

## 1 What is Communism?

Communism is the doctrine of the conditions of the liberation of the proletariat.

## 2 What is the Proletariat?

The proletariat is that class in society which lives (*independence*) entirely from the sale of its labor and does NOT draw profit from any kind of capital;

whose weal (*or happiness*) and woe,  
whose life and death,  
whose sole existence depends

- on the demand for labor, hence,
- on the changing state of business,
- on the vagaries of unbridled competition.

The Proletariat, or the class of the proletarians, is, in a word, the working class of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

### 3 Proletarians, then, have NOT always Existed?

No.

(Although) There have always been

- poor (*classes*)
- and working classes;

and the working class  
have mostly been poor.

BUT there have NOT always been workers and poor people  
living under **conditions** as they are **today**;  
in other words,  
there have NOT always been proletarians,  
any more than there has always been

- free,
- (*rapacious, and*)
- unbridled

competitions.

#### 4 How did the Proletariat Originate?

(FIRST quarter)

The Proletariat originated in the industrial revolution, which took place in England in the last half of the last (18<sup>th</sup>) century, and which has since then been repeated in all the civilized countries of the world.

This industrial revolution was precipitated by the discovery of

- the steam engine,
- various spinning machines,
- the mechanical loom,
- and a whole series of other mechanical devices.

These

- could be bought ONLY by big capitalists,
- altered the whole mode of production
- and displaced the former workers, because the machines turned out cheaper and better commodities than the workers could produce with their inefficient spinning wheels and hand looms.

(continued)

The machines delivered industry  
wholly into the hands of the big capitalists  
and rendered entirely worthless  
the meagre property of the workers (tool, looms, etc.).

The result was that the capitalists  
soon had everything in their hands  
and nothing remained to the workers.

This marked the introduction of the factory system  
into the textile industry.

**4 How did the Proletariat Originate? (continued)****(SECOND quarter)**

Once the impulse to the introduction of

- machinery
- and the factory system

had been given,

this system spread quickly

to all other branches of industry,

especially

- cloth- and book-printing,
- pottery,
- and the metal industries.

Labor was more and more divided  
among the individual workers

so that the worker who previously had done a complete piece of work  
now did ONLY a **part** of that piece.

This division of labor  
made it possible  
to produce things

- faster
- and cheaper.

**(continued)**

It reduced the activity of the individual worker to

- simple,
- endlessly repeated
- mechanical motions

which could be performed

NOT only as well (*by a machine*)

BUT much better by a machine.

In this way,

all the industries fell,

one after another,

under the dominance of

- steam,
- machinery ,
- and the factory **system**,

just as spinning and waving

had already done.

#### 4      **How did the Proletariat Originate?** (*continued*) (*THIRD quarter*)

But at the same time,  
they also fell into the hands of big capitalists,  
and their workers were deprived  
of whatever independence remained to them.

Gradually,

- not only genuine manufacture
- but also handicrafts

came within the province of the factory system  
as big capitalists increasingly displaced  
the small master craftsman

**by** setting up huge workshops,  
which saved many expenses  
and permitted an elaborate division of labor.

#### 4 How did the Proletariat Originate? (continued)

(FOURTH quarter)

This is how it has come about  
that in civilized countries  
at the present time  
nearly all kinds of labor  
are performed in factories...

and, in nearly all branches of work,

- handicrafts
- and manufacture

have been superseded.

This process has,  
to an ever-greater degree,  
ruined the old middle class,  
especial the small handicraftsmen;

it has entirely transformed  
the condition of the workers;  
and two new classes  
have been created  
which are gradually swallowing up  
all the others.

(continued)

These are:

- (i) The class of big capitalists,  
who, in all civilized countries,  
are already in almost exclusive possession of all
  - the means of subsistence
  - and of the instruments (machines, factories)
  - and materials necessary for  
the production of the means of subsistence.This is the bourgeois class, or the bourgeoisie.
  
- (ii) The class of the wholly propertyless,  
who are obliged to sell their labor to the bourgeoisie  
in order to get, in exchange,  
the means of subsistence for their support.  
This is called the class of proletarians, or the proletariat.

**5 Under what Conditions  
does this Sale of the Labor  
of the Proletarians  
to the Bourgeoisie  
Take Place?**

*(FIRST third)*

Labor is a commodity

like any other,  
and its price  
is therefore determined  
by exactly the same laws  
that apply to other commodities.

In a regime

- of big industry
- or of free competition

as we shall see,  
the two (*labor and commodities*)  
come to (*mean*) the same thing  
the price of a commodity is,  
on the average,  
always equal to its cost of production.

