

**PROGRAM  
OF THE  
COMMUNIST  
INTERNATIONAL**



*Workers of the World, Unite!*

**PROGRAM OF THE  
COMMUNIST  
INTERNATIONAL**

*Together With Its  
CONSTITUTION*

**1936**

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## INTRODUCTION

**T**HE epoch of imperialism is the epoch of moribund capitalism. The World War of 1914-1918 and the general crisis of capitalism which it unleashed, being the direct result of the sharp contradictions between the growth of the productive forces of world economy and the national state barriers, have shown and proved that the material prerequisites for socialism have already ripened in the womb of capitalist society, that the shell of capitalism has become an intolerable hindrance to the further development of mankind and that history has brought to the forefront the task of the revolutionary overthrow of the yoke of capitalism.

Imperialism subjects large masses of the proletariat of all countries—from the centers of capitalist might to the most remote corners of the colonial world—to the dictatorship of the finance-capitalist plutocracy. With elemental force, imperialism exposes and accentuates all the contradictions of capitalist society; it carries class oppression to the utmost limits, intensifies to an extraordinary degree the struggle between capitalist states, inevitably gives rise to world-wide imperialist wars that shake the whole prevailing system of relationships to the foundations and inexorably leads to the *world proletarian revolution*.

Binding the whole world in chains of finance-capital, forcing its yoke, by blood-letting, by the mailed fist and starvation, upon the proletariat of all countries, of all nations and races, sharpening to an immeasurable degree the exploitation, oppression and enslavement of the proletariat and confronting it with the immediate task of conquering power—imperialism creates the necessity for closely uniting the workers of all countries, irrespective of state boundaries and of differences of nationality, culture, language, race, sex or occupation, in a single international army of the proletariat. Thus, while imperialism develops and completes the process of creating the material prerequisites for socialism, it at the same time musters the army of its own grave-diggers,

compelling the proletariat to organize into a *militant international workers' association*.

On the other hand, imperialism splits off the best provided for section of the working class from the main mass of the workers. Bribed and corrupted by imperialism, this upper stratum of the working class, which constitutes the leading element in the Social-Democratic parties, which has a stake in the imperialist plunder of the colonies and is loyal to "its own" bourgeoisie and "its own" imperialist state, has lined up in the decisive class battles with the class enemy of the proletariat. The split that occurred in the socialist movement in 1914 as a result of this treachery, and the subsequent treachery of the Social-Democratic parties, which in reality have become bourgeois labor parties, have demonstrated that the international proletariat will be able to fulfill its historical mission—to throw off the yoke of imperialism and establish the proletarian dictatorship—only by ruthless struggle against Social-Democracy. Hence, the organization of the forces of the international revolution becomes possible only on the platform of communism. In opposition to the opportunist Second International of Social-Democracy—which has become the agency of imperialism in the ranks of the working class—inevitably rises the *Third, Communist, International*, the international organization of the working class, which embodies the real unity of the revolutionary workers of the whole world.

The war of 1914-1918 gave rise to the first attempts to establish a new, revolutionary International, as a counterpoise to the Second, social-chauvinist International, and as a weapon of resistance to bellicose imperialism (Zimmerwald and Kienthal). The victorious proletarian revolution in Russia gave an impetus to the formation of Communist Parties in the centers of capitalism and in the colonies. In 1919, the Communist International was formed, and for the first time in world history the most advanced strata of the European and American proletariat were really united in the process of practical revolutionary struggle with the proletariat of China and India and with the Negro toilers of Africa and America.

As the united and centralized international Party of the pro-

letariat, the Communist International is the only heir to the principles of the *First International*, carrying them forward upon the new, mass foundation of the revolutionary proletarian movement. The experience gathered from the first imperialist war, from the subsequent period of the revolutionary crisis of capitalism, from the series of revolutions in Europe and in the colonial countries; the experience gathered from the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. and from the work of all the Sections of the Communist International as recorded in the decisions of its Congresses; finally, the fact that the struggle between the imperialist bourgeoisie and the proletariat is more and more assuming an international character—all this creates the need for a program of the Communist International, a uniform and common program for all Sections of the Communist International. This program of the Communist International, as the supreme critical generalization of the whole body of historical experience of the international revolutionary proletarian movement, becomes the *program of struggle for the world proletarian dictatorship, the program of struggle for world communism*.

Uniting, as it does, the revolutionary workers, who lead the millions of oppressed and exploited against the bourgeoisie and its "socialist" agents, the Communist International regards itself as the historical successor to the "Communist League" and the First International led by Marx, and as the inheritor of the best of the pre-war traditions of the Second International. The *First International* laid the ideological foundation for the international proletarian struggle for socialism. The *Second International*, in the best period of its existence, prepared the ground for the expansion of the labor movement among the masses. The *Third, Communist, International*, in continuing the work of the First International, and in accepting the fruits of the work of the Second International, has resolutely lopped off the latter's opportunism, social-chauvinism, and bourgeois distortion of socialism and has commenced to realize the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this manner the Communist International continues the glorious and heroic traditions of the international labor movement: of the



English Chartists and the French insurrectionists of 1831; of the French and German working class revolutionaries of 1848; of the immortal fighters and martyrs of the Paris Commune; of the valiant soldiers of the German, Hungarian and Finnish revolutions; of the workers under the former tsarist despotism—the victorious bearers of the proletarian dictatorship; of the Chinese proletarians—the heroes of Canton and Shanghai.

Basing itself on the experience of the revolutionary labor movement on all continents and of all peoples, the Communist International, in its theoretical and practical work, stands wholly and unreservedly upon the ground of *revolutionary Marxism* and its further development, *Leninism*, which is nothing else but Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

Advocating and propagating the *dialectical materialism* of Marx and Engels and employing it as the revolutionary method of the cognition of reality, with the view to the revolutionary transformation of this reality, the Communist International wages an active struggle against all forms of bourgeois philosophy and against all forms of theoretical and practical opportunism. Standing on the ground of consistent proletarian class struggle and subordinating the temporary, partial, group and national interests of the proletariat to its lasting, general, international interests, the Communist International mercilessly exposes all forms of the doctrine of “class peace” that the reformists have accepted from the bourgeoisie. Expressing the historical need for an international organization of revolutionary proletarians—the grave-diggers of the capitalist order—the Communist International is the only international force that has for its program the dictatorship of the proletariat and communism, and that openly comes out as the *organizer of the international proletarian revolution*.

## CHAPTER ONE

# THE WORLD SYSTEM OF CAPITALISM, ITS DEVELOPMENT AND INEVITABLE DOWNFALL

### *1. The General Laws of the Development of Capitalism and the Epoch of Industrial Capital*

THE characteristic features of capitalist society which arose on the basis of commodity production are the monopoly of the most important and vital means of production by the capitalist class and big landlords; the exploitation of the wage labor of the proletariat, which, being deprived of the means of production, is compelled to sell its labor power; the production of commodities for profit; and these, linked up with all the planless and anarchic character of the process of production as a whole; exploitation relationships and the economic domination of the bourgeoisie and their political expression in the organized capitalist state—the instrument for the suppression of the proletariat.

The history of capitalism has entirely confirmed the Marxian theory concerning the laws of development of capitalist society and the contradiction of this development which inevitably lead to the downfall of the whole capitalist system.

In its quest for profits the bourgeoisie was compelled to develop the productive forces on an ever-increasing scale and to strengthen and expand the domination of capitalist relationships of production. Thus, the development of capitalism constantly reproduces on a wider scale all the inherent contradictions of the capitalist system, primarily, the decisive contradiction between the social character of labor and private appropriation, between the growth of the productive forces and the property relations of capitalism. The predominance of private property in the means of production and the anarchy prevailing in the process of production have disturbed the equilibrium between the various branches of production: for a growing contradiction developed between the tendency

towards unlimited expansion of production and the restricted consumption of the masses of the proletariat (general over-production), and this resulted in periodical devastating crises and mass unemployment among the proletariat. The predominance of private property also found expression in the competition that prevailed in each separate capitalist country as well as on the constantly expanding world market. This latter form of capitalist rivalry resulted in a number of wars, which are the inevitable accompaniment of capitalist development.

On the other hand, the technical and economic advantages of large-scale production have resulted in the squeezing out and destruction in the competitive struggle of the pre-capitalist economic forms and in the ever-increasing *concentration and centralization* of capital. In the sphere of industry this law of concentration and centralization of capital manifested itself primarily in the direct ruin of small enterprises and partly in their being reduced to the position of auxiliary units of large enterprises. In the domain of agriculture which, owing to the existence of the monopoly in land and absolute rent, must inevitably lag behind the general rate of development, this law not only found expression in the process of differentiation that took place among the peasantry and in the proletarianization of broad strata of the latter, but also and mainly in the open and concealed subordination of small peasant economy to the domination of big capital; small farming has been able to maintain a nominal independence only at the price of extreme intensification of labor and systematic under-consumption.

The ever-growing application of machinery, the constant improvements in technique and the resultant uninterrupted rise in the organic composition of capital, accompanied by still further division, increased productivity and intensity of labor, meant also increased employment of female and child labor, the formation of enormous industrial reserve armies which are constantly replenished by the proletarianized peasantry who are forced to leave their villages as well as by the ruined urban small and middle bourgeoisie. The collection of a handful of capitalist magnates at one pole of social relationships and of a gigantic mass of the

proletariat at the other; the constantly increasing rate of exploitation of the working class, the reproduction on a wider scale of the deepest contradictions of capitalism and their consequences (crises, wars, etc.); the constant growth of social inequality, the rising discontent of the proletariat united and schooled by the mechanism of capitalist production itself—all this was inevitably undermining the foundations of capitalism, bringing nearer the day of its collapse.

Simultaneously, a profound change has taken place in the social and cultural life of capitalist society; the parasitical decadence of the rentier group of the bourgeoisie; the break-up of the family, which expresses the growing contradiction between the mass participation of women in social production and the forms of family and domestic life largely inherited from previous economic epochs; the growing shallowness and degeneracy of cultural and ideological life resulting from the minute specialization of labor, the monstrous forms of urban life and the restrictedness of rural life; the incapability of the bourgeoisie, notwithstanding the enormous achievements of the natural sciences, to create a synthetically scientific philosophy, and the growth of ideological, mystical and religious superstition, are all phenomena signalizing the approach of the historical end of the capitalist system.

## 2. *The Era of Finance Capital (Imperialism)*

The period of *industrial capitalism* was, in the main, a period of "free competition"; a period of a relatively smooth evolution and expansion of capitalism throughout the whole world, when the as yet unoccupied colonies were being divided up and conquered by armed force; a period of continuous growth of the inner contradictions of capitalism, the burden of which fell mainly upon the systematically plundered, crushed and oppressed colonial periphery.

Towards the beginning of the twentieth century, this period was replaced by the period of *imperialism*, during which capitalism developed spasmodically and conflictingly; free competi-

tion rapidly gave way to monopoly, the previously "available" colonial lands had already been divided up, and the struggle for a redistribution of colonies and spheres of influence inevitably began to assume primarily the form of a struggle by force of arms.

Thus, the entire scope and truly world-wide scale of the contradictions of capitalism become most glaringly revealed in the epoch of *imperialism* (finance capitalism), which, from the historical standpoint, signifies a new form of capitalism, a new system of relationship between the various parts of world capitalist economy and a change in the relationship between the principal classes of capitalist society.

This new historical period set in as a result of the operation of the principal dynamic laws of capitalist society. It grew out of the development of industrial capitalism, and is the historical continuation of the latter. It sharpened the manifestations of all the fundamental tendencies and laws of capitalist development, of all its fundamental contradictions and antagonisms. The law of the concentration and centralization of capital led to the formation of powerful combines (cartels, syndicates, trusts), to a new form of gigantic combinations of enterprises linked up into one system by the banks. The merging of industrial capital with banking capital, the absorption of big land ownership into the general system of capitalist organization, 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 replaced feudal monopoly and the monopoly of merchant capital, became itself transformed into *finance-capital monopoly*. At the same time, the capitalist monopolies which grow out of free competition do not eliminate competition, but exist side by side with and hover over it, and thus give rise to a series of exceptionally great and acute contradictions, frictions and conflicts.

The growing application of complex machinery, of chemical processes and of electric energy; the resulting higher organic composition of capital and, consequently, decline in the rate of profit, which only the biggest monopolistic combines are able to counter-

act for a time by their policy of high monopoly prices, still further stimulate the quest for colonial super-profits and the struggle for a new division of the world. Standardized mass production creates the demand for new foreign markets. The growing demand for raw materials and fuel intensifies the race for their sources. Lastly, the system of high protection, which hinders the export of merchandise and secures additional profit for exported capital, creates additional stimuli for the export of capital. Export of capital becomes, therefore, the decisive and specific form of economic contact between the various parts of world capitalist economy. The total effect of all this is that the monopolist ownership of colonial markets, of sources of raw materials, and of spheres of investment of capital extremely accentuates the general unevenness of capitalist development and sharpens the conflicts 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 economy thus leads to the further internationalism of economic life and simultaneously leads to a struggle for redistribution of the world, already divided up among the biggest finance capital states, to a change in and sharpening of the forms of this struggle, to superseding to an increasing degree the method of lower prices with the method of forcible pressure (boycott, high protection, tariff wars, wars proper, etc.). Consequently, the monopolistic form of capitalism is inevitably accompanied by imperialist wars, which, by the area they embrace and the destructiveness of their technique, have no parallel in world history.

### *3. The Forces of Imperialism and the Forces of Revolution*

Expressing the tendency for unification of the various sections of the dominant class, the imperialist form of capitalism places the broad masses of the proletariat in opposition, not to a single employer, but, to an increasing degree, to the capitalist class as a whole and to the capitalist state. On the other hand, this form of capitalism breaks down the national barriers that have become too restricted for it, widens the scope of the capitalist state power

of the dominant Great Power and brings it in opposition to the vast masses of the nationally oppressed peoples in the so-called small nations and in the colonies. Finally, this form of capitalism brings the imperialist states most sharply in opposition to each other.

This being the case, state power, which is becoming the dictatorship of the finance-capitalist oligarchy and the expression of its concentrated might, acquires special significance for the bourgeoisie. The functions of this multi-national imperialist state grow in all directions. The development of state capitalist forms, which facilitate the struggle in foreign markets (mobilization of industry for war purposes) as well as the struggle against the working class; the monstrous growth of militarism (armies, naval and air fleets, and the employment of chemistry and bacteriology); the increasing pressure of the imperialist state upon the working class (the growth of exploitation and direct suppression of the workers on the one hand and the systematic policy of bribing the bureaucratic reformist leadership on the other), all this expresses the enormous growth of the power of the state. Under these circumstances, every more or less important action of the proletariat becomes transformed into an action against the state power, *i.e.*, into political action.

Thus the development of capitalism, and particularly the imperialist epoch of its development, reproduces the fundamental contradictions of capitalism on an increasingly magnified scale. Competition among small capitalists ceases, only to make way for competition among big capitalists; where competition among big capitalists subsides, it flares up between gigantic combinations of capitalist magnates and their states; local and national crises become transformed into crises affecting a number of countries and, subsequently, into world crises; local wars give way to wars between coalitions of states and to world wars; the class struggles change from isolated actions of single groups of workers into nation-wide conflicts and subsequently, into an international struggle of the world proletariat against the world bourgeoisie. Finally, two main revolutionary forces are organizing against the organized might of finance capital—on the one hand,

*the workers in the capitalist states*, on the other, the victims of the oppression of foreign capital, *the masses of the people in the colonies*, marching under the leadership and the hegemony of the international revolutionary proletarian movement.

