

Draft of the Russian Communist Party Program

1) The Russian Revolution of November 7, 1917 has introduced the proletarian dictatorship, which—with the aid of the poorest peasantry and proletariat—is laying the foundation of Communist society. The growth of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in all countries, and the world phenomena and development of the Soviet form of this movement which directly aims to realize the proletarian dictatorship, and last, but not least, the beginning and course of development of the revolution in Austro-Hungary and Germany—all this indicates clearly that the era of the proletarian, Communist world-revolution has come.

2) The correct comprehension of the cause, significance and purpose of this revolution requires an interpretation of the essence of Capitalism and its development through Imperialism and the imperialistic war which accelerated the collapse of Capitalism.

3) The nature of Capitalism and bourgeois society, which still prevails in the majority of the civilized countries, and the evolution of which inevitably leads to the Communist revolution of the proletariat of the world, was correctly characterized in our old program—if we do not consider the indefinite name of the party, "Social-Democratic"—in the following thesis:

4) The main peculiarity of such a society is its commodity character of production, based on capitalistic relations of production, by virtue of which the most important part of the means of production and distribution of commodities is the property of a small class, while the great majority of the population, the proletarians and semi-proletarians, who are forced—due to their economic circumstances—to sell their labor-power continually or periodically, *i. e.* to become wage-slaves in order, by their labor, to create the income of the superior classes and of society as a whole.

5) The sphere of capitalist production is enlarged ever more and more, and, with the constant growth of technology, the economic significance of large enterprises is increased, leading to the elimination of small independent producers, minimizing the role of the rest in the social economic life, and lowering them to the position of dependence on Capitalism.

6) The growth of industrial science also gives the exploiters an opportunity to utilize to a greater extent female and child labor in the process of the production and distribution of commodities. And as, on the other hand, it leads to the relative diminution of the demand for human labor by the employers, the supply of labor power is thus greater than the demand, consequently the dependence of wage labor upon capital increases.

7) Such a condition of affairs in the bourgeois countries, and their constant reciprocal competition, becoming ever more acute, in the world market make more and more difficult the sale of commodities which are produced in constantly increasing quantities. Over production, manifesting itself in acute industrial crises and the ensuing periods of industrial stagnation, is an inevitable consequence of the development of productive forces in bourgeois society. Crises and periods of industrial stagnation, on the other hand, still more devastate the small producers, still more increase the dependence of wage-labor upon capital, still faster leads to the relative and sometimes absolute degradation of the conditions of the working class.

8) Thus the growth of technology, which

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It is necessary to state that the intrinsic character of this program must be altered, and that it is not only a brief summary of the Marxian study of the newest, imperialistic phase of Capitalism, but also the experience of the world war and a year of practice of the proletarian dictatorship.

The committee is forced to admit that—due to the complicated task and the haste with which it was done—this draft is merely the first rough compilation of the cumulative material. The committee accordingly asks the comrades to discuss the matter thoroughly and propose corrections.

In order to facilitate discussion, the introduction of new phraseology and other corrections, the draft is divided into numbered paragraphs; this numeration will have to be omitted in the final text.

THE COMMITTEE.

means the increased productivity of labor and the growth of social wealth, enlarges the social inequality of bourgeois society, increases the chasm between the possessing and non-possessing classes, swells the ranks of the unemployed, and makes more acute the want of larger and larger masses of labor.

9) With the increase and development of all these contradictions characteristic of capitalist society, the discontent of the laboring and exploited masses with the existing order of things also grows adding to the number and the unity of the proletarians, and thus their combat against the exploiters becomes ever more acute. At the same time the concentration of the means of production and distribution and the socialization of the process of labor in capitalist enterprises, creates ever faster the material possibility of supplanting the capitalist mode of production by the Communist, *i. e.* that social revolution which impersonates the final aim of all the activity of the International Communist Party as a conscious expression of the class movement.

10) Supplanting private ownership of the means of production and distribution by co-operative ownership and introducing a systematic organization of the process of social production in order to secure the welfare and full development of every member of society, the social revolution of the proletariat will abolish the division of society into classes and will thus liberate all oppressed humanity, inasmuch as it will end every form of exploitation of one part of society by another.

11) The dictatorship of the proletariat is a *sine qua non* of this social revolution, *i. e.* the installation of the proletarian political rule, which will effectively suppress any resistance on the part of the exploiters. Taking it as our task to make the proletariat capable of fulfilling its great mission in the interest of all humanity, the International Communist Party has organized itself into an independent political party in opposition to all bourgeois parties, to direct all manifestations of the class struggle of the proletariat, which reveals the irreconcilable contrast of the interests of the exploiters and the exploited and indicates the historical significance and inevitability of the coming social revolution. At the same time

the Party reveals to the rest of the laboring and exploited masses the hopelessness of their circumstances in capitalist society and the necessity of the social revolution in the interest of their deliverance from the yoke of Capitalism. The party of the working class, the Communist Party, invites into its ranks all strata of the laboring and exploited population as far as they accept the proletarian standpoint.

12) The concentration and centralization of capital, undermining free competition, has led to the creation of mighty monopolistic corporations of capitalists—syndicates, kartells, trusts—which control the whole economic life: the amalgamation of financial interests (bank capital) with concentrated industrial capital; the invasion of foreign countries by the big interests; and the actual economic division of the whole world among the wealthiest capitalist powers, and, last but not least, it has led to the world war. This is an epoch of financial interests—the epoch of the hostility of the big interests of one country towards the big interests of another, which led to the world war.

13) This strife has led to the imperialistic war—war for markets, for spheres of investment for capital, of raw material, of cheap labor-power, *i. e.*, for world domination and for the strangling of the small and weak nations. Such is the nature of the first imperialistic war of 1914-18.

14) The high degree of development of world Capitalism in general, the supplantation of free competition by state-monopolistic Capitalism, the creation by the banks and also by industrial corporations of a capitalist machinery for public regulation of the process of production and distribution, the increase—which is intimately combined with the growth of capitalist monopoly—of the cost of living and the suppression of the working classes by the trusts, the bondage of the proletariat by the imperialistic state, the enormous hindrance of the political and economic struggle of the proletariat, the terror of poverty and the devastation produced by the imperialistic war—all this accelerates the transition from Capitalism to the new era of the proletarian-Communist revolution. This epoch has come.

15) The imperialistic war could not result in a just peace, or in a general and more or less steadfast peace under the prevalence of bourgeois governments. It inevitably developed and develops into a civil war of the exploited and laboring masses, with the proletariat as their vanguard, against the bourgeoisie. The increasing offensive of the proletariat and especially its triumphs in individual countries augments the resistance of the exploiters and forces them to create new forms of international unity of capitalists (as the League of Nations, etc.), who organizing as a world entity direct all their efforts against the proletariat in order to suppress the revolutionary movement of the working class of all countries.

All this inevitably leads to civil within individual countries and to revolutionary wars of proletarian countries defending themselves against invasion as well as small suppressed nations revolting against the yoke of the imperialistic powers. Under these conditions the slogans of pacifism, of international disarmament under Capitalism, arbitration, etc. are not only reactionary and utopian, but they are intended as a direct deception of the laboring

(Continued on page 7)