

ENLARGED COMMITTEE OF COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL DISCUSSES PROGRAM FOR CONSIDERATION AT 5th CONGRESS

This is the second article of a series giving the complete report of the Fifth World Congress of the Communist International and also the discussions which took place at the meetings of the Enlarged Executive of the Presidium of the C. I. prior to the opening sessions of the International.

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MOSCOW, June 15. (By Mail.)—Today's session of the Enlarged Executive of the Communist International discussed the program, to be presented to the Fifth Congress for consideration. Comrade Bukharin was the reporter. His report and the discussion in brief is as follows:

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD.

Reporter: Comrade Bukharin.

1. Fundamental Processes and Secondary Processes.

Under this heading I intend to convey the following: the whole process of building up a new order:

a) The real proletarian revolution, viewed in all its stages, the motive power of which is the proletariat, and which is thus the classic proletarian revolution; then:

b) The combination of this proletarian revolution with peasant risings as Marx has expressed it. Marx

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Discuss World Program for Communism

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said that the best combination was that of proletarian revolution with peasant war. Thus, the rising of the proletariat together with agrarian revolution;

c) National war and colonial risings. The mutual relations and influence of these processes can be shown in our draft program. The divisions among the imperialist powers as the basis for the creation of a new order of proletarian dictatorship.

2. The change in the objective meaning of this process, from the point of view of its general historical conditions.

If an isolated national revolutionary movement occurs, it is no part of the general process of world revolution. It is otherwise, however, if it can be regarded as a part of the world revolution.

3. Ripe and unripe countries, from the point of view of preparation for Socialism. This point of view of preparation for Socialism. This point is related to those enumerated above. There are various stages and periods of transition in the ripeness for socialism in various countries. For instance, Russia. Here there has been much dispute, as to whether we have the material basis for socialism, or not. Russia is a clear example in which, while not all the material conditions are ripe, the proletariat, because it has risen victorious, has the opportunity to achieve socialism—if not rapidly, at least step by step. This question was touched upon in one of Lenin's last articles. I believe that the consideration of this question is very important, in order to grasp the many-sided nature of the processes of world revolution.

4. The various types of socialism and capitalism.

Various Types.

It is absolutely clear that, from the abstract analytical standpoint, the basis of the revolution on the one side, and of the early stages of positive socialist development on the other, mark the end of the given period of capitalist development. From the practical standpoint we must distinguish various types. Capitalism, which has existed for many centuries, shows at the end of its development very varied and peculiar features. If for instance, we compare the capitalism of France with that of the United States we see that both are in their death throes not in a literal sense but considered from the broader historical standpoint; but we also see that they are very different. The French capitalist State is of the small rentier type. One can naturally go farther in seeking out the various types. I am only making general observations. But from these observations it follows absolutely clearly that the early stages of socialism will similarly have their peculiar types. The decisive factor is the social-economic structure of the country. In Russia, for instance, where the form of the early stages of socialism is strongly influenced by the peasants and the petty-bourgeoisie, one speaks of Asiatic socialism. These features would not appear in England for instance.

5. The revolution from proletarian dictatorship into socialism.

On this matter I made a report to the Fourth Congress of the International.

After the conquest of power, a process of evolution begins. After the revolutionary upheaval we have the prerequisites for further development. This process is governed by other laws than the process before the conquest of power. This terminology with regard to evolution has fallen somewhat into disfavor because the reformists have made much use of it. Their mistake lies in that they wish to solve the problem of evolution into socialism before the dictatorship, when the prerequisites for this are not yet present. For them, as the war clearly showed, it was evolution proceeding within the organism of the capitalist State. The leap-the-dictatorship—was ruled out. This, to which the name of social evolution was given, was quite a wrong attitude; in reality it was only an evolution into the bourgeois State. That does not mean however that no disturbances of a catastrophic nature are possible in the early stages of socialism. Counter-revolution which would throw back the whole process is possible. On the other hand there are possibilities of class conflicts which are not particularly evolutionary. For instance, in Russia we had various peasant risings in which the richer peasant united with the bourgeois traitors. These occurrences are nothing but the fluctuations in their earlier stages. They make no difference to the general question. All these catastrophes do not point towards socialism but towards the retreat from socialism. These reflections on evolution should be considered from the following different points of views:

Process of Conquest.

1) From the point of view of politics, and the dying out of the State (in the first period the building of the proletarian State is represented by an ever rising curve).

2.) With regard to the economic situation the question of the struggle between private capitalism, petty-bourgeois economy, or simple commodity production, etc.—it is not a process of catastrophic annihilation but of conquest.

3) The building up of a new generation: Marx has written that during this period of civil war, national war, and class war, the proletariat will change its human nature. Thus, political forms, economic forms, the changing of the human nature of the proletariat,—are all processes of an evolutionary nature. From this it follows clearly that every attempt at catastrophic development is one counter-revolutionary.