Hence,  
the price of labor  
is also equal to the cost of production  
of the labor.

**5 Under what Conditions  
does this Sale of the Labor  
of the Proletarians  
to the Bourgeoisie  
Take Place?**

**(SECOND third)**

BUT, the costs of production of labor consist of precisely the quantity of means of subsistence necessary to enable the worker to continue working, and to prevent the working class from dying out.

The worker will therefore get NO more for his labor than is necessary for this purpose; the price of labor, or the wage, will, in other words, be the lowest, the minimum, required for the maintenance of life.

**5 Under what Conditions  
does this Sale of the Labor  
of the Proletarians  
to the Bourgeoisie  
Take Place?**

(*FINAL third*)

However, since business  
is sometimes better and sometimes worse,  
it follows that the worker sometimes gets more  
and sometimes gets less  
for his commodities (*of labor*).

But, again,  
just as the industrialist, on the average of good times and bad,  
gets NO more and NO less for his commodities  
than what they cost,  
similarly on the average  
the worker gets NO more and NO less  
than his **minimum** (*sustenance*).

This economic law of wages  
operates the more strictly  
the greater the degree  
to which big industry has taken **possession**  
of all branches of production

## 6 What Working Classes were there before the Industrial Revolution?

The working classes have always, according to the different stages of development of society, lived in different circumstances and had different relations

- to the owning
- and ruling classes.

In antiquity, the workers were the **slaves** of the owners, just as they still are in many backward countries and even in the southern part of the United States.

(**continued**)

In the Middle Ages,  
they were the (*agricultural*) **serfs** of the land-owning nobility,  
as they still are in Hungary, Poland, and Russia.

In the Middle Ages,  
and indeed right up to the industrial revolution,  
there were also (*trade*) **journey men** in the cities  
who worked in the service of the petty bourgeois masters.

Gradually, as manufacture developed,  
these journeymen became **manufacturing workers**  
who were even then employed by larger capitalists.

**7. In what way  
do Proletarians  
Differ from Slaves?**

*(FIRST half)*

The slave is sold once and for all;  
the proletarian must sell himself

- daily
- and hourly.

The individual slave,  
property of one master,  
is assured an existence,  
however miserable it may be,  
because of the master's interest.

The individual proletarian,  
property as it were of the entire bourgeois class  
which buys his labor only when someone has need of it,  
has NO secure existence.  
This existence is assured only to the class as a whole.

**7. In what way  
do Proletarians  
Differ from Slaves?**

(SECOND half)

The slave is outside competition;  
the proletarian is in it  
and experiences ALL its vagaries (*whims*).

The slave counts as a thing,  
NOT as a member of society.

Thus, the slave can have a better existence  
than the proletarian,  
while the proletarian belongs to a higher stage of social development  
and, himself, stands on a higher social level than the slave.

The slave frees himself when,  
of ALL the relations of private property,  
he abolishes only the relation of slavery  
and thereby becomes a proletarian;

the proletarian can free himself  
only by abolishing private property in general.

## 8. In what way do Proletarians Differ from Serfs

The serf **possesses** and uses an instrument of production, a piece of (*his feudal lord's*) land, in exchange for which

- he gives up a part of his product
- or part of the services of his labor.

The proletarian **works** with the instruments of production of another, for the account of this other, in exchange for a **part** of the product.

The serf **gives up**, the proletarian **receives**.

The serf has an **assured** existence, the proletarian has **NOT**.

The serf is **outside competition**, the proletarian is **in it** (*competition*).

(*continued*)

The serf liberates himself in one of three ways:

- either he runs away to the city and there becomes a handicraftsman;
- or, instead of products and services,  
he gives money to his lord and thereby becomes a free tenant;
- or he overthrows his feudal lord and himself becomes a property owner.

In short, by one route or another,  
he gets into the owning class  
and enters into competition,

The proletarian liberates himself by abolishing

- competition,
- private property,
- and ALL class differences.

**9. In what way  
do Proletarians  
Differ from  
Handicraftsmen?**

In contrast to the proletarian,  
the so-called handicraftsman,  
as he still existed almost everywhere in the **past** (eighteenth) century  
and still exists here and there at present,  
is a **proletarian** at most **temporarily**.

His **goal** is to acquire **capital** himself  
wherewith to exploit other workers.

**(continued)**

He can often achieve this goal

- where guilds still exist
- or where freedom from guild restrictions has NOT yet led to the introduction of factory-style methods into the crafts NOR yet to fierce competition.

