

EVOLUTION OF COMMUNISM

Illustrated & Footnoted & Added
'Glossary of Communist Terms'

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TARKAN ÖZHAN

2018

Evolution of Communism

Table of Contents

COMMUNIST MANIFESTO	9
I. BOURGEOISES AND PROLETARIANS [1 *]	11
II. PROLETARIANS AND COMMUNISTS	27
III. SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST WRITINGS	38
1. REVERSE SOCIALISM	38
2. HOLDING SOCIALISM OR BOURGEOIS SOCIALISM	46
3. CRITICAL-UTOPIC SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM	48
IV. COMMUNISTS 'POSSIBILITIES TO AVAILABLE VARIOUS DISCOUNTS	51
1872 GERMAN PRINTING FOREWORD	73
1882 RUSSIAN PRINTING FOREWORD	76
1883 GERMAN PRINTING FOREWORD	78
1890 GERMAN PRINTING FOREWORD	79
1892 FOREIGN PRINTING FOREWORD	83
1893 ITALIAN PRINTING FOREWORD	85
COMMUNISM WITH QUESTIONS & ANSWERS	87
QUOTED FROM ENGELS' "COMMUNISM PRINCIPLES"	110
ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PROCESS AND OUR DUTIES	119
"SOCIAL RELATIONS IN RUSSIA"	189
TROTSKYISM AS A HISTORICAL TURNING	222
TROCHKISM AS A HISTORICAL PERIOD - FRIEND'S SAVANUS ..	226

Evolution of Communism

MARKSIST OVERVIEW 244

HISTORICAL 'REVISION' AND THE CURRENT STRUGGLE 245

PUSUDAKRO TROCHKISM 251

MARKSISM-RETURN TO LYENENISM 254

LENIN 289

**THESIS ON THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE,
METHODS AND WORK OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES** 295

I. GENERAL PRINCIPLES 295

II. DEMOCRATIC CENTERISM 297

III. COMMUNIST ACTIVITY LIABILITY 299

IV. PROPAGANDA AND AJITASION 305

V. POLITICAL STRUGGLE ORGANIZATION 314

VI. PARTY PRESS 322

VII. PARTY ORGANIZATION 327

VIII. LEGAL AND ILLEGAL WORK 332

ANARCOTOPY 379

ANARCHISM AND UKRAINE REVOLUTION 435

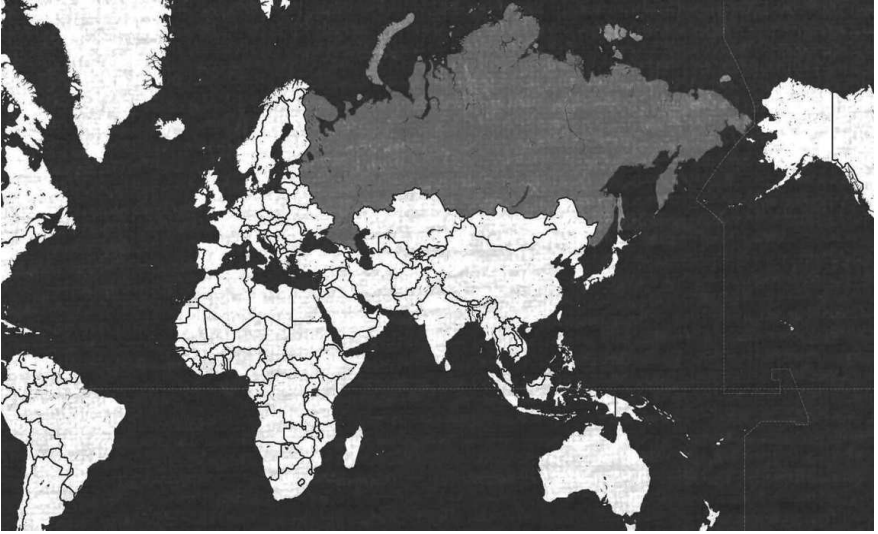
ANARCHISM AND SPANISH REVOLUTION 439

MATERIALISM 460

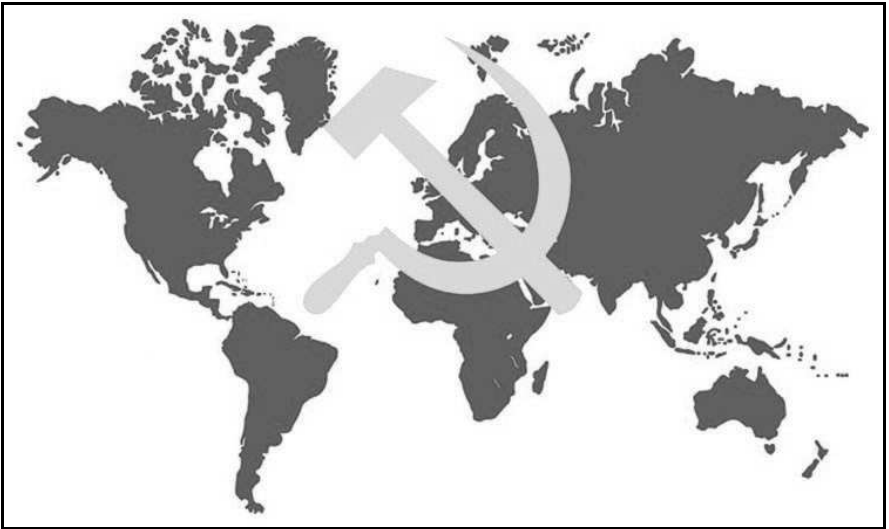
Glossary of Communist Terms 490



COMMUNIST MANIFESTO



Dream of Communist Idea: Evolution of Communism (Before)



Dream of Communist Idea: Evolution of Communism (After)

Evolution of Communism

A

ghost walks in Europe - the ghost of communism. All

the forces of old Europe entered into a sacred alliance to defeat this ghost: the Pope and the Tsar, Metternich and Guizot, French radicals and German police agents.

Where is the opposition party not being accused of being communist by its opponents? Where is the opposition, which has not thrown this blightful communism accusation back to its reactionary adversaries as well as to the more progressive opposition parties?

