

THE PROLETARIAT IS REVOLUTIONARY OR IT IS NOTHING

SPECIAL ISSUE

THE PROGRAMME OF THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION

WORLD COMMUNIST GROUP

PROGRAMME

The line of the Historical Communist Party :

YESTERDAY *Historical invariance of the Communist Programme elaborated by Marx and Engels, and defended in "The Communists' League" (Manifesto of the Communist Party), in the "A.I.T." (work of the London general council), during the Commune in the second International against its decay and failure, (Socialist Left in Germany, Bolsheviks, Socialist Left in Italy - Abstentionist fraction) ; that triumphs in Russia in 1917 (proletarian and communist nature of the October Revolution), and internationally in 1919, foundation of the Communist International : the Italian Communist Left expounds the higher and uncompromising principles of the entirely proletarian revolution (rupture with any kind of democracy : Livorno 1921) and struggles within against opportunism ; safeguarded after the revisionist decay of the IC by the Communist Left of Italy (the sole survivor to the counter-revolution) : lessons of the counter-revolutions - restoration of the frame of the Marxist doctrine - reassertment of the Marxist catastrophic prediction - on the historical course of the democratic counter-revolution.*

TODAY *Organic continuity, centralised and planned, of the programmatic restoration of the World Communist Party with the view to its reformation : aim of the World Communist Group. Fixing of its characteristics : programme - strategy - tactics - organization. Description of its genesis and prediction of its rebirth in the catastrophic crisis of the capitalist system.*

TOMORROW *Organization of the Proletariat into class thus into Communist Party, centralist, organic and worldwide, for the realization of the Communist Programme ; strategy of the entirely proletarian revolution born of the catastrophic collapse of the capitalist system ; revolutionary insurrection ; destruction of the Bourgeois State of the Capital's dictatorship ; exercise of the dictatorship of the Proletariat by the Communist Party ; refusal of the democratic election mystification as well as of trade-union reformism ; final goal of the suppression of Democracy ; world socialism unmonetary and unmercantile, abolition of the wages and classes ; decline of State and reappropriation of Human Being, genuine Gemeinwesen of man.*

In the entirely developed Proletariat, the abstraction of any humanity, even of the appearance of humanity is finished in practice : in the living conditions of the Proletariat all the living conditions of today's society are condensed in the most inhuman way.

In the Proletariat, Man, as a matter of fact, has lost himself but has required meanwhile the theoretical conscience of that loss ; moreover, the misery that he can no longer avoid or disguise, the misery that ineluctably imposes upon him - the practical expression of necessity - compels him to revolt against such inhumanity ; that's why, the Proletariat can and necessarily must get free by itself. Yet; it cannot get free by itself without abolishing its own living conditions. It cannot abolish its own living conditions without abolishing all the inhuman living conditions of to-day's society that are embodied in its situation. It does not go, in vain, through the tough but uplifting school of labour. It is not a matter of knowing which aim some proletarian or another, or even the Proletariat as a whole, is momentarily visualizing. It is a matter of knowing what Proletariat is and what it will historically be bound to do, in conformity with this "being". Its aim and its historical action are shown to it, in a tangible and irrevocable way, in its own situation as well as in the whole organization of today's bourgeois society.

MARX-ENGELS, 1845

MARXIST WAR AGAINST THE RIGHTS OF MAN AND OF THE CITIZEN.

The rights of man as such are distinguished from the rights of the citizen, from civil rights. Who is this man distinguished from the citizen? None other than the member of civil society. Why is the member of civil society called "man", simply man, and why are his rights called the rights of man? How can we explain this fact? By the relation of the political state to civil society and by the nature of political emancipation.

First of all, let us note that the so-called rights of man as distinguished from the rights of the citizen are only the rights of a member of civil society, that is, of egoistic man, man separated from other men and from the community. The most radical constitution, the (French) Constitution of 1793, may be quoted:

Déclaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. Article 2. "These rights, etc..." (the natural and imprescriptible rights) "are: equality, liberty, security, property."

What is this liberty?

Article 6. "Liberty is the power belonging to each man to do anything which does not impair the rights of others," or, according to the Declaration of the Rights of Man of 1791: "Liberty consists of the power to do anything which does not harm others."

Liberty is thus the right to do and perform anything that does not harm others. The limit within which each can act without harming others is determined by law just as the boundary between two fields is marked by a stake. What is involved here is the liberty of man as an isolated monad, withdrawn into himself. Why, according to Bauer, is the Jew not capable of acquiring human rights? "So long as he remains a Jew, the limited nature which makes him a Jew must triumph over the human nature which should link him as a man with other men and must separate him from non-Jews."

