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## Draft Programme of the Communist International.

**Adopted by the Programme Commission of the E. C. C. I. on May 25, 1928.**

*To all Sections of the Communist International!*

The Programme Commission of the Executive Committee of the Communist International is publishing its Draft Programme. The Commission feels bound to declare that the following draft text, which is of course based on the same principles as that of the draft adopted by the V. Congress of the C. I. as a basis, nevertheless differs essentially from this. The Programme Commission could not confine itself to purely editorial alterations of this draft, as since the V. World Congress the greatest changes have taken place in a number of the most important spheres of international life and especially of the revolutionary movement. The form of the general crisis of capitalism has changed, as well as the relations of the various groupings of powers to each other; there has taken place such a tremendous event as the great revolution in China, which has again emphasised the importance of the peasant agrarian question; socialist construction in the Soviet Union has made great progress; the intensification of the fight between the capitalist world, which is proceeding to the attack, and the U. S. S. R., the advance of fascism and its transformation into a terrorist dictatorship of big capital, the chauvinist-imperialist degeneration of social democracy, the lessons drawn by the C. I. from the struggle with the oppositional

tendencies, and finally the advance of Communism, the real internationalising of the movement, the new tasks confronting the C. I. as a united organisation — all this has rendered an essential alteration and extension of the old draft necessary and unavoidable. The changes are in general in the direction of a greater concretising and a stronger emphasising of the international factors, both in the theoretical part and in the section dealing with the immediate fight of the Communist Parties.

In publishing the Draft Programme the Commission, in accordance with the decision of the E. C. C. I., calls upon all comrades to express their views on it by means of critical articles, observations and concrete proposals. The experiences acquired in drawing up the programme have shown how difficult it is to embrace in one document all the problems of the modern Communist world movement. The programme question will be one of the main questions of the VI. World Congress. As the Congress must have sufficient material at its disposal at the time of dealing with this question, the Commission calls upon all comrades to enter on a fruitful discussion of the programme.

The Programme Commission of the E. C. C. I.

### Introduction.

The epoch of Imperialism is the epoch of moribund Capitalism. The crisis of Capitalism, which arose on the basis of Imperialism signifies that the material pre-requisites for Socialism have already matured.

But the development of Imperialism not only creates the material pre-requisites for Socialism; it simultaneously creates the conditions for the overthrow of Capitalism.

Imperialism subjects large masses of the proletariat of all countries — from the centres of capitalist power to the most remote corners of the colonial world — to the dictatorship of finance capitalism. With elementar force Imperialism exposes and accentuates all the contradictions of Capitalist society. It intensifies class oppression to the utmost limits. It intensifies the

contradiction between the growth of the productive forces of world economy and national state barriers to an exceptional degree. It inevitably gives rise to imperialist wars of worldwide dimensions, which shake the whole system of prevailing relationships and inexorably leads to the world proletarian revolution.

Imperialism binds the whole world in the chains of finance capital. With bonds of blood and iron it ties the proletarians of all countries, nationalities and races, to the yoke of financial and capitalist plutocracy. It intensifies the exploitation, oppression and enslavement of the proletariat to an immeasurable degree and thus directly confronts it with the task of capturing power. In this way Imperialism creates the necessity for uniting

the proletariat of all countries, irrespective of nationality, race, sex or profession, into a single international proletarian army that cuts across all state barriers. Thus, while Imperialism creates the material conditions for Socialism, it at the same time confronts the proletariat with the necessity for organising in a militant international association of workers, which is essential for the overthrow of Imperialism.

On the other hand, Imperialism splits off the better placed section of the working class from the main and more oppressed section of the masses. This is the upper stratum of the working class, bribed and corrupted by Imperialism. They comprise the leading elements of the Social Democratic Parties. They have an interest in the Imperialist plunder of the colonies. They are loyal to their "own" bourgeoisie and their "own" Imperialist State and in the midst of decisive class battles were found on the side of the class enemy of the proletariat. The split which took place in the Socialist movement on these grounds in 1914 and Kienthal.) The victorious proletarian revolution in Russia which became bourgeois labour parties, demonstrated and proved that the International proletariat can fulfil its historic mission, — to throw off the yoke of Imperialism and establish the proletarian dictatorship — only by ruthless struggle against Social Democracy.

Thus, the organisation of the forces of the international revolution becomes possible only on the platform of Communism. The opportunist Second International of Social Democracy, which has become the agency of Imperialism in the ranks of the working class, is inevitably confronted by the Communist International.

The war of 1914—1918 gave rise to the first attempts to establish a new, revolutionary international, to counterbalance the Second, Social-Chauvinist International and to be used as a weapon of resistance to bellicose Imperialism. (Zimmerwald and Kienthal.) The victorious proletarian revolution in Russia gave a powerful impetus to the formation of Communist Parties in the centres of capitalism and in the colonies. In 1919, the Communist International was formed, and for the first time in history the most progressive strata of the European and American proletariat were really united with the proletariat of China and India and with the coloured toilers of Africa and America on the basis of practical revolutionary struggle.

As a united and centralised international proletarian Party, the Communist International is the only Party to continue the organisational principles of the First International and to apply them to the revolutionary proletarian movement on a new mass basis. The experience gathered from the first imperialist war, from the subsequent period of revolutionary crisis of capitalism, from the series of revolutions in Europe and the colonial countries; the experience gathered from the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building up of Socialism in the U. S. S. R. and from the work of all the Sections of the Communist International, which has been recorded in the decisions of its Congresses, and finally, the fact that the struggle between the imperialist bourgeoisie and the proletariat is more and more assuming an international character, makes it possible, necessary and opportune to draw up the Programme of the Communist International, which shall be the common programme of all its Sections.

The programme of the Communist International is the supreme generalisation of the experience of the international revolutionary proletarian movement and is therefore, the programme of the struggle for world proletarian dictatorship, the programme of the struggle for world Communism.

As an organisation uniting the revolutionary workers, who lead millions of the oppressed and exploited against the bourgeoisie and their "Socialist" agents, the Communist International regards itself as the historical successor to the "Communist League" and the First International founded by Marx and as the inheritor of the best traditions of the Second International. The First International laid the ideological foundations for the international proletarian struggle for Socialism. The Second International, in the best period of its existence, prepared the ground for expanding the labour movement and spreading it widely among the masses. The Third, Communist International, continuing the work of the First International and accepting the fruits of the work of the Second International resolutely lopped off the latter's opportunism, its social chauvinism and its bourgeois distortion of Socialism and set out to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this way the Communist International preserves the continuity of all the glorious and heroic traditions of the international labour movement: the British Chartists and the French insurrectionists of 1831; the French and German working class revolutionaries of 1848; the immortal warriors and martyrs of the Paris Commune; the brave soldiers of the German, Hungarian and Finnish revolutions; the workers of former Czarist Russia — the victorious bearers of the proletarian dictatorship; the Chinese proletarians — the heroes of Canton and Shanghai.

In its theoretical and practical work, the Communist International bases itself on the historical experience of the revolutionary labour movement in all continents and among all peoples and entirely and unreservedly adopts the point of view of Revolutionary Marxism, which found its completion in Leninism. Leninism is nothing more nor less than Marxism of the epoch of Imperialism and proletarian revolutions.

The Communist International advocates, propagates and applies the revolutionary method of dialectical materialism of Marx and Engels and actively combats all forms of bourgeois philosophy and all forms of theoretical and practical opportunism. It takes its stand on the basis of consistent proletarian class struggle and subordinating the temporary, partial, group and national interests of the proletariat to the latter's lasting, common and international interests; it ruthlessly exposes every form of the doctrine of "class peace" — which the reformists have accepted from the bourgeoisie — ("civil peace", defence of imperialist "fatherland" in time of war, the gospel of bourgeois pacifism, "peace in industry", etc.).

The Communist International expresses the historical need for a revolutionary organisation of revolutionary proletarians, — the grave diggers of the capitalist system, — and is therefore the only international organisation which has the dictatorship of the proletariat and Communism for its programme and which openly comes out as the organiser of the international proletarian revolution.

## I. The World System of Capitalism. Its Development and Inevitable Destruction.

The characteristic feature of capitalist society, which arose on the basis of the development of commodity production, are the monopolisation of the means of production by the capitalist class, the exploitation of the wage labour of the proletarian class and the production of commodities for the purpose of profit. The relationships of exploitation and the economic domination of the bourgeoisie find their political expression in the state organisation of capital as an instrument for the suppression of the proletariat.

The development of capitalism has wholly confirmed Marx' doctrine concerning the laws of development of capitalist society and the contradictions of this development, which must inevitably bring about the doom of the capitalist system.

In their quest for profits the bourgeoisie were compelled to develop the forces of production on an ever-increasing scale and to strengthen and expand the domination of capitalistic relationships of production. As a consequence, the development of capitalism constantly reproduces on a wider basis all the inherent contradictions of the capitalist system and primarily, the decisive contradiction between social production and the private acquisition of the results of production, — between the growth of the forces of production and capitalist property relationship. The predominance of private ownership of the means of production and the anarchy prevailing in production have disturbed the economic equilibrium between the various branches of production; for the developing contradiction between the unlimited

expansion of production and the restricted consumption of the masses of the proletariat has led to periodical and devastating crises and mass unemployment among the proletariat. The predominance of private property also found expression in competition — within each separate capitalist country as well as on the constantly expanding world market. The latter form of capitalist rivalry resulted in a series of wars which are the inevitable accompaniment of capitalist development.

At the same time a change took place in the internal structure of capitalist society. The technical and economic advantages of large-scale production have led to the destruction of pre-capitalist economic forms in the course of the competitive struggle and to the continuously increasing concentration and centralisation of capital. In the sphere of industry this law has manifested itself primarily in the direct destruction of small enterprises and partly in their degradation to the position of auxiliary units of large enterprises. In the sphere of agriculture, it not only found expression in the process of differentiation among the peasantry and the proletarianisation of broad strata of the latter, but principally in the tacit and avowed subordination of peasant-farming to big capital; the small farmers have been able to maintain an appearance of independence only at the price of exhausting toil and systematic starvation.

The increasing employment of machinery, the constant improvement in technique and the uninterrupted rise in the organic composition of capital, which is accompanied by greater division of labour and an increase in the productivity and intensity of labour, signified also the more extensive employment of woman and child labour and the formation of enormous industrial reserve armies, which are constantly being recruited from among the proletarianised peasantry who are forced to leave their villages and among the ruined petty and middle urban bourgeoisie. The existence of a small group of billionaires at one pole of social relationship and of an enormous mass of proletarians on the other, the constantly increasing rate of exploitation of the working class, the reproduction on a wider basis of the profoundest contradictions of capitalism and their consequences (crises, wars, etc.), the constant growth of social inequality, the rising indignation of the proletariat; united and trained by the mechanism of capitalist production itself, — all this has inevitably undermined the foundations of capitalism and has brought nearer the day of its collapse.

The period of industrial capitalism in the main was a period of "free competition", a period of relatively smooth evolution and expansion of capitalism throughout the whole world amidst conditions of the partition and armed conquest of unoccupied colonies and the steady growth of the contradictions of capitalism, the burdens of which fell mainly upon the shoulders of the crushed and oppressed colonial peoples.

Towards the beginning of the 20th Century, however, this period gave place to a new period, — the period of Imperialism. In this period capitalism develops spasmodically and in the midst of conflicts; free competition has given place to monopoly; the "unoccupied" colonial lands are all divided up and the struggle for a redistribution of colonies and spheres of influence is primarily assuming the form of armed conflicts.