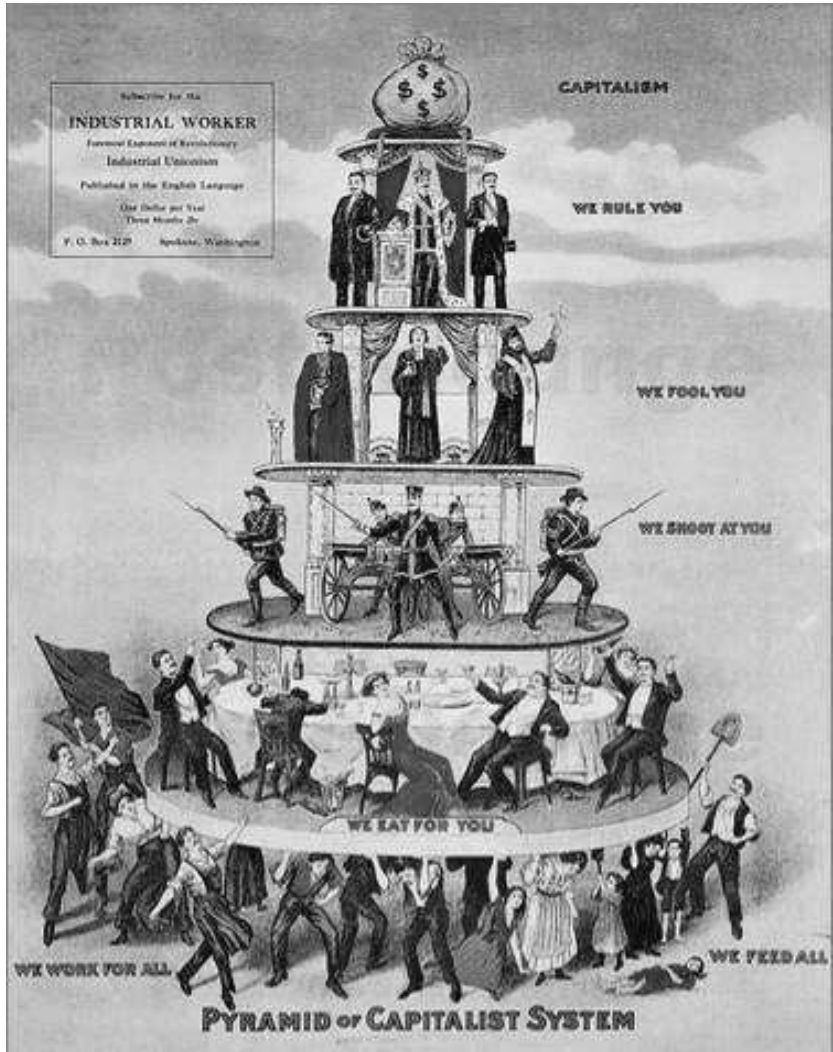
Two things come out of this phenomenon:

I. Communism itself has already been recognized as a force by all European powers.

II. It is already time for the Communists to openly react to the whole world, to publish their views, their aims, their tendencies, and their Manifestos of the Party to this ghost of Communism.

For this purpose, communists from various nationalities gathered in London and received the following Manifesto to be published in English, French, German, Italian, Dutch and Danish languages.

I. BOURGEOISES AND PROLETARIANS [1 *]



So far, history is the history of all societies, class struggles.

Free people and slaves, patriarchs and plebes, gentlemen with serfs, guild masters [3 *] and kalfa, one word, one oppressed with

Evolution of Communism

oppression have always faced each other, uninterrupted, occasionally covered, sometimes open, Either by a totally revolutionary re-establishment of the society, or by the collapse of the conflicting classes.

In earlier periods of history, almost everywhere, we find a complicated social order, a wide range of social position grades, in various clusters. Patriarchs, knights, plebs, slaves in ancient Rome; The medieval feudal lords, the vassals, the guild masters, the chalets, the apprentices, the serfs; In almost all of these classes, we see lower grades.

Modern bourgeois society, which has tipped through the destruction of feudal society, has not lifted class antagonisms from the very beginning. New classes, new press conditions, new forms of struggle instead of old.

However, the distinctive feature of our age, the age of the bourgeoisie, is that it simplifies class antagonisms. The whole society is increasingly divided into two major enemy camps, two large classes directly facing each other: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

From the serfs of the Middle Ages, came the distinguished urbanites of the first cities. The first items of the bourgeoisie also developed from these urbanites.

The discovery of America, the circumnavigation of Cape of Good Hope, opened new fields for the emerging bourgeoisie. The East Indian and Chinese markets, the colonization of America, the exploitation of commerce, the increase in the means of exchange and in general the commodities, the commercial, the shipping, the industrial, the unprecedented breakthrough, and thus the rapid development of the revolutionary element of feudal society in its collapse.

The feudal industrial system, in which industrial production was monopolized by closed lonces, was no longer sufficient for the growing needs of new markets. His manufacturing system took his place. Guild master craftsmen were pushed to an edge by the middle class [6]; The division of labor between different guild units has disappeared in the face of the division of labor within each individual workshop.

Meanwhile, the markets continued to grow steadily, demand continued to rise steadily. Even the builder was not enough anymore. On top of that, steam and machine revolutionized industrial production. Manufuction took its place in the giant modern industry, the industrial middle class, the industrial millions, the leaders of all industrial armies, the modern bourgeoisie.

Modern industry has established a world market in which America has laid its foundations for exploration. This market has made great progress in trade, shipping, and road transport. This development also affected the spread of industry; And the bourgeoisie has developed in the same direction, in proportion to the expansion of industry, commerce, shipping, and railways, has increased its capital and has pushed all the classes from the Middle Ages into the background.

Thus we see how the modern bourgeoisie itself is the product of a series of revolutions in the form of a long development path, production and change.

Every development of the bourgeoisie was accompanied by a corresponding political progression of this class. A class oppressed under the sovereignty of the feudal nobility is a self-governing and armed group in the medieval commune; There is an independent urban republic (as in Italy and Germany), where the monarchy is

Evolution of Communism

the "third tier" of the taxpayer (as it is in France), the latter in the period of the actual manufacture, The bourgeoisie, which, in fact, served as an absolute monarchy and, in fact, the cornerstone of the great monarchies in general, eventually seized political sovereignty in the modern representative state since the establishment of modern industry and the world market.

Modern state administration is nothing but a committee that manages the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie has played a very revolutionary role in history.

The bourgeoisie ended all feudal, patriarchal, romantic associations everywhere it took advantage of. He brutally broke the various feudal ties that linked humanity to the "natural masters", and left no bond between man and man, naked self-extract, rigid "cash payment". He drowned in the icy waters of selfish calculations, the spiritual enthusiasm of religious passion, knightly ecstasy, and arrogant sentimentality. Personal value is reduced to exchange-value, and instead of innumerable indestructible privileged freedoms, he has put on the only merciless freedom, trade freedom. Instead of a single verbal, religious, and political illusion of a cursed expletive, it was clear, shameless, direct, vulgar exploitation.

The bourgeoisie has dismissed the pretensions of all the professions that have so far been respected and respected. He brought his doctor, lawyer, patriarch, poet, scientist to his own paid laborer.

The bourgeoisie tore away the emotional nephew of the family and reduced it to a purely money relationship.

The bourgeoisie made it clear how the medieval brute force demonstration of the reactionaries was a complement to the most immovable laziness. It was the first to show what a human activity

could do. The Egyptian pyramids, Roman aqueducts and Gothic cathedrals have created masterpieces that are more than doubled; All previous historical migrations and crusades were held in the shadows.

The bourgeoisie can not exist without constantly revolutionizing the means of production, and thus the relations of production, and with them all of the social relations. The contrary, contrary to all previous industrialist classes, was the preservation of old forms of production unchanged. The continuous deterioration of production, the uninterrupted deterioration of the order in all social conditions, the uncertainty and the mobility of endlessness distinguish the bourgeois age from all the previous ones. All fixed, frozen associations are liquidated with old and respectable prejudices and opinions they bring with them, and all newly formed ones are out of ossification. Whatever is settled melts away, whatever is sacred is cursed, and man has to look at his real life conditions and his relations with his fellow man finally with a sober mind.

A constantly expanding market requirement for its products is chasing the bourgeoisie to the four sides of the earth. He has to live everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere.