But liberty as a right of man is not based on the association of man with man, but rather on the separation of man from man. It is the right of this separation, the right of the limited individual, limited to himself.

The practical application of the right of liberty is the right of private property.

Of what does the right of private property consist? Article 16 (Constitution of 1793): "The right of property is that belonging to every citizen to enjoy and dispose of his goods, his revenues, the fruit of his labor and of his industry, as he wills."

The right of private property is thus the right to enjoy and dispose of one's possessions as one wills, without regard for other men and independently of society. Individual freedom, as well as its application, constitutes the foundation of civil society. It lets every man find in other men not the realization but rather the limitation of his own freedom. It proclaims above all the right of man "to enjoy and dispose of his goods, his revenues, the fruit of his labour and of his industry, as he wills".

There still remain the other rights of man, equality and security.

Equality, here used in its nonpolitical sense, is nothing but the equality of the above-mentioned liberty, namely: that every man is equally viewed as a self-sufficient monad. The Constitution of 1795 defines the concept of equality, according to its significance, as follows:

Article 3: "Equality consists in the fact that the law is the same for all, whether it protects or whether it punishes."

And security?

Article 8 (Constitution of 1793): "Security consists in the protection accorded by society to each of its members for the preservation of his person, his rights and his property."

Security is the supreme social concept of civil society the concept of the police, the concept that the whole society exists only to guarantee to each of its members the preservation of his person, his rights, and his property. In this sense, Hegel calls civil society "the state of necessity and rationality."

Civil society does not raise itself above its own egoism through the concept of security. Rather, security is the guarantee of egoism.

Thus none of the so-called rights of man goes beyond egoistic man, man withdrawn into himself, his private interest and his private choice, and separated from the community as a member of civil society. Far from viewing man here in his species being, his species being itself, society, appears rather to be an external framework for the individual, as a limitation of its original independence. The only bond that unites men is natural necessity, need, and private interest, the maintenance of their property and their egoistic persons.

It is quite curious that a nation just beginning to liberate itself, to tear down all barriers among the various members, and to build a political community, should solemnly proclaim (Declaration of 1791) the justification of the egoistic man, separated from his fellow men and from the community, and should even repeat this proclamation at a moment when only the most heroic sacrifice, which is urgently required, can save the nation, when the sacrifice of all the interests of civil society is made the order of the day and egoism has to be punished as a crime (Declaration of the Rights of Man 1793). This becomes even more curious when we observe how the political liberators reduce citizenship, the political community, to a mere means for the preservation of these so-called rights of man and that the citizen is thus declared to be the servant of the egoistic man, the sphere in which man acts as a member of the community is degraded below that in which he acts as a fractional being, and finally man as bourgeois rather than man as citizen is considered to be the proper and authentic man.

In the light of the everlasting lessons of the counter-revolution, of the restoration of the body of the Marxist doctrine achieved by the Communist Left of Italy, of the programme and the orientations already defined by our movement since 1966, it is important to clear the positions and the revolutionary action of the philosophical postulates, of the republican tokens, of the humanist reserves which, even when they were not clearly claimed, were latent in the propaganda, obvious in the defeat and triumphant in the revisionist rout. The human being does not exist. It will be the result of the communist society. Capitalism today is only composed of a people, that is to say a shapeless mass of servants of the capitalism's wills, which will be devided tomorrow and re-established into hostile classes by the economic crisis.

No human beings in that humanity, and no humanity against that inhumanity.

THE PROGRAMME OF THE COMMUNIST SOCIETY .
1985 .

PROLETARIANS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

programme

This review is entirely written, composed, and managed by salaried workers to the exclusion of any collaboration whatever from professionals or payed officials. This is their way to contribute to a necessary work of clarification. You, as a reader, as a sympathizer, what is yours? The Programme of the Communist Revolution can live only thanks to proletarian grants. The Programme of the Communist Revolution can be heard only thanks to the combined efforts of all the sincere and faithful revolutionaries. The Programme of the Communist Revolution can improve its periodicity and its contents only with the help of everyone who approves of its work. Reader, sympathizer, distribute The Programme of the Communist Revolution. Write to us! Subscribe!

"The emancipation of the workers will be the work of the workers themselves !"

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

WORLD COMMUNIST GROUP

PROGRAMME

"Before achieving a socialist change, a dictatorship of the Proletariat, a first condition of which is the proletarian army, is needed. The working classes will have to conquer on the battle field their right to their own emancipation. The work of the International is to organize and to coordinate the workers' forces for the fight awaiting them."

Marx, 1871.