However, this fundamental revolutionary tendency is temporarily paralyzed by the fact that certain sections of the European, North American and Japanese proletariat are bribed by the imperialist bourgeoisie, and by the treachery of the national bourgeoisie in the semi-colonial and colonial countries which is frightened by the revolutionary mass movement. The bourgeoisie of imperialist countries, which is able to secure additional surplus profits from the position it holds in the world market (more developed technique, export of capital to countries with a higher rate of profit, etc.), and from the proceeds of its plunder of the colonies and semi-colonies—was able to raise the wages of its “own” workers out of the surplus profits, thus giving these workers an interest in the development of “their” capitalism, in the plunder of the colonies and in being loyal to the imperialist state.

This systematic bribery was and is being widely practised in the most powerful imperialist countries and finds most striking expression in the ideology and practice of the labor aristocracy and the bureaucratic strata of the working class, *i.e.*, the Social-Democratic and trade union leaders, who proved to be the direct agencies of bourgeois influence among the proletariat and stalwart pillars of the capitalist system.

However, while it has stimulated the growth of the corrupt upper stratum of the working class, imperialism in the end destroys their influence upon the working class, because the growing contradictions of imperialism, the worsening of the conditions of the broad masses of the workers, the mass unemployment among the proletariat, the enormous cost of military conflicts and the burdens they entail, the fact that certain powers have lost their monopolistic position in the world market, the break-away of the colonies, etc., serve to undermine the basis of Social-Democracy among the masses. Similarly, the systematic bribery of the various sections of the bourgeoisie in the colonies and semi-colonies, their betrayal of the national-revolutionary movement and their rap-



prochement with the imperialist powers can paralyze the development of the revolutionary crisis only for a time. In the final analysis, this leads to the intensification of imperialist oppression, to the decline of the influence of the national bourgeoisie upon the masses of the people, to the sharpening of the revolutionary crisis, to the unleashing of the agrarian revolution of the broad masses of the peasantry and to the creation of conditions favorable for the establishment of the hegemony of the proletariat in the colonies and dependencies in the popular mass struggle for independence and complete national liberation.

#### *4. Imperialism and the Downfall of Capitalism*

Imperialism has greatly developed the productive forces of world capitalism. It has completed the preparation of all the material prerequisites for the socialist organization of society. By its wars it has demonstrated that the productive forces of world economy, which have outgrown the restricted boundaries of imperialist states, demand the organization of economy on a world, or international, scale. Imperialism tries to remove this contradiction by hacking a road with fire and sword towards a single world state-capitalist trust, which is to organize the whole world economy. This sanguinary utopia is being extolled by the Social-Democratic ideologists as a peaceful method of a new, "organized", capitalism. In reality, this utopia encounters insurmountable objective obstacles of such magnitude that capitalism must inevitably fall beneath the weight of its own contradictions. The law of the uneven development of capitalism, accentuated in the epoch of imperialism, renders firm and durable international combinations of imperialist powers impossible. On the other hand, imperialist wars, which are developing into world wars, and by which the law of centralization of capitalism strives to reach its world limit—a single world trust—are accompanied by so much destruction and place such burdens upon the shoulders of the working class and of the millions of colonial proletarians and peasants, that capitalism must inevitably perish beneath the blows of the proletarian revolution long before this goal is reached.

Being the highest phase of capitalist development, developing the productive forces of world economy to enormous dimensions, refashioning the whole world after its own image, imperialism draws into the orbit of finance-capitalist exploitation all colonies, all races and all nations. At the same time, however, the monopolistic form of capital increasingly develops the elements of parasitical degeneration, decay and decline of capitalism. By destroying, to some extent, the driving force of competition, by conducting a policy of monopoly prices, and having undivided mastery of the market, monopoly capital tends to retard the further development of the forces of production. In squeezing enormous sums of surplus profits out of the millions of colonial workers and peasants and in accumulating colossal incomes from this exploitation, imperialism is creating a type of decaying and parasitically degenerate rentier-states as well as whole strata of parasites who live by clipping coupons. While completing the process of creating the material prerequisites for socialism (the concentration of means of production, the enormous socialization of labor, the growth of labor organizations), the epoch of imperialism intensifies the antagonisms among the Great Powers and gives rise to wars which cause the break-up of unified world economy. Imperialism is therefore *moribund and decaying capitalism*. It is the final stage of development of the capitalist system. *It is the threshold of world social revolution.*

Thus, international proletarian revolution emerges out of the conditions of development of capitalism generally, and out of its imperialist phase in particular. The capitalist system as a whole is approaching its final collapse. The dictatorship of finance capital is perishing to give way to *the dictatorship of the proletariat*.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM AND THE FIRST PHASE OF WORLD REVOLUTION

#### *1. The World War and the Progress of the Revolutionary Crisis*

THE imperialist struggle among the largest capitalist states for the redistribution of the globe led to the first imperialist world 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 entire national economy of the belligerent countries, thus creating the mailed fist of state capitalism; it increased unproductive expenditures to enormous dimensions, destroyed enormous quantities of the means of production and human labor power, ruined large masses of the population and imposed incalculable burdens upon the industrial workers, the peasants and the colonial peoples. It inevitably led to the intensification of the class struggle, which grew into open 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 autocracy of the big land-owning class. The *October* revolution overthrew the rule 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 initiated the international proletarian revolution.

The powerful shock to which the whole of world capitalism was subjected, the sharpening 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:

January, 1918, the proletarian revolution in Finland; August, 1918, the so-called "rice-riots" in Japan; November, 1918, the revolutions in Austria and Germany, which overthrew the semi-feudal monarchies; March, 1919, the proletarian revolution in Hungary and the uprising in Korea; April, 1919, the Soviet government in Bavaria; January, 1920, the bourgeois-national revolution in Turkey; September, 1920, the seizure of the factories by the workers in Italy; March, 1921, the rising of the advanced workers of Germany; September, 1923, the uprising in Bulgaria; autumn, 1923, the revolutionary crisis in Germany; December, 1924, the uprising in Estonia; April, 1925, the uprising in Morocco; August, 1925, uprising in Syria; May, 1926, the general strike in England; July, 1927, the proletarian uprising in Vienna. These events, as well as events like the uprising in Indonesia, the deep ferment in India, the great Chinese revolution which shook the whole Asiatic continent, are links in one and the same international revolutionary chain, constituent parts of the profound general crisis of capitalism. This international revolutionary process embraced the direct struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, as well as national wars of liberation and colonial uprisings against imperialism which are inseparably linked with the agrarian mass movement of millions of peasants. Thus, an enormous mass of humanity was swept into the revolutionary torrent. World history entered a new phase of development—a phase of prolonged general crisis of the capitalist system. In this process, the unity of world economy found expression in the international character of the revolution, while the uneven development of its separate parts was expressed in the absence of simultaneity in the outbreak of revolution in the different countries.

The first attempts at revolutionary overthrow, which sprang from the acute crisis of capitalism (1918-1921), ended in the victory and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R. and in the defeat of the proletariat in a number of other countries. These defeats were primarily due to the treacherous tactics of the Social-Democratic and reformist trade union leaders, but they were also due to the fact that the majority of the working class had not yet accepted the lead of the Communists

and that in a number of important countries Communist Parties had not yet come into existence at all. As a result of these defeats, which created the opportunity for intensifying the exploitation of the mass of the proletariat and the colonial peoples, and for severely depressing their standard of living, the bourgeoisie was able to achieve a partial stabilization of capitalist relations.

## *2. The Revolutionary Crisis and Counter-Revolutionary Social-Democracy*

During the progress of the international revolution, the leading cadres of the Social-Democratic parties and of the reformist trade unions on the one hand, and the militant capitalist organizations 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 stabilization of capitalism.

The war crisis of 1914-1918 was accompanied by the disgraceful *collapse of the Social-Democratic Second International*. Acting in complete violation of the thesis of the *Communist Manifesto* written by Marx and Engels that the proletariat has no fatherland under capitalism, and in complete violation of the anti-war resolutions passed by the Stuttgart and Basle Congresses, the leaders of the Social-Democratic parties in the various countries, with a few exceptions, voted for the war credits, came out definitely in defense of the imperialist "fatherland" (i.e., the state organizations of the imperialist bourgeoisie) and instead of combatting the imperialist war, became its loyal soldiers, bards and propagandists (social-patriotism, which grew into social-imperialism). In the subsequent period, Social-Democracy supported the predatory treaties (Brest-Litovsk, Versailles); it actively aligned itself with the militarists in the bloody suppression of proletarian uprisings (Noske); it conducted armed warfare against the first proletarian republic (Soviet Russia); it despicably betrayed the victorious proletariat (Hungary); it joined the imperialist League of Nations (Albert Thomas, Paul Boncour, Vandervelde); it openly supported the imperialist slave-owners against the colonial

slaves (the British Labor Party); it actively supported the most reactionary executioners of the working class (Bulgaria, Poland); it took upon itself the initiative in securing the passage of imperialist "military laws" (France); it betrayed the general strike of the British proletariat; it helped and is still helping to strangle China and India (the MacDonald government); it acts as the propagandist for the imperialist League of Nations; it is capital's herald and organizer of the struggle against the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R. (Kautsky, Hilferding).

In its systematic conduct of this counter-revolutionary policy, Social-Democracy operates on two flanks: the *Right* wing of Social-Democracy, avowedly counter-revolutionary, is essential for negotiating and maintaining direct contact with the bourgeoisie; the "*Left*" wing is essential for the subtle deception of the workers. While playing with pacifist and at times even with revolutionary phrases, "Left wing" Social-Democracy in practice acts against the workers, particularly in acute and critical situations (the British I.L.P. and the "Left" leaders of the General Council during the general strike in 1926; Otto Bauer and Co., at the time of the Vienna uprising), and is, therefore, the most dangerous faction in the Social-Democratic parties. While serving the interests of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working class and being wholly in favor of class cooperation and coalition with the bourgeoisie, Social-Democracy, at certain periods, is compelled to play the part of an opposition party and even to act as if it were defending the class interests of the proletariat in its economic struggles, in order thereby to win the confidence of a section of the working class and thus be in a position the more shamefully to betray the lasting interests of the working class, particularly in the midst of decisive class battles.

The principal function of Social-Democracy at the present time is to disrupt the essential fighting unity of the proletariat in its struggle against imperialism. In splitting and disrupting the united front of the proletarian struggle against capital, Social-Democracy serves as the mainstay of imperialism in the working class. International Social-Democracy of all shades, the Second International and its trade union branch, the Amsterdam Federation of Trade

Unions, have thus become the last reserve of bourgeois society, its most reliable pillar of support.

### *3. The Crisis of Capitalism and Fascism*

Along with Social-Democracy, with whose aid the bourgeoisie suppresses the workers or lulls their class vigilance, fascism comes into the scene.

The epoch of imperialism, the sharpening of the class struggle and the growth of the elements of civil war—particularly after the imperialist war—led to the bankruptcy of parliamentarism. Hence, the adoption of “new” methods and forms of administration (for example, the system of inner cabinets, the formation of oligarchical groups acting behind the scenes, the deterioration and falsification of the function of the “popular representative” institutions, the restriction and annulment of “democratic liberties”, etc.). Under certain special historical conditions, the progress of this bourgeois, reactionary offensive assumes the form of fascism. These conditions are: instability of capitalist relationships; the existence of a considerable declassed social element, the pauperization of broad strata of the urban petty bourgeoisie and of the intelligentsia; discontent among the rural petty bourgeoisie and, finally, the constant menace of mass proletarian action. In order to stabilize and perpetuate its rule, the bourgeoisie is compelled to an increasing degree to abandon the parliamentary system in favor of the fascist system, which is independent of inter-party arrangements and combinations. The fascist system is a system of direct dictatorship, ideologically masked by the “national idea” and representation of “occupations” (in reality, representation of the various groups of the ruling class). It is a system that resorts to a peculiar form of social demagogy (anti-Semitism, occasional sorties against usurers’ capital and gestures of impatience with the parliamentary “talking shop”) in order to utilize the discontent of the petty bourgeoisie, the intellectuals and other strata of society, and to corruption—the creation of a compact and well-paid hierarchy of fascist units, a party apparatus and a bureaucracy. At the same time, fascism strives to permeate the working class by

recruiting the most backward strata of workers to its ranks, by playing upon their discontent, by taking advantage of the inaction of Social-Democracy, etc. The principal aim of fascism is to destroy the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, *i.e.*, the Communist sections of the proletariat and their leading forces. The combination of social demagogy, corruption and active white terror, in conjunction with extreme imperialist aggressiveness in the sphere of foreign politics, are the characteristic features of fascism. In periods of acute crisis for the bourgeoisie, fascism resorts to anti-capitalist phraseology, but after it has established itself at the helm of state, it casts aside its anti-capitalist rattle and discloses itself as the terrorist dictatorship of big capital.

The bourgeoisie resorts either to the method of fascism or to the method of coalition with Social-Democracy according to the changes in the political situation; while Social-Democracy itself often plays a fascist role in periods when the situation is critical for capitalism.

In the process of development Social-Democracy manifests fascist tendencies which, however, does not prevent it, in other political situations, from posing as an opposition party against the bourgeois government. The fascist method and the method of coalition with Social-Democracy are not the methods employed in "normal" capitalist conditions; they are symptoms of the general capitalist crisis, and are employed by the bourgeoisie in order to stem the advance of the revolution.

#### *4. The Contradictions of Capitalist Stabilization and the Inevitability of the Revolutionary Collapse of Capitalism*

Experience throughout the post-war historical period has shown that the stabilization achieved by the repression of the working class and the systematic depression of its standard of living can be only a partial, transient and decaying stabilization.

The spasmodic and feverish development of technique bordering in some countries on a new technical revolution, the accelerated process of concentration and centralization of capital, the formation of giant trusts and of "national" and "international"



monopolies, the merging of trusts with the state power and the growth of world capitalist economy cannot, however, eliminate the general crisis of the capitalist system. The break-up of world economy into a capitalist and a socialist sector, the shrinking of markets and the anti-imperialist movement in the colonies intensify all the contradictions of capitalism, which is developing on a new, post-war basis. This very technical progress and rationalization of industry, the reverse side of which is the closing down and liquidation of numerous enterprises, the restriction of production, and the ruthless and destructive exploitation of labor power, lead to chronic unemployment on a scale never before experienced. The absolute deterioration of the condition of the working class becomes a fact even in certain highly developed capitalist countries. The growing competition between imperialist countries, the constant menace of war and the growing intensity of class conflicts prepare the ground for a new and higher stage of development of the general crisis of capitalism and of 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 Russian tsarist empire, world economy has been split 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 difference in class structure and in the class character of the government in the two camps, the fundamental differences in the aims each pursues in internal, foreign, economic and cultural policy, the fundamentally different courses of their development, bring the capitalist world into sharp conflict with the state of the victorious proletariat. Within the framework of a formerly uniform world economy, two antagonistic systems are now contesting against each other: the system of capitalism and the system of socialism. The class struggle, which hitherto was conducted in forms determined by the fact that the proletariat was not in possession of state power, is now being conducted on an enormous and really world scale; the working class of the world has now its own state—the one and only fatherland of the international proletariat. The existence of the Soviet

Union and the influence it exercises upon the toiling and oppressed masses all over the world is in itself a 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 without parallel in history.

The capitalist world, powerless to eliminate its inherent contradictions, strives to establish international associations (the League of Nations) the main purpose of which is to retard the irresistible growth of the revolutionary crisis and to strangle the union of proletarian republics by war or blockade. At the same time, all the forces of the revolutionary proletariat and of the oppressed colonial masses are rallying around the U.S.S.R. The world coalition of *capital*, unstable, internally corroded, but armed to the teeth, is confronted by a single world coalition of *labor*. Thus, as a result of the first round of imperialist wars a new, fundamental antagonism has arisen of world historical scope and significance—the antagonism between the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist world.