The bourgeoisie gave a cosmopolitan character to the exploitation of the world market, to the production and consumption of each country. Strangled with the deep sorrows, the industry took its national foundation, standing on its feet. All formerly established national industries have been demolished and are still being demolished every day. These are industrialized factories that process the raw materials brought from the most remote regions, not the domestic raw materials, by the new industries that have become a matter of death-and-stay for all civilized nations, whose products are consumed by the consumed industries not only in the country

Evolution of Communism

but also in every part of the world. The old necessities, which are met by the production of that country, receive new necessities which require the products of the far-away countries and climates to be welcomed. We see that the old local and national closeness and self-sufficiency have taken on the multidimensional interdependence of multidimensional relations of the nations. And it is also in mental production, which is in material production. The mental creations of individual nations become common property. National unilateralism and sarcasm are increasingly impossible and a world literature emerges from countless national and local writings.

The bourgeoisie draws into the civilization all the nations, even the most barbarous, with the rapid recovery of all means of production, and with the means of communication made extremely easy. Cheap commodity prices are hefty sums that place all Chinese sets and force barbarous stubborn xenophobia to surrender. All nations are forced to adopt the form of bourgeois production, with the threat of destruction; He forces them to ignore the thing called civilization, that is, to become bourgeois personally. A single word creates a world similar to your own.

The bourgeoisie took the dominance of the infamous cities. He created very large cities, the urban population, greatly increased in comparison with the province, and thus saved a considerable part of the population from the bustle of rural life. The barbarian and semi-barbarian countries have made it dependent on the civilized, the peasant nations to the bourgeois international, and the east to the west, even though the irrigation has made them dependent on the cities.

The bourgeoisie is increasingly putting an end to the scattered state of population, means of production and property. The concentration of the population has centralized the means of production,

and has intensified property in a few hands. This is a necessary consequence, political centralization. Independent or loosely bound states with separate interests, laws, governments and tax systems came together in a single nation with a single jurisdiction, a single legal order, a single national class interest, a single class and a single customs tariff.

The bourgeoisie, however, created a more productive force during the centuries-old sovereignty, more intense than what all previous generations had created. What previous centuries have been able to perceive before that the dominance of the natural forces, such as the machine, the application of industrialization and cultivation of people, steam vessels, railroads, electricity telegraphy, the opening of rivers into waterways, the growth of the population from place to place,

We see now that the means of production and change that the bourgeoisie has strengthened based on them are created in feudal society. At a certain stage of the development of these means of production and change, the conditions in which the feudal society is in production and in change, the feudal organization of agriculture and manufacturing industry, the single word, the feudal property relations, are no longer able to stand up to the developed productive forces [14] They were old. They must have been broken; They are broken.

They took their place, with a social and political structure in accordance with it, and with the economic and political sovereignty of the bourgeois class, free competition.

There is a movement like this in front of our eyes. This society, with its own production, change and ownership relations and modern bourgeois society, has created such enormous means of produc-

Evolution of Communism

tion and exchange, resembles a sorceress who can no longer control the forces acting by the magnificence of his land of death. The history of industry and commerce is nothing more than the history of the modern productive forces against the modern conditions of production, the rebellion of the bourgeoisie and its sovereignty against the existence property relations of the bourgeoisie for decades. In this respect, it is enough to speak of the commercial crises which, in each case, threaten the interrogation of the existence of the entire bourgeois society with periodic repetitions. During these crises, not only the existing products, but also a large part of the productive forces created earlier are periodically destroyed. During these depressions, an epidemic [15 *] appears to be meaningless in all previous ages - an outbreak of overproduction. Society suddenly finds itself in a state of temporary barbarism, backward, As if a famine, a general wars of destruction, all subsistence means were cut off; As if industry and trade were destroyed; okay but why? Because there is too much civilization, too much means of subsistence, too many industries, too much trade. The productive forces in the hands of society no longer serve to advance bourgeois property relations; On the contrary, they have become very powerful for these relationships that have stumbled upon them, and they bring disorder to the whole of the bourgeois society where they have escaped these toes, putting the existence of bourgeois property in jeopardy. The conditions of bourgeois society are such that they can not embrace the wealth they create. So how does the bourgeoisie overcome these crises? By forcibly destroying a large part of the productive forces on the one hand; On the other hand, by seizing new markets and exploiting the older ones in a more comprehensive way. That is, by preparing more widespread and more destructive crises, and by reducing the means of preventing crises.

The weapons that the bourgeoisie has placed feudalism on are now turned against the bourgeoisie itself.

But the bourgeoisie did not have to create weapons that brought death to it; He also showed people who would use these weapons, the proletarians of the modern working class.

Where the bourgeoisie, capital, is developing, the proletariat and the modern working class are developing in the same direction—a class of laborers who live as long as they find jobs and find jobs as long as they increase their retirement. These laborers, who have to sell themselves in pieces, are, like all the other commodities of commerce, a manifestation, and as a consequence they are open to all the ups and downs of competition, all the fluctuations of the market.

Because of the widespread use of machinery and division of labor, the work of the proletariat has lost all its individual character and, consequently, all its attractiveness for the working person. He becomes an attachment to the machine, and it is simply the simplest, most uniform, and most easily acquired trick to be expected of him. Therefore, the cost of production of a worker is almost entirely a means of subsistence, which is needed for self-care and proliferation of neslides. But the price of a commodity, and therefore of labor, equals its production cost [14]. Therefore, the wage is decreasing when the job is disgusted. Moreover, if the use of machinery and division of labor increases, either by extending working hours, by increasing the number of jobs that need to be removed at a certain time, or by increasing the speed of machines or the like. , The weight of the work is increasing in the same way [18 *].

Modern industry has made the patriarchal master's small workshop a big factory of industrial capitalism. The masses of laborers packed into the factory are organized like soldiers. They were put under the command of the excellent officers and sergeant hierarchy as the reigns of the industrial army. They do not remain the slaves

Evolution of Communism

of the bourgeois class and the bourgeois state alone, they are enslaved by the machine, by the supervisor, and by the individual bourgeois manufacturers themselves, for about five days, for about five hours. If this despotism clearly declares that the purpose and the goal is the gain, then it is such an abominable, hateful, anger-raising.

In other words, whatever the modern industry develops, the labor of man is replaced by the same woman [19]. Age and gender differences no longer have any distinct social validity for the working class. All of these are more or less expensive business tools, depending on their use, age and gender.

The exploitation by the factory is over and it does not take the cash in cash, the other branches of the bourgeoisie, the landlord, the shopkeeper, the pawnbroker, etc. It fires.

The lower strata of the middle class [20 *] - those who deal with commerce on a small scale, shopkeepers, and generally retired craftsmen, craftsmen and peasants - all partly because their small capital is inadequate in terms of the scale on which modern industry operates, And partly because of their special ability to lose value in the face of new production methods, they are increasingly confused with the proletariat.

The proletariat passes through various developmental stages. Along with birth, the struggle against the bourgeoisie also begins. [22] The war is carried out against the individual bourgeoisie, which was originally exploited by individual workers, then by workers at a factory, and then by workers at a branch of a work. They direct their attacks against the means of production themselves, not against bourgeois conditions of production, but they destroy foreign goods that compete with their own labor, dismantle the machines,

set the factories on fire and try to restore the medieval workers'

At this stage, the laborers are still scattered all over the country and form an irregular heap that has been torn apart by mutual competition. Coming to form more collective bodies elsewhere is not the result of their own active troops, but their own union of the bourgeoisie, which has had to mobilize the entire proletariat to reach its own political goals and, moreover, it has accomplished this for a while. At this stage, the proletarians fight not with their enemies but with the enemies of their enemies, absolute monarchy remains, landowners, non-industrial bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie. Thus, the entire historical movement is concentrated in the hands of the bourgeoisie; Every victory in this form is the victory of the bourgeoisie.

