

Programme of the Organisation of Communists (OC)

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Table of Contents

Introduction.....	.1
Our main goals and principles.....	.4
Reasons for the defeat of communism in the 20th century.....	.8
Russian communists after the counterrevolution.....	.13
The situation in the world and in Russia today.....	.17
The strategy of struggle.....	.20
The future.....	.24
Conclusion.....	.28
Comments to the Programme.....	.29

Introduction

It has been several decades since the restoration of capitalism in Russia, and we now see what it led our country to.

Once the Russian ruling class has incorporated itself into the global capitalist system, it subordinated the economy of our country to the global capitalist division of labour. A whole range of sectors, including those that are vital for the country's survival and security, turned out to be 'unprofitable'. Millions of people were doomed to hungry existence. Market system that puts profits before people has brought the country's industry to destruction and led large numbers of population to impoverishment. Socially significant spheres, including education and healthcare, were also damaged by commerce. These sectors are degrading and becoming unaffordable to the masses.

The emergence of Russian imperialism at the turn of the century brought the change in rhetorics of the ruling class, but did not change the essence of capitalism. The treasures of Russia continue to be plundered for private gain, while its population is dying out at an unprecedented rate. Our country's existence itself is endangered, and this happened not only due to the pressure of some 'external forces', but predominantly due to the economic and social policy of the Russian bourgeoisie.

The 2020s showed the weakness and dependency of the Russian economy that does not match the appetites of the 'national' bourgeoisie. The ruling class has dragged our country into a military

gamble, from which no exit is to be found. Today's events clearly show that it is impossible to reconcile the interests of the vast majority of the population with the ambitions of a handful of oligarchs. The current dead end in which Russia finds itself has no solution within the capitalist system. Life-saving recipes of pro-Western 'liberals' or home-raised fascists bring new sufferings for our people, new loop of pointless massacre, new vain victims. Under any model of capitalism profits of the rich, rather than the interests of the working people, define the state policy, even if it brings to its collapse or general destruction.

Only the turn to communism can save Russia and the whole world. For this turn to happen, it is necessary to have a communist organisation armed with a progressive revolutionary theory.

We are the communists that maintained their adherence to revolutionary spirit of Marxism and to proletarian internationalism. In our view, the attempts to direct the workers' energy for protest solely towards legal activity is betrayal of socialism.

We consider ourselves the followers of **Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin**. We follow the ideas of '**Manifesto of the Communist Party**' and other fundamental works of communism. Meanwhile, we do not have any idols. Critical thinking is way above the prestige of any 'leader'. Independent creative development of theory in new conditions is way more important than mechanistic repetition of the Marxist classics. We examine the features of contemporary society, its existence and development to elaborate a revolutionary theory of the proletariat that is required for a successful socialist revolution.

We bring the recognition of class struggle to the necessity of social revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat.

We consider ourselves a part of the world communist movement. We consider the revolution in our country a part of the world revolutionary process. We are convinced that the solidary struggle of the world working class will eventually lead to the establishment of the new Communist International which is again an essential tool of international struggle after the fall of the socialist bloc. Interconnectedness of the economies of imperialist predators has reached an unprecedented level in contemporary world. In the meantime, unequal development of capitalism preserves. Hence different countries still have different place in the imperialist system and different conditions for the socialist revolution. That's why the victory of the socialist revolution will inevitably happen in one country or group of countries. But eventual victory of communism is only

possible with the common efforts of communists of all countries with the help of the new Communist International.

Our main goals and principles

Our main goal is to organisationally and ideologically prepare the working class to carry out fundamental transformation of the current socio-economic system into communism. It implies a social revolution, including seizure, retention and exercise of state power by the working class itself.

In our understanding, **the working class** is a key production force of contemporary society. Under capitalism, the working class is **the proletariat** which is one of the main social classes of capitalist society, alongside the bourgeoisie. The proletariat is a class of hired workers who are deprived of ownership over the means of production and whose main source of livelihood is the sale of their labour power to capitalists. As a result, the proletarians are exposed to capitalist exploitation. Capitalists use their surplus, unpaid labour to produce, preserve and appropriate surplus value. In other words, the proletariat ensures the reproduction of capital with its labour.

By **communism**, we mean a classless social system in which there is no private property and all means of production belong to the whole society. Namely, the contradiction between the socialised character of production and the private character of appropriation is resolved. Hence there is no exploitation of man by man under communism, while free development of each is a condition for free development of all. This is reflected in the following principle: *From each according to their ability, to each according to their needs!* In a communist society, social division of labour is overcome, and labour itself is the first vital need of humans. The forces of production are comprehensively developing based on holistic and harmonious development of people and all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more abundantly, in Marx' words. As a result, people finally become truly free – they get control over the circumstances, subordinating nature and their own society on a rational, scientific basis. Such a society becomes fully self-manageable, and the state as a force separate from society ceases to be.

We, as persons voluntarily united into an organisation to achieve the mentioned fundamental goal, consider transformation of society to communism to be the only way for humanity to avoid degradation and death; the only way to provide everyone with true freedom and comprehensive development.

We consider the working class to be the only social force that is capable of making this transformation and fighting the exploiters and mechanisms of their domination in a consistent and victorious manner. Meanwhile, the working class should lead the broad popular masses, including

non-proletarian layers of workers. It should unite all the progressive elements of society and focus their efforts on achieving the common goal.

Intermediate result of the working class' struggle is **socialism** as the lower phase of communism. Under socialism, the means of production are already publicly owned (in a form of state property or collective property), exploitation of a man by man is abolished, while the broad masses of workers are directly involved into and consciously participate in the management of production, society, state. In the meantime, "birthmarks" of the old society, i.e. capitalism, are still maintained in economic and cultural realms. Distribution according to one's needs is not yet possible, hence the principle *From each according to their ability, to each according to their work!* is followed.

