the exploiters.

(11) To develop the propaganda of Communist ideas on a wide scale and for that purpose of taking advantage of the State means and apparatus.

## RELIGION

13. With reference to religion, the Russian Communist Party does not content itself with the already declared separation of church from State, *i.e.*, measures which are one of the items of the programme of bourgeois democracy, which was, however, never fulfilled owing to many and various ties binding capital with religious propaganda.

The Russian Communist Party is guided by the conviction that only the realisation of class conscious and systematic social and economic activity of the masses will lead to the disappearance of religious prejudices. The aim of the party is finally to destroy the ties between the exploiting classes and organisations for religious propaganda, at the same time helping the working class to actually liberate its mind from religious superstitions, and organising on a wide scale secular and anti-theological propaganda. It is, however, necessary to carefully avoid offending the religious susceptibilities of believers which leads only to the strengthening of religious fanaticism.

## ECONOMICS

14. (1) Undeviatingly to continue and finally to realise the expropriation of the bourgeoisie which was begun and which has already largely completed, the transforming of all means of production and exchange into the property of the Soviet Republic, *i.e.*, the common property of all the working masses.

(2) All possible increase of the productive forces of the country must be considered the fundamental and principal points upon which the economic policy of the Soviet Government is based, in view of the disorganisation of the country, everything in other spheres of life must be subjugated to the practical aim immediately and at all costs to increase the quantity of products required by the population. The productivity of labour in every Soviet institution connected with public economy must be gauged by the practical results in this direction.

At the same time it is necessary in the first place to pay attention to the following :—

(3) The decaying imperialist system of economy left to the Soviet State an inheritance of chaos in the organisation and management of production which hampered it in the first period of construction. The more imperative therefore becomes the fundamental task of concentrating all the economic activity of the country according to a general State plan : the greatest concentration of production for the purpose of amalgamating it in the most productive units, and for the purpose of rapidity in carrying out economic achievements, the most efficient arrangement of the productive apparatus and a rational and economical utilisation of all material resources of the country.

It is necessary to extend economic co-operation and political ties with other nations, and try at the same time to establish a general economic plan with those which have already adopted the Soviet system of construction.

(4) It is necessary to utilise petty and handicraft industry to the widest extent by placing Government orders with handicraftsmen; to include handicraft and petty industry into the general scheme of supplying raw materials and fuel, as well as financial assistance on condition that individual handicraftsmen, handicraft associations, productive co-operative societies and small enterprises will amalgamate into large productive and industrial units; to encourage such amalgamations by offering them economic privileges, which together with other measures are aimed at defeating the aspirations of the handicraftsmen to become small manufacturers and thus painlessly replace the backward forms of production by a higher, large machine industry.

(5) The organising apparatus of socialised industry must first of all rest upon the trade unions. The latter must free themselves from their narrow guild outlook and transform themselves into large productive combinations, which will unite the majority, and finally the whole of the workmen of a certain branch of production.

Trade unions being already, according to the laws of the Soviet Republic, and established by practice, participants in all local and central apparatus managing industry, must actually concentrate in their hands the management of the whole system of public economy as an economic unit. The trade unions, thus securing an indissoluble union between the central State administration, public system of economy, and the masses of the workmen, must induce the latter to take part in the immediate management of production. The participation of trade unions in the management of production and the attraction by them of the working masses is, moreover, the principal means to carry on a struggle against bureaucracy in the economic apparatus of the Soviet and affords the

opportunity of establishing a really democratic control over the results of production.

(6) Maximum utilisation of all labour power existing in the State, its regular distribution and re-distribution among various territorial regions as well as amongst various branches of production is necessary for the systematic development of public economy and must be the immediate aim in the economic policy of the Soviet Government. This aim can be attained in closest co-operation with the trade unions. For the purpose of performing certain social duties, a general mobilisation of all those capable of working must be carried out by the Soviet Government, aided by the trade unions on a much wider scale and more systematically than has been done hitherto.

(7) Under circumstances of the complete disorganisation of the capitalist system of labour, the productive forces of the country can be restored and developed and a social system of production strengthened only on the basis of the discipline of workmen, maximum activity on their part, responsibility and strictest mutual control over the productivity of labour.

Persistent systematic effort directed to the education of the working masses is necessary to attain this aim. This work is now made easier as the masses in reality see the abolition of capitalists, landowners, and merchants, and from their own experience draw the conclusion that the standard of their prosperity depends entirely upon the productivity of their labour.

The trade unions play the principal part in the work directed to the establishment of a new social discipline. The latter severing with old connections must put into practice and try various measures, such as the establishment of control, establishing standard of production, the introduction of responsibility of the workmen before special labour tribunals, &c., for the realisation of this aim.

(8) Moreover, for the development of the productive forces the immediate wide and full utilisation of all specialists in science and technique left to us by capitalism is necessary in spite of the fact that the latter are imbued with bourgeois ideas and habits. The party considers that the period of sharp struggle with this section owing to organised sabotage on their part is ended as the sabotage is subdued. The party in closest contact with the trade unions will follow its former line of action, *i.e.*, on one hand will make no political concessions to this bourgeois section and mercilessly suppress any counter-revolutionary attempt on its part, and on the other hand will carry on a merciless struggle against the pseudo-radical, but in reality, ignorant and conceited opinion that the working class can overcome capitalism and the bourgeois order without the aid of bourgeois specialists or taking advantage of their knowledge

without passing together with them through a thorough schooling of hard work.

While striving towards equal remuneration of labour and to realise Communism, the Soviet Government does not regard the immediate realisation of such equality possible at the moment, when only the first steps are being taken towards replacing capitalism by Communism. It is, therefore, necessary to maintain a higher remuneration for specialists in order that they should work not worse, but better than before and for that purpose it is not wise to abolish the system of bonuses, for the most successful, particularly for work of organisation.

To the same degree, it is necessary to place the bourgeois experts in comradely relations with general labour, working hand in hand with the masses of average workers led by class conscious Communists and thus to assist the mutual understanding and unity between physical and intellectual workers formerly separated by capitalism.

(9) The Soviet Government has already adopted a number of measures directed to the development of science and for bringing it into closer contact with production, viz., the creation of a number of new scientific institutions, laboratories, stations for research purposes, experimental production in order to verify new technical methods, improvements and inventions, taking stock of and organising all scientific forces. The Russian Communist Party supporting all these measures, strives to attain their further development and to create more favourable conditions for scientific work in its connection with the increase of the productive forces of the country.

#### AGRICULTURE. RURAL ECONOMY

15. The Soviet Government, realising the complete abolition of private property in land, has already begun to carry out a series of measures directed to the organisation of socialist agriculture on a wide scale. The principal measures are as follows: 1. The establishment of Soviet farms, *i.e.*, large socialist economies. 2. Assistance to societies as well as friendly associations for social land cultivation. 3. Organisation by the state of the cultivation of all uncultivated land irrespective of to whom it belongs. 4. State mobilisation of all agricultural forces for the purpose of taking most energetic measures to increase agricultural productivity. 5. The support of agricultural communes as voluntary associations of agricultural labourers for the purpose of conducting a general system of economy on a large scale.

The Russian Communist Party, considering all these measures as the only way towards the absolutely indispensable increase of productivity of agricultural labour, strives to extend them to

the more backward regions of the country, and as further steps in this direction, the Russian Communist Party particularly supports :—

(1) All possible encouragement by the State of agricultural co-operative societies engaged in the production of agricultural produce.

(2) The introduction of a system of melioration on a wide scale.

(3) The systematic supply on a wide scale of agricultural implements through special hiring offices to the poorest and the middle-class peasantry.

The Russian Communist Party, taking into consideration that the petty system of agriculture will last for a considerable time yet, strives to carry out a series of measures directed to the increase of productivity of agriculture. The measures are : 1. The regulation of the exploitation of land by the peasants (abolition of scattered fields, &c.). 2. The supply to the peasantry of improved seeds and artificial manure. 3. The improvement of the breed of cattle. 4. The spreading of agricultural science. 5. Agricultural aid to the peasantry. 6. The repair of peasants' agricultural implements in Soviet workshops. 7. The establishment of hiring stores, experimental stations, exhibition fields, &c. 8. The improvement of rural land.

16. The opposition between the town and the village is one of the chief causes of economic and cultural backwardness of the village. In periods of serious crisis such as the present, this opposition places the town and village before the immediate danger of degeneration and destruction. The Russian Communist Party sees in the abolition of this opposition one of the principal tasks of Communist construction, and amongst other measures considers essential the systematic attraction of industrial workmen to Communist construction in agriculture, and greater activity on the part of the already established 'Workmen's Co-operative Committee,' &c.

17. The Russian Communist Party in its work in the village, as formerly, looks for support to the proletarian and semi-proletarian section of it, and in the first place organises this section into an independent force, creating party circles in the village, organisations of the rural poor, special types of trade unions of village proletarians and semi-proletarians, and so on, bringing them into closer contact with the urban proletarians, freeing them from the influence of the rural bourgeoisie and the interests of small property holders.

The relation of the Russian Communist Party towards the rural bourgeoisie is one of carrying on a resolute struggle against their attempts at exploitation, and determination to suppress their resistance to the Soviet policy.

The policy of the Russian Communist Party with reference to the middle-class peasantry consists in gradually and systematically attracting it to the work of Socialistic construction. The party's aim is to separate this section from the rural bourgeoisie, by giving consideration to its needs, to bring it over to the side of the proletariat, to struggle against its backwardness by means of education and by no means by suppression, in all cases where the vital interests of this section are involved to come to an agreement with it, and making concessions to it on questions referring to methods of realising Socialist reorganisation.

#### DISTRIBUTION

18. In the sphere of distribution, the task of the Soviet Government at the present time is undeviatingly to replace private trade by a systematic distribution of products on a national scale. The aim is to organise the population into a uniform network of consumers' communes which will be able with the greatest rapidity, systematically, economically, and with the least expenditure of labour to distribute all necessary products, strictly centralising the apparatus for distribution.

The already existing general and workmen's co-operative societies, which is one of the largest organisations of consumers and which the development of capitalism has made a most proficient apparatus for distribution on a large scale, will become the basis of the communes of consumers.

The Russian Communist Party, considering more correct on principle the further development of the Communist co-operative apparatus and not its abolition, must systematically continue its policy: to make the work in co-operative societies obligatory for all members of the party, to conduct them with the aid of trade unions on a Communist basis, to develop amongst the workers in co-operative societies initiative and discipline, to strive towards securing that the whole population belong to co-operative societies, combined into one co-operative embracing all Soviet Russia, and finally—and most essentially—to securing that the influence of the proletariat on other sections of the working class should always prevail, and the introduction of measures facilitating and realising the transformation of petty bourgeois co-operatives of the old capitalist type into communes of consumers conducted by the proletariat and semi-proletariat.

#### FINANCE AND BANKING

19. The Russian Soviet Government, avoiding a repetition of the mistake of the Paris commune, immediately expropriated the State Bank, then proceeded to the nationalisation of private and commercial banks, State Treasury, and State Bank, thus laying the foundation of a uniform national bank of Soviet Russia and transforming the banks from an instrument of

economic domination of financial capital into an organ of power of the workers and a lever of economic revolution. The Russian Communist Party, considering its aim to be the final accomplishment of the work begun by the Soviet Government, regards the following principles as paramount :—

(1) The monopolisation of all banking by the Soviet State.

(2) A complete alteration and simplification of bank transactions by transforming the banks into an apparatus for uniform account and general book-keeping of Soviet Russia. The organisation of a systematic public economy will lead to the abolition of the bank and to the transformation of it into a central book-keeping department of the Communist society.

20. In the first period of transition of capitalism to Communism, while Communist production and distribution of products is not yet organised, it is impossible to abolish money. Under such conditions, the bourgeois sections of society are able to utilise money which still remains private property for the purpose of speculation, profiteering, and robbery of the working classes. The Russian Communist Party strives towards the adoption of a series of measures which will render it possible to carry on operations without the aid of money on a wider field, and which will lead to the abolition of money; compulsory depositing of money in the public bank; the introduction of budget books; the replacing of money by cheques; short term tickets for procuring products, and so on.

#### TAXATION

21. In the period commencing with the socialisation of the means of production expropriated from the capitalists, the State ceases to be a parasite apparatus ruling the process of production: it becomes transformed into an organisation performing the functions of administering the economic system of the country and to that extent the State Budget becomes the Budget of public economy as a whole.

Under such circumstances the balancing of State revenues and expenditure can be realised on the condition that State production and distribution of products is arranged in the most efficient manner. The Russian Communist Party, with reference to the covering of immediate State expenditure in the period of transition, defends the transition from the system of levies imposed on the capitalists as being historically necessary and legal in the period of social-revolution to the progressive income and property tax. In as much as this tax becomes obsolete, owing to the general expropriation of the propertied class, State expenditure must be met by the direct conversion of a part of the income derived from the various State monopolies into State revenue.

## HOUSING

22. The Soviet Government, in trying to solve the housing problem particularly sharpened during the war, has expropriated completely all the houses of landlord capitalists and handed them over to the municipal Soviets; has removed a number of workmen from the suburbs into bourgeois houses, handed over the best houses to the workmen's organisations, undertaking the maintenance of these at the cost of the State; and has arranged for the supply of furniture to workmen's families.

The aim of the Russian Communist Party is to exert the greatest efforts for the improving of the housing conditions of the working masses; the abolition of overcrowding into insanitary quarters; the abolition of improper houses, the rebuilding of old houses, and the building of new ones which will be in conformity with the new conditions of life of the working masses.

## PROTECTION OF LABOUR AND SOCIAL MAINTENANCE

23. The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat for the first time created the opportunity enabling the minimum programme of all Socialist parties in the sphere of the protection of labour to be completely realised.

The Soviet Government, by legislative enactment, has introduced the 'Code of Labour Laws,' has ratified as a maximum an eight hours' day for all workmen. For persons under eighteen and those working in unhealthy branches of production, and for miners, six hours a day. All workmen get forty-two hours uninterrupted rest every week; the prohibition of continuous overtime; the prohibition of employment of young persons under sixteen, the prohibition of employment of night work, particularly in harmful branches of production, for all women and males under eighteen; the exemption from work of pregnant women eight weeks before and eight weeks after confinement with the maintenance of full wages together with free medical assistance and medicine. All nursing women are permitted not less than half an hour every three hours for nursing their babies, and all nursing mothers receive supplementary subsidies; factory and sanitary inspectors are elected by the trade union councils.

The Soviet Government by legislative enactment has introduced complete social maintenance of all workmen not exploiting the labour of others in case of their losing capacity for work, and for the first time in the world introduced insurance unemployment of workmen at the cost of employers and of the State, granting complete autonomy to those who are maintained with the participation of trade unions.

Moreover, the Soviet Government in some respects has gone further than the minimum programme and laid down in the

same 'Code of Labour Laws' the participation of the workmen's organisations in the discussion of questions referring to the hiring and discharging of workmen; a month's holiday for all workmen who worked continually for not less than a year with the maintenance of wages; the State regulation of wages according to rates worked out by trade unions; the duty of certain organs such as the Soviet and trade union departments for the distribution and regulation of labour power in order to provide work for unemployed workmen.

The extreme destruction caused by the war and the pressure of world imperialism have compelled the Soviet Government to depart from the code in the following instances : to allow overtime in exclusive cases, but not exceeding fifty days in the course of one year; to permit youths between fourteen and sixteen to work, but the length of their working day not to exceed four hours; temporarily to reduce holidays from a month to a fortnight; to increase the hours of night work to seven.

The Russian Communist Party must carry on propaganda for the participation of all workmen in the realisation of all these measures for the protection of labour, for which purpose it is necessary :—

(1) To make the work of organisation and extension of labour inspection more intensive by choosing and preparing for that purpose active workers from amongst the workmen and to extend inspection to small and home industry.

(2) To finally abolish boy and girl labour, and further to decrease the working hours for young persons.

Besides that, the Russian Communist Party's task is to establish :—

(1) With the general increase of productivity of labour the six hours working day as a maximum without reduction of wages, but on condition that all workers must devote two hours overtime without pay to the study of the theory of trade and industry, to practical training for State administration and military drill.

(2) The introduction of the premium bonus system for the encouragement and increase of labour productivity.

The Russian Communist Party in the sphere of social maintenance strives to organise on a large scale the State support not only of the war victims and victims of various catastrophies, but the victims of abnormal social relations. The Party also conducts a struggle against parasitism and idleness.

#### PROTECTION OF PUBLIC HEALTH

24. The task of the Russian Communist Party as the starting point in its work for protection of public health, considers the realisation of sanitary measures on a large scale for the

purpose of preventing the spreading of disease. The dictatorship has already created the opportunity for carrying out a series of measures, the realisation of which was out of the question in bourgeois society : the nationalisation of drug stores, large private medical institutions, health resorts, compulsory work for all medical men and women, and so on.

In conformity with the above the Russian Communist Party considers its immediate task :—

(1) To carry out in the interests of the working masses sanitary measures on a large scale, such as :—

(a) Sanitation of inhabited places (guarding of soil, water, and air).

(b) Setting up communal feeding on a scientific and hygienic basis.

(c) The organisation of measures preventing the development and spreading of infectious diseases.

(d) The introduction of sanitary legislation.

(2) The struggle with social diseases (consumption, venereal diseases, alcoholism, &c.).

(3) To make free and qualified medical assistance and medicine accessible to all.”

# The Programme of the Communist Party of Germany

(Section of the Communist International)

## AN OUTLINE

**T**HE Central Committee of the E.P.D. herewith submit for discussion by the Party comrades the outline of a programme of the E.P.D. This outline will be submitted firstly to the meeting of the Central Committee on October 14 and 15, secondly to the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, and finally to the German Party Conference, which will probably be held at the beginning of January

On the eve of the flood of bourgeois revolutions, Communism sounded its mighty call to battle to the proletarians of all countries. Boldly and menacingly it announced the inevitable downfall of the capitalist social order.

It saw the future grave-diggers of capitalism arise within bourgeois society itself: the working class, which as a result of the oppression and exploitation of the capitalists was steadily growing and was becoming a united and well trained body.

After the first revolutionary convulsions the capitalist world order had a remarkable recovery.

To-day, however, the historic prophecy of Communism is being fulfilled, and the death sentence which it pronounced on the old world order is about to be carried out.

The capitalist world is in its death throes. The hour of its destruction has struck. At last the age long struggle of the oppressed and exploited masses for emancipation is approaching its end.

The proletariat of to-day is bringing to an issue the struggle of the slaves against the slave holders of the medieval serfs against the feudal landowners of the agrarian village communes against the eastern despots.

By breaking the chains of wage slavery, the proletariat puts an end to the exploitation and the oppression of man by man.

A few thousand of the more advanced proletarians in some countries of Central and Western Europe were the first to rally around the banner of Communism. Seventy-five years of existence have promoted Communism to a world power.

Millions of proletarians and of poor peasants in all countries and on all continents, of all nationalities and races, are following the banner of Communism.

The June rising of the Paris proletariat in 1848 and the

glorious Paris commune of 1871 were drowned by the bourgeoisie in streams of blood.

To-day the banner of Communism is floating victoriously over a territory comprising a sixth part of the globe.

Communism has entered the sphere of the great power and it has overcome all resistance by armed force.

Communism is not any longer in the dim and distant future. It is an accomplished fact.

Its reign has already begun.

## CHAPTER I.

### THE RISE AND FALL OF CAPITALISM

#### I. THE PERIOD OF IMPERIALISM

1. Towards the end of the nineteenth century capitalism entered into a new phase. This was the beginning of imperialism. In the dim and smoke of colonial wars which broke out in America, Asia, and finally also in Europe itself, capitalism grew to a gigantic size. The paleolithic hunting and fishing tribes of New Guinea, and patriarchal pastoral tribes of Africa, the most ancient cultural dominions of Asia, in fact the whole world, was opened up by capitalism, and in the course of one generation was put more or less under its dominion. The colonial conquests of capitalism during the period (from 1884-1914) exceed in magnitude the achievements of the preceding four hundred years. Boundless prospects were opened up before capitalism. Its politicians, writers, artists, and philosophers depicted the greatness of capitalist domination in glowing colours. The glamour of imperialism intoxicated not only the big bourgeoisie but also the petty bourgeoisie, the bourgeois intellectuals and even a section of the working class. However, the turning point and the descent began before the highest summit was reached. A period of national risings and bourgeois revolutions has set in in the patriarchal and semi-feudal peasant countries of the East in which European capitalism had begun to get a footing (Turkey, Persia, China, &c.). Finally, the conflagration of the colonial wars had its repercussion in the European mother countries. Three Balkan wars followed each other, only to break out into the general world conflagration—the world war which drew into its orbit almost the entire world. The downfall of the occident, *viz.*, of the European capitalism, is drawing near.

2. In the imperialist epoch free competition in the chief industries, in banking, in commerce, and in transport was substituted by the capitalist monopolist system, and the individual

capitalists by the capitalist combines (syndicates, cartels, and trusts). Whole branches of industry are combined into a few or into one capitalist combine. Several branches of industry and several industries of a similar character are amalgamated and dominate the whole industry. In the chief capitalist countries the struggle of the individual capitalists among themselves and against the small industries is superseded by the struggle of the capitalist combine against the individual capitalists and by that of the capitalist combines among each other. The competition thus engendered results in amalgamations : cartels, associations, and fusions only to break out subsequently on a larger scale and to end finally in the formation of gigantic monopolies. Monopoly leads to competition between trusts and the competition leads to an enlarged monopoly. The monopoly combines do not stop short at frontiers. They extend into international combines which are, however, again interfered with by the struggles for power of the national combines which make use of the State Power in order to settle their rivalries. Bank capital is also being concentrated into fewer hands, which facilitates the formation of gigantic banks. Bank capital is obtaining a footing in the monopolised industries, and participates in their control and management. On the other hand, industrial capital is obtaining a footing in the banking business. This results in the increasing concentration of industrial and bank capital, their transformation into finance capital and in the domination of the economic life of large industrial States by a small number of the closely connected groups of monopolists. A few hundred bank and trust kings are ruling over the economic life of the world.

Under monopolist capitalism free trade is superseded by high protective tariffs. The high protective tariffs become a specific means for the highly developed capitalist States to secure monopolist excess profits, and to render more difficult or to entirely destroy the competition of imperialist rivals in the colonial countries.

The preceding capitalist period organised production in single factories and in single branches of industry. The imperialist-monopolist method has put a number of factories of a similar type, whole branches of industries and whole industries, under a uniform and systematic management. In times of crisis, when its existence is at stake, capitalism within great States sometimes temporarily puts the entire industry, commerce, the transport system and banking (within certain limits) under a single management. The imperialist epoch has greatly hastened the socialisation of the process of production. Thanks to these, world markets and world economy which were formerly mere tendencies have become a reality.

Moreover, it has immensely widened and enriched the social forces of production. Systematic research and inventions are no longer restricted to a few inventors, but are the concern of State research departments and of the large industrial combines of important scientific discoveries and technical inventions, and a rapid mutual improvement and furthering of both. Electricity has begun its victorious career, and oil and electricity have revolutionised industry and transport. Dirigible airships, aeroplanes, submarines, wireless telegraphy and telephony have reduced distances to nothing, have increased speed, and the circumstances of world intercourse and of entire social life. The steam and water turbines, the petrol motors and the electrical power have revolutionised the old methods of producing energy, and have created hitherto undreamt of possibilities of carrying it over wide distances and of distributing it from a few centres. Chemistry has displaced the old vegetable dyeing materials, and the chemical preparation of nitrates and other artificial manures has created new possibilities for the expansion of agriculture. Applied biology has discovered new methods for plant and animal breeding. The worker in the modern industries compelled to follow in the wake of the technical revolution has become a Proteus, and has soon learnt to adapt himself to new surroundings and new methods of work. While less is demanded of his physical strength, more is demanded of his intelligence and his technical knowledge. The technical revolution is continually depreciating the technical knowledge of the workers, but at the same time it increases their versatility and their self reliance. It reduced the number of highly specialised experts to a minimum while it increases the mobility and the adaptability of the semi-skilled workers.

Monopolist capitalism does not develop agriculture at the same rate as the industries. However, a continuous industrialisation of the big agricultural concerns and their direct linking up with the industry is taking place. Agriculture, hampered as it is by land monopoly and by small peasant proprietorship, cannot keep pace with the rapid and impetuous expansion of industry. The epoch of imperialism is producing a growing disproportion between industry and agriculture.

3. The productive forces, newly created during the period of one generation, greatly transcend the achievements of previous centuries.

These gigantic productive forces are not produced by capitalism for their own sake. They are the unintentional result of the inevitable means employed by capitalism for increasing its profits, and are an inseparable adjunct of the growth of capitalism. This growth in all its phases is bound up with the necessity of acquiring new markets and of adding non-capitalist regions to its possessions. Inherent conditions are continually inducive to

conquer new markets, to open up new sources of raw materials and to absorb within itself her labour power from all parts of the world. The enormous growth of capitalist productive forces during the imperialist epoch and their monopolist amalgamation were possible only as a result of the continuous incorporation of new regions, colonies, and semi-colonies, and owing to the export of goods and capital. In its rapid progress throughout the world capitalism has not only roused new and hitherto slumbering forces, opened up new sources of raw materials, enlisted new human masses into its labour army and carried capitalist means of production into new regions, but it has also destroyed by brute force entire populations, wiped out whole races, has reduced millions of coloured people to the lowest level of existence and slavery. In fact it acted in a relentless and predatory fashion wherever it set foot, it has destroyed everywhere the ancient self-supporting village communes, has robbed them of their land by methods of violence or through heavy taxation. By appropriating the wealth of their soil, it has destroyed their primitive home industries, and it has made the members of these communes an easy prey for its exploitation. After undermining these primitive communes, imperialism with the aid of its naval guns and its colonial armies forced them to open their frontiers for "its" goods.