Meanwhile, the inherent antagonisms within the capitalist sector of world economy itself have become intensified. The shifting of the economic center of the world to the United States of America and the fact of the "Dollar Republic" having become a world exploiter have caused the relations between United States and European capitalism, particularly British capitalism, to become strained. The conflict between Great Britain—the most powerful of the old, conservative imperialist states—and the United States—the greatest of the young imperialist states, which has already won world hegemony for itself—is becoming the pivot of the world conflicts among the finance capitalist states. Germany, though plundered by the Versailles peace, is now economically recovered; she is resuming the path of imperialist politics, and once again she stands out as a serious competitor in the world market. The Pacific is becoming involved in a tangle of contradictions which center mainly around the antagonism between America and Japan. Along with these main antagonisms, the conflict of interests among the unstable and constantly changing groupings of powers is increasing, while the minor powers serve as the

auxiliary instruments in the hands of the imperialist giants and their coalitions.

The growth of the productive capacity of the industrial apparatus of world capitalism, at a time when the European home markets have shrunk as a result of the war, and in face of the Soviet Union's dropping out of the system of purely capitalist intercourse and of the close monopoly of the most important sources of raw material and fuel, leads to ever-widening conflicts between the capitalist states. The "peaceful" struggle for oil, rubber, cotton, coal and metals and for a redistribution of markets and spheres for the export of capital is inexorably leading to *another world war*, the destructiveness of which will increase in proportion to the progress achieved in the furiously developing technique of war.

Simultaneously, the antagonisms between the *imperialist home countries and the colonial and semi-colonial countries are growing*. The relative weakening of European imperialism as a result of the war, the development of capitalism in the colonies, the influence of the Soviet revolution, and the centrifugal tendencies within the premier maritime and colonial empire—Great Britain (Canada, Australia, South Africa), have stimulated rebellions in the colonies and semi-colonies. The great Chinese revolution, which roused hundreds of millions of the Chinese people to action, caused an enormous breach in the imperialist system. The unceasing revolutionary ferment among hundreds of millions of Indian workers and peasants is threatening to break the domination of the world citadel of imperialism, Great Britain. The growth of tendencies directed against the powerful imperialism of the United States in the Latin-American countries threatens to undermine the expansion of North American capital. Thus, the revolutionary process in the colonies, which is drawing into the struggle against imperialism the overwhelming majority of the world's population that is subjected to the rule of the finance-capital oligarchy of a few "great powers" of imperialism, also expresses the profound general crisis of capitalism. Even in Europe itself, where imperialism has put a number of small nations under its

heel, the national question is a factor that intensifies the inherent contradictions of capitalism.

Finally, the revolutionary crisis is inexorably maturing in the very centers of imperialism: the capitalist offensive against the working class, the attack upon the workers' standard of living, upon their organizations and their political rights, and the growth of white terror, rouse increasing resistance on the part of the broad masses of the proletariat and intensify the class struggle between the working class and trustified capital. The great battles fought between labor and capital, the accelerated swing of the masses to the Left, the growth in the influence and authority of the Communist Parties; the enormous growth of sympathy of the broad masses of workers for the land of the proletarian dictatorship—all this is a clear symptom of the maturing of a new revolutionary upsurge in the centers of imperialism.

Thus, the system of world imperialism, and with it the partial stabilization of capitalism, is being corroded from various causes: by the antagonisms and conflicts between the imperialist states; by the rising of the vast masses in the colonial countries; by the action of the revolutionary proletariat in the imperialist home countries; finally, by the leading force in the world revolutionary movement—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 matters which now figure prominently in the politics of imperialism. This must lead to the release of all the forces of international revolution and to the inevitable doom of capitalism.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE ULTIMATE AIM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL—WORLD COMMUNISM

**T**HE ultimate aim of the Communist International is to replace world capitalist economy by a world system of communism. Communist society, the basis for which has been prepared by the whole course of historical development, is mankind's only way out, for it alone can abolish the contradictions of the capitalist system which threaten to degrade and destroy the human race.

Communist society will abolish the class division of society, *i.e.*, simultaneously with the abolition of anarchy of production, it will abolish all forms of exploitation and oppression of man by man. Society will no longer consist of antagonistic classes in conflict with each other, but will represent a united commonwealth of labor. For the first time in its history mankind will take its fate into its own hands. Instead of destroying innumerable human lives and incalculable wealth in struggles between classes and nations, mankind will devote all its energy to the struggle against the forces of nature, to the development and strengthening of its own collective might.

After abolishing private ownership 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, of competition and the blind process of social production, by consciously organized and planned production for the purpose of satisfying rapidly growing social needs. With the abolition of competition and anarchy in production, the devastating crises and still more devastating wars will disappear. Instead of colossal waste of productive forces and spasmodic development of society there will be planned utilization of all material resources and painless economic development on the basis of the unlimited, harmonious and rapid development of the productive forces.

The abolition of private property and the disappearance of classes will do away with the exploitation of man by man. Work will cease to be toiling for the benefit of a class enemy. Instead of being merely a means of livelihood it will become a necessity of life. Want and economic inequality, the misery of enslaved classes, and a wretched standard of life generally will disappear; the hierarchy created in the division of labor system will be abolished together with the antagonism between mental and manual labor, and the last vestige of the social inequality of sexes will be removed. At the same time, the organs of class domination, and the state in the first place, will disappear also. The state, being the embodiment of class domination, will wither away insofar as classes disappear, and with it all measures of coercion will expire.

With the disappearance of classes the monopoly of education in every form will be abolished. Culture will become the acquirement of all and the class ideologies of the past will give place to scientific materialist philosophy. Under such circumstances, the domination of man over man, in any form, becomes impossible, and a great field will be opened for the social selection and the harmonious development of all the talents inherent in humanity.

In communist society no social restrictions will be imposed upon the growth of the forces of production. Private ownership in the means of production, the selfish lust for profits, the artificial retention of the masses in a state of ignorance, poverty—which retards technical progress in capitalist society—and unproductive expenditures will have no place in a communist society. The most expedient utilization of the forces of nature and of the natural conditions of production in the various parts of the world; the removal of the antagonism between town and country that under capitalism results from the low technical level of agriculture and its systematic lagging behind industry; the closest possible cooperation between science and technics, the utmost encouragement of research work and the practical application of its results on the widest possible social scale, planned organization of scientific work; the application of the most perfect methods of statistical accounting and planned regulation of economy; the

rapidly growing social needs, which is the most powerful internal driving force of the whole system—all these will secure the maximum productivity of social labor, which in turn will release human energy for the powerful development of science and art.

The development of the productive forces of world communist society will make it possible to raise the well-being of the whole of humanity and to reduce to a minimum the time devoted to material production and, consequently, will enable culture to flourish as never before in history. This new culture of a humanity that is united for the first time in history, and has abolished all state boundaries, will, unlike capitalist culture, be based upon clear and transparent human relationships. Hence, it will bury forever all mysticism, religion, prejudice and superstition and will give a powerful impetus to the development of all-conquering scientific knowledge.

This higher stage of communism, the stage in which communist society has already developed on its own foundation, in which an enormous growth of social productive forces has accompanied the manifold development of man, in which humanity has already inscribed on its banner: "From each according to his abilities; to each according to his needs!"—presupposes, as a preliminary historical condition, a lower stage of development, the stage of socialism. At this lower stage, communist society only just emerges from capitalist society and bears all the economic, ethical and intellectual birthmarks it has inherited from the society from whose womb it is just emerging. The productive forces of socialism are not yet sufficiently developed to assure a distribution of the products of labor according to needs: these are distributed according to the amount of labor expended. Division of labor, *i.e.*, the system whereby certain groups perform certain labor functions, and especially the distinction between mental and manual labor, still exists. Although classes are abolished, traces of the old class division of society, and, consequently, remnants of the proletarian state power, coercion, laws, still exist. Consequently, certain traces of inequality, which have not yet managed to die out altogether, still remain. The antagonism between town and country has not yet been entirely removed. But none

of these survivals of former society is protected or defended by any social force. Being the product of a definite level of development of productive forces, they will disappear as rapidly as mankind, freed from the fetters of the capitalist system, subjugates the forces of nature, re-educates itself in the spirit of communism, and passes from socialism to complete communism.



## CHAPTER FOUR

# THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

### *1. The Transition Period and the Conquest of Power by the Proletariat*

**B**ETWEEN capitalist society and communist society a period of revolutionary transformation intervenes, during which the one changes into the other. Correspondingly, there is also an intervening period of political transition, in which the essential state form is 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 with defeats as well as victories; a period of continuous general crisis in capitalist relationships and the maturing of socialist revolutions, *i.e.*, of proletarian civil wars against the bourgeoisie; a period of national wars and colonial rebellions which, although not in themselves revolutionary proletarian socialist movements, are nevertheless, objectively, insofar as they undermine the domination of imperialism, constituent parts of the world proletarian revolution; a period in which capitalist and socialist economic and social systems exist side by side in "peaceful" relationships as well as in armed conflict; a period of formation of a Union of Soviet Republics; a period of wars of imperialist states against Soviet states; a period in which the ties between the Soviet states and colonial peoples become more and more closely established, etc.

Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism. This unevenness is still more pronounced and acute in the epoch of imperialism. Hence, it follows that the international proletarian revolution cannot be conceived as a sin-

gle event occurring simultaneously all over the world; at first socialism may be victorious in a few, or even in one single capitalist country. Every such proletarian victory, however, broadens the basis of the world revolution and, consequently, still further intensifies the general crisis of capitalism. Thus, the capitalist system as a whole reaches the point of its final collapse; the dictatorship of finance capital perishes and gives place to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Bourgeois revolutions brought about the political liberation of a system of productive relationships that had already established itself and become economically dominant, and transferred political power from the hands of one class of exploiters to the hands of another. Proletarian revolution, however, signifies the forcible invasion of the proletariat into the domain of property relationships of bourgeois society, the expropriation of the expropriating classes, and the transference of power to a class that aims at the radical reconstruction of the economic foundations of society and the abolition of all exploitation of man by man. The political domination of the feudal barons was broken all over the world as the result of a series of separate bourgeois revolutions that extended over a period of centuries. The international proletarian revolution, however, although it will not be a single simultaneous act, but one extending over a whole epoch, nevertheless—thanks to the closer ties that now exist between the countries of the world—will accomplish its mission in a much shorter period of time. Only after the proletariat has achieved victory and consolidated its power all over the world will a prolonged period of intensive construction of world socialist economy set in.

The conquest of power by the proletariat is a necessary condition precedent to the growth of socialist forms of economy and to the cultural growth of the proletariat, which transforms its own nature, perfects itself for the leadership of society in all spheres of life, draws into this process of transformation all other classes and thus prepares the ground for the abolition of classes altogether.

In the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and later for the transformation of the social system, as against the

alliance of capitalists and landlords, an alliance of workers and peasants is formed, under the intellectual and political hegemony of the former, an alliance which serves as the basis for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The characteristic feature of the transition period as a whole, is the ruthless suppression of the resistance of the exploiters, the organization of socialist construction, the mass training of men and women in the spirit of socialism and the gradual disappearance of classes. Only to the extent that these great historical tasks are fulfilled will society of the transition period become transformed into communist society.

Thus, the dictatorship of the world proletariat is an essential and vital condition precedent to the transition of world capitalist economy to socialist economy. This world dictatorship can be established only when the victory of socialism has been achieved in certain countries or groups of countries, when the newly established proletarian republics enter into a federative union with the already existing proletarian republics, when the number of such federations has grown and extended also to the colonies which have emancipated themselves from the yoke of imperialism; when these federations of republics have finally grown into a World Union of Soviet Socialist Republics uniting the whole of mankind under the hegemony of the international proletariat organized as a state.

The conquest of power by the proletariat does not mean peacefully "capturing" the ready-made bourgeois state machinery by means of a parliamentary majority. The bourgeoisie resorts to every means of violence and terror to safeguard and strengthen its predatory property and its political domination. Like the feudal nobility of the past, the bourgeoisie cannot abandon its historical position to the new class without a desperate and frantic struggle. Hence, the violence of the bourgeoisie can be suppressed only by the stern violence of the proletariat. 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, the judiciary, parliaments, etc.), and substituting in its place new organs of

proletarian power, to serve primarily as instruments for the suppression of the exploiters.

## *2. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Its Soviet Form*

As has been shown by the experience of the October revolution of 1917 and by the Hungarian revolution, which immeasurably enlarged the experience of the Paris Commune of 1871, the most suitable form of the proletarian state is the Soviet state—a new type of State, which differs in principle from the bourgeois state, not only in its class content, but also in its internal structure. This is precisely the type of State which, emerging as it does directly out of the broadest possible mass movement of the toilers, secures the maximum of mass activity and is, consequently, the surest guarantee of final victory.

The Soviet form of state, being the highest form of democracy, namely, proletarian democracy, is the very opposite of bourgeois democracy, which is bourgeois dictatorship in a masked form. The Soviet state is the dictatorship of the proletariat, the rule of a single class—the proletariat. 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, under special historical conditions, may grant the proletariat a number of temporary advantages over the diffused petty-bourgeois peasantry in order to strengthen its role of leader. While disarming and suppressing its class enemies, the proletarian state at the same time regards this deprivation of political rights and partial restriction of liberty as temporary measures in the struggle against the attempts on the part of the exploiters to defend or restore their privileges. It inscribes on its banner the motto: the proletariat holds power not for the purpose of perpetuating it, not for the purpose of protecting narrow craft and professional interests, but for the purpose of uniting the backward and scattered rural proletariat, the semi-proletariat and the toiling peasants still more closely with the most progressive strata of the

workers, for the purpose of gradually and systematically overcoming class divisions altogether. Being an all-embracing form of the unity and organization of the masses under the leadership of the proletariat, the Soviets, in actual fact, draw the broad masses of the proletariat, the peasants and all toilers into the struggle for socialism, into the work of building up socialism, and into the practical administration of the state; in the whole of their work they rely upon the working-class organizations and practice the principles of broad democracy among the toilers to a far greater extent and immeasurably closer to the masses than any other form of government. The right of electing and recalling delegates, the combination of the executive with the legislative power, the electoral system based on a production and not on a residential qualification (election by workshops, factories, etc.)—all this secures for the working class and for the broad masses of the toilers who march under its hegemony systematic, continuous and active participation in all public affairs—economic, social, political, military and cultural—and marks the sharp difference that exists between the bourgeois-parliamentary republic and the Soviet dictatorship of the proletariat.

Bourgeois democracy, with its formal equality of all citizens before the law, is in reality based on a glaring material and economic inequality of classes. By leaving inviolable, defending and strengthening the monopoly of the capitalist and landlord classes in the vital means of production, bourgeois democracy, as far as the exploited classes and especially the proletariat is concerned, converts this formal equality before the law and these democratic rights and liberties, which in practice are systematically curtailed, into a juridical fiction and, consequently, into a means for deceiving and enslaving the masses. Being the expression of the political domination of the bourgeoisie, so-called democracy is therefore capitalist democracy. By depriving the exploiting classes of the means of production, by placing the monopoly of these means of production in the hands of the proletariat as the dominant class in society, the Soviet state first and foremost guarantees to the working class and to the toilers generally the material conditions for the exercise of their rights by providing

them with premises, public buildings, printing plants, traveling facilities, etc.

In the domain of general political rights the Soviet state, while depriving the exploiters and the enemies of the people of political rights, completely abolishes for the first time all inequality of citizenship, which under systems of exploitation is based on distinctions of sex, religion and nationality; in this sphere it establishes an equality that is not to be found in any bourgeois country. In this respect, also, the dictatorship of the proletariat steadily lays down the material basis upon which this equality may be truly exercised by introducing measures for the emancipation of women, the industrialization of former colonies, etc.