Under socialism, the character of the working class is changing too. It transforms into a class of workers of popular socialist enterprises, a class that owns all popular means of production and has a leading position in society.

The main task of socialism is to ensure further progressive social development towards the higher phase of communism. Construction of socialism and fulfilment of its main task is only possible if political power belongs to the workers led by the working class that is guided by the communist party – the vanguard of the working class. In other words, if **dictatorship of the proletariat** is implemented.

Dictatorship of the proletariat (working class) is full and comprehensive state power of the working class; it is the highest form of democracy. These are the main tasks of dictatorship of the proletariat: 1) suppressing resistance of the bourgeoisie, including by the means of force, and protecting the revolution from external attacks; 2) socialising the main means of production and eliminating antagonistic classes as a phenomenon; 3) ensuring comprehensive and possibly quicker development of productive forces; 4) involving the broad popular masses, including non-proletarian layers, into the management of the country, its economy, state and culture; 5) overcoming the 'birthmarks' of capitalism, such as petty-bourgeois mentality of the masses.

Dictatorship of the proletariat is preserved not only for the period of socialist constructions; it is maintained up until the higher phase of communism is built. It is supposed to ensure the construction of socialism and communism. Meanwhile, the state of dictatorship of the proletariat dies out alongside the dying out of social classes as society approaches communism on a global scale.

Dictatorship of the proletariat is implemented directly by the working class, which is united into bodies of workers' self-management and control, such as soviets (councils), and led by its vanguard consolidated into a communist party.

Dictatorship of the proletariat implies suppression of the bourgeoisie and other exploiters. Simultaneously, it means alliance with all workers, unity of all workers under the leadership of the working class.

Socialism is the lower phase of communism. It is the process of continuous struggle of communism against capitalism, against the era of alienation and exploitation that slavery, feudalism and bourgeois system are.

We realise that the bourgeois class and other exploiters are ready to rewrite and break any law, disregard any norm of morality, commit any crime to maintain their power. That is why we prepare the working class for the struggle in suchlike conditions.

In this class struggle, we consider ourselves to be the successors and followers of the cause of our compatriots that adopted scientific communism as their worldview – the bolsheviks; those Soviet communists who did not betray their ideas; the Russian communists who took part in the proletarian resistance after the counterrevolution.

Our activity is guided by the following principles:

1. The main moral standard for our deeds is whether or not they contribute to the achievement of our key goals.
2. Each member of our Organisation considers it their duty to perform their work conscientiously.
3. Respectful and careful attitude towards fellow comrades lays at the core of our work.
4. Everyone is equal in the Organisation.
5. One cannot learn to lead, unless one learns to obey.
6. Activity in the Organisation is not only an activity for a social good, but it is also a path of its members' self-improvement and self-realisation.

The following is unacceptable:

1. Betrayal of our key goals for short-term gains;
2. Deception, demagoguery and other forms of manipulation of collective decision-making;

3. Discrimination based on “race”, nationality, age or sex within the Organisation;
4. Prioritisation of personal grievances over the common cause.

Formal literal compliance with any regulatory document of the Organisation cannot be put above these principles.

Reasons for the defeat of communism in the 20th century

Attempts to portray the October Revolution as premature are fundamentally flawed. The contradictions of imperialism at the beginning of the 20th century had come to a head, the revolutionary situation in Russia had matured, and to abandon the struggle for socialism would have been a crime against the working people of the country and humanity as a whole. **The October Revolution was the greatest achievement of the Russian proletariat** and of all humanity.

However, it is important to understand that **counterrevolution is always born alongside revolution** as a response to it. Class struggle in various forms accompanied the USSR from its birth to its death. After the destruction of the old classes, there were social strata whose selfish social interests conflicted with the development of socialism. Their formation was the result of both the inevitable costs of the harsh conditions of Soviet Russia and the unresolved problems and mistakes of Soviet socialist construction.

After the NEP, class struggle in the USSR did not disappear, but took on different forms. It continued both within the state and the party, as well as in other social organisations. The proponents of the progressive movement, aimed at the development of socialism, grouped around Stalin. Supporters of slowing down socialist construction and various kinds of deviations grouped around various opposition figures, including Trotsky and, on the other hand, Bukharin. Unlike the Civil War, when each class fought under its own banner, during the class struggle of the 1920s-1930s, those who wanted to slow down and roll back socialism fought under the red flag and swore allegiance to Lenin's ideas. The struggle itself reached such a fever pitch that the opposition resorted to underground work, terrorism, sabotage, and murder, and the authorities responded with so-called "repressions," which for the most part affected not workers and peasants, but party workers, bureaucrats, and the military.

One of the main factors that paved the way for the revival of capitalist relations was the persistence of commodity-money relations in the economy, whose role grew stronger over time (e.g., Kosygin's economic reform). Other factors that eroded the dictatorship of the proletariat (the working class) in the USSR were: the constitutional solidification of the party's leading role, the low level of workers' involvement in state management, and the need to pay close attention to external and internal defence due to the defeat of revolutions in Europe. It is also necessary to analyse the transition from the industrial to the territorial principle of forming Soviets in 1936; the

question of how this transition affected the dictatorship of the proletariat and the prospects for socialism in the USSR is still a matter of debate among communists today.