But, with the development of industry, the proletariat does not only increase in number, it concentrates in larger clusters, the power grows and it feels more power. The different interests and living conditions in the proletariat's ranks are increasingly equalized as the machine clears all labor distinctions and almost everywhere reduces wages to the same low level. The growing competition between the bourgeoisie and the resulting commercial crises, the wages of workers constantly fluctuates. The endless improvement in the machines keeps their livelihoods increasingly unsafe by developing faster than ever before; The conflicts between the individual workers and the individual bourgeoisie increasingly become the nature of the conflict between the two classes. On this, workers begin to form unions against the bourgeoisie (unions); They come to the end to keep the wage rates high; Establish permanent associations to prepare for the occasional riots. Here and there, my struggle, the uprising.

From time to time workers win, but only for a while. The real

Evolution of Communism

fruit of their war lies not in the conclusions that follow, but in the ever-expanding unity of the workers. Modern, industrialized means of communication created by industry help this union, and this put workers in separate places in touch with each other. It is this relationship that is necessary to centralize countless local struggles, all of the same quality, into a single national struggle between classes. But every class struggle is a political struggle. And this association, which the medieval city dwellers need for centuries to reach by shivering highways, will be realized within a few years thanks to modern proletarians and railways.

The organization of the proletarians as a class, and as a consequence, a political party, is constantly degraded by the competition among the workers themselves. But it grows stronger, stronger, stronger than ever. By taking advantage of the divisions among the bourgeoisie, it makes it difficult for the workers' special interests to be legally recognized. That's how the ten-hour design in England was enacted. [15]

All of the conflicts between the classes of the old society help many aspects of the development of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie finds itself in a constant battle. Initially aristocracy; With the later parts of the bourgeoisie itself, contrary to the advance of the interests industry; Always with the bourgeoisie of foreign countries. In all these wars, the proletarians see that they have to resort to the help, ask for their help, and thus drag it into the arena of politics. Thus, the proletariat is itself a bourgeoisie that provides its own political and general education items, in other words, it is the one that provides the proletariat with weapons to fight against the bourgeoisie.

Moreover, as we have seen before, all sections of the ruling classes are pushed to the proletariat, with the advance of industry, or

their conditions of existence, at least, enter into danger. At the same time they provide the proletarians with new enlightenment and progress items.

Finally, as soon as the class struggle is nearing the time of its decision, the process of dissolution within the ruling class, in fact all the old society of color, becomes such a tough, obvious character that a small fraction of the ruling class breaks itself and joins the class that holds the revolutionary class in its futures. Thus, just as a part of the bourgeoisie has already passed by a part of the bourgeoisie, and now a part of the bourgeoisie is in favor of the proletariat, and in particular the bourgeois ideologist has reached the level of theoretical understanding of the entire historical movement.

Of all the classes that confront the bourgeoisie today, only the proletariat is truly a revolutionary class. Other classes melt in the face of modern industry and eventually disappear; The proletariat is its special and basic product.

The lower middle class, the small maker, the shopkeeper, the craftsman, the peasant, all of these fight against the bourgeoisie to save their existence from being destroyed as parts of the middle class. These, then, are not revolutionaries, they are conservatives. They are even reactionary, because they try to rotate the wheel of history backwards. Even if they are accidentally revolutionary, they are because they are about to join the proletariat; They are now abandoning their own interests in order to obtain the point of view of the proletariat, preserving their future interests, not their interests.

This "decaying class", the societal residue, which has been thrown out by the lowest strata of the old society, can be dragged into the movement, here and there, with a proletarian revolution;

Evolution of Communism

However, their own living conditions prepare it to become a more expensive instrument of reactionary intrigues.

The conditions of the old society have, in large measure, virtually melted away in the conditions of the proletariat. Proletarian property; The relationship with his wife and children no longer has a common aspect with bourgeois family relations; Modern industrial labor, modern capitalism, which is the same in England and France, in America and Germany, has cleared itself of all national character traces. In his eyes, law, morality, religion is a bourgeois prejudice of the masses, which keeps so many bourgeois interests behind in ambush. All the previous classes that took over the superstition looked to reinforce their already acquired position by subordinating the society to the conditions of ownership of the society to a great extent. The proletarians, on the other hand, can not acquire social productive forces unless they have lifted their previous forms of ownership and, thus, all previous forms of ownership. They have nothing to protect or reinforce; Their duty is to destroy all the security and shelter of private property until that day.

All previous historical movements were minority movements, or movements in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the conscious, independent movement in the interest of the vast majority, the vast majority. The proletariat can not behave or stand up unless the superstructure of the official society is blown up, the lowest layer of our present society.

Even if not in essence, formally, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country, of course, must, first of all, settle with its own bourgeoisie.

While we are describing the most general stages of the devel-

opment of the proletariat, we have seen to a point where the civil war that continues in a somewhat overriding manner in the present society, the outbreak of war as an open revolution, and the overthrow of the bourgeoisie by the force, laid the foundation for the sovereignty of the proletariat.

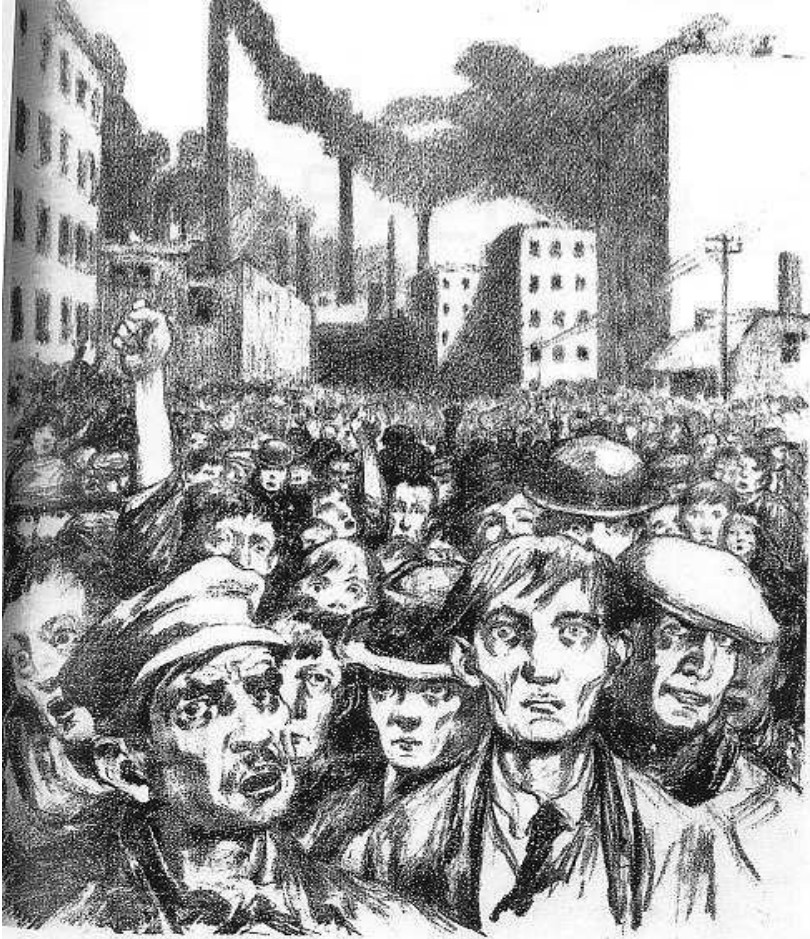
Until today, all forms of society are based on the opposition of oppressed and oppressing classes, as we have seen. But in order to be able to crush a class, it must be ensured that there are some circumstances in which he can continue his own slave existence. During the serf period, the serf raised himself to become a communist member, just as the little-bourgeois managed to become a bourgeois under the yoke of feudal absolutism. The modern laborer, on the contrary, is increasingly under the conditions of existence of his class, where the industry will rise by the development. He is in need, and the neediness is growing faster than wealth and wealth. And it turns out here that the bourgeoisie is no longer the dominant class in society and is not in a position to impose its conditions of existence as the decisive law of collecting. He is not in a state of dominance, because he is not in a position to provide slavery to his slave, for he can not let his slave fall into a state where he must feed him, where he will be nurtured by him. Society can no longer live under the rule of this bourgeoisie, in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society.

