

program of immediate action, both in domestic and foreign policy—only then will the acquisition of political power cease to be a casual episode, but will serve as a starting point for the gradual realization of the Communist Society.

The class struggle likewise demands that the general guidance of the various forms of the proletarian movement (such as labor unions, cooperative associations, cultural-educational societies, election campaigns, etc.) be centered in one organization. Only a political party can be such unifying and guiding centre. The class struggle of the proletariat demands a concentrated propaganda, throwing light upon the various stages of the fight, a unified point of view, directing the attention of the proletariat at each given moment to the definite tasks to be accomplished by the working class as a whole.

The Communist Party of America, section of the Third Communist International, is part of the working class, namely, its most advanced and intelligent, its most self-sacrificing and class-conscious, and therefore its most revolutionary part. The Communist Party has no interests other than those of the working class. It differs from the general mass of the workers in that it takes a general view of the whole historical march of the working class, and at every turn of the road it endeavors to defend the interests, not of separate groups or professions, but of the working class as a whole. The Communist Party is the organized political lever by means of which the more advanced part of the working class leads all the proletarian and semi-proletarian mass.

The Communist Party, during the period of the dictatorship, will systematically and constantly direct the work of the Soviets as well as of the revolutionized industrial unions. The Communist Party, the organized vanguard of the working class, must direct the struggle of the entire class on the economic and political fields, and also in the field of education. It must be the animating spirit in the Soviets, the industrial unions, and in all other forms of proletarian organization.

Mass Action

In those countries where the historical development has furnished the opportunity, the working class has utilized the regime of political democracy for its organization against capitalism. In all countries where the conditions for a proletarian revolution are not yet ripe, the same process will go on. But within this process the workers must never lose sight of the true character of bourgeois democracy. The capitalist class shields its deeds of violence behind parliamentary votes, and in order to gain its ends it has at its command all the means and attainments of centuries of capitalist class rule, multiplied by the wonders of the present technical development, and employing in addition, lies, demagogism, slander, bribery, persecution, torture, and murder.

The revolutionary epoch upon which we have now entered, forces upon the proletariat the application of militant methods, namely mass action, which leads to direct collision with the bourgeois state, developing into armed insurrection and civil war. The centralized power of the capitalist class is exercised through its control of the state machinery, the army, navy, police, courts, bureaucracy, etc., by means of which it imposes its will upon the workers. Mass action is the proletarian revolt against the power and oppression of the capitalist class, and develops as the spontaneous activity of the workers massed in the large industries; the mass strike and mass demonstration being among its initial forms. In these strikes and demonstrations large masses of workers are unified in the struggle. They develop new tactics and a new ideology. As these strikes grow in number and intensity they acquire political character by coming into collision and open combat with the capitalist state, which openly employs all its machinery to break the strikes and to crush the workers organizations. This culminates in armed insurrection and civil war aimed directly at the destruction of the capitalist state and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship.

Revolutionary mass action, which culminates in civil war, cannot attain its objective, the destruction of the bourgeois state machinery, unless the entire mass movement is under the control and guidance of the Communist Party.

The Communist Party of America will systematically and persistently propagate to the working class the idea of the inevitability of, and necessity for a violent revolution, and will prepare the working class for armed insurrection as the only means for the destruction of the bourgeois state and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship based upon Soviet power.

Parliamentary Action

The Communist Party of America recognizes that in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat it must use all the means of propaganda and agitation to win the exploited masses over to its side. One of these means is the bourgeois parliament. This work within the parliaments consists in making revolutionary propaganda from the parliamentary platform, the denunciation of the enemies of the masses, the ideological unification of the masses who are still looking up to the parliamentary platform, captivated by democratic illusions, and to win over those elements of the workers, such as tenant farmers, the village proletariat and the semi-proletariat, who have stood far away from

the revolutionary movement and political life. This work in the parliaments must be fully subordinated to the objects and tasks of the mass struggle outside of the parliaments.