The ramifications and truly world wide scope of the contradictions of capitalism found most striking expression in the epoch of imperialism (finance capitalism) which historically signifies a new form of capitalism, a new system of relationships between the various parts of world capitalist economy and a change in the relationships between the principal classes of capitalist society.

This new historical period came in as a result of the development of the principal dynamic laws of capitalist society. The law of the concentration and centralisation of capital led to the formation of powerful monopolist combines (cartels, syndicates, trusts), to new forms of gigantic combinations of enterprises linked up by the banks. The merging of industrial capital with bank capital and the monopolistic character of this form of capitalism transformed the epoch of industrial capital into the epoch of finance capital. "Free competition" of the period of industrial capitalism, which came in to take the place of feudal monopoly and merchant capital monopoly, is in its turn being transformed into finance capital monopoly.

The growing employment of complex machinery, of chemical processes and electrical energy, the rise in the organic composition of capital and the consequent decline in the rate

of profit, which is only partly offset by the high, cartel prices policy still further stimulate the quest for colonial super-profits and the struggle for a re-distribution of the globe. Standardised and mass production creates the necessity for seeking new foreign markets. The rise in the price of raw materials and fuel stimulates the quest for the sources of these materials. Finally, the system of high protection creates an added stimulus for the export of capital, and this is becoming the decisive and specific form of economic contact between the various parts of world capitalist economy. The total effect is that the monopoly of colonial markets, of sources of raw materials and of spheres of investment of capital has extremely accentuated the general unevenness of capitalist development and has intensified the conflict between the "great powers" of finance capital over the redistribution of the colonies and spheres of influence.

The growth of the productive forces of world industry thus leads to the further internationalisation of economic life and at the same time to the struggle for a redistribution of the globe, — which is already divided up among the biggest finance capitalist States, and to a succession of such struggles in an increasingly acute form. To an increasing extent it leads to the method of fighting, by forcing down prices, being abandoned in favour of methods of forcible pressure (boycott, high protection, tariff wars, wars proper, etc.). Consequently, the monopolist form of capitalism is inevitably accompanied by imperialist wars, which by the area they embrace and the destructiveness of their technique are unexampled in the world's history.

Under such circumstances State power and the armed forces of the State acquire special significance for the bourgeoisie. Hence, finance capital reveals a tendency to develop State capitalist forms, which on the one hand facilitate the struggle for foreign markets and the military mobilisation of industry, and on the other hand lead to the exceptionally monstrous growth of militarism (armies, naval and air fleets, the employment of chemistry and bacteriology).

Thus the epoch of imperialism reproduces the fundamental contradictions of capitalism to an ever-increasing degree. Competition among small capitalists ceases, only to make way for competition among big capitalists; where competition among big capitalists subsides it again flares between gigantic combinations of millionaires and their governments. Local and national crises become transformed into crises affecting a number of countries, and subsequently into world crises. Local wars give place to wars between coalitions of States and to world wars. The class struggle is transformed from isolated actions of separate groups of workers into nation-wide struggles and subsequently into an international struggle between the world proletariat and the world bourgeoisie. Two main revolutionary forces are organising against the powerfully organised forces of finance capital; on the one hand the workers in the capitalist states; on the other hand, the masses of the people in the colonies oppressed by foreign capital are marching under the leadership of the revolutionary proletarian movement in the imperialist home countries.

This fundamental revolutionary tendency however, is temporarily paralysed by the corruption of certain sections of the European, North American and Japanese proletariat by the imperialist bourgeoisie and by the treachery of the national bourgeoisie in the semi-colonial and colonial countries who have become scared by the revolutionary mass movement. By plundering the colonies and semi-colonies, the bourgeoisie in the most powerful imperialist States obtain supplementary excess profits, out of which they raised the wages of a section of the workers in the home countries and in this way gave them an interest in this plunder and bought their loyalty to the imperialist "fatherland". This systematic bribery particularly affected the aristocracy of labour and the bureaucratic strata of the working class; the leading elements of Social Democracy and the trade unions, who proved to be the direct channels of bourgeois influence among the proletariat and stalwart pillars of the capitalist system.

But, by stimulating the growth of the corrupt upper stratum of the working class, imperialism at last destroys the influence of that stratum among the working class, because the increasing contradictions of imperialism, the worsening of the conditions of the broad masses of the workers, the enormous cost and

burdens of military conflicts, the fact that certain Powers have lost their former monopolistic position in the world market, — loss of colonies, etc., undermine the basis of Social Democracy among the masses.

Similarly, the treachery of the national bourgeoisie in the colonies and semi-colonies and their rapprochement with the imperialist powers leads, in the final analysis, to the intensification of imperialist oppression, to the decline of national bourgeoisie influence among the masses of the people, to the intensification of the revolutionary crises, to the unleashing of the mass agrarian revolutionary movement and to the creation of favourable conditions for establishing the hegemony of the colonial proletariat in the popular, mass struggle for independence and complete national liberation.

Imperialism has greatly developed the productive forces of world capitalism. It has created all the material pre-requisites for the Socialist organisation of society. By its wars it has demonstrated that the productive forces of world industry, — which have outgrown the restricted boundaries of imperialist States, — now demand the organisation of industry on a world, or international scale. Imperialism strives to eliminate this contradiction by cutting a road by fire and sword towards a single world State-capitalist trust, which is to organise the whole of world industry. But this ultra-imperialist utopia — so highly praised by the Social Democratic ideologists — encounters objective obstacles of such magnitude that capitalism must inevitably fall beneath the weight of its own contradictions. Imperialist wars, which are growing into world wars and by which the law of the centralisation of capitalism strives to reach its utmost world limits — a single world trust, are accompanied by so much destruction and impose such burdens upon the shoulders of the working class and of millions of colonial proletarians and peasants that capitalism must inevitably be crushed beneath the hammerblows of the proletarian revolution.

Imperialism is the highest phase of development of capitalism. It developed the productive forces of world industry to

enormous dimensions and has re-fashioned the whole world to its own model. Thus it draws within the orbit of finance capitalist exploitation all the colonies, all races and all nations. At the same time, however, the monopolist form of capital increasingly develops the elements of parasitical degeneration, decay and decline of capitalism. Monopoly capital is destroying the driving force of competition. In conducting a policy of high cartel prices, and having undivided mastery of the market, it reveals a tendency to retard the further development of the forces of production. In squeezing enormous sums of excess profits out of the millions of colonial workers and peasants and accumulating colossal incomes from this exploitation, Imperialism is creating a type of decaying and parasitically degenerate rentier State and whole classes of parasites who live by clipping coupons. Imperialism has developed socialised labour to an enormous scale and created the organisational pre-requisites for Socialism; but the intensification of the inherent antagonisms among the "Great Powers" gives rise to wars which cause the breakdown of united world industry. Imperialism, therefore, is moribund and decaying capitalism. It is the last stage in the development of capitalism. It is the threshold of world social revolution.

Hence, international proletarian revolution follows logically from the conditions of development of capitalism generally and from its imperialist phase in particular. Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism. This unevenness becomes still more accentuated and intensified in the epoch of imperialism. From this it follows that the international proletarian revolution must not be regarded as a single simultaneous and universal act. The victory of Socialism is possible at first in a few and even in one capitalist country. But every such proletarian victory widens the basis of world revolution and, consequently, still further intensifies the general crisis of Capitalism. Thus, the capitalist system as a whole is approaching its final collapse. The dictatorship of finance capital is perishing and giving place to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

## II. The General Crisis of Capitalism. The First Phase of World Revolution.

The imperialist struggle among the largest capitalist states for the re-distribution of the globe led to the first world Imperialist War (1914—1918). This war shook the whole system of world capitalism and marked the beginning of the period of its general crisis. It bent to its service the whole of the national economy of the belligerent countries, thus creating the mailed fist of State capitalism. It increased unproductive expenditure to enormous dimensions, destroyed enormous quantities of means of production and human labour power, ruined large masses of the population, and imposed incalculable burdens upon the industrial workers, the peasants and the colonial peoples. The war inevitably led to an intensification of the class struggle which grew into revolutionary mass action and civil war. The imperialist front was broken at its weakest link, in Tsarist Russia. The February revolution of 1917 overthrew the domination of the big landlord autocracy. The "October" revolution overthrew the domination of the bourgeoisie. This victorious proletarian revolution expropriated the expropriators, took the means of production from the landlords and the capitalists and for the first time in human history set up and consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat in an enormous country, brought into being a new Soviet type of State and laid the foundations for the International Proletarian Revolution.

The powerful shock to which the whole of world capitalism was subjected, the intensification of the class struggle and the direct influence of the October proletarian revolution gave rise to a series of revolutions and revolutionary actions on the continent of Europe as well as in the colonial and semi-colonial countries: March 1918 — the workers' revolution in Finland; August 1918 — the "rice riots" in Japan; November 1918 — revolutions in Austria and Germany which overthrew the rule of the semi-feudal monarchies; March 1919 — the proletarian revolution in Hungary and the rebellion in Korea; April 1919 — the establishment of the Soviet Government in Bavaria; Ja-

nuary 1920 — the bourgeois national revolution in Turkey; September 1920 — the seizure of the factories by the workers in Italy; March 1921 — the uprising of the advanced workers in Germany; September 1923 — the uprising in Bulgaria; the autumn of 1923 — the revolutionary crisis in Germany; December 1924 — rebellion in Esthonia; April 1925 — rebellion in Morocco and in Syria in August; May 1926 — General Strike in England; 1927 — the workers' uprising in Vienna. All these events, as well as the rebellion in Indonesia, the deep ferment in India, the great Chinese revolution which shook the whole of the Continent of Asia, — are links in a single international revolutionary chain and the component parts of the profound general crisis of capitalism. The unity of world economy finds its expression in the international character of the revolution. The uneven development of its various parts is reflected in the uneven development of the revolution in separate countries.

The first attempts made to bring about a revolutionary change, which sprung from the acute crisis of capitalism (1918—1921) ended in the defeat of the proletariat in a number of countries. These defeats were brought about primarily by the treacherous tactics of the Social Democratic leaders and reformist trade union leaders and also by the fact that Communist Parties had not yet been established in a number of important countries and that the majority of the working class had not yet accepted the lead of the Communists.

These defeats enabled the bourgeoisie to bring about a partial stabilisation of capitalist relationship. The exploitation of the proletariat and of the colonial peoples was greatly intensified and their standard of living sharply depressed. The forces of production of world economy again began to increase, considerable progress was made in technique, the process of the trustification and the rationalisation of industry was accelerated, the tendency of development towards State Capitalism

was resumed and the pressure brought to bear upon the working class and the colonies was increased.

In the course of progress of the international revolution the Social Democratic and reformist trade union leaders on the one hand and the militant capitalist organisations of the Fascist type on the other, acquired special significance as a powerful counter-revolutionary force actively fighting against the revolution and actively supporting the partial stabilisation of capitalism.