The World Communist Group is based on the following historical, theoretical and programmatic principles,

1. The historical development of the capitalist production accumulates a rising contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production, that engenders the class struggle between the Proletariat and the Capital.
2. The Bourgeois economic system follows a progressive development and develops its own negation as a final result. When the relations of production have become too tight and hinder the productive forces' development ; when the material and spiritual conditions coming out from the bosom of the old society are fulfilled for new and superior relations of production, an era of social revolution starts up for the conservation or destruction of the actual capitalist production mode, indissolubly linked to the upholding or the overthrow of the present Bourgeois State.
3. Based on the representative system of social and political democracy, the Bourgeois State of class domination constitutes the organ of the Capital's dictatorship.
4. Defended by the Bourgeois State, the conservation of the present relations of production is assured by the scientific continuity of the process of the capitalist production, to which the Proletariat is submitted, because the process accumulates the Capital's wealth and produces the latter's destitution.
5. The Proletariat can neither break nor modify the capitalist relations of production from which ensue its exploitation and the oppression of mankind, without slaughtering the state power of the Capital, nor struggle against this power and overthrow this state without forming itself into a class, therefore into Communist Party.
6. The Capital is the value in process, having reached autonomy, whose being consists in its movement as a value endlessly multiplying itself. Linking the productive forces' development to their periodic destruction, the phase of real domination of the Capital - imperialist and fascist - breeds economic and social crisis, catastrophes and cataclysms.
7. As necessary to its conservation, as moments of its vital process, as conditions of its regeneration, the regular and cyclic destruction of Capital restores the continuity of the capitalist production process, then brought back, by violence, to the point where - without killing itself - it is able again to make full use of its productive capacities and to still expand its accumulation process.
8. The expansion of the Capital, punctuated by the periodical and universal convulsions still more extreme and universal, necessarily determines the come-back of the capitalist system's catastrophic crisis, which unleashes the social and political explosions, gathers the historical conditions for its violent overthrow - among them the revival of the Communist Party opening the historical cycle of the proletarian revolution - and gives way to the classical alternative : world imperialist war - means of the historical

regeneration of the capitalist production process - or/and world communist revolution.

9. Unable to overcome its economic anarchy - which is its law - and to remove the division of society into classes and the State, Capitalism - production and reproduction of the specifically capitalist relations of production - progressively achieves the political, economic, and social democracy : it is interest that unites the members of the Bourgeois Society, whose real link is made up by civil life and not by political life ; by suppressing the Capital, the social classes and the State, Communism suppresses democracy and therefore achieves the Human Community.

10. With the political democracy, the Bourgeoisie takes possession of the state, and appropriates its community. The Capital frees itself from the ideological, social, political and economic remnants of the previous historical formations ; it destroys them and institutes its dictatorship as a representative system of the parliamentary democracy. With its accession to the real domination, the Capital constitutes itself into a material community that subjects to itself all the economic and social productive forces. As the Capital's properties, the determined relations into which enter the classes within the production process of their social life, emerge as the omnipowered natural law, crushing the individual's free will, mastered by the economic process as well as by the Capital's ideological representations. The capitalist class owns and rules the production and trade means. The ancient petty-bourgeoisie collapses and disappears while the peasantry dissolves itself into the wage-system. The Capital produces new-middle stratas, stratas for consumption, improductive and parasitic, linked to the development of the social production of work and indispensable to the realization of value and to the movement of the Capital. The exploitation of the working-class' power work produces surplus value, extorted by overwork, thanks to which the Capital accrues. The political democracy vanishes ; the parliamentary institutions decline. The economic and social democracy regulates thus the working-classes' subservience to their own products and trades, that have been erected into independant material powers : the Capital. Having reached the extreme stage of the Bourgeois Society, the Proletariat can only acquire an identity as a class with the Capital's catastrophic crisis that breaks the scientific continuity of the capitalist production process. Then, the Proletariat constitutes itself into Communist Party, clashing with the Capital the Human Community it foreshadows and from which man is utterly isolated : Human Being, the genuine Gemeinwesen of man. The Human Community is possible only after the destruction of the Capital, which can be achieved only by the Proletariat's dictatorship.

11. Reaching a real domination, the Capital generalizes the democratic mystification thanks to which : as revolutionary, it set itself free from it; as reformist it got developed; as counter-revolutionary it lives on, starving communism that lies in its womb. The Capital, thus, dissolves the class struggle into the process of its everlasting accumulation. The Proletariat as a class is historically wiped out ; its praxis is led astray, then destroyed ; the programme of its historical mission is evacuated; its economic organizations are mastered, and its revolutionary organ, the Communist Party, destroyed.