**BUT**

- as soon as the factory system has been introduced into the crafts
- and competition flourishes fully,

this perspective dwindles away

and the handicraftsman becomes more and more a **proletarian**.

The handicraftsman therefore frees himself by

- becoming either **bourgeois** or entering the middle class in general (*the petty bourgeois*),
- or becoming a proletarian because of competition (as is not more often the case).

In which case he can **free** himself  
by joining the proletarian movement,  
i.e., the more or less **communist** movement.

**10 In what way  
Do Proletarians Differ  
from Manufacturing Workers?**

The manufacturing worker of the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries still had, with but few exception(s), an instrument of production in his own possession:

- his loom,
- the family spinning wheel,
- (or) a little plot of land

which he cultivated in his spare time.

The **proletarian** has **none** of these things.

The manufacturing worker almost always lives in the countryside and in a more or less **patriarchal** relation to his landlord or employer; the **proletarian** lives, for the most part, in the city and his relation to his employer is purely a **cash** relation.

The manufacturing worker

- is torn out of his patriarchal relation by big industry,
  - loses whatever property he still has,
- and in this way becomes a **proletarian**.

**11 What were the Immediate Consequences  
of the Industrial Revolution  
and of the Division of Society into Bourgeoisie and Proletariat?  
(FIRST quarter)**

First, the lower and lower prices of industrial products  
brought about by machine labor  
totally destroyed, in ALL countries of the world,  
the old system of manufacture or industry  
based upon hand (or manual) labor.

In this way, ALL ("semi-barbarian") countries,  
which had hitherto been more or less strangers to historical development,  
and whose industry had been based on manufacture (SEE previous question),  
were violently forced out of their isolation.

They bought the cheaper commodities of the English  
and allowed their own manufacturing workers to be ruined.

Countries which had known NO progress for thousands of years  
(for example, India)  
were thoroughly revolutionized,  
and even China  
is now on the way to revolution.

(continued)

We have come to the point  
where a new machine invented (*manufactured, and used*) in England  
deprives millions of Chinese workers of their livelihood  
within a year's time.

In this way, big industry

- has **brought** ALL the people of the Earth into contact with each other,
- has **merged** ALL local markets into one world market,
- has **spread** ("civilization and progress") everywhere
- and has thus **ensured** that whatever happens in ("civilized") countries  
will have repercussions in ALL other countries.

It follows that if the workers in England or France  
now **liberate** themselves,  
this must set off revolution in ALL other countries  
(revolutions which, sooner or later,  
must accomplish the **liberation**  
of their respective working class).

**11 What were the Immediate Consequences  
of the Industrial Revolution  
and of the Division of Society into Bourgeoisie and Proletariat?  
(SECOND quarter)**

Second, wherever big industries displaced manufacture (*SEE previous question*),  
the bourgeoisie

- developed in wealth and power to the utmost
- and made itself the first class of the country.

The result  
was that wherever this happened,  
the bourgeoisie took political power into its own hands  
and displaced the hitherto ruling classes,

- the aristocracy,
- the guild masters,
- and their representative, the absolute monarchy.

(continued)

The bourgeoisie annihilated the power of the aristocracy, the nobility, by abolishing the entailment of estates (in other words, by making landed property subject to purchase and sale, and by doing away with the special privileges of the nobility).

It destroyed the power of the guild masters by abolishing the guilds and handicraft privileges.

In their place  
it put competition;

- that is, a state of society
- in which everyone has the right to enter into any branch of industry,
- the only obstacle being a lack of the necessary capital.

(continued)

The introduction of free competition  
is thus public declaration that from now on

- the members of society are unequal  
ONLY to the extent that their capitals are unequal,
- that capital is the decisive power,
- and that therefore the capitalists, the bourgeoisie,  
have become the first class in society.

**11 What were the Immediate Consequences  
of the Industrial Revolution  
and of the Division of Society into Bourgeoisie and Proletariat?**  
(THIRD quarter)

Free competition is necessary for the establishment of big industry,  
because it is the ONLY condition of society  
in which big industry can make its way.

Having destroyed the social power of

- the nobility
- and the guild masters,

the bourgeois also destroyed  
their political power.

Having raised itself to the actual position of first class in society,  
it proclaims itself to be also the dominant political class.

This it does through

- the introduction of the representative system  
which rests on bourgeois equality before the law
- and the recognition of free competition,
- and in European countries takes the form of constitutional monarchy.

(continued)

In these constitutional monarchies,  
ONLY those who possess a certain capital are voters:  
that is to say, only members of the bourgeoisie.