The war crisis of 1914—1918 was accompanied by the disgraceful collapse of the **Social Democratic Second International**. Notwithstanding the thesis laid down by Marx and Engels in the "Communist Manifesto" that under capitalism the proletariat has no country and notwithstanding the anti-war resolutions passed at the Stuttgart and Basle Congresses, the leaders of the national Social Democratic parties, with a few exceptions, voted the war credits and strongly advocated the defence of imperialist "fatherlands" (i. e. the State organisations of the imperialist bourgeoisie) and instead of opposing the imperialist war became its most loyal soldiers, propagandists and its bards (social patriotism, which grew into social imperialism). In the period that followed the Social Democrats supported the predatory treaties (Brest, Versailles). They came out as an active force on the side of the militarists at the time of the bloody suppression of proletarian uprisings (Noske); they conducted armed warfare against the first proletarian republic (Soviet Russia); they despicably betrayed the proletariat when it took power (Hungary); they joined the imperialist League of Nations (Albert Thomas, Paul Boncour, Vandervelde, Breitscheid); they openly took the side of the imperialist slave-owners against the colonial slaves (British "Labour Party"); they actively supported the most reactionary executioners of the working class (in Bulgaria and Poland); they took the initiative in introducing imperialist "military laws" (France); they betrayed the great General Strike of the British proletariat; they helped to strangle the miners' strike. They are helping to strangle China and India (the MacDonald Government); they act as the propagandists of the imperialist "League of Nations". They are capitalism's heralds and the organising force in the fight against the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U. S. S. R. (Kautsky, Hilferding).

In systematically conducting this counter-revolutionary policy, Social Democracy operates alternately first with one and then with the other of its two wings: the Right wing of Social Democracy, avowedly counter-revolutionary, is essential for negotiating with the bourgeoisie; the "Left Wing" is essential for the subtle deception of the workers. While playing with pacifist and sometimes even with revolutionary phrases, "Left Wing" Social Democracy in practice acts against the workers at the most critical moments (the British "independents" and "Left" leaders of the General Council at the time of the General Strike in 1926, Otto Bauer & Co. at the time of the Vienna uprising) and is for that reason the most pernicious fraction of the Social Democratic parties. While serving the interests of the bourgeoisie within the working class and adopting entirely the principle of class co-operation, the Social Democrats periodically take up the position of an opposition party and pretend to lead the economic struggle in order to win the confidence of sections of the working class and in this way more shamefully to betray the lasting interests of the working class, particularly in the midst of decisive class battles.

In the domain of theory Social Democracy has wholly and completely betrayed Marxism. It passed through the stage of revisionism to complete liberal-bourgeois reformism and avowed social imperialism: it has distorted the Marxian doctrine of class war into the advocacy of class peace. Instead of the doctrine of proletarian dictatorship it advocates the theory of coalition with the bourgeoisie. Instead of destruction of the bourgeois State it advocates active construction. Instead of pointing out that imperialist wars are inevitable under capitalism it advances the theory of peaceful "ultra-imperialism", and instead of international solidarity of the proletariat it preaches the doctrine of defence of imperialist fatherlands. It has substituted the dialectical materialism of Marx by idealistic philosophy and playing with bourgeois religious trash.

Thus, international Social Democracy in all its shades: the Second International and its trade union branch, the Amsterdam

Federation of Trade Unions, have become the reserves of bourgeois society and its most loyal pillar of support.

Side by side with Social Democracy through and by which the bourgeoisie suppresses the workers or lulls their class vigilance, is fascism.

The epoch of Imperialism, the growing acuteness of the class struggle, and the growth of the elements of civil war, — particularly after the imperialist war, — have led to a crisis in parliamentarism. The instability of capitalist relationships in the post-war period, the existence of large declassed social elements, the impoverishment of broad strata of the urban petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia (primarily in the European countries), and finally the constant menace of the mass proletarian action have caused the bankruptcy of Parliamentarism as the democratic, camouflaged form of the bourgeois dictatorship and gave rise to Fascism as a method of unconcealed dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. In order to secure for itself a more stable, firm and permanent rule, the bourgeoisie is being compelled more and more to abandon the parliamentary system and to adopt the method of Fascism irrespective of inner-party relationships and combinations. It masks its "national idea" by the system of representation of the "professions" (i. e. of the various groups of the dominant class) and turns to its own advantage the discontent of the petty bourgeois, intellectual and other masses by a peculiar form of social demagogy (anti-semitism, sporadic attacks upon usurer capital, displays of indignation in the parliamentary "talking shop") and corruption — by creating a compact and well-paid hierarchy of Fascist units, party apparatus and bureaucracy. At the same time Fascism strives to permeate the working class. It recruits the most backward strata of the workers and turns their discontent with the passivity of Social Democracy to its own advantage. The principal function of Fascism is to destroy the revolutionary labour vanguard, i. e. the Communist units and the leaders of the proletariat. The combination of social demagogy, corruption and active White Terror conducted simultaneously with extreme imperialist aggression in the sphere of foreign politics, is a characteristic feature of Fascism. In the periods most critical for the bourgeoisie, Fascism, to suit its own ends, gave utterance to anti-capitalist phraseology. When it had strongly established itself at the helm of state it cast aside its anti-capitalist rattle and is now more and more revealing itself as the terroristic dictatorship of big capital (Mussolini, Pilsudski).

The bourgeoisie resorts alternately to the methods of Fascism or to the method of coalition with Social Democracy, according to the changes in the political situation. In this Social Democracy not infrequently plays an openly Fascist role (Noske in Germany, the Polish Socialist Party, etc.). Both these methods are unusual for "normal" capitalism; they are symptoms of the general capitalist crisis. Nevertheless, they retard the rate of advance of revolution.

The experience of the whole of the historical post-war period has shown however, that the stabilisation of capitalism obtained by acts of repression against the working class and the systematic depression of its standard of living cannot but be a partial, temporary and decaying stabilisation. This stabilisation gives rise to new and more profound contradictions which cause the general crisis of capitalism to become more acute and create the conditions for a new phase in the world proletarian revolution.

As a result of the first round of imperialist wars (the world war of 1914—1918) and of the October victory of the working class in the former empire of the Russian Czar, world economy has split up into two fundamentally hostile camps: **The camp of the imperialist states and the camp of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U. S. S. R.** The differences in class structure and the class character of the two States, the fundamental differences in the aims each pursues in internal, foreign, economic and cultural policy, the fundamental difference in the direction of development of the two camps, brings the capitalist world into sharp conflict with the victorious proletarian State. Two antagonistic systems are in conflict within the framework of a single world economy: the system of capitalism and the system of socialism. Hitherto, the class struggle was conducted in forms determined by the fact that the proletariat was not in possession of State power. Now it is being conducted on an enormous and really world scale and moreover the working class now has its own State, — the only fatherland of the international prole-

ariat. The existence of the Soviet Union and the influence it exercises upon the masses of the toilers and oppressed all over the world is in itself the most striking expression of the profound crisis of the world capitalist system and of the expansion and intensification of the class struggle to a degree hitherto unparalleled in history.

The capitalist world, powerless to eliminate its inherent contradictions, is striving to set up an international organisation (the League of Nations) the main purpose of which is: to restrain the surging tide of the revolutionary crisis and to strangle the Soviet proletarian republics by blockade or war. On the other hand all the forces of the revolutionary proletariat and of the oppressed colonial masses are rallying around the U. S. S. R. The unstable, internally corroding, but well armed coalition of capital is confronted by a single, world-coalition of labour.

Thus, as a result of the first round of imperialist wars new fundamental antagonisms have arisen of world historical scale and significance: the antagonisms between the U. S. S. R. and the capitalist world.

Meanwhile, the antagonisms within the capitalist sector of world economy have become more acute. The economic centre of the world has shifted to the United States of America; the "Dollar Republic" has become the exploiter of all countries and this has caused the relations between United States and European capitalism, primarily British capitalism, to become more acute. The conflict between Great Britain, the most powerful of the old conservative imperialist countries, and the United States, the greatest of the young imperialist countries and which has already won world hegemony for itself, is becoming the pivot in the world conflicts of finance capital States. Germany, though plundered by the Versailles peace, is now economically recovered and is again taking the path of imperialist politics. Once again she stands out as a serious competitor of Great Britain and France on the world market. The Pacific is becoming involved in a tangle of contradictions caused principally by the conflict between America and Japan. Simultaneously the antagonism of interests between the constantly changing and unstable groupings of power is developing, while the second class powers act as auxiliary instruments in the hands of the imperialist giants and their coalitions.

The productive capacity of the industrial apparatus of world capitalism has been increased. Simultaneously the home markets in Europe have become restricted as a result of the war and of the Soviet Union dropping out of the sphere of purely capitalist circulation. This, and the close monopoly of the principal sources of raw materials and fuel have caused the conflicts between capitalist States to become wider. The "peaceful" struggle for oil, rubber, cotton, coal and metals, the struggle for a redistribution of markets and spheres for the export of capital are inexorably leading to another world war, the de-

structiveness of which will increase parallel with the furious development of the technique of war.

Simultaneously, the antagonisms between the imperialist countries and the colonial and semi-colonial countries are growing. As a result of the war, the development of capitalism in the colonies, of the influence of the Soviet revolution and of the centrifugal tendencies going on within the principal naval and colonial empire, Great Britain (Canada, Australia, South Africa) European Imperialism has become weakened and this has helped to release rebellion in the colonies and semi-colonies. The great Chinese revolution, which roused hundreds of millions of the Chinese people to action, has made an enormous breach in the imperialist system. The unceasing revolutionary ferment among hundreds of millions of the Indian workers and peasants threatens to break the domination of the world citadel of imperialism, Great Britain. The existence of the U. S. S. R. as the most important factor of revolutionary development opens up for those countries the prospect of transition to Socialism.

Thus, the revolutionary process in the colonies which is drawing the overwhelming majority of the population into the fight against imperialism is also the expression of the profound general crisis of capitalism.

Finally, the revolutionary crisis is inevitably maturing in the very centres of imperialism: the bourgeois attack on the standard of living, the organisations and the political rights of the working class rouses growing resistance on the part of the broad masses of the proletariat and causes the class struggle between the working class and trustified capital to become more acute. The great battles between labour and capital in Great Britain (the general strike in 1926), in Germany and in the United States of America, the accelerated swing to the left of the masses, the growth of the influence and authority of the Communist Parties, the enormous growth of sympathy of the broad masses of workers towards the land of the proletarian dictatorship, — all this is a clear indication that the revolutionary tide is again rising in the centre of imperialism.

Thus, the world imperialist system, and with it the partial stabilisation of capitalism, is becoming corroded from different causes; these are: the conflicts and antagonisms among imperialist States, the rise to the struggle of millions of the masses in the colonies, the rise of the revolutionary proletariat in the home countries and finally, the hegemony exercised over the whole world revolutionary movement by the proletarian dictatorship in the U. S. S. R. The international revolution is developing.

Against this revolution, imperialism is gathering its forces. Expeditions against the colonies, a new world war, a campaign against the U. S. S. R. are now practical questions of imperialist politics. This will lead to the release of all the forces of International Revolution and the inevitable doom of capitalism.

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### III. The Ultimate Aim of the Communist International — World Communism.

The ultimate aim of the Communist International is to replace world capitalist economy by a world system of Communism. Communist society, the ground for which has been prepared by the whole progress of historical development, is mankind's only way out, for it alone can abolish the fundamental contradictions of the capitalist system which threaten man's degradation and destruction.

Communist society will abolish the division of society into classes, i. e. simultaneously with the abolition of anarchy in production it will abolish social anarchy. The place of conflicting classes will be taken by members of society cooperating in the labour of a single world society. The enormous unproductive expenditure of human energy, which in previous forms of society was called forth by the struggle of classes, will cease and the human energy thus released will be diverted to the struggle against nature and for the uplifting and development of the power and strength of humanity.