During that period, both the Soviet working class and some state leaders held a simplistic view of the mechanism of class struggle, which was instilled by propaganda rather than science. The ability of the bourgeoisie to adapt to changing conditions and its skill in manipulating public consciousness using the latest scientific and technological advances were underestimated. The proletariat's ability to resist the poison of bourgeois propaganda was overestimated. Due to these simplifications, a new phenomenon fascism was not scientifically evaluated straightaway. Nevertheless, practical conclusions were drawn. The growing threat of a world war, in which imperialism would unite against the USSR, prompted the Soviet leadership to gradually roll back socialist democracy and embark on the path of building a rigid, centralised state system, which alone was capable of mobilising the country in a short period of time and putting it on a war footing. This step fully justified itself, but the downsides of the system had an impact later on.

World War II dealt a severe blow to Soviet society. Enormous material destruction caused economic devastation and a resurgence of petty bourgeois elements. The enormous human losses, including millions of communists, affected the ideological stability of party organisations. Public consciousness severely damaged, which subsequently affected the political line of the country's leadership ("if only there was no war," a course of peaceful coexistence at any cost). The country's leadership was unable to convincingly explain, from the standpoint of proletarian internationalism, why the working class of Germany and other European countries had largely followed fascism and, despite all the hardships of war, had not overthrown their rulers. This theoretical weakness reinforced the shift towards Soviet patriotism, which was initially a necessary measure to unite the Soviet nation in the face of a foreign invader waging a war of annihilation. Subsequently, Soviet patriotism increasingly supplanted Marxist ideology in the public consciousness, a development that played a role in the counterrevolutionary processes.

The economic debate of 1951 revealed the significant influence of the "market" school and the generally low ideological and theoretical level of Soviet economists. This was due, among other things, to the lag between theory and practice, and to its simplified interpretation even among party and Soviet officials. Therefore, it is not surprising that in the late 1950s forces that were objectively interested in slowing down the development of socialism (regardless of what they thought of themselves) gained the upper hand. Socialism began to be "improved" using market methods. These included: the economic reform of 1965, which strengthened the role of profit and

prioritised cost indicators over natural ones; a temporary transition from the sectoral principle of industrial management to a territorial one (1957), which isolated regional managers and prompted them to form their own economic interests; the transfer of agricultural machinery, previously concentrated in machine and tractor stations (MTS), to collective farms (1958), which led to the strengthening of collective farm ownership as opposed to public ownership and weakened the link between the city and the countryside; etc. All these transformations generally created shortages, led to the squandering of labour, slowed down scientific and technological progress, and had other negative consequences. In particular, the economic reform led to the gradual transformation of public ownership of the means of production into collective ownership, the prioritisation of group interests, and the opposition of collectives from different enterprises to society and to each other. The vital interest of each worker in conscientious labour increasingly gave way to an alienated attitude. The focus on profit spurred the isolation of enterprises and their labour collectives, exacerbated imbalances in the economy, gave rise to unequal exchange as a form of indirect exploitation of some industries by others, and ultimately led to the emergence of negative phenomena characteristic of the late period of the USSR. Moreover, new economic mechanisms made it possible to implement corrupt schemes, such as defrauding the state by overstating costs, falsifying records, and fictitiously writing off raw materials for subsequent resale. The more public and group interests diverged, the more actively enterprise managers resorted to such schemes. Ultimately, conditions were created for the emergence of groups of large and small businessmen closely linked to the state apparatus through corruption schemes. On this basis, the so-called "shadow economy" grew – being officially prosecuted, it in fact was becoming inseparable from the "official" economy. Entire underground workshops appeared, run by "shadow bosses" who appropriated discarded raw materials and simply exploited workers. But many completely legal enterprises also became involved in "shadow" schemes, as this promised serious profits. This led to catastrophic consequences at both the base and the superstructure.

Over time, Soviet citizens observed a growing discrepancy between the words and deeds of the country's leadership. This had a corrosive effect on society and undermined trust in the country's leadership. The shift towards Soviet patriotism, the emphasis on "peaceful coexistence," and the simplified interpretation of communism (exclusively as material abundance) all contributed to the degradation of Soviet society, its "demagnetisation," the loss of its vector of development. Revolutionary processes gradually faded away. The task of forming a new human, *homo communis*, which was tackled by such outstanding educators as Makarenko and Sukhomlinsky, gave way to the ideals of bourgeois happiness. The early Soviet slogans of women's liberation and the

construction of a new way of daily life were replaced by the philistine family, isolated from society. Marxist theory ceased to develop and turned into a set of empty opportunistic quotations; consequently, it could not serve as a compass for social development. By the end of the USSR's existence, the CPSU itself – previously the vanguard of the working class – had turned into a predominantly administrative and managerial structure, absorbing not only committed communists but also careerists. It lost its communist character and began to reflect the interests of precisely those social layers that were interested in dismantling socialism and restoring capitalism. As a result, by the beginning of “perestroika,” communists were already in the minority in the CPSU. The global counterrevolution – the struggle of international imperialism against socialist countries – also contributed (quantitatively, rather than qualitatively).

The “treatment” of socialism with market mechanisms cultivated the revival of capitalist relations in the Soviet economy, gradually leading to the formation of a stratum within society interested in expanding commodity production. The “shadow economy” took more and more economic levers into its own hands. By the 1980s, it had grown so strong that it could dictate its will to the entire country. However, it was hindered by the political superstructure – the state which still defended the interests of the working people out of inertia. The socialist state, mortally wounded by capitalist relations, still outlawed the “shadow economy,” still occasionally caught them, sent them to prison, and even shot them. Thus, having powerful levers of economic control in their hands, representatives of the emerging class of “proto-capitalists” could not openly use them for their own enrichment, but were forced to hide and disguise themselves, pretending to be “committed communists.” They lacked political power. A counterrevolution was necessary to eliminate the state and the general superstructure that were created by the October Revolution. And this counterrevolution was prepared within the leadership of the party and the state, which had long since ceased to serve the working people.