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

The Soviet state completely disarms the bourgeoisie and concentrates all arms in the hands of the proletariat; it is the *armed proletarian state*. The armed forces under the Soviet state are organized on a class basis, which corresponds to the general structure of the proletarian dictatorship, and guarantees the role of leadership to the industrial proletariat. This organization, while maintaining revolutionary discipline, ensures to the warriors of the Red Army and Navy close and constant contacts with the masses of the toilers, participation in the administration of the country and in the work of building up socialism.

### *3. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Expropriation of the Expropriators*

The victorious proletariat utilizes the conquest of power as a lever of economic revolution, *i.e.*, of the revolutionary transformation of the property relations of capitalism into relationships of the socialist mode of production. The starting point of this great economic revolution is the expropriation of the landlords and capitalists, *i.e.*, the conversion of the *monopolistic property of the bourgeoisie into the property of the proletarian state*.

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

*A. Industry, Transport and Communication Services:*

A. The confiscation and proletarian nationalization of all large private capitalist undertakings (factories, plants, mines, electric power stations) and the transference of all state and municipal enterprises to the Soviets.

B. The confiscation and proletarian nationalization of private capitalist railway, waterway, automobile and air transport services (commercial and passenger air fleet) and the transference of all state and municipal transport services to the Soviets.

C. The confiscation and proletarian nationalization of private capitalist communication services (telegraphs, telephones and wireless) and the transference of state and municipal communication services to the Soviets.

D. The organization of workers' management of industry. The establishment of state organs for the management of industry with provision for the close participation of the trade unions in this work of management. Appropriate functions to be guaranteed for the factory and plant committees.

E. Industrial activity to be directed towards the satisfaction of the needs of the broad masses of the toilers. The reorganization of the branches of industry that formerly served the needs of the ruling class (luxury trades, etc.). The strengthening of the branches of industry that will facilitate the development of agriculture, with the object of strengthening the ties between industry and peasant economy, of facilitating the development of State farms, and of accelerating the rate of development of national economy as a whole.

*B. Agriculture:*

A. The confiscation and proletarian nationalization of all large landed estates in town and country (private, church, monastery and other lands) and the transference of State and municipal landed property including forests, minerals, lakes, rivers, etc., to the Soviets with subsequent nationalization of the whole of the land.

B. The confiscation of all property utilized in production

belonging to large landed estates, such as buildings, machinery and other inventory, cattle, enterprises for the manufacture of agricultural products (large flour mills, cheese plants, dairy farms, fruit and vegetable drying plants, etc.).

c. The transfer of large estates, particularly model estates and those of considerable economic importance, to the management of the organs of the proletarian dictatorship and of the Soviet farm organizations.

d. Part of the land confiscated from the landlords and others, particularly where the land was cultivated by the peasants on a tenant basis and served as a means of holding the peasantry in economic bondage, to be transferred to the use of the peasantry (to the poor and partly also to the middle peasantry). The amount of land to be so transferred to be determined by economic expediency as well as by the degree of necessity to neutralize the peasantry and to win them over to the side of the proletariat; this amount must necessarily vary according to the different circumstances.

e. Prohibition of buying and selling of land, as a means of preserving the land for the peasantry and preventing its passing into the hands of capitalists, land speculators, etc. Violations of this law to be energetically combatted.

f. To combat usury. All transactions entailing terms of bondage to be annulled. All debts of the exploited strata of the peasantry to be annulled. The poorest stratum of the peasantry to be relieved from taxation, etc.

g. Comprehensive state measures for developing the productive forces of agriculture, the development of rural electrification; the manufacture of tractors, the production of artificial fertilizers; the production of pure quality seeds and raising thoroughbred stock on Soviet farms; the extensive organization of agricultural credits for land reclamation, etc.

h. Financial and other support for agricultural co-operatives and for all forms of collective production in the rural districts (co-operative societies, communes, etc.). Systematic propaganda in favor of peasant co-operation (selling, credit and supply co-operative societies) to be based on the mass activity of the



peasants themselves; propaganda in favor of the transition to large-scale agricultural production which—owing to the indubitable technical and economic advantages of large-scale production—provide the greatest immediate economic gain and also a method of transition to socialism most accessible to the broad masses of the toiling peasants.

*C. Trade and Credit:*

A. The proletarian nationalization of private banks (the entire gold reserve, all securities, deposits, etc., to be transferred to the proletarian state); the proletarian state to take over state, municipal, etc., banks.

B. The centralization of banking; all nationalized big banks to be subordinated to the central state bank.

C. The nationalization of wholesale trade and large retail trading enterprises (warehouses, elevators, stores, stocks of goods, etc.), and their transfer to the organs of the Soviet state.

D. Every encouragement to be given to consumers' co-operatives as representing an integral part of the distributing apparatus, while maintaining uniformity in their system of work and securing the active participation of the masses themselves in their work.

E. Monopoly of foreign trade.

F. The repudiation of state debts to foreign and home capitalists.

*D. Conditions of Life, Labor, etc.:*

A. Reduction of the working day to seven hours, and to six hours in industries particularly harmful to the health of the workers. Further reduction of the working day and transition to a five-day week in countries with developed productive forces. The regulation of the working day to correspond to the increase of the productivity of labor.

B. Prohibition, as a rule, of night work and employment in harmful trades for all females. Prohibition of child labor. Prohibition of overtime.

C. Special reduction of the work-day for the youth (a maximum six-hour day for young persons up to 18 years of age). Socialistic reorganization of the labor of young persons so as

to combine employment in industry with general and political education.

D. Social insurance in all forms (sickness, old age, accident, unemployment, etc.) at state expense (and at the expense of the owners of private enterprises where they still exist), insurance affairs to be managed by the insured themselves.

E. Comprehensive measures of hygiene; the organization of free medical service. To combat social diseases (alcoholism, venereal diseases, tuberculosis, etc.).

F. Complete equality between men and women before the law and in social life; a radical reform of marital and family laws; recognition of maternity as a social function; protection of mothers and infants. Initiation of social care and upbringing of infants and children (creches, kindergartens, children's homes, etc.).

The establishment of institutions that will gradually relieve the burden of house drudgery (public kitchens and laundries); and systematic cultural struggle against the ideology and traditions of female bondage.

#### *E. Housing:*

A. The confiscation of big housing property.

B. The transfer of confiscated houses to the administration of the local Soviets.

C. The bourgeois residential districts to be settled by workers.

D. Palaces and large private and public buildings to be placed at the disposal of labor organizations.

E. The carrying out of an extensive program of housing construction.

#### *F. National and Colonial Questions:*

A. The recognition of the right of all nations, irrespective of race, to complete self-determination, that is, self-determination inclusive of the right to state separation.

B. The voluntary unification and centralization of the military and economic forces of all nations liberated from capitalism—for the purpose of fighting against imperialism and for building up socialist economy.

C. Wide and determined struggle against the imposition of

any kind of limitation and restriction upon any nationality, nation or race. Complete equality for all nations and races.

D. The Soviet state to guarantee and support with all the resources at its command the national cultures of nations liberated from capitalism while carrying out a consistent proletarian policy in the development of the content of such cultures.

E. Every assistance to be rendered to the economic, political and cultural growth of the formerly oppressed "territories", "dominions" and "colonies", with the object of transferring them to socialist lines, so that a durable basis may be laid for complete national equality.

F. To combat all remnants of chauvinism, national hatred, race prejudices and other ideological products of feudal and capitalist barbarism.

*G. Means of Ideological Influence:*

A. The nationalization of printing plants.

B. The monopoly of newspaper and book-publishing.

C. The nationalization of big cinema enterprises, theatres, etc.

D. The utilization of the nationalized means of "intellectual production" for the most extensive political and general education of the toilers and for the building up of a new socialist culture on a proletarian class basis.

*4. The Basis for the Economic Policy of the  
Proletarian Dictatorship*

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

A. The complete abolition of private property in land, and the nationalization of the land, cannot be brought about immediately in the more developed capitalist countries, where the principle of private property is deep-rooted among broad strata of the peasantry. In such countries, the nationalization of all the land can only be brought about gradually, by means of a series of transitional measures.

B. Nationalization of production should not, as a rule, be applied to small and middle-sized enterprises (peasants, small

artisans, handicraft, small and medium shops, small manufacturers, etc.). First, because the proletariat must draw a strict distinction between the property of the small 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 indispensable prerequisite for socialist construction.

Second, because the proletariat, after seizing power, may not have sufficient organizing forces at its disposal, particularly in the first phases of the dictatorship, for the purpose of destroying capitalism and at the same time to establish contacts with the smaller and medium individual units of production on a socialist basis. These small individual enterprises (primarily peasant enterprises) will be drawn into the general socialist organization of production and distribution only gradually, with the powerful and systematic aid the proletarian state will render to organize them in all the various forms of collective enterprises. Any attempt to break up their economic system violently and to compel them to adopt collective methods by force would only lead to harmful results.

c. Owing to the prevalence of a large number of small units of production (primarily peasant farms, farmers' enterprises, small artisans, small shopkeepers, etc.) in colonies, semi-colonies and economically backward countries, where the petty-bourgeois masses represent the overwhelming majority of the population, and even in the centers of the capitalist world economy (the United States of America, Germany, and to some degree also England), it is necessary, in the first stage of development, to preserve to some extent, *market forms of economic contacts*, the money system, etc. The variety of prevailing economic forms (ranging from socialist large scale industry to small peasant and artisan enterprises), which unavoidably come into conflict with each other; the variety of classes and class groups corresponding to this variety of economic forms, each having different stimuli for economic activity and conflicting class interests and finally, the prevalence in all spheres of economic life of habits and traditions inherited from bourgeois society, which cannot be removed

all at once,—all this demands that the proletariat, in exercising its economic leadership, shall properly combine, on the basis of market relationship, large-scale socialist industry with the small enterprises of the simple commodity producers, *i.e.*, it must combine them in such a way as to guarantee the leading role to socialist industry and at the same time bring about the greatest possible development of the mass of peasant enterprises. Hence, the greater the weight of scattered small peasant labor in the general economy of the country, the greater will be the scope of the market relations, the smaller will be the significance of direct, planned management, and the greater will be the degree to which the general economic plan will depend upon an estimation of the uncontrollable economic relations. On the other hand, the smaller the weight of petty husbandry and the greater the proportion of socialized labor, the more powerful the concentrated and socialized means of production, the smaller will be the scope of the market relations, the greater will be the importance of planned management as compared with the uncontrolled economic activities, and the more considerable and universal will be the application of planned management in the sphere of production and distribution.

Provided the proletarian dictatorship carries out a correct class policy, *i.e.*, provided proper account is taken of class-relationships, the technical and economic superiority of large-scale socialized production, the centralization of all the most important economic key positions (industry, transport, large-scale agricultural enterprises, banks, etc.) in the hands of the proletarian state, planned management of industry, and the power wielded by the state apparatus as a whole (the budget, taxes, administrative legislation and legislation generally), render it possible continuously and systematically to dislodge private capital as well as the new outcrops of capitalism which, on the basis of more or less free trading and of the market relations, emerge in town and country with the development of simple commodity production (big farmers, kulaks). At the same time, by organizing 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 main channel of developing socialism. The outwardly capitalist forms and methods of economic activity that are bound up with market relations (money form of accounting, payment for labor in money, buying and selling, credit and banks, etc.), serve as levers for the socialist transformation insofar as they to an increasing degree serve the consistently socialist type of enterprises, *i.e.*, the socialist section of economy.

Thus, provided the state carries out a correct policy, the market relations under the proletarian dictatorship destroy themselves in the process of their own development by helping to dislodge private capital, by changing the character of peasant economy, by further centralization and concentration of the means of production in the hands of the proletarian state; by these means they help to *destroy market relations altogether*.

In the event of probable 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 organization of rational consumption for the purpose of military defense, accompanied by a system of intensified pressure upon the capitalist groups (confiscation, requisitions, etc.), with the more or less complete liquidation of freedom of trade and market relations and a sharp interference with the individualistic, economic stimuli of the small producers, which results in a diminution of the productive forces of the country. This policy of War Communism, while it undermines the material basis of the strata of the population in the country that are hostile to the working class, secures a rational distribution of the available supplies and facilitates the military struggle of the proletarian dictatorship, which is the historical justification of this policy, it nevertheless cannot be regarded as the "normal" economic policy of the proletarian dictatorship.

##### 5. Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Classes

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 upshoots of the new bourgeoisie that spring up on the basis of still existing commodity production.

After the civil war has been brought to an end the stubborn class struggle continues in new forms, primarily in the form of a struggle between the survivals of previous economic systems and fresh upshoots of them on the one hand, and socialist forms of economy on the other. The forms of the struggle undergo a change at various stages of socialist development, and in the first stages, the struggle, under certain conditions, may be extremely severe.

In the initial 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:

A. *The big bourgeoisie and the landowners*, a section of the officer corps, the higher command of the forces, and the higher bureaucracy—who remain loyal to the bourgeoisie and the landlords—are consistent enemies of the working class against whom ruthless war must be waged. The organizing skill of a certain section of these strata may be utilized, but as a rule, only after the dictatorship has been consolidated and all conspiracies and rebellions of exploiters have been decisively crushed.

B. In regard to the *technical intelligentsia*, which was brought up in the spirit of bourgeois traditions and the higher ranks of which were closely linked up with the commanding apparatus of capital, the proletariat, while ruthlessly suppressing every counter-revolutionary action on the part of hostile sections of the intelligentsia, must at the same time give consideration to the necessity of utilizing this skilled social force for the work of socialist construction; it must give every encouragement to the groups that are neutral, and especially to those that are friendly, towards the proletarian revolution. In widening the economic, technical and cultural perspective of socialist construction to its

utmost social limits, 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 reconstruction.

c. In regard to the *peasantry*, it is the task of the Communist Party, while placing its reliance in the agricultural proletariat, to win over all the exploited and toiling strata of the countryside. The victorious proletariat must draw strict distinctions between the various groups among the peasantry, weigh their relative importance, and render every support to the propertyless and semi-proletarian sections of the peasantry by transferring to them a part of the land taken from the big landowners, by helping them in their struggle against usurer's capital, etc. Moreover, the proletariat must neutralize the middle strata of the peasantry and mercilessly suppress the slightest opposition on the part of the village bourgeoisie who ally themselves with the landowners. As its dictatorship becomes consolidated and socialist construction develops, the proletariat must proceed from the policy of neutralization to a policy of durable alliance with the masses of middle peasantry, but must not adopt the viewpoint of sharing power in any form. The dictatorship of the proletariat implies that the industrial workers alone are capable of leading the entire mass of the toilers. On the other hand, while representing the rule of a single class, the dictatorship of the proletariat at the same time represents a special form of class alliance between the proletariat, as the vanguard of the toilers, and the numerous non-proletarian sections of the toiling masses, or the majority of them. It represents an alliance for the complete overthrow of capital, for the complete suppression of the opposition of the bourgeoisie and its attempts at restoration, an alliance aiming at the complete building up and consolidation of socialism.

d. *The urban petty bourgeoisie*, which continuously wavers between extreme reaction and sympathy for the proletariat, must likewise be neutralized and, as far as possible, won over to the side of the proletariat. This can be achieved by leaving to them their small property and permitting a certain measure of free trade, by releasing them from the bondage of usurious credit



and by the proletariat's helping them in all sorts of ways in the struggle against all and every form of capitalist oppression.

#### 6. *Mass Organizations in the System of Proletarian Dictatorship*

In the process of fulfilling these tasks of the proletarian dictatorship, a radical change takes place in the *tasks and functions of the mass organizations*, particularly of the *labor organizations*. Under capitalism, the mass labor organizations, in which the broad masses of the proletariat were originally organized and trained, i.e., the trade (industrial) unions, serve as the principal weapons in the struggle against trustified capital and its state. Under the proletarian dictatorship, they become transformed into the principal lever of the state; they become transformed into a school of communism, by means of which vast masses of the proletariat are drawn into the work of socialist management of production; they are transformed into organizations directly connected with all parts of the state apparatus, influencing all branches of its work, safeguarding the lasting as well as the day to day interests of the working class and fighting against bureaucratic distortions in the organs of the Soviet state. Thus, insofar as they promote from their ranks leaders in the work of construction, draw into this work of construction broad sections of the proletariat and particularly as they undertake the task of combating bureaucratic distortions which inevitably arise as a result of the operation of class influences alien to the proletariat and of the inadequate cultural development of the masses, the trade unions become the backbone of the proletarian economic and state organization as a whole.

