

## Program of the Communist Party

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which are unattainable by the working people, the proletarians and semi-proletarians, while the bourgeoisie utilizes its machinery to deceive and defraud the workers through its press, pulpit, schools, etc.

Bourgeois democracy, with its parliamentary system, defrauds the masses of participation in the administration of the state. Actually, the masses and their organizations are totally deprived of real state administration. In the Workers' Government—the proletarian dictatorship in the form of the Soviet Government—the organizations of the masses dominate and through them the masses themselves administer. Bourgeois democracy and the parliamentary system separate the masses from the capitalist state by the division of legislative and executive power, by the toleration of unrecalable mandates. In the Soviet Government, on the contrary, the right of recall, the amalgamation of the legislative and executive power, the function of the Soviets as working colleges, unite the masses with the administrative organs. This unity is also promoted by the fact that under the Soviet Government the election themselves are conducted, not in accordance with artificial territorial districts, but in accordance with productive units. The proletarian dictatorship in the form of the Soviet Government thus realizes true proletarian democracy, the democracy for and of the working class and against the bourgeoisie.

The proletarian revolution is a lengthy process which begins with the destruction of the capitalist state, the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship and ends only with the transformation of the capitalist system into the Communist society.

### The Communist International.

The Communist International, issuing directly out of the proletarian revolution in action, is the organ of the international revolutionary proletariat in their struggle for the conquest of world political power.

The growth of the revolutionary movement in all countries, the menace of suppression of the proletarian revolution through the coalition of the capitalist states, the attempts of the social-patriotic parties to unite with each other (the formation of the "yellow" International at Berne) in order to render service to the Imperialist "League of Nations" and to betray the revolution; and finally, the absolute necessity of co-ordinating proletarian action all over the world—all these considerations demanded the formation of a real, revolutionary, Communist International.

The Communist International, which subordinates the so-called national interests to the interests of the international proletarian revolution, embodies the reciprocal aid of the proletariat of various countries, for the proletariat of any nation will not be in a position to organize the new society without economic and other mutual assistance. On the other hand, the Communist International—in contrast to the "yellow" Berne International—supports the exploited colonial peoples in their struggles against Imperialism in order to accelerate the final collapse of the Imperialist system of the world.

The Communist International unites all the revolutionary forces. It wages war against Imperialism, against the Berne International of social patriots and the Centrist parties and their leaders who accept the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship in words but not in deeds.

The Communist International issues its call to the conscious proletariat for the final struggle against capitalism. It is not a problem of immediate revolution. The revolutionary epoch may last for years. The Communist International offers a program both immediate and ultimate in scope. The old order is in decay. The workers must prepare for the proletarian revolution and the Communist reconstruction of society. The Communist International calls: Arms against arms! Force against force!

Workers of the world unite!

All power to the workers!

### Summary.

The Communist Party maintains that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle; that is, a struggle to conquer the power of the state, destroy the bourgeois state machinery by mass action culminating in armed insurrection and civil war, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only means of introducing the Communist society.

a) The Communist Party shall keep in the foreground its consistent appeal for proletarian revolution, the overthrow of the capitalist state and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

b) The Communist Party shall systematically and persistently propagate to the workers the idea of the inevitability of a violent revolution and the USE OF FORCE as the only means of overthrowing the capitalist state.

c) Participation in parliamentary campaigns which in the general struggle of the revolution is only of secondary importance, is for the purpose of revolutionary propaganda and agitation only.

d) Nominations for public office and participation in elections shall be limited to legislative bodies only.

e) Parliaments and political democracy shall be utilized to assist in organizing the working class against capitalism and the state. Parliamentary representatives shall consistently expose

the oppressive class character of the capitalist state, using the legislative forum to interpret and emphasize the class struggle; they shall make clear how parliamentarism and parliamentary democracy deceive the workers; and they shall analyze capitalist legislative proposals and reform palliatives as evasions of the issue and as of no fundamental significance to the working class.

f) The uncompromising character of the class struggle must be maintained under all circumstances. The Communist Party accordingly, in all its activities, shall not co-operate with groups or parties not committed to the principles and policies of the Communist International.

g) The Communist Party shall enter into all the struggles of the working class to spread Communist understanding among them, to guide their economic strikes into broader political channels, to develop their will and determination to overthrow the existing order and finally, lead them into open armed conflict with the capitalist state.

h) The Communist Party shall participate in strikes, not so much to achieve the immediate purpose of the strike as to develop the revolutionary implications.

i) Every local, sub-district and district organization of the Communist Party shall establish contact with industrial units in its territory—the shops, mills, factories and mines—and direct its agitation accordingly.

j) Communist Party shop committees, consisting only of members of the Communist Party, shall be organized for the purpose of carrying Communist propaganda and agitation to the workers in the industries. These committees shall be united with each other and shall be under the control and direction of the Communist Party, so that the party shall have actual contact with the workers.