It has destroyed the small peasant farms, the American and Transvaal farmers, the Australian squatters, and the farmers in the colonial countries, partly by means of great economic pressure and partly by brute force. It has occupied their lands and has reduced them to political and economic slavery.

After dissolving the self-supporting communes and the patriarchal peasant farms, imperialism introduced into the colonial countries the capitalist industries. Thus with its own hand it executed rivals for itself. By developing industry in the colonies the capitalist economic system is narrowing the field of its further existence and is rendering competition more acute owing to the shrinkage of the non-capitalist markets to an extent that renders them incapable of absorbing the products of the growing productive forces.

The highest expansion of capitalism constitutes at the same time the highest expansion of the exploitation and enslavement of the working masses of the home countries as well as of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, which in its turn heightens the contradiction and antagonisms within the capitalist world order and causes the periodical, social, political and economic crises and catastrophies.

4. Monopolist capitalism has abolished *laissez-faire* and anarchy in the various branches of industry only to create worse anarchy and more intense competition. The systematic management of the various trusts, cartels and syndicates is met by the

capitalist anarchic competition within the various States and within the world market. During the epoch of imperialism the world markets had become the arena for the continuous differences, tensions and struggles between the capitalist groups belonging to the various States. Under monopolist development the price paid for the concentration of production within the limits of certain branches or groups of industry is—curtailment of production and the retarding of technical progress. The capitalist monopoly has brought down its home rival with the weapons of technical progress and low prices, it frequently begins to hamper technical progress, and endeavours to increase its total profits not by increased production, but by obtaining monopolist profits at the expense of the other industries. The capitalist exploitation of colonies and semi-colonies by a few countries is accompanied by the transformation of industrial capital into financial and usurers' capital, and by the transformation of the industrial capitalists themselves into idle rentiers and parasites.

5. Monopolist capitalism, by concentrating the management of entire States in the hands of a few capitalist combines and by restricting capitalist competition, has become the all-powerful, brutal, and relentless opponent of the working class as a whole. It has rendered the exploitation of the wide proletarian masses and of the small bourgeoisie more acute by adding to the exploitation in the factories an even more acute exploitation in the world market. It has increased military expenditure to the utmost, thus putting heavy burdens on the shoulders of the working class, of the peasantry, the artisans and small and middle bourgeoisie. It has intensified the process of proletarianisation of the professional and commercial intellectuals. It has widened the gulf between the backward small industries and the well equipped big industries. Thus it has brought into being a middle section of society consisting of small capitalists, artisans, small peasants, small rentiers, and traders which is economically ruined and is vacillating between reaction and revolution. Indignation and resistance against the increasing oppression and the ever present menace of war are growing within the working class which monopolist capitalism is herding together in gigantic industrial undertakings and in mammoth industrial cities, while increasingly powerful workers' organisations are rising up to oppose the organisations of the capitalists. The isolated strike is beginning to lose its efficiency. In the face of the gigantic development of capitalism, the class struggle is making use of a more powerful weapon: the economic and political mass strike which brings whole industries and whole industrial districts into the fray. At the same time monopolist capitalism has corrupted some sections of the intellectuals, of the petty bourgeoisie, and even some members of the working class by

allowing them a share in the monopolist profits. Imperialism does not only proletarianise the wide masses of the toilers, it also corrupts the upper strata of the working class. A section of the working class, of the intellectuals and of the petty-bourgeoisie participates in the general predatory policy of capitalism. This state of corruption enabled imperialism to establish a sham democracy. Colonial expansion and competition in armaments, protective tariffs and excessive taxation are impossible without the active support or at least the acquiescence of the middle classes and also of some sections of the proletariat. Monopolist capitalism needs "law and order" at home. With the assistance of the corrupted section of the proletariat and lower middle class and by means of small gifts, harmless reforms, and sham democratic right, it has succeeded in harnessing the wide masses to its chariot, in exploiting them to the utmost, and in driving them to the battlefields to which they went unresistingly, nay, even with "enthusiasm." This imperialist "democracy" is the most refined form of mass domination, for under the mask of freedom it completely enslaved the masses and systematically uses the watchword "the will of the people" against the people. Monopolist capitalism dominates the State apparatus by sheltering discreetly behind the backs of "democracy" and get into its hands quietly and almost imperceptibly all the institutions of the bourgeois State. It turns the bourgeois State itself into an instrument for the achievement of its aims at home (the exploited working masses) and abroad (competition against other imperialist States and the exploitation of the population of the colonial countries). It brings under its sway the parliaments, the bureaucracy, the diplomats, the press, the schools, the pulpit, and literature. It gives short shrift to old Free Trade Liberalism. It permeates the spheres of the State and of society with the spirit of violence. It enlists the widest possible masses of the people (from the earliest youth) for the navies and huge armies with which it makes its conquests and competes against imperialist rivals.

6. Finally, the States which are ruled by monopolist capitalism met in a powerful collision. They engaged in a life and death struggle over the division of spheres of exploitation, of colonial and semi-colonial countries, and for supremacy.

In the midst of the great world conflagration the imperialist groups endeavoured to reconcile their inherent contradictions, to widen their frontiers at the expense of their rivals, to exploit the productive forces to the utmost, to put the rebellious masses again into chains, and to postpone the approaching proletarian revolution.

## II. THE WORLD WAR

7. The world war has destroyed on a large scale the means of production and has slaughtered millions of workers, the flower

of the working class. The war was the greatest economic crisis which the world has ever seen. Everywhere the wide masses of the people were exploited to the utmost. The destructive work of the war in itself became a colossal field of exploitation for capitalism. The war compelled the bourgeoisie in some States to introduce a minimum of State regulation of capitalist anarchy. Thus it will be seen that at the moment when a supreme effort is required, capitalism must stay the progress of its own anarchy. The war, especially in the blockaded countries of Central Europe, brought the differences between the industries and the agriculture more pronounced. In most of the belligerent countries the production of the necessaries of life lagged far behind the enormous unproductive needs of the armies and of the civil population. It led temporarily and locally to the introduction of the system of barter. The rural districts enriched themselves at the expense of the towns, and the big landowners and rich peasants enriched themselves to a comparatively larger extent than the middle and small peasants. In the districts experiencing a shortage of the necessaries of life, the State rationing and regulation of prices affected only a small portion of agricultural products. The greater the shortage the more unscrupulous were the infringements of the State regulation of the distribution of food. Food prices on the "free market" rose enormously. The rise in the profits of the capitalist monopolists brought with it a rise in the prices of the ever decreasing food stuffs. Moreover, as the share which the propertied classes appropriated for themselves became larger, the share of the working class began to dwindle.

In the blockaded countries of Central and Eastern Europe the war led to a reckless exploitation of the railways, the factories, and of the mining apparatus. The same disregard was shown for human labour power. Women, children, and old men, were kept on hunger rations and were at the same time made to perform heavy work. The barriers which the working class had succeeded in erecting to protect itself from predatory capitalism were torn down one by one: the factory laws were gradually repealed. The same predatory tactics were brought into play in a number of neutral States. On the other hand, in some of the West European countries, and especially in the U.S.A., factories, machinery, mines and means of transport were greatly developed and extended.

Owing to the disparity between supply and demand on the world market, and the growing scarcity of goods, and also owing to the enormous demand for war material which had to be produced at any price and with the least possible delay, there came into being an ever-growing parasitical capitalist class which acted as an intermediary between the industrial and agricultural producers and the consumer, either the State or the individual. This

is the class of the "war profiteers" and of the "nouveaux riches." On the other hand, the war has ruined a large number of petty-bourgeois and small capitalist elements—the "new poor." A savage crowd of blood suckers battened on the wide masses of workers and peasants who laid down their lives at the front for capitalism, and on the men, women, children, and aged people who worked behind the front supplying it with food-stuffs. This form of pillaging was inadequately restricted and masked by the compulsory State regulations.

The general economic deterioration manifested itself in the depreciation of clemency. The State absorbed all the available capital in the form of war loans. It drew all the savings of all employees, peasants, and small artisans. It even took part of the wages and put them at the disposal of the war industries. It made some attempts to get out of its difficulties by increased taxation. But this was of no avail. A number of States issued credit notes on a large scale—fictitious. Gold, real money sold, was withdrawn from home circulation almost in all the States.

Owing to the actual destruction of values through the war (be it directly through the wear and tear of guns, rifles, ammunition, &c., and through the devastation of large tracts of land, industrial districts, towns, villages, &c., or indirectly through the unproductive consumption of the armed forces), the chief part of the fictitious capital the home and foreign National Debt grew seriously. Under capitalist conditions wealth is not destroyed by war. It is turned into national debt, into State indebtedness to the capitalists, which means that the latter can draw on the crippled remains of the productive forces. Dead capital takes possession of the surviving capital.

8. In its home lands capitalism pressed the entire adult proletariat and peasantry into the armed forces. The former standing army isolated from the masses gave way to the citizen army. Everywhere the war caused the formation of a militia in which, as a characteristic of capitalist ideology, the wide masses are subordinated to the officer caste which springs from the ruling classes of society. In the armies of the world war, class differences were especially marked. On the one hand there was the contrast between officers and men, between those at the front and those at the rear, between the luxurious living and privileges of some and the brutalisation, degradation, and privation of others. The shameless exploitation of the masses by the war profiteers and the slackers behind the front was supplemented and even enhanced by the abominable exploitation of the common soldiers by the junker—and the capitalist officers in the army itself. The war, by compelling the ruling classes to arm wide masses of workers and poor peasants and to depend on them for its final issue, has awakened the class consciousness of the latter. Brutalisation and hopelessness within the army broke the iron

bond of military discipline. The armed masses rose in open rebellion and the conscript armies broke up from within.

During the course of the war, war technique was revolutionised. Enormous numbers of guns were brought into play. Their range, calibre, and explosive capacity, were raised to an almost fantastic extent. Drum-fire lasting hours, nay days, hurled a hurricane of shells to a distance of hundreds of kilometres. The soldiers buried themselves into the earth like moles. Mine throwers of all kinds sent the trenches, together with their human inhabitants, flying into the air. Ordinary rifle fire was gradually displaced by machine-gun fire, which mowed down large sections of men. Machine guns, quick-firing guns, and armoured cars, culminated in the almost invulnerable tank which could be even driven over shell holes. War conquered the air by means of the dirigible airship and the aeroplane. Aircraft laden with bombs employed their terrible destructive powers against the civil population of the town, destroying whole streets. The war made use of chemistry and introduced the abomination of the poisoned gas. Finally submarines conducted a murderous war against passenger and merchant ships.

In a word, all the achievements of the highest technique, of "pure" and applied natural sciences were brought into play. The highest capitalist "civilisation" becomes the most abject barbarism. The war degenerated into a battle of materials and industries. What took place on the battlefields was not only a competition between opposing masses of people, but between opposing industries, capital, technique, and industrial organisations.

The war has created a starting point for a new, still more devastating and barbaric war technique, and also for new forms of military organisation, tactics, and strategy. It has become the starting point for increased preparations for war.

9. During war, capitalism tramples under foot the existing rights of the people. In the name of democracy, of national emancipation, it gags the people by proclaiming a state of siege; it muzzles them by the censorship, stifles the voice of public meetings, floods the countries with armies of secret service men and dissolves or gags parliaments.

The war has shown that bourgeois democracy is nothing but dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

It has revealed the bourgeois State, and the Labour Parties, which have become tainted with bourgeois ideology, in their true colours.

The war began with the catastrophic collapse of the second opportunistic International. It exposed with cruel precision the close connection between the socialist opportunist and the national imperialist bourgeoisie. The socialist spokesmen of the labour aristocracy entered openly and directly into the service

of the monopolist capitalists in the name of the "defence of the fatherland." The alliance of this corrupt "bourgeois" labour aristocracy with their national bourgeoisies has torn asunder the international unity of the working class, the International itself, and most of the social-democratic parties. The most active and boldest sections of the proletariat, which had become revolutionised during the war, split off and formed tendencies and groups. Finally some of them began to establish independent parties. Between the truly revolutionary sections of the proletariat and the social-imperialists there hover in all the countries groups, tendencies, or parties, which abominate the war, but at the same time dread the revolution: they hate militarism and yet have no confidence in the revolutionary strength of the proletariat—vacillating figures which (according to circumstances) side sometimes with the revolution and sometimes with the counter revolution. These are the beginning of "centre" parties.

Notwithstanding the treachery of the social democratic parties, the imperialist war resolved itself into an enormous and complete social and political crisis owing to the inherent contradictions and antagonisms within the social, political, and economic capitalist system. It has placed the masses in the vanquished countries (and not them alone) before the alternative: revolutionary rising against capitalism or return to barbarism.

10. The imperialist dominating States are ruthlessly draining the Colonial countries by exacting contributions of food products, labour, and cannon fodder. At the same time imperialism is compelled to let the colonial industries develop unhindered. It causes the development of industries in hitherto pre-eminently agrarian, semi-coloured countries. It is compelled to give the Dominions a decisive voice in the policy of the Motherland, and to promise to the colonial countries more freedom and a more liberal form of autonomy. Finally, it finds itself compelled to arm the colonial population and enroll it in its armies. While the imperialist States are thus facing each other in a world struggle for the domination and exploitation of the colonial countries, they are, against their will, obliged to strengthen in the colonial countries the desire for national emancipation and to provide the latter with the material and spiritual means for the struggle against imperialist exploitation and subjection.

### III. THE IMPERIALIST PEACE TREATIES

11. The imperialist peace treaties of Versailles, St. Germain, and Sevres are the continuation of the imperialist war by other means. By their endeavour to adjust the political and imperialist difficulties of the victors at the expense of the vanquished by means of solemn agreements, they are only creating incentives for new imperialist wars. The victors are satisfying their open

or secret predatory appetites under the pretence of world justice and the peoples' right to self-determination.

The imperialist peace treaties are a clear proof that imperialism is unable to create a new, firm, and lasting world peace. They have accentuated and perpetuated the disturbance of the economic equilibrium caused by the war. They are making this disturbance the starting point of an epoch of still deeper and wider disturbances. By destroying the economic competitor in the struggle for the non-capitalist markets, they have only disorganised the exchange of goods between capitalist States. Great Britain and France have overthrown their strongest economic rival on the continent and have attached to themselves a number of vassal States, but at the same time they have set up against themselves a much more powerful rival across the Atlantic. They have made Germany their debtor, but they are still more in debt to America.

Neither economic nor political equilibrium has been achieved. The division and the safeguarding of the war booty—Germany, Austria, and Turkey—is bound to divide the victors into hostile camps. The political results of the victory are inimical to the original aims and purposes of the victors.

Great Britain has destroyed its mightiest continental rival, Germany, but it has turned France into a still mightier and more dangerous continental opponent without a rival on the continent of Europe.

France in its turn has conquered for itself the almost unquestioned mastery on the European Continent. However, to be able to retain its military superiority, it had to sacrifice its former financial superiority and is faced with financial ruin. In order to beat down Prussia, it has Prussianised itself.

In the Far East, Japan is plunging its talons into the helpless Chinese giant and finds itself face to face with its American rival.

The latter, the U.S.A. colossus, does not desire to extend its territorial possessions, but has consolidated its position in East Asia, in the Pacific, in the South Sea, and in many parts of South America, and it emerges out of the war as the industrial, financial and political world centre, possessing a navy and mercantile fleet rivalling those of Great Britain.

In order to render the achievements of the imperialist war politically secure, the imperialist victors have Balkanised the former seat of European imperialism, and have made its economic existence impossible. In order to conquer the world market they have destroyed the world economic system, and have created new powerful rivals for themselves. They plunged the world into war in order to extend the world market, but they have only succeeded in narrowing it. They plunged the world into war in order to make their social domination secure, but they have unchained the social revolution which is more exten-

sive, intensive and thorough than it has ever been. Every one of their aims and purposes has turned against them.

#### IV. THE EPOCH OF WORLD REVOLUTION

12. The world revolution did not only supersede the war, it interrupted it in its course. It started by carrying out the sentence which capitalism had passed on itself during the imperialist war. The revolution followed the line of least resistance. It did not break out originally in the most developed capitalist country, but in the least developed—Russia, where a weak bourgeoisie had to contend with a modern and bold proletariat, allied to a numerous, impoverished, land-hungry peasantry. By a bold move the revolution in Russia bridged the gulf which separated it from the bourgeois democracies of the West, and at the outset outdistanced the capitalist West by adding to the bourgeois democracy the organs of proletarian democracy in the form of workers' and soldiers' Soviets. Owing to the class conscious and bold attitude of the proletarian democracy, the bourgeois democracy could not make any headway. It was unable to solve any of the problems (except in words) raised by the revolutionary movement of the workers' and peasants' masses. Tied to the big bourgeoisie and the big landowners of its own country, and through them to the Entente Powers, it was unable either to continue or conclude the war. It was unable to organise the disintegrated economic life of the country. It did not have the courage to give the peasants the land which they demanded. Unable to establish a new social order, it could not stay the disintegration of the army and of its discipline, and to re-create it on a new class basis, taking account of the recent revolution in social relations. After the failure of all its efforts to cope with the distrust and the indignation of the working class and of the peasantry, it drifted back into the arms of the old reactionary forces: the big landowners, the big capitalists, the Tsarist bureaucracy, the generals and the priests. The newly born bourgeois democracy progressed step by step towards bourgeois dictatorship. All the reactionary vacillating and doubtful elements (from the Tsarist generals and priests to the formerly petty-bourgeois-revolutionary S.R.'s and the representatives of the petty bourgeois proletarian minority—the menshevist social democrats) rallied around the bourgeois democracy which was developing into a bourgeois dictatorship. By another bold move the revolution strode forward. Led by the working class and its revolutionary party, the proletarian revolution, supported by overwhelming proletarian and peasant masses, dethroned the bourgeois democracy, and smashed to pieces the old, unwieldy State apparatus, set up the Soviets, the political power of the revolutionary workers and

peasants, brought the bourgeois revolution to a finish by inaugurating the social revolution, made a big breach in the war by bringing it to a conclusion for proletarian Russia and gave an enormous impetus to the revolutionary development in Central and Western Europe.

The victorious proletarian revolution in Russia constitutes a strong bulwark, a central axis and a mighty political, economic and military reserve position for the progress of the western social revolution, as well as for the national bourgeois revolution of the East.

The first victorious proletarian revolution within the framework of a great power has at last discovered, and is beginning to construct the political form of the proletarian State during the transition from the capitalist to the Socialist social order: the Soviet Republic. In all its stages it is a repository of political strategy, a live source of revolutionary energy and a store-house of the experiences of Socialist construction.

Workers' and Soldiers' Councils—these were also the first faltering words of the German, as well as of the other revolutions in Central and Eastern Europe. However, in these parts the Soviets were but an episode, because of a better organised bourgeoisie, and because of the lack of leadership by a strong and revolutionary workers' party. Led by the social democracy, the German bourgeoisie overthrew the Soviets and the revolutionary vanguard of the working class with much bloodshed. The revolutionary wave is ebbing back. At the outset the revolutionary stage was occupied by the bourgeois democracy. The latter gradually came under the sway of reaction, and like the Russian bourgeois democracy it is unable to solve any of the problems which the conclusion of the war and the capitalist crisis have brought forward. Under its domination the economic disintegration has continued. It endeavoured to put a stop to it at the expense of the working class, and of the middle sections of society. More and more fell under the yoke of the monopolist capital, and became alienated from all the exploited classes. Neither is it able to solve the problem of foreign policy. Its submission to the dictatorship of the Entente, instead of relieving, made the conditions of life in the bourgeois republic only more difficult.

The Western revolutions which were a direct outcome of the military collapse, were a repetition (in their aspect but not in their tempo) of the first proletarian revolution, but under advanced economic conditions.

The epoch of the world revolution has assumed the same menacing character also in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

After successfully weathering the first assault of the Western proletariat, the world bourgeoisie has been able to secure anew

its political power, thanks to its recent experiences. It has drawn from its consolidation new reserves from the petty-bourgeoisie and even from the working class. However, during the last few years after the conclusion of the war, it has shown itself incapable of reconstructing the disintegrated capitalist social order and even of securing the existence of its proletarian slaves within the capitalist slave State.

## V. THE CAPITALIST CRISIS

13. The world war has not by any means re-established the harmony between the productive forces and the capitalist conditions of production by the enormous destruction of the material means of production and of human labour power. On the contrary, the war has shown that the capitalist conditions of production are hampering more and more the productive forces. It has made the economic chaos and the crisis a permanent phenomenon of the decaying capitalist economic system.

14. The destruction of the productive forces through the world war was not by any means uniform. While East and Central Europe were reduced to famine, the productive apparatus of Great Britain and of the countries outside of Europe has greatly extended. The centre of gravity of capitalism was transferred to America. The normal economic equilibrium of the world was destroyed. While in Central and Eastern Europe production decreased owing to the lack of capital (raw materials, fuel, machinery) and owing to the underfeeding of the working class, the production of the districts with an unimpaired productive apparatus are hampered by the absence of markets. In the former we witness full employment accompanied by starvation wages, and in the latter permanent unemployment. In both districts the proletariat is being reduced to penury.

The visible sign of this decay is the rapid progress of the depreciation of the currency in the impoverished territories. The world market, which is based on the exchange of goods and is kept together by the fact that gold is the world money, consists of sections with differing economic and social conditions. The lack of a permanent standard makes the amount of the profits obtained during the process of production dependent on the fluctuations in currency. That portion of capital which is not yet trustified withdraws from production, and becomes in a higher degree commercial and speculation capital. The continued depreciation of the currency in the impoverished and decaying districts is destroying the credit system and reduces thrift to economic madness. All this has a disintegrating effect on the process of production.

The connection between the industry and agriculture has become weaker, and agriculture has deteriorated. For example,

in the countries which were blockaded during the world war, where owing to lack of means of production (cattle, artificial manure, &c.), and the fact that the excessively high prices of agricultural products enabled the peasants to satisfy all their needs even under diminished production. In countries with a high valuta, which usually export foodstuffs, agriculture is declining because the products do not find purchasers at profitable prices.

The struggle for the acquisition of the diminished world production is continuing in a more acute form in separate countries as well as on a world scale. The concentration of capital and of economic power in the hands of a few people has made great strides during the war and post-war period. In the impoverished districts large sections of the population have become proletarianised: rentiers with fixed incomes (owing to the depreciation of the currency), artisans (owing to the enormous increase in prices which makes it impossible to carry on their business), all Government officials (who have been reduced to the proletarian level owing to the depreciation of currency), which is an incentive to bribery and corruption. In all countries the peasants as a class are in strong opposition to monopolist capital. A split has taken place within the peasantry: the big peasants who have grown rich are strongly opposed to the small peasants who depend on their labour for a living. The conditions of life of the old as well as of the new middle class have become worse. The permanent crisis—within the Parliaments and bourgeois Governments—is a visible sign of the ever-growing acuteness of the class struggle and of the decay of capitalist society. There is no firm Parliamentary Government party in any of the countries. Changing party groupings and the continuous sequence of Government changes are a characteristic of the crisis through which capitalist society is passing.

But the decisive struggle is being fought out between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Capitalism is endeavouring to weather the crisis through an increased exploitation of the proletariat. It brings into play all the methods of increased exploitation. The achievements of the revolutionary demobilisation period, the eight-hour day, is to be abolished, and longer working hours are to be the order of the day. At the same time work and exploitation are to be intensified: capitalism is crying out for increased productivity. It intends to decrease the capitalist cost of production by a diminution of real wages far below the level of the pre-war period.

However, the proletariat is offering a stubborn revolutionary resistance. The treacherous trade union leaders and social patriots are endeavouring to compel the proletariat to submit peacefully to increase exploitation in the interest of the continued existence of capitalism. But the proletariat has developed class

consciousness during the long years of the war, and of the present revolutionary period. It has become familiar with the use of arms. It would rather fight with arms in its hand than submit to the dictatorship of the capitalists. Ever growing sections of the proletariat are losing faith in the stability of the capitalist social order. The example of Soviet Russia, where a proletarian power has been in existence for the last five years, inspires the revolutionary vanguard with courage and determination. The proletariat resists most energetically all the attempts of the capitalist to weather the crisis at its expense. Protracted and frequent strikes are hampering production. Political mass strikes and armed risings are interfering with the capitalist production. In some countries civil war has become a permanent feature. Capitalism cannot any longer depend on the State for the protection of its interests. It is obliged to form class troops consisting of members of the ruling class itself. A large part of profits is absorbed by the upkeep of class domination.