Notwithstanding reformist utopias, *working class co-operative organizations* under capitalism are doomed to play a very minor role and in the general environment of the capitalist system not infrequently degenerate into mere appendages of capitalism. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, however, these organizations can and must become the most important units of the distributing apparatus.

Lastly, *peasant agricultural co-operative organizations* (sell-

ing, purchasing, credit and producing), under proper management and provided a systematic struggle is carried on against the capitalist elements, and that really broad masses of the toilers who follow the lead of the proletariat take a really active part in their work, can and must become one of the principal organizational means for linking up town and country. To the extent that they were able to maintain their existence at all under capitalism, co-operative peasant enterprises inevitably became transformed into capitalist enterprises, for they were dependent upon capitalist industry, capitalist banks and upon capitalist economic environment, and were led by reformists, the peasant bourgeoisie, and sometimes even by landlords. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, however, such enterprises develop amidst a different system of relationships, they depend upon proletarian industry, proletarian banks, etc. Thus, provided the proletariat carries out a proper policy, provided the class struggle is systematically conducted against the capitalist elements outside as well as inside the co-operative organizations, and provided socialist industry exercises its guidance over it, agricultural co-operation will become one of the principal levers for the socialist transformation and collectivization of the countryside. All this, however, does not exclude the possibility that in certain countries the consumers' societies, and particularly the agricultural co-operative societies led by the bourgeoisie and their Social-Democratic agents, at first be hotbeds of counter-revolutionary activity and sabotage against the work of economic construction of the workers' revolution.

In the course of this militant and constructive work, carried on through the medium of these multifarious proletarian organizations—which should serve as effective levers of the Soviet state and the link between it and the masses of all strata of the working class—the proletariat secures unity of will and action and exercises this unity through the medium of the Communist Party, which *plays the leading role* in the system of the proletarian dictatorship.

The *Party of the proletariat* relies directly on the trade unions and other organizations that embrace the masses of the

workers, and through these, relies on the peasantry (Soviets, co-operative societies, Young Communist Leagues, etc.); by means of these levers it guides the whole Soviet system. The proletariat can fulfill its role as organizer of the new society only if the Soviet government is loyally supported by all the mass organizations, only if class unity is maintained, and only under the guidance of the Party.

### 7. *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Cultural Revolution*

The role of *organizer of the new human society* presupposes that the proletariat itself will become *culturally mature*, that it will transform its own nature, that it will continually promote from its ranks increasing numbers of men and women capable of mastering science, technics and administration in order to build up socialism and a new socialist culture.

*Bourgeois* revolution against feudalism presupposes that a new class has arisen in the midst of feudal society that is culturally more advanced than the ruling class and is already the dominant factor in economic life. The *proletarian* revolution, however, develops under other conditions. Being economically exploited, politically oppressed and *culturally downtrodden under capitalism*, the working class transforms its own nature only in the course of the transition period, only *after it has conquered state power*, only by destroying the bourgeois monopoly of education and mastering all the sciences, and only after it has gained experience in great works of construction. The mass awakening of communist consciousness, the cause of socialism itself, calls for *a mass change of human nature*, which can be achieved only in the course of the practical movement, in revolution. Hence, revolution is not only necessary because there is no other way of overthrowing the *ruling class*, but also because, only in the process of revolution is the *overthrowing class* able to purge itself of the dross of the old society and become capable of creating a new society.

In destroying the capitalist monopoly of the means of pro-

duction, the working class must also destroy the capitalist monopoly of education, that is, it must take possession of all the schools, from the elementary schools to the universities. It is particularly important for the proletariat to train members of the working class as *experts* in the sphere of production (engineers, technicians, organizers, etc.), as well as in the sphere of military affairs, science, art, etc. Parallel with this work stands the task of raising *the general cultural level of the proletarian masses*, of improving their political education, of raising their general standard of knowledge and technical skill, of training them in the methods of public work and administration, and of combating the survivals of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois prejudices, etc.

Only to the extent that the proletariat promotes from its own ranks a body of advanced men and women capable of occupying these "key positions" of socialist construction and culture, only to the extent that this body grows, and draws increasing numbers of the working class into the process of revolutionary-cultural transformation and gradually obliterates the line that divides the proletariat into an "advanced" and a "backward" section will the guarantees be created for successful socialist construction and against bureaucratic decay and class degeneracy.

However, in the process of revolution the proletariat not only changes its own nature, but also the nature of *other classes*, primarily the numerous petty-bourgeois strata in town and country and especially the toiling sections of the peasantry. By drawing the wide masses into the process of cultural revolution and socialist construction, by uniting and communistically educating them with all the means at its disposal, by strongly combating all anti-proletarian and narrow craft ideologies, and by persistently and systematically overcoming the general and cultural backwardness of the rural districts, the working class, on the basis of the developing collective forms of economy, prepares the way for the *complete removal of class divisions in society*.

One of the most important tasks of the cultural revolution affecting the wide masses is the task of systematically and unswervingly combating *religion*—the opium of the people. The

proletarian government must withdraw all state support from the church, which is the agency of the former ruling class; it must prevent all church interference in state-organized educational affairs, and ruthlessly suppress the counter-revolutionary activity of the ecclesiastical organizations. At the same time, the proletarian state, while granting liberty of worship and abolishing the privileged position of the formerly dominant religion, carries on anti-religious propaganda with all the means at its command and reconstructs the whole of its educational work on the basis of scientific materialism.

#### 8. *The Struggle for the World Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Principal Types of Revolutions*

The international proletarian revolution represents a combination of processes which vary 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 result* 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 different stages of ripeness of capitalism in different countries, and to a variety of specific conditions of the revolutionary process. These circumstances make it historically inevitable *that the proletariat will come to power by a variety of ways and degrees of rapidity*; that a number of countries must pass through certain transition stages leading to the dictatorship of the proletariat and must adopt varied forms of socialist construction.

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

*Countries of highly developed capitalism* (United States of America, Germany, Great Britain, etc.), having powerful productive forces, highly centralized production, with small-scale

production reduced to relative insignificance, and a long established bourgeois-democratic political system. In such countries the fundamental political demand of the program is direct transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the economic sphere, the most characteristic demands are: expropriation of the whole of large-scale industry; organization of a large number of state Soviet farms and, in contrast to this, a relatively small portion of the land to be transferred to the peasantry; unregulated market relations to be given comparatively small scope; rapid rate of socialist development generally, and of collectivization of peasant farming in particular.

*Countries with a medium development of capitalism* (Spain, Portugal, Poland, Hungary, the Balkan countries, etc.), having numerous survivals of semi-feudal relationships in agriculture, possessing, to a certain extent, the material prerequisites for socialist construction, and in which the bourgeois-democratic reforms have not yet been completed. In some of these countries a process of more or less rapid development from bourgeois-democratic revolution to socialist revolution is possible. In others, there may be types of proletarian revolutions which will have a large number of bourgeois-democratic tasks to fulfill. Hence, in these countries, the dictatorship of the proletariat may not come about at once, but in the process of transition from the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry to the socialist dictatorship of the proletariat; where the revolution develops directly as a proletarian revolution it is presumed that the proletariat exercises leadership over a broad agrarian peasant movement. In general, the agrarian revolution plays a most important part in these countries, and in some cases a decisive role; in the process of expropriating large landed property a considerable portion of the confiscated land is placed at the disposal of the peasantry; the scope of market relations prevailing after the victory of the proletariat is considerable; the task of organizing the peasantry along cooperative lines and, later, of uniting them in cooperative production, occupies an important place among the tasks of socialist construction. The rate of this construction is relatively slow.

*Colonial and semi-colonial countries* (China, India, etc.), and *dependent countries* (Argentina, Brazil, etc.), having the rudiments of and in some cases considerably developed industry, but which in the majority of cases is inadequate for independent socialist construction; with medieval feudal relationships, or "Asiatic mode of production" relationships, prevailing in their economics and political super-structure; finally, their most important industrial, commercial and banking enterprises, the principal means of transport, the large landed estates (latifundia), plantations, etc., are concentrated in the hands of foreign imperialist groups. The principal tasks in such countries are, on the one hand, to fight against feudalism and the pre-capitalist forms of exploitation and to develop systematically the peasant agrarian revolution; on the other hand, to fight against foreign imperialism and for national independence. As a rule, transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat in these countries will be possible only through a series of preparatory stages, at the outcome of a whole period of the transformation of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into socialist revolution, while in the majority of cases, successful socialist construction will be possible only if direct support is obtained from the countries in which the proletarian dictatorship is established.

*In still more backward countries* (as in some parts of Africa) where there are no wage workers or very few, where the majority of the population still live in tribal conditions, where survivals of primitive, tribal forms still exist, where a national bourgeoisie is almost non-existent, where the primary role of foreign imperialism is that of military occupation and usurpation of land, the central task is to fight for national independence. Victorious national uprisings in these countries may open the way for their direct development towards socialism and their avoiding the stage of capitalism, provided real, powerful assistance is rendered to them by the countries in which the proletarian dictatorship is established.

Thus, in the epoch in which the proletariat in the most developed capitalist countries is confronted with the task of capturing power, in which the dictatorship of the proletariat is

already established in the U.S.S.R. and is a factor of world significance, the liberation movements in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, which were caused by the penetration of world capitalism, may lead to *their socialist development*—notwithstanding the immaturity of social relationships in these countries taken by themselves—*provided they receive the assistance and support of the proletarian dictatorship and of the international proletarian movement generally.*

### 9. *The Struggle for the World Proletarian Dictatorship and the Colonial Revolutions*

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 transformation of this dictatorship into the dictatorship of the proletariat, and, finally, the decisive importance of the national aspects of the struggle, impose upon the Communist Parties of these countries a number of *special* tasks, which are preparatory stages to the general tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Communist International considers the following to be the most important of these special tasks:

- A. To overthrow the rule of foreign imperialism, of the feudal rulers and of the landlord bureaucracy.
- B. To establish the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry on a Soviet basis.
- C. Complete national independence and national unification.
- D. Annulment of state debts.
- E. Nationalization of the large-scale enterprises (industrial, transport, banking and others) owned by the imperialists.
- F. The confiscation of landlord, church and monastery lands. The nationalization of all the land.
- G. Introduction of the eight-hour day.
- H. The organization of revolutionary workers' and peasants' armies.

In the colonies and semi-colonies where the proletariat is the



leader of and commands hegemony in the struggle, the consistent bourgeois-democratic revolution will grow into proletarian revolution—in proportion as the struggle develops and becomes more intense (sabotage by the bourgeoisie, confiscation of the enterprises belonging to the sabotaging section of the bourgeoisie, which inevitably extends to the nationalization of the whole of large-scale industry). In the colonies where there is no proletariat, the overthrow of the domination of the imperialists implies the establishment of the rule of people's (peasant) Soviets, the confiscation and transfer to the state of foreign enterprises and lands.

Colonial revolutions and movements for national liberation play an extremely important part in the struggle against imperialism and in the struggle for the conquest of power by the working class. Colonies and semi-colonies are also important in the transition period because they constitute the *world rural district* in relation to the industrial countries, which function, as it were, as the urban centers of the world. Consequently, the problem of organizing socialist world economy, of properly combining industry with agriculture is, to a large extent, the problem of the relation towards the former colonies of imperialism. *The establishment of a fraternal fighting alliance with the masses of the toilers in the colonies constitutes one of the principal tasks which the world industrial proletariat must fulfill as the leader in the struggle against imperialism.*

Thus, the world revolution in the course of its development, while rousing the workers in the imperialist countries for the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship, rouses also hundreds of millions of colonial workers and peasants for the struggle against foreign imperialism. In view of the existence of centers of socialism represented by Soviet Republics of growing economic power, the colonies which break away from imperialism economically gravitate towards and gradually combine with the industrial centers of world socialism. Thus, drawn into the channel of socialist construction, they skip the further stage of development of capitalism as a predominant system, and obtain opportunities for rapid economic and cultural progress. The Peasants' Soviets in the back-

ward ex-colonies and the Workers' and Peasants' Soviets in the more developed ex-colonies group themselves politically around the centers of proletarian dictatorship, join the growing Federation of Soviet Republics, and thus enter the general system of the world proletarian dictatorship.

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

## CHAPTER FIVE

# THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IN THE U.S.S.R. AND THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL REVOLUTION

### *1. The Building Up of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. and the Class Struggle*

**T**HE 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. Therefore, the internal consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship in the U.S.S.R., the success 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, strengthening and expansion of the *international socialist revolution*.

Possessing in the country the necessary and sufficient material prerequisites not only for the overthrow of the landlords and the bourgeoisie but also for the establishment of complete socialism, the workers of the Soviet Republic, with the aid of 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 achieved considerable success in the sphere of socialist construction.

The linking up of the proletarian socialist industry with the small peasant economy, thus stimulating the growth of the productive forces of agriculture and at the same time assuring the leading role to socialist industry; the collaboration of this industry with agriculture, instead of its catering, as was the case under capitalism, to the unproductive consumption of parasitic

classes; production, not for capitalist profit, but for the satisfaction of the growing needs of the masses of the consumers; the growth of the needs of the masses, which in the final analysis greatly stimulates the entire productive process; and finally, the close concentration of the economic key positions under the command of the proletarian state, the growth of planned management and the more economic and expedient distribution of the means of production that goes with it—all this enables the proletariat to make rapid progress along the road of socialist construction.

In raising the level of the productive forces of the whole economy of the country, and in steering a straight course for the industrialization of the U.S.S.R.—the rapidity of which is dictated by the international and internal situation, the proletariat in the U.S.S.R., notwithstanding the systematic attempts on the part of the capitalist powers to organize an economic and financial boycott against the Soviet Republics, at the same time increases the relative share of the socialized (socialist) sector of national economy in the total means of production in the country, in the total output of industry and in the total trade turnover.

Thus, with the land nationalized, and with the increasing industrialization of the country, the state socialist industry, transport and banking are more and more guiding, by the means of the state trade and the rapidly growing cooperatives, the activities of the small and very small peasant enterprises.

In the sphere of agriculture especially, the level of the forces of production is being raised amidst the conditions that restrict the process of differentiation among the peasantry (nationalization of the land, and consequently, the prohibition of the sale and purchase of land; sharply graded progressive taxation; the financing of poor and middle peasants' cooperative societies and producers' organizations; laws regulating the hiring of labor; depriving the kulaks of certain political and public rights; organizing the rural poor in separate organizations, etc.). However, in so far as the productive forces of socialist industry have not yet grown sufficiently to provide a broad new technical base for agriculture and, consequently, to render possible the

immediate and rapid unification of peasant enterprises into large social enterprises (collective farms), the kulak class, too, grows, establishing economic and, later, also political collaboration with the elements of the so-called "new bourgeoisie".

Being in command of the principal economic key positions in the country and systematically squeezing out the remnants of urban and private capital, which has greatly dwindled in the last few years of the New Economic Policy; restricting in every way the exploiting strata in the rural districts that arise out of the development of commodity and money relationships; supporting existing Soviet farms in the rural districts and establishing new ones; drawing the bulk of the peasant simple commodity producers into the general system of Soviet economic organization and, consequently, into the work of socialist construction, through the medium of the rapidly growing cooperative movement, which—under the proletarian dictatorship and in view of the economic leadership of socialist industry—is identical with the development of socialism; passing from the process of restoration to the process of expanded reproduction of the entire productive and technical base of the country—the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. sets itself, and is already beginning to fulfill, the task of large-scale basic construction (production of means of production generally, development of heavy industry and especially of electrification) and, developing still further, selling, buying and credit cooperation, sets itself the task of organizing the peasantry in producing cooperatives on a mass scale and a collectivist basis, which calls for the powerful material assistance of the proletarian state.