These bourgeois voters choose the deputies,  
and these bourgeois deputies,  
by using their right to refuse to vote taxes,  
choose a bourgeois government.

**11 What were the Immediate Consequences  
of the Industrial Revolution  
and of the Division of Society into Bourgeoisie and Proletariat?  
(FOURTH quarter)**

Third, everywhere the proletariat  
develops in step with the bourgeoisie.

In proportion,  
as the bourgeoisie grows in wealth,  
the proletariat grows in numbers.

For, since the proletarians can be employed ONLY by capital,  
and since capital extends ONLY through employing labor,  
it follows that the growth of the proletariat  
proceeds at precisely the same pace as the growth of capital.

Simultaneously, this process  
draws members of the bourgeoisie and proletarians together  
into the great cities where industry can be carried on most profitably,  
and by thus throwing great masses in one spot,  
it gives to the proletarians a consciousness of their own strength.

(continued)

Moreover,

- the further this process advances,
- the more new labor-saving machines are invented,
- the greater is the pressure exercised by big industry on wages,
- which, as we have seen sink to their minimum
- and therewith render the condition of the proletariat increasingly unbearable.

The growing dissatisfaction of the proletariat  
thus joins with its rising power  
to prepare a proletarian social revolution.

## 12 What were the further Consequences of the Industrial Revolution?

Big industry created  
in the steam engine, and other machines,  
the means of endlessly

- expanding industrial production,
- speeding it up,
- and cutting its costs.

With production thus facilitated,  
the free competition,  
which is necessarily bound up with big industry,  
assumed the most extreme forms;  
a multitude of capitalists invaded industry,  
and, in a short while,  
more was produced than was needed.

(continued)

As a consequence,  
finished commodities could NOT be sold,  
and a so-called commercial crisis broke out.

- Factories had to be closed,
- their owners went bankrupt,
- and the workers were without bread (*no less shelter*).

Deepest misery reigned everywhere.

(continued)

After a time,

- the superfluous products were sold,
- the factories began to operate again,
- wages rose,
- and gradually business got better than ever.

But it was NOT long before

- too many commodities were again produced
- and a new crisis broke out,
- only to follow the same course as its predecessor.

Ever since the beginning of this (19<sup>th</sup>) century, the condition of industry has constantly fluctuated between periods of prosperity and periods of crisis; nearly every five to seven years, a fresh crisis has intervened, always with the greatest hardship for workers, and always accompanied by general revolutionary stirrings and the direct peril to the whole existing order of things.

**13 What Follows  
from these Periodic  
Commercial Crises?**

**(FIRST half)**

First:

That, though big industry in its earliest stage  
created FREE competition,  
it has **NOW** outgrown free competition;

that, for big industry, competition  
and generally the individualistic organization of production  
have become a FETTER  
which it must and will shatter;

that, so long as big industry remains on its present footing,  
it can be maintained ONLY at the cost of general **chaos** every seven years,  
each time threatening the whole of civilization  
and NOT only plunging the proletarians into **misery**  
BUT also **ruining** large sections of the bourgeoisie;

**(continued)**

hence, either that big industry must itself be given up,  
which is an absolute impossibility,  
or that it makes unavoidably necessary  
an entirely **new organization** of society  
in which production is NO longer **directed**  
by mutually competing **individual** industrialists  
BUT rather (*directed*) by the **whole** society  
operating according to a definite (*central*) plan  
and talking account of **the needs of ALL**.

### 13 What Follows from these Periodic Commercial Crises?

(SECOND half)

Second:

That big industry,  
and the limitless expansion of production which it makes possible,  
bring within the range of feasibility  
a **social order** in which so much is produced  
that EVERY member of society will be in a position  
to exercise and develop  
ALL his (or her) powers and faculties in complete freedom.

It thus appears  
that the very qualities of big industry  
which, in our present-day society,  
**produce** misery and crises  
are those which,  
in a different form of society,  
will **abolish**

- this misery
- and these catastrophic depressions.

(continued)

We see with the greatest clarity:

- (i) that ALL these evils are from now on  
to be ascribed solely  
to a **social order** which **NO** longer corresponds  
to the requirements of the real situation; and
- (ii) that it is possible,  
through a **new** social order,  
to do away with (*ALL*) these evils altogether.

#### 14 What will this New Social Order have to be like?

Above ALL, it will have to take the control

- of industry
- and of all branches of production

out of the hands of mutually competing individuals,  
and instead institute a system  
in which all these branches of production  
are **operated by society as a whole**;  
that is, for

- the common account,
- according to a common (*central*) plan,
- and with the participation of all members of society.