The bourgeois parliaments, which constitute one of the most important instruments of the bourgeois state machinery, cannot be won over by the proletariat any more than can the bourgeois order in general. The task of the proletariat consists in destroying the entire machinery of the bourgeois state, including all the parliamentary institutions.

The parliamentary system of the bourgeois government of the United States, being based upon a rigid constitution and the division of authority among forty-eight states, each with its apparatus of independent legislatures, governors, courts, etc., makes the capitalist dictatorship, which is screened behind the bourgeois democracy, a formidable power in the hands of the capitalists for the crushing of working class aspiration. Large masses of the proletariat, such as the negroes, migratory workers, foreign born workers, etc., are disfranchised. The working class of the United States now faces the naked dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

While the Communist Party of America makes its major campaigns and activities among the working class in their mass struggles, outside of the parliaments, it will participate in elections and election campaigns for revolutionary propaganda and agitation only.

The American bourgeois democratic state early recognized in the Communist Party of America its historic and deadly enemy, and used all its power in an onslaught against it. Being outlawed, the Communist Party re-organized its units into an underground illegal party. This fact for the present prevents the Communist Party from participating in the elections under the name of the Communist Party.

Trade and Industrial Unions and Factory Committees.

Trade unionism had its origin in the craft divisions of small industry of the handicraft period, and consisted primarily of highly skilled workers. The concentration of industry and the development of industrial technique reduced and made unnecessary the skill of large masses of workers, but the reactionary trade unions still maintain the ideology of property, contract, and obsolete craft divisions. The concentration of industry has produced the machine workers who are massed in the large basic industries and constitute the militant factor in the class struggle. In modern capitalist society the old, petty, isolated, craft strike is useless. The development of machinery and the concentration of industry created the necessity for industrial unions. The Communist Party recognizes that industrial unions are a more efficient weapon in the struggle of the workers for higher wages and improved conditions under capitalism. But the industrial unions alone cannot mobilize the working masses for the proletarian revolution and the overthrow of the bourgeois state. Industrial unionism (Syndicalism) denies the necessity for establishing the proletarian dictatorship and Soviet government during the transition period from capitalist society to Communist society. Syndicalism advocates the Utopian plan of direct seizure of industrial plants when the majority of the workers are organized into industrial unions, entirely ignoring the power of the capitalist state.

Only after the conquest of political power, after the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, can the revolutionized industrial unions become the starting point for the Communist reconstruction of society. That the majority of the working class can be organized into industrial unions, and, under capitalism, leaving the bourgeois state intact, construct the communist society ("building the new society within the shell of the old"), is as utopian and reactionary as the conception of the opportunist socialists of the "gradual growing into socialism."

The historic experience of the socialist movement in America in its relation to the trade unions, its early aim to maintain contact with the organized working masses, and its later impatience with the slowness of the process of educating and leading the workers by working within the reactionary trade unions, developed the attempt during the period of 1895 to artificially stimulate the organization of brand-new, class conscious labor unions, such as the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. While on the other hand, the opportunist official policy of the "yellow" reformist socialists of catering to and supporting the reactionary leaders of the American Federation of Labor and similar organizations led to the abandonment of the struggle within the old unions by the more advanced workers, and to the formation in 1905 of the I.W.W. and the rise of syndicalism (industrial unionism) in the United States.

The Communist Party of America, in its attitude toward the trade and industrial union movement, rejects the tactics of both the reformist, opportunist socialists, and the pseudo-revolutionary syndicalists, and re-affirms its position as adopted at the Second Convention of the Communist Party of America, and as set forth in the theses and decisions of the Second World Congress of the Communist International, viz: of participation within the trade unions in their every-day struggles, maintaining contact at all times with the organized working masses, while incessantly, systematically and mercilessly criticizing and exposing the social patriotic and reactionary leaders, destroying the official trade unions bureaucracy, and carrying

on a continual propaganda to win the trade unions over to the side of the proletarian revolution, and developing the leadership of the trade and industrial unions by the Communist Party of America.