Thus socialism—which is already the decisive economic force determining, in the main, the entire economic development of the U.S.S.R.—makes still further strides in its development and systematically overcomes the difficulties that arise from the petty-bourgeois character of the country and the periods of temporarily acute class antagonisms.

The task of re-equipping industry and of large-scale basic construction must give rise to serious difficulties in the path of socialist development which, in the last analysis, are to be at-

tributed to the technical and economic backwardness of the country and to the ruin caused in the years of the imperialist and civil wars. Notwithstanding this, however, the standard of living of the working class and of the broad masses of the toilers is steadily rising and, simultaneously with the socialist rationalization and scientific organization of industry, the seven-hour day is gradually being introduced, which opens up still wider prospects for the improvement of the living and working conditions of the working class.

On the basis of the economic growth of the U.S.S.R. and of the steady increase in the relative importance of the socialist sector of its economy; never for a moment halting the struggle against the kulaks; relying upon the rural poor and maintaining a firm alliance with the bulk of the middle peasantry, the working class, united and led by the Communist Party which has been hardened in revolutionary battles, draws increasing masses, scores of millions of toilers into the work of socialist construction. The principal means employed towards this aim are: the development of broad mass organizations (the Party, as the guiding force; the trade unions, as the backbone of the entire system of the proletarian dictatorship; the Young Communist League; cooperative societies of all types; working women's and peasant women's organizations; the various so-called "voluntary societies"; worker and peasant correspondents' societies; sport, scientific, cultural and educational organizations); full 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 steady attraction of the masses into the process of socialist construction, the constant renovation of the entire state, economic, trade union and Party apparatus with men and women fresh from the ranks of the proletariat, the systematic training, in the higher educational institutions and at special courses, of workers generally and young workers in particular as new, socialist experts in all branches of construction—all these together serve as one of the principal guarantees against the bureaucratic ossification and social degeneration of the stratum of the proletariat directly engaged in administration.

## *2. The Significance of the U.S.S.R. and Its International Revolutionary Duties*

Having defeated Russian imperialism and liberated all the former colonies and oppressed nations of the tsarist empire, and systematically laying a firm foundation for their cultural and political development by industrializing their territories; having guaranteed the juridical position of the Autonomous Territories, Autonomous Republics and Federated Republics in the Constitution of the Union and having realized in full the right of nations to self-determination—the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R. has thereby secured, not only formal, but also real equality for the different nationalities of the Union.

As the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of socialist construction, the land of great working class achievements, of the union of the workers with the peasants and of a new culture marching under the banner of Marxism, the U.S.S.R. inevitably becomes the base of the world movement of all oppressed classes, the center of international revolution, the greatest factor in world history. In the U.S.S.R., the world proletariat for the first time has acquired a country that is really its own, and for the colonial movements the U.S.S.R. becomes a powerful center of attraction.

Thus, the U.S.S.R. is an extremely important factor in the general crisis of capitalism, not only because it has dropped out of the world capitalist system and has created a basis for a new socialist system of production, but also because it plays an exceptionally great revolutionary role generally; it is the international driving force of proletarian revolution that impels the proletariat of all countries to seize power; it is the living example proving that the working class is not only capable of destroying capitalism, but of building up socialism as well; it is the prototype of the fraternity of nationalities in all lands united in the world union of socialist republics and of the economic unity of the toilers of all countries in a single world socialist economic system that the world proletariat must establish when it has captured political power.

The simultaneous existence of two economic systems—the socialist system in the U.S.S.R., and the capitalist system in other countries—imposes on the proletarian state the task of warding off the blows showered upon it by the capitalist world (boycott, blockade, etc.). This also compels it to resort to economic maneuvering and to utilize the economic contacts with the capitalist countries (with the aid of the monopoly of foreign trade, which is one of the fundamental conditions for the successful building up of socialism, and also with the aid of credits, loans, concessions, etc.). The principal and fundamental line to be followed in this connection must be the line of establishing the widest possible contact with foreign countries—within limits determined by their usefulness to the U.S.S.R., i.e., primarily for strengthening industry in the U.S.S.R., for laying the base for its own heavy industry and electrification and finally, for the development of its own socialist machine manufacturing industry. Only to the extent that the economic independence of the U.S.S.R. from the encircling capitalist world is secured can solid guarantees be obtained against the danger that socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. may be destroyed and that the U.S.S.R. may be transformed into an appendage of the world capitalist system.

On the other hand, notwithstanding their interest in the markets of the U.S.S.R., the capitalist states continually vacillate between their commercial interests and their fear of the growth of the U.S.S.R., which means the growth of the international revolution. However, the principal and fundamental tendency in the policy of the imperialist powers is to encircle the U.S.S.R. and to conduct counter-revolutionary war against her in order to strangle her and to establish a world bourgeois terrorist regime.

The systematic imperialist attempts politically to encircle the U.S.S.R. and the growing danger of an armed attack upon her, do not, however, prevent the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—a section of the Communist International and the leader of the proletarian dictatorship in the U.S.S.R.—from fulfilling its international obligations and from rendering support to all



the oppressed, to the labor movement in the capitalist countries, to the colonial movements against imperialism and to the struggle against national oppression in every form.

### *3. The Duties of the International Proletariat to the U.S.S.R.*

In view of the fact that the U.S.S.R. is the only fatherland of the international proletariat, the principal bulwark of its achievements and the most important factor for its international emancipation, the international proletariat must on its part facilitate the success of the work of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. and defend it against the attacks of the capitalist powers by all the means in its power.

"The world political situation has made the dictatorship of the proletariat an immediate issue, and all the events of world politics are inevitably concentrating around one central point, namely, the struggle of the world bourgeoisie against the Soviet Russian Republic, which must inevitably 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 organizing bold and determined mass action and struggling 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 the colonies of the imperialist country attacking the U.S.S.R., every effort must be made to take advantage of the diversion of the imperialist military forces to develop an anti-imperialist struggle and to organize 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 the hatred of the capitalist states and the Social-Democratic agents against it, but also inspire the toilers all over the world with sympathy towards it and stimulate the readiness of the oppressed classes of all

countries to fight with all the means in their power for the land of the proletarian dictatorship, in the event of an imperialist attack upon it.

Thus, the development of the contradictions within modern world economy, the development of the general capitalist crisis, and the imperialist military attack upon the Soviet Union inevitably lead to a mighty revolutionary outbreak which must overwhelm capitalism in a number of the so-called civilized countries, unleash the victorious revolution in the colonies, broaden the base of the proletarian dictatorship to an enormous degree and thus, with tremendous strides, bring nearer the final world victory of socialism.

## CHAPTER SIX

# THE STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

### 1. *Ideologies Among the Working Class Inimical to Communism*

**I**N its fight against capitalism for the dictatorship of the proletariat, revolutionary communism encounters numerous tendencies within the working class which to a greater or lesser degree express the ideological subordination of the proletariat to the imperialist bourgeoisie, or reflect the ideological influence exercised upon the proletariat by the petty bourgeoisie, which at times rebels against the shackles of finance capital, but is incapable of adopting sustained and scientifically planned strategy and tactics or of carrying on the struggle in an organized manner on the basis of the stern discipline that is characteristic of the proletariat.

The mighty social power of the imperialist state, with its auxiliary apparatus—schools, press, theater and church—is primarily reflected in the existence of *confessional and reformist* tendencies among the working class, which represent the main obstacles on the road towards the proletarian social revolution.

*The confessional*, religiously tinged, tendency among the working class finds expression in the confessional *trade unions*, which frequently are directly connected with corresponding bourgeois political organizations and are affiliated with one or other of the church organizations of the dominant class (Catholic trade unions, Young Men's Christian Association, Jewish Zionist organizations, etc.). All these tendencies, being the most striking product of the ideological captivity of certain strata of the proletariat, in most cases, bear a romantic-feudal tinge. By sanctifying

all the abominations of the capitalist regime with the holy water of religion, and by terrorizing their flock with the spectre of punishment in the hereafter, the leaders of these organizations serve as the most *reactionary* agents of the class enemy in the camp of the proletariat.

A cynically commercial, and imperialistic secular form of subjecting the proletariat to the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie is represented by contemporary "*socialist*" reformism. Taking its main gospel from the tablets of imperialist politics, its model today is the deliberately anti-socialist and openly counter-revolutionary *American Federation of Labor*. The "ideological" dictatorship of the servile American trade union bureaucracy, which in its turn expresses the "ideological" dictatorship of the American dollar, has become, through the medium of British reformism and His Majesty's Socialists of the British Labor Party, the most important constituent in the theory and practice of international Social-Democracy and of the leaders of the Amsterdam International, while the leaders of German and Austrian Social-Democracy embellish these theories with Marxian phraseology in order to cover up their utter betrayal of Marxism. The principal enemy of revolutionary communism in the labor movement, "socialist" reformism, which has a broad organizational base in the Social-Democratic Parties and through these in the reformist trade unions, stands out in its entire policy and theoretical outlook as a force directed *against the proletarian revolution*.

In the sphere of *foreign politics*, the Social-Democratic Parties actively supported the imperialist war on the pretext of "defending the fatherland". Imperialist expansion and "colonial policy" received their wholehearted support. Orientation towards the counter-revolutionary "holy alliance" of imperialist powers (the League of Nations), advocacy of "ultra-imperialism", mobilization of the masses under pseudo-pacifist slogans, and at the same time, active support of imperialism in its attacks upon the U.S.S.R. and in its preparations for war against the U.S.S.R.—are the main features of reformist foreign policy.

In the sphere of *home politics*, Social-Democracy has set itself

the task of directly cooperating with and supporting the capitalist regime. Complete support for capitalist rationalization and stabilization, safeguarding of class peace, of "industrial peace"; the policy of linking up the labor organizations with the organizations of the employers and with the predatory imperialist state; the practice of so-called "industrial democracy" which in fact means complete subordination to trustified capital; homage to the imperialist state and particularly to its false democratic front; active participation in the building up of the organs of the imperialist state—police, army, gendarmerie, its class judiciary; the defense of the state against the encroachments of the revolutionary communist proletariat and the executioner's role Social-Democracy plays in time of revolutionary crisis—such is the line of reformist home policy. While pretending to conduct the industrial struggle, reformism considers its function in this field to be to conduct that struggle in such manner as to guard the capitalist class against any kind of shock, or at all events, to preserve the complete inviolability of the foundations of capitalist property.

In the sphere of *theory*, Social-Democracy has utterly and completely betrayed Marxism, having traversed the road from revisionism to complete liberal bourgeois reformism and avowed social-imperialism: it has substituted in place of the Marxian theory of the contradictions of capitalism, the bourgeois theory of its harmonious development; it has pigeonholed the theory of crises and of the pauperization of the proletariat; it has turned the flaming and redoubtable theory of class struggle into the mean advocacy of class peace; it has exchanged the theory of growing class antagonisms for the petty-bourgeois fairy-tale about the "democratization" of capital; in place of the theory of the inevitability of war under capitalism it has substituted the bourgeois deceit of pacifism and the lying propaganda of "ultra-imperialism"; it has exchanged the theory of the revolutionary downfall of capitalism for the counterfeit coinage of "sound" capitalism transforming itself peacefully into socialism; it has replaced revolution by evolution, the destruction of the bourgeois state by its active upbuilding, the theory of proletarian dictator-

ship by the theory of coalition with the bourgeoisie, the doctrine of international proletarian solidarity—by preaching defense of the imperialist fatherland; for Marxian dialectical materialism it has substituted the idealist philosophy and is now engaged in picking up the crumbs of religion that fall from the table of the bourgeoisie.

Within Social-Democratic reformism a number of tendencies stand out that are characteristic of the bourgeois degeneracy of Social-Democracy.

*Constructive socialism* (MacDonald & Co.)—the very name of which suggests the idea of struggle against the revolutionary proletariat and a favorable attitude towards the capitalist system—continues the liberal-philanthropic, anti-revolutionary and bourgeois traditions of Fabianism (Beatrice and Sydney Webb, Bernard Shaw, Lord Oliver, etc.). It repudiates, on principle, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the use of violence in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, but it favors violence in the struggle against the proletariat and the colonial peoples. Acting as apologist of the capitalist state, “constructive socialism” preaches state capitalism under the guise of socialism, denounces, in conjunction with the most vulgar ideologists of imperialism in both hemispheres, the theory of the class struggle as “pre-scientific” theory, and ostensibly advocates a moderate program of nationalization with compensation, taxation of land values, inheritance taxes and taxation of surplus profits as a means for abolishing capitalism. Being resolutely opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R., “Constructive Socialism”, in complete alliance with the bourgeoisie—is an active enemy of the *communist* proletarian movement and of colonial revolutions.

A special variety of “Constructive Socialism” is “*Cooperatism*”, or “*Cooperative Socialism*” (Charles Gide, Totomyantz & Co.), which also strongly repudiates the class struggle and advocates the cooperative organization of consumers as a means of overcoming capitalism, but which in fact does all it can to help the stabilization of capitalism. Having at its command an extensive propagandist apparatus, in the shape of the mass consumers’ cooperative organizations, which it employs for the pur-

pose of systematically influencing the masses, "cooperativism" carries on a fierce struggle against the revolutionary labor movement, hampers it in the achievement of its aims and represents today one of the most potent factors in the camp of the reformist counter-revolution.

So-called "*Guild Socialism*" (Penty, Orage, Hobson and others) is an eclectic attempt to unite "revolutionary" syndicalism with bourgeois-liberal Fabianism, anarchist decentralization ("national industrial guilds") with state-capitalist centralization, and medieval guild and craft narrowness with modern capitalism. Starting out with the ostensible demand for the abolition of the "wage system" as an "immoral" institution which must be abolished by means of workers' control of industry, Guild Socialism completely ignores the most important question, *viz.*, the question of power. While striving to unite workers, intellectuals, and technicians into a federation of national industrial "guilds" and to convert these guilds by peaceful means ("control from within") into organs for the administration of industry within the framework of the bourgeois state, Guild Socialism actually defends the bourgeois state, obscures its class, imperialist and anti-proletarian character and allots to it the function of the non-class representative of the interests of the "consumers" as against the guild-organized "producers". By its advocacy of "functional democracy", *i.e.*, representation of classes in capitalist society, each class being presumed to have a definite social and productive function, Guild Socialism paves the way for the fascist "Corporate State". By repudiating both parliamentarism and "direct action", the majority of the Guild Socialists doom the working class to inaction and passive subordination to the bourgeoisie. Thus, Guild Socialism represents a peculiar form of trade unionist utopian opportunism and, as such, cannot but play an anti-revolutionary role.

Lastly, *Austro-Marxism* represents a special variety of Social-Democratic reformism. Being a part of the "Left-wing" of Social-Democracy, Austro-Marxism represents a most subtle deception of the masses of the toilers. Prostituting the terminology of Marxism, while divorcing themselves entirely from the basic principles of revolutionary Marxism (the Kantism, Machism, etc., of the

Austro-Marxists in the domain of philosophy), toying with religion, borrowing the theory of "functional democracy" from the British reformists, agreeing with the principle of "building up the Republic", i.e., building up the bourgeois state, Austro-Marxism recommends "class cooperation" in periods of so-called "equilibrium of class forces", i.e., precisely at the time when the revolutionary crisis is maturing. This theory is a justification of coalition with the bourgeoisie for the overthrow of the proletarian revolution under the guise of defending "democracy" against the attacks of reaction. Objectively, and in practice, the violence which Austro-Marxism admits in cases of reactionary attack is converted into reactionary violence against the proletarian revolution. Hence, the "functional role" of Austro-Marxism is to deceive the workers already marching towards Communism, and therefore it is the most dangerous enemy of the proletariat, more dangerous than the avowed adherents of predatory social-imperialism.