It will,  
in other words,

- abolish competition
- and replace it with association (*or cooperation*).

(*continued*)

Moreover,

- since the management of industry by individuals necessarily implies private property,
- and since competition is in reality merely the manner and form in which the control of industry by private property-owners expresses itself,

it follows that private property cannot be separated from

- competition
- and the individual management of industry.

Private property MUST, therefore,  
be abolished  
and in its place must come the common utilization  
of all instruments of production  
and the distribution of ALL products  
according to common agreement;  
in a word, what is called  
the communal ownership of goods.

(continued)

In fact,  
the abolition of private property is, doubtless,  
the shortest and most significant way  
to characterize the revolution in the whole social order  
which has been made necessary  
by the development of industry;  
and for this reason it is rightly advanced by communists  
as their main demand.

**15 Was NOT the Abolition of Private Property Possible at an Earlier Time?**

(FIRST half)

No.

- Every change in the social order,
- every revolution in property relations,

is the necessary consequence  
of the creation of **NEW** forces of production  
which **NO longer fit into**  
**the old property relations.**

Private property (*or the means of mass production*)  
has **NOT** always existed.

(continued)

When, towards the end of the Middle Ages,  
there arose a **NEW mode of production**  
which could NOT be carried on  
under the then existing

- feudal and
- guild forms of property,

this manufacture,  
which had outgrown the old property relations,  
created a new property form, private property (*or means of mass production*).

And for

- manufacture
- and the earliest stage of development of big industry,

private property (*or means of mass production*)  
was (*or became*) the **ONLY** possible property form;  
the social order based on it  
was the **ONLY** possible social order.

(continued)

So long as it is **NOT** possible

- to produce so much that there is enough for ALL,
- with more left over for expanding the social capital
- and extending the forces of production;

so long as this is NOT possible,

there **MUST** always be

- a ruling class directing the use of society's productive forces,
- and a poor, oppressed class.

## 15 Was NOT the Abolition of Private Property Possible at an Earlier Time?

(SECOND half)

How these classes are constituted depend on the stage of development.

The agrarian Middle Ages give us

- the baron
- and the serf;

the cities of the later Middle Ages show us

- the guild master
- and the journeyman
- and the day laborer;

the 17<sup>th</sup> century

- has its (*home*) manufacturing workers;

the 19<sup>th</sup> (*century*) has

- big factory owners
- and proletarians.

(continued)

It is clear that, up to now,

- the forces of production have **never** been developed to the point where enough could be developed for ALL,
- and that private (*control of*) property (*or the means of mass production*) **has** become a fetter and a barrier in relation to the further development of the forces of production.

(continued)

Now, however, the development of big industry has ushered in a **NEW** period.

Capital and the forces of production have been expanded to an unprecedented extent, and the means are at hand to multiply them without limit in the near future.

Moreover, the **forces** of production have been **concentrated** in the hands of a few bourgeois, **while** the great mass of the people are more and more falling into the proletariat, their situation becoming more wretched and intolerable in **proportion** to the increase of wealth of the bourgeoisie.

and finally, these mighty and easily extended forces of production have so far **outgrown**

- private property
- and the bourgeoisie,

that they threaten at any moment to unleash the most violent disturbances of the social order.

**Now**, under these conditions, the abolition of private (*control of*) property (*or the means of mass production*) has become NOT only possible BUT absolutely necessary.

**16 Will the Peaceful Abolition  
of (the) Private (control of the) Property (that is the means of mass production)  
be Possible?**

It would be desirable  
if this could happen,  
and the communists  
would certainly be the LAST to opposed it.

Communists know only too well  
that all conspiracies are NOT only useless,  
BUT even harmful.

They know all too well  
that revolutions are NOT made intentionally and arbitrarily,  
BUT that, everywhere and always,  
they have been the **necessary consequence of conditions**  
which were wholly independent  
of the will and direction  
of individual parties and entire classes.

(continued)

BUT they also see  
that the development of the **proletariat**  
in nearly ALL (*so called*) civilized countries  
has been **violently suppressed**,  
and that in this way  
the **opponents** of communism  
have (*ironically*) been working toward a revolution  
with ALL their strength.

IF the oppressed proletariat  
is finally driven to revolution  
THEN we communists  
will defend the interests of the proletarians with **deeds**  
as we now defend them with **words**.