12. The proletariat is revolutionary or it is nothing. During the historical cycles of the counter-revolutions (1852-1864; 1871-1889; 1906-1912; 1926 - until the return of the future Communist Party (subject of the prediction) - the Proletariat, apart from the Communist Programme, is wiped out, reduced to its mere economic functions. The party of class as a form, splits up, deteriorates, breaks up and disappears. Until the next formation of the formal party, the continuity of the Marxist Programme is theoretically maintained by the faithful elements of the historical party (Marx - Engels - Lenine - The Communist Left of Italy) which have to

- a. draw the lesson of the counter-revolution by dismissing the wrong solutions, such as the immediatist, activist, and the voluntarist ones
- b. restore the body of the Marxist doctrine by the demonstration of its invariance
- c. forecast and describe the historical genesis of the Communist Party-to-come reappearing from the catastrophic crisis of the capitalist system (characteristics, epicentre, date)
- d. establish the theoretical, organizational and tactical characteristics of the working-class' future revolutionary party.

13. With the counter-revolution, begun in 1919 by the social-democracy, carried out by fascism and democracy, organized and ruled on a world-scale by the American imperialism of 1945, supported by stalinism edifying capitalism in Russia, fascism carried out the reformist programme and democracy

fulfilled fascism.

14. Democracy is the solved enigma of all the Constitutions. It creates the Proletariat's political helplessness and the economic power of the Capital. All the movements submitted to the political and parliamentary democracy or to the social and union democracy of the Capital, constitute the organs of the counter-revolution. Based on the historical principles of the Capital: Liberty - Equality - Fraternity, the bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and labour democracies carry out by their actions and their claims the anti-communist programme of the capitalist domination : which is economically destructive, socially conservative and politically counter-revolutionary.

15. The achievement of the counter-revolution, the catastrophic crisis of the capitalist system and its universal market, will re-create the class-struggle out of which the Communist Party will be reformed, world-wide and monolithic.

16. In the conditions of the Capital's extreme domination, described by Marx, the labour movement stops organising itself parallel to the capitalist accumulation process, but reappears from the Capital's catastrophic crisis, for its violent overthrow and its historical elimination by the exercise of the Proletariat's dictatorship and the institution of Socialism. Those conditions have ruined, with the social-democratic distinction (maximum programme - minimum programme, based on the liberal phase of the bourgeois domination cycle), the relative immaturity of the socialist economic conditions, the permanence of the labour movement, the ancient historical meaning of the economic and union associations for the defence of the immediate and permanent interests of the working-class, integrated nowadays to the Capital as factors of its accumulation, containing the wages, until the communist struggle for the abolition of the wages, within the limits in keeping with the laws of the Capital's valorization.

17. The class-party is the material strength of the Communist Programme - criticism of the political economy, doctrine of the economic, social and political conditions of the Proletariat's emancipation; theory of its historical and international praxis; programme, description and prediction of the Communist classless and stateless society.

- born in 1947 with The Manifesto of the Communist Party;
- elaborated by the dialectical materialism in the classical texts of the scientific socialism integrating while surpassing the critico-utopian communism;
- developed by Marx-Engels for the 1st International of 1864;
- confirmed during the Commune of Paris in 1871 against anarchism;
- defended against reformism by the socialist Lefts in the 2^o International of 1889 (Germany, Italy, Russia);
- defended by Lenin against Bernstein's revisionism in 1899 and against the social-chauvinism betraying the Sacred Union of 1914.
- triumphs in Russia in 1917 and internationally : in 1919 constitution of the Communist International, in 1921 formation of the Italian Communist Party stemming from the communist abstentionist fraction of the Italian Socialist Party;
- defended by the Communist Left of Italy against the degeneration of the III^o International of 1926 opportunist and tactical first (parliamentarism - single-front) then revisionist and organizational-programmatic (Bolchevisation - Labour government - Socialism in one and single country - Popular fronts - Anti-facist resistance and Sacred Union in the Imperialist war of 1939-45 - National reconstitution-Legalitarianism)
- safeguarded by the Communist Left of Italy against the revisionist doubt as far as the foundation of the Marxist revolutionary theory is concerned; and
- restored during the counter-revolution by the Communist Left of Italy.