6. The special law of this process. Here we must make a distinction in principle. Capitalistic development is nothing more than the expanded reproduction of the contradictions of capitalism and is thus the main cause of its downfall. That is a conception which is different in principle from that of the reformists. After the conquest of power we had not the expanded reproduction of these contradictions but their restriction. We cannot destroy all the contradictions of capitalism, which exist with us, with one blow. We could not immediately after the conquest of power organize everything. The crises in the early stages of the construction of socialist economy were absolutely inevitable occurrences. These social contradictions can only gradually be overcome. The chief differences consist in that we have a law of social evolution which is different in principle from all others.

Opposing Alliances.

7. The question of alliances under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the last stage of the development of capitalism, an alliance takes place between the two sections of property owners—between the industrial magnates and the great landowners. Real antagonism exists between them, nevertheless, in this last stage of capitalism, they appear as a fairly compact mass. In opposition to this alliance, appears the alliance of the proletariat and the peasants. In practice, we have the reflection of this theoretical idea in the colonial question.

8. The problem of culture in this period. The question is important not only from the standpoint of the preparatory period, but it plays a great part after the conquest of political power. From this point of view we perceive a difference in principle between bourgeois and proletarian revolution. This difference is that the bourgeois order grew up, as a whole, within the feudal system. The whole apparatus of capitalism, the whole capitalistic hierarchy, not only the workers, but also the directors of the processes of production—all were there. In the feudal system the bourgeoisie is not the exploited but the exploiting class. It divides its gains, in the form of taxes, with the feudal class, but it exploits the proletariat within feudal society. It is thus not only an oppressed class, but it stands on a higher level than the ruling class. It is not economically exploited, it is only partly, politically oppressed. Culturally it is not oppressed. All culture concentrates in the towns.

Social Democrats Blind.

The process of proletarian revolution is quite otherwise. We have never seen it before, and the social-democrats will never see it. The basis of socialism is technique, science and the working class itself. But working class captains of industry cannot develop within capitalist society itself. That would be a contradiction in principle. Socialism grows within capitalism quite differently from the growth of capitalism within feudal society. The working class is oppressed not only politically but also economically. Some comrades—for example Bogdanov—do not agree with this. Bogdanov says that with the development of the automatic machine the proletarian approaches nearer and nearer to the engineer. This is not true. For with the growth of the technical skill of the worker the skill of the engineer also rises. For this reason the proletariat, even before the conquest of political power, needs assistance from other sections—from the bourgeois intellectuals. After the conquest of political power this problem becomes still more acute. We are confronted with the most difficult problems because we have no geologists, engineers, mathematicians, professors, etc. The question of the "expert," of securing specialists from outside becomes acute. "The building up of culturally qualified cadres" in the proletariat is a great question.

In his last book Kautsky says that the period of transition consists in a coalition government, but he says not a word about industry. In a coalition government we could never solve the problem of culture.

Experience Lacking.

9. The possibility of the degeneration of the proletarian revolution. The necessity for drawing upon certain bourgeois forces for aid arises from the inevitable deficiencies of the proletariat—deficiencies due to lack of qualification for certain tasks. And I maintain that this problem is common in every proletarian revolution; it is not specially Russian—it is only the dimensions of the problem which vary. The so-called unfitness to govern—clumsiness or ignorance—are simply due to the fact that the proletariat has had and could have had no experience. And since in the early stages of the building of socialism we are obliged to make partial use of hostile forces, the possibility has arisen that a certain stratum, including some of our own people, may become detached from the common aim

of the socialist movement. The cultural superiority of the forces, hostile yet at the same time socially necessary to us, may hinder our whole development.

This problem must be solved on the one hand by creating our own "cadres" of qualified assistants. But this solution is not complete; for at once the possibility arises that such "cadres" will become transformed into a new class of intellectuals which will develop into a new bourgeoisie. Here yet another problem arises. What guarantee have we that contact will be maintained between the "cadres" in process of formation, on the one hand, and the new strata of proletarians on the other? Thus we have two questions: a) the solution of the problem of creating "cadres;" b) the cultural improvement of all the masses, insuring a steady influx of fresh proletarian elements into the "cadres" so that eventually the whole conception of "cadres" becomes superfluous. Reactionary tendencies will be found in every proletarian revolution. So long as we recognize them we need not fear them, for they are inevitable, they are not insurmountable.

Agitational Excesses.

10. The problem of production. The material basis of the new economic order.

On this question we drag in agitational excesses into our theoretical reasoning. In no land is the proletariat, under the capitalist yoke, so ripe that its revolutionary enthusiasm can be developed by the watchword of improved methods of production. It will be impossible with this slogan—that we shall organize methods of production better than the capitalists,—to raise among the masses that hatred of the capitalists which is nevertheless a prerequisite for victorious revolution.

If it is incorrect to believe that the capitalist system is wrong because it accumulates too much. On the contrary. After the conquest of power, we must reckon with a decline of production with a lower standard of living also for the proletariat. But we must try to accumulate. In the first stage of socialism this will be one of the most difficult problems.

To sum up:

- 1) The most important prerequisite for the development, which differs in principle from previous development, is the conquest of political power.
 - 2) The creation of the material-economic side.
 - 3) The changing of the "human nature of the proletariat" and later also of the whole human material.
- These are the main lines of the transition period.