**17 Will it be Possible  
for (the) Private (control  
of the) Property (that is the means of mass production)  
to be Abolished at One Stroke?**

NO, no more than **existing** forces of production  
can at **one stroke** be multiplied  
to the extent necessary  
for the creation of a communal society.

In ALL probability,  
the proletarian revolution will transform existing society **gradually**  
and will be able to abolish  
(the) private (control of the) property (that is the means of mass production)  
**only** when the means of production  
are available in sufficient quantity.

## 18 What will be the Course of this Revolution?

(FIRST fifth)

Above all, it will establish a democratic constitution,  
and through this,  
the direct **or** indirect dominance of the proletariat (*or working class*).

**Direct** in England,  
where the proletarians (*or working class*)  
are already a majority of the people.

**Indirect** in France and Germany,  
where the majority of the people  
consists NOT only of proletarians (*or the working class*), but also of

- small peasants (*or agricultural workers*)
- and petty bourgeois (*or owning class*)

who are in the process of **falling**  
into the proletariat (*or working class*),  
who are more and more **dependent**  
in ALL their political interests on the proletariat (*or working class*),  
and who must, therefore,  
soon **adapt** to the demands of the proletariat (*or working class*).

Perhaps this will cost a second struggle,  
but the (*ultimate*) outcome can only be  
the victory of the proletariat (*or working class*).

## 18 What will be the Course of this Revolution?

(SECOND fifth)

Democracy would be wholly value**less** to the proletariat (*or working class*)  
if it were NOT immediately used as a means

- for putting through measures directed **against**  
(*the*) private (*control of the*) property (*that is the means of mass production*)
- and **ensuring** the livelihood of the proletariat (*or working class*).

The main measures,  
emerging as the necessary result  
of existing relations,  
are the following:

continued

- (i) **Limitation of (the) private (control of the) property (that is the means of mass production)** through
- progressive taxation,
  - heavy inheritance taxes,
  - abolition of **inheritance** through **collateral** lines (brothers, nephews, etc.)
  - (and) forced loans, etc.
- (ii) **Gradual expropriation** (or seizure of the private control of the property that is the means of mass production) of (the)
- landowners,
  - industrialists,
  - railroad magnates and
  - shipowners,
- partly through competition by state industry,  
partly directly through compensation in the form of bonds.
- (iii) **Confiscation of the possessions of ALL**
- **emigrants** (the owning class who choose to leave the country)
  - **and** (the owning class who act as) **rebels** against the majority of people (who are the working class).

## 18 What will be the Course of this Revolution?

### (THIRD fifth)

(The main measures, emerging as the necessary result of existing relations, are the following):

- (iv) **Organization** of labor or employment of proletarians (*or the working class*)
  - on publicly owned land,
  - in factories
  - and workshops
  - with **competition among** the **workers** being abolished
  - and with the factory owners,
  - in so far as they still exist,
  - being obliged to pay the **same** high wages
  - as those paid by the state.
  
- (v) An **equal** obligation on ALL (*able bodied*) members of society to work until such time as (*the*) private (*control of the*) property (*that is the means of mass production*) has been completely abolished.  
 (*as well as the*) **Formation** of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.
  
- (vi) **Centralization** of money and credit in the hands of the state through a national bank with state capital, and the **suppression** of ALL private
  - banks and
  - bankers.

## 18 What will be the Course of this Revolution?

(FOURTH fifth)

(The main measures, emerging as the necessary result of existing relations, are the following):

(vii) **Increase** in the number of national

- factories,
- workshops,
- railroads,
- (and) ships;

**bringing** new lands into cultivation

and **improvement** of land already under cultivation

(ALL in proportion to the growth of the capital and labor force  
at the disposal of the nation).

(viii) **Education** of ALL children,

- from the moment they can leave their mother's (or guardian's) care,
- in national establishments
- at national cost.

Education and production together.

continued...

- (ix) Construction, on public lands,  
of great palaces as **communal dwellings**  
for **associated** groups of citizens  
engaged in both industry and agriculture  
and **combining** in their way of life  
the **advantages** of urban and rural conditions  
while avoiding the
- one-sidedness and
  - drawbacks
- of each.

## 18 What will be the Course of this Revolution?

(FINAL fifth)

*(The main measures, emerging as the necessary result of existing relations, are the following):*

- (x) **Destruction** of ALL
  - unhealthy and
  - jerry-built dwellingsin urban districts.
- (xi) Equal **inheritance rights**  
for children born in and out of wedlock.
- (xii) Concentration of ALL means of **transportation**  
in the hands of the nation.

continued...

It is impossible, of course,  
to carry out ALL these measures  
(ALL) at once.