18. As the indispensable and sole organ of the proletarian class-struggle for the violent overthrow of the capitalist state and production mode, the Communist Party organizes and rules the advanced fraction, radical and conscious of the labour class : the proletariat in its historical meaning. Founding the real effect of its action on the historical crisis of the capitalist system, the function of the communist party is :

- a/ the defence of the continuity of the Communist Programme and the invariance of Marxism on the

historical axis from the birth in 1847 of the revolutionary Programme to the Communist society;

b/ the prediction, preparation, organization and unification of the proletarian struggles, in order to guide the revolutionary action of partial and national movements for fortuitous interests towards general and world-wide struggles for the historical results of the universal emancipation of the proletariat, thus of Mankind;

c/ the elaboration of a strategic and tactical system both stable and coherent, with a rational and voluntary dependance of the revolutionary programme to the historical conditions : since 1871, the phase of the progressive national war is finished in Europe; since 1919, final rupture with democracy, parliamentarism and any electoralism whatever;

d/ the diffusion of the Marxist theory in the proletarian masses and specifically in the economic associations and the immediate forms of organization by and for the revolutionary struggle;

e/ the defence of the independence and the continuity of the organization of the class-party in space and time by the obedience to the rules of organic centralism assuring the Communist Party as an unity of structure and movement : refusal of the mechanism of the democratic centralism; recognition of the Marxist theory as a total and complete system : no revision or doctrinal enrichment; the Communist Party's directives are in keeping with the precise limits drawn by the doctrine and the historical perspective and settled according to the large historical and geographical subdivisions that determine the fundamental cycles of the proletarian action, stretching to half-continents and half-centuries; forbidding to local peripheral groups of the Party to create programmes and independant movements; inconditional execution of the unitary and central action; the Party is not defined by an organization machinery but by its being : the programme; the class-party foreshadows the Communist Society.

f/ the struggle for the transformation of the capitalist system crisis into a social revolution : the Proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains and a world to conquer;

g/ the proletarian internationalism; appealing to the working classes of all the countries to avert by civil war - or to turn into civil war - any imperialist war : the Proletarians have no homeland;

h/ the political organization and the technical direction of the revolutionary armed insurrection : the insurrection is an art;

i/ the institution and exercise of the Proletariat's dictatorship; any government of the working class can only be the government of the Communist Party;

Thus, while fighting for the immediate interests and aims of the working class, the Communists defend and represent, in the present movement, its future. The Communists have over the rest of the Proletariat the advantage of the understanding of the conditions, the course and the general results of the proletarian movement.

19. The Proletariat is revolutionary in relation to the Bourgeoisie as soon as it is bound to remove from production the capitalistic nature that Bourgeoisie wants to perpetuate. Between the capitalist society and Communism, there is an historical phase of revolutionary transformation of the former into the latter, to which corresponds a State that cannot be anything else but the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. With the revolutionary insurrection - for which will be settled the secret organs of the Communist Party's military apparatus - and after the overthrow and destruction of the capitalist State, the Proletariat sets itself up as the dominant class. With its state organs the Communist Party institutes and exercises its dictatorship:

a/ for its despotic intervention in the capitalist relations of production in order to progressively and systematically destroy them;

b/ against any economic, political, social, military and ideological endeavours of bourgeois and capitalist counter-revolution;

c/ for the generalization of a world-wide proletarian revolution, an essential condition for the victorious institution of Socialism.

20. In the conditions of the truly proletarian and anti-capitalist revolution, peculiar to the phase of the Capital's real domination, the Proletariat is the only revolutionary class, against which the other classes and social stratas are an indistinguishable or reactionary mass. The Proletariat achieves its historical mission by itself. The Communist Party will not exercise its dictatorship indirectly by the machinery of populary organizations with a majority vocation, such as the pseudo workers-concils - thanks to which the historical experience has shown that the Bourgeoisie could reconquer power, restore its class-domination and organize the counter-revolution - but directly: with the exclusion of any representative democracy apparatus.

The Communist Party do not share power with any other party. The Communist Party and the Proletarian State hold from the Marxist Programme and from themselves only their function of the working class' political and governmental organ.

21. The Russian soviets were the shape of the democratic proletarians' and peasants' dictatorship. The Proletarian State is nor Republic nor working parliament but a work organ. The Proletarian State does not rest on any Constitution because it is not bound by any law. The Proletarian State founds the exercise of its absolute and universal power from its historically transient necessity. The proletarian revolution is not a matter of form of organization but a matter of Programme : the functioning of the Communist Party and of the Proletarian State goes beyond the fetichism of the democratic consultations thanks to which the Bourgeois State legalizes and conceals the Capital's dictatorship - by the domination and the preservation of antagonistic class-divided society. Communism does not aim at erecting a model State, but at suppressing the existence of classes and therefore the necessity of any state whatever : a military organ with bureaucratic framework and with police screening of the dominant class'dictatorship over the dominated class. The guarantees against its counter-revolutionary elimination, of which history provided us with two classic examples :