After abolishing private property in the means of production and converting them into social property, the world system of Communism will replace the elemental forces of the world

market, competition and the blind process of social production, by consciously organised and planned production. Devastating crises and still more devastating war will be abolished simultaneously with the abolition of anarchy of production and competition. The colossal waste of productive forces and the spasmodic development of society will give place to the planned management of all the resources and painless economic development on the basis of unrestricted, planned and rapidly developing productive forces.

The abolition of private property and classes will abolish the exploitation of man by man. Work will cease to be toiling for the benefit of a class enemy: instead of a means of livelihood it will become a necessity of life. The conceptions of poverty and wealth will disappear because economic inequality, the poverty of enslaved classes and a wretched standard of material existence generally will disappear. The hierarchy established by the division of labour and with it the antagonism between physical and intellectual labour will be abolished. At the same time the organs of class domination and the State in the first place will disappear. The State, as the embodiment of class

domination will die out in so far as classes die out and with it all laws of coercion will expire.

With the disappearance of classes monopoly of education in every form will be broken. Education, from elementary to the highest, will be accessible to all. Consequently, it will be impossible for any group to dominate over humanity and a great field will be opened for the selection and advancement of talent and genius in all spheres of culture.

In Communist society no restrictions of a social character will be imposed upon the growth of the forces of production. Private property in the means of production, the selfish desire for profits, the artificial retention of the masses in a state of ignorance, the poverty of the masses, which retards technical progress in capitalist society, and enormous waste will have no place in Communist society.

The forces of nature and the natural and climatic conditions of production in the various parts of the world economic system will be utilised to the best advantage. The distinction between town and country, which arises from agriculture systematically remaining at a lower technical level than the rest of industry, will be removed. Science and technique will be combined to the utmost extent. Research work will be developed and applied to practical use on the widest social scale. Labour will be organised on the most scientific system. The most perfected methods of statistical accounting and planned regulation of economy will be employed. There will be a rapid increase in social requirements; — the most powerful internal driving force of the whole system. All these will secure the maximum productivity of social labour, which in its turn, will release human energy for the powerful development of science and art.

The development of the productive forces of world Communist society will render possible an improvement in the welfare of the whole of humanity and consequently will enable culture to flourish as never before in history. Humanity, united for the first time, will possess a culture that cuts across all State frontiers and will be based on clear and transparent mutual

relations between men. For that reason it will destroy for ever all mysticism, religion, prejudice and superstition and give a powerful impetus to the development of all-conquering, rational knowledge.

This higher stage of Communism is the stage in which Communist society has already developed on its own foundation. Men and women have simultaneously acquired all-sided development and the forces of production have undergone enormous growth. In this stage, society has already inscribed upon its banner: "From each according to his abilities to each according to his needs!" But this stage presupposes a lower stage of development as a preliminary historical condition. At this lower stage Communist society only just emerges from capitalist society and bears all the economic, ethical and intellectual birth marks inherited from the society from whose womb it is just emerging. The socialist forces of production are as yet inadequately developed to permit of a distribution of the products of labour according to needs: these are distributed in accordance with the labour expended. The division of labour, i. e. the recognition of definite labour functions for definite groups of persons, and particularly the distinction between physical and intellectual labour has not yet been abolished. Although classes have been abolished, relics of the old class divisions of society, and consequently relics of the State power of the proletariat, coercion, rights, even "bourgeois rights" (rights to the private ownership in means of consumption) still exist. Consequently, certain traces of inequality, which have not yet managed to die out, still remain. The distinction between town and country has not yet altogether disappeared. But none of these survivals of the old society is protected or defended by any social force. They form part of a definite level of development of productive forces and will disappear as rapidly as mankind, emancipated from the fetters of the capitalist system, subordinates to itself the forces of nature, becomes itself trained in the spirit of Communism and passes from Socialism to complete Communism.

#### **IV. The Period of Transition from Capitalism to Socialism and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.**

Capitalist society is separated from socialist society by a period of revolutionary transformation, in which the one changes into the other. To this corresponds a political transitional period in which the State can be nothing else than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. The transition from the world dictatorship of Imperialism to the world dictatorship of the proletariat extends over a long period of proletarian struggles, defeats and victories. This is a period of continuous general crisis in capitalist relationships and maturing social revolution; a period of national wars and colonial rebellions, which, although not in themselves revolutionary socialist proletarian movements objectively become a component part of the world proletarian revolution in so far as they undermine the domination of imperialism. It is a period in which capitalist and socialist economic and social systems exist side by side in "peaceful" relationship and armed conflict. In this period federations of Socialist Soviet States are formed which wage war against imperialist States, establish closer and closer ties with colonial peoples, etc.

Bourgeois revolutions signified merely the political liberation of a system of productive relationships that had already established itself and became economically dominant and the transference of power from the hands of one class of exploiters to the hands of another. The proletarian revolution however, signifies the forcible invasion of the proletariat into the domain of bourgeois property relationships, the expropriation of the expropriating classes and the transference of power to a class whose aim is the radical reconstruction of the economic foundations of society and the abolition of all exploitation of man by man. Bourgeois revolutions took centuries to put an end to the political domination of the feudal barons all over the world and broke that domination in a series of separate revolutions. The international proletarian revolution will not be a single and simultaneous act, but will extend over a whole epoch; nevertheless, owing to the closer ties that now exist between countries, it can fulfil its mission in a much shorter

period. A prolonged epoch of intense work of building up world socialist economy will set in only after the world socialist revolution has been completed and after the proletariat has consolidated its world power.

The conquest of power by the proletariat is a prerequisite for the growth of socialist forms of economy and for the cultural growth of the proletariat, which changing its very nature, is ripening into the leader of society in all spheres of life and is drawing into this process of transformation all other classes and in this way laying the ground for the abolition of classes.

In the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and for the subsequent transformation of the social system, an alliance of workers and peasants is formed against the alliance of the landlords and the capitalists, under the intellectual and political hegemony of the proletariat, and this alliance serves as the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The characteristic features of the transitional period are: the ruthless suppression of the resistance of the exploiters; the organisation of socialist construction; the mass training of men and women in the spirit of socialism and the overcoming of classes.

The transitional period begins to change into Communist society only after these great historical tasks have been fulfilled.

Thus, a necessary preliminary condition for the transition of world capitalist economy to socialist economy is the dictatorship of the world proletariat. This dictatorship can be brought about only after socialism has achieved victory in certain countries, when the newly established proletarian republics have entered into federation with already existing proletarian republics, when this federation has grown and attracted to itself the colonies which have emancipated themselves from the yoke of imperialism and finally when this federation of republics has become the World Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which will unite the whole of mankind under the hegemony of the international, State organised proletariat.

The conquest of power by the proletariat is not the peaceful "conquest" of the existing bourgeois State machine by means of a parliamentary majority. The conquest of power by the proletariat is the violent overthrow of bourgeois power, the destruction of the capitalist State apparatus (bourgeois armies, police, bureaucratic hierarchy, courts, parliaments, etc.) and its replacement by a new organ of proletarian power, primarily as a weapon for the suppression of exploiters.

As was shown by the Russian and Hungarian revolutions — which immeasurably enlarged the experience of the Paris Commune of 1871 — the most expedient form of proletarian State power, as a rule is the Soviet State.

This is precisely the type of State, which emerging directly from the very broadest mass movement, brings out the maximum of mass activity and consequently serves as the surest guarantee of final victory. The Soviet form of State represents the highest form of democracy, namely, proletarian democracy, as distinct from bourgeois democracy, which represents bourgeois dictatorship in a masked form. Unlike bourgeois democracy, proletarian democracy openly admits its class character and aims avowedly at the suppression of the exploiters in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population. It deprives its class enemies of political rights and grants to the proletariat a number of temporary privileges over the diffused, petty bourgeois peasantry in order that its role of leadership may be consolidated. At the same time the Soviets represent an all-embracing form of unity and organisation of the masses under the leadership of the proletariat, and consequently they in fact draw the masses of the proletariat and peasantry into the struggle and into the work of building up socialism, and into the practical work of administering the State. In all their work they rely on the mass organisations of the working class, put into practice the principles of broad democracy among the toilers and are immeasurably closer in touch with the masses than any other form of government. The right of electing and recalling delegates, the combination of the executive with the legislature, the electoral system based on production and not on place of residence (election by the workshops, factories, etc.) — all this marks the sharp difference that exists between the bourgeois parliamentary republic and the Soviet dictatorship of the proletariat.

Bourgeois democracy, while formally recognising the equality of all citizens before the law, is really based on a glaring material and economic inequality of classes. By leaving undisturbed and even strengthening the capitalist class monopoly of the means of production and other vital forms of material wealth, bourgeois democracy converts this formal equality before the law, and these democratic rights and liberties into a juridical fiction as far as the exploited classes and particularly the proletariat is concerned, and consequently, it utilises them as a means of deceiving and subjugating the masses. Hence, it is capitalist democracy. On the other hand, the Soviet State, by depriving the exploiting classes of the means of production and securing for the working class houses, public buildings, printing plants, means of travelling, etc., first and foremost guarantees to the working class and to the toilers generally the material conditions for the exercise of their rights.

In the domain of formal rights, the Soviet State, by depriving the exploiters and the enemies of the people of political rights, for the first time utterly abolishes inequality among citizens, which, under the exploiting systems was based on differences of sex, religion and nationality; in this sphere it establishes an equality that exists in no other country in the world. At the same time, the dictatorship of the proletariat steadily creates the material basis for the actual realisation of this equality by such measures as the emancipation of women, facilitating the industrialisation of former colonies, etc.

Soviet democracy, therefore, is proletarian democracy, democracy of the toiling masses, democracy directed against the exploiters.

The Soviet State presupposes the complete disarming of the bourgeoisie and the concentration of arms in the hands of the proletariat: it is the State of the armed proletariat. The organisation of the armed forces is carried out on the basis of the class principle, which corresponds to the whole system of the proletarian dictatorship and guarantees the role of leadership to the industrial proletariat. This organisation rests on revolutionary discipline but at the same time provides for the

maintenance of close and constant contact between the members of the Red Army and Navy and the masses of the toilers, and for their participation in the administration of the country and in the work of building up Socialism.

The victorious proletariat utilises the conquest of power as a lever of economic revolution, i. e. the revolutionary transformation of the property relationships of capitalism into relationships of the socialist method of production. The starting point of this great economic revolution is the expropriation of the landlords and capitalists, i. e. the conversion of the monopolised property of the bourgeoisie into the property of a proletarian State.

In this sphere the Communist International advances the following as the fundamental tasks of the proletarian dictatorship:

### 1. Industry, Transport and Communication Services.

a) The confiscation and proletarian nationalisation of all large industrial enterprises (factories, works, mines, electrical power stations) in the hands of private capital and the transference of all State and municipal enterprises to the Soviets.

b) The confiscation and proletarian nationalisation of private capitalist railways and waterways and the air transport services (commercial and passenger air fleets) and the transference of State and municipal transport services to the Soviets.

c) The confiscation and proletarian nationalisation of private capitalist means of communication (telegraphs, telephones, and radio) with the transference of State and municipal communication services to the Soviets.