BUT one (*measure*)  
will always bring other (*measure*)s  
in its wake.

Once the first radical attack  
on (*the*) private (*control of the*) property (*that is the means of mass production*)  
has been launched,  
the proletariat (*or working class*) will find itself forced to go ever further,  
to concentrate increasingly in the hands of the state

- ALL capital,
- ALL agriculture,
- ALL transport,
- (*and*) ALL trade.

continued...

ALL the foregoing (*or aforementioned*) measures  
are directed to this end;  
and they will become

- practicable and
- feasible,
- (*and*) capable of producing their centralizing effects

to precisely the degree  
that the proletariat (*or working class*),  
through its labor,  
multiplies the country's productive forces.

continued...

Finally, when

- ALL capital,
- ALL production,
- (*and*) ALL exchange

have been brought together

in the hands of the nation,

- (*the*) private (*control of the*) property (*that is the means of mass production*)  
will disappear of its own accord,
- money will become superfluous,
- and production will so expand
- and man so change  
that society will be able to slough off  
whatever of its old economic (*bad*) habits may remain.

**19 Will it be Possible  
for this Revolution to Take Place  
in One Country Alone?**

No. By creating the world market,  
big industry has already brought  
ALL the peoples of the Earth,  
and especially the (*so called*) civilized peoples,  
into such close relation with one another  
that none is independent  
of what happens to the others.

(continued)

Further, it has co-ordinated the social development of the (*so called*) civilized countries to such an extent that, in ALL of them,

- bourgeoisie (*owning class*)
- and proletariat (*working class*)

have become the decisive classes, and the struggle between them (*has become*) the great struggle of the day.

It follows that the communist revolution will NOT merely be a national phenomenon BUT must take place simultaneously in ALL (*so called*) civilized countries (that is to say) at least

- England,
- America,
- France,
- and Germany.

(*continued*)

It will develop in each of these countries more or less rapidly, according as one country or the other has:

- a more developed industry,
- greater wealth,
- (*and*) a more significant mass of productive forces.

Hence,

- it will go slowest and will meet (*the*) most obstacles in Germany,
- (*and*) most rapidly and with the fewest difficulties in England.

It will have a powerful impact on the other countries of the world, and will radically alter the course of development which they have followed up to now, while greatly stepping up its pace.

It is a universal revolution and will, accordingly, have a universal range.

**20 What will be the Consequences  
of the Ultimate disappearance  
of (the) private (control of the) property  
(that is the means of mass production)?**

(FIRST of five)

Society will take ALL

- forces of production and
- means of commerce, as well as
- the exchange and distribution of products,

out of the hands of private capitalists  
and will manage them in accordance  
with a plan based on

- the availability of resources and
- the needs of the whole society.

In this way,  
most important of all,  
the evil consequences  
which are now associated  
with the conduct of (*rapacious*) big industry  
will be abolished.

(continued)

There will be NO more crises;  
the expanded production,  
which for the present order of society is

- overproduction and hence
- a prevailing cause of misery,

will then be insufficient  
and in need of being expanded much further.

Instead of generating misery,  
overproduction will reach beyond  
the elementary requirements of society  
to assure the satisfaction of the needs of all;  
it will create

- new needs  
and, at the same time,
- the means of satisfying them.

It will become the condition of,  
and the stimulus to,  
new progress,  
which will NO longer  
throw the whole social order into confusion,  
as progress has always done in the past.

**20 What will be the Consequences  
of the Ultimate disappearance  
of (the) private (control of the) property  
(that is the means of mass production)?**

(SECOND of five)

Big industry,  
freed from the pressure  
of (the) private (control of the) property (that is the means of mass production),  
will undergo such an expansion  
that what we now see  
will seem as petty in comparison  
as (small scale, home) manufacture seems  
when put beside the big industry of our own day.

This development of industry  
will make available to society  
a sufficient mass of products  
to satisfy the needs of everyone.

The same will be true of agriculture,  
which also

- suffers from the pressure  
of (the) private (control of the) property (that is the means of mass production) and
- is held back by the division of privately owned land  
into small parcels.

(continued)

Here, existing improvements and scientific procedures  
will be put into practice,  
with a resulting leap forward  
which will assure to society  
ALL the products it needs.

In this way,  
such an abundance of goods  
will be able to satisfy the needs  
of ALL its (*society's*) members.

**20 What will be the Consequences  
of the Ultimate disappearance  
of (the) private (control of the) property  
(that is the means of mass production)?**

(THIRD of five)

The division of society into

- different,
- mutually hostile classes

will then become unnecessary.