Capitalism is powerless in the face of this decay. The conquered and impoverished countries go under without resistance. Their capitalists seek protection against the proletariat by allying themselves with the capitalists of the victorious countries. The capitalists of the four great Powers which emerged from the war: U.S.A., Great Britain, France, and Japan, are endeavouring to weather the crisis by transforming all the remaining parts of the world into colonies for themselves. The whole of Europe east of the Rhine up to the frontier of Soviet Russia is partitioned into economically dependent, enslaved colonial countries. Although the smaller countries which remained neutral during the war, have retained a semblance of political independence they must follow economically in the wake of the imperialist Powers. (Belgium is the satellite of France, and Holland that of Great Britain.) All the others have become the prey of the Entente capitalists. Their means of production are rapidly becoming the property of the French and British capitalists. Their economic policy is dictated by British and French capitalists. While Germany, their only rival, has been disarmed, the others are ruining themselves by mutual armaments which are dictated by the interests of French and British capitalism. In spite of the League of Nations the Pact of Peace, the Washington Conference, and the disarmament of Germany, the world bourgeoisie spends a larger part of the produced wealth for military expenditure than before the world war. The four rivals contending for world domination confront each other armed to the teeth. Their policy hovers between assurances of allied faithfulness and threats of war. A struggle is being waged for every corner of the earth which has not yet become definitely drawn into the orbit of one of the Great Powers. Each of them is endeavouring to acquire a monopoly

of the largest part of the world market. They are inevitably drifting towards a new world war. In the meantime the struggle for liberation of the chief colonial peoples is assuming more acute forms. The British Dominions have emancipated themselves peacefully from the domination of the Motherland. The colonial peoples which have been dragged into the war have grasped the fundamental reason of the supremacy of the imperialist white peoples—superiority in war technique. They do no longer believe in the stability of foreign white domination. The struggles of the colonial peoples to throw off the alien yoke is extending. This undermines the basis of the economic supremacy of the imperialist Great Powers.

While the disparity between the productive forces and the capitalist conditions of production is becoming more acute, the newly created economic system of Soviet Russia is becoming more consolidated. The process is a long one, and is rendered more difficult by the state of crisis prevailing in the capitalist world. Nevertheless, everything tends to show that the ascent of the Russian economic system will in the future outdistance the descent of the economic system of the neighbouring countries. Once the development will have reached that stage the struggle for a change in the conditions of production in the surrounding countries will receive a strong impetus. The world struggle of the proletariat and of the oppressed peoples must adopt itself to the economic and political conditions of the respective countries. The approaching world revolution and the world crisis have affected the various States and territories in various ways, either making their respective conditions more similar or more diverse. Although the chief aims of the working class of the capitalist countries on the one hand, and of the oppressed peoples on the other hand, are identical, the diverse points of departure necessitate a diversity of method during the ensuing phases until the conquest of power by the proletariat and poor peasantry will have been achieved.

The most important premises for the world revolution are : (1) the degree of the economic stability and self-sufficiency of a capitalist country or group of countries ; (2) the distribution of power among the most important classes and social sections of the country (the degree to which the bourgeois State power has been shaken) ; (3) the degree of development of the bourgeois State.

According to these premises the various countries may be divided into the following groups :—

(1) Capitalist countries which the war has enriched and which have, in their own territories and in those which are under their political influence, possibilities for further capitalist expansion where bourgeois democratic institutions still prevail. To this

category belongs : U.S.A., the South African Union, and Australia.

(2) Capitalist countries, also enriched by the war, but having a semi-absolutist constitution : Japan.

(3) Capitalist countries, the economic system of which has not been affected by the war, and which have large colonial possessions with democratically organised forms of Government : Great Britain, Canada.

(4) Capitalist countries which, although victorious in the world war, have suffered severely, financially, and economically, having democratically organised form of Government which, however, is subject to more or less severe convulsions : France, Italy.

(5) The ruined countries east of the Rhine either with newly established inadequately organised bourgeois forms of Government, or forms of Government which are already exposed to violent revolutionary convulsions : Germany, Austria, Hungary, Poland, the Balkan countries, &c.

(6) The colonial and semi-colonial countries.

(a) India, Persia, Turkey, Corea (where big landownership is prevalent).

(7) Countries in which the proletariat is in power : Soviet Russia with its federated Republics, and the Far Eastern Republic.

## CHAPTER II

### THE CONQUEST OF POLITICAL POWER

#### I. THE PROLETARIAT AS THE ACTIVE POWER AND THE LEADING CLASS OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

16. Capitalist economy has landed in a *cul de sac*. From a mighty lever for the development of the social forces of production and of national wealth, it has been turned into fetters, which throttle the productive forces, and into a destroyer of social wealth. In its ascent it evolved a world economy, and in its descent it is destroying world economy. The temporary crises, viz., the destruction of the means of production and of produce were for the capitalist economy periodical means for the creation of a new revival of production. Now the crisis has become permanent. The paralysation and destruction of the means of production, of human labour power and of produce are the normal state of decaying capitalism. Prior to the world war and the revolution the capitalist form of economy prevailed. It removed the obstacles which impeded it, and made great strides forward. The war, on the contrary, for capitalist economy was a terrible **weapon of self-destruction**. It aims at periodical repetition on a large scale. Capitalism during the period of its ascent made deeper the social gulf between capital and labour. Periodically

it ruthlessly condemned whole sections of workers to destruction, to physical deterioration. It was always accompanied by the degradation of the lower strata of the working class which was made to swell the ranks of the "lumpen" proletariat. However, capitalism could only continue its existence by affording to the bulk of the working class a normal existence, the upkeep of its physical strength and the possibility to bring up its progeny—and capitalism did this by allowing some sections of the proletariat to participate in its ascent. Decaying capitalism however is sapping the roots of the physical existence of the working class. For the bulk of the working class it transforms the present relative impoverishment into absolute impoverishment and social degradation into physical degradation. It brutally prevents the cultural elevation of the working class. It mows down the proletarian progeny wholesale. It is endeavouring to maintain its existence at the expense of the normal existence and propagation of the working class, of the class of office employees, and even of the lower and middle grade government employees. The capitalist economic system has reached a stage when it is beginning to destroy and dissolve its own achievements and the foundations of its existence—the accumulated means of production, the accumulated national wealth, the human labour power. Nor is this all. In its relentless struggle for social privileges bourgeois society sacrifices in cold blood the justification of its rights to power of bourgeois civilisation. It starves its artists, its scientists, and its writers. It throws overboard art, literature and science as mere ballast. Bourgeois civilisation is dissolving in lust, refined profligacy, in drug taking (both stimulating and sedative), and in obscurantism in all forms.

The capitalist economic system and capitalist civilisation are rapidly dissolving.

Only a new economic social order can stay the process of dissolution, and decay of the economic system, build it up anew from the debris, make the existence of the workers secure, renovate the decaying bourgeois civilisation, and restore the economy of the world dislocated by capitalism.

The capitalist economic system has created by its own mechanism all the material pre-requisites for this higher economic and social order—for the conscious, systematic and uniform management of the economic life of the world by society for the direct satisfaction of all the needs of society—for Socialism.

It has created technical means by the systematic use of which a decent existence can be secured for all the members of society, and even surplus wealth can be produced. It has itself socialised production to a high degree.

It has become an inevitable and compelling necessity to break

the bonds of capitalist ownership, and the realisation of the socialisation of the means of production has been brought within the reach of possibility.

However, capitalist ownership does not disappear of its own accord. Only the disintegration of capitalist society proceeds blindly, unconsciously and "by itself," but capitalist ownership is maintained by the political domination of the bourgeoisie. Therefore it can only be brought down by the downfall of this domination, by a political revolution which destroys the political superstructure of the old capitalist order, and being a new social class to the front.

Thus the introduction of Socialism is only possible by the conscious action and will of the revolutionary class or classes which will convert the mere possibility of a socialist transformation into a reality by means of the political power which will be concentrated in the hands of those classes.

17. The proletariat is the executor and the leader of the political revolution and of the Socialist change. It can only cease to be the exploited class by abolishing the antithesis—capitalism and the social order which was built up on the antagonism between those who possessed the means of production and those who did not. It can only emancipate itself as a class by freeing society of all classes. It can only make its existence secure by taking the means of production into its own hands. It can only do this by socialising these means of production. It can only satisfy its industrial needs by making social needs the basis of production. It can only abolish idlers and parasites by making everyone a worker for the community. It can only abolish the lack of system by subjecting the whole economic life to its own system. The basic features of the future society are already a foreshadowed capitalist society. Production is already socialised, but capitalism robs it of the fruits of socialisation. On the other hand, the exploiting function of the capitalists has become more and more separated from the function of the management of production. With the growth of the socialisation of production capitalism has to an increasing degree placed the technical, commercial and organisational management into the hands of the employees, and has limited or reduced the subsistence of the bulk of its employees to the level of mere skilled workers. Thus, technical and organisational capacities for the management of production are already to be found among the proletariat.

In the course of the many years of economic and political class struggles the proletariat has created its own organisational cadres, and has developed its class consciousness. Wherever capitalism reached a higher degree of unification and concentration the proletariat has established big economic and political organisations.

Capitalism is endeavouring to put on the shoulders of the proletariat all the burdens and misery entailed by its decay—the burdens of war as well as the burdens of capitalist reconstruction. Physical destruction or the overthrow of capitalist domination; misery through inaction or salvation by action—such is the problem which the proletariat has to solve.

With the exception of the capitalist class, the big landowners and big peasantry, all other classes and sections of society are suffering as a result of the decay of capitalism; the small proprietors who depend on their own work—the artisans, the small traders, the small and poor peasantry, the lower and middle grade Government officials. Owing to the war and to the crisis, capitalism has created an ever-growing section of people from all classes who, as it were, have lost their political bearings. All these sections and classes are wavering between capitalism and the working class, between reaction and revolution. The sections and classes interested with small ownership cannot play an independent revolutionary role, they become mere adjuncts either to the bourgeoisie or to the proletariat. The proletariat must endeavour to detach them from the bourgeoisie, to lead them into the struggle against the latter, or at least to neutralise them. The leadership of the revolution can only be in the hands of a class which, owing to its social role, is able resolutely to bring about the severance of these classes from the bourgeoisie.

In its struggle for emancipation the proletariat grouping around itself all the classes, sections and forces which are opposed to bourgeois class domination—*i.e.*, the revolutionary sections of the petty bourgeoisie, of the intellectuals, and of the small peasantry. It even joins the nationalist-bourgeois revolutionaries who, in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, are carrying on the struggle against imperialist domination.

The proletariat must see to it, however, that in all these movements its own revolutionary interest should have the predominance. While proletarian interest demands the most radical solution—the overthrow of the bourgeois order—it therefore embraces also the solution of the temporary conflicts of other social sections and classes.

The victory of the proletarian revolution cannot be guaranteed secure by the mere fact that the working class has larger forces at its disposal.

It is essential that the working class know how to make use of their superior forces at the decisive moment and at the most important points, in order to bring their struggle to a satisfactory conclusion.

## II.—THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND OTHER PROLETARIAN ORGANISATIONS

18. In its first stages of development the proletariat was in habit and mentality not united as a class. It was only in the

course of its struggles against the capitalist employers against the bourgeoisie, and especially in the course of its struggle for power, that it became united.

The modern proletariat arose during the early period of capitalism from the ranks of the landless peasants and artisan classes, and was practically and ideologically tied to the bourgeoisie. Unlimited exploitation drove the proletariat to revolt against the new capitalist for production. In its early days it fought against it with the means and methods of the bourgeois revolution, and by attacks on the most positive feature of capitalism—the use of technique. This elemental struggle, carried on by false methods (sporadic revolts, destruction of machinery), was no remedy against the rapid impoverishment of the proletariat. After heavy defeats and after long groping in the dark the proletariat discovered the best weapon for safeguarding the interests of the proletariat—solidarity in the refusal to work.

The spontaneous strikes of the worker in a particular industry against the individual employer during the period of the most primitive competitive struggle between the unorganised employers hit the capitalists in their most vulnerable spot—the accumulation of profits. The individual unorganised employer, whose workers were on strike, lost customers and orders through the competition of the employers whose workers were not on strike.

The necessity to pay interest on capital, the damage to material and machinery, and financial liabilities, forced the employers to give in. Owing to competition the strikers found work elsewhere. This did not only lessen the pressure on the workers, but even created a new peril for the employers, whose skilled and trained workers went over to their rivals. In the early days of Capitalism this was tantamount to destruction, especially in the event of manufacturing secrets being delivered to rival manufacturers, together with the trained workers.

From the strike of the operatives of one industrial concern against the individual employer the struggle developed into the strike of the operatives of a branch of industry against the employers in that branch, in a particular locality, industrial district, a country, or several countries. The workers resorted to this extension of the economic struggles in order to make it difficult for the employers to carry on their industries with the assistance of blockades; and the employer adopted the same methods (industrial organisation) in order to prevent competition, financial difficulties and loss of trade during strikes. Moreover, the concentration of the industrial enterprises, the absorption of the small and middle concerns by the big and financially strong cartels and trusts is automatically widening the area of the strike. The concentration of capital brought with it mass strikes and mass lockouts. The fighting front of the workers assumed

larger dimensions; but the power of resistance of the employers also increased. The strikes of the workers of one factory against the individual employer, which did not affect society as a whole, developed into mass strikes which became social events that shake industry and the political power of the bourgeoisie to their very foundations. The mass strikes grew into gigantic struggles which spread beyond national frontiers. They taxed the resources of international class front to the utmost by their force and magnitude, drove the classes into two great hostile camps, and developed from economic and trade union struggles for safeguarding the existence of the workers within the capitalist order, into political revolutionary struggles for power.

19. The economic struggles led to the establishment of economic organisations. The spontaneous strike received financial support by spontaneous collections. The sporadic struggles and the elementary methods of defence led to the formation of craft and local organisations. Later spontaneous collections were replaced by regular contributions, organisations were formed with the object of collective purchases of cheap food, and which led to the establishment of consumers' societies and the co-operative movement. The magnitude and mass character of the struggles led to the establishment of trade union organisations, from local craft unions they developed into central craft and industrial unions, which later federated on national and international lines, and subsequently developed into national and international central organisations.

The manifold character of the trade union struggle resulted in the elaboration of a complicated strategy and administration. Up to 1914 the real substance and meaning of these organised class struggles consisted in safeguarding and improving the proletarian conditions of life within the capitalist economic system and within the bourgeois State.

With the development of capitalism these struggles gained in magnitude, and the proletariat began to understand their real significance. This aroused an increased proletarian class consciousness, and resulted in strengthening and consolidating the power of the proletarian organisations.

20. Parallel with the building up of the economic organisations and with the economic struggles, we witness the political struggle and the construction and elaboration of the political organisation. Even the economic strike of the operatives of one factory against the individual employer is in reality a political struggle. In the early period of capitalism the bourgeoisie was unable to suppress the isolated strike with the assistance of the State, and it was able to do so in the cases when the workers endeavoured to contest exploitation by riots and by the destruction of machinery. While the proletariat remained for several decades in political dependence upon the bourgeoisie it was

already putting up a violent and victorious struggle against the bourgeoisie on the economic field. In this respect the political significance of these struggles is important.

In Great Britain the process of the political emancipation of the proletariat from the bourgeoisie had not as yet resulted in the formation of an independent proletarian party. The British proletariat indirectly took advantage of the rivalry between the two bourgeois parties which were competing for political power, and alternately supported the party which promised to fulfil the immediate labour demands brought into the foreground by the direct economic struggle. Thus, by supporting the Liberals, they succeeded in securing the abolition of the Corn Laws, thus obtaining cheap bread, and obtained shorter working hours (the twelve, and subsequently the ten, hour bill) and other factory legislation—by supporting the Tories.

In the Latin countries we witness another type of labour movement. Owing to the numerical weakness of the proletariat and its strictly limited role in the economic life of these countries, the election promises of the bourgeois parliamentarians (who had received the support of the workers) remained unfulfilled after the election. The workers, disappointed in parliamentary action, neglected the battlefield of bourgeois parliamentarism, and restrict their actions to the trade union struggle (syndicalism), without however increasing the power of the proletariat.

The third form of the Labour movement, the synthesis of the first two, is the German form, which gradually established side by side with an independent political party a trade union and co-operative movement working jointly with the party for the interests of the proletariat within the capitalist order, and making use of all the opportunities offered by the capitalist economic system and the bourgeois State.

The fourth type is the Russian form of the Labour movement. The political and economic condition in Russia made legal activity within the then existing order impossible. Through a stubborn and heroic struggle (which claimed many victims) an illegal, revolutionary party was formed which aimed at the overthrow of the political system. The enormous difficulty of the struggle created an elite of the bravest and most capable fighters of the revolutionary party who were capable of thinking out plans and to put them into practice. This party succeeded at the right moment in securing the leadership of the masses, to overthrow the old Power, and to establish and victoriously defend the proletarian State.

21. To-day all attempts to safeguard the existence of the working class brings the proletariat into collision with the political power of the bourgeoisie. Within the existing political conditions it is no longer possible to make the existence of the pro-

letariat secure. Hence the necessity to establish a leading organ of the proletarian class in the form of the C.P., which, as in Russia, should be able to organise and to guide the revolutionary struggle for power. Contrary to the wavering consciousness and determination of the bulk of the working class, the Communist Party is the embodiment of spiritual and actual class unity. It unifies within its ranks the most advanced, clear thinking, and bravest elements of the working class. The Communist Party organises the proletariat into a class conscious body.

The Communists "have no other interests than those of the entire proletariat."

During the period of decaying capitalist world order only centralised international guidance and the observance of the strictest revolutionary discipline can bring the revolutionary struggle of the working class to a victorious issue.

The Communist Party is a united international party.

The Communist Party does not aim at assuming power as a small minority of the proletariat. It aims at winning over the large majority of the working class (and of the oppressed masses which are exploited by capitalism) to the aims and principles of communism. It aims at making the wide mass of the proletariat into class-conscious determined fighters in the class struggle against the bourgeoisie. In these struggles the Communist Party identifies itself entirely with the masses and becomes their leader.

It is only as the leader of the working class that the Communist Party will assume power. The victory is not at the beginning, but at the end of the revolution.

The relations of the Communist Party with the existing reformist parties and trade unions are conditioned by the following :—

By clinging to the absolute forms of the pre-war Labour movement the reformist and centrist parties are rendering lackey service to the bourgeoisie. It is no longer possible to safeguard the existence of the proletariat under a capitalist economic system and under capitalist domination. In their attempt to "reconstruct" the capitalist world order the reformist and centrist parties are sacrificing the interests of the working class, and the class itself. During the struggle for power they become a shield and an active auxiliary force of the bourgeoisie. After the conquest of power they become the centres of counter-revolutionary propaganda, organisation, and action—the rallying point of all the classes and sections of society which are opposed to the proletarian State.

Therefore the attitude of the Communist Party towards reformist parties may be characterised as struggle until they are completely overcome.

Like the centrist and reformist parties, the reformist trade

unions into which the proletarian masses are organised are the camp of the bourgeoisie. Fearing the revolutionary struggle for power they continuously betray the interests of the working class by siding with the bourgeoisie in the interests of capitalist "reconstruction," even in such questions as wages and working hours. It behoves us to conquer these mass organisations of the proletariat, to rid them of the reformist leadership, and to replace their rigid bureaucratic apparatus by factory and workshop committees—the live trade union organs which are becoming more and more prominent in the revolutionary struggles.

In taking over the leadership in this revolutionary struggle the Communist Party establishes, in the form of Workers' Committees, specific proletarian class organs in which the entire proletariat is organised irrespective of the sphere in which they are engaged. Under the leadership of the C.P. the workers' committees schooled in the ideological struggle, as well as in the struggle for power, become the working-class organ of the proletarian dictatorship. Steeled by the ordeal of civil war and the hard, self-sacrificing struggle for the construction of a Communist society, the proletariat overcomes the relics of bourgeois action and ideology, becomes communistic, overcomes its class enemies, and creates (to the extent that it succeeds in destroying the bourgeois class), the society which knows no classes, and in which exploitation and oppression are impossible. A classless society of free human beings will replace the bourgeois world order, and in the squalor and blood which the latter entailed will disappear.

In its struggle for liberation the proletariat uses all the means which circumstances put at the disposal for repelling the enemy and organising the proletarian struggle itself—*i.e.*, from the economic struggle to the political mass strike, from the public meeting and the peaceful demonstration to armed rebellion.

### III. THE ROLE OF VIOLENCE

22. The bourgeoisie, including its social-democratic lackeys, is raising a hue and cry about the violent methods of the Communists and about the Communist terror.

The complaint of the bourgeois is sheer hypocrisy.

The bourgeoisie itself came into power only by a series of blood revolutions, by wars and civil wars. Its "legal" political power is the outcome of revolution.

Right from the beginning of its career the bourgeoisie has used violent means in their most concentrated form to conquer, extend, and defend its dominions.

During the present imperialist era the bourgeoisie has increased to the extreme the violence of its methods of domination.

The bourgeoisie, which feels the foundations of its rule giving

way, is supplementing everywhere the legal state power by illegal violence.

The bourgeoisie treats with contempt its own legislation wherever its domination is jeopardised.

The "peaceful" democracy only exists in times of historical stagnation, firmly established class relations, and of increasing capitalist development.

During the period of capitalist decline and of convulsions affecting class relations "peaceful democracy" is only a mask disguising the stern features of the bourgeois dictatorship.

"No violence" becomes the cry of the bourgeoisie as soon as the working class acquires and asserts superiority in numbers and strength, and begins to realise the diversity of its interests from those of the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie itself laughs to scorn the "no violence" proposition.

During the proletarian revolution in Soviet Russia it instigated countless civil wars, conspiracies, and rebellions, and time after time has plunged the country into counter-revolutionary wars.

At the conclusion of the war it drowned in blood the proletarian risings in Central Europe. It has made terrorism, political assassinations, and conspiracies its permanent weapons.

It employs all the hellish methods of the world war, from poisoned gases to bomb-throwing aeroplanes and tanks, against the budding proletarian revolution.

Bourgeois violence is violence in the interests of the minority against the interests of the wide masses.

Proletarian violence is the combined violence of wide masses against the ruling minority.

Bourgeois violence is reactionary while proletarian violence is revolutionary.

The Communists do not deny that it is only by violence, by the most acute form of civil war, that the hitherto ruling classes will be overthrown.

Proletarian violence is inevitable as long as the bourgeois violence of the minority keeps the wide masses of the workers in subjection.

It will become superfluous as the bourgeois minority submits to the proletarian majority and gives up its class privileges.

Bourgeois violence endeavours to perpetuate the forcible domination over the masses.

Proletarian violence endeavours to render itself superfluous.

Proletarian violence, as the violence of the majority, acts openly as a class violence.

Bourgeois violence, as the violence of a small minority, is always compelled to deny its own existence.

23. In order to conquer the majority of the working class, the

Communist Party must utilise all the possibilities of bourgeois democracy (parliaments, municipal councils, administrative bodies, etc.). It must aim at conquest of the mass organisations of the proletariat (the trade unions and co-operative societies) in order to transform them from bearers of mere reforms into shock troops for the overthrow of bourgeois domination.

In all struggles the action of the wide masses is the decisive factor.

Individual terrorism and isolated acts of sabotage are not appropriate means of the proletarian class struggle.

#### IV. BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

24. The proletariat cannot conquer and retain political power by the means and methods of bourgeois democracy. The latter is the final, most developed form of bourgeois society. It is the form of government within which the class struggle in the capitalistically developed countries will be ultimately fought out.

The State apparatus of the bourgeois republic is (like that of all the former forms of government) an apparatus for the forcible oppression of the exploited by the exploiting classes.

Formally bourgeois democracy rests on the equality of rights of all the citizens of the State, but the economic domination of the capitalists and big landowners transforms the equality of rights into actual inequality.

All the citizens are presumed to have equal privileges. In reality only the possessing classes are given an opportunity to make a full use of democratic rights. The non-possessing classes can only make use of them on a limited scale, or not at all.

The right of assembly! But the capitalists alone have the leisure, the assembly halls, and an army of eloquent, intellectual, and political agents.

The freedom of the Press! But the capitalists are the owners of the printing works and paper mills, and engage the most skilled writers and clerical staffs.

Equal justice! But the judges themselves are of the bourgeois.

The right to knowledge is the privilege of the possessing classes, and therefore it is bourgeois class knowledge.

Equality of electoral rights! But the bourgeoisie secures predominance by its command over the Press, the school, the Church, and by a thousand means, with the help of which it achieves supremacy.

The bourgeoisie rules Parliament by putting, openly and secretly, its economic weapons into play.

However, Parliament is only one part of the Government machine.

The actual State administration is in the hands of the Civil Service.

The most important posts of the Civil Service are filled by members of the ruling classes. These bureaucrats are segregated from the masses of the population, and are imperious to the influence of the latter, but on the other hand, they are under the decisive influence of the bourgeoisie.

The actual instruments of power in the possession of bourgeois democracy are the police and military forces.

Bourgeois democracy merely extends the State machinery, it inherits from the ruling class that preceded it by adding to it sections of the subordinate classes, but in doing so it only enlarges the instrument of oppression.

Bourgeois democracy, as the final, most developed form of bourgeois class rule, affords the proletarian class struggles a wider field than the absolutist-monarchic-feudalist government.

Bourgeois democracy is a step forward as compared with absolutism and feudalism.

The working class must fight for bourgeois democracy against absolutism and feudalism.

It must oppose with the utmost energy every attempt to substitute bourgeois democracy by absolutist domination.

However, in order to establish and exercise its own class domination the proletariat must break up the bourgeois State apparatus, and hence the bourgeois State, and must erect the proletarian State.

## V. PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP.

25. The immediate aim of the proletarian dictatorship consists in forcibly holding down the hitherto ruling capitalist minority by the organised proletarian majority, in regulating public life through the proletariat, in taking all the economic means of power out of the hands of the bourgeoisie, and in building up the Socialist economic system. The proletarian dictatorship replaces the bureaucratic-militarist domination over the masses by the autonomous administration of workers' councils (and peasants' councils) in the commune, the district, the province, and the State.

The workers' councils are not parliamentary but active working-class bodies. They have under the management legislation, administration, control, justice, and have also executive powers.

Just as the workers' councils cannot assume power without the leadership of the revolutionary party of the proletariat—the Communists, it is only under Communist leadership that they will be able to retain it against all attacks.

The workers' councils are not elected on a territorial, but on the vocational and economic basis, members of the councils can be recalled any time.