the Commune of Paris in 1871 knocked down against its wall; the progressive political involution in 1926 of the Soviet State applying the capitalist social programme of the Russian double revolution, economically bourgeois and politically socialist : economic victory of the Capital, generalizing its domination to the Slavic area; social and political failure of the Proletariat, involved in the European defeat of the Communist revolution,

do neither reside in the arrival of providential prophets nor in the formula of elective mechanisms, conditioned by opinion, number and arbitrary. The Proletarian State will not decay, provided that the Communist Party, that rules it, keeps both with the vision of its aim, the science of its means, and that it maintains its dictatorship for the deepening and the extension of the proletarian revolution, the destruction of the capitalist system, in relation with the decline of the Proletarian State and the emergence of the Communist society. The revolution will be anonymous or won't be. The proletarian State is the one that openly asserts the necessity of its dictatorship and its vanishing as its aim.

22. Society entering into possession of the production means, the trade production is wiped out, and by then the domination of the product over the producer with the following alienation and reification of the human species. The Communist Party, as the agent of the socialist transformation of society, gathering the revolutionary avant-garde and working at pacifically convincing the stratas of non-communist workers and producers with which and for which Socialism will be instituted, rules the Proletarian State that, exercising terror on the open agents of the Capital until their final destruction, economically wiping out and reducing to political helplessness the ancient petty-bourgeois classes (partially wiped out by the Capital), and the new middle-stratas (products of the Capital), executes the organic system of political, economic, and social measures of the Communist Programme, necessary to the gradual destruction of the capitalist exploitation regime, the rival to the progressive emergence of the Communist Society.

POLITICAL MEASURES

- a. Armament of the Proletariat. Settling of communist permanent militias and creation of the Proletarian State's Red Army.
- b. Disarmament of the capitalist class and of its allies.
- c. Dissolution of the institutional, economic, judicial and military organs of the Bourgeois State.
- d. Abrogation of the Constitution and the fundamental laws of the Bourgeois State.
- e. dismissing of all the elected assemblies and abolition of the universal suffrage.
- f. Ban on all the political parties.
- g. Ban on the bourgeois and counter-revolutionary trade-unions.
- h. Communist management of the working-class partnership in charge of the implementation and control of the social norms of production and distribution.
- i. Merging of the legislative, executive and judicial powers within the Proletarian State.
- j. Submission of education, information, culture and spare-time to the State.
- k. Establishment of state tribunals to exercise the revolutionary terror.
- l. Ban on cults, secret societies, private associations and leagues and any anti-social parasitic activities, forms of exploitation man by man.

m. Suppression of the freedom of press and requisition of the propaganda means.

ECONOMIC MEASURES

a. Compulsory purchase of the Bourgeoisie. Collectivization of all the means of production, trade and movement; common land property.

b. Abolition of wages; institution of the work voucher: those vouchers are not money, they do not circulate. No one can give anything else but his work. Nothing else but items for the individual consumption can belong to the individual: within the cooperative society based on the common property of the production means, the producers don't trade their products; the work that is applied to them does not show up as the value of those products. Destruction of the law of value; elimination of the mercantile monetary aspect of production; physical accounting.

c. Plan of human consumption reducing, reconvertng and redeploying the universal productive forces, a condition for their development and diversity to come.

d. Rupture of the national and firm limits.

e. Capitalism starves man : policy of a scientific development of agriculture ; recasting of the system of distribution; suppression of parasitic middle-men.

f. Elimination of the capitalist wasting by a rational use of raw materials and energy ressources applied to the only useful products whose quantity and quality will be determined according to the genuine needs of mankind.

SOCIAL MEASURES

a. Obligation of work for all the members of society. Drastic reduction of the day's work. Generalization of automation; levelling of remunerations.

b. Confiscation of land and property ownership from the capital and Bourgeoisie, that will be given back to and managed by the territorial authorities of the Proletarian State who will decide on their letting redistribution.

c. Creation of the collective substructure appropriate for the institution and practise of life in community ; dissolution of the official link of marriage.

d. Demographic planning. Action of the state for free, compulsory and periodic health. Socialist orientation of sport against all careerism whatever.

e. Removability and rotation of functions. Abolition of careers and titles, of specializations and capitalist forms of the division of labour.

f. Suppression of the manual work - intellectual work antagonism.

g. Suppression of the town - country antagonism.

h. Socialistic orientation of the scientific policy open to investigation fields having for criterion security and blooming of man.

i. Pacific integration into the communist evolution of mankind of the remaining ancestral traditions of the African, American, Asian and Oceanic peoples.

j. Elimination of the buildings, symbols and representations of the capital.

k. Search for the development of form of communist creativity. Realisation of art by suppressing its aspect of specialized activity.