The defeat of socialism in the USSR occurred due to both objective and subjective factors. The revolution did not end with the October coup, but continued throughout the long years of the USSR's existence as a process. And if the revolution does not move forward, does not advance and does not eliminate the elements of the destroyed reactionary system, this leads to a reversal in the development of the victorious progressive social formation. As socialism develops, the class struggle only intensifies, and the elements of capitalism, if not eradicated, strengthen the struggle against the revolution. The future constructors of communism must avoid the mistakes of the past and not forget this.

When studying the reasons for the defeat of socialism in the USSR and the trends that preceded it, it is necessary to consider the social structure developed in the USSR in the totality of all the conditions that determined social life and its changes as revolutionary processes weakened. This is a question that requires serious study and cannot be explained by a handful of factors. It should be noted that the temporary defeat of socialism in the USSR emphasises the inevitability and necessity of socialism's victory, since, firstly, the development of productive forces generates more and more contradictions in the current social system, which unavoidably slows down the development of humanity, and secondly, only the struggle for revolution and the progressive development of a new, just social order can set humanity on the path of creation and progress.

Thus, **the collapse of the USSR occurred in full accordance with Marxism**. The reason for the collapse of the USSR was not socialism and the planned economy, but the unresolved elements of capitalism, and from a certain point on, the revival of these elements in the depths of the economy and society, the theoretical and practical mistakes of the country's leadership, the increasing alienation of the working class from the management of the country, and the consequences that followed from this.

Despite all its mistakes and shortcomings, the USSR was the best thing that ever happened to humanity. Its experience should not only be critically studied, but also promoted.

Russian communists after the counterrevolution

Not all members of the CPSU obediently followed the revisionist line of its leadership. There were those who understood that “treating” socialism with capitalist methods would lead the country to disaster. However, the fight against counterrevolutionary tendencies began too late; the communists were already in the minority within their own party.

The first open confrontation occurred only in 1990, at the 28th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, when many still hoped to turn the party and the country toward socialism. The communists issued a “minority statement” which said: “...*The violent treatment of socialism by capitalism, contrary to objective processes, will not lead to an increase in production and living standards, but to their inevitable decline... and will cause great suffering to the people.*” The document was supported by a quarter of the delegates. However, statements and declarations could no longer stop the counterrevolution. It was necessary to organise the struggle.

The creation of the Communist Party of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic did not solve the problem, since this organisation was created “from above” by opposition party apparatchiks, did not have its own programme, and was unable to consistently oppose the counterrevolutionaries. Subsequently, the remnants of this structure gave rise to the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (CPRF) — a bourgeois party with a “communist” name, which then descended into direct support for the ruling class.

The communists failed to create a unified organisation, which was a consequence of ideological divisions in society and differing views on the country's past and future. Supporters of socialism formed a number of organisations, such as the Communist Initiative Movement, the Marxist Platform, and the Bolshevik Platform. Subsequently, these gave rise to the Russian Communist Workers' Party (RCWP), the Revolutionary Party of Communists (RPC), and the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks (VKPB).

After the collapse of the USSR, society underwent a process of rapid decay. “Shock therapy” dealt a crushing blow to the economic base. The chaos in society was reflected in ideological chaos. The main idea of most communists became “Soviet revanchism,” i.e. the desire to restore the USSR, to make things “as they were.” Ideological issues remained poorly developed, as the prevailing opinion was that a strong offensive was sufficient to overthrow the “anti-people regime.” Huge shifts in the class structure led to the social base of various political forces (from communists to

nationalists) becoming uncertain and diverse. The largest party in the country in 1992 was the RCWP, which, like other communist parties, reproduced the organisational forms of the CPSU.

The defeat of the Moscow uprising in 1993 showed that the bourgeois regime can no longer be overthrown by a decisive offensive. Hard, thorough work in labour collectives is required. It is necessary to re-educate and reorganise the working class. Among the Russian communists, the first serious division on the strategy for further struggle has emerged: forces that imitate the “struggle” against the bourgeoisie according to its rules (CPRF), and, on the other hand, those adherent to the previous “rally” strategy of struggle in the changed conditions (Trudovaya Rossiya). The RCWP remained the largest organised group of communists that worked purposefully with the labour movement. It was also the RCWP, apart from the CPRF, that was recognised in the international communist movement.

The climax of the class struggle in the first decade after the counterrevolution was the “rail war” of 1998, caused by a deep economic crisis in Russia, which in turn triggered a political crisis. The bourgeoisie managed to quell the wave of protests through repression (the murder of General Lev Rokhlin) and direct assistance from the CPRF (the formation of a “government of popular trust”). In the following two years, protests continued, and the workers’ class struggle was marked by truly historic events (e.g., the seizure of the Vyborg Pulp and Paper Mill and the Machine-Building Plant in Yasnogorsk by workers), but overall, the movement went into decline. The corresponding processes of stagnation also affected the communist movement.

At that time, the RCWP and other parties had a simplified view of how to train party activists. It was believed that the most important thing was the cadres’ pro-Soviet convictions, and that people already knew everything else. After all, the Soviet generation was politically active back then, and they generally knew well what a party organisation was and how it worked. Many of them used to be members of the CPSU or at least the Komsomol. When they joined the party, such people adapted relatively easily and quickly became involved in party work. However, years passed. The Soviet generation gradually lost its strength and left the stage. It was replaced by a new generation that had grown up under capitalism. They had not been educated in the party or Komsomol schools. Instead, their minds were filled with clichés and stereotypes instilled by bourgeois propaganda.