All the above-mentioned tendencies, being constituent parts of "socialist" reformism, are agencies of the imperialist bourgeoisie within the working class itself. But Communism has to contend also against a number of petty-bourgeois tendencies, which reflect and express the vacillation of the unstable strata of society (the urban petty bourgeoisie, the lumpen-proletariat, the declassed Bohemian intellectuals, the pauperized artisans, certain strata of the peasantry, etc., etc.). These tendencies, which are distinguished for their extreme political instability, often cover up a Right policy with Left phraseology or drop into adventurism, substitute "radical" political gesticulation for objective estimation of forces and often tumble from astounding heights of revolutionary bombast to profound depths of pessimism and downright capitulation before the enemy. Under certain conditions, particularly in periods of sharp changes in the political situation and of forced temporary retreat, these tendencies may become very dangerous disrupters of the proletarian ranks and, consequently, a drag upon the revolutionary proletarian movement.

*Anarchism*, the most prominent representatives of which (Kropotkin, Jean Grave and others) treacherously went over to



the side of the imperialist bourgeoisie in the war of 1914-1918, denies the necessity for wide, centralized and disciplined proletarian organizations and thus leaves the proletariat powerless before the powerful organizations of capital. By its advocacy of individual terror, it distracts the proletariat from the methods of mass organization and mass struggle. By repudiating the dictatorship of the proletariat in the name of "abstract" liberty, anarchism deprives the proletariat of its most important and sharpest weapon against the bourgeoisie, its armies, and all its organs of repression. Being remote from mass movement of any kind in the most important centers of proletarian struggle, anarchism is steadily being reduced to a sect which, by its tactics and actions, including its opposition to the dictatorship of the working class in the U.S.S.R., has objectively joined the united front of the anti-revolutionary forces.

"*Revolutionary*" *syndicalism*, many ideologists of which in the extremely critical war period went over to the camp of the fascist type of "anti-parliamentary" counter-revolutionaries, or became peaceful reformists of the Social-Democratic type, by its repudiation of political struggle (particularly of revolutionary parliamentarism) and of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat, by its advocacy of the craft decentralization of the labor movement generally and of the trade union movement in particular, by its repudiation of the need for a proletarian party, and of the necessity of insurrection, and by its exaggeration of the importance of the general strike (the "folded-arms tactics"), like anarchism, hinders the revolutionization of the masses of the workers wherever it has any influence. Its attacks upon the U.S.S.R., which logically follow from its repudiation of dictatorship of the proletariat in general, place it in this respect on a level with Social-Democracy.

All these tendencies take a common stand with *Social-Democracy*, the principal enemy of the proletarian revolution, on the fundamental political issue, *viz.*, *the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat*. Hence, all of them come out more or less definitely in a united front with Social-Democracy against the U.S.S.R. On the other hand, Social-Democracy, which has utter-

ly and completely betrayed Marxism, tends to rely more and more upon the ideology of the Fabians, of the Constructive Socialists and of the Guild Socialists. These tendencies are becoming transformed into the official liberal-reformist ideology of the bourgeois "socialism" of the Second International.

*In the colonial countries* and among the oppressed peoples and races generally, communism encounters the influence of peculiar tendencies in the labor movement which played a useful role in a definite phase of development, but which, in the new stage of development, are becoming transformed into a reactionary force.

*Sun-Yat-Senism* in China expressed the ideology of petty-bourgeois democratic "socialism." In the "Three Principles" (nationalism, democracy, socialism), the concept "people" obscured the concept "classes"; socialism was presented, not as a specific mode of production, to be realized by a specific class, *i.e.*, by the proletariat, but as a vague state of social well-being, the struggle against imperialism was not linked up with the perspective of the development of the class struggle in China. Therefore, while it played a very useful role in the first stage of the Chinese revolution, as a consequence of the further process of class differentiation that has taken place in the country and of the further progress of the revolution, Sun-Yat-Senism has now changed from being the ideological expression of the development of that revolution into fetters of its further development. The epigones of Sun-Yat-Senism, by emphasizing and exaggerating the very features of this ideology that have become objectively reactionary, have transformed it into the official ideology of the Kuomintang, which is now an openly counter-revolutionary force. The ideological growth of the masses of the Chinese proletariat and of the toiling peasantry must therefore be accompanied by determined decisive struggle against the Kuomintang deception and by opposition to the remnants of the Sun-Yat-Senist ideology.

Tendencies like *Gandhi-ism* in India, thoroughly imbued with religious conceptions, idealize the most backward and economically most reactionary forms of social life, see the solution of the

social problem not in proletarian socialism, but in a reversion to these backward forms, preach passivity and repudiate the class struggle, and in the process of the development of the revolution become transformed into an openly reactionary force. Gandhism is more and more becoming an ideology directed against mass revolution. It must be strongly combatted by communism.

*Garveyism*, which formerly was the ideology of the Negro *small property owners and workers* in America, and which even now exercises some influence over the Negro masses, like Gandhism, has become a hindrance to the revolutionization of the Negro masses. Originally advocating social equality for Negroes, Garveyism subsequently developed into a peculiar form of Negro Zionism which, instead of fighting American imperialism, advanced the slogan: "Back to Africa!" This dangerous ideology, which bears not a single genuine democratic trait, and which toys with the aristocratic attributes of a non-existent "Negro kingdom", must be strongly resisted, for it is not a help but a hindrance to the mass Negro liberation struggle against American imperialism.

Standing out against all these tendencies is *proletarian communism*. The powerful ideology of the international revolutionary working class differs from all these tendencies, and primarily from Social-Democracy, in that in complete harmony with the teachings of Marx and Engels, it conducts *a theoretical and practical revolutionary struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and in the struggle applies all forms of proletarian mass action*.

## *2. The Fundamental Tasks of Communist Strategy and Tactics*

The successful struggle of the Communist International for the dictatorship of the proletariat presupposes the existence in every country of a compact Communist Party, hardened in the struggle, disciplined, centralized, closely linked up with the masses.

*The Party* is the vanguard of the working class and consists of the best, most class-conscious, most active, and most courageous members of that class. It incorporates the whole body of ex-

perience of the proletarian struggle. Basing itself upon the revolutionary theory of Marxism and representing the general and lasting interests of the whole of the working class, the Party personifies the unity of proletarian principles, of proletarian will and of proletarian revolutionary action. It is a revolutionary organization, bound by iron discipline and strict revolutionary rules of democratic centralism, which can be carried out thanks to the class-consciousness of the proletarian vanguard, to its loyalty to the revolution, its ability to maintain unbreakable ties with the proletarian masses and to its correct political leadership, which is constantly verified and clarified by the experiences of the masses themselves.

In order that it may fulfill its historic mission of achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Communist Party must first of all set itself and accomplish the following fundamental *strategic* aims:

Extend its influence over the *majority of members of its own class*, including working women and the working youth. To achieve this the Communist Party must secure predominant influence in the broad mass proletarian organizations (Soviets, trade unions, factory committees, cooperative societies, sport organizations, cultural organizations, etc.). It is particularly important for the purpose of winning over the majority of the proletariat, to gain control of the *trade unions*, which are genuine mass working class organizations closely bound up with the every-day struggles of the working class. To work in reactionary trade unions and skillfully to gain control of them, to win the confidence of the broad masses of the industrially organized workers, to change and "remove from their posts" the reformist leaders, represent important tasks in the preparatory period.

The achievement of the dictatorship of the proletariat presupposes also that the proletariat has acquired hegemony over *wide sections of the toiling masses*. To accomplish this the Communist Party must extend its influence over the masses of the urban and rural poor, over the lower strata of the intelligentsia and over the so-called "little man", *i.e.*, the petty-bourgeois strata generally. It is particularly important that work be carried on

for the purpose of extending the Party's influence over the *peasantry*. The Communist Party must secure for itself the whole-hearted support of that stratum of the rural population that stands closest to the proletariat, *i.e.*, the agricultural laborers and the rural poor. To this end, the agricultural laborers must be organized in separate organizations; all possible support must be given them in their struggles against the rural bourgeoisie, and strenuous work must be carried on among the small parcel farmers and small peasants. In regard to the middle strata of the peasantry in developed capitalist countries, the Communist Parties must conduct a policy to secure their neutrality. The fulfillment of all these tasks by the proletariat—the champion of the interests of the whole people and the leader of the broad masses in their struggle against the oppression of finance capital—is an essential prerequisite for the victorious communist revolution.

The tasks of the revolutionary struggle in *colonies, semi-colonies and dependencies* are extremely important strategic tasks of the Communist International from the standpoint of the world proletarian struggle. The colonial struggle presupposes that the broad masses of the working class and of the peasantry in the colonies be rallied around the banner of the revolution; but this cannot be achieved unless the closest cooperation is maintained between the proletariat in the oppressing countries and the toiling masses in the oppressed countries.

While organizing, under the banner of the proletarian dictatorship, the revolution against imperialism in the so-called civilized states, the Communist International supports every movement against imperialist oppression in the colonies, semi-colonies and dependencies (for example in Latin-America); it carries on propaganda against all forms of chauvinism and against the imperialist maltreatment of enslaved peoples and races, big and small (treatment of Negroes, "yellow labor", anti-Semitism, etc.), and supports their struggles against the bourgeoisie of the oppressing nations. The Communist International especially combats the chauvinism among the dominant nations of the great powers, the chauvinism fostered by the imperialist bourgeoisie as well as by its Social-Democratic agency, the Second International, and

constantly holds up in contrast to the practices of the imperialist bourgeoisie the practice of the Soviet Union, which has established relations of fraternity and equality among the nationalities inhabiting it.

The Communist Parties in the *imperialist countries* must render systematic aid to the colonial revolutionary liberation movement and to the movement of oppressed nationalities generally. The duty of rendering active support to these movements rests primarily upon the workers in the countries upon which the oppressed nations are economically, financially or politically dependent. The Communist Parties must openly recognize the right of the colonies to separation and their right to carry on propaganda for this separation, *i.e.*, propaganda in favor of the independence of the colonies from the imperialist state; they must recognize their right of armed defense against imperialism (*i.e.*, the right of rebellion and revolutionary war) and must advocate and give active support to this defense by all the means in their power. The Communist Parties must adopt this line of policy in regard to all oppressed nations.

The Communist Parties in the *colonial and semi-colonial countries* must carry on a bold and consistent struggle against foreign imperialism and unfailingly conduct propaganda in favor of friendship and unity with the proletariat in the imperialist countries. They must openly advance, conduct propaganda for and carry out the slogan of agrarian revolution; they must rouse the broad masses of the peasantry for the overthrow of the landlords and combat the reactionary and medieval influence of the clergy, of the missionaries and other similar elements.

In these countries, the principal task is to organize the workers and the peasantry *independently* (to establish class Communist Parties of the proletariat, trade unions, peasant leagues and committees and, in a revolutionary situation, Soviets, etc.), and to free them from the influence of the national bourgeoisie, with whom temporary agreements may be made only on the condition that they, the bourgeoisie, do not hamper the revolutionary organization of the workers and peasants, and that they carry on a genuine struggle against imperialism.

In determining its line of *tactics*, each Communist Party must take into account the concrete internal and external situation, the correlation of class forces, the degree of stability and strength of the bourgeoisie, the degree of preparedness of the proletariat, the position taken up by the various intermediary strata in its country, etc. The Party determines its slogans and methods of struggle in accordance with these circumstances, with the view to organizing and mobilizing the masses on the broadest possible scale and on the highest possible level of this struggle.

When a revolutionary situation is developing, the Party advances certain transitional slogans and partial demands corresponding to the concrete situation; but these demands and slogans must be bent to the revolutionary aim of capturing power and of overthrowing bourgeois capitalist society. The Party must neither stand aloof from the daily needs and struggle of the working class nor confine its activities exclusively to them. The task of the Party is to utilize these minor every-day needs as a *starting point* from which to lead the working class to the *revolutionary struggle for power*.

In the event of a *revolutionary upsurge*, if the ruling classes are disorganized, the masses are in a state of revolutionary ferment and the intermediary strata are inclining towards the proletariat, if the masses are ready for action and for sacrifice, the Party of the proletariat is confronted with the task of leading the masses to a direct attack upon the bourgeois state. This it does by carrying on propaganda in favor of increasingly radical transitional slogans (for Soviets, workers' control of industry, for peasant committees for the seizure of the big landed properties, for disarming the bourgeoisie and arming the proletariat, etc.), and by organizing *mass action*, upon which all branches of the Party agitation and propaganda, including parliamentary activity, must be concentrated. This mass action includes: a combination of strikes and demonstrations; a combination of strikes and armed demonstrations and finally, the general strike conjointly with armed insurrection against the state power of the bourgeoisie. The latter form of struggle, which is the supreme form, must be conducted according to the rules of military science;

it presupposes a plan of campaign, offensive fighting operations and unbounded devotion and heroism on the part of the proletariat. An absolutely essential prerequisite for this form of action is the organization of the broad masses into militant units, which, by their very form, embrace and set into action the largest possible numbers of toilers (Councils of Workers' Deputies, Soldiers' Councils, etc.), and intensified revolutionary work in the army and the navy.

In passing over to new and more radical slogans, the Parties must be guided by the fundamental role of the political tactics of Leninism, which call for ability to lead the masses to revolutionary positions in such a manner that the masses may, by their own experience, convince themselves of the correctness of the Party line. Failure to observe this rule must inevitably lead to isolation from the masses, to putschism, to the ideological degeneration of communism into "Leftist" dogmatism and to petty-bourgeois "revolutionary" adventurism. No less dangerous is the failure to take advantage of the culminating point in the development of the revolutionary situation, when the Party of the proletariat is called upon to conduct a bold and determined attack upon the enemy. To allow that opportunity to slip by and to fail to start rebellion at that point, means to allow the initiative to pass to the enemy and to doom the revolution to defeat.

When there is no revolutionary upsurge, the Communist Parties must advance *partial* slogans and demands that correspond to the every-day needs of the toilers, linking them up with the fundamental tasks of the Communist International. The Communist Parties must not, however, at such a time, advance *transitional* slogans that are applicable only to revolutionary situations (for example, workers' control of industry, etc.). To advance such slogans when there is no revolutionary situation means to transform them into slogans that favor merging with the system of capitalist organization. Partial demands and slogans generally form an essential part of correct tactics; but certain transitional slogans go inseparably with a revolutionary situation. Repudiation of partial demands and transitional slogans "on principle", however, is incompatible with the tactical principle of



communism, for in effect, such repudiation condemns the Party to inaction and isolates it from the masses. Throughout *the entire pre-revolutionary period* a most important basic part of the tactics of the Communist Parties is the *tactic of the united front*, as a means towards most successful struggle against capital, towards the class mobilization of the masses and the exposure and isolation of the reformist leaders.

The correct application of united front tactics and the fulfillment of the general task of winning over the masses presuppose in their turn systematic and persistent work in the *trade unions* and other mass proletarian organizations. It is the bounden duty of every Communist to belong to a trade union, even a most reactionary one, provided it is a mass organization. Only by constant and persistent work in the trade unions and in the factories for the steadfast and energetic defense of the interests of the workers, together with ruthless struggle against the reformist bureaucracy, will it be possible to win the leadership in the workers' struggle and to win the industrially organized workers over to the side of the Party.

Unlike the reformists, whose policy is to split the trade unions, the Communists defend *trade union unity* nationally and internationally on the basis of the class struggle, and render every support to and strengthen the work of the *Red International of Labor Unions*.