The proletarian State power rests on the armed proletariat, the active parts of which are—the red guards and the Red Army, and the reserve—the militia. The proletarian State power introduces proletarian courts of justice—revolutionary tribunals in order to accelerate legal proceedings against its opponents, and to punish breaches of revolutionary discipline. It establishes permanent proletarian courts for other forms of litigation.

The proletarian State power deprives the bourgeoisie of the press, the assembly halls, and the schools. It introduces social education of all without any sex distinction.

In the schools of the proletarian State the training in manual work goes together with that in mental work. Thus the performance of productive work is accompanied by theoretic training.

The proletarian State achieves the separation of the Church from the State and of the Church from the school. It leaves the upkeep of the Church and its priests to the believers.

The proletarian State gives full freedom to all hitherto oppressed nationalities and parts of nationalities to form independent federations.

By abolishing bourgeois domination and the bourgeois property system the proletarian State abolishes the social basis for domination of man over man. It establishes complete equality of both sexes, and puts the right valuation on motherhood. It overthrows the old form of the family which rested on the exploitation and slavery of the woman, and transforms the family into a free, moral entity.

The Communists consider the federation of the Soviet Republics, with a common management of military and the economic system and of foreign policy, as the first step towards the unification of the national Soviet Republics.

The Communists aim at the centralisation of the economic system of the Soviet Republics.

In Germany the Communists aim at a United Socialist Soviet Republic. The Communists demand the abolition of the system of separate States and of the division of the Republic into countries, and insist on the division of the Republic into economic territories.

The German Socialist Soviet Republic will allow the population of the German-speaking districts outside the present Germany themselves to decide whether those districts should be incorporated into the German Republic.

## VI. THE TRANSITION MEASURES FOR THE CONQUEST OF POLITICAL POWER

26. Workers' councils and parliaments, proletarian and bourgeois dictatorship, cannot for any length of time exist together in a big State during the period of the revolutionary transition from the Capitalist to the Socialist order.

The workers' councils destroy the parliaments or *vice versa*.

The overthrow of bourgeois democracy and the destruction of the bourgeois State apparatus is an isolated, violent act.

However, the establishment of the workers' councils and their development into organs capable of overthrowing and replacing the bourgeois democracy cannot be an isolated act.

The workers' councils must have their beginning from within the bourgeois democracy itself. Regardless of their titles, their forms, or their original aims, they will come into being as the organs which enable the working class to get the best of its organisational cleavage in order to be able to conduct a united struggle *as a class*.

It is only through hard and stubborn class struggles that the workers' councils will be able to transform the organisational unity of the working class into an ideological unity, which is a pre-requisite of its ultimate victory over bourgeois democracy.

Thus, between the bourgeois democracy and the Soviet Republic there will necessarily be a period during which the workers' councils and the bourgeois State will exist side by side struggling for political power. (Dual government.)

The birth and revolutionary development of the workers' councils are unparallel with the growth of the proletarian class struggle, and with the progressive awakening of proletarian class consciousness.

The workers' councils give expression to the estrangement, severance, and opposition of the proletarian masses to the bourgeoisie, and at the same time to their former political leaders who are closely connected with the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeois-socialist coalition government presents a stage of the class struggle in which the bourgeoisie is already unable to dominate directly over the ideology of the proletarian masses, and in which it is obliged to make use of the Social-Reformists and Centrists in order to achieve this aim.

During the initial stages of the capitalist crisis the period of the bourgeois-socialist coalition government seems to be an inevitable means to arrest the progress of the working class, but also to disassociate it (by its own experience) from the bourgeois-democratic illusions.

In connection with this, it is the task of the Communists to accelerate the establishment of a united proletarian militant front against the bourgeoisie by continuous criticism of the political

and social experiences of the masses (gained during the struggles).

The necessary premise for this is—full freedom of criticism and propaganda and the unconditional organisational independence of the C.P.

The Party must only conduct common action with the other labour parties and organisations as long as this is not detrimental to the interests of the struggle. The Party must also work for those partial aims which are in the interests of the wide masses and are not beyond their present mental development.

During the period in which the independent mass movement of the proletariat has assumed definite dimensions, and its opposition to the bourgeoisie and to the labour leaders, allied with the latter, has become more intense, but in which the majority of it is not yet ready to break down the framework of the bourgeois, democratic order, the “labour government” watchword is the most appropriate means to bring about a new phase of the emancipation of the proletarian masses from the bourgeoisie, and to create a new and higher aim for its movement in the direction of proletarian dictatorship.

The demand for a Labour Government does not only comprise the demand for the severance of the leaders of the Reformist Labour movement from the bourgeoisie, but above all the creation of new *points d'appui* for the proletarian power within and through the masses themselves, and the destruction of the powerful *points d'appui* of the bourgeoisie. The armed proletariat must be a decisive and powerful *point d'appui* of the labour movement, and the workers' (including small peasantry) and industrial councils must be the chief political foundation of the latter.

With the support of the armed workers and of the workers' councils, the Labour Government disarms the bourgeoisie, destroys its organisational connections and removes the bourgeois elements from the State apparatus.

The Labour Government phase corresponds with a series of economic and financial revolutionary transition measures which will have to be adapted to the various countries according to the conditions prevailing in them.

These transition measures formally still correspond to the bourgeois system of property and production, and with the bourgeois financial system. In reality, however, they constitute an interference into State affairs by the proletarian State power in the guise of the Labour Government which limits the right of disposal of the capitalists over their property and the capitalists' profits in the interest and for the advantage of the proletariat and of the wide working masses.

For Germany and a number of other countries the following economic transition measures must be taken into consideration :—

(1) The participation of the State in all capitalists' big industries (confiscation of real values) and the application of the excess profits accruing to the State, in the first instance for the abolition of the taxation of the wide masses (indirect, travel, and wages taxes).

(2) The trustification or the syndicalisation of capitalists' enterprises in which the State is participating, under the active participation (control) of the economic organs of the workers and employees (factory committees, trade unions).

### CONTROL OF PRODUCTION

(3) In connection with the above—abolition of bank, manufacturing, and business secrets.

(4) State monopoly of food and rationing—also with the active and decisive participation of the workers', employees', and small peasants' organs.

(5) State monopoly of foreign trade and banking—again under workers' and employees' control.

All these transition measures (although formally within the framework of the bourgeois ownership system) are actually in strong opposition to the capitalist class interests. Their application will require an acute and comprehensive struggle against the bourgeoisie. The bitter and systematic resistance of the bourgeoisie will naturally compel the Labour Government to transcend in the long run these contradictory half measures, to replace the partial appropriation of bourgeois property and the restriction of the capitalist right to dispose of it by the complete abolition of bourgeois ownership of the means of production (raw material, &c.), and right of disposal.

It will be compelled to take this further step by the inevitable fact that the capitalists will make use of the remains of their right of disposal and of their property in order to conduct a stubborn, inexorable, and spiteful struggle against the economic system of the Labour Government with the object of disorganising and sabotaging it.

The capitalists will also make use of all the bourgeois State institutions still prevailing within the Labour Government, in order to conduct with their assistance a political struggle against it: Parliament, the Courts of Justice, the Army, the administration, the press, the schools, and the church, &c.

Therefore, the Labour Government will be compelled in the course of these struggles to abolish (in the interest of self-preservation) its twofold and contradictory political form, to break up (also formally) the bourgeois State apparatus and to make the workers' councils the bearers of the entire State power.

The temporary co-existence of the bourgeois parliamentary democracy and of workers' councils as bodies carrying on a life

and death struggle, is an inevitable phase during the transition from bourgeois democracy to proletarian dictatorship.

It is impossible to foretell whether the Labour Government will constitute the last most likely phase before the introduction of the dictatorship of the councils (Soviets), or whether it will be omitted. It is just as difficult to foretell whether a measure of State capitalism in the interests of the working class will constitute a transition phase of considerable duration.

However, this must not prevent the Communists (as long as the majority of the working class is not yet ready for the immediate realisation of the Soviet dictatorship and of Socialism) from taking into consideration consciously and systematically, these hypothetical phases preceding Soviet dictatorship and Socialism.

Should these phases be omitted owing to the obstinate resistance of the bourgeoisie and the inertia of its social democratic lackeys—woe to the bourgeoisie!

### CHAPTER III

#### THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE CAPITALIST ECONOMIC SYSTEM INTO THE SOCIALIST ECONOMIC SYSTEM

27. The inter-dependence of the world economic system, which developed under capitalism, appears to the capitalist world, which has forcibly dislocated it, in the shape of the deterioration of the forces of production.

The capitalist form of appropriation is not any longer in harmony with the world economic forms of production.

The Socialist economic system alone is able to do away with this anomaly, and to transform the economic system of the world into a systematic and harmonious whole. It is self-evident that a perfect Socialist economic system can be only carried through on a world scale.

A Socialist economic system in capitalist surroundings must bring many sacrifices and must submit to many limitations owing to these surroundings.

However, it is also self-evident that the proletariat, after assuming power in one or several capitalist States, cannot wait with the introduction of Socialist measures until the entire remaining part of the world has shaken off the yoke of the bourgeoisie.

The limits and sacrifices imposed on Socialist construction by the capitalist surroundings, will grow less as the proletariat extends the area of its domination and strengthens its forces of production.

However, the proletariat, having obtained political power, must begin at once to introduce measures leading to the realisation of Socialism.

It can retain its power in the continuous open or disguised struggle against the forces of the decaying bourgeoisie by depriving the latter immediately and relentlessly of its economic weapons which are the last and the strongest foundation of its political power.

It must, in the first instance, take measures for the removal of the debris which the collapsing capitalist economic system and the bankrupt financial system of the bourgeois State have left behind them.

It is absolutely necessary :—

To repudiate the national debt, as well as the war loans, with the exception of subscriptions, the amount of which is to be fixed by the State.

Another measure (if it has been omitted by the bourgeois Republic) is : the confiscation of the fortunes and incomes of the reigning houses for the benefit of the community.

The proletarian State cannot (on principle) recognise any debts to foreign countries, war indemnities, &c., of the bourgeois State, which it has replaced. It must inevitably aim at the repudiation of all the foreign obligations.

However, the extent in which this aim can be achieved will depend on the state of the bourgeois and proletarian forces outside its frontiers.

The first steps which the C.P. demands for the construction of the Socialist economic order are as follows :—

(1) The expropriation of the land of all the big and medium estates, the formation of Socialist agricultural co-operative societies and of large agricultural enterprises under a united control management within the State, the division of the big estates on which the work is done by small holders.

The small peasant farms remain in the possession of their present owners until their voluntary association with the Socialist co-operatives.

(2) The expropriation of the mines, foundries, banks and all big industrial concerns and traffic enterprises. A centralised, uniform, economic system. State monopoly of foreign trade.

(3) The amalgamation of the small industrial concerns into autonomous co-operative societies.

(4) Universal obligatory labour.

State maintenance of those unable to work (children, old people, invalids, &c.), and of the unemployed.

The transformation of the capitalist into a Socialist economic system necessitates a transformation of working-class morals and labour discipline. Voluntary Socialist Labour discipline takes the place of the capitalist compulsory discipline. It becomes the duty of the workers themselves and of the organs within the factory and the workers' State elected by themselves, to enforce this discipline.

With the disappearance of the capitalist exploiters, and the transference of the factories, mines, big agricultural concerns, &c., to the workers and to the workers' State, the former methods of struggle of the workers against capitalist exploitation (strikes, passive resistance, &c.), lose their *raison d'être*. Henceforth these forms of struggle become attacks against the workers' State itself. They only retain their significance in the case of those industries which the Soviet State has still left in the hands of the capitalist employer. The Soviet State is obliged to interfere in favour of the workers in all conflicts between workers and capitalist employers.

With the disappearance of the capitalist system, the role of the trade unions changes completely. From being organs of economic struggle and revolutionary changes they became important and prominent executive organs of the Socialist economic system. With this aim in view, they must transform themselves from vocational and industrial unions into unions of production. They must be represented in all the economic organs of the State.

The consumers' and producers' co-operative societies are incorporated into the Socialist economic system. They become State organs for distribution and production.

28. As the proletarian dictatorship gradually achieves its aims, breaks down the resistance of the bourgeoisie, makes Socialism a reality, and thus abolishes class distinctions, it renders superfluous its organs of suppression, viz : the proletarian State which represents the final form of Government.

The State gradually disappears.

Socialist society which was necessarily tainted with the economic, moral, and spiritual ideas of the old social order, gets rid of the last vestige of those ideas. It transforms itself into the Communist social order.

The obsolete State is replaced by social management, the basis of which is a type of human being with a completely new mentality.

## CHAPTER IV

### INTERNATIONAL TASKS

29. The conquest and maintenance of political power depends in all their stages largely on the international co-operation of the working class with the nationalities oppressed by the capitalist yoke. The united C.P. which has constituted itself into the C.I., represents consciously and systematically the international unity of the proletarian struggle for emancipation. In all the struggles for emancipation which arise within national frontiers, the C.I.

stands up for the joint interests of the world proletariat. The interests of the international revolution transcend those of the national revolutions. The C.I. is the home of all the exploited and oppressed classes and nations. The C.P. of Germany is incorporated into the C.I. as a section of the revolutionary world power. The C.I. unites all the revolutionary forces of the working class and of the oppressed peoples for the defence of the already existing proletarian States, for the common class struggle on an international scale, for the conquest of the political power of the proletariat in the capitalist countries, for the liberation of the colonial and semi-colonial countries from imperialist enslavement and oppression, for the revolutionary struggle against the imperialist war, and for the repudiation of the imperialist peace treaties.

The aims of the C.I. is the world federation of Soviet Republics.

The C.I. will lead oppressed humanity out of the ruin, the chaos, and the sanguinary barbarism of the collapsing capitalist world. It is a question of clearing away a world of ruins, of conquering a world of enemies, and of constructing a new world.

Proletarians and oppressed peoples of all countries unite and rally around the banner of the Communist International.

# Draft Programme of the Communist Party of Bulgaria

(SECTION OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL)

**I**MPERIALISM and the great imperialist war led to a profound economic, social, and political crisis in capitalist society. They opened the epoch of the proletarian revolution, whose act was the victorious revolution of the Russian proletariat.

Capitalism is impotent to find a way out of this crisis. The chaos in production and commerce grows ever more hopeless and attains utterly unprecedented dimensions. The poverty and wretchedness of the proletariat and the lower middle class, who comprise the enormous majority of the population, are increasing at a terrible rate. The hostility between the great imperialist States is becoming intensified, so that the danger of a fresh imperialist war, involving ever greater dangers to mankind than the previous one, grows more and more imminent. The class conflicts, in which larger and larger numbers of the workers become involved, are being intensified to the pitch of one civil war. The foundation of capitalism is crumbling. In its fall the capitalist system threatens to bury the nations beneath its ruins, to thrust them into barbarism and to doom them to degeneration and to death. The only issue for humanity from the abyss is through the victory of the proletarian world revolution. Material and social conditions are ripe for this victory. The task of the C.P.B. of all lands is to organise the workers and the lower middle class for the struggle to lead them to battle, in order to prepare, to hasten and to ensure the victory of the revolution, the overthrow of capitalism, and the realisation of Communist society.

In the Balkans and in Bulgaria, the nationalist policy of conquest of the Balkan bourgeoisie, co-operating with the interests and rivalries of the various dynasties, and with the machinations of the imperialist bourgeoisie of Europe, have led to wars of which the end has not yet come. Thereby the Balkan peoples have been almost completely ruined, and have been subjected to a new economic and political yoke, that of Entente imperialism. Notwithstanding certain temporary and apparent successes in some of the Balkan lands, there has ensued an inevitable bankruptcy of the nationalist policy of the Balkan bourgeoisie, and thereby the basis of their domination has been undermined. The economic, social, and cultural development of the Balkan peoples has been completely arrested by the decay

of domestic capitalism and by the foreign imperialist hegemony. The fearful devastation of the country and the poverty of the masses of the workers, has simultaneously given an impetus to the struggle of the workers and the lesser peasant. The tide of the proletarian revolution in the Balkans, the revolution that is destined to break the chains of the social and national subjugations of the Balkan peoples and the Bulgarian nation, is now rising.

The general crisis in the capitalist world and in the Balkans, intensified in Bulgaria, as in all the defeated countries, by the colossal war indemnities, imposes upon the C.P. of Bulgaria an immediate task. It is to organise the proletariat and the lower middle class for the decisive mass struggle against exploitation, poverty, and degeneration, and to pave the way for the approaching victory of the proletarian revolution in the Balkans and in Bulgaria.

The cause of the widespread and intense crisis and of the decay of capitalism and also the material conditions which will bring about the victory of the proletarian world revolution, are intrinsic in capitalist society. The C.P., in determining its aims, starts with a precise analysis of capitalist production and of its latest imperialist phase. Capitalism develops by way of the destruction of petty industry and petty agriculture. The independent artisans and the small holders suffer more and more from capitalist competition until, ruined, they join the ranks of the C.P. Those among them who continue to maintain their private proprietary rights, become dependent none the less upon the urban traders or upon the bankers or upon the village usurers, so that their working conditions grow continually worse, and greater sacrifices are forced upon them while the small producers are thus being proletarianised, and while the poverty of the petty owners in the towns and the villages is rapidly increasing, the means of production are passing into the hands of an ever small number of capitalists. The centralisation of capital and the concentration of the means of production becomes increasingly marked. Large-scale capitalist production makes inexorable progress.

The characteristic feature of capitalist production is that the means of production pass into the hands of a numerically small class the bourgeoisie. The preponderant masses of society, consisting of the workers and the semi-proletarian small producers, are compelled, in order to secure a livelihood, to sell their labour power to the capitalists and to submit to exploitation by the latter. The basis of capitalist production is surplus value or the unpaid labour of the workers. The aim of capitalist production is profit. The application of machinery to the work of production, and the various technical advances which increase the productivity of labour and swell the total of commodities

to an amazing extent, are of advantage only to the capitalists and to the possessing classes. As far as the workers are concerned, these changes merely increase their dependence and intensify their exploitation by capital.

The development of capitalist production increases the number of the workers employed in production, involves the women and children in the task of production, creates a reserve army of labour, and thereby increases yet further the exploitation of the proletariat. In times of economic crisis, unemployment (which is a perpetual accompaniment of capitalist production and a terrible curse to the workers), assumes vast proportions.

The anarchy of capitalist production, in which everyone produces without considering the needs of the market, and without any possibility of considering these needs, the competition between the capitalists within each country and between the capitalist groups of various lands, the enormous increase in the amount of commodities, and the intensified exploitation of the worker and of the lower middle class—give rise to periodically recurring economic crises which are accompanied by widespread unemployment and terrible poverty for the working masses. During these crises, when millions of unemployed workers tramp the streets—idle because they have produced too much, and because the capitalist warehouses are gorged with commodities—the insoluble contradiction of capitalist society grow plain to the most superficial observer.

In this way, every advance in the evolution of capitalism, every perfection of machinery, and every achievement of technical progress, leads, not to an increase in the well-being of society, but merely to an expansion of the wealth of the privileged minority which controls the means of production and distribution. Simultaneously, the misery of the great majority of the population grows ever more intense. The contrast between the classes becomes more conspicuous, the gulf between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between the possessing class and the working class widens; day by day, unemployment, uncertainty as to the future, deprivation among the masses of the population, increase with giant strides.

Concurrently with this accentuation of class contrasts, the civil war between exploiters and exploited, between the bourgeoisie on the one hand, and the proletariat and semi-proletariat producers on the other, grows more acute. The number of the fighting workers increases; their organisation, their discipline, and their class consciousness are improved. There also ensues an increase in the number of those belonging to the lower middle class which are willing to fight under the working class banner. The strength of those who fight for the aims of the working class, and the day of the final overthrow of the capitalist regime approaches. At the same time, the technique of produc-

tion is perfected, so that the labour process of the capitalist entrepreneurs becomes a social process. More and more quickly do the historical and material conditions ripen for the social revolution and for the realisation of Communist society whose attainment is the final goal of the C.P.

The imperialist stage of capitalist development, the imperialist world war and the subsequent victory of the proletarian revolution in Russia, created new conditions for the struggle of the working class. These conditions may be characterised as follows :—

The vigorous development of capitalism during recent decades has taken the form of an unprecedented centralisation of capital and concentration of production. Capitalist monopolies came into existence in the form of syndicates, cartels, and trusts, gaining control of more and more important branches of industry, and conquering both the home market and the international market. Then came the union between industrial capital and banking capital, and the development of financial capital. There was an increased export of capital, intensifying the competition between the capitalist States, leading to redistribution of the colonial areas and to modifications in the world market. During this new epoch of capitalist development, known as the imperialist phase, there have been extensive changes alike in the internal and in the external relationship of the capitalist States.

Within the capitalist States, political power has been concentrated in the hands of some groups of wealthy capitalists, landowners, and bankers, who have gained supreme control of large-scale industry, mines, and the soil. During the same period, an ever-increasing number of petty producers have been proletarianised. Even those who have retained their little workshops, their tiny plots of land, or their small retail shops, have completely lost their economic independence, and have been forced more and more into the same conditions as the working class. The class contrast between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat has been continuously intensified. In order to suppress the growing dissatisfaction of the proletariat and the lower middle class, to repress their inclination to struggle for an escape from their condition, the dominant capitalist groups are having recourse to an increasingly reactionary policy. As a last resource in the endeavour to maintain their dominion, they are instituting a brutal regime of bourgeois class dictatorship.

The imperialist foreign policy of capitalist States has been an outgrowth of the imperialist stage of capitalism. When large scale capitalism had secured complete control of the home market, the monopolists endeavoured to conquer the foreign market as well. As soon as the whole world had been divided up among the birds of prey, the Great Powers, new rivalries arose

among them, leading to attempts at a redistribution of the spoils. The investment of increasingly large amounts of capital in the colonies and the backward lands has been followed by an increasingly vigorous attempt on the part of the bourgeoisie to subjugate these regions more effectively alike economically and politically, in order thus to safeguard capital and interest. Imperialism as a system strips the veil from the colonial policy of the bourgeoisie, so that it is displayed in all its nakedness as a policy of plunder, conquest, and the subjugation of foreign peoples and territories.

In order to fulfil the predatory aims of this imperialist policy, and in order to maintain the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the capitalist Governments have developed militarism to an enormous degree, so that the peoples are crushed beneath its burdens. It was imperialism which continuously intensified the conflicts between the Great Powers, until at length these conflicts culminated in the imperialist world war.

During the imperialist epoch, the development of the forces of production advanced with giant strides, and capital was centralised in the hands of a dwindling minority of large scale capitalists and bankers. Capitalist monopolies, banking amalgamations and State capitalism paved the way for the social regulation of the process of production and for the social distribution of commodities. The contradiction between social production and the private ownership of the means of production becomes more conspicuous. Economic conditions grow ever riper for the transformation of privately owned means of production into social property. The proletariat of those sections of the lower middle class who are closely akin to the proletariat, constitute the overwhelming majority of the nation. The victory of Communism will depend upon the class consciousness and the organisation of the working class—in a word, upon its strength.

The war has involved for the workers and the lower middle class the most terrible sacrifices of life, has involved devastation, poverty, and famine. Following upon the war have come the widespread economic crises, accompanied by a rise in the cost of the necessaries of life and extensive unemployment. The capitalist Governments are bankrupt alike politically and financially, so that the capitalist system has reduced society to chaos. All these circumstances have combined to render the position of the workers intolerable, increasing the discontent of the masses, intensifying the class struggle, and leading to a civil war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, which will end in the overthrow of the capitalist regime and in the conquest of power by the proletariat. The revolution occurred first in Russia, and this was followed a year later by revolutions in Germany, Austria and Hungary. The victory of the proletarian

revolution in Russia demonstrated clearly the aims and methods of the proletarian world revolution.

Owing to the peculiar but transient conditions of production that immediately followed the war (conditions which for a time provided ample occupation for the demobilised workers), and owing to the treachery of the international social democracy under the leadership of opportunists and traitors, the European imperialist bourgeoisie was enabled to repel the first revolutionary onslaughts of the proletariat and to maintain its own dominion for a few years longer. Nevertheless, shortly after the war began the general economic crisis extended all over the world. This crisis was brought about, in part by the wastage of the forces of production, by the slackening of production, and by the impoverishment of Europe, and in part by the sudden expansion of industry and production which occurred in America, Japan, and the colonies, during the war. This crisis was the cause of a hitherto unprecedented rise in prices and of an enormous extension of unemployment, whereby the proletariat and the lower middle class in all countries has been plunged in yet more hopeless poverty.

The capitalist class took advantage of the crisis to intensify exploitation and to lower the proletarian standard of life. All the burdens resulting from war expenditure were transferred to the shoulders of the workers. Everything possible was done to strengthen the dominion of capitalism, while the working class was exposed to conditions involving degeneration and death. In pursuit of these aims, the bourgeoisie is strengthening the reaction, is organising an international counter-revolution, and is straining all its forces to strangle the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in every country, and above all to destroy Soviet Russia as the focus of the proletarian world revolution. Nevertheless, the capitalist class is incompetent to lead human society out of the universal crisis, out of the anarchy and chaos which capitalism has created. It cannot restore the economic energies of the people. On the contrary, the whole of the post-war policy of capitalism has served only to intensify the crisis, and is inevitably tending to force mankind into new and yet more tremendous imperialist wars. Pacifism sermons anent disarmament, international conflicts, and the movement in favour of international arbitration, do nothing to prevent the increase of armaments or to nullify the indications that new wars are in preparation.

The proletarian, the Communist revolution can alone lead mankind out of the blind alley into which imperialism and the imperialist wars have brought it. However great the difficulties of the revolution, and despite transient failures, the ultimate victory of the proletariat is assured.