The formation and multiplication of the existence and dominance of the bourgeois class is essential; It is a paid job of the capital. Paid labor is entirely based on the compromise between laborers. The progress of industry, the bourgeoisie, which has been promoted without success, protects the revolutionary solidarity of the laborers from their union, instead of their isolation from the competition. The development of modern industry, therefore, takes the base of the bourgeoisie under the feet of which the products them-

Evolution of Communism

selves are produced and possessed. In this case, the bourgeoisie produces, first and foremost, its own grave diggers. The overthrow of him and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.

II. PROLETARIANS AND COMMUNISTS



What is the attitude of the Communists towards the proletarians as a whole?

The Communists do not form a separate party against the other working class parties.

Evolution of Communism

They do not have separate interests outside the interests of the whole proletariat.

They do not bring any sectarian principle to shape and proletinize the proletarian movement.

The Communists are only separated from the other working class parties:

1. They point to and propose the common interests of the entire proletariat, regardless of nationality, in the national struggles of the proletarians of different countries.

2. The struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to go through various stages of development, always and everywhere. They represent the interests of the whole movement.

The Communists, on the one hand, are, on the one hand, the most advanced and most committed segment of the working-class parties of all countries, pushing forward all the others; On the other hand, have the theoretical ability to clearly understand the movement line, conditions, and the ultimate general conclusions of the proletarian movement on the large mass of the proletariat.

The immediate aims of the Communists are the same as that of all other proletarian parties: the formation of the proletariat as a class, the destruction of bourgeois sovereignty, the seizure of political power by the proletariat.

The theoretical conclusions of the Communists are by no means based on ideas or principles invented or discovered by this or that so-called world reformer.

These are merely general expressions of relations arising from

an existing class struggle, a historical movement that takes place before our eyes. The abolition of existing property relations is not at all a distinctive feature of communism.

All property relations in the past, the changes in the historical conditions, are the resultant, ever-changing historical changes.

For example, the French Revolution abolished feudal property in favor of bourgeois property.

The distinctive feature of communism is not the abolition of property in general, but the abolition of bourgeois property. But modern bourgeois private property is the final and most complete expression of the system of producing and possessing products based on class antagonism, the majority being exploited by a minority.

In this sense, the theory of the communists can be summed up in a single collective: the removal of private property.

We Communists are accused of wanting to abolish the right of man to acquire personal property as a fruit of his own labor; It is alleged that the property is based on any kind of personal freedom, action and independence.

Difficulty acquired, personally acquired, personally acquired property! Are you referring to the property of a small craftsman and small peasant who is a form of ownership before the bourgeois form? There is no need to remove it; The development in the industry has already largely destroyed it and it is still disappearing day by day.

Or are you talking about modern bourgeois private property?

Evolution of Communism

Good, but will wage labor create any ownership for the laborer? Never. This creates capital, a kind of property that exploits wage labor and can not multiply outside the conditions that give rise to a new wage-labor supply for new exploitation. Property is, in its present form, based on the opposition of capital and wage labor. Let's examine both sides of this opposition.

To be a capitalist is to have not only a purely personal but also a social position in production. Capital is a collective form, and can only be mobilized by the united action of many members, even in the final analysis, but by the united action of all the members of society.

So capital is not a personal, it is a social power.

At this time, capital is not transformed into the property of the common property, by converting it into the property of all the members of society. The changing, only social characteristic of property. Property loses class character.

Now let's get paid labor:

The average price of paid labor is the minimum wage, the amount of livelihoods absolutely necessary to live as a laborer. Thus, what the wage laborer possesses through his labor is merely sufficient to sustain and reproduce his own existence. We do not intend to remove this property of labor products in any form which is made for the continuation and reproduction of human life and which does not leave any surplus to command the rest of others. The only thing we want to remove from our midst is the miserable character of the possession of this property which is allowed to the extent that the laborer lives only to increase the capital, and only to the extent that the ruling class needs to live.

In bourgeois society, living labor is nothing but means of accumulating labor. In communist society, accumulated labor is nothing but means of expanding, enriching and developing the existence of the laborer.

All objections directed to the way communal production and property acquisition of material goods are likewise directed towards the communist production and ownership of mental products. The destruction of class property for the bourgeoisie, how production itself is destroyed, the destruction of class culture [41 *] is the same for itself, as for all cults.

This culture, in which the heroin makes her law, is a training for a great majority to act like a machine.

But our intention to abolish bourgeois ownership [42] is to protect our own bourgeois liberty, culture, As long as you strike at the threshold of your understanding, stop messing with us. Your own thoughts are nothing more than the product of your own bourgeois production and bourgeois property, no matter what your law is, from the will of your class, which has been made a law for all, by a will determined by the economic conditions of the existence of your character and direction class. If not.

You are sharing yourselves with all the prevailing ruling classes that have brought you from the present mode of production and form of ownership-the selfish miscarriage leading to the transformation of the social forms that emerged during the progress of production-from the destroyed historical relations-into immortal laws of nature and wisdom- Of course, you can not accept what you see for feudal property, for your own bourgeois property.

Remove the family! Even the most radical people are shining in the face of this communist cause.

Evolution of Communism

What is the basis of today's family, bourgeois family? To the capital, private. This family is fully developed, only among the bourgeoisie. But this situation finds the tandai, the fact that there is no real family among the proletarians, and an open prostitute.

When the stakeholder is destroyed, the bourgeois family will disappear naturally, and both will disappear as the capital disappears.

Are you accusing us of stopping children from being exploited by their parents? We accept this crime.

But you say that by putting social education in place of home education, we destroy the most sacred of relationships.

You are your education! Is not that social? Is it not determined by schools through the social conditions in which you have been educated, by the direct or indirect intervention of the society? The Communists did not invent the intervention of the educated community. What they do is to change the character of this intervention and try to save the education from the influence of the ruling class.

The bourgeois purity of the sacred relationship between parents and children on the subject of family and education becomes even more disgusting as all family ties between the proletarians are broken down by the influence of modern industry and their children become simple commodity objects and business tools.

But you Communists, you want to bring the partnership of the women, "the whole bourgeoisie is shouting.

The bourgeoisie regards his wife as a mere means of production. They hear that the means of production are to be used jointly and, naturally, they do not come to a conclusion other than the fact that

women will receive the same share of their share in the fate of becoming partners.