The same trend was observed among the proletariat. The old working class, raised during the Soviet era, was gradually fading away. It was being replaced by a new working class that grew up at the end of “perestroika” or after the collapse of the USSR. Enterprises of the “new economy” were

emerging, where foreign capital was organising production on a modern technical and scientific basis. A young, skilled proletariat was emerging.

Unable to analyse these trends, the communist movement as a whole was lagging behind in development and losing in numbers and influence. Nevertheless, the RCWP and the RPC took an important step – they merged in 2001, and two years later, thanks to an electoral alliance with the CPRF, the united party managed to win a seat in the State Duma. This success sparked enthusiasm for parliamentarianism. The 2000s can be considered an era of missed opportunities not only for the RCWP, but also for other “old” organisations. Many regional party organisations turned out to be “leader-type” structures. The experienced organisers who headed them were forced to step down due to age or illness, but did not have time or even consider it necessary to prepare their replacements. Both at the centre and in the regions, work was often “manually controlled” by recognised leaders who had no replacements. As a result, a generation gap emerged, while the transfer of experience and knowledge and the reproduction of party cadres were unsuccessful.

In an effort to prevent isolation from its class, the RCWP, together with other left-wing organisations, created the Russian United Labour Front (ROT FRONT) in 2010. Initially, this structure was positioned as a broad class organisation designed to help unite the communist and labour movements. However, ROT FRONT and its registration as a political party quickly became an end in itself for the RCWP leadership; enthusiasm for parliamentarianism gradually became the party's main political line.

By the early 2020s, the majority of the “old” communist organisations had almost completely disappeared from the scene. The RCWP was weakened and disorganised. Once the largest party in the country, it has turned into a bunch of relatively small and insignificant groups, often at odds with each other. The lack of centralised party training, organisational and party building, education of party cadres, reliance on the apparatus methods of management familiar from the days of the CPSU, and Menshevik cadres policy – all this led to a deep systemic crisis in the party, increased disunity and vacillation, and the emergence of a faction with openly reactionary views. Having lost its direction, the RCWP leadership sought to preserve the status quo, rather than pursuing a principled ideological line.

Moreover, false ideological orientation compounded these systemic problems. From its inception, the RCWP had strong nationalist and patriotic tendencies (for example, General Albert Makashov, known for his anti-Semitic statements, was one of the party's founders). When Russian imperialism was emerging, this tendency intensified, gradually turning into an indirect justification of

“domestic” capital in the face of stronger Western competitors. On a theoretical level, this tendency was expressed in the concept of “fascism for export,” which also paved the way for “critical” support for domestic capital.

All this led to the fact that the RCWP leadership openly supported “its own” imperialism when the war in Ukraine began. Most party members, who had long since lost their ideological bearings, reacted tolerantly to this.

At that moment, opposition to the party leadership's course had already matured within the RCWP. Its core consisted of many young RCWP activists, members of the RKSM(b), and activists from the Labour Front who united around them. While their work was of considerable benefit to the party, the communists increasingly found themselves in conflict with the opportunistic wing.

When the RCWP openly supported “its” bourgeoisie, the communists deemed it impossible to remain in the party. The communist core, which had managed to organise itself over several years of intense and fruitful work, left the RCWP. Most of the RKSM(b), led by its leadership, joined them. Since the RCWP had finally lost its communist character, it was this core that laid the foundations for the reconstruction of the Communist Party in Russia.

The situation in the world and in Russia today

Contemporary capitalism is at the stage of imperialism that it entered more than a hundred years ago. Throughout this time, the main features of imperialism have remained unchanged, and characterise it as the highest, final stage of capitalism. as capitalism in decay, as the immediate eve of the socialist revolution. The essence of imperialism is the highest concentration of capital in the form of monopoly finance capital, which leads to the domination of society by monopolies and financial oligarchy.

Having conquered the domestic market, monopolies export excess capital to foreign markets, where they enter harsh competition with one another. This results in a global imperialist confrontation, in which different groups of the bourgeoisie are quantitatively different in terms of the strength of their capital, yet do not differ qualitatively. During this confrontation, occasional predatory wars for the redivision of spheres of influence are inevitable.

At the beginning of the 20th century, non-imperialist national bourgeoisie and even non-capitalist (e.g., feudal) countries still existed. National bourgeoisie could, under certain conditions, act as an ally to the proletariat in the struggle against the global system of imperialism. Today, however, the situation is completely different: imperialism has not only embraced the entire planet, but has indeed subjugated every society. Therefore, no capitalist country today can stand outside the system of imperialism and, more so, cannot be considered an enemy to imperialism as such. The “anti-imperialist” rhetoric of any bourgeoisie merely conceals its striving to oppose competition from the imperialist centre (e.g., the USA). At the same time. this bourgeoisie, willingly or unwillingly, joins forces with another such centre (e.g., with China). In other words, all countries are tightly integrated into the global imperialist division of labour in one way or another; they are part of the “imperialist pyramid”, albeit occupying different positions within it. In competing with larger predators for the right to exploit the peoples, the national bourgeoisie seeks to become a larger predator itself. It does not seek to destroy the system of imperialism. It is instead trying to occupy a more advantageous position within it. Today, the working class is not on the same path with “its own” bourgeoisie, even in the struggle for national independence.

With the transition to the stage of imperialism, the capitalist socio-economic formation has embraced the whole world. This means that the final overthrow of this formation and the transition to communism are only possible on a global scale. At the same time, imperialism has exacerbated and entrenched the unevenness of development of countries and regions that is

generally inherent in capitalism. Therefore, it is impossible to expect a simultaneous rise of the revolution all over the world, since the acuteness of capitalist contradictions varies from place to place, and the conditions for the revolution mature at different speeds. But this only means that the revolutionary process is to begin initially in one country or group of countries – exactly where the contradictions of capitalism have reached a boiling point. That is, in the “weakest link” of the global system of imperialism. Having begun in one point, the revolutionary process gradually spreads to other countries as the internal conditions for revolution mature there.