### 2. Agriculture.

a) The confiscation and proletarian nationalisation of all large landed properties in town and country (private, church monasterial and other lands) with the transference of State and municipal landed properties including forests, minerals, lakes, rivers, etc., to the Soviets; to be followed subsequently by the nationalisation of all the land.

b) The confiscation of all property connected with production belonging to large landed estates, such as: buildings, machinery and other stock, cattle, enterprises for the working up of agricultural produce (large flour mills, dairy farms, fruit and vegetable drying works, etc.).

c) All large estates, particularly model estates and those which are of considerable economic importance to be transferred to the management of the organs of the proletarian dictatorship and the Soviet farm organisations.

d) Allotments of land, particularly those which have been cultivated by tenant farmers, to be handed over for the use of poor and partly also of middle peasants (the amount of land to be so transferred to the peasantry to be determined by economic expediency as well as by the necessity to neutralise the peasantry and to win them over to the side of the proletariat. This must necessarily differ in accordance with different circumstances).

e) The prohibition of the sale and purchase of land. Breach of this law to be vigorously prosecuted.

f) To combat usury. The annulment of all transactions imposing conditions of bondage. The annulment of all debts of the exploited strata of the peasantry.

g) The organisation of credit schemes for the improvement of agriculture.

h) Financial and other support of agricultural co-operative societies, collective farms and communes.

### 3. Trade and Credit.

a) The proletarian nationalisation of private banks (including the transfer to the proletarian State of the whole of the gold reserve, securities, deposits, etc.) and the transference to the proletarian State of State, municipal, etc. banks.

b) The centralisation of banking; the subordination of all nationalised big banks to the Central State Bank.

c) The nationalisation of wholesale trade (warehouses, elevators, stores, stocks of goods, etc.) and their transference to the organs of the Soviet State.

d) The monopoly of foreign trade.

e) The repudiation of State debts to foreign and home capitalists.



#### 4. So-called "Intellectual Production".

- a) The nationalisation of printing plants.
- b) The monopoly of newspaper and book publishing.
- c) The nationalisation of the big Cinema enterprises, theatres, etc.

#### 5. Housing.

- a) The confiscation of big house property.
- b) Confiscated houses to be transferred to the administration of local Soviets.
- c) Workers to be removed to the bourgeois quarters.
- d) Palaces and large private and public premises to be placed at the disposal of working class organisations.

#### 6. The Working Day and Workers' Management of Industry.

a) The reduction of the working day to 7 hours and the regulation of the working day in occupations injurious to health with a view to still further reduction.

b) The organisation of workers' management of industry. The establishment of State organs of management with provision for the close co-operation of the trade unions in the management of industry.

In carrying out all these tasks the dictatorship of the proletariat must bear in mind the following postulates:

1. The complete abolition of private property in land and the nationalisation of the land cannot be brought about immediately in the more developed capitalist countries where the principle of private property has become deep-rooted among broad strata of the peasantry. In such countries the nationalisation of all the land can only be brought about gradually by means of a series of transitional measures. Nationalisation of industry should not, as a rule, be applied to small and middle-sized enterprises (peasants, small artisans, handicraftsmen, small and medium shopkeepers, etc.). First of all because in the first phases of the dictatorship the proletariat in power may not have sufficient organising forces at its disposal for the purpose of destroying capitalism and at the same time to organise contacts with the small and medium individual units of production on a new socialist basis. Secondly, because the proletariat cannot but draw a strict distinction between the property of the simple commodity producer working for himself, who can and must be gradually brought into the groove of socialist construction, and the property of the capitalist exploiter, the liquidation of which is an essential condition for any work of socialist construction.

2. The existence of a considerable number of small units of production (primarily, peasant farms, farmers' enterprises, small artisans, small shopkeepers, etc.), not only in colonies, semi-colonies and economically backward countries where the petty bourgeois masses represent the overwhelming majority of the population, but even in centres of capitalist world industry (the United States of America, Germany, and to a certain extent also England), makes it necessary to some extent, in the first stage of development to preserve market forms of economic contacts, the money system, etc. The existence of a variety of economic forms (from Socialised large-scale industry to small peasant and artisan enterprises), of a variety of classes and class groups having a variety of stimuli for their economic activities and the existence of a variety of interests corresponding to these economic forms demands that the proletariat, in its management of industry, shall properly combine large-scale Socialist industry with the small-scale economy of the peasant simple commodity producers, who are linked up with each other and with the towns by market relationships. For that reason, if diffused, peasant labour occupies a relatively important place in the general economy of the country, market relationships will occupy a correspondingly important place in that economy, and planned economic management will occupy a correspondingly minor place. The general economic plan will be to a greater extent based on forecasts of unorganised economic relationships. On the contrary, if small-scale economy occupies a relatively minor place, social labour will be correspondingly larger. The concentration and socialisation of the bulk of the means of production will be greater; the extent of market relations will be smaller. Planned economy will play a much

greater part than unorganised economy and the methods of directly planning production and distribution will be applied on a larger and more universal scale.

If the proletarian dictatorship carries out a correct policy, the technical and economic superiority of large-scale, socialised production, the centralisation of all the most important economic key-positions (industry, transport, large agricultural enterprises, banks, etc.) in the hands of the proletarian State, planned management of industry and the power of the State apparatus as a whole (the budget, taxes, administrative legislation and legislation generally) will lead to the continuous and systematic squeezing out of private capital as well as of the new outcrops of capitalism which emerge with the development of simple commodity producing economy in the period of more or less free commercial and market relationships. At the same time, by organising peasant farming on co-operative lines and as a result of the growth of collective forms of economy, the great bulk of the peasant enterprises will be systematically drawn into the general system of developing Socialism. The outwardly capitalistic forms and methods of economic activity which are connected with market relationships (money form of accounting, payment for labour in money, buying and selling, credit and banks, etc.) serve as levers of the social revolution in so far as they, to an increasing degree, serve the consistent Socialist type of enterprises, i. e., the Socialist section of economy.

Thus, in the conditions of proletarian dictatorship, and providing the Soviet State carries out a correct policy, market relationships, in the course of other development, bear within themselves the seeds of their own destruction: by helping to squeeze out private capital, by changing the character of peasant economy, — while the means of production are becoming more and more centralised and concentrated in the hands of the proletarian State, they, at the same time, help to destroy all market relationships.

3. In view of the possibility of capitalist military intervention and of prolonged counter-revolutionary wars against the dictatorship of the proletariat, the necessity may arise for a war-Communist economic policy ("War Communism") which is nothing more nor less than the organisation of rational consumption for the purpose of defence at a time when there has been a sharp decline in the productive forces of the country, and when the individualist stimuli to production of small producers are seriously disturbed (the system of confiscation and requisition). Although this policy undermines the material basis of that strata within the country that is hostile to the working class, secures a rational distribution of available stocks and facilitates the military struggle of the proletarian dictatorship, — which gives it its historical justification, nevertheless, it cannot be regarded as the "normal" economic policy of the proletarian dictatorship.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a continuation of the class struggle under new conditions. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a stubborn fight, — bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, pedagogical and administrative, against the forces and traditions of the old society: against external capitalist enemies, against the remnants of the exploiting classes within the country, against the germs of a new bourgeoisie which arises on the basis of still existing commodity production.

In the conditions prevailing during the liquidation of the civil war, the class struggle continues in other forms, primarily, in the form of the struggle between the survivals of previous economic systems on the one hand and socialist forms of economy on the other; and these forms of struggle undergo a change at various stages of socialist development.

In the first stage of the proletarian dictatorship the policy of the proletariat towards other classes and social groups within the country is determined by the following postulates:

1. **The big bourgeoisie and big landlords**, and the loyal adherents, the officer class, the generals and the higher bureaucracy, are consistent enemies of the working class against whom it is necessary to wage ruthless war. The organising skill of a certain section of these may be utilised, but as a rule, this is possible only after the dictatorship has been consolidated and after all conspiracies and rebellions of exploiters have been decisively crushed.

2. In regard to the **technical intelligentsia**, which has been brought up on bourgeois traditions, the proletariat must ruthlessly suppress every counter-revolutionary action in their ranks but at the same time bear in mind the necessity for utilising this skilled social force for the purposes of Socialist construction. In the process of developing this work of construction, — economic, technical and cultural, on a wide social scale, the proletariat must systematically win over the technical intelligentsia to its side, subject it to its ideological influence and secure its close co-operation in the work of social transformation.

3. In regard to the **peasantry**, the task of a Communist Party, is, to rely on the agricultural proletariat, but strive to win over to its side all the exploited and toiling strata of the rural districts. The victorious proletariat must draw strict lines of distinction between the various groups of the peasantry, properly judge the relative importance of each and render every support to the propertyless and semi-proletarian strata of the peasantry. It must transfer to the latter part of the land of the big landlords, help them in their struggles against usurer capital, etc. Moreover, the proletariat must neutralise the intermediary strata of the peasantry and actively repel every attack on the part of the rural bourgeoisie, — which enters into alliance with the landlords. As its dictatorship becomes consolidated and Socialist construction develops the proletariat must abandon the policy of neutralisation and adopt the policy of direct alliance with the masses of middle peasantry; but it must refrain from adopting the point of view of sharing power in any way.

4. The **petty urban bourgeoisie**, which constantly oscillates between extreme reaction and sympathy for the proletariat, must also be neutralised and as far as possible won over to the side of the proletariat. This can be achieved by permitting it to retain its small property and a certain amount of freedom of trade and by abolishing usurious credit, etc.

In the course of fulfilment of all these tasks of the proletarian dictatorship a radical change takes place in the tasks and functions of the mass organisations and primarily of the labour organisations. Under capitalism, the mass labour organisations in which the broadest strata of the proletariat are for the first time organised and trained, i. e. the trade (industrial) unions, represent the principal weapon in the industrial struggle and subsequently in the mass struggle against trustified capital and its State. Under the proletarian dictatorship, these organisations become transformed into the principal lever of the dictatorship, into a school of Communism which draws overwhelming masses of the proletariat into the work of the Socialist management of industry. Thus, in so far as they promote from their ranks leaders in the work of construction, in so far as they draw into this work the broad strata of the proletariat and in so far as they set themselves the task of combating the bureaucratic distortions which inevitably arise as the result of the inadequate cultural development of the masses and of the operation of class influences alien to the proletariat, the trade unions become the backbone of the economic organisation of the proletarian State.

Notwithstanding reformist utopias, co-operative organisations under capitalism are doomed to play a relatively modest part and in the environment of the general conditions of the capitalist system not infrequently degenerate and become transformed into a mere appendage to capitalism. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat however, they may become the most important units of the distributing apparatus.

Finally, peasant agricultural co-operative societies (sale, purchasing, credit, and producing co-operatives) with proper guidance and providing the influence of the toiling sections of the rural population who support the dictatorship of the proletariat is maintained in them, may become one of the principal organisational means of linking up town and country. To the extent that they are able to maintain their existence at all under capitalism, co-operative peasant enterprises under the capitalist system inevitably become transformed into capitalist enterprises, for they are dependent upon capitalist industry, capitalist banks and capitalist environment. Under the proletarian dictatorship however, they develop amidst a different system of relationships and depend upon proletarian industry, proletarian banks, etc. Thus, provided the proletariat

conducts a proper policy, provided the class struggle against the capitalist elements in the rural districts is systematically carried on and provided socialist industry exercises guidance over it, agricultural co-operation may become one of the most important levers for the socialist transformation and collectivisation of the countryside.

In the course of all this militant and constructive work carried on through the medium of every variety of proletarian organisation (primarily the trade unions and soviets), which indeed should serve as the levers of the Soviet State and link it up with the broad masses of every stratum of the working class, the proletariat secures and exercises unity of will and action by means of the leading role played by the Communist party in the system of proletarian dictatorship.