Gradually, but unintermittently and universally, the working class is plucking up heart, and is showing ever more definitely its

determination to resist the capitalist offensive. It is organising, multiplying, and marshalling its forces in order that, safeguarded by the R.S.F.S.R., the citadel of the proletarian revolution, and led by the Communist International, which co-ordinates the energies of all lands, it may assume a decisive revolutionary offensive and proceed to the final overthrow of capitalism.

Indispensable conditions for the victory of the revolution are : on the one hand, the waging of an independent class war by the proletariat, the intensification of the revolutionary class consciousness of the workers, international solidarity, and unification of the militant workers of all lands under the banner of the Communist International ; and on the other hand, a ruthless warfare against the social patriots and the centrists, not forgetting the anarchists and the syndicalists, so that the working masses, who to a large extent in the chief capitalist countries continue to follow the leadership of the social patriots, may be organised as part of the fighting of the Communist International. In Bulgaria, where the whole of the militant working class belongs to the Communist party, and where the social democrats (known in this country as the "broad socialists") have no influence among the masses, the Communist party is in a favourable position to prepare for the victory of the proletarian revolution. It will be able to unify and to organise the still unorganised sections of the workers and the lower middle class ; it can also make a powerful appeal to the middle class organisations, those of the State employees and those of the salaried employees in private undertakings, which are at present still attached to the bourgeois parties. It will be in a position to lead these united forces in a decisive struggle on behalf of their immediate and general class interests.

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Bulgaria has developed under the general conditions of European imperialism. Its situation is, however, distinguished from that of the larger capitalist States by the fact that, despite the insatiable greed of conquest of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie, it has itself become an object of conquest and exploitation on the part of the great imperialist plunderers. The momentous nationalist and imperialist wars into which the Bulgarian people was forced by the bourgeoisie have devastated the country alike, industrially and financially. The workers and the lower middle class are subjected to a double yoke, that of the native exploiters and that of the foreign conquerors. The misery of the Bulgarian people is thus redoubled. In the case of the lesser and more backward nations, the imperialist war put the finishing touches to what the policy of conquest of capitalism and imperialism had begun. These lesser and backward nations have been conquered, and have been transformed into dependent and exploited States. The victorious Great Powers have laid their hands upon the natural wealth and raw

materials of the lesser and backward nations, and also upon those of the great imperialist countries that were defeated in the war. These victims are plundered economically and conquered politically.

The exploitation to which the inhabitants of the colonies and dependencies are exposed fortifies the revolutionary movement in these lands. The only active supporters of such movements are to be found in the ranks of the revolutionary international proletariat. Hence these movements, nationalist in their inception, inevitably develop into movements making for the social revolution, inasmuch as the success of the nationalist movements can only be achieved as the outcome of a successful social revolution in Europe. The revolutionary movement for the liberation of the peoples oppressed by imperialism will, in turn, undermine the privileged position of the great parasitic imperialist States, and will hasten the coming of revolution in these latter.

In this way European imperialism has accentuated the class contrasts which had already been created of the internal development of Bulgaria. The successive wars accelerated the accumulation of capital in the hands of the bourgeoisie, intensified the exploitation of the workers, and brought about the proletarianisation of the lesser peasantry and the artisan class on a gigantic scale. The terrible sacrifices of the war, the economic devastation, financial bankruptcy, the complete collapse of the nationalist policy of conquest, have combined to shake the foundations of the bourgeois *regime* in Bulgaria. The tide of discontent is following, and the revolutionary movement of the masses is in the ascendant. The immediate aims of the Bulgarian proletariat must be: First of all, to place itself in the van of the movement; secondly, to unite it with the revolutionary movements of the neighbouring Balkan States; and, thirdly, to co-ordinate the whole with the mighty forces of the European proletarian revolution.

The Balkan bourgeoisie seized the opportunity furnished by the disintegration of the Balkan peoples, and by the impossibility of an economic development within the narrow limits of this region, in order to pursue a nationalist policy and to reach out towards aim of conquest in the name of "national enfranchisement." In each of the Balkan States the bourgeoisie tried, on the lines of the foregoing policy, to fashion a single great Balkan power, each endeavouring to split up the neighbouring States, to subjugate large portions of these, and thus to secure a Balkan unity on the imperialist model. This nationalist policy of conquest led in the Balkans to frequent wars, and ultimately to the war of 1912-13, which eventuated, not in national enfranchisement, but in still greater national disintegration and enslavement, and which culminated in economic disaster for the Balkan area. Moreover, the Balkan wars increased the dependence of the Balkan peoples upon the

capitalist Great Powers. Thanks to their mutual rivalries, the Balkan States became blind tools of European imperialism, which ultimately involved these States in the imperialist war. As the outcome of that war, Rumania and Jugo-Slavia achieved a temporary unification of the Rumanian and Serbian peoples, whereas the Balkan peoples were disintegrated, and great masses of their population were enslaved to their enlarged Balkan neighbours. These new States, comprising now many nationalities within their borders, can maintain their existence only with the aid of military and financial support from the Entente imperialist powers, and at the cost of the oppression of exploited classes and subjugated nationalities and of an increase in militarism and bureaucracy.

For the second time within recent years Bulgaria is devastated by war, and as a result of the latest peace settlement its frontiers have been yet further restricted. As for Greece, thanks to the national policy of conquest of the Greek bourgeoisie and the British imperialists (whose tool Greece has been in the war against Turkey), that country has suffered yet greater disasters. As an outcome of the years of nationalist and imperialist wars in the Balkans, all the Balkan States—victors and vanquished alike—have been ruined industrially and financially, and have been transformed into dependencies of Entente imperialism.

The national liberation of the Balkan peoples, the necessity for which has been brought to the front before the war by the peculiar ethnographic, historical, and geographical conditions of the region, has now become a crying need, and essential to their economic development, and, indeed, to their very life. But the Balkan bourgeoisie has proved incompetent to solve the national problems of the Balkan peoples. Despite local transient and partial successes, the nationalist policy of conquest has, as a whole, proved utterly bankrupt. For this reason, as early as 1910, four years before the Great War, the Socialist parties of the Balkans declared that the national liberation and the unification of the Balkan peoples could be achieved only by the class war, by the victory of the proletariat and the poor peasants, and by the establishment of a Socialist Balkan Republic. It was in pursuit of this aim that there was founded the Federation of the Socialist Parties of the Balkans, which after the Great War became the Communist Balkan Federation. The wars have in the Balkans accentuated class contrasts, they have intensified the class war between the proletarians and the poor peasants on the one side and the bourgeoisie and the great landowners on the other. The industrial proletariat of Rumania, comprising a very large body of workers, has been subjected to a yet more excessive exploitation; the peasants for the most part, despite all the agrarian reforms, are still the serfs of the boyars (territorial magnates); while those peasants who have received

plots of land have merely exchanged dependence upon the boyars for dependence upon the bourgeoisie and its banks. In Jugo-Slavia, where the devastation wrought by the war has been especially marked, the exploitation and poverty of the working masses increases from day to day.

In Greece the crisis caused by the catastrophe in Asia Minor has given a new impetus to the struggle for the social enfranchisement of the proletariat and the poor peasants, and also to the movement among the peasants of Thessaly, who still remain in a state of feudal dependence upon the great landowners.

The bourgeoisie of the Balkan States, wishing to divert the attention of the workers and peasants from the class war, and wishing to strengthen its own class dominion, did its utmost again and again to intensify national differences, and continued its old nationalist policy of conquest. It was ready to hurl the Balkan States into a new fratricidal war at the first opportunity, provided only thereby it could drown in blood the growing revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants.

The Communist Federation of the Balkans must unite the proletariat and the poor peasants of the Balkan States for the common struggle; it must prepare the conditions requisite for the victory of the proletarian revolution in the Balkans; and it must fight for the formation of a Federal Socialist Balkan Soviet Republic.

A joint struggle by the Communist parties of the Balkans will be essential in order to pave the way for the proletarian revolution in the individual Balkan States, and in order to ensure an ultimate victory throughout the Balkan area. Such a joint campaign by the Communist parties of the Balkans is rendered indispensable by the similarity of the conditions under which the Communist parties of the Balkans have to fight, by the common danger of counter-revolutionary action at the hands of the Entente imperialists, and also on account of the urgent need the future Soviet Republics of the Balkans shall unite to form a federation. A federation alone will be able to solve the problem of nationalities. Only by a national liberation and union of the Balkan peoples can be secured the conditions requisite for their economic development.

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The final aim of the Communist party is to bring about the social revolution of the proletariat. Thereby, private ownership in the means of production, distribution, and exchange will be replaced by Communist ownership; a purposive organisation of social production and distribution will be inaugurated; the breaking up of society into classes will be annulled; the exploitation of one section of the community by another will be brought to an end; every kind of economic, political and national subjection will be abolished; and the welfare of the multifarious development of society at large will be ensured.

The proletariat will realise the social revolution through the conquest of political power and the establishment of its dictatorship as a class. Until the seizure of power, the Communist party will make use of Parliament and the parliamentary elections in order to make the program and the watchwords of the party as widely known as possible, and also to safeguard the interests and preserve the liberties of the workers and the lower middle class. At the same time it will endeavour to unify and intensify the revolutionary consciousness of the masses, directing the fighting energies of these towards the conquest of power and towards the establishment of the dictatorship of workers' and peasants' councils.

The Communist Party will struggle to gain control of the municipal corporations, representing in these bodies the interests of the workers and the lower middle classes, whom it will thereby fortify for the struggle to capture the supreme powers of the State. The Communist Party fights on behalf of the right of combination, the right of public meeting, and for free speech; for an extension of the parliamentary suffrage and the granting of the suffrage to women; and, finally, for the shortening of the duration of parliament.

Speaking generally, the Communist Party avails itself of the freedoms and institutions of bourgeois democracy (in so far as these are still a reality) in order to strengthen its energies and to prepare the conditions for the proletarian revolution.

The imperialist war opened the epoch of social revolutions. During this epoch, the maximum program of the Communist Party acquires a leading and directly practical significance in relation to the struggle of the international proletariat as a whole.

The experiences of the Russian revolution and those of the revolutionary movements in other lands have plainly indicated both the goals of the working-class struggle for freedom, and the means for their attainment. These latter range from the organisation of the proletariat and the leadership of the mass struggle for immediate interests, to the revolutionary political general strike to armed revolt. The epochs of the social revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat represent the transition period of human society from Capitalism to Communism. During this period the Communist Party, in its role of class leader of the revolutionary workers and peasants, fights for the realisation of the following aims :—

## I.—A SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLIC

1. The contemporary State is an organisation for the maintenance of bourgeois domination and for the exploitation of the workers and the poor. The task of the revolutionary proletariat, after the conquest of power, is to transform the State

from an instrument for the oppression and exploitation of the great majority of the population into an instrument for the political enfranchisement of the masses and for liberating them from the chains of economic subjugation. This will deliver the proletariat, inasmuch as it will abolish the contemporary State and its pillars of support—parliament, the bureaucracy, militarism, etc. In place thereof it will establish a new State, the Socialist Soviet Republic, based upon the self-government of the workers and of the dispossessed classes, and upon the arming of the workers and peasants, these aims being realised by the delegates of the workers' and peasants' councils.

2. Under the mask of democracy the capitalist State maintains the power and privileges of a minority of property owners holding sway over an enormous majority consisting of dispossessed and exploited workers. To-day the bourgeoisie is endeavouring to fortify its shaken dominance by bloody deeds of violence and terror. Under the forms of a democratic republic it rules in reality through a dictatorship, maintained by the police, the army, and the whole apparatus of the capitalist State. Parliament and the entire constitutional and parliamentary *regime* are merely instruments for the exercise of bourgeois class dictatorship.

The Socialist Soviet Republic realises genuine proletarian democracy. All power—legislative, executive, and juridical—is entrusted to the workers' and peasants' councils, is placed, that is to say, in the hands of the producing and working classes. All the organs of the capitalist States, from the government, parliament, democracy, police and militarism, to county councils, town councils, and parish councils, are replaced by the new Soviet organisations, and by the local and central institutions, political, economic, and cultural, created by these.

The councils of workers' and soldiers' delegates are the executive organs of the revolutionary power of the realisation of Socialism and Communism. The participation of all active workers of both sexes, whether in town or country, in the Soviet elections, the power of recalling delegates, and the union of legislative and executive authority in the councils, ensure direct and continuous control over the activity of those, together with the immediate participation of the people in the work of the government. The Soviet power will establish complete equality in family life, equality in the relationships of men and women, for women will be freed from the burdens of the old order of domesticity.

By degrees as Communism is realised, class distinctions, classes themselves, and the State as an instrument of violence, will disappear, and the State will be transformed into an organisation for the purposive regulation of social production and distribution.

## II.—THE ARMING OF THE WORKERS AND THE FORMATION OF A RED ARMY

1. To preserve its power and privileges, the bourgeoisie has recourse to all kinds of violence, and initiates a civil war. Consequently one of the first conditions essential to the victory of the proletarian revolution is the arming of the working and dispossessed class and the disarming of the bourgeoisie. Arms in hand, the revolutionary classes seize the powers of the State, suppresses the resistance of the bourgeoisie, crush the forces of the counter-revolution at home and abroad, and thus ensure their own dominion and the ultimate victory of the revolution.

2. Inasmuch as the new revolutionary power arms the workers and peasants, it creates a revolutionary military class organisation, known as the Red Army, the best instrument of proletarian dictatorship. The Red Army develops out of the nucleus groups of the most efficient, most class conscious, and most proletarian among the workers' guards, the sections which have been constituted, thanks to the voluntary self-discipline of the workers. The political control of this Red Army, and the general control of its staff, remain in the hands of the revolutionary proletariat.

3. To maintain and fortify the proletarian dictatorship, the whole population must be armed, thus creating a Socialist militia of the entire nation. Through this organisation, the arming and the military training of the people will be secured; it will be adapted to the general organisation of production; and it will favour the training of the young. When the proletarian world revolution has been definitely victorious, when classes have disappeared, and when the State no longer exists as an instrument for the oppression of one class by another, the arming of the people will be superfluous, and will ultimately cease.

## III.—THE LIBERATION AND SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE PEOPLES

1. The Communist Party fights to secure that no nation shall any longer be able to destroy or oppress another; it fights also to put an end to every form of economic and political oppression. It advocates the right of self-determination—*i.e.*, the right of the nations to determine their own frontiers and their own forms of government.

2. During the present epoch, when the imperialist war has increased the number of the nations suffering under a foreign yoke, and when three-fourths of mankind are subject to the dominion of Entente imperialism, the struggle for the liberation of colonial, semi-colonial, and other oppressed peoples acquires a notable revolutionary significance. This struggle is shaking the world dominion of the imperialist bourgeoisie, is intensifying the internal revolutionary class struggles of the

capitalist world, and is thus accelerating the coming of the victory of the proletarian world revolution. For this reason the Communist Party in all lands support the revolutionary movements for the liberation of the colonial and semi-colonial nations, and in general for the liberation of all oppressed peoples from the dominion of imperialism. But in so far as in any such movements there is manifest an attempt to subjugate other nations or to resist the freedom of the workers, the Communist Party is opposed to them.

The Communist Party fights for the complete equality of rights in respect alike of national, political, and cultural considerations, of the national minorities which the Balkan bourgeoisie has disfranchised and oppressed. It recognises, however, that their national liberation and reunion can only be secured by the victory of the Socialist, Federal, Soviet Republic of the Balkans.

3. In the Balkans and in Bulgaria, where a considerable part of the various nations has been disintegrated and has come under some other national yoke, and where for decades the bourgeoisie has been pursuing a policy of conquest in the name of national liberation, the recent wars have led to a still greater subjugation and disintegration of the Balkan peoples. The nationalist policy of conquest pursued by the Balkan bourgeoisie has not led to the uniting and the liberation of the Balkan peoples.

Nevertheless, their union and their liberation are essential conditions for their further economic and cultural development. The historic mission of uniting and freeing the Balkan peoples can never be fulfilled by the Balkan bourgeoisie, which is an agent of European imperialism. It can be fulfilled only by the workers and peasants of the Balkans, through the victory of Socialist revolution in this area, who will ensure national as well as social enfranchisement.

4. Not merely does the bourgeoisie maintain national subjugation, but it likewise endeavours to sow dissension among the peoples in order to impair the class-consciousness of the workers and the dispossessed, and to divert their attention from the class war for social liberation. In the Balkans, in particular, the bourgeoisie has done its utmost in this direction, intensifying the national rivalries among the Balkan peoples in order to fortify its own class dominion; and it has repeatedly plunged the Balkans in war in the hope of attaining the aims of a nationalist policy of conquest.

The Communist party of Bulgaria, in common with the other Communist parties of the Balkans, aims at creating and strengthening bonds of solidarity among the proletariat and the dispossessed of all the Balkan lands. International proletarian solidarity is essential everywhere for the victory of the proletarian world revolution; it is especially requisite in the Balkans owing to peculiar historical relationship of this region.

5. The general developmental conditions of the Balkan peoples, and the danger to which they are all exposed from the European forces of imperialism and the counter revolution, make it exceptionally necessary that the workers and peasants of the Balkans should join hands for the common struggle, and that they should unite their efforts to prepare for the socialist revolution in the Balkans. The Communist Federation of the Balkans, which works for the establishment of a Socialist Federal Soviet Republic of the Balkans, strives towards this goal, realising that only through the creation of such a republic can national liberation and the right of self-determination be secured for the Balkan peoples. The Balkan Communist Federation also aspires towards a union with other Soviet Republics in a Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, as a transitional stage towards the complete unity of the nations.

#### IV.—THE EXPROPRIATION AND NATIONALISATION OF LARGE-SCALE INDUSTRY, TRADE, THE BANKS, AND THE MEANS OF TRANSPORT.

1. The victory of the proletariat will take away the means of production and trade from the capitalist class, and will make of them the private property of the Soviet Republic; that is to say, the common property of all the workers. In this way the main source of the economic and political power of the bourgeoisie will be dried up, the foundations of the new Socialist society will be laid, and the conditions will be supplied for a continually expanding development of the forces of production, a development which will be the chief aim of the economic policy of the Soviet Republic.

2. After the conquest of political power, the revolutionary proletariat will proceed, above all, to expropriate and nationalise those means of production and trade in which the process of capitalist concentration is most advanced, and in which the conditions suitable for social production already exist. Among these may be mentioned : large-scale industrial and commercial enterprises, mines, banks, the more important means of transport.

3. Now the revolutionary proletariat will turn its attention to small-scale production. There is nothing to expropriate from the petty artisans, for these own no property beyond a few primitive hand tools. But exploitation in the field of small-scale production will be abolished, as in production at large. The small industrials, therefore, who to-day can live only by the ruthless exploitation of their craftsmen, while sharing in the arduous labours of these, will have no other resource than to replace individual labour by co-operative labour, and and too's by the machinery of the modern workshops and factories which have been transformed into social property. The Soviet power will help the small industrials by supplying them with raw materials and credit, and by centralising the distribution of the

produce. It will do its utmost to favour the formation of co-operatives among the small industrials, and the perfection of technique of the co-operatives of production. This will rapidly increase the productivity of the labour of the small industrials, and will promote their well-being.

4. While the Communist Party explains to the small industrials that the causes of their hardships are rooted in the development of capitalism, and that they must look for salvation to the victory of the revolution, already to-day the party fights for their immediate interests, demands a reduction of the taxation with which they are burdened, advocates the granting to them of cheap credit and raw materials, the support of their co-operatives, and the assurance of their maintenance; it supports their political rights and liberties, etc. But at the same time the Communist Party continues unceasingly to defend against exploitation the workers employed in petty industry, tries to accelerate the formation of co-operatives in this branch of industry, and also to promote the utilisation of machinery.

5. To bring about a purposive organisation of social production, the Soviet power endeavours to an increasing degree to induce the trade unions to participate in the control of production. The unions must enroll all the workers, and must become the main pillars of social production. In this way the direct participation of all the workers in the control of the economic life of society will be rendered possible.

6. The Soviet power declares that work is obligatory upon all able-bodied members of society; endeavours to promote the inauguration of a Socialist labour discipline. It also tries to promote increasing efficiency of control, and to secure that this control shall to an ever greater extent pass into the hands of the actual workers. Thus only will the proletariat be able to restore and yet further to develop the productive forces of society.

In the early days of Socialist society the payment of wages must take into account the skill and the intensity of the labour. But as the productive forces develop, the differences between the skilled and the unskilled worker, etc, will tend to disappear. When Communist society is fully established we shall be able to realise in actual working the formula: "From everyone according to his capacity, to everyone according to his need."

#### V.—THE NATIONALISATION OF THE BANKS.

1. Immediately after the conquest of power the revolutionary proletariat will seize the State banks, will nationalise the private banks, and will unite all the banks into a unified bank of the Soviet Republic. In this way the banks, instead of being a centre of the economic dominion of financial capital, and instead of being the tool of the political dominion of the ex-

plotters, will become an instrument for the liberation of the working-class and for the promotion of the economic revolution.

2. By monopolising the whole banking system and radically modifying and simplifying banking operations, the Soviet Republic, concurrently with the organisation of a purposive social economy, will effect the annihilation of the banking system of capitalist society, and will transform it into a central book-keeping system for Communist society.

3. In conjunction with the nationalisation of the banks and the development of a Socialist organisation of production and distribution, the Communist Party will endeavour to carry out a number of measures to prepare the way for the expansion of the means that will make it possible to dispense with the use of money. In the transitional period from Capitalism to Communism, during which the Communist production and distribution of products has not yet been completely organised, the abolition of money is impossible. (The payment of labour in produce, the introduction of State credit cards, the replacement of money by cheques, etc.)

#### VI.—THE NATIONALISATION OF LAND, THE EXPROPRIATION OF THE GREAT LANDLORDS, THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION.

1. The land is the fundamental basis of production, and for this reason the proletariat cannot take any serious step towards Socialist organisation without first abolishing private property in land. After the conquest of power the revolutionary proletariat will annul all forms of private property in land, and will declare all the land, private, municipal, State, church, etc., together with the forests and the inland waterways, to be the property of society under the supreme supervision of the Soviet Republic.

2. The proletarian revolution will not take away the land of the semi-proletarians and poor peasants; that is, of those who possess so little land that in order to make a livelihood they are compelled to work for the village usurers and the urban capitalists. In like manner those who work their farms solely with the aid of their own families and without hiring labour will be left undisturbed in the use of the soil.

The semi-proletarian, the poor peasant, and the small tenant farmer will be allowed after the revolution the free use of the land they have hitherto been tilling. As much as possible, indeed, they will be given additional land and farming implements, in so far as they can work their farms without hired labour. On the other hand, those who require hired labour to work their farms will be deprived of any land in excess of what they can till themselves. The surplus land thus taken away will be placed at the disposal of the poor peasants.

The proletarian revolution will not interfere with the extensive utilisation of municipal lands, or of the waterways and the woods, in so far as they are utilised for the support of the population; it will merely take steps to ensure that this utilisation shall be reorganised upon communal, co-operative, and collective lines.

By these measures the revolutionary proletariat will at length win over to the side of the Communist revolution the poor peasants and the semi-proletarians of the villages, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population (in Bulgaria five-sixths), and who, in conjunction with the agricultural labourers, represent the decisive power in the country just as the proletariat does in the towns.

3. The proletariat also endeavours to secure the support of the middle peasants, inasmuch as it protects their interests and does not deprive them of their land except in so far as they exploit wage labour or lend aid to the counter-revolution.

4. The proletarian revolution will unconditionally take over the large landed estates, the great forests, the fisheries, and the large farms with all their implements, converting them into model Soviet institutions to be worked by the agricultural labourers for the benefit of the proletarian and peasant State of the Soviet Republic. Moreover, the superfluous land of the great landowners will be taken away. If they oppose the Communist revolution the whole of their land will be taken and converted into Soviet farms; or else it will be given over to the agricultural labourers, to agricultural co-operatives, etc.

5. The proletarian revolution will free the peasants from their indebtedness to the usurers and the banks, from the taxation and the arbitrary measures of the capitalist State, from the exactions of the judicial authorities, the police, the foresters, and the other officials of capitalist society.

6. All the existing taxes imposed on the peasantry will be replaced by a single tax in kind upon the surplus, after allowing for the support of the family and for the amount needed for carrying on agriculture. This tax will be organised on a graduated basis by the workers' and peasants' councils which will be established in the villages after the conquest of the power by the revolutionary proletariat. These councils will consist of the delegates of the rural proletarians and semi-proletarians and the poor peasants, and even those owners of medium estates, so long as they do not employ hired labour.

7. In order to increase agricultural production, the Soviet Republic will give the peasants all possible help, and will do everything in its power to make their existence easier. However, the small and even the middle farmers cannot increase agricultural production owing to the lack of machinery, knowledge, technique, and economy of labour power. The existence

of an agricultural population can only be made secure by the introduction of industry into agriculture and by the development of the industry itself. The Soviet Republic will preserve the up-to-date private, State and other big agricultural concerns, from partition, will give all possible advantages to the Soviet farms, the village communes, and the agricultural co-operatives which work on the land on a communal, collective, and co-operative basis. Moreover, they will aim by means of the propagation of agronomic knowledge, as well as by the example of collective production, to persuade the small middle farmers that it is in their interest, and in that of all the workers, to amalgamate, and to adopt the communal form of ownership and exploitation of land. This would spare them unnecessary work, and will leave them more time for education and for participation in the government of the Soviet Republic. At the same time it would raise the cultural level, and would benefit all the workers.