Indeed, it will be

- NOT only unnecessary
- BUT intolerable

in the new social order.

The existence of classes  
originated in the division of labor,  
and the division of labor (*between owning class and working class*),  
as it has been known up to the present,  
will completely disappear.

For mechanical and chemical processes  
are NOT enough to bring industrial and agricultural production  
up to the level we have described;  
the capacities of the men (*and women*) who make use of these processes  
must undergo a corresponding development.

(continued)

Just as

- the (*agricultural workers or*) peasants and
- (*home*) manufacturing workers

of the last century

changed their whole way of life

and became quite different people

**when** they were drawn (*or coerced*) into big industry,

in the same way, communal control over production by society as a whole,

and the resulting new development,

will require an entirely different kind of human material.

People will NO longer be,

as they are today,

subordinated to a single branch of production,

- bound to it,
- exploited by it;

they will NO longer develop *one* of their faculties

at the expense of ALL others;

they will NO longer know only *one* branch,

or one branch of a single branch,

of production as a whole.

(*For*) Even industry as it is today

is finding such people

less and less useful.

**20 What will be the Consequences  
of the Ultimate disappearance  
of (the) private (control of the) property  
(that is the means of mass production)?**

(FOURTH of five)

Industry

- controlled by society as a **whole**, and
- operated according to a plan,

presupposes well-rounded human beings,  
their faculties

- developed in a balanced fashion,
- able to see the system of production in its entirety.

The form of the division of labor which makes

- one a peasant,
- another a cobbler,
- a third a factory worker,
- a fourth a stock-market operator,

has already been undermined by machinery  
and will completely disappear.

(continued)

Education will enable young people quickly to

- familiarize themselves with the whole system of production and
- to pass from one branch of production to another

in response to

- the needs of society or
- their own inclinations.

It will, therefore, free them  
from the one-sided character  
which the present-day division of labor  
impresses upon every individual.

Communist society will, in this way,  
make it possible for its members  
to put their comprehensively developed faculties  
to full use.

BUT, when this happens,  
classes will necessarily disappear.

(continued)

It follows that society organized on a communist basis is incompatible with the **existence** of classes on one hand, and that the very building of such a society provides the means of **abolishing** class differences on the other.

**20 What will be the Consequences  
of the Ultimate disappearance  
of (the) private (control of the) property  
(that is the means of mass production)?**

(FINAL fifth)

A corollary of this  
is that the **difference** between city and country  
is destined to **disappear**.

The management of agriculture **and** industry  
by the **same** people  
rather than by two different classes of people is,  
if only for purely material reasons,  
a **necessary** condition of communist association.

The dispersal of

- the agricultural population on the land,
- alongside the crowding of the industrial population into the great cities,

is a condition which corresponds  
to an **undeveloped** state of both agriculture and industry  
and can already be felt as an **obstacle** to further development.

(continued)

The general cooperation of ALL members of society  
for the purpose of

- planned exploitation of the forces of production,
- the expansion of production to the point where it will satisfy the needs of ALL,
- the abolition of a situation in which the needs of some are satisfied at the expense of the needs of others,
- the complete liquidation of classes and their conflicts,
- the rounded development of the capacities of ALL members of society through the elimination of the present division of labor, through industrial education,
- through engaging in varying activities,
- through the participation by ALL in the enjoyments produced by all,
- through the combination of city and country;

these are the main consequences

of the abolition of (*the*) private (*control of the*) property (*that is the means of mass production*).

## 21 What will be the Influence of Communist Society on the Family?

It will transform the relations between the sexes  
into a purely private matter  
which concerns ONLY the persons involved  
and into which society has NO occasion to intervene.

It can do this since it

- does away with *(the) private (control of the) property (that is the means of mass production)* and
  - educates children on a communal basis,
- and in this way removes the two bases of traditional marriage;  
the dependence rooted in *(the) private (control of the) property (that is the means of survival)*,
- of the **women** on the man,
  - and of the **children** on the parents.

(continued)

And here is the answer  
to the outcry of the highly moral philistines  
against the (*so called*) "community of women."

Community of women is a condition  
which belongs entirely to bourgeois (*owning-class*) society  
and which today finds its complete expression in **prostitution**.

But prostitution is based  
on (*the*) private (*control of the*) property (*that is the means of survival*)  
and falls with it.

Thus, communist society,  
instead of introducing (*a so called*) community of women,  
in fact abolishes it.

**22      What will be the Attitude of Communism  
to Existing Nationalities?**

The nationalities

(continued)