The party of the proletariat relies directly on the trade unions and a number of other organisations which embrace the masses of the workers and through them the peasantry, (Soviets, Co-operative societies, Young Communist League, etc.) and by means of this system of levers guides the Soviet system as a whole. The proletariat can fulfil its role as organiser of the new society only if the Soviet Government is loyally supported by all the mass organisations, only, if the unity of class will is maintained and only under the guidance of the Party.

The role of organiser of the new human society presupposes that the proletariat will become culturally ripe, that it will transform its own nature, advance from its ranks increasing numbers of men and women capable of acquiring a knowledge of science, technique and administration for the purpose of building up Socialism and a new Socialist culture.

In destroying the monopoly of the capitalist class in the means of production, the working class must also destroy its monopoly of education, i. e., it must take possession of all the schools, from the elementary schools right up to the highest universities. It is particularly important for the proletariat to train members of the working class as experts in the sphere of production (engineers, technicians, organisers, accountants, etc.) as well as in the spheres of science, military affairs, etc. Simultaneously the cultural level of the masses of the proletariat must be raised; their political education and their general standard of knowledge must be raised; their technical skill and their abilities for public work and administration must be developed and the survivals of bourgeois and petty bourgeois prejudices, etc., must be combated.

A particularly important task in connection with the fight against bourgeois prejudices and superstitions is that of combating religion, — which is opium for the people. The struggle against religion must be conducted systematically and persistently. The proletarian government must abolish all State support of the Church, which is an agency of the dominant classes and imperialist cliques. It must prevent all church interference in State organised education and ruthlessly crush the counter-revolutionary activities of the ecclesiastical organisations. While carrying on anti-religious propaganda by all the means at its disposal, — although permitting freedom of worship and abolishing the privileged position occupied by previously predominant religions, — the Soviet Government must at the same time reorganise all its educational work on the basis of scientific, materialist philosophy.

The International proletarian revolution is a combination of processes varying in time and character: purely proletarian revolutions; revolutions of a bourgeois-democratic type which grow into proletarian revolutions; wars for national liberation; colonial revolutions. The world dictatorship of the proletariat comes only as the final outcome of the revolutionary process.

The uneven development of capitalism, which became more accentuated in the period of imperialism, has given rise to a variety of types of capitalism, to differences in stage of ripeness in various countries and to a variety and specific conditions of revolutionary process. These circumstances historically make it absolutely inevitable that the proletariat will come to power by a variety of ways and degrees of rapidity; that in a number of countries certain transitional stages leading to the dictatorship of the proletariat and a variety of forms of building up Socialism will be necessary.

The various conditions and ways by which the proletariat will achieve its dictatorship in various countries may be divided schematically into three main types:

Countries of **highly developed capitalism** (United States, Germany, Great Britain, etc.) with powerful productive forces, a high degree of centralisation of production, relatively small significance of small production and with a long established bourgeois, democratic, political system. In these countries, the fundamental political demand of the programme is direct transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the sphere of economics the most characteristic are: the expropriation of the whole of large-scale production, the organisation of a large number of State Soviet farms, only a small share of the land to be transferred to the peasantry; unorganised market relationships to be permitted only on a small scale. Socialist development generally and the collectivisation of peasant farming in particular to proceed at a rapid rate.

Countries with a **medium development of capitalism** (Russia up to 1917, Poland, etc.), having considerable survivals of semi-feudal relationships in agriculture, a certain minimum of industry, sufficient for successful Socialist construction, and with as yet incomplete bourgeois democratic reforms. In these countries the bourgeois-democratic revolution may grow into social revolution. Here democratic demands may be advanced which, in the process of the struggle, may grow into the demand for a workers' revolution. In these countries the agrarian revolution plays a more or less important part. The dictatorship of the proletariat may not be brought about immediately but in the process of the bourgeois democratic revolution growing into the social revolution, i. e., in the process of transition from the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry of the confiscated land is placed at the disposal of the peasantry. to the Socialist dictatorship of the proletariat. In the process of expropriating large landed property a considerable portion of the confiscated land is placed at the disposal of the peasantry. The extent of market relationships is considerable. The task of organising the peasantry in co-operative societies and later to combine them in production is one of the most important tasks in the work of Socialist construction. The rate of this work of construction is much slower than it will be in the countries in the first mentioned group.

**Colonial and Semi-Colonial Countries** (China, India, etc.). In these countries industry is in an embryonic stage, sometimes in a fairly well developed stage but inadequate for independent Socialist construction. Feudal medieval relationships predominate in the economics as well as in their political superstructure, and the important industries, commerce, banks and principal means of transport, etc., are concentrated in the hands of foreign imperialist groups. The most important task in such countries is to fight against feudalism and consistently to conduct the agrarian peasant revolution on the one hand, and to fight for national independence against the foreign imperialists on the other. The transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat in such countries is possible only through a series of preparatory stages, only after the bourgeois-democratic revolution has grown into Social revolution. Successful Socialist construction will be possible only on the condition that direct support is obtained from countries in which the proletarian dictatorship is established.

In the present epoch, in which the task of the proletariat to capture power has come to the front in developed capitalist countries, in which the dictatorship of the proletariat is already established in the U. S. S. R. and represents a factor of world significance, the movement for liberation in colonies and semi-colonial countries brought into being by the penetration of

world capitalism into these countries, may — notwithstanding the unripeness of social relationships in these countries — lead to their **Socialist** development, provided they receive the support and assistance of the proletarian dictatorship and the international proletarian movement in general.

The special conditions of the revolutionary struggle prevailing in colonial and semi-colonial countries, the inevitably long period of struggle required for the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry and for the growth of this dictatorship into the dictatorship of the proletariat, and finally, the decisive significance of the national aspect of the struggle impose upon the Communist Parties of all countries special tasks which represent preparatory stages to the general tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Communist International considers the most important of these special tasks to be:

1. To overthrow the rule of the feudal rulers, of the landlord bueraucracy and of foreign imperialism.
2. To establish the democratic-dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry.
3. To secure complete national independence and national unity.
4. To nationalise the large enterprises (industrial, transport, banking and others) belonging to the imperialists.
5. Confiscation of landlord, church and monasterial lands. Nationalisation of all the land.
6. Introduction of the 8-hour day.
7. The establishment of Soviets of Workers and Peasants Deputies.

Colonial revolutions and movements for national emancipation are of enormous significance from the standpoint of the struggle against imperialism and of the conquest of power by the working class. Colonies and semi-colonies are of importance in the transitional period also for the reason that they represent the world rural districts in relation to the industrial countries, which are the world towns, and that the problem of organising Socialist world economy is the problem of relation towards the former colonies of Imperialism. Consequently, the establishment of a fraternal, militant alliance with the toiling masses of the colonies is one of the principal tasks to be carried out by the world industrial proletariat.

Thus, in rousing the workers in the home countries for the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the progress of the world revolution simultaneously rouses hundreds of millions of colonial workers and peasants to the fight against foreign Imperialism. In view of the existence of Socialist centres represented by Soviet Republics of increasing economic power, the colonies which break away from Imperialism economically gravitate and gradually combine with the industrial centres of world socialism, are drawn into the groove of Socialist construction, thus avoiding the capitalist phase of development as the predominating system and obtain opportunities for economic and cultural development. The peasant Soviets in the backward ex-colonies and the Soviets of workers and peasants in the more developed former colonies group themselves politically around the centres of proletarian dictatorship and join the general system of the growing federation of Soviet Republics and consequently the system of the world proletarian dictatorship.

The development of Socialism as the new method of production obtains world-wide scope.

## V. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the U. S. S. R. and the International Social Revolution.

The principal manifestation of the profound crisis of the capitalist system is the division of world economy into capitalist countries on the one hand and countries building up Socialism on the other. Consequently, the internal consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship in the U. S. S. R., the successes achieved in the work of Socialist construction, the growth of the influence and authority of the U. S. S. R. among the masses of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the colonies, signify the continuation, intensification and expansion of the international social revolution. The proletarian dictatorship in the U. S. S. R. is an important component part of the international social revolution; it is its vanguard and the base for its development.

Possessing in the country the necessary, and sufficient material pre-requisites for the overthrow of the landlords and the bourgeoisie as well as for the establishment of complete Socialism, the workers in the Soviet Republics, aided by the international proletariat, heroically repelled the attacks of the armed forces of the internal and foreign counter-revolution, consolidated their alliance with the bulk of the peasantry and have achieved considerable successes in the sphere of Socialist construction.

The proletariat was enabled to make a rapid advance along the road of socialist construction because of the proper contacts it established between proletarian Socialist industry and small peasant economy, which secured the growth of the productive forces of agriculture and guarantee the leading role to Socialist industry; because of the links it established between Socialist industry and agriculture, thus preventing the latter from serving the unproductive consumption of parasitic classes; because it produces, not for capitalist profit but in order to satisfy the constantly growing needs of the mass of consumers, — which in the last analysis, greatly stimulates the whole process of production, and finally because the economic key positions were concentrated in the hands of the proletarian State, planned management acquired increasing significance and as a consequence the means of production are being distributed more economically and expediently.

Having raised the productive forces of the whole economy of the country to a higher level and developing large-scale industry at a rate exceeding that of capitalist countries, notwithstanding the systematic attempts on the part of the capitalist powers to establish a financial and economic boycott, the proletariat of the U. S. S. R. is systematically increasing the share of the socialised (Socialist) section of national economy in the total output of means of production, in the total output of industry and the total trade of the country.

Thus, by manipulating the levers of State trade, of rapidly growing cooperation and the nationalisation of the land, State Socialist industry, transport and banking are leading small and minute petty peasant farming in their train, to an ever-increasing extent.

In the sphere of agriculture particularly, the raising of the level of the forces of production proceeds amidst conditions which restrict the process of differentiation among the peasantry (nationalisation of the land — and consequently the prohibition of the sale and purchase of land; sharply graded progressive taxes; the financing of poor and middle peasants' cooperative societies and productive organisations; the laws regulating the hiring of labour; depriving the kulaks of certain political and public rights, etc.). However, in so far as the productive forces of Socialist industry have not yet grown sufficiently to enable a broad new technical base to be laid for agriculture and consequently to enable an immediate and rapid productive combination of peasant farms into large public enterprises — collective farms — the kulak class tends to grow and establishes economic, and later, political contact with elements of the so-called "new bourgeoisie".

The proletariat of the U. S. S. R. holds the principal economic key-positions in the country. It systematically squeezes out the remnants of urban private capital, which has considerably diminished during the last few years of the "New Economic Policy". It imposes all manner of restrictions upon the exploiting strata in the rural districts, which arise out of the develop-

ment of commodity-money relationships. It draws the bulk of the peasant, simple commodity producers into the general system of Soviet economic organisation and consequently into the work of Socialist construction through the medium of rapidly-growing cooperation — which in the conditions of proletarian dictatorship and the economic leadership of Socialist industry is identical with the development of Socialism, and is passing from the process of restoration to the expanded reconstruction of the whole productive and technical basis of the country. Thus, the proletariat of the U. S. S. R. has undertaken and is already fulfilling the task of large-scale construction (the production of means of production generally and the development of the heavy industry and electrification in particular) and simultaneously with developing, selling, buying and credit cooperation, has undertaken the task of organising the peasantry in productive, cooperative societies on the basis of collectivism.