It does not even make sense that the real aim is to stop women from being the only means of production.

Moreover, nothing can be more ridiculous than the virtuous angry that our bourgeoisie shows in the face of the commonalization of women, who are to be clearly and officially placed by the so-called communists. Communists do not need to bring women's partnership; This has already existed since ancient times.

Our bourgeoisies are not content to keep their proletarians' wives and their daughters under their hands, and if we leave the official prosperity, they are delighted to seduce each other's wives.

Bourgeois marriage is in reality a partnership system in married women, and consequently the communists can be accused of asking for, perhaps, women to bring about a clearly enacted partnership instead of a hypocritically concealed partnership. Already, it is clear that with the removal of the present form of production, the partnership of the women from this system, namely the official and private prostitution, will also be lifted.

Communists are also accused of wanting to remove their homeland and nationality.

The workers have no homeland. We can not take anything they do not have. The proletariat is, at first, national in this sense, but not in the bourgeois sense of the word, because, first of all, it has to take political power, come to the leadership of the nation, and establish the nation itself.

The national differences and antagonisms among the peoples are

Evolution of Communism

disappearing every day with the development of the bourgeoisie, the freedom of trade, the world market, the uniformity in the mode of production and the corresponding living conditions.

The sovereignty of the proletariat will destroy them even more quickly. The action union, at least among the leading civilized nations, is one of the first conditions of the liberation of the proletariat.

The expulsion of a person by someone else will also bring an end to the exploitation of one nation by another, to the extent that the exploitation of the person is brought to an end. [46] The hostility of one nation to another will cease to exist as far as the opposition between the classes in the nation is concerned.

The accusations against communism in religious, philosophical and ideologically general terms are not worth serious consideration.

Is there a need for a deeper intuition to understand that human thoughts, opinions and concepts have changed with the single word, the consciousness of man, with every change in the material, social relations and social life of his material existence?

What does the history of opinion, mental production, change as material production changes, what else do they prove? The ruling minds of every century have always been the thoughts of the ruling class of that century.

Speaking of ideas that revolutionize society, nothing else has been expressed, as new members of society have been created in the old society, and the solution in the old minds has gone head-to-head in solving the old living conditions.

The ancient world was revived, and the ancient religions subjugated against Christianity. Christian ideals fell victim to rational

thought in the 18th century, and feudal society had been caught up in the war of death with the revolutionary bourgeoisie of those days. Freedom of religion and freedom of conscience is nothing more than the expression of sovereignty in the field of free competition.

"Undoubtedly," they will be tried, "religious, moral, philosophical, and legal thoughts have changed in the course of historical development, but religion, morality, philosophy, political science and law have always survived in these changes.

"Moreover, there are also immortal truths such as Freedom, Justice, etc. that are common to all social situations, but communism removes immortal truths, wherever they place them on a new basis, removes all religions and morals, Contrary to past historical experimentation. "

What does this accusation bring to itself? The history of all past societies consists of class antagonisms, the development of oppositions that have taken different forms at different times.

But whichever form they take, one fact is common in all past ages, that is, the exploitation of a part of society by the other. In spite of all the diversity and diversity he has shown, there is no wonder that the social consciousness of the past ages has moved within certain common forms or general thoughts, which can not be completely removed except for the complete disappearance of class antagonisms.

The communist revolution is the most radical clash of traditional property relations; There is nothing surprising that its development has brought the most radical break from traditional thought.

But let's stop the bourgeois objections directed at communism.

Evolution of Communism

As we have seen above, the first step in the revolution of the working class is to bring the proletariat to the dominant class position, to win the war of democracy.

The proletariat will use its political sovereignty to bribe the entire capital bourgeoisly in order to centralize all its means of production in the hands of the state, the proletariat organized as the sovereign class, and to increase the whole of the productive forces as quickly as possible.

Initially this, of course, is beyond the despotic attack on the right of property and the conditions of bourgeois production; So it can not be achieved except inevitable measures in that it appears to be inadequate and untenable in economic terms, but transcends itself in the course of the movement, and that further attacks are imperative to the old order of society and as a means of completely revolutionizing the mode of production.

These measures, of course, will be different in different countries.

However, the following will have a fairly general applicability in the most advanced countries:

1. Removal of land property [52] and the use of all land rents in the public interest.
2. A heavy intermittent or gradual income tax.
3. Removal of all heritage rights.
4. Confiscation of all refugees and peasants to their property.
5. Centralization of the credit in the hands of the state through a national bank which is a capital state and has a complete retreat.

6. Centralization of means of communication and transport [54 *] in the hands of the State.

7. Increase of factories and means of production owned by the State; The cultivation of empty land, and the general improvement of the land in accordance with a common plan.

8. The obligation to work equally for all. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.

9. Aggregation of agriculture with manufacturing industries; The distinction between urban and rural is gradually abolished as the population is more uniformly distributed over the country surface.

10. Free education for all children in public schools. In today's fashion, children are forced to work in factories. The combination of the training with the industry [56], etc., etc.

When class distinctions are removed within the flow of development and production concentrates on the hands of a broad union of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power in the real sense is the power of a class organized to crush another class. If the proletariat will have to organize itself as a class in the struggle with the bourgeoisie by force of circumstances and bring it to a dominant class position through a revolution and forcefully abandon its old conditions of production as a ruling class then it will be possible, As well as the conditions for the existence of the classes, and thus have removed their sovereignty as a class.

Along with its class and class antagonisms, it will take the place of the old bourgeois society, a union in which the free development of one is conditioned by the free development of everyone.

III. SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST WRITINGS



1. REVERSE SOCIALISM

A. FEODAL SOCIALISM

Because of its historical location, writing booklets against the modern bourgeois society has become the profession of the French and British aristocracy. In the French Revolution of June 1830, and

in the British reform movement, [16] they once again defeated the later visions they hated. From that day on, a serious political struggle, entirely out of the question. Only a literary war was possible. But even in the summer, it was no longer possible to throw the old screams of the restoration period.

To awaken sympathy, the aristocracy had to forgo apparently their own interests and prepare indictments against the bourgeoisie in the interest of the exploited working class only. Thus the aristocracy took the owl, whispering ominous prophecies about the catastrophe that was approaching the ears, and satirizing the satirics to the new master.

That is how feudal socialism emerged; Half-complaint, half-satire; Echoes of half past; The threat of half-future; Sometimes by bitter, witty and sharp criticism of the bourgeoisie, But it is always ridiculous in its effect because it shows a complete incompetence in the notion of modern history.

In order to collect the people behind it, the aristocracy waved the proletarian charity bag in front of the flag intention. But every time the public followed him, he saw the old feudal dynasty of his arms and abandoned him with derogatory laughter.

A section of French Legitimates [17] and "Young Britain" [18] played these scenes very well.

While pointing out that their form of exploitation is different from that of the bourgeoisie, feudals forget that they are exploited under very different and obsolete conditions and circumstances. They are forgetting that the modern bourgeoisie is the mandatory product of their own form of society, while showing that the modern proletariat never existed during their rule.

Evolution of Communism

Moreover, they hide so little of the reactionary nature of their criticism that the main accusation against the bourgeoisie is that a bourgeois regime is developing a class that will house the old social order.

They accuse the bourgeoisie of creating a revolutionary proletariat rather than creating a proletariat.