The reactionary unions containing chiefly the skilled workers, the better paid, limited by their craft narrowness, fettered by their bureaucratic machinery which isolates them from the masses, demoralized by their opportunist leaders; these trade unions betrayed not only the cause of the social revolution, but even their own every-day struggle for the improvement of wages and conditions for the workers within their own organizations, foregoing the pure and simple trade union struggle against their employers and substituting the program of collective bargaining and "industrial peace," thus making the trade unions actual bulwarks of capitalism. Notwithstanding this sad state of affairs, and bearing in mind the recent influx of large masses into the unions, and the objectively revolutionary character of the struggle that these masses are carrying on in spite of the trade union bureaucracy, the Communist Party of America makes it obligatory for its members to participate in the activities of such unions in order to make of them effective organs in the struggle against capitalism and for Communism. All voluntary withdrawals from the trade unions, every artificial attempt to organize special unions, unless compelled to do so by exceptional acts of violence on the part of the trade union bureaucracy (such as expulsion of separate revolutionary branches by reactionary officials, their narrow, aristocratic policy, prohibiting unskilled workers from joining the unions, etc.), represents a grave danger to the Communist movement.

The Communist Party of America will develop from its ranks the most determined leaders in the economic struggle of the trade unions, and in this way take the lead in the trade union movement and make of it an organ of the revolutionary struggle for Communism. Only in this manner can the disintegration of the trade unions be prevented. Only by removing the old bureaucratic machinery, now inaccessible to the toiling masses, and replacing it by the system of shop delegates, leaving only the most routine work for the central executives, can the old reactionary trade unions be replaced by industrial unions.

The members of the Communist Party will lead and participate in every effort on the part of the unorganized workers in their attempts to organize into unions initiating the organization of unions where these do not exist, and will lead them in the class struggle toward the proletarian revolution.

The Communist Party will not hesitate before a split in the trade unions, if a refusal to split would mean the abandoning of revolutionary work in the unions and giving up the attempt to organize the most exploited part of the proletariat. If such a split should become necessary, it must be carried into effect only when the Communists, by incessant agitation against the reactionary leaders and their opportunist tactics, and by their active participation in the economic struggle, have succeeded in persuading the masses that the split is occurring not because of some remote and as yet incomprehensible aim of the revolution, but on account of the concrete, immediate interests of the working class in the development of its economic struggle. The Communist Party will (in case the necessity for a split arises) continuously and carefully consider the question as to whether such a split might not lead to isolation from the working masses.

Factory Committees

Out of the economic chaos developing in America, the laboring masses will endeavor to create organizations which will be able to commence a struggle for the alleviation of the situation by means of workers control over production, through the medium of factory committees. This aspiration to create factory committees takes its origin from the most varied causes, namely, struggle against the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy, discouragement after a strike, or the defeat of the unions, or the desire to create an organization embracing all workers, etc., but in the end it results in the struggle for control over industry, which is the special historic task of the factory committees. These factory committees should not be formed exclusively of working men who already understand and are fighting for the proletarian dictatorship, the Communist Party will organize all workers on the basis of the economic crisis, and lead them toward the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat by developing the concrete struggle for workers' control over industry, which they all understand.

These factory committees cannot be substituted for the trade unions. The trade unions are now central fighting organs, although they cannot embrace such broad masses of the workers as the factory committees are capable of, since the factory committees are accessible to all the workers of a given industry. The division of tasks between the factory committees and the trade and industrial unions is the result of the historic development of the social revolution. The trade and industrial unions organize the working masses on a national scale for the struggle to increase wages and shorten the hours of labor. The factory committees are organized for workers' control over production, in the struggle to resist the economic crisis, and embrace all the workers in all the industries; but this movement can only gradually take on national scope. Only