Socialism is already a decisive economic force in the U. S. S. R. which, in the main, determines the whole economic development of the country and by that very fact stimulates still greater progress in its development.

Owing to the technical and economic backwardness of the country and the damage caused during the imperialist and civil wars large capital outlays have to be made for renewals of equipment and developing new enterprises and this places serious obstacles in the path of socialist development. Nevertheless, the standard of living of the working class and of the broad masses of the toilers is steadily rising and simultaneously with the Socialist rationalisation and scientific organisation of industry the 7-hour day is being gradually introduced.

Thanks to the economic growth of the U. S. S. R. and to the growing importance of the Socialist section of industry and relying upon the poorer sections of the rural population — while maintaining a durable alliance with the bulk of the peasant population, viz. the middle peasants, the working class, united and led by the Communist Party — which has been seasoned in revolutionary battles, is able to draw increasing numbers of the toilers into the work of building up Socialism. The most important means employed for this purpose are: the development of broad mass organisations (the Party, the trade unions, the Young Communist League, co-operative societies of all forms, women's organisations, — for working women and peasant women, various kinds of so-called "voluntary societies", worker and rural correspondents' societies, sports clubs, scientific societies, cultural and educational organisations); encouragement of the initiative of the masses and the promotion of fresh strata of workers to high posts in all spheres of economy and administration. The continuous attraction of the masses into the process of Socialist construction, the continuous renewal of the whole of the State, economic, trade union and Party apparatus by infusing into the workers from the factories, the practice of training workers generally and young workers in particular in the higher educational establishments and special courses, etc., as Socialist experts in all branches of construction — serve as guarantee against the bureaucratic ossification and social degeneration of the strata of the proletariat directly engaged in administration.

Having defeated Russian imperialism and liberated all the former colonies and oppressed nations in the Russian Empire the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U. S. S. R. guarantees not only formal but actual equality for the various nationalities in the Union. It is systematically laying a firm foundation for their cultural and political development by industrialising these territories. It clearly establishes the legal position of the autonomous territories, autonomous republics and allied republics in the constitution of the Soviet Union and carries out to the full the principle of the right of nations to self-determination.

The U. S. S. R. is the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of Socialist construction. It is a land in which the working class has won enormous gains and established a close alliance with the peasants. It is the land of a new culture which follows the banner of Marxism. Hence, the U. S. S. R. is in-

vitably becoming the base of the world movement of all oppressed classes, the centre of the international revolution, the greatest factor in world history.

In the U. S. S. R. the world proletariat for the first time acquires a real fatherland of its own and the U. S. S. R. becomes the greatest centre of gravity for colonial movements.

Thus, the U. S. S. R. is a great factor in the general crisis of capitalism not only because it has dropped out of purely capitalist economic intercourse, and has created the basis for the socialist system of production but also because it plays an exceptionally great revolutionary role generally: it is the international driving force of the proletarian revolution, stimulating the proletariat of all countries to strive to capture power. It is a living example of the ability of the working class not only to destroy capitalism, but to build up socialism. It is the prototype of the fraternal relations between all nationalities that will exist in the World Union of Socialist Republics and of the economic unity of all toilers in the single world economy of socialism that the conquest of power by the proletariat in all countries will establish.

The simultaneous existence of two economic systems: the socialist system in the U. S. S. R. and the capitalist system in the other countries, imposes on the proletarian State the task of repelling the blows showered upon it by the capitalist world (boycott, blockade, etc.) and at the same time compels it to resort to economic manoeuvres and make use of economic contacts with capitalist countries (by means of the monopoly of foreign trade, credits, loans, concessions, so-called "technical aid", etc.). The principal and fundamental line to be adopted in this respect is the establishment of the widest possible contacts with foreign countries within limits determined by the advantages they will bring for the U. S. S. R., i. e. primarily for strengthening industry in the U. S. S. R. itself, for the purpose of laying a basis for its own heavy industry and electrification and finally for the development of its own socialist engineering industry. Only to the extent that the economic independence of the U. S. S. R. in the midst of a capitalist environment is secured guarantees can be obtained against the danger of the work of socialist construction in the U. S. S. R. being disturbed and of her becoming an appendage of the capitalist system.

On the other hand, the capitalist States continuously oscillate between their commercial interest in the markets of the U. S. S. R. and their fear of the growth of the U. S. S. R., which signifies the growth of international revolution. For that reason the principal and fundamental tendency in the politics of the Imperialist Powers is to encircle the U. S. S. R. and to conduct counter-revolutionary war against her for the purpose of strangling her and of establishing a world, bourgeois, terrorist regime.

However, neither the systematic attempts of Imperialism politically to encircle the U. S. S. R. and the growing danger of military aggression against her prevent the Communist Party of

the Soviet Union, — a Section of the Communist International and leader of the proletarian dictatorship in the U. S. S. R., — from fulfilling its international obligations and from rendering assistance to all the oppressed, to the labour movement in capitalist countries, to the movement of colonial peoples against imperialism, and to the struggle against national oppression in all its forms.

As the U. S. S. R. is the only fatherland of the international proletariat, the principal bulwark of their achievements and the most important factor in the cause of international emancipation, the international proletariat must facilitate the success of the work of socialist construction in the U. S. S. R. and by all means in their power defend it against the attacks of the capitalist powers.

"The world political situation has now brought to the front the dictatorship of the proletariat as an immediate issue and all the events in world politics are inevitably concentrating around one central point, viz.: the struggle of the world bourgeoisie against the Soviet Russian Republic, which must group around itself the Soviet movements of the advanced workers of all countries, on the one hand, and all the national liberation movements of the colonial and oppressed nationalities on the other." (Lenin.) In the event of the Imperialist States declaring war upon and attacking the U. S. S. R., the international proletariat must retaliate by the boldest and most determined mass action and struggle for the overthrow of the imperialist governments with the slogan of dictatorship of the proletariat and alliance with the U. S. S. R.

In the colonies, and particularly in the colonies belonging to the imperialist countries which are attacking the U. S. S. R., it is necessary to take advantage of the diversion of the imperialist military forces to develop the anti-imperialist struggle to the utmost and to organise revolutionary action for the purpose of throwing off the yoke of imperialism and of winning complete independence.

The development of socialism in the U. S. S. R. and the growth of its international influence not only rouse against her the hatred of the capitalist States and their social democratic agents, but they also inspire towards her the greatest sympathy of the broad masses of the toilers all over the world, and stimulate the readiness of the oppressed classes of all countries to fight in defence of the land of the proletarian dictatorship in the event of an imperialist attack upon her.

Thus, the development of the contradictions within modern world economy, the development of the general capitalist crisis and the military attacks of the Imperialists upon the Soviet Union must inevitably lead to a mighty revolutionary outbreak which must overwhelm the capitalist system in a number of so-called civilised countries, unleash the victorious revolution in the colonies, widen the basis of the proletarian dictatorship to an enormous degree and by that carry us a tremendous way nearer to the final world victory of Socialism.

## **VI. The Strategy and Tactics of the Communist International. The Road to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.**

Communism is a revolutionary tendency in the labour movement and the only representative of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism; as such it is opposed to all other tendencies within the labour movement.

Anarchism whose most prominent representatives (Kropotkin, Jean Grave, Kornelissen and others) treacherously deserted to the side of the imperialist bourgeoisie during the war of 1914—18, repudiates the necessity for broad, centralised, and disciplined proletarian organisations and by that leaves the proletariat helpless in the face of the powerful organisations of capital. By advocating individual terror, it diverts the proletariat from methods of mass organisation and mass struggle. By repudiating the dictatorship of the proletariat for the sake of abstract "liberty", anarchism deprives the proletariat of the most important and sharpest weapon against the bourgeoisie, — against its armies and against all its organs of repression. It is remote from any kind of mass movement in the important centres of the proletarian struggle and is therefore tending to

become a sect, which, by its tactics and its attitude, including its hostility to the dictatorship of the working class in the U. S. S. R., is objectively joining the united front of the anti-revolutionary forces.

"Revolutionary" syndicalism, many of whose leaders (Arturo Labriola, Jouhaux and others) deserted to the camp of the "anti-parliamentary" counter-revolutionaries of the Fascist type, also repudiates the political struggle (and particularly the parliamentary struggle) and the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. It advocates craft decentralisation in the labour movement generally and in the trade union movement in particular. It repudiates the party of the proletariat, and fails to understand the necessity for rebellion and exaggerates the importance of the general strike ("the fold arms tactics"). As a result, whenever it has any influence it hinders the masses from becoming revolutionary. Its attacks on the U. S. S. R., which spring from its repudiation of proletarian dictatorship, place it in this respect in the same category as the Social Democrats.

"Constructive Socialism" (MacDonald & Co.) continues the liberal-philanthropic, anti-revolutionary and bourgeois traditions of Fabianism (the Webbs, Bernard Shaw and others) and repudiates on principle the dictatorship of the proletariat and "violent methods" generally. It stands for "capturing power" through parliament and declares the class struggle to be a "pre-scientific" conception. "Constructive Socialism" advocates a moderate programme of nationalisation with compensation, taxation of land values, death duties and the super-tax as means for the abolition of capitalism. It is utterly hostile to the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U. S. S. R., and therefore, in complete alliance with the bourgeoisie, is an active enemy of the proletarian Communist movement and of colonial revolutions.

So-called **guild socialism** (Penty, Orage, Hobson, Cole) starts out with the demand for the abolition of the "wage system" as an "immoral" institution. The majority of the Guild Socialists are strong opponents of revolution. While ignoring the extremely important question of power, the majority of Guild Socialists strive to combine the workers on the basis of federated trade "guilds" and to convert this organisation by peaceful means into an organisation for the control and management of industry within the framework of the bourgeois state. Notwithstanding the imperialist nature of the bourgeois State, in their scheme, it occupies a place above classes as the representative of the interests of the "consumer". By simultaneously repudiating parliamentarism and direct action Guild Socialism reduces the working class to complete inaction and passivity. Thus, it represents a peculiar form of trade unionist, utopian, opportunism and as such cannot but play an anti-revolutionary role.

The British Fabians (Mr. & Mrs. Webb, Bernard Shaw, and others) base their "socialism" on liberal philanthropic grounds. They are deliberately hostile to revolution and on principle are advocates of gradualism.

All these tendencies agree with **social democracy**, — the principal enemy of proletarian revolution — on the fundamental question of policy, — the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Hence, all of them more or less definitely fall in line with Social Democracy in their attacks upon the U. S. S. R. On the other hand, having utterly and completely betrayed Marxism, Social Democracy is coming more and more to rely upon the ideology of the Fabians and Constructive and Guild Socialists. These tendencies are becoming converted to the official, liberal, reformist ideology of the bourgeois "socialism" of the Second International.

In the labour movement in colonial countries Communism encounters the influence of peculiar tendencies which, in certain phases of development, played a useful role, but which in the new stage of development are becoming a conservative force.

**Sun Yat-Senism**, as the ideology of petty bourgeois socialism, played a very great positive role in the first stage of the Chinese Revolution. As a result of the class differentiation that has taken place in the country and the further development of the Chinese revolution, and because of its obscuring of the class struggle and its "democratic" and "above class" interpretation of socialism, Sun Yat-Senism has become transformed into a conservative force which retards the development of the revolution.

Tendencies like **Gandhism** in India which are thoroughly saturated with religious notions, advocate passivity, repudiate the class struggle and in the process of development of the revolution is becoming transformed into an openly reactionary force, must be resolutely combated by Communism.