Therefore, they participate in all practical measures taken against the working class in political practice; And submits to the daily life all things to gather the gold apples falling from the tree of the industry against all the tumultuous words and to swap with righteousness, love and honor, wool, sugar beet and drink trade.

If the pastor has always been the subject of landlords, church socialism has always been in conflict with feudal socialism.

There is no easier thing than giving a socialist color to the Christian witness. Has Christianity not opposed the private property, the marriage, the state? Are they instead of love and poverty, not marrying and breathing, not preaching the life of the monastery and the church? Christianity is nothing but holy water, which the priesthood admires the jealousy of the aristocrat.

B. SMALL-BOURGEOIS SOCIALISM

The feudal aristocracy was not the only class that was demolished by the bourgeoisie, and whose conditions of existence were limited and destroyed in the environment of modern bourgeois society. Medieval townspeople and small-estate-owned peasants were news reporters of the modern bourgeoisie. In less developed countries, both industrial and commercial, these two classes still main-

tain vegetative life alongside the nascent bourgeoisie.

In countries where modern civilization has been fully developed, a new petty-bourgeois class has emerged which constantly renews itself as a complementary part of the bourgeois society, which constantly wobbles between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. However, individual members of this class are thrown into the proletariat on a continuous basis because of competition, and as modern industry evolves, they will disappear altogether as an independent part of modern society, and the moment when the places in agriculture, trade and commerce will be taken by the inspectors, housekeepers and shop workers They are also approaching.

In countries such as France, where more than half of the population is formed by peasants, authors who stand by the proletariat versus the bourgeoisie must criticize the bourgeois regime and use the criteria of the peasantry and small-bourgeoisie and defend the working class from the point of view of these intermediate classes. This is how petty-bourgeois socialism was born. Sismondi was the head of this school not only in France, but also in England.

This school of socialism has analyzed the contradictions in modern production conditions with a deep understanding to the smallest detail. He manifested the hypocritical excuses of economists. He undeniably introduced the destructive effects of overproduction and depression, the concentration of machines and division of labor, capital and land in a few hands; To the inevitable collapse of the small-bourgeoisie and the peasantry, to the poverty of the proletariat, to the anarchy in production, to the apparent inequalities in the distribution of wealth, to the struggle for industrial destruction between nations, to the dissolution of old moral bonds, old family relations and old nationalities.

Evolution of Communism

Nevertheless, this form of socialization is a form of socialization which, for its absolute purposes, is either a means of returning old production and exchange means and old property relations with them, or of bringing back the old society, or of modern means of production and exchange, of old property relations which are inseparable, I would like to keep it in frame. In both cases, it is both reactionary and utopian.

The last words are: guilds in manufacture; Patriarchal relations in agriculture.

In the end, this form of socialism ended in a terrible melancholy vigil when the stubborn historical facts dispersed all the drug effects of self-deception.

C. GERMAN SOCIALISM OR "HOLLICAL" SOCIALISM

The socialist and communist literature in France, which emerged under the pressure of a ruling bourgeoisie and was the literary expression of this struggle against power, entered a time when Germany had just begun to fight the feudal absolutism of the bourgeoisie in this country.

The German philosophers, pseudo-philosophers and beaux esprits [68] have embraced this handwriting four times, but have forgotten that the social conditions in France did not migrate with them during their emigration from France to Germany. This French literature lost all its practical significance when it came to the context of Germany's social conditions and received a purely literary direction. [70] Thus, for the 18th century German philosophers, the

demands of the first French Revolution, [19], and the expression of the will of the revolutionary French bourgeoisie appears to them as the law of the True Will, of Will, of the True Human Religion.

The work of the German literati was to harmonize the new French philosophies with their old philosophical consciousness, or rather to attribute them to them without leaving their philosophical point of view.

This is how a foreign language was acquired, that is, with translation.

It is known how the monks wrote the foolish lives of the Catholic saints on the manuscripts where the classical works of ancient paganism were written. The German literati made the opposite of the secular French literature. They wrote their philosophical nonsense under their French origin. For example, they wrote the "Foreigners of Man" beneath the French critique of the economic function of money, and under the French critique of the bourgeois state, they wrote the "Downloading of the General Category" and so on. Philosophical words, as the "Philosophy of Action", "True Socialism", "Science of German Socialism", "Social Philosophy of Philosophy", etc.

The French socialist and communist literature, thus, was totally emancipated. And since it came from expressing the struggle of this class with another class in the hands of the Germans, the German argued that the needs of the "unilateralism of France" came not from the superset of the "French unilateralism", but from the requirements of the Truth, not the interests of the proletariat, Was aware of the fact that it represented the interests of man in general, which existed only in the hazy world of the philosophical fantasy, which had no reality at all.

Evolution of Communism

This German socialism, which has taken such awkwardly prepared school assignments to such an eyebrow and brought the bad stuff to the skies, has gradually lost its innocence innocence.

The war against Germany, especially the Prussian bourgeoisie, against feudal aristocracy and absolute monarchy, in other words liberal movement, is more serious.

Thus, in order to prove that they will lose their traditional curses against the liberation of the political movement against the liberalism, against the representational vizier, against the bourgeois competition, against the bourgeois freedom of the press, against the bourgeois law, against the bourgeois liberty and equality and without having anything to gain to the masses by this bourgeois movement The "right" socialism has long been given the opportunity it has been waiting for. German socialism has forgotten that it is precisely necessary that the French critique of foolish ancestry, together with the corresponding economic conditions, predicted the existence of a modern bourgeois society and its adaptation to a political make-up, what was the real goal of the struggle that took place in Germany. German socialism served a railing against the bourgeoisie, which threatened them, for the absolutist governments, along with their followers from the priests, professors, provincial nobility and bureaucrats.

German socialism was a mouth-sweetening thing given by these same governments to the German working class uprisings just after whips and bullet pills they were putting on.

This "right" socialism, in the hands of the governments, thus became a weapon against the German bourgeoisie, while at the same time representing the interests of the German philistines, which were directly reactionary. The petty-bourgeois class in Germany, a

remnant of the 16th century and since then, has repeatedly emerged under various forms, is the real social basis of the present situation.

The protection of this class is the protection of the present situation in Germany. The industrial and political sovereignty of the bourgeoisie, on the one hand, is the result of capital concentration, and on the other hand the end of the birth of a revolutionary proletariat, threatening it with a definite destruction. "Right" socialism seemed to be able to shoot these two birds with a stone. It spread like an epidemic.

This guise, embellished with rosy flowers, gnawed with emotional sentimentality, woven from speculative spider webs, and unprecedented in the fact that the German socialists were wrapped in poor, "immortal truths" remained a skinny bones, increased the version of their property among such people.

And German socialism is increasingly accepting that its task is to become an exaggerated representative of the petty-bourgeois philistine.

The exemplary nation of the German nation, and the small German philistine. This example gave a concealed, supreme, socialist meaning to all the vulgar vulgarity of man, on the contrary of its true nature. His work was to directly oppose the "brutal destructive" tendency of communism, and to proclaim that he had met all class struggles with a top-down and objective disdain. With all but a few exceptions, all the so-called socialist and communist publications that were put on the market in Germany at the moment (1847) [79 *], enter the field of this rather frustrating literature.

2. HOLDING SOCIALISM OR BOURGEOIS SOCIALISM



A segment of the bourgeoisie wants to get rid of social discontent in order to maintain the existence of bourgeois society.