Currently, the global correlation of class forces remains unfavourable. A full-scale offensive of the reaction continues. It is caused by both the deepening of class contradictions and the sharpening of contradictions between the leading imperialist powers (USA, China, Russia, EU, Turkey, etc.). The deepening of class contradictions urges the bourgeoisie of each country to more aggressively attack workers' rights, dismantle the remnants of bourgeois democracy, tighten political regimes, and flirt with far-right elements. **The tendency towards fascism has become global.** The sharpening of inter-imperialist contradictions, as in the 20th century, causes a rise in militarism and military tensions. It is becoming more and more likely that the multitude of local wars engulfing the planet will escalate into the Third World War.

The international labour movement is scattered. Although it shows examples of selfless and sometimes successful struggle, the disunity and disorientation of workers remain a serious problem. The same applies to the communist movement, whose condition reflects that of the proletariat. The global communist movement has not yet overcome the systemic crisis caused by the degradation and destruction of the socialist bloc. A revolutionary pole is only beginning to form amongst communists around the world. That said, communists as such are still a minority in the so-called international communist movement.

Moreover, the peculiarities of inter-imperialist contradictions in the 21st century have created a new threat – capitalism hiding behind a red flag. Being a growing imperialist power, China maintains a political superstructure from the socialist times – red flags and communist symbols, a one-party system with a “communist” party at its head. The monopoly on state power and ideology, and the high degree of centralisation of economic and political life, not only help to fool workers across the world with a false example, but also strengthen Chinese capital in competition with other imperialists. Defending the interests of its own capital on the international arena, the Chinese state aims to unite around itself the so-called “anti-imperialist” forces, which distort Lenin's theory of imperialism and equate this term exclusively with the USA and its satellites. Some

organisations from other countries, which call themselves communist, have joined the supporters of this approach. All of this creates additional difficulties in the work of communists across the globe and complicates their identification in the public consciousness.

The situation in Russia mirrors the global trends. Having seized and divided up the people's wealth after 1991, the Russian bourgeoisie attempts to strengthen its dominance over the country. In the last decades, it has consistently intensified its reactionary offensive. In the last years, the tendency towards fascism has only accelerated.

The Russian labour movement is very weak. However, the objective conditions (the worsening crisis, growing polarisation of society, increasing poverty) create the preconditions for its growth. Before 2020, the labour movement was slowly growing in width, involving more and more workers in labour disputes. At the same time, a qualitative growth is not yet occurring. The vast majority of workers still neither know how to fight for their rights, nor realise the necessity to do so. Few class-based trade unions face pressure. There is no force that would represent the interests of workers in the "official" political field. Legal "communist" parties serve the interests of the bourgeois powers.

Under these conditions, the bourgeoisie quite naturally took steps to prevent popular uprisings. Russia is going through a process of fascisation that distinctly similar to what happened in Ukraine and several other former Soviet republics. Forestalling and anticipating the rise of popular movements, capital severely limits the freedom of actions and gradually outlaws the propaganda of class struggle, not to mention the struggle itself.

The imperialist war in Ukraine has radically accelerated these tendencies. Political rights and freedoms have suffered unprecedented restrictions. Overnight, vanguard workers and communists now face a direct threat of repression for dissent. Thus, the development of class struggle in Russia faces new difficulties. The nearest prospect is the destruction of independent unions and persecution of communists, whose legal activities become impossible.

The strategy of struggle

Being communists, we are convinced that the only true way of overthrowing the bourgeois system is a **social revolution**. Moreover, such a revolution must have the goal of establishing socialism (the lowest phase of communism). In other words, it must be a socialist revolution. All other options (elections, “maidans”, referendums, etc.) are either deception or self-deception.

Therefore, we can already draw a conclusion: we cannot be integrated into the state system, we oppose it as enemies. Based on expediency, we combine legal and illegal work.

The social revolution begins with the conquest of political (state) power by the proletariat. To achieve this, it is not enough to simply remove the bourgeoisie from power. The bourgeois state and its constitutional order must be abolished and replaced by a fundamentally new socialist state with the **dictatorship of the proletariat** at its head.

The social revolution will inevitably entail the use of revolutionary violence with the purpose of crushing the resistance of the bourgeoisie. Its forms can also be bloodless (e.g., an all-Russian political strike accompanied by an armed uprising). And, as Lenin wrote, “if there is a one-in-a-hundred chance [for a peaceful development of the revolution], an attempt at such a possibility would still be worth attempting”. At the same time, it is unacceptable to fall for benign illusions and rely on the humanity of capital. The bourgeoisie is a cunning and merciless enemy, capable of any crime to preserve its dominance. Therefore, while acknowledging the preference for a peaceful takeover of power, we recognise that we must prepare both ourselves and the working class for the most serious class battles, for an armed struggle. As is known, if you want peace, prepare for war.

The revolution is not made by a party, a handful of conspirators or a street mob. The revolution is carried out by the broad masses under the leadership of the vanguard class – the proletariat. At the same time, the bourgeois state must be replaced by the dictatorship of the proletariat. No one must rule in the name of the people, but the organised workers must take power into their own hands from top to bottom.