Communism differs from all these tendencies, and particularly from Social Democracy, in that, in complete harmony with the doctrines of Marx and Engels, it carries on a theoretical and practical struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The successful struggle of the Communist International for the dictatorship of the proletariat pre-supposes the existence in every country of a compact, disciplined, centralised, Communist Party, hardened in the struggle and having close contacts with the masses.

The party is the vanguard of the working class and consists of the best, most class-conscious, active and courageous members of the working class. It is the embodiment of the combined experience of the whole proletarian struggle. Based on the revolutionary theory of Marxism and representing the general

and lasting interests of the working class as a whole, the Party personifies the unity of proletarian principles, of proletarian will and of proletarian revolutionary action. It is a revolutionary Party, bound by iron discipline and a strict revolutionary system of democratic centralism, this is achieved as a result of the class-consciousness of the proletarian vanguard, its loyalty to the revolution, its ability to maintain permanent contact with the masses of the proletariat and of correct political leadership, which is tested and clarified by the experience of the masses themselves.

Before it can fulfil the historical task of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Communist Party must first of all set itself and carry out the following **strategical aims**:

Spread its influence over the majority of the members of its own class, including working women and young workers; spread its influence over wide circles of the masses of the toilers generally (urban and rural poor, the lower strata of the intelligentsia and the so-called "small men", i. e. the petty bourgeois strata) and in this way establish the political hegemony of the proletariat, guided by the Communist Party. It must discredit, expose and destroy the political influence of Social Democracy and of the yellow trade union bureaucracy, who are the most reliable bulwark of capitalism. It must spread its influence over the broad mass proletarian organisations (trade unions, co-operative societies, factory councils, etc.

Of special importance is the work, — which must be carried on day in and day out, with the view to capturing the trade unions, which are the broadest mass proletarian organisations. Work must be carried on with ability even in the reactionary trade unions with the view to capturing them, and to secure a "change in the reformist leadership", for this too is one of the most important tasks of the preparatory period.

Of enormous significance also is the winning over of the broad strata of the poorest peasants and the neutralisation of the middle strata of the peasantry. In the preparation of the class forces for the decisive clash, the fight between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for the broad strata of the peasantry occupies an extremely important place. For that reason to work among the peasantry, to win over its most prominent (proletarian and semi-proletarian) strata as well as the small allotment holders and small peasants, to subordinate these to the political and intellectual hegemony of the proletariat and in this way convert the proletariat into the guardian of the interests of the whole people and the leader of the broad masses of the people in their struggle against the oppression of finance capital, — is a necessary pre-requisite for victorious Communist tactics on the road to power.

In determining its tactical line, the Party must take into account the concrete internal and external situation, the relation of class forces, the degree of strength of capitalism, the degree of preparation of the proletariat, the attitude of the intermediary classes, etc. The Party formulates its slogans and determines its methods of work in accordance with circumstances. In the growing revolutionary situation the Party must advance transitional slogans and partial demands as determined by the concrete circumstances, but it must subordinate these demands and slogans to its revolutionary aim of seizing power and overthrowing bourgeois capitalist society. Isolation from the every-day needs and the every-day struggles of the working class and restricting the activities of the Party to these every-day needs and struggles are alike impermissible. The task of the Party is, — starting out from these needs, to lead the working class into the **revolutionary struggle for power**.

When the revolutionary tide is flowing, when the dominant classes are disorganised, the masses are in a state of revolutionary ferment, the intermediary strata are inclining towards the proletariat, and the masses are prepared for action and for sacrifice, the task of the Party, of the proletariat is to lead the masses into the direct attack upon the bourgeois State. This is to be achieved by propaganda in favour of all transitional slogans (Soviets, workers' control of industry, the slogan of peasant committees for the seizure of the landlords' land, etc.), and the organisation of mass actions, to which all other branches of Party work, agitation and propaganda, including parliamentary work, must be subordinated. This includes strikes, strikes combined with demonstrations, the combination of armed demonstrations and strikes and finally the general strike conjointly with the armed uprising against the political power

of the bourgeoisie. This struggle must be subjected to the rules of military art; it must be conducted according to a plan of war and in the form of a military offensive. It calls for the devoted loyalty and heroism of the proletariat. Such actions must be preceded by the organisation of the broad masses in military units, which, by their very form attract and set into action the maximum number of toilers (councils of workers' and peasants' deputies, soldiers' councils, etc.), and by intensified work in the army and the navy.

In fulfilling these tasks and in taking up new and more acute slogans, the Party must be guided by the fundamental rule of the political tactics of Leninism which calls for the ability to lead the masses to the revolutionary positions in such a manner that the masses may be convinced by their own experience of the correctness of the Party's line.

Failure to observe this rule will inevitably result in the Party becoming isolated from the masses, in putschism and the ideological degeneration of Communism into doctrinaire "Leftism" and petty bourgeois "ultra-Left" adventurism, which must be combated no less energetically than the Right Social Democratic deviations in the Communist movement.

When the revolutionary tide is not flowing, the Communist Party, in accordance with the every-day needs of the toilers, must advance partial slogans and demands, develop them and link them up with the fundamental tasks of the Communist International. Refusal to advance partial demands and transitional slogans is incompatible with the tactical principles of Communism, for this dooms the Party to inactivity and cuts it off from the masses. In this connection the tactics of the united front represent an important part of the tactics of the Communist Party throughout the pre-revolutionary period.

These partial demands and transitional slogans include:

In the sphere of the **labour problem** in the narrow sense of the word, — the economic struggle (resistance to the offensive of trustified capital; wages; the working day; compulsory arbitration courts; unemployment) growing into problems of the general political struggle (big industrial conflicts; right to strike; the political rights of the trade unions).

Then follow questions of an immediate political character (taxes; high cost of living; Fascism; persecution of revolutionary parties; White terror; the policy of the government in power, etc.).

Finally, these problems must be linked up with problems of world politics: attitude towards the U.S.S.R.; Chinese revolution; fight for the unity of the international trade union movement; resistance to imperialism; combating the danger of war and systematic preparation for combating imperialist war.

The partial questions in the sphere of the **peasant problem** are questions connected with taxation policy, indebtedness of the peasants through mortgages, combating usurer capital, the provision of land to poor peasants, questions of rent and the metayer system, etc. etc. Starting out from these partial needs, the Communist Party must accentuate the various slogans and generalise them into the slogan for the confiscation of the land of the big landowners, the slogan of the workers' and peasants' government, etc.

It is equally necessary to carry on systematic work among the proletariat and peasant youth and among the **working women and peasant women**. This work must start out from the special conditions of their life and labour and their demands must be linked up with the general demands and fighting slogans of the proletariat.

In the **colonies and semi-colonies** where the working class plays a more or less important part, and where the bourgeoisie has already crossed over to the camp of the avowed counter-revolution, or is crossing over because of the development of the mass proletarian and peasant movements, the Communist Party must steer a course for the hegemony of the proletariat, and for the dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, which will ultimately grow into the dictatorship of the working class. In such countries, the Communist Party must concentrate their efforts mainly upon creating broad mass proletarian organisations (trade unions) and revolutionary peasant unions, and upon drawing up demands and slogans directly affecting the working class. It must propagate the idea of the independence of the proletariat as a class which on principle is hostile to the bourgeoisie, a hostility which is not removed by the possibility

of temporary agreements with it. It must imbue the masses with and develop among them the idea of the hegemony of the working class; advance and at the proper moment apply the slogan of Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies.

On the basis of the community of interest between the proletarian revolution and the struggle against imperialism in the colonies, the Sections of the Communist International must be guided by the following postulates:

The Communist Parties in the imperialist countries must render systematic aid to the revolutionary movements for liberation in the colonies. The obligation to render the most active support rests principally upon the workers in those countries upon which the oppressed nations are colonially or financially dependent (campaigns for the withdrawal of imperialist troops from the colonies; propaganda among the troops in favour of the oppressed countries fighting for their liberation; refusal to transport troops or war material; strikes and other forms of mass protest). Propaganda must be carried on for the recognition of the right of colonies to separation and for such separation, i. e. to carry on propaganda for the independence of colonies from the imperialist States. Propaganda must be carried on for the recognition of the right of colonies to take up arms in defence against imperialism (i. e. the right to rebellion and revolutionary war), and propaganda must be carried on for active support to this defence by all possible means.

In the **colonial and semi-colonial countries** the Communist Parties must conduct a bold and consistent struggle against foreign Imperialism and unflinchingly carry on propaganda in favour of friendship and alliance with the proletariat in the imperialist countries. They must advance, carry on propaganda for and apply the slogan of agrarian revolution, rouse the broad masses of the peasantry to the fight for the overthrow of the oppression of the landlords and lead the struggle against the reactionary and medieval influences of the priests, missionaries and similar elements. At the same time, the workers and the peasants must be organised in independent organisations and liberated from the influence of the national bourgeoisie. Temporary agreements with the latter may be made only in so far as they will not hamper the revolutionary organisation of the workers and peasants and are genuinely fighting against imperialism.

While organising revolution against imperialism under the banner of proletarian dictatorship in so-called "civilised states", the Communist International supports every movement against imperialist violence, not only in the colonies but also in formally independent countries (for example in Latin America). It conducts propaganda against all forms of chauvinism and imperialist ill-treatment of great and small and enslaved races (attitude towards Negroes, "yellow labour", etc.) and supports the latter's struggle against the bourgeoisie in the oppressing nation. The Communist International conducts a particularly energetic struggle against chauvinism in the imperialist countries having national minorities, a chauvinism which is preached both by the imperialist bourgeoisie as well as by its social democratic agency, the Second International. It contrasts the conduct of the imperialist bourgeoisie with the conduct of the Soviet Union, which has created fraternal relationships between various nationalities.

The Communist International must devote special attention to systematic preparation for the struggle against the danger of imperialist war. The Communist Parties must ruthlessly expose social chauvinism, social imperialism and pacifist phrasemongering, which serve to screen the imperialist plans of the bourgeoisie. They must carry on propaganda in favour of the principal slogans of the Communist International, and carry on every day organisational work in this direction, unflinchingly combining legal and illegal methods of work. The following should be the principal slogans of the Communist International: convert the imperialist war into civil war; defeat of the "home" imperialist government; defence of the U.S.S.R. and colonial countries in the event of an imperialist war against them by all possible means. To carry on propaganda in favour of these slogans, to expose "socialist" sophisms and the "socialistic" screening of the League of Nations, and to constantly recall the experience of the war of 1914 is the unflinching duty of all the Sections and of every member of the Communist International.

In order that revolutionary work and action may be properly led and coordinated the international proletariat must maintain international class discipline which must be preserved above all in the ranks of the Communist Party. This international Communist discipline must be expressed in the subordination of the partial and local interests of the movement to its general and lasting interests and the unflinching execution of all the decisions of the leading organs of the Communist International.

Unlike the Social Democratic parties affiliated to the Second International which accept the discipline of "their own" national bourgeoisie and their "fatherland", the Sections of the Communist

International recognise only one discipline, — international proletarian discipline, which guarantees victory in the struggle of the workers of all countries for world proletarian dictatorship.

Communists do not think it necessary to conceal their views and intentions. They openly declare that their goal can be achieved only by the violent overthrow of the whole of the present social system.

Let the dominant classes tremble before the Communist Revolution! The proletariat has nothing to lose but its chains! It has the whole world to gain!

**Workers of all countries, unite!**

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