AS WE SEE IT

By T. J. O'FLAHERTY.

Communists often say that the capitalists honor their own laws only so long as such observance suits their purpose. The truth of this statement is attested to every day, in the United States and all over the world. The Germans are supposed to be strictly proper. They had a reputation as observers of rules and regulations. But two instances in recent German history show that the German ruling class acts under compulsion in a manner no different to its brother robber class of other countries.

The raid on the Soviet Commercial Bureau was one instance. In open violation of international law, the secret police under the instructions of the Minister of the Interior, broke into the Soviet offices, on the pretext of looking for a prisoner and searched for him thru the files and the pigeon-holes of the embassy. They did not care so much about finding the alleged prisoner, but they carted away several truck loads of Soviet documents. That is what they were after. Having accomplished their purpose, the German statesman, apologized for the act, but kept the documents and proceeded to spread propaganda about Russian interference in the affairs of Germany.

The latest violation of German laws by the German ruling class was the recent raid on the Prussian diet and German Reichstag and the seizure of more "Communist documents." The revelations are framed in the best William J. Burns style. Assassination plots, chekas, plots to blow up water works, plans to shut off gas and electricity, served up with the latest embellishments known to the specialists in the art of lying. The German communists make no secret of the fact that they have organizations whose object is to overthrow the capitalist system in Germany and organize a Soviet Republic. But the German Fascisti led by Ludendorff are also armed and parade openly with the connivance of the German government. Ludendorff and his gang threaten to take over the government by force whenever it fails to reach his standard of reaction. Yet the government, at the head of which is a socialist, looks on with benevolent neutrality. But, the Communists—that is different.

The Dawes report has hard sledding in Europe. The French trust magnates were in favor of it at first, because it promised them money at German expense, while it did not tell them to get out of the Ruhr. Now, Ramsay MacDonald, acting for the British Federation of Industries, does not relish the idea of the French getting the money and still keeping the Ruhr. That would not be fair to the British heavy industries which are suffering from the competition of the French. The socialist MacDonald and the radical socialist Herriot, much tho they would like to come to terms in order to preserve themselves politically, must listen to the master's voice and act accordingly. The Dawes report was designed to stabilize European capitalism, at the expense of the working class. MacDonald and Herriot were quite willing it should be done this way, but the capitalists of Europe, like the Democratic candidates for the presidency, may risk bringing the whole structure down over their ears rather than share the spoils with each other.

Lord Danesfort is the Fred R. Marvin of England. Mr. Marvin is the gentleman who furnishes the American capitalists with a daily thriller on the progress of "subversive" movements, which includes anything from the superannuated Daughters of the Revolution to the Workers Party. Marvin does it for a living, of course, and no doubt laughs heartily at the dupes who keep him eating beans and coffee. The British lord, however, presumably is not so hard up and his

recent exposure of Communist activity is due more to softening of the brain than a desire to shake down the capitalist class.

The old fossil has learned that the Communists are teaching sedition and blasphemy to little children on Sunday. This is awful! If they had confined their pernicious activities to the less sacred days of the week, the noble lord might excuse them, but Sunday, that is an entirely different matter. In order to curb this menace, the Lord introduced a bill in the House of Lords, entitled "The Seditious and Blasphemous Teaching to Children Bill." The Communists, argued the noble lord when presenting his bill, are holding up religion to contempt and their comment on patriotism is shocking. They go even farther than the famous English writer who said that "patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel." One of the Communist commandments, said Danesfort reads, "Thou shalt not be a patriot, for a patriot is a national blackleg." They might have added and at times "an international blackleg."

A Communist school teacher is supposed to have justified the killing (he called it murder) of the notorious Sir Henry Wilson, whose life was shortened by Irish republicans two years ago. Sir Henry was one of the British murderers responsible for the Black and Tan outrages in Ireland. Lord Danesfort made it quite clear that he was not attacking "socialist" Sunday schools. The socialist schools were alright excepting in cases where a Communist teacher might sneak in, under the guise of socialist.

The Archbishop of Canterbury also had his say on the question. "They teach free love," he snuffled. Their stuff was so vile, declared that pious fraud that he would not dare to quote it even tho there were no ladies present. The disciples of Sir Alfred Douglas who comprise the great majority of the House of Lords are not known to tremble before the spectre of free love, but free love even in the sense that it is used by foul minded clergymen, is too tame a diversion for those jaded preverts. The British aristocracy have elevated sex perversion to a fine art, and like our own monied aristocracy their sexual animadversions provide the yellow press of England with its best circulation material. The Communists do not advocate "free love." They seek to abolish the present inequitable form of society which places a price on love. The relationships between the sexes under the capitalist system are only too often on a cash basis. Under Communism, women would not be obliged to sell themselves to such morons as Lord Danesfort, who are generally provided with more money than brains. The Lord fears real equality, therefore he kicks at the thought of losing his present advantageous position.



The Poor Fish says: I was going to run for president in order to break the deadlock, but McAdoo stole my tail so I couldn't get into the swim. Now I am flopping around on my fins like the rest of the lame ducks.