k) The Communist Party considers trade and industrial unions as a field for the propagation of Communism. While recognizing that the A. F. of L. and similar organizations are reactionary and bulwarks of capitalism it recognizes that

industrial unions such as the I. W. W. and kindred organizations are also conservative. The Communist Party will encourage all movements of the workers in the shops and industries but will constantly criticize the limitations of the economic organizations and point out their inability to train and mobilize the workers for the proletarian revolution.

l) The Communist Party shall criticize the principles, tactics and leaders of trade and industrial organizations which do not accept the basic principles and policies of the Communist International.

m) The Communist Party shall wage an aggressive campaign against the social-patriotic and reform parties, such as the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party—expose their purely reformistic character, their petty-bourgeois principles and policies and their counter-revolutionary tendencies.

n) The Communist Party shall wage an aggressive campaign against the Centrists (United Communist Party) exposing their leaders, their lip-service recognition of Communist principles and tactics and Centrist tendencies.

o) The unorganized unskilled workers (including the agricultural proletariat) constitutes the bulk of the working class. The Communist Party shall systematically propagate Communism to these workers and link up their struggles with the class struggle of the workers as a whole.

p) The United States is developing an aggressive militarism. The Communist Party will wage the struggle against militarism as a phase of the class struggle to hasten the collapse of capitalism. Special Communist Committees shall be organized to carry Communist propaganda and agitation to the soldiers and sailors and to form Communist organizations among them.

q) The struggle against Imperialism, necessarily an international struggle, is the basis of proletarian revolutionary action in this epoch. The Communist Party shall maintain close contact with the Communist International for common action against world Imperialism.

## A Criticism of the Program and Constitution of the U.C.P.

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principles and tactics without effective protest from the membership. They would endorse anything, subscribe to everything just so long as they could remain in control of the organization.

Such a group of unprincipled adventurers and charlatans could do nothing else but elect a Central Executive Committee of ten members, five from one side and five from the other. Even the ten alternates were apportioned so that a C. L. F. alternate would take the place of a C. L. P. vacancy and vice versa.

The only alternative to a C. E. C. of ten members, which was obviously a dead give-away of the whole game, was to split. And a split at the "unity convention" meant immediate and total political oblivion for all the leaders concerned.

(4) Although the U. C. P. had learnt from the split in the Communist Party not to elect the secretary and editors at the convention (we are inclined to believe that the C. L. P. delegates must have insisted on this point) they did elect their International Secretary and International Delegates at the convention.

This as we have learned does not make for centralization and discipline, but leads to the creation of contradictory authorities—and in the case of dispute between the C. E. C. and International Secretary and Delegates makes two separate bodies responsible to the convention—just as Damon & Co. maintained in the recent unpleasantness in the Communist Party. This clause belies their attempts at centralization and discipline....

There are some other clauses in the constitution which are very vague and capable of misunderstanding. For instance, the clause on discipline is very vague and unsatisfactory. What constitutes a breach of discipline is not defined.

The clause on units of organization displays a very mechanical, bureaucratic conception of organization. We shall quote Section 3, to illustrate what we mean:

"Section 3. Not more than ten groups shall constitute a branch and not over ten branches a section; not over ten sections a sub-district, and not over ten sub-districts a district...."

Another mechanical, bureaucratic attempt at centralization is the clause dealing with the language papers. We quote:

"Section 5. All language literature and of-

ficial party papers shall be published by the C. E. C. of the party."

This does not actually mean that the C. E. C. of the U. C. P. published language papers. Not at all. It only means that the official English organ is translated in the various languages verbatim and published.

This stultifying policy is typical of the entire conception of centralization of the U. C. P.

For vagueness commend us to the following clause, dealing with language federations:

"Section 3. The C. E. C. of the party shall annually call a national conference of the respective language groups by request of district committees representing a majority of the language group...."

What is meant by a "majority of language groups"? Does it mean a majority of the members in these groups, a majority of the groups in the branches or a majority of the branches? And what constitutes a majority of such a vague enumeration? The C. E. C. then becomes the final arbiter and the annual language conference may or may not be held.

Or, take the clause dealing with conventions. It is as clear as mud and expresses as much centralization as the Committee of 48.

"Section 1. A national convention shall be held annually at a time and place determined upon by the Central Executive Committee. The C. E. C. may call emergency conventions when requested by District committees representing a majority of the membership. In case the C. E. C. does not act, district executive committees may send delegates to a conference for the purpose of calling the convention."

Not even the framers of this clause could explain the process of calling an emergency convention on the basis of this clause.

The heterogeneous elements mechanically fused in the U. C. P. on the basis of this program and constitution will not long hold together. One revolt has already begun—the Industrial or Independent Communist Party, a bastard offshot of the U. C. P. is even now in existence. The real Communist elements, who left the Communist Party due to misinformation, misrepresentation and lies, will return to the Communist Party. The Centrist element will eventually unite with the Left elements of the S. P. and blossom out as a real Centrist Party, without any camouflage—with no underground pretensions and an open organization.

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