23. The accomplishment of those measures presupposes an international and historical phase of struggles, violent and pacific, that will eliminate both the existence of classes and the necessity of the political state whose machinery will lie dormant and will confine to the conscient and rational administration of human activities. The historically transitionnal State of the Proletariat will pass away, freeing the social soul of the proletarian political revolution : Communism - a conscient reappropriation of the human being, genuine Gemeinwesen of man, whose material basis is the historical result of the system of capitalist production : communism opens the era of its history to Mankind.

From each according to his ability,
to each according to his needs!

MARX, 1875

Redaction 1975, Recast edition 1989.

Basic texts of our Marxist Historical line
(available in french only)

- * Texts 1912-1919
- * Defence of the Communist Programme, 1919
- * Theses of the Abstainer Communist Fraction of the Italian Socialist Party, 1920
- * Theses and Speeches of the Abstainer Communist Fraction of the I.S.P. on parliamentary government, 1920
- * Speech by the representative of the Communist Left at the XVIIth Congress of the I.S.P. (Livorno) 1921
- * Party and class, Party and class' action, The Agrarian issue, The Fascist programme, 1921
- * The democratic principle, the balance of social and political powers in Italy, 1922
- * Theses on tactics expounded at the IIInd Congress of the Communist International, 1922
- * A. Bordiga's Report on fascim at the IVth Congress of the Communist International, 1922
- * C.I.'s tactics. Draft theses expounded at the IVth Congress of the C.I., 1922
- * Bordiga 's speech on the admission conditions to the CI, 1922
- * Speech by the representative of the Communist Left at the IVth Congres of the C.I, 1922
- * Lenine on the way to the revolution. Communist and national issue, 1924
- * Outline of theses on the orientations and tasks of the CP of Italy, 1924
- * Bordiga's Report on Fascism at the Vth Congress or the C.I, 1924
- * Communist organization and discipline, 1924
- * Speech by the representative of Communist Left at the Vth Congress of the C.I, 1924
- * The opportunist danger and the International, Platform of the Left, 1925
- * To get familiar with the fundamentals : nature of the Communist Party, 1925
- * Theses of the Left expounded at the IIIrd Congress of the Communist Party of Italy, Lyons 1926
- * Speech by the representative of the Left at the 6th session of the increased Executive of the C.I., 1926
- * Elements of Marxist orientation, 1946
- * Theses of the Left, 1946
 - Assault of the revisionnist doubt on the foundations of the Marxist revolutionary theory
 - Historical cycle of the Capitalist Economy
 - Historical cycle of the Bourgeoisie's political domination
 - Historical course of the Proletariat's class movement - Opportunist wars and crises
 - Nature, function and tactics of the working class' revolutionary party
 - The Soviet Rusian from October Revolution to nowadays
 - The Italian dominant class and its national state
 - The working revolutionary movement and the agrarian issue
 - The after-war prospects in relation with the platform of the Party
- * Elements of Marxist economy, 1948
- * Force, violence and dictatorship in class-struggle, 1948
- * Property and Capital, 1949
- * Communism and human knowledge, proletarian dictatorship and class party, 1952
- * Characteristic theses of the Internationalist Communist Party, 1952
- * 1945-1956 series of Fili del Tempo
- * Dialogue with Staline, 1952
- * Plea for Staline, 1956
- * Dialogue withe the dead, 1956
- * Origin and function of the form Party, 1961
- * Text of the 1951-1966 meetings of the Communist Left of Italy
- * Results 1966
- * The unpublished 6 th chapter of 'The Capital' and Marx's economic work, 1968
- * The Communist revolution - Work Theses, 1969
- * Orientation elements, Party and revolution, 1972
- * Programme (writing), Genesis 1966-1975, Theses 1976
- * The trade-union issue and Marxism, Principles, Theses, 1976
- * From the Communist Left of Italy to the World Communist Group, 1976
- * Address 1977

- * Programme, recast edition, 1977
- * Let's get free from the Capital, 1980
- * Manifesto, 1980
- * Marxist rearmement for the restoration of the Communist Party, 1981
- * Opposite the revisionnist challenge, the communist maturity, 1981
- * Foundation of the work plan for the final solution to the capitalist issue
- * Resolution on the present and future of the World Communist Group
- * Prospect of the catastrophic crisis of the capitalist system, and elements of orientation for the prediction of the next historical cycle of the Communist Revolution, 1989

We do not here refer to that literature which, in every great modern revolution, has always given voice to the demands of the proletariat, such as the writings of Babeuf and others.