In universally championing the current everyday needs of the masses of the workers and of the toilers generally, in utilizing the bourgeois parliament as a platform for revolutionary agitation and propaganda, and subordinating the partial tasks to the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Parties of the Communist International advance partial demands and slogans in the following main spheres:

In the sphere of *labor*, in the narrow meaning of the term, *i.e.*, questions concerned with the *industrial struggle* (the fight against the trustified capitalist offensive, wage questions, the working day, compulsory arbitration, unemployment), which *grow* into questions of the general political struggle (big industrial conflicts, fight for the right to organize, right to strike,

etc.); in the sphere of *politics* proper (taxation, high cost of living, fascism, persecution of revolutionary parties, White terror and current politics generally); and finally the sphere of *world politics*; viz., attitude towards the U.S.S.R. and colonial revolutions, struggle for the unity of the international trade union movement, struggle against imperialism and the war danger, and systematic preparation for the fight against *imperialist war*.

In the sphere of the *peasant* problems, the partial demands are those appertaining to taxation, peasant mortgage indebtedness, struggle against usurer's capital, the land hunger of the peasant small holders, rent, the metayer (crop-sharing) system. Starting out from these partial needs, the Communist Party must sharpen the respective slogans and broaden them out into the slogans: confiscation of large estates, and workers' and peasants' government (the synonym for proletarian dictatorship in developed capitalist countries and for the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry in backward countries and in certain colonies).

Similarly, systematic work must be carried on among the proletarian and peasant *youth* (mainly through the Young Communist International and its Sections) and among *working women and peasant women*. This work must concern itself with the special conditions of life and struggle of the working and peasant women, and their demands must be linked up with the general demands and fighting slogans of the proletariat.

In the struggle against *colonial oppression*, the Communist Parties *in the colonies* must advance partial demands that correspond to the special circumstances prevailing in each country, such as: complete equality for all nations and races; abolition of all privileges for foreigners; the right to organize for workers and peasants; reduction of the working day; prohibition of child labor; prohibition of usury and of all transactions entailing bondage; reduction and abolition of rent; reduction of taxation; refusal to pay taxes, etc. All these partial slogans must be subordinate to the fundamental demands of the Communist Parties such as: complete political independence of the country and the expulsion of the imperialists, workers' and peasants' government,

the land to the whole people, eight-hour day, etc. The Communist Parties in *imperialist countries*, while supporting the struggle proceeding in the colonies, must carry on a campaign in their own respective countries for the withdrawal of imperialist troops, conduct propaganda in the army and navy in defense of the oppressed countries fighting for their liberation, mobilize the masses to refuse to transport troops and munitions and, in connection with this, to organize strikes and other forms of mass protest, etc.

The Communist International must devote itself especially to systematic preparation for the struggle against the *danger of imperialist wars*. Ruthless exposure of social-chauvinism, of social-imperialism and of pacifist phrasemongering intended to camouflage the imperialist plans of the bourgeoisie; propaganda in favor of the principal slogans of the Communist International; everyday organizational work in connection with this, in the course of which work legal methods must unfailingly be combined with illegal methods; organized work in the army and navy—such must be the activity of the Communist Parties in this connection. The fundamental slogans of the Communist International in this connection must be the following: Convert imperialist war into civil war; defeat “your own” imperialist government; defend the U.S.S.R. and the colonies by every possible means in the event of imperialist war against them. It is the bounden duty of all Sections of the Communist International, and of every one of its members, to carry on propaganda for these slogans, to expose the “socialistic” sophisms and the “socialist” camouflage of the League of Nations and constantly to keep to the front the experiences of the war of 1914-1918.

In order that revolutionary work and revolutionary action may be coordinated and in order that these activities may be guided most successfully, the international proletariat must be bound by *international class discipline*, for which, first of all, it is most important to have the strictest international discipline in the Communist ranks.

The international Communist discipline must find expression in the subordination of the partial and local interests of the movement to its general and lasting interests and in the strict

fulfillment, by all members, of the decisions passed by the leading bodies of the Communist International.

Unlike the Social-Democratic, Second International, each section of which submits to the discipline of "its own" national bourgeoisie and of its "fatherland", the Sections of the Communist International submit to only one discipline, *viz.*, international proletarian discipline, which guarantees victory in the struggle of the world's workers for world proletarian dictatorship. Unlike the Second International, which splits the trade unions, fights against colonial peoples, and practices unity with the bourgeoisie, the Communist International is an organization that guards proletarian unity in all countries and the unity of the toilers of all races and all peoples in their struggle against the yoke of imperialism.

Despite the bloody terror of the bourgeoisie, the Communists fight with courage and devotion on all sectors of the international class front, in the firm conviction that the victory of the proletariat is inevitable and cannot be averted.

*"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their aims can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all the existing social conditions. Let the ruling class tremble at a communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.*

*"Workers of all countries, unite!"*

# CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

## *1. Name and Objects*

1. The Communist International—the International Workers' Association—is a union of Communist Parties in various countries; it is the world Communist Party. As the leader and organizer of the world revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the protagonist of the principles and aims of Communism, the Communist International strives to win over the majority of the working class and the broad strata of the propertyless peasantry, fights for the establishment of the world dictatorship of the proletariat, for the establishment of a World Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, for the complete abolition of classes and for the achievement of socialism—the first stage of communist society.

2. Each of the various Parties affiliated to the Communist International is called the Communist Party of——— [name and country] (Section of the Communist International). In any given country there can be only one Communist Party affiliated to the Communist International and constituting its Section in that country.

3. Membership in the Communist Party and in the Communist International is open to all those who accept the program and rules of the respective Communist Party and of the Communist International, who join one of the basic units of the Party, actively work in it, abide by all the decisions of the Party and of the Communist International, and regularly pay Party dues.

4. The basic unit of the Communist Party organization is the nucleus in the place of employment (factory, workshop, mine, office, store, farm, etc.) which unites all the Party members employed in the given enterprise.

5. The Communist International and its Sections are built up on the basis of democratic centralism, the fundamental principles of which are: (a) election of all the leading committees

of the Party, from the lowest to the highest (by general meetings of Party members, conferences, congresses and international congresses); (b) periodical reports by leading Party committees to their constituents; (c) decisions of the higher Party organs to be obligatory for the lower organs, strict Party discipline and prompt execution of the decisions of the Communist International, of its leading committees and of the leading Party centers.

Party questions may be discussed by the members of the Party and by Party organizations until such time as a decision is taken upon them by the competent Party organs. After a decision has been taken by the Congress of the Communist International, by the Congress of the respective Sections, or by leading committees of the Comintern, and of its various Sections, the decision must be unreservedly carried out even if a part of the Party membership or of the local Party organizations are in disagreement with it.

In cases where a Party exists illegally, the higher Party committees may appoint the lower committees and co-opt members for their own committee, subject to subsequent endorsement by the competent higher Party committees.

6. In all non-Party workers' and peasants' mass organizations and in their leading committees (trade unions, co-operative societies, sport organizations, ex-servicemen's organizations, and at their congresses and conferences) and also on municipal elective bodies and in parliament, even if there are only two Party members in such organizations and bodies, Communist fractions must be formed for the purpose of strengthening the Party's influence and for carrying out its policy in these organizations and bodies.

7. The Communist fractions are subordinated to the competent Party bodies.

NOTE: A. Communist fractions in international organizations (Red International of Labor Unions, International Labor Defense, Workers International Relief, etc.), are subordinate to the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

B. The organizational structure of the Communist fractions and the manner in which their work is guided are determined by special instructions from the Executive Committee of the Communist International and from the Central Committees of the respective Sections of the Comintern.

## *11. The World Congress of the Communist International*

8. The supreme body of the Communist International is the World Congress of representatives of all Parties (Sections) and organizations affiliated to the Communist International.

The World Congress discusses and decides the programmatic, tactical and organizational questions connected with the activities of the Communist International and of its various Sections. Power to alter the Program and Constitution of the Communist International lies exclusively with the World Congress of the Communist International.

The World Congress shall be convened once every two years. The date of the Congress and the number of representatives from the various Sections to the Congress to be determined by the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The number of decisive votes to be allocated to each Section at the World Congress shall be determined by the special decision of the Congress itself, in accordance with the membership of the respective Party and the political importance of the respective country. Delegates to the Congress must have a free mandate; no imperative mandate can be recognized.

9. Special Congresses of the Communist International shall be convened on the demand of Parties which, at the preceding World Congress, had an aggregate of not less than one-half of the decisive votes.

10. The World Congress elects the Executive Committee of the Communist International (E.C.C.I.), and the International Control Commission (I.C.C.).

11. The location of the headquarters of the Executive Committee is decided on by the World Congress.

### *III. The Executive Committee of the Communist International and Its Subsidiary Bodies*

12. The leading body of the Communist International in the period between Congresses is the Executive Committee, which gives instructions to all the Sections of the Communist International and controls their activity.

The E.C.C.I. publishes the Central Organ of the Communist International, in not less than four languages.

13. The decisions of the E.C.C.I. are obligatory for all the Sections of the Communist International and must be promptly carried out. The Sections have the right to appeal against decisions of the E.C.C.I. to the World Congress, but the decisions of the E.C.C.I. must be carried out pending the action of the World Congress.

14. The Central Committees of the various Sections of the Communist International are responsible to their respective Party Congresses and to the E.C.C.I. The latter has the right to annul or amend decisions of Party Congresses and of Central Committees of Parties and also to make decisions which are obligatory for them. (Cf. Par. 13.)

15. The E.C.C.I. has the right to expel from the Communist International, entire Sections, groups and individual members who violate the program and constitution of the Communist International or the decisions of the World Congress or of the E.C.C.I. Persons and bodies expelled have the right to appeal to the World Congress.

16. The programs of the various Sections of the Communist International must be endorsed by the E.C.C.I. In the event of the E.C.C.I. refusing to endorse a program, the Section concerned has the right to appeal to the World Congress of the Communist International.

17. The leading organs of the press of the various Sections of the Communist International must publish all the decisions and official documents of the E.C.C.I. These decisions must, as far as possible, be published also in the other organs of the Party press.



18. The E.C.C.I. has the right to accept affiliation to the Communist International of organizations and Parties sympathetic to Communism, such organizations to have a consultative voice.

19. The E.C.C.I. elects a Presidium responsible to the E.C.C.I., which acts as the permanent body carrying out all the business of the E.C.C.I. in the interval between the meetings of the latter.

20. The E.C.C.I. and its Presidium have the right to establish permanent bureaus (Western European, South American, Eastern and other Bureaus of the E.C.C.I.), for the purpose of establishing closer contact with the various Sections of the Communist International and in order to be better able to guide their work.

NOTE: The scope of the activities of the permanent bureaus of the E.C.C.I. shall be determined by the E.C.C.I. or by its Presidium. The Sections of the Communist International which come within the scope of activities of the permanent bureaus of the E.C.C.I. must be informed of the powers conferred on these bureaus.

21. The Sections must carry out the instructions of the permanent bureaus of the E.C.C.I. Sections may appeal against the instructions of the permanent bureaus to the E.C.C.I. or to its Presidium, but must continue to carry out such instructions pending the decision of the E.C.C.I. or of its Presidium.

22. The E.C.C.I. and its Presidium have the right to send their representatives to the various Sections of the Communist International. Such representatives receive their instructions from the E.C.C.I. or from its Presidium, and are responsible to them for their activities. Representatives of the E.C.C.I. have the right to participate in meetings of the central Party bodies as well as of the local organizations of the Sections to which they are sent. Representatives of the E.C.C.I. must carry out their commission in close contact with the Central Committee of the Section to which they are sent. They may, however, speak in opposition to the Central Committee of the given Section, at Congresses and Conferences of that Section, if the line of the

Central Committee in question diverges from the instructions of the E.C.C.I. Representatives of the E.C.C.I. are especially obliged to supervise the carrying out of the decisions of the World Congresses and of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The E.C.C.I. and its Presidium also have the right to send instructors to the various Sections of the Communist International. The powers and duties of instructors are determined by the E.C.C.I., to whom the instructors are responsible in their work.

23. Meetings of the E.C.C.I. must take place not less than once every six months. A quorum consists of not less than one-half of the membership of the E.C.C.I.

24. Meetings of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. must take place not less than once a fortnight. A quorum consists of not less than one-half of the membership of the Presidium.

25. The Presidium elects the Political Secretariat, which is empowered to make decisions, and which also draws up proposals for the meetings of the E.C.C.I. and of its Presidium, and acts as their executive body.

26. The Presidium appoints the editorial committees of the periodical and other publications of the Communist International.

27. The Presidium of the E.C.C.I. sets up a Department for Work among Women Toilers, permanent committees for guiding the work of definite groups of Sections of the Communist International and other departments for its work.

#### *IV. The International Control Commission*

28. The International Control Commission investigates matters affecting the unity of the Sections affiliated to the Communist International and also matters connected with the Communist conduct of individual members of the various Sections.

For this purpose the I.C.C.,

A. Examines complaints against the actions of Central Committees of Communist Parties lodged by Party members who have been subjected to disciplinary measures for political differences;

B. Examines such analogous matters concerning members

of central bodies of Communist Parties and of individual Party members as it deems necessary, or which are submitted to it by the deciding bodies of the E.C.C.I.;

c. Audits the accounts of the Communist International.

The International Control Commission must not intervene in the political differences or in organizational and administrative conflicts in the Communist Parties.

The headquarters of the I.C.C. are fixed by the I.C.C., in agreement with the E.C.C.I.

#### *V. The Relationship Between the Sections of the Communist International and the E.C.C.I.*

29. The Central Committees of Sections affiliated to the Communist International and the Central Committees of affiliated sympathizing organizations must send to the E.C.C.I. the Minutes of their meetings and reports of their work.

30. Resignation from office by individual members or groups of members of Central Committees of the various Sections is regarded as disruptive of the Communist movement. Leading posts in the Party do not belong to the occupant of that post, but to the Communist International as a whole. Elected members of the Central leading bodies of the various Sections may resign before their time of office expires only with the consent of the E.C.C.I. Resignations accepted by Central Committees of Sections without the consent of the E.C.C.I. are invalid.

31. The Sections affiliated to the Communist International must maintain close organizational and informational contact with each other, arrange for mutual representation at each other's conferences and congresses, and with the consent of the E.C.C.I., exchange leading comrades. This applies particularly to the Sections in imperialist countries and their colonies, and to the Sections in countries adjacent to each other.

32. Two or more Sections of the Communist International which (like the Sections in the Scandinavian countries and in the Balkans) are politically connected with each other by common conditions of struggle, may, with the consent of the E.C.C.I.,

form federations for the purpose of co-ordinating their activities, such federations to work under the guidance and control of the E.C.C.I.

33. The Sections of the Comintern must regularly pay affiliation dues to the E.C.C.I.; the amount of such dues to be determined by the E.C.C.I.

34. Congresses of the various Sections, ordinary and special, can be convened only with the consent of the E.C.C.I.

In the event of a Section failing to convene a Party Congress prior to the convening of a World Congress, that Section, before electing delegates to the World Congress, must convene a Party conference, or Plenum of its Central Committee, for the purpose of considering the questions that are to come before the World Congress.

35. The International League of Communist Youth (Communist Youth International) is a Section of the Communist International with full rights and is subordinate to the E.C.C.I.

36. The Communist Parties must be prepared for transition to illegal conditions. The E.C.C.I. must render the Parties concerned assistance in their preparations for transition to illegal conditions.

37. Individual members of Sections of the Communist International may pass from one country to another only with the consent of the Central Committee of the Section of which they are members.

Communists changing their domicile must join the Section in the country of their new domicile. Communists leaving their country without the consent of the Central Committee of their Section must not be accepted into other Sections of the Communist International.

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