8. The Soviet Republic will free the peasants from the exploitation by the traders, by organising the distribution of the products through the co-operatives, and by thus supplying the rural population with manufactured goods and the necessary stock by means of barter for agricultural produce. In case of need it will organise the support of the peasants and of peasant agriculture by the town workers; and, conversely, it will promote the support of the town workers and of manufacturing industry by the peasants.

9. The Soviet Republic will endeavour to promote a link between town and village by a purposive regulation and association of the development of manufacturing industry and agriculture; it will promote the bringing of educational and other facilities into the villages, facilities equal to those obtainable in the towns (such as healthy schools with a modern equipment, reading rooms, theatres, gardens, hospitals, alms-houses, lying-in hospitals); and will do its utmost to secure easy communication between the towns and the villages.

10. The Communist party is actively fighting against the exploitation of the agricultural labourers, the semi-proletarians, and the middle peasants by the great landlords and the usurers; against their being plundered by middlemen, banks, and by the State (which last fleeces the peasantry, including the middle peasants, through excessive taxation). The Communist party watches over the general economic and political interests of the working peasants; it has done its utmost to prevent the wars into which the bourgeoisie plunged them, and will do its utmost to prevent such wars in the future; it joins forces with the proletariat for the realisation of Communism, which alone can bring deliverance to the peasants.

## VII.—THE ORGANISATION OF SOCIAL DISTRIBUTION.

1. In order to satisfy the indispensable needs of the poverty-stricken masses, and in order to ensure the uninterrupted continuance of production, one of the first tasks of the new revolutionary power will be to seize all the discoverable depots of the primary necessities of life and of raw materials that are in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

2. The Soviet power will nationalise wholesale commerce both at home and abroad, converting it into a monopoly of the workers' and peasants' State, turning to account for the new organisation of distribution the co-operatives and the trade unions of the workers in the distributive trades. Retail trade, on the other hand, will only disappear by degrees, concurrently with the adequate organisation of the new apparatus for the social distribution of goods, which is to replace the mechanism of private trade.

3. For the organisation of the purposive distribution of goods, the Soviet power will utilise the extant co-operatives of the workers and the propertyless. For this reason it is even at the present time an essential task for the Communist Party to attract the broad masses of the workers into the Bulgarian working class co-operatives and to do everything in its power to strengthen these organisations.

But the Soviet power will also avail itself of the services of all the other co-operatives facilitating at the same time their transformation from petty-bourgeois and bourgeois co-operatives into distributive co-operatives run by proletarians and the propertyless. It will promote the growth of independence and a spirit of discipline among all the workers who are enrolled in the co-operatives. It will endeavour to ensure that the whole population shall join the co-ops, which must ultimately be amalgamated into one great co-operative embracing the whole Soviet Republic.

In this way the entire population will gradually be organised into a network of distributive co-operatives. Centralised into a general distributive apparatus, these will be competent to supply all necessary articles with the greatest speed, purposiveness and economy, and with the smallest possible expenditure of labour.

4. In order to lessen the distress caused to the workers by the continual rise in prices and by the exactions of the profiteers, the Communist Party makes the following demands :—

(a) The State shall forcibly take possession of whatever quantity of articles of prime necessity for the support and feeding of the workers that may be found in the hands of the great bourgeoisie of the urban and rural districts ; it shall establish fixed prices through the instrumentality of the workers'

communes, and shall ensure just distribution under the control of the trade union and co-operative organisations. Any difference between the prices of which the articles are taken over by the State and the prices at which they are supplied to the general population shall be borne by the State.

(b) The monopoly of inland wholesale trade shall be exercised by the State and the municipalities in conjunction with the workers' trade unions and co-operatives.

(c) Retail trade shall be supervised by the State, representatives of the consumers participating in this supervision.

(d) Profiteering in articles of prime necessity and speculation in exchange shall be severely punished.

(e) The State shall have a monopoly in the import and export of the articles of prime necessity and in other articles, the co-operatives participating in the exercise of this State monopoly, and due regard being paid to the interests of small-scale producers.

#### VIII. THE REPUDIATION OF NATIONAL DEBTS AND WAR INDEMNITIES, THE LIBERATION OF THE WORKERS FROM THE EXTANT BURDEN OF TAXATION.

1. Economic restoration and the development of the forces of production encounter an insuperable obstacle in the enormous national debts and in the huge war indemnities with which all countries, and in especial those which are backward and dependent (as in Bulgaria to wit), have been burdened by the imperialist war. In proportion as the revolutionary proletariat wins to power, it will repudiate national debts and cancel war indemnities. Such repudiation and cancellation can be secured in no other way than by the success of the international proletarian revolution.

2. The Soviet power will substitute all existing direct and indirect taxes which press upon the working class, by a graduated income tax and a capital levy imposed upon the bourgeoisie which will amount to the confiscation of all large fortunes.

In proportion as the number of nationalised undertakings increases, State expenditure will to an ever greater extent be defrayed by the direct transformation of part of the income of the nationalised undertakings into State revenue. Thus by degrees the State will cease to be, as it were, a parasitic organism battenning upon production, and will tend more and more to become an organisation whose function it is to guide the economic activities of the country, and the budget will become a statement of accounts of the economic activities of the State.

3. As long as the capitalist regime remains in being, the Communist Party will fight on behalf of the following fiscal reforms :—

(a) The abolition of all the direct and indirect taxes that burden the workers and the propertyless; the abolition of all existing forms of compulsory labour, which for the workers is tantamount to a revival of the *corvée*.

(b) The graduated taxation of the capitalists and property owners, right up to the confiscation of large incomes, with the establishment of a minimum income which shall change in accordance with the changes in the cost of living to be free from all taxation.

(c) A graduated death duty rising in proportion to the size of the legacy and remoteness of relation, so that for very large legacies to remote relatives may be completely confiscated.

(d) The acquisition by the State, without compensation, of part of the capital invested in large commercial and industrial undertakings, banks, and large capitalist agricultural enterprises, and the State to acquire participation in the management of these enterprises under the control of workers and employees' committees.

## IX. PROTECTION OF LABOUR AND SOCIAL MAINTENANCE

1. The development of capitalist cartels and syndicates, and employers' federations to combat the workers on the one hand, and the destruction of productive forces, the economic crisis and the increasing cost of living after the war on the other, will cause the fight for improvement of the condition of the working class and the conditions of labour much more difficult, and weakened the efforts of the labour organisations. Taking advantage of its position as the dominant class, the bourgeoisie will reduce to nought the improvement which the workers have obtained by stubborn trade union fighting and by legislation.

Only by the conquest of power can the working class in a sufficiently short time introduce real legislation for the protection of labour, which will enable it to achieve the stage reached by decades of trade union fighting. The principal aim of such labour legislation is to establish a normal working day, a sufficient wage, prohibition of child labour, and protection of women labour, technical and hygienic improvement of the conditions of labour.

2. The revolutionary proletariat will provide for all toilers not exploiting the labour of others, complete social insurance in the event of accident, unemployment, incapacitation, sickness, old age, and death. Social maintenance will be provided out of the funds of the State and property owners that will be allowed to remain, on the basis of complete independence of management by the insured with the participation of the trade unions.

3. Labour inspection will be established to control the carrying out of labour laws and social insurance. The trade unions

will be given the right to take part in the appointment and dismissal of workers, in the fixing and regulation of wages, in the distribution and registration of labour generally in the organisation of production.

4. The Soviet Power will apply labour inspection to all petty and home industry as well as the non-nationalised medium and large undertakings, completely abolish the employment of child labour, and in proportion as the productivity of labour increases, will reduce the working day, increase wages, and also connect productive labour with the practical study of technique.

5. The Soviet Government will extend social insurance to all victims of war and natural calamities, such as conflagrations, floods, &c., as well as victims of abnormal social conditions. It will resolutely combat all forms of parasitism and aim at returning to labour all those who have been temporarily disabled.

6. At the present moment, when the bourgeoisie are increasing their exploitation of the workers to monstrous dimensions, and when the increasing cost of living is reducing real wages, increases the poverty of the proletariat and dooms it to physical and mental degeneration, the Communist Party considers its greatest aim to be to fight for the protection of the direct interests of the broad masses of the toilers in town and country, and therefore puts forward the following demands :—

(a) Increase of wages for all workers including those employed by the State, in accordance with the rise in the cost of living and the establishment of a minimum standard of living, the exact level of which is to be determined by collective agreements between the trade unions and employers.

(b) The introduction of a universal eight-hour day and six-hour day for young workers, with an unbroken thirty-six-hour weekly rest.

(c) The introduction of legislation to protect women and children employed in industry and also guaranteeing the safety and hygienic conditions of labour, equal pay for equal work for men and women.

(d) Social insurance against accidents, sickness, unemployment, incapacitation, old age, and death, to be provided out of funds supplied by the State and the employers, the workers to take part in the management and control of insurance.

(e) The institution of factory inspection, factory inspectors to be elected by the workers.

(f) Workers' control of production in large industrial undertakings through factory committees, elected by the workers in the various enterprises. The extension of such control over all large commercial undertakings and banks through committees of bank and commercial clerks. (The abolition of trade secrets, &c.)

## X. HOUSING FOR THE WORKERS

1. The alienation of houses of large house-owners and their transfer to urban workers' councils. The clearing of all unsanitary areas and the transfer of the inhabitants of slum districts to the better districts and houses of the bourgeoisie; to supply all working class families with all the necessary domestic utensils and furniture; to supply to labour organisations desirable premises and to maintain them at the cost of the State.

2. The construction of hygienic houses in town and country, and the construction of hygienic houses at the expense of the State for the homeless section of the toilers.

3. The Soviet Government generally will improve the housing conditions of the toilers by striving to abolish the distinction between town and country, by uniting industry and agriculture and by creating for all members of society good conditions of housing and work to facilitate all-sided physical and mental development.

4. To alleviate the housing needs of the toiling masses, the Communist Party puts forward the following immediate demands :—

(a) The compulsory alienation by the State of all superfluous bourgeois premises that can be used as residences and their transfer to the working population under the control of committees elected by the tenants.

(b) The construction by the State and municipalities of hygienic houses to be let to the workers at low rents.

(c) The encouragement and support by the State and municipalities of the construction of hygienic houses and communal land by housing co-operatives, formed by workers insufficiently housed.

(d) The general construction of sanitary requirements in working-class districts (drainage, water supply, paving, means of communication, &c.).

(e) The State and municipalities to fix rents within the paying capacity of working-class tenants, representatives of the latter to take part in the fixing of such rents.

(f) The institution of house inspection with the participation of working-class tenants.

## XI. COMPULSORY, UNIVERSAL, SCIENTIFIC, LABOUR EDUCATION FOR THE YOUTH OF BOTH SEXES AT THE EXPENSE OF THE STATE.

In the sphere of education, the Communist Party aims at giving the individual universal, harmonious, mental, and physical development, training the coming generation by

scientific labour education to take part in production and to the free use of science, art, and culture.

The school must not only be the conductor of Communist principles, but also the conductor of the mental organised and instructive influence of the proletariat on the proletarian and semi-proletarian sections of the toilers, with the view to training a generation capable of independently building Communist society. To achieve this aim, the Soviet Government will act in the following direction :—

1. The introduction of universal, free, compulsory poly-technical education for the use of both sexes up to the age of seventeen ; such education as will give a theoretical and practical acquaintance with all branches of production.

2. The establishment of children's homes, kindergarten, and similar institutions for the social upbringing of young children, and for the considerable alleviation of the conditions of mothers.

3. The complete institution of the uniform labour school, instruction to be given in the native language, mixed classes, the schools to be absolutely Soviet schools, *i.e.*, free from all religious influences and instruction and closely connected with social productive labour, training universally developed members of Communist society.

4. The complete maintenance of school children (food, clothing, boots and school appliances) by the State.

5. The training of new cadres of workers in the sphere of education by passing them through the school of Communist ideas.

6. The attraction of the toiling population to active participation in work of education (the development of councils of popular education, mobilisation of literates, &c.).

7. Universal State encouragement and support of workers' and peasants' self-education (the establishment of school extension, institutions, libraries, adult schools, peoples' palaces, universities, cinematographs, scientific societies, &c.

# Draft Programme of the Communist Party of Japan

**T**HE general section of the draft of the programme of the Communist Party of Japan, in the main, is similar to that of the Communist International. Below is given the draft of the section that applies to Japan particularly.

Basing itself on the general demands brought forward by the Communist Parties of all countries, the Japanese Communist Party must take into consideration the peculiarities of the development of Japanese capitalism.

Japanese capitalism, which greatly developed during the war because the war did not affect it to the same extent as it did other countries, still bears the mark of former feudal conditions. Most of the land is in the hands of semi-feudal landowners, including the head of the Japanese State—the Mikado, who is the biggest landowner in the country. On the other hand, large tracts of land owned by the big landowners are leased to tenant farmers who till land with their own implements. Owing to the great competition for land, rents rise higher and higher until they become what is known as “hunger rents.” The survivals of feudalism are still more prominent in the structure of the State, the apparatus of which is in the hands of the bloc consisting of big landowners and a certain section of the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie. The semi-feudal character of the State is illustrated by the important and leading role played by the House of Peers (the Genro) and in the Constitution. Under such conditions the opposition to the existing State power does not only come from the working class, the entire peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie, but also from a considerable section of the so-called Liberal bourgeoisie which is also opposed to the present Government.

With the development of capitalist relations, political demands of the Liberal bourgeois opposition gain in magnitude. It demands universal suffrage and the democratisation of the State. On the other hand, the powerful capitalist development, together with the belated bourgeois revolution, impel the working class and the wide peasant masses, which are becoming active political factors in the life of the country, to come out into the struggle. The acute economic crisis of the post war period, and the slump in industry have caused the class struggle and the political crisis to become more acute throughout the country. Under such conditions, the trend of social development will in all probability lead to the revolutionary overthrow of

the existing political order, against which various social forces and classes are concentrated. As the bourgeois revolution in Japan will be accomplished at a period when a sufficiently strong proletariat and a revolutionary peasantry will be in existence, **THE TRIUMPH OF THE BOURGEOIS REVOLUTION MAY BE THE BEGINNING OF A PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION**, which will aim at the overthrow of the bourgeois regime and at the establishment of proletarian dictatorship.

The task of the Japanese Communist Party, whose aim is the dictatorship of the proletariat—is to make use of all the social forces capable of carrying on a struggle against the present Government, as the overthrow of the latter is an inevitable phase in the progress of the working class towards its dictatorship. Although the Japanese Communist Party is opposed to bourgeois democracy, it must nevertheless bring forward as transition demands the overthrow of the Government of the Mikado, the abolition of the monarchic principle and also conduct the fight for universal franchise. Such an attitude is dictated by the necessity, at this period of the development of the revolutionary movement in Japan, to rally a maximum of forces to the Communist banner and to take the lead of these forces, and thus pave the way for the future struggle for the Soviet power of the Japanese proletariat. It is essential to make the widest possible use of the peasant masses which are bound to be strongly opposed to a landowners' Government. On the other hand, the various groups of the Liberal and Radical bourgeoisie are bound to make efforts to win the peasant masses to their side. The Communist Party must therefore support the peasantry in all its actions against the landowners. It must develop and mould this movement and criticise the half-heartedness and the inconsistency of the Liberal-bourgeois reformers. The party of the working class can on no account remain aside of the struggle against the Government of the Mikado even if this struggle be conducted under democratic watchwords. **IT IS THE TASK OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY TO GIVE THE GENERAL MOVEMENT GREATER SIGNIFICANCE, TO GIVE GREATER POINT AND DEFINITENESS TO THE WATCHWORDS AND TO CONQUER THE MOST IMPORTANT POSITIONS IN THE PROCESS OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT.** In proportion as this first and immediate task is accomplished and part of the former allies goes over to the side of the defeated classes and sections of society, the Japanese Communist Party will have to endeavour to intensify the revolutionary movement and to lead up to the seizure of power by Workers' and Peasants' Soviets, by means of the consolidation and extension of proletarian and peasant class organisations and by doing its utmost towards the army of the proletariat. Thus, watchwords of a democratic character will be a temporary weapon in the hands of the Japanese Communist Party in its struggle against the

Government of the Mikado, a weapon which will have to be discarded, as soon as the party's immediate task—the overthrow of the present political regime, will have been accomplished.

Basing itself on these considerations, the Japanese Communist Party must adopt the following demands as its immediate demands :—

#### ON THE POLITICAL FIELD

- (1) Abolition of the monarchy.
- (2) Abolition of the House of Lords.
- (3) Universal franchise regardless of sex, from the age of eighteen.
- (4) Complete freedom of association (workers' unions, workers' parties, clubs, and other working class organisations).
- (5) Freedom of working class press.
- (6) Freedom of assembly for the workers indoors as well as out.
- (7) Freedom of street demonstrations.
- (8) The right to strike.
- (9) Abolition of the present army, police, gendarmerie, secret police, &c.
- (10) Arming of the workers.

#### ON THE ECONOMIC FIELD

- (1) The eight-hour day.
- (2) Workers' insurance, including insurance against unemployment.
- (3) Money wages to be regulated by market prices. Legal minimum wage.
- (4) Factory and workshop committees' control of production.
- (5) Recognition of trade unions by capital employers and the State as the official organs of the working class.

#### ON THE AGRARIAN FIELD

- (1) Confiscation without compensation of the land of the Mikado and of landowners, as well as the land belonging to the churches, and its transfer to the State.
- (2) Establishment of a State land fund for the support of the poor peasantry, in fact, transfer to the peasants (for use and not for ownership, of the land which they tilled with their own agricultural implements on the leasehold basis.
- (3) Graduated income tax, viz., the taxes to be in conformity with income, every further rise in income to be accompanied by corresponding taxation.
- (4) A special tax on luxuries.

## ON THE FIELD OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

(1) Cessation of any attempts whatsoever at intervention.

(2) Withdrawal of troops from Corea, China, Formosa, and Saghaline.

(3) Recognition of Soviet Russia.

In its struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat by means of the overthrow of the present Government, the Japanese working class must have a united centralised leadership, if it is to be victorious. The objections raised against such leadership by some revolutionary elements (anarchists, syndicalists, &c.), are based on the inability to conceive the character of the situation which is bound to arise when the critical moment will have come. Sooner or later, this struggle will lead to direct collision with the State power, which has at its disposal powerful and centralised machinery. In order to destroy this machinery, the efforts of the revolutionary proletariat must be systematic, which can only be achieved by unity of will and unity within the organising apparatus. Therefore, the immediate task of the Japanese Communist Party is the capture of the trade unions and the establishment of Communist influence in these organisations of the working class. Above all, the party must destroy all survivals of the influence of the patriotic social-reformist leaders in the trade union movement, and it must raise its prestige among the masses of workers organised in the trade unions. The party must support all working class actions directed against the employers as well as against the State, taking up the leading role in even the most insignificant actions. The party must do its utmost to get into contact with the masses of the workers and must not on any account occupy a position of exclusive isolation. Wherever anarchist and syndicalist influence exists in the trade unions, the party must form a bloc with them for a united front. At the same time, the party must endeavour to overcome the prejudices of these elements of the revolutionary working class—prejudices which hamper the correct conduct of this struggle.

The party must endeavour to gain influence over the wide peasant masses, and especially over the poor peasantry. As to the bourgeois opposition movement, the party, while taking advantage of it, must severely criticise its inconsistencies, and expose every act of treachery which the Liberal bourgeoisie is likely to commit in its fear of the growing movement of the working class.

The Japanese Communist Party as a section of the Communist International will do its duty in the revolutionary struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat which, under the banner of the International Workers' Association, is marching towards the final victory and to the universal dictatorship of the International proletariat.

# Draft Platform for a Proletarian Party

By V. I. LENIN

**T**HE present historical moment in Russia is characterised by the following fundamental features:—

## THE CLASS CHARACTER OF THE RECENT REVOLUTION

(1) The old Tsarist Government, representing only a handful of serf-owning landlords, and commanding all the machinery of State (the army, the police, the bureaucracy) has been broken up and removed from power, but not yet completely destroyed. The monarchy has not been formally abolished. The Romanoff sheiks continue their monarchical intrigues. The huge estates of the landowners have not yet been taken from them.

(2) State political power in Russia has passed into the hands of a new class, namely the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois landowners. So far the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia has been completed.

The bourgeoisie now in power have entered into a union with the clearly monarchistic elements who proved themselves such ardent supporters of Bloody Nicholas and the hangman Stolypin in the years 1906-14. (Guchkoff and other politicians standing on a platform more right than the cadets.) The new bourgeois Government of Lvov and company attempted and actually began to carry on negotiations with the Romanoffs for the restoration of the monarchy in Russia. This Government, under cover of revolutionary phrases, appointed supporters of the old order to its principal posts. This Government tried to bring about as little reform as possible in the entire State apparatus—the army, the police, and the bureaucracy—and gave it over into the hands of the bourgeoisie. The new Government has already begun to place every possible obstacle in the way of revolutionary initiative by mass action and by the seizure of power by the people from *below*, which is the *only* guarantee for the actual success of revolutions.

This Government has not even up this moment named the date for the convocation of the Constituent Assembly. They leave untouched the power of the landlords, that material basis of Tsarist oppression. As for investigation of the affairs, the publication of the activities or any kind of control over the monopolistic financial organisations, large banks, syndicates, and capitalist cartels, this Government has no intention of broaching such questions.

And most important, the ministerial most important posts in the new Government—the ministry of home affairs, the ministry of war, *i.e.*, the command of the army, the police, the bureaucracy, and the entire apparatus for oppressing the masses—belong to these well known as monarchists and to the supporters of the control of the land by the large landowners. To the cadets, the republicans of yesterday, republicans against their will, are left the secondary posts, which have no direct command over the people, and no direct relation to the State apparatus. A. Kerensky, representative of the *Trudoviai* (Labour group), and “also a Socialist,” plays no role at all except to lull to sleep the vigilance and attention of the people with high-sounding phrases.

For all these reasons the new bourgeois Government even in the field of internal politics deserves no confidence on the part of the proletariat, and no support for such a Government on the part of the proletariat is admissible.

#### FOREIGN POLICY OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT

(3) In the field of foreign policy, which by virtue of objective conditions now occupies first place, the new Government has shown its intention of continuing the imperialist war, a war in conjunction with the imperialist Powers, England, France, &c., for the sharing of capitalist booty, and for the crushing of small and weak peoples.

The new Government, submitting to the interests of Russian capital and its powerful patron and master, Anglo-French imperialist capital—the richest in the whole world—has not taken a single real step toward ending this war of peoples in the interest of capitalists, in spite of the desire expressed in the most unmistakable terms by an unquestionable majority of the peoples of Russia through the Soviet of Soldiers’ and Workers’ Deputies. It has not even published the secret treaties containing the avowedly predatory aims for the partition of Persia and Austria, the plunder of China and Turkey, the seizure of Eastern Prussia, of the German colonies, &c., which unite Russia with Anglo-French imperialist predatory capital. It has *confirmed* these treaties concluded by a monarchy which in the course of the centuries has plundered and oppressed more peoples than any other tyrants and despots—a monarchy which has not only oppressed, but dishonoured and corrupted the Great Russian people, converting them into the executioners of other peoples.

The new Government, confirming these shameful and robber treaties, has failed to offer an immediate armistice to all the belligerent peoples, in spite of the demands of the majority of the peoples of Russia, clearly expressed through the Soviet of Workers’ and Soldiers’ Deputies. Instead it has delivered itself of solemn, high-sounding, pompous, but quite empty declara-

tions and phrases which have always served and still serve the bourgeois diplomats as a means of deceiving the trustful and naive masses of oppressed people.

(4) Therefore not only does not the new Government deserve the slightest confidence in the realm of foreign policy, but present to it any further demands to heed the will of the peoples of Russia for peace, to renounce all annexations, &c., &c., would simply mean deceiving the people, filling them with useless hopes, putting off the awakening of their consciousness, and indirectly reconciling them to the continuation of the war, the real social character of which is determined not by good wishes, but by the class character of the Government carrying on the war by the connection of the ruling class in that particular Government with the imperialistic finance capital of Russia, England, France, &c., which is the *real policy* carried on by that class.

#### OUR PECULIAR DUAL POWER AND ITS CLASS MEANING

(5) The main peculiarity of our revolution, a peculiarity which urgently demands thoughtful consideration, is the *dual-power* created in the first days after the victory of the revolution.

This *dual-power* appears in the existence of *two* Governments: the main, present, actual Government of the bourgeoisie, the "Provisional Government" of Lvov and company, which holds in its hands all the organs of government, and the supplementary auxiliary "controlling" government in the form of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, which does not hold in its hands the organs of government power, but which rests directly on an unmistakable majority of the people, on the armed workers and soldiers.

The class source of this *dual-power*, and its class significance consists in the fact that the Russian revolution of March, 1917, not only swept away the entire Tsarist monarchy, not only gave all power to the bourgeoisie, but resulted directly in the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry. And it is precisely this dictatorship (that is, government depending not on law, but on the direct strength of the armed masses of the population) and precisely the classes indicated, which the Petrograd, the other local Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies represented.

6. The next extremely important peculiarity of the Russian revolution appears in the fact that the Petrograd Soviet of Soldiers' and Workers' Deputies, judging by all the facts, enjoying the confidence of the majority of local Soviets, nevertheless *voluntarily* gives up the political power to the bourgeoisie and its Provisional Government, voluntarily yields it priority, concluding with it an agreement to support it, and limiting its role to that of observer and controller of the convocation of the

Constituent Assembly (the date of which up to this moment has not been made public by the Provisional Government).