They fall into the category of economists, philanthropists, humanitarians, healers of the working class, organizers of charity, members of associations for the prevention of animal cruelty, moderate zealots, all kinds of concealed reformers. This form of socialism has also been made into complete systems.

As an example of this style, we can refer to Proudhon's *Philosophy of Misery*.

The socialist bourgeois wants all the advantages of modern social conditions, but without the struggles and threats that necessarily arise here. They want the present society, so long as you have revolutionary and solvent items. They want a non-proletariat bour-

geoisie. The bourgeoisie naturally thinks that the world in which it is ruling is the best in the world; And bourgeois socialism make this relaxing thought a more or less complete system [83]. The proletariat does not ask for anything but the execution of such a system and thus the direct socialization of Jerusalem, in fact leaving the proletariat within the framework of the existing society, but leaving all the hatred minds of the bourgeoisie on the edge.

This socialism has tried to reduce any revolutionary movement in the eyes of the working class by showing that a second and more practical but less systematic form can benefit them by a change in economic relations, but not of this or that political reform. This form of socialism, however, does not in any way remove the bourgeois relations of production, which can only be achieved by a revolution, but the administrative reforms based on the continuing existence of these relations, and therefore, not affecting the relations between capital and labor in any way, In other words, reforms that reduce the costs of the bourgeois government and simplify its administrative functioning.

Bourgeois socialism finds its adequate expression only when it becomes a mere metaphor.

Free trade: for the extraction of the working class. Protective customs: for the extraction of the working class. The prison reform: [86] to the extraction of the working class. That is the last word of bourgeois socialism and the only word that he says so seriously.

This socialism is summed up in the following words: a bourgeois bourgeois - for the sake of the working class.

3. CRITICAL-UTOPIC SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM

We here do not, as in the writings of Babeuf and others, always mention the proletariat's claims in every major modern revolution. [87] The first direct attempts by the proletariat in the moment of general convergence, in which the feudal society is collapsing to reach its own aims, The economic conditions of salvation have been inevitably unsuccessful due to the fact that the conditions of salvation have yet to be created and the conditions that the only approaching bourgeois age could have created. [88] The revolutionary literature accompanying these early movements of the proletariat is necessarily a reactionary character []. This was inculcated by a general witness and, in its rudest form, a social equality.

Rightly called socialist and communist, systems of Saint-Simon, Fourier, Owen and others have emerged in the first, undeveloped period of the above-mentioned struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie (see Chapter I, Burjourns and Proletarians).

The founders of these systems really see the effects of both class antagonisms, and of the decisive elements in the form of society in which they reign. But in the infancy, the proletariat offers them the appearance of a class without any historical initiative or any political movement at all.

Since the development of class antagonisms goes hand in hand with the development of industry, the economic situation in which they are still provides them with the material conditions of the liberation of the proletariat. So they pursue a new social science that will create these conditions, pursuing new social laws.

The place of historical action, their personal creative action; The place of historically created conditions of salvation, the imaginary ones; And the organization of the proletariat's tactical, spontaneous

classroom organization, a society organized specially by these creators. The history of the future reduces itself to the propaganda and actual implementation of its own social plans in their eyes.

As they formulate their plans, they are especially conscious of the interests of the working class as the most suffering class. For them, the proletariat is only in that it is the most suffering class.

As well as the class struggle has not developed, the environment in which they are in themselves also causes socialists in this way to see themselves far above all class antagonisms. They want to improve the conditions of every member of society, even those in the best condition. Thus, they call out to the whole society, even the preferred ruling class, without class distinction. Because once they have understood their system, how can people not see that this is the best possible plan for the best possible society?

Thus, they reject any political, and in particular, any revolutionary action; They seek to reach their goals peacefully, and try to open the path to the new social Bible-i-Sharif, with small experiments and examples that are bound to fail necessarily.

These imaginary tables of the society of the future, drawn in a time when the proletariat is still underdeveloped and has only a conception of its own but far from reality, is the result of the first instinctual aspirations of this class for a general re-establishment of society.

But these socialist and communist publications also contain a critical element. They attack all the principles of the present society. So they are filled with the most valuable materials to illuminate the working class. These practical measures, such as the distinction between urban and rural, the removal of the labor, the abolition of the industrialization of the industry by the private persons [94] and the

Evolution of Communism

wage system, the declaration of social harmony, They point out that the class antagonisms that have just begun to develop and that are noticed only in their first indeterminate forms in these publications should be removed. These proposals, therefore, are utopian in nature.

Critical-utopian socialism and the importance of communism are inversely proportional to historical development. This imaginary separation from the struggle, the fictitious assaults made on it, and all its theoretical justifications are lost in proportion to the development of modern class struggle and a certain form. Thus, although the founders of these systems are revolutionary in many respects, their teachings have, in each case, established only reactionary sects. They hold firmly to the old ideas of their masters against the forward historical development of the proletariat. Hence they are constantly striving to blur the class struggle and reconcile class antagonisms. They see the dream of creating their social utopias through the creation of isolated "phalanstères", the establishment of "Home Colons", the establishment of a "Little Ikarya" - the repression of small Jerusalem [98], and all these dreams They have to call out to the emotions and slaughter of the bourgeoisie. They are increasingly categorized as reactionary [or] conservative socialists described above and are separated from them by their more systematic pedanticism and the superstitions and superstitions of the miraculous effects of their social sciences.

These, therefore, oppose any political action from the working class with violence; According to which such action can only advance from the blind faithlessness to the new Bible-i Sharif.

In Britain, rubbers are opposed to réformists [20] in France as well as furiyeciler.

IV. COMMUNISTS 'POSSIBILITIES TO AVAILABLE VARIOUS DISCOUNTS



The Communists 'relationship with the existing workers' class parties, such as the Marxists in England and the agricultural reformers in America [21]

The communists fight for the immediate goal of the working class to be achieved and for the realization of its interests; But they represent and observe the future of this movement in the present movement. [105] Communists in France are tied up with conservative and radical bourgeoisie, with Social-Democrats, but against the traditionally taken-over words and illusions of the great revolution They also reserve the right to have a critical attitude.

They support radicals in Switzerland, but they do not lose sight of this part in part, in the sense of France, of democratic socialists, partly of radical bourgeois, opposites.

Evolution of Communism

In Poland, as the first condition of national liberation, they support the party, which started the 1846 Krakow uprising [23] on the agrarian revolution.

In Germany, as long as they adopt a revolutionary attitude, they are fighting against the absolute monarchy, the feudalist network and the petty bourgeoisie, together with the bourgeoisie.

But the German workers are in a position to prevent the bourgeoisie and the proletariat so that they can immediately use the social and political conditions that the bourgeoisie has to bring along with their sovereignty as soon as possible against the bourgeoisie as many weapons as possible and that the war against the bourgeoisie itself can begin immediately after the overthrow of the reactionary classes in Germany They are not back for a moment trying to gain the clearest possible intelligence about hostile opposition.

The Communists turn their attention mainly to Germany because it is on the eve of a bourgeois revolution in the 17th century, under the conditions of a more developed European civilization than the French in the 18th century and with a much more developed proletariat, The bourgeois revolution in Germany will be the beginning of a proletarian revolution to follow.

In short, the communists, everywhere, support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order.

In all these movements, regardless of the degree of development at that moment, the issue of ownership is foregrounded as the main problem of that movement.

Finally, they are working everywhere to ensure unity and agreement between democratic parties of all countries.