For the revolution to succeed, a set of conditions (factors) must be met. The objective factors of revolution do not depend on the efforts of communists. They are maturing due to the global crisis of capitalism, as expressed in the worsening material conditions of the working masses, the exacerbation of class and inter-imperialist contradictions and the bourgeoisie’s inability to solve

the problems it has created. These tendencies can lead to the development of a revolutionary situation within a country, which is characterised by the following traits: 1) “the lower classes not to want to live in the old way” – the working masses can no longer bear the hardship and misery that afflict them, which are more acute than usual; 2) “the upper classes should be unable to live in the old way” – the ruling class is confused and incapable of ruling by old methods; a crisis of power is observed; 3) mass distress and crisis of power push the oppressed classes into political life, while the masses are significantly rising in activity and are unwillingly drawn into an independent historical action.

However, a revolutionary situation only creates the possibility of revolution. For that possibility to become reality, a subjective factor is also necessary. This is a revolutionary party formed well in advance, which is capable of leading the proletariat, at the right moment, in the fundamental restructuring of society. The party must be deeply connected with the proletariat, gathering around itself its best and most advanced elements – the vanguard of the class. The party must be the leading core of the proletariat as a class-for-itself.

In other words, **the subjective factor of the revolution** is a vanguard of the proletariat that is:

- **armed ideologically**, i.e. recognises its core interests;
- **armed organisationally**, i.e. has its own organisation – a communist party.

The comprehensive development of the subjective factor of the revolutionary situation is the main goal of communists at this historical stage.

The facilitation of the transformation of the proletariat from a disorganised, ignorant “class-in-itself” into a united and conscious “class-for-itself” is the main task of communists.

Therefore, it is necessary to raise the consciousness and political literacy of workers. It is necessary to explain the roots of their existing problems and the necessity of a socialist restructuring of society to them. It is necessary to rid them of petty-bourgeois illusions. This means that ideological work, political enlightenment, and propaganda are required.

It is impossible to maintain the necessary level of ideological and political work without further development of the Marxist-Leninist theory. This means that the development of theory and the struggle at the theoretical level remain important tasks for communists.

On the other hand, it is necessary to strengthen the organisational capacity and workers’ solidarity. It is necessary to teach them in practice how to create their own fighting structures, distribute

tasks, involve other people in the work, and instil a sense of collectivism in them. That is, it is necessary to resolve concrete, practical issues concerning the organisation of workers and their struggle, methodological and other kinds of assistance.

The highest form of class organisation is the party, which ensures awareness and cohesiveness of the class' actions and acts as a headquarters of the struggle.

In this way, the main task – the formation of the subjective factor of the revolution – has a dual character. This duality is a reflection of the dialectics of class struggle, in which theory and practice are united.

Theory without practice is empty.

Practice without theory is blind.

Therefore, the key tasks of communists at the present historical stage are:

1. The incorporation of socialist ideas into the workers' movement. Propaganda of socialist ideas.
2. The organisation of the workers' struggle for their rights. Agitation for solidarity actions.
3. The development of the theory of scientific communism, which is necessary for the victory of the socialist revolution.

The following key areas of activity emerge from the strategy of struggle: ideological and theoretical work, propaganda, agitation, organisation, methodological work and party building. To successfully accomplish the strategic task, it is required to build a political organisation with the following essential characteristics:

1. A stable political line. A common ideology shared by all members.
2. Theoretical, political and organisational education.
3. Effective organisation of labour. A common strategy and tactics. Centralisation and discipline.
4. An institution of freed workers – professional revolutionaries.
5. Formation of a stable layer of supporters involved in our activities.
6. Training of supporters and their further involvement in our activities, i.e. broader reproduction of cadres.

However, the main condition for the success of party building is **a living connection with our class.**¹

The future

The socialist revolution is not an end in itself, but a necessary condition to restructure society on rational principles. However, the construction of socialism will be preceded by a more or less lengthy transitional period, during which the dictatorship of the proletariat will override capitalist economic relations and utilise them to restore the material and technical base as well as lift the country's population out of poverty. The actual duration of this period will depend on many factors: the severity of the national crisis, the involvement in an imperialist war, the state of nuclear deterrence forces, the level of food security, etc.

Despite the circumstances, the people's government will have to implement emergency measures, including:

- Expropriation (rather than nationalisation) of heavy industry (including the oil and gas sector), banks, transport, communications, and agriculture.
- Introduction of a centralised planned economy in key sectors of the economy.
- Confiscation of deposits, movable and immovable property accumulated through exploitation.
- Monopoly on foreign trade.
- Workers' control in enterprises and institutions and transition to workers' management where possible.
- Salaries at all levels of government and society not higher than the average salary of a skilled worker.
- Equal pay for equal work.
- Cancellation of consumer loans.
- Cancellation of mortgages. Transfer of sole dwellings to those who live in them for indefinite use. Allocation of vacant space to all those in need of housing.
- Lowering the retirement age to Soviet standards: 55 for women and 60 for men.
- Reinstatement of the system of benefits for those in need.
- Establishment of a realistic subsistence minimum.

- Tax exemption for small- and medium-sized businesses that supply essential goods and services. Introduction of state control over these supplies.
- Fixed prices for essential goods, utilities, public transport, and communications services.
- Restrictions on trade markups. Combating speculation.
- Progressive taxation scale.
- Actual separation of the church from the state. Elimination of tax exemptions and other privileges for religious institutions.
- Termination of commercial activities in the sectors of education, healthcare, social welfare, culture, sports, and the media.

These urgent measures will stabilise the situation in the country, significantly improve the situation of the vast majority of the population, and pave the way for the construction of a new socio-economic system.