This extraordinary circumstance, never before seen in history in such a form, created two dictatorships existing side by side—a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie (because the Government of Lvov and Co. is a dictatorship, that is, a Government depending not on law nor on the previously expressed will of the people but on the forceful seizure of power accomplished by a definite class, namely the bourgeoisie), and the dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry (the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies).

There is not the slightest doubt that such a double dictatorship cannot last long. There *cannot be* two Governments in power. One of the two must disappear and the whole of bourgeois Russia is already working with all its strength and by every means to bring about the abolition of the Soviets of Soldiers' and Workers' Deputies, to weaken them and reduce them to nought and to create an all-powerful bourgeoisie.

The dual-power expresses only a transition stage in the development of the revolution, when it has gone farther than the ordinary bourgeois-democratic revolution, but has not yet attained the complete dictatorship of the workers and peasants.

The class meaning (and the class explanation) of this unstable transition condition is contained in the following: as in every revolution, our revolution demanded the greatest heroism and self-sacrifice on the part of the masses in the struggle with Tsarism, and caused an enormous flow of our citizens into the movement all at once.

One of the main, scientific and practically-political signs of *every* real revolution consists in the extraordinarily sudden, rapid, and intense increase in the number of citizens entering into active, independent, and direct participation in political life, in the *organisation of government*.

So it is in Russia. Russia is seething. Millions and tens of millions who have been politically asleep for decades, politically beaten down under the terrible pressure of Tsarism and by their slavish labour for the landlords and factory owners, *have awakened and been swept into politics*. Who are these millions and tens of millions? The greater part of them are the small owners, the petty-bourgeoisie, the people of the middle layer of society between the capitalists and wage workers. Russia is the most petty-bourgeois of all the countries of Europe.

A gigantic petty-bourgeois wave has swept over all, swamping the conscious proletariat not only numerically, but ideologically—that is, it has infected wide circles of the workers with petty-bourgeois views on politics.

The petty-bourgeoisie in their way of life are dependent on the bourgeoisie, living themselves as owners, and not as prolet-

tarians (in the sense of their *place* in social production), and so in their way of thinking they follow the bourgeoisie.

An attitude of blind trust in the capitalists, the worst enemies of peace and Socialism—that is what characterises the present policy of the masses in Russia, that is what has grown up with revolutionary rapidity on the social-economic foundation of the most petty-bourgeois of all European countries. This is the *class* basis of the “*agreement*” (I italicise the word because I have in mind not so much the formal agreement, as the *actual* support, the silent consent, the blindly trustful cession of power) between the Provisional Government and the Soviet of Workers’ and Peasants’ Deputies—an agreement giving to the Guchkoff’s the fat morsel, the actual power, and to the Soviet—promises, honour (for a certain time), flattery, phrases, assurances, the bowings and scrapings of the Kerenskies.

The insufficient numbers of the proletariat in Russia, their lack of class consciousness and their weak organisation—that is the other side of the medal.

All the people’s parties, all the way down to the S.R.’s have always been petty-bourgeois, the party of the O.K.\* (organising committee) (Tscheidze, Tseretelli, &c.) as well; and the non-party revolutionists (Steklov and others) in the same manner either succumbed to the wave or at least did not succeed in overcoming it.

#### THE PECULIAR CHARACTER OF THE TACTICS ARISING FROM THE FOREGOING

7. From the unique character of the situation indicated above there inevitably arise special tactics for the *given* moment in the mind of the Marxist, who must reckon with objective facts, with masses and classes, and not with individuals, &c.

These special tactics consist, in the first instance, of “the pouring of vinegar and bile into the sweet beverage of revolutionary phrases” (as my comrade on the Central Committee of our Party, Teodorovitch, expressed it remarkably aptly at yesterday’s meeting of the All-Russian Congress of Railroad Clerks and Workers in Petrograd); the work of criticism, of *explaining* the mistakes of the petty-bourgeois parties of the S.R.’s and the S.D.’s, the preparation and uniting of the elements of a *consciously* proletarian, Communist party, the disentanglement from the general petty-bourgeois tendencies.

This *seems* to be “only” propagandist work. But in fact this is the most *practical revolutionary work*, because it is impossible to move forward in any other way a revolution which has halted, choked with phrases, simply “marking time,” not because of any outside obstacles, but simply due to the efforts on the part of the bourgeoisie (Guchkoff for the time being

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\* The Menshevik group of the Russian Socialist Democratic Labour Party.

only threatens to apply violence to the soldier masses) and to the blind trust of the masses.

Only by combating this blind trust (and this struggle can and must be carried on only ideologically with friendly persuasion, based on actual experience) may we extricate ourselves from this wild *debauchery of revolutionary phrases* and actually push forward the proletarian consciousness, as well as the consciousness of the masses and their bold, decisive *local* initiative, their independent realisation, development and strengthening of liberty, democracy, and the principle of the social ownership of the land.

8. The universal experience of bourgeois and landlord governments has perfected two methods of keeping the people in submission. The first method is that of violence. Nikolay Romanoff I, Nikolay Palkin, and Nikolay II the bloody—showed the Russian people the maximum of what is possible and what is partly impossible in these hangman's methods. But there is another method, perfected to the highest degree by the bourgeoisie of England and France, schooled in a series of great revolutions and revolutionary mass movements. This is the method of deceit, of flattery, of beautiful phrases, of millions of promises, of penny sops, of yielding on unimportant matters, but conceding nothing that really counts.

The peculiarity of the present moment in Russia is the breathless speed of the transition from the first method to the second, from the method of violence to that of flattering the people, and deceiving them with promises. Miliukoff and Guchkoff retain power, they guard the profits of capital, they carry on an imperialist war in the interests of Russian and Anglo-French capital,—and they deliver themselves of promises, declamation and pretentious declarations in answer to the speeches of Tschaidze, Tseretelli, and Steklov, who threaten, exhort, adjure, implore, demand, and proclaim . . . .

And with each day the trustful blindness and the blind trustfulness will fall away especially on the part of the proletariat and the *poorest* peasants whose life (their social and economic conditions) cannot help, but teach them to place no trust in the capitalists.

The leaders of the petty-bourgeoisie are "bound" to teach the people to trust the bourgeoisie. The proletariat are bound to teach the people not to trust them.

#### REVOLUTIONARY DEFENCE-ISM AND ITS CLASS MEANING

9. The defence of the revolution must be recognised as the strongest and clearest manifestation of the petty-bourgeois wave, swamping "almost everyone." It is just this manifestation which is the most harmful enemy of the future progress and success of the Russian revolution.

Whoever succumbs on this point and is unable to extricate himself is lost to the revolution. But the masses succumb in a different way than the leaders, and extricate themselves by a different process of development, different methods.

The defence of the revolution is on the one hand, the fruit of the deception of the masses by the bourgeoisie, the fruit of the blind trust of the peasants and a portion of the workers, and on the other hand it is the expression of the interests and the viewpoint of the small owners who are interested to a certain degree in annexations and bank profits and who "sacredly" guard the traditions of Tsarism, corrupting the Great Russians by the oppression of other peoples.

The bourgeoisie deceive the people, playing on their great pride in the revolution and making it appear as though the social-political character of the war was transformed as far as Russia was concerned, as a result of this stage of the revolution, as a result of the replacement of the Tsar's monarchy by the Guchkoff-Miliukoff "almost a Republic." And the people believe them—for the time being—thanks, to a considerable extent, to their ancient prejudices which have made them look upon the other peoples of Russia, outside of the Great Russians, as something in the nature of a property or a patrimony of the Great Russians. The shameful corruption of the Russian people by Tsarism, accustoming them to regard other peoples as something beneath them, as something belonging "by right" to Great Russia, cannot be dispelled at once.

We must have the knowledge and skill to explain to the masses that the social-political character of the war is determined not by the "free will" of individuals and groups, or even of peoples, but by the position of the class carrying on the war, the politics of the class, of which the war is simply the continuation, by the ties of capital, as the ruling economic power in present day society, by the *imperialistic character* of international capital, by the dependence—financial, banking and diplomatic—of Russia on England and France, &c. To explain all this skilfully, so that it will be comprehensible to the masses, is no easy matter, and there is not one of us who could do this at once without mistakes.

But the direction, or more correctly, the content of our propaganda must be of this nature and no other. The slightest concession to the defence of the revolution is *treason to socialism*, and a complete rejection of *internationalism*, no matter with what beautiful phrases or "practical" considerations it is justified.

The slogan "down with war" is sound, of course, but it does not answer the special needs of the moment, the necessity of a *different approach* to the broad masses. It is similar, in my opinion to the slogan "down with Tsar," which the unskilled

agitator of the "good old days" went simply and directly into the countryside—and received a beating. The rank and file representatives of the defence of the revolution are *conscientious*,—not in a personal, but in a class sense, that is, they belong to those classes (the workers and poorest peasants) who actually gain nothing from annexations and the crushing of foreign peoples. This is quite another thing from the attitude of the bourgeoisie and the "intelligentsia" who know very well that they *cannot* renounce annexations unless they also renounce the domination of capital and who shamefully deceive the masses with beautiful phrases, with innumerable promises and pledges without end.

The rank and file representatives of the defence-ists look at the matter quite simply, as an ordinary citizen: "I don't want any annexations, but the Germans are pressing *me* hard, and that means I will protect whatever's right, but not any imperialist interests." To such people we must explain again and again that it is not a question of their personal desires, but of mass, *class* and political relations and conditions in the connection between the war and the interests of capital and the international banks, &c. Only this kind of struggle with the defence-ists holds out any serious hope of not perhaps a speedy but true and lasting success.

#### HOW CAN THE WAR BE BROUGHT TO AN END?

10. The war cannot be ended "at all." It cannot be brought to an end by the decision of one side. It cannot be ended by "driving a bayonet into the ground," to use the expression of one of the defence-ist soldiers.

The war cannot be ended by an "agreement" of the Socialists of all countries, by the rising of the proletariat of all countries, by the "will" of the people, &c.—all phrases of this nature stuffing the articles of the defence-ists and semi-defence-ists, the semi-internationalist newspapers, and also the innumerable declarations, decrees, manifestoes, resolutions of the Soviet of Soldiers' and Workers' Deputies—all these phrases are nothing but empty, harmless good wishes of the petty-bourgeoisie. There is nothing harmful in such phrases about "declaration of the people to the world," about the *order* of the revolutionary uprisings of the proletariat (after the Russian, the German is next in order), &c. All this Louis Blancism, these sweet dreams, are merely the play of a "political campaign," used merely as a means of lulling the people into acquiescence.

The war was not begotten of the evil will of the robber capitalists even though it is unquestionably carried on solely in their interests, and enriches only them. The war was begotten in the half-century development of world capital, in its billions of ramifications and connections. It was impossible to

avoid the imperialist war, it is impossible to attain a democratic peace without annexations, without overthrowing the power of capital, without transferring political power to another class, to the proletariat.

The Russian revolution of February-March, 1917, was the beginning of the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war. This revolution was the first step toward the cessation of the war. Only the second step, namely, the transference of political power to the proletariat will guarantee its cessation. This will be the beginning of a world-wide "break-up of the front"—the front of the interests of capital, and only by breaking through that front may the proletariat deliver humanity from the terrors of war, and give them the blessing of an enduring peace.

And the Russian revolution has already led the proletariat of Russia right to such a "breaking through the front," in the creation of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies.

#### A NEW TYPE OF STATE GROWING OUT OF OUR REVOLUTION

11. The Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies are not understood not only in the sense that their class significance, their role in the Russian revolution is not clear to the majority of people, but neither are they understood in the sense that they represent in themselves a new form, a new type of State. The most perfect and foremost type of bourgeois State is that of the *parliamentary democratic republic*: the power is in the hands of parliament; the Government machinery, the apparatus and organs of administration are of the usual type; the regular army, the police, the bureaucracy, are in fact an irremovable privileged class, standing *over* the people.

But the revolutionary epochs, beginning with the end of the nineteenth century, have introduced a *higher* type of democratic State, a State which in certain respects has already in the expression of Engels, ceased to be a State, "does not appear as a State in the real sense of the word." This is a State of the type of the Paris Commune, which replaces the army and the police separate from the people by means of the direct arming of the people themselves. In this lies the essence of the Commune which has been slandered and villified by the bourgeois writers to which, by the way, the purpose of the immediate introduction of Socialism has been incorrectly attributed.

It was just such a type of State which the Russian revolution *began* to create in the years 1905 and 1917. A Soviet Republic of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies, united in an All-Russian Constituent Assembly of the people's representatives or in a Soviet of Soviets, this is what is already an actuality in our country at the present time, brought about by the initiative of many millions of people independently shaping democracy *in*

*their own way*, not waiting until the professor-cadets should write their projects of laws for a parliamentary bourgeois republic and not waiting until the pedants and routinists of the petty-bourgeois "social-democrats" of the type of Blekhanov or Kautsky renounced their distorted teaching of Marxism on the question of the State.

Marxism is distinguished from anarchism in that it recognised the *necessity* of the State and State power in revolutionary periods in general, and in the period of transition from capitalism to Socialism in particular.

Marxism is distinguished from the petty-bourgeois, opportunistic "social-democracy" of Messrs. Plekhanov, Kautsky, and company in that it recognised the necessity for such period *not* of the type of State of the ordinary parliamentary bourgeois republic, but of that of the Paris Commune.

The chief differences between the latter type of State and the old type are the following :—

The return to monarchy from a parliamentary bourgeois republic is very easy (as history has shown) because all the machinery of oppression remains inviolate—the army, the police, the bureaucracy. The Commune and the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies destroy and push aside this machinery.

The parliamentary bourgeois republic restrains and stifles the independent political life of the masses and their direct participation in the *democratic* organisation of the entire State from below. It is quite the contrary with the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

The latter reproduces that type of State which was perfected by the Paris Commune and which Marx characterised as "a free political form in which at last the economic liberation of the workers *might* be brought about."

The objection is commonly raised that the Russian people are still unprepared for "ushering in" the Commune. That is the argument of the serf-owner, talking of the unpreparedness of the peasants for freedom. The Commune does not "usher in," does not propose to "usher in," and what is more must not "usher in" *any* organisation which is not already absolutely ripe both in the economic conditions and in the consciousness of the overwhelming majority of the people. The more complete the economic ruin and the crisis born of the war, the more urgent is the creation of the most perfect political form possible, facilitating the healing of the terrible wounds inflicted by humanity in the war. And the fact that the Russian people have had little organising experience, makes it necessary to apply ourselves the more decisively to the organisation of a

structure of the *people themselves*, and not only of the bourgeois politicians and officials with lucrative jobs.

The sooner we get rid of the old prejudices of the false Marxism distorted by Plekhanov, Kautsky, and Co., the more zealously we apply ourselves to helping the people to organise Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies at once and everywhere, and to take everything entirely into their own hands, the longer will Messrs. Lvov and Co. put off the convocation of the Constituent Assembly, and the easier it will be for the people to make their choice in favour of the Soviet Republic of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies (directly through the Constituent Assembly, or outside of it, if Lvov fails to convene it for any length of time). Mistakes in a newly organised structure of the people themselves are inevitable at the very beginning, but it is better to make mistakes and go forward than to *wait* while the professor-jurists called together by Lvov write the laws for the convocation of the Constituent Assembly and for the immortalisation of the parliamentary bourgeois republic, and the crushing of the Soviet of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies.

If we succeed in organising and carrying on our propaganda skilfully, then not only the proletariat, but nine-tenths of the peasantry will also be against the re-establishment of the police, against the permanent and privileged bureaucracy, against the separation of the army from the people. And on this alone does the new type of State depend.

12. The substitution of the police by a people's militia—that is a change arising from the whole course of the revolution and being carried out now in most of Russia. We must explain to the masses that in the majority of bourgeois revolutions the usual duration of such changes has always been extremely short and even the most democratic and republican of the bourgeoisie have restored the police of the old Tsarist type, separated from the people, under the command of the bourgeoisie and possessing every means to oppress the people.

In order to *prevent* the restoration of the police there is only one means: the establishment of a people's militia—merging it with the army (substituting a standing army of the population for a regular army).

In this militia all citizens, men and women, from 15 to 65, if these ages, taken provisionally, can determine the limits in which young and old may perform this work must participate. The capitalists must pay their wage workers, servants, &c., for the days spent in militia service. Without drawing in the women to an independent share not only in political life in general, but into the actual social service incumbent on every citizen there is no use talking of Socialism, or even of complete and stable democracy. And such false functions of the "police"

as care for the sick, for destitute children, for healthy nourishment, &c., cannot be satisfactorily carried out without equal rights for women not only on paper, but in fact.

The prevention of the restoration of the police, the attracting of the organising powers of the whole people for the creation of a general militia—such are the problems which the proletariat must carry out in full in the interests of the preservation, the strengthening and the development of the revolution.

#### AGRARIAN AND NATIONAL PROGRAMMES

13. We cannot know definitely at the present time whether or not a powerful agrarian revolution will break out in the Russian countryside in the near future. We cannot know the extent of the development of the class division (which has recently undoubtedly become sharper) of the peasants into *batraki* (landless peasants), hired labourers, and poorest peasants (semi-proletarians) on the one hand, and well-to-do and middle peasants on the other (capitalists and small capitalists). Such questions can only be decided by experience.

But we are undoubtedly obliged, as the party of the proletariat to be ready at once not only with an agrarian program, but also with the immediate agitation for practical measures in the interests of the peasant agrarian revolution in Russia.

We must demand the nationalisation of *all* the land, that is, the transference of all the land in the country to the ownership of the Central Governmental power. The Government must determine the amount, &c., of the fund for emigrants from one part of the country to another, must determine the laws for the protection of the forests, for land improvement, &c., and must absolutely forbid an intermediation between the owner of the land—the state, and its lessee—the peasants (that is, it must forbid any transference of the land). But the disposal of the land, the determining of the LOCAL CONDITIONS of possession and use must absolutely and without any exception be kept out of the hands of the bureaucracy and officialdom, and be under the control of the regional and local SOVIETS OF PEASANTS' DEPUTIES.

In the interests of raising the technique of agriculture and the extent of production, and also in the interest of the rational development of large agricultural undertakings, we must strive to transform every confiscated large estate into a large model undertaking under the control of Committees of Agricultural Labourers' Deputies.

As a counter-balance to the petty-bourgeois phraseology and policies which are prevalent among the S.R.'s, especially in empty talk about a "consuming" or "labour" standard about "socialisation of the land," &c., the party of the proletariat must explain that the system of small ownership under conditions of commodity production will never be able to free humanity from oppression and poverty.

Without necessarily splitting up the Soviets of Peasants' Deputies immediately, the party of the proletariat must explain the necessity of Special Soviets of Landless Peasants' Deputies, and Special Soviets of Deputies of the poorest (semi-proletarian) peasants or at least, of frequent special conferences of deputies of this class as separate fractions or parties within the general Soviets of Peasants' Deputies. Without this all the pretty petty-bourgeois phrases of the populists about the peasantry in general appear simply as a screen to cover the deception of the poverty-stricken masses by the rich peasantry, who represent in themselves only one of the various forms of capitalists.

As a counterbalance to the bourgeois-liberal or purely bureaucratic agitation which many S.R.'s and Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies are now carrying on, advising the peasants not to seize the land of the landlords and not to begin the agrarian reform before the convocation of the Constituent Assembly, the party of the proletariat must call upon the peasants to carry out the land reform independently and immediately, and to confiscate at once the land of the landlords in accordance with the decisions of the local Soviets of Peasants' Deputies.

Especially important in this connection is the insistence on the necessity of INCREASING production of food products for soldiers at the front and for the cities, and insistence on the absolute inadmissibility of any damage or injury to live stock, instruments, machines, buildings, &c.

14. On the national question the proletarian party must stand first of all for the proclamation and immediate carrying into effect of the full freedom of separation from Russia of all nations and peoples oppressed by Tsarism, annexed by violence, or held by violence within the borders of the State.

All declarations, and manifestoes regarding the renunciation of annexations which are not accompanied by the actual putting into practice of freedom of separation, merely result in bourgeois deception of the people or in harmless petty-bourgeois desires.

The Proletarian party strives for the creation of the strongest possible State, because that is advantageous for the workers; it strives for the RAPPROCHEMENT AND THE ULTIMATE MERGING OF THE NATIONS, but it does not wish to accomplish this by violence, but only by the free, fraternal union of the workers and toiling masses of all nations.

The more democratic the Russian Republic will become, the more successfully it is organised into a Soviet Republic of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies the more powerful will be the voluntary attraction to such a Republic of the toiling masses of all nations.

Complete freedom of separation—the widest local (and national) autonomy—the most detailed and carefully worked out

guarantees of the rights of the national minorities—such is the programme of the revolutionary proletariat.

#### NATIONALISATION OF THE BANKS AND CAPITALIST SYNDICATES

15. The party of the proletariat cannot aim at “introducing” Socialism in a country of small peasants while the overwhelming majority of the population has not realised the necessity of a Socialist revolution.

But only the bourgeois sophists, hiding behind “almost Marxian” phrases, can deduce from this truth a justification for a policy which would delay the immediate revolutionary measures which actually have fully developed and have been actually carried out DURING THE WAR BY A NUMBER OF BOURGEOIS GOVERNMENTS, and which are urgently necessary to combat the approaching complete economic breakdown and famine.

Such measures as the nationalisation of the land, of all the banks and capitalist syndicates, or at least, the establishment of immediate control over them by the Soviets of Workers’ Deputies, &c., which measures by no means imply the immediate introduction of Socialism, must certainly be advocated and carried out by revolutionary means to as great an extent as possible. Without such measures, which are only steps toward Socialism and which may be fully carried out economically, it is not possible to heal the wounds inflicted in the war nor to prevent the threatening ruin. The party of the proletariat must never hesitate to attack the incredibly high profits of the capitalists and bankers who have made specially scandalous profits “out of the war.”

#### CONDITIONS OF AFFAIRS IN THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

16. The International obligations of the working class of Russia come to the front with special force at this particular moment.

Almost everyone swears by internationalism nowadays, even the chauvinist-defencists, even Messrs. Plekhanov and Potresov, even Kerensky calls himself an internationalist. Therefore the obligation of the working class to oppose actual internationalism to internationalism in words as clearly, exactly, and definitely as possible, is all the more urgent.

Bare appeals to the workers of all countries, empty assurances of their devotion to internationalism, attempts directly or indirectly to establish the “order” of the uprisings of the revolutionary proletariat in the different belligerent countries, efforts to conclude “agreements” between the Socialists of the warring countries in regard to the revolutionary struggle, fussing about with Socialist congresses for campaigns for peace, &c., &c., all of this in its OBJECTIVE significance, no matter how sincere the authors of such ideas, attempts, or plans may be, all this in a

word is AT BEST—no more than harmless good wishes useful only for cloaking the deception of the masses by the chauvinists. And those French Social-chauvinists, who are most adroit, most experienced in the manner of parliamentary rascality, have long since broken the record for loud and high-sounding pacifistic and internationalistic phrases, combined with unspeakably insolent treachery to Socialism and the International, by their entry into ministries carrying on an imperialist war, and by voting for credits OR FOR LOANS (as Tscheidze, Skoboleff, Tseretelli, and Steklov did recently in Russia) thus opposing the revolutionary struggle in THEIR OWN COUNTRY, &c., &c.

Good people often forget the cruel, savage conditions of the imperialist world war. These conditions do not tolerate phrases, and makes mock of harmless good wishes.

Actual Internationalism means one thing only—ceaseless work for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in one's own country, and support (by propaganda, sympathy, and material help) to such a struggle, to such a line of action, alone, in ALL countries without exception.

Everything else is deception and delusion.

The international Socialist and Labour movement have brought out three tendencies in the two or more years of war in EVERY country, and whoever refuses to recognise the REAL basis of these three tendencies, and to analyse them, and whoever refuses to struggle consistently for actual internationalism, condemns himself to impotence, helplessness, and failure.

The three tendencies are as follows :—

(1) The Social-chauvinists, *i.e.*, Socialists in words, chauvinists in deeds—those people recognising the necessity of the “defence of the fatherland” in imperialist warfare (and especially in the present imperialist war).

These people are our CLASS opponents. They have gone over to the side of the bourgeoisie.

To this class belong the majority of the official leaders of the social-democrats in every country. Messrs. Plekhanov & Co. in Russia, Scheidemann in Germany, Renaudel, Guedde, and Sembat in France, Bissolatti and Co. in Italy, Hyndman, the Fabians and “Labourites” (leaders of the “Labour Party”) in England, Branting and Co. in Sweden, Troelstra and his Party in Holland, Stauning and his Party in Denmark, Victor Berger and other “defenders of the fatherland” in America, &c.

(2) The second tendency—the so-called Centre—consists of people vacillating between Social-chauvinism and real Internationalism.

The Centre are constantly vowing that they are Marxists, internationalists, that they are for peace, for every kind of pressure on the Government, for every kind of “demands” on their Government on behalf of the “declared will of the people for

peace," for every possible kind of campaign in the interests of peace, for peace without annexations, &c., &c.—AND FOR RECONCILIATION WITH THE SOCIAL-CHAUVINISTS. The Centre is for unity, the Centre is against a split.

The Centre means the rule of well-meaning petty bourgeois phrases, internationalism in words, but cowardly opportunism and servility before the Social-chauvinists in deeds.

The key to the question consists in the fact that the Centre, not convinced of the necessity of revolution against its Government, does not agitate for it, and does not carry on a ceaseless revolutionary struggle, inventing the meanest and most "Marxian sounding" excuses for their inaction.