The first direct attempts of the proletariat to attain its own ends, made in times of universal excitement, when feudal society was being overthrown, these attempts necessarily failed, owing to the then undeveloped state of the proletariat, as well as to the absence of the economic conditions for its emancipation, conditions that had yet to be produced, and could be produced by the impending bourgeois epoch alone. The revolutionary literature that accompanied these first movements of the proletariat had necessarily a reactionary character. It inculcated universal asceticism and social levelling in its crudest form.

The Socialist and Communist systems properly so called, those of Saint-Simon, Fourier, Owen and others, spring into existence in the early undeveloped period, described above, of the struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie (see Section I. Bourgeois and Proletarians).

The founders of these systems see, indeed, the class antagonisms, as well as the action of the decomposing elements in the prevailing form of society. But the proletariat, as yet in its infancy, offers to them the spectacle of a class without any historical initiative or any independent political movement.

Since the development of class antagonism keeps even pace with the development of industry, the economic situation, as they find it, does not as yet offer to them the material conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat. They therefore search after a new social science, after new social laws, that are to create these conditions.

Historical action is to yield to their personal inventive action, historically created conditions of emancipation to fantastic ones, and the gradual, spontaneous class organization of the proletariat to an organization of society specially contrived by these inventors. Future history resolves itself, in their eyes, into the propaganda and the practical carrying out of their social plans.

In the formation of their plans they are conscious of caring chiefly for the interests of the working class, as being the most suffering class. Only from the point of view of being the most suffering class does the proletariat exist for them.

The undeveloped state of the class struggle, as well as their own surroundings, causes Socialists of this kind to consider themselves far superior to all class antagonisms. They want to improve the condition of every member of society, even that of the most favoured. Hence, they habitually appeal to society at large, without distinction of class; nay, by preference, to the ruling class. For how can people, when once they understand their system, fail to see in it the best possible plan of the best possible state of society?

Hence, they reject all political, and especially all revolutionary, action; they wish to attain their ends by peaceful means, and endeavour, by small experiments, necessarily doomed to failure, and by the force of example, to pave the way for the new social Gospel.

Such fantastic pictures of future society, painted at a time when the proletariat is still in a very undeveloped state and has but a fantastic conception of its own position correspond with the first instinctive yearnings of that class for a general reconstruction of society.

But these Socialist and Communist publications contain also a critical element. They attack every principle of existing society. Hence they are full of the most valuable materials for the enlightenment of the working class. The practical measures proposed in them - such as the abolition of the distinction between town and country, of the family, of the carrying on of industries for the account of private individuals, and of the wage system, the proclamation of social harmony, the conversion of the functions of the State into a mere superintendence of production - all these proposals point solely to the disappearance of class antagonisms which were, at that time, only just cropping up, and which, in these publications, are recognized in their earliest indistinct and undefined forms only. These proposals, therefore, are of a purely Utopian character.

The significance of Critical-Utopian Socialism and Communism bears an inverse relation to historical development. In proportion as the modern class struggle develops and takes definite shape, this fantastic standing apart from the contest, these fantastic attacks on it, lose all practical value and all theoretical justification. Therefore, although the originators of these systems were, in many respects, revolutionary, their disciples have, in every case, formed mere reactionary sects. They hold fast by the original views of their masters, in opposition to the progressive historical development of the proletariat. They, therefore, endeavour, and that consistently, to deaden the class struggle and to reconcile the class antagonisms. They still dream of experimental realization of their social Utopias, of founding isolated "phalanstères", of establishing "Home Colonies", of setting up a "Little Icaria" - duodecimo editions of the New Jerusalem - and to realize all these castles in the air, they are compelled to appeal to the feelings and purses of the bourgeois. By degrees they sink into the category of the reactionary conservative Socialists depicted above, differing from these only by more systematic pedantry, and by their fanatical and superstitious belief in the miraculous effects of their social science.

They, therefore, violently oppose all political action on the part of the working class; such action, according to them, can only result from blind unbelief in the new Gospel.

The Owenites in England, and the Fourierists in France, respectively oppose the Chartists and the Reformists.

The direct revolutionary way belongs solely to the working class able to unite.

But an immediate sticking, a passive adhesion do not suffice.

There are, as essential dispenser of power, the mediate terms, dynamic and dialectic : the revolutionary theorie of historical determinism, the programme of the communist society, the organisation into Party in which the subject and the mover, the will and the power of the total revolution can be achieved.

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**HUMAN BEING
IS THE GENUINE
GEMEINWESEN
OF MAN**

(Marx, 1844)

**COMMUNISM
IS
THE KNOWLEDGE
OF A PLANNING OF LIFE
FOR
THE HUMAN SPECIES**

(Prometeo, 1952)