In the socialist Russia of the future, power and ownership over the means of production will belong to the workers themselves, organised in Soviets or other forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Instead of robbing the population and enriching a handful of parasites, the entire economy will be geared toward meeting the needs of our country's citizens and the comprehensive development of every member of society. Money, raw materials, and other resources, which are now being plundered on a massive scale, will be put at the service of the whole society. Economic development will be accompanied by industrial protectionism: all strategically important products that can be produced in the country must be produced in the country. This will not only create millions of new jobs, but also ensure the country's technological independence. At the same time, under favourable conditions and with the expansion of the socialist camp, the possibility of universal industrial and technological cooperation between socialist countries will open up. In turn, the introduction of new technologies should lead to increased labour productivity, lower prices for goods, and **reduced working hours**. Universal digitisation, along with the use of modern data processing technologies, will ensure rapid feedback from the population, making it possible to combine a planned economy with a flexible response to changing consumer demands.

A vital task of the dictatorship of the proletariat will be to involve workers in all aspects of state administration. Labour collectives at enterprises and institutions, trade unions and public organisations, and other associations based on a place of residence or work will be able to

participate in resolving issues not only at the municipal level, but also at all other levels, up to the national level. Conscious participation in public life and in the management of society should gradually become the duty of every citizen.

Reasonable state management is impossible without constant improvement in literacy and culture, without comprehensive education. One of the goals of communism is a harmonious, thoroughly developed personality. Therefore, working hours will be gradually reduced, and workers will use the freed-up time for study and self-development. The state, which is run by the workers themselves, will create the material conditions for their comprehensive development: a wide network of clubs, sections, circles, music, art and sports schools, libraries, and museums. Funding for schools, colleges, and universities will be increased, and educational programmes will be coordinated at the central level and brought to a single standard. Schools will not drill students for tests or confine them to narrow career paths, but will provide a thorough fundamental education and care for the physical and moral upbringing of the individual.

The people's arts and talents will be fully supported, while ethical and artistic control will be established over the content and form of art to prevent the spread of vulgarity and mediocrity. Theatre and cinema will cease to be commercial enterprises. Instead, they will become conduits of knowledge and ethics of new society. Art will cease to be the entertainment of the elite and will belong to the people and serve them.

As socialism develops, labour productivity will grow due to systematic development of the material and technical base, the improvement of the professional and cultural level of workers, and the reduction of working hours. Mechanisation and automation of production will be widely introduced. On the basis of a centralised planned economy, it will be possible to achieve comprehensive automation of all industry and agriculture as one of its sectors. All this will make it possible to increase the production of goods necessary for the population and create an abundance of products, which will make distribution according to labour meaningless. The material goods produced by society will be increasingly distributed according to one's needs. Public consumption funds will play an increasingly important role in this process. Thus, in the economy, society will begin its movement toward full communism, toward its highest phase.

As communist transformations deepen and public self-government develops, the need for special state administrative institutions will gradually vanish. The state is an instrument of class domination and oppression. Since socialism is a process of destroying classes, a process of achieving social homogeneity, the socialist state is a state that is fading away. However, a complete

transition to the “realm of freedom” is impossible as long as capitalist states exist on the planet. Moreover, our country will initially find itself in a hostile environment of imperialist forces and their puppets. As a result, for a more or less long period of time, it will be necessary to strengthen the socialist state, at least in those aspects related to external and internal security and the protection of socialist achievements.

In the sphere of culture, communist construction will adhere to the trends initiated during socialism. It is precisely the cultural and ideological sphere that will provide society with guidelines for moving forward, ahead of changes in material reality. The people of the future communist society will be educated during the socialist phase.

However, when building socialism and communism in a single country, it is necessary to constantly remember that the revolutionary transformations in Russia are part of a global revolutionary process, and that the new system in our country will only be fully protected from restoration of capitalism when socialism begins to triumph across the entire planet. The history of the 20th century has clearly shown that the old and the new, capitalism and communism, a society with exploiters and a society freed from them, cannot help but fight each other. Even in the absence of a “hot” phase of war, the imperialists are doing everything possible to destroy socialism. That is why the socialist Russia of the future, pursuing a peaceful foreign policy and maintaining its commitment to peaceful coexistence, will support revolutionary movements abroad and make the necessary efforts for international coordination of this struggle.

The victory of socialism on the planet will be the turning point that will open up the possibility of reaching the highest phase of communism, finally defeating hunger, disease, and war, organising life on Earth in a reasonable and happy way, and turning our gaze to the stars. From that moment on, the true history of humanity will begin.

Conclusion

Today, in the 21st century, humanity has developed productive forces of unprecedented capacity. They are capable of both feeding the planet and destroying it. The social character of production has expanded to the whole world, but the productive forces are still concentrated in the hands of a few. And this is precisely what puts humanity on the brink of self-destruction.

“Socialism or death” — this slogan of the Cuban Revolution is more relevant today than ever. We do not know what our country will choose, what the whole world will choose: socialism or its own destruction under the weight of unresolved contradictions. But we will do our best to ensure that the choice remains for a bright future.

Comments to the Programme

1) Comment on tactics

In the conditions of contemporary Russia, a communist party cannot work with the proletariat directly. This is due to both harsh conditions of the reaction and the current state of popular consciousness, which is still poisoned by anti-communist clichés. Therefore, we are considering indirect, legal forms of work, such as a worker-oriented buffer organisation that does not accentuate politics.

The public goal of such a buffer organisation is to encourage Russian workers to: a) learn to defend their own rights and become subjects of social processes, not merely objects, and b) understand the essence of what is happening, including the true causes of their life problems. For this, it is necessary to teach, aid, organise and arm them with knowledge and skill.

As a tool of the communists, a buffer organisation must perform the following tasks:

- Involvement of the broad strata of workers into expedient work according to the plans of communists.
- Exertion of ideological and political influence of communists on these people.
- Ensuring the broader reproduction of cadres for communists.

The development of the party and buffer organisations will be inseparably linked to one another. The party cannot dissolve in its buffer, it will exist as an unofficial headquarters of the movement.