The Social-Chauvinists are our CLASS opponents, the BOURGEOISIE in the midst of the Labour movement. They represent that layer, that group of the workers which OBJECTIVELY has been bought up by the bourgeoisie (by better pay, honourable positions, &c.), who help THEIR bourgeoisie to plunder and oppress small and weak peoples, to fight for the division of capitalist booty.

The Centre—they are people of routine, steeped in the rottenness of legality, corrupted by their parliamentary surroundings, officials accustomed to snug places and "comfortable" work. Historically and economically speaking they do not represent a SPECIAL class, they represent only the transition from an obsolete phase of the Labour movement—the phase of 1871-1914, which gave much that was valuable to the proletariat, especially in the necessary art of slow, consistent systematic organisation work on a wide scale—to a new phase, which became objectively necessary from the time of the first imperialist world war, and which inaugurates the ERA OF SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

The chief leader and representative of the Centre is Karl Kautsky, the foremost authority of the Second (1889-1914) International, is an example of the complete failure of Marxism, of incredible lack of character, and of the most pitiful vacillations and treachery in August, 1914. Other representatives of the Centre tendency are Haase, Ledebour, the so-called "workers' or labour alliance" in the Reichstag; in France Longuet, Presseman, and the so-called "minorities" (Mensheviks) in general; in England, Philip Snowden, Ramsay MacDonald, and many other leaders of the "Independent Labour Party," and part of the British Socialist Party; Morris Hillquit, and others in America; Turetti, Treves, Modigliani, &c., in Italy; Robert Grimm, &c., in Switzerland; Victor Adler and Co., in Austria; the O.K. Party—Axelrod, Martov, Tschaidze, Tseretelli, and others in Russia, &c.

It is understood that separate individuals sometimes change over, unnoticed by themselves, from the position of the Social-

Chauvinists to the centrist position and back again. Every Marxist knows that classes are clearly distinguished from one another in spite of the free transition of individuals from class to class; and so also the tendencies in political life differ one from the other, in spite of the free passage of individuals from one tendency to another, and in spite of all the efforts and attempts to fuse the tendencies.

(3) The third tendency—the internationalists, are most nearly represented by the “Zimmerwald Left.”

The distinguishing mark of this tendency is its complete break with Social-Chauvinism and with the Centre; ceaseless revolutionary struggle against its own imperialist Government, and against its own imperialistic bourgeoisie. Its principle is: “the principal enemy is at home”; it carries on a ruthless struggle with the pretty phrases of the social pacifist (a socialist-pacifist is a Socialist in words, but a bourgeois pacifist in deeds; bourgeois pacifists dream of eternal peace WITHOUT throwing off the yoke and the dominion of capital) and a ruthless struggle against all subterfuges directed toward rejecting the possibility of feasibility or timeliness of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, and the proletarian Socialist revolution IN CONNECTION WITH the present war.

The foremost representatives of this tendency are in Germany the “Spartacus Group” or the “International Group,” with Karl Liebknecht as a member. Karl Liebknecht is the most eminent representative of this tendency, and of the new, actual, proletarian International.

Karl Liebknecht has called upon the workers and peasants of Germany to direct their arms against their own government. Karl Liebknecht did this openly from the parliamentary tribune (the Reichstag). And then he went to Potsdam Square, one of the largest squares in Berlin, to a demonstration with illegally printed proclamations with the call “Down with the Government.” They arrested him, and sentenced him to hard labour. And he is held now in a hard labour prison in Germany, just as hundreds, if not thousands, of other sincere Socialists of Germany are in the jails for their struggle against the war.

Karl Liebknecht carried on a merciless struggle not only with his Plekhanovs and Potresovs (Scheidemann, Legien, David, and Co.), but also with his people of the Centre, with his Tschaidzes and Tseretellis (Kautsky, Haase, Ledebour, and Co.).

Karl Liebknecht and his friend, Otto Reuhle, those two out of 110 deputies, broke the discipline, destroyed the unity with the Centre and the chauvinists, went against everyone. Liebknecht alone represents Socialism, the cause of the proletariat, and proletarian revolution. All the remaining German Social Democrats, to use the apt expression of Rosa Luxemburg

(also a member and one of the leaders of the "Spartacus Group"), are a decaying corpse.

The other group of real internationalists in Germany is the Bremen newspaper, "Labour Politics."

In France the nearest to real internationalists are Loriot and his friend, Henri Guilbeaux, who publishes "L'Avenir" in Geneva (Bourderon and Merheim have gone over to social pacifism); in England, the newspaper "Trade Unionist," and part of the members of the British Socialist Party and the Independent Labour Party (William Russell, for instance), who openly declare for a split with those leaders who have betrayed Socialism, the Scottish Socialist teacher, Maclean, sentenced to hard labour by the bourgeois Government of England for his revolutionary struggle against war; hundreds of British Socialists are in jail for the same crime. They, and only they, are real internationalists; in America the "Socialist Labour Party," and those elements within the opportunistic "Socialist Party," who began to publish in January, 1917, the paper "Internationalist"; in Holland the party of the "Tribunists," publishing the newspaper "Tribune" (Pannekeor, Herman Horter, Wyndkoop, Henrietta Roland-Holst), formerly in the Centre at Zimmerwald, but now coming over to us; in Sweden, the party of the youth, or the lefts, with such leaders as Lindhagen, Ture Herman, Carlsen, Shtroemm, Z. Hoeglund (who took part personally at Zimmerwald in organising the "Zimmerwald Left"), and are now sentenced to prison for their revolutionary work against war; in Denmark, Trier and his friends, who have come over from the "Social-Democratic" Party of Denmark, which has become entirely bourgeois, with the ministry of Stauning at its head; in Bulgaria the "tesniaki" (narrow Socialists); in Italy, the secretary of the party, Constantin Lazzari, and the editor of the central organ, "Avanti" Serrati, are nearest of all; in Poland, Radek, Ganetski, and other leaders of the Social Democrats united in the "border committee"; Rosa Luxemburg, Tishka, and other Social Democratic leaders united in the "central committee"; in Switzerland, those lefts who brought about the "referendum" (in January, 1917) on the question of a struggle against the Social Democrats and the Centre of their own country, and who in the Zurich Canton Socialist Congress in Tease, on February 11th, 1917, introduced a substantially revolutionary resolution against war; in Austria the young friends of Friedrich Adler, of the left, who belonged to the Karl Marx Club in Vienna—a club now closed by the reactionary Austrian Government, which is persecuting Adler for his heroic, although thoughtless, shooting of the Minister, etc., etc.

It is not a question of shades, of which there are many even among the lefts. It is a question of tendencies. The essence

of the question is in the fact that it is not easy to be an internationalist in fact in an epoch of terrible imperialist war. Such people are few, but only in them lies the whole future of Socialism, only they are the leaders, and not the corrupters of the masses.

The difference between reformists and revolutionists, between Social Democrats, between Socialists in general, was inevitably forced by objective circumstances to undergo a transformation under the conditions of an Imperialist war. The person who limits himself to "demands" on the bourgeois government for the conclusion of peace or to "the declaration of the will of the people for peace," etc., is, in fact, sliding towards reform. Because the question of war, objectively considered, can only be solved by revolution.

Except by a proletarian revolution there is no way out of war to a democratic peace without annexations, to the liberation of the people from slavery, or of preventing the capitalist lords from making huge profits out of the war.

The most diversified reforms can, and must, be demanded from the bourgeois governments, but it is impossible, without falling into reformism to demand of these people and classes led by a thousand threads of imperialist capital, to *break* those threads, and without such a break all talk of war against war becomes simply empty, hypocritical phrases.

"Kautskyism," "Centrists"—revolutionists in words, reformists in fact—internationalists in words, only assistants of social-chauvinism in fact :

#### THE FAILURE OF THE ZIMMERWALD INTERNATIONAL.—THE NEED OF FOUNDING A THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

17. The Zimmerwald International from the very beginning occupied a vacillating, "Kautsky-like" "Centrist" position, which forced the Zimmerwald left immediately to organise itself separately, and to introduce its *own* manifesto (printed in Switzerland in Russian, German, and French).

The principal defect of the Zimmerwald International—the reason for its *failure* (because it had already suffered a political-ideological failure) was its vacillation, its indecision on that most important, practical and all-determining question of a complete break with the social chauvinism and the social chauvinists in the old International, headed by Vandervelde, Huysmans, in the Hague (Holland), etc.

There are still some among us who do not know that the Zimmerwald majority is nothing else than Kautskyism. And yet this is the basic fact which it is impossible not to learn, and which is now generally known throughout Western Europe. Even the chauvinist, the extreme German chauvinist Heilman, editor of the arch-chauvinist paper, "Chemniter Gazette," and

collaborator on the arch-chauvinist "Die Glocke," published by "Parvus" ("Social Democrat" of course, and a violent supporter of the unity with the Social Democrats), was forced to admit in print that the Centre, or "Kautskyism," and the Zimmerwald majority, are one and the same thing.

The end of 1916 and the beginning of 1917 have conclusively established that fact. Notwithstanding the condemnation of social-pacifism in the Kienthal manifesto, the entire Zimmerwald right, the entire Zimmerwald majority went over to social pacifism; Kautsky and Co., in a series of utterances in January and February, 1917; Bouderon and Merheim in France voting unanimously with the Social Democrats for the pacifist resolutions of the Socialist Party (December, 1916); Turatti and Co., in Italy, where the entire party occupied the social pacifist position, and Turatti himself even "slid over," and not accidentally, to nationalist phrases, lauding the imperialist war in his speech of December 17, 1916.

The President of Zimmerwald and Kienthal, Robert Grimm, entered into an alliance with the social-chauvinists of his own party (Greulich, Pfleuger, Gustav Mueller, and others) *against* the real internationalists.

At two meetings of Zimmerwaldists of different countries, in January and February, 1917, this duplicity and the duplicity of the Zimmerwald majority was formally stigmatized by the left internationalists or several countries: Munzenburg, secretary of the international youth organisation and editor of the splendid internationalist journal, "The International of Youth"; Zinoviev, president of the Central Committee of our party; Karl Radek, of the Polish Social Democratic Party; Hartstein, of the German Social Democrats, member of the "Spartacus Group."

Much has been given to the Russian proletariat. Nowhere in the world has the working class succeeded in developing such revolutionary energy as in Russia. But much is required of those to whom much is given.

It is no longer possible to endure the Zimmerwald morass. We cannot remain any longer in a partial connection with the chauvinist International of Plekhanov and Scheidemann through the Zimmerwald Kautskyites. We must break at once with this International. We must remain in Zimmerwald *only* for purposes of information.

We ourselves must organize immediately, without delay, a *new* revolutionary, proletarian International, or more truly we must not be afraid to recognise by all the signs that it has *already been founded*, and is already functioning.

This is the International of those "internationalists in fact" whom I have carefully enumerated above. They, and only they,

are the representatives of the revolutionary internationalist masses, and not corrupters of the masses.

If there are few of *such* Socialists, then let every Russian worker ask himself whether there were many conscious revolutionists in Russia on the *eve* of the revolution of February and March, 1917.

It is not a question of numbers, but of the correct expression of the ideas and policies of the really revolutionary proletariat. The main point is not in "proclamation" of internationalism but in the capacity for being internationalists, in fact, even in the most difficult times.

We will not be deceived by hope in agreements and international congresses. International relations, as long as the imperialist war continues, are squeezed in the iron vice of the imperialist-bourgeois dictatorship of war. If even the "republican" Miliukoff, obliged to endure the auxiliary government of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies refused entry into Russia to the Swiss Socialist, Fritz Platten, secretary of the party, internationalist, participant in Zimmerwald and Kienthal, although he had been married in Russia, and had come to visit his wife's relatives, although he had taken part in the revolution of 1905, and for that been imprisoned in a Russian jail in Riga, had paid a pledge to the Tsar's Government for his release, and wished to receive that pledge back—if the Republican Miliukoff was able to do that in Russia in April, 1917, then we may judge just how much the promises and pledges, the phrases and declarations about peace without annexations, etc., on the side of the bourgeoisie are worth.

And the arrest of Trotsky by the British Government? And the refusal to allow Martoff to leave Switzerland, and the hopes of luring Martoff to England, where the fate of Trotsky awaits him?

We will not build up any illusions for ourselves. Self-deception is unnecessary.

To "wait" for international congresses or conferences means to be the betrayers of internationalism, since it is clear that neither Socialists true to international Socialism nor letters from them are allowed to come to us from Stockholm, although this is quite possible, and that the stern military censorship is still in force.

Our party must "wait" no longer, but found the Third International at once, and hundreds of Socialists in the jails of Germany and England will breathe the more easily, and thousands and thousands of German workers who are to-day organising strikes and demonstrations, frightening the villain and robber Wilhelm, will read in the *illegal* sheets of our decision, of our comradely trust in Karl Liebknecht, and only in him and of *our* decision to struggle now against "defence of the revolution"

—they will read, and be strengthened in their revolutionary internationalism.

Much is required of those to whom much is given. There is no country in the world where there is at the present time so much freedom as in Russia. Let us take advantage of this freedom, not for preaching the support of the bourgeoisie or the bourgeois “defence of the revolution,” but for the bold and honest *founding of the Third International*, in the spirit of the proletariat and of Liebknecht, and the international of unshakeable enmity both to the social-chauvinist traitors and to the vacillating people of the Centre.

18. There cannot even be a discussion of the question of uniting the Social Democrats in Russia, and after what I have already said there is no use wasting many words on this subject.

It is better to remain separate, as Liebknecht did, *and that means to remain with the revolutionary proletariat*, than to admit even for a moment any thought of unity with the party of the O.K., Tscheidze and Tseretelli, who have concluded a bloc with Potresoff in the “*Rabochia Gazetta*,” who vote for loans in the Executive Committee of the Soviet of Workers’ Deputies, who have gone over to “Defencism.”

Let the dead bury their dead.

Whoever wishes to *help* the vacillating ones must begin by ceasing to vacillate himself.

#### WHAT NAME FOR OUR PARTY WOULD BE SCIENTIFICALLY CORRECT AND MOST POLITICALLY USEFUL IN MAKING OUR AIMS CLEAR TO THE PROLETARIAT?

19. I will proceed to the next point, the name of our party. We must be called the *Communist Party*—as Marx and Engels called themselves.

We must repeat that we Marxists also take for our foundation the “*Communist Manifesto*,” perverted and betrayed by the Social Democrats in two important points: (1) The worker has no fatherland, therefore “defence of the fatherland” in an imperialist war is treachery to socialism; (2) the teachings of Marxism on the State have been perverted by the Second International.

The name “social democrat” is *scientifically* incorrect, as Marx pointed out continually, by the way, in his “*Critique of the Gotha Programme*” in 1875, which was repeated by Engels in a more popular form in 1894. From capitalism humanity may pass directly only to Socialism; that is, to social ownership of the means of production and distribution of the products according to the labour of each. Our party looks further: Socialism must inevitably gradually grow into Communism, of which the

slogan is, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

That is my first argument.

The second, the scientific incorrectness of the second part of the name of our party (*social democratic*). Democracy is one of the forms of State. And we, Marxists, are opponents of *all* states.

The leaders of the Second International (1889-1914), Messrs. Plekhanov, Kautsky, and the rest, have debased and perverted Marxism.

Marxism differs from anarchism in that it recognises the *necessity of the State* for the transition to Socialism, but (and in this it also differs from Kautsky and Co.) *not such a State* as that of the ordinary parliamentary bourgeois republic, but such as the Paris Commune of 1871, as the Soviets of Workers' Deputies in 1905 and 1917.

My third argument: *Life* has created, the *revolution* has already, in fact, created in this country, although in a weak embryonic form, just this new "State" which does not appear as a State at all in the ordinary sense of the term.

This has already become a question of the practice of the masses, and not of the theory of the leaders.

The State in the ordinary sense is the command over the masses by detachments of armed people, separate from the people.

But our new State now in process of birth is also a State, for we, too, require armed forces. We require the strictest order, and we must ruthlessly suppress by force every attempt at counter-revolution and monarchy and Guchkoff-bourgeoisdom.

But our new State is no longer a State in the ordinary sense of the term, because in a number of places in Russia these detachments of armed people are the masses themselves, the whole people, and there is no one standing over them, separate from them, privileged, and irremovable.

We must not look backward, but forward, not to that ordinary bourgeois type of democracy which has strengthened the dominion of the bourgeoisie by means of old, monarchical organs of administration—the police, the army, and the bureaucracy.

We must look forward to the birth of a new democracy, which has already ceased to be a democracy, because democracy means the domination of the people, and a people armed themselves cannot dominate over themselves.

The word democracy is not only scientifically incorrect in application to the Communist Party. After March, 1917, it is as blinkers fastened to the eyes of revolutionary people, preventing them from freely, courageously and independently building the new Soviets of Workers', Peasants', and Soldiers' Depu-

ties as the *only power* in the "State," as the forerunner of the abolition of all State power.

My third argument : we must reckon with the objective world condition of Socialism.

It is not the same as it was in 1871-1914, when Marx and Engels deliberately reconciled themselves to the incorrect, opportunistic term "social democrats." Because then, after the overthrow of the Paris Commune, history placed on the order of the day the slow organisation of the work of the masses. It could not have been otherwise. The anarchists were, and remain, fundamentally wrong, not only theoretically, but economically and politically. The anarchists did not gauge the moment correctly, not understanding the world situation : the corruption of the workers of England by imperialist profits ; the development of the Paris Commune ; the bourgeois nationalist movement in Germany having just gained the ascendancy (in 1871), and semi-feudal Russia still locked in perpetual slumber.

Marx and Engels correctly analysed the moment, understood the international situation, and understood the problems of a *slow* approach to the beginning of the social revolution.

And so we understand the problems and peculiarities of the new epoch. We shall not imitate those Marxists of whom Marx said : " I sowed dragons, but I reaped only fleas."

The objective necessity of capitalism, growing into imperialism, gave birth to the imperialist war. The war has brought all humanity to the verge of *ruin*, has destroyed all culture, has reduced to a state of savagery and ruined millions of people, millions without number.

There is no way out, except through a proletarian revolution.

And in such a moment, when this revolution is just beginning, when it is making its first, timid, uncertain step, still too trustful of the bourgeoisie—literally the majority of the democratic leaders, the social democratic parliamentarians, the " social democratic " papers—those organs for influencing the masses—the majority of these people betrayed Socialism, and went over to the side of " their own " national bourgeoisie.

The masses are confused, baffled, deceived by these leaders.

And we would encourage that deceit, make it easier by keeping that old and decrepit name which has grown rotten even as the Second International has grown rotten !

Even if " many " workers understand the Social Democrats honestly. It is time to learn the difference of the subjective from the objective.

Subjectively these Social Democratic workers are the most faithful leaders of the proletarian masses.

But objectively the world situation is such that the old name of our party facilitates the deception of the masses, impedes the forward movement, because at every step, in every newspaper,

in every parliamentary fraction, the masses behold the leaders; that is, the people whose words are heard clearly, whose activities are well known—and all these are “also Social Democrats,” all these are “for unity” with the betrayers of Socialism, the social chauvinists, all these present for payment old bills of exchange, assured by “social democracy.”

And the arguments against? “That we will be confused with the anarchists.”

Why are we not afraid of being confused with the social-nationalists and social-liberals, with the radical-socialists, the foremost and most dexterous in bourgeois deceit of the masses, the bourgeois party in the French Republic? “The workers ‘love,’ and the masses are accustomed to *their own* social democratic party.”

This is the argument, and indeed the only argument, throwing aside the science of Marxism and the questions of to-morrow in the revolution, and the objective conditions of world Socialism, and the shameful failure of the Second International, and the spoiling of practical work by the flocks of “also Social Democrats” surrounding the proletariat.

This is a routine, inert, lethargic argument.

And we want to rebuild the world. We want to bring to an end the world imperialist war, into which hundreds of millions of people have been drawn, enmeshed in the interests of hundreds and hundreds of billions of capital, a war which it is impossible to bring to an end in a really democratic peace without the greatest proletarian revolution in the history of humanity.

And we are afraid of ourselves. We cling to our “familiar,” “comfortable,” “dirty” old shirt.

It is time to throw away our dirty old shirt, time to put on clean clothes.

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Written April 10th, 1917. Published in brochure form in September, 1917.

# Transitional Demands

By Lenin

**F**ROM the general or theoretical part of the programme we pass on to the minimum programme. Here we come across a "very radical" (at a cursory glance) but quite baseless proposal of Comrade N. Bukharin and V. Smirnov to delete it altogether." They state that the division of the programme into maximum and minimum is "obsolete." What is the use of it since we are speaking of the transition to Socialism? No minimum programme is required. What we require is a programme of transitional measures towards Socialism!

Such is the proposal of the two comrades mentioned. They did not for some reason or other propose an alternative draft, despite the fact that the question of revising the programme, being on the agenda of the next party congress, obliges them to do so. It is possible that the authors of this seemingly "radical" proposal hesitated in doing so. However it may be, we must consider their opinions.

All countries have been forced by the war and destruction to turn from monopolist-capitalism to State monopolist-capitalism. This is the objective position. In revolution, however, State monopolist-capitalism *directly* leads to Socialism. One cannot advance in a revolution without coming to Socialism. Such is the objective position created by the war and revolution. The April conference took this into consideration in putting forward its slogans. The "Soviet Republic" (the political form of the dictatorship of the proletariat) and "Nationalisation of Banks and Syndicates" (the principal measure of all transitional measures to Socialism). Up till now all bolsheviks have been in agreement among themselves, and unanimous. But Comrade Bukharin and Smirnov wish to go further and delete the minimum programme *altogether*. This is in contradiction to a very wise counsel in a very wise proverb which says:

"Do not boast when going to the war, but boast when coming from the war."

We are going to the war; that is to say, our party is struggling for political power. This would be the dictatorship of the proletariat and poorest peasants. In taking power we would

not be afraid to go beyond the limits of the bourgeois system. No! We say clearly, directly, and definitely in the hearing of all that we will go beyond these limits, that we will fearlessly go to Socialism, and that our path lies in the Soviet Republic, the nationalisation of banks and syndicates, in workers' control, general labour conscription in the nationalisation of the land, the confiscation of landowners' inventory, and so forth. In this respect we have given a programme of transitory measures.

But we must not brag in going to the war. We must not delete the minimum programme, for this would be equivalent to empty bravado; "we do not wish to 'demand anything from the bourgeoisie,' but do everything ourselves; we do not wish to worry with details in the bourgeois state."

This would be nothing else but boasting, because, first of all, we must gain power (which we have not done yet). We have yet to realise in deeds these transitory measure to Socialism, we have to conduct our revolution to the victory of the international revolution, and only after, in "coming from the war," can we throw overboard the minimum programme as being of no further use. But have we any guarantee that it will be of no further use? Most decidedly not, for the simple reason that we have not yet acquired power, have not achieved Socialism, and have not lived even to see the beginning of the world revolution. We must go firmly towards this goal, but it would be vain to consider it reached when we know that it is still unachieved. Throwing out the minimum programme now is equivalent to stating that "we are already victorious"—pure bravado!

No, my dear comrades, we are not yet victorious. We do not know whether we will be victorious to-morrow or a little later. (I am inclined to think, "to-morrow" (I am writing this on the Sixth of October, 1917), and believe that we may delay in seizing power. But to-morrow is still to-morrow, and not to-day.) We do not know how soon after our victory the revolution will come in the west. Whether there will be any temporary periods of reaction or victories of the counter-revolution we cannot tell. Nothing is impossible; and we must dig a "treble line of trenches" after our victory to guard against this possibility.

We do not know all this, *we cannot know it*. No one can. It would be foolish to delete the minimum programme which is *necessary* as long as we live under a bourgeois system. It is still necessary while we have not yet broken the framework of the bourgeois order, while we have not done what is essential for the transition to Socialism, while we have not broken, and having broken, destroyed our enemy, the bourgeoisie. All this will be done, perhaps much sooner than many think (I am in-

clined to believe that it must begin to-morrow), but it has not been done yet.

Take the minimum programme in the political sphere. It is calculated on a bourgeois republic. We add to it the statement that we do not confine ourselves to its limits, but will immediately fight for a higher type, the Soviet Republic. We must do this. We must strive for this new Republic with unrestrained courage and decision, *and I am sure that we will struggle for it in this manner.* But we cannot by any means delete the minimum programme, because, firstly, we have no Soviet Republic yet; secondly, there is the possibility of "attempts at restoration"; we must survive and defeat them; thirdly, in the transition from the old to the new, there is the possibility of temporary "combined types" being necessary (as the "Workers' Path" truly mentioned a few days ago), such as a combination of the Soviet Republic and the Constituent Assembly. Let us survive all this, and then we will have time to throw out the minimum programme.

The same position holds good in the economic section of our programme. We are all agreed that the "fear" of going towards Socialism is the greatest poltroonery and treachery to the proletariat. We are all agreed that the principal steps to be taken in this direction must be the nationalisation of banks and syndicates. Let us first of all accomplish these and similar tasks, then our future tactics will be clearer, and our horizon will be immeasurably widened by practical experience, which is a million times better than the best of programmes. It is possible, and even probable, that we will not be able to dispense with combined types. For example, we shall not be able to nationalise small enterprises employing one or two wage workmen immediately, or even subject them to a real control by the workers. Even supposing the part they will play will be minute; suppose even that they will be tied hand and foot by the nationalisation of banks and syndicates, nevertheless they will still be tiny threads of middle-class relations. Why then throw overboard the minimum programme? As Marxists, fearlessly going to the greatest revolution in world history, and at the same time soberly taking into account all facts, we have not the right to throw away the minimum programme. By deleting it now, we would prove that we have lost our heads before we have taken power. We must not lose our heads either before, during, or after victory, for if we lose our heads, we lose everything.



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