

after the overthrow of the bourgeois state can the factory committees become the nuclei of the revolutionized industrial unions which together with the local soviets and the general soviet administration will form the apparatus for carrying on industry throughout the country.

The duty of the Communist Party consists in inspiring the labor unions and the factory committees with the spirit of determined struggle, i. e. with the spirit of Communism. In the execution of this duty the Communist Party must practically subordinate the factory committees and the unions, and thus create a mass organization, a basis for a powerful centralized organ of the proletariat embracing all the organs of proletarian struggle, leading them all to one aim, the victory of the working class, through the dictatorship of the proletariat, to Communism.

The Communist Party, converting the factory committees and the labor unions into powerful weapons of the revolution, prepares these organizations for the great task to be imposed upon them after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the task of being the instrument of the reorganization of the economic life on a communist basis. The labor unions, developed as industrial unions, and supported by their factory committees as their factory organizations, will make the working masses acquainted with their tasks of production; they will educate the more experienced workmen to become the leaders in the factories; control the technical specialists; and together with the representatives of the proletarian state, formulate the plan of the socialist economic policy, and carry it out.

Communist Nuclei

The Communist Party of America will organize communist nuclei in every field where there are proletarians and semi-proletarians,—in every trade and industrial union, in the factory committees, in every working class educational or social organization, in government institutions, in the army and navy, among the agricultural laborers and village proletariat, in the organizations of the tenant and poorer farmers, etc. These communist nuclei enable the Communist Party to effectively carry on its propaganda and to lead the working masses in the proletarian revolution. Communist nuclei shall be subordinated one to another in a centralized order and system and under the control, supervision, and discipline of the Communist Party of America.

Agricultural Workers and Farmers

The history of the exploited agrarian masses in the United States, beginning with the Greenback movement in the 'seventies, through the Populist movement in the 'ninties and down to the Non-Partisan movement of the present day, is the history of the attempts on the part of the small farmers and tenant farmers, to resist the oppression and exploitation of the financial and industrial oligarchy of the United States.

These small farmers, nominally the owners of small parcels of land, are mercilessly exploited by the banks, commission merchants, transportation companies, farm machinery trusts, the large absentee landlords, etc. All the reform movements, which periodically swept over the country, failed to ameliorate or change the conditions of the exploited rural masses, whose position, like that of the city proletariat, becomes steadily worse under the capitalist system.

These laboring and exploited masses in the country, which the city proletariat must educate and lead in the class struggle and win over to its side, are represented in America by the following groups: 1) The agricultural proletariat; the hired laborers and farm hands, employed by the year, season, or day, as wage workers on the large ranches, plantations, and farms. These consist largely of migratory workers. 2) The semi-proletarians; small farmers and tenant farmers, who make their living partly by working for wages in capitalist agricultural or industrial establishments, and partly by toiling on their own or rented parcel of land which yields only part of the sustenance for themselves and their families, and 3) The small proprietors; small farmers who own small portions of land, usually heavily mortgaged, which is sufficient to satisfy the needs of their families and farming, without requiring additional wage labor. All these three groups together, constitute the vast majority of the agrarian population of the United States, and their co-operation guarantees the success of the proletarian revolution, not only in the cities, but throughout the entire country.

The large landed farmers are capitalists in agriculture, managing their own farms and ranches with foremen and hired laborers. These constitute the most numerous element

of the bourgeoisie and are the open enemies of the revolutionary proletariat.

None but the city proletariat, led by the Communist Party, can emancipate the working masses from the exploitation and oppression of the capitalist and landowners, from privatization and the imperialist wars, which are inevitable as long as the capitalist system endures. There is no salvation for the small farmers, tenant farmers, and farm workers, except to unite with the revolutionary proletariat, to support wholeheartedly their revolutionary struggle to throw off the yoke of the landowners and the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, the proletariat becomes a truly revolutionary class only by acting as the vanguard of all those who work and are exploited, and by taking the lead in the struggle for the oppressors of the toiling masses.

The Communist Party of America will establish its nuclei within the organization of the exploited rural masses and win them from the political and moral influence of the agricultural bourgeoisie, carry the struggle into the agricultural districts, and gather the toiling country masses around the standard of Communism.

Imperialism and the Colonial Question

Since the imperialist world war the United States has become a creditor nation and is seeking new fields for the investment of capital, and new sources of raw material for its factories, which brings America into conflict with Japanese and English imperialism, and leads to new imperialist wars in the near future. This means the maintenance of huge military and naval establishments.

The imperialist war of 1914-1918 has demonstrated very clearly to all nations and to all oppressed classes of the world, the deceit of bourgeois democratic phraseology. War has been carried on by both sides under the false slogans of the "rights of small nations," and "national self-determination." But the Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest peace, on the one hand, and the Versailles and St. Germain peace on the other, have shown how the bourgeoisie establishes even "national" boundaries in conformity with its own economic interests. The so-called "league of nations" is nothing but an insurance policy in which the victors mutually guarantee each other their prey. National freedom and unity can be achieved by the proletariat only by revolutionary struggle and the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. The League of Nations and the policy of the imperialist powers after the war, demonstrate this even more clearly and definitely, making the revolutionary struggle in the advanced countries more acute, increasing the ferment of the working masses of the colonies and the subject countries, and dispelling the middle-class nationalistic illusion of the possibility of peaceful collaboration and equality of nations under capitalism.

The political situation of the world at the present time has placed in the foreground the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat and all the events of world politics are inevitably concentrating around one point, namely, the struggle of the bourgeois world against the Russian Soviet Republic, which is grouping around itself the soviet movement of the vanguard of the workers of all countries, and all national liberation movements of the colonial and subject countries, which have been taught by bitter experience that there can be no salvation for them outside of a union with the revolutionary proletariat and the triumph of the soviet power over imperialism.

The United States was in its origin itself a colony of England, and retained the characteristics of a colonial people, and acted as the hinterland for Europe until after the American Civil War of 1861-65. The American capitalists had their own world to conquer and exploit within the present territorial confines of the United States, which contain fabulous resources in natural wealth. To these shores were attracted millions of European workingmen and their families, lured by the false light of bourgeois democracy and the hope of economic security. These immigrant workers were mercilessly exploited in the building up of capitalist America, which added large areas to its original territory by fraud and conquest, forcibly annexing huge territories from its weaker neighbors. After the war with Spain in 1898, the United States definitely entered upon the conquest of world markets, developing an aggressive policy of imperialism, conquering and subjecting Hawaii, Cuba, Porto Rico, Philippines,

etc. The Caribbean and Central American republics are practically dependencies of the United States and together with Mexico are brought under the control of American finance imperialism by the constant threat of military intervention.

The Communist Party of America will support with all its power every movement for liberation on the part of the oppressed peoples in the colonies of the United States. It will seek to cultivate among the American proletariat a truly fraternal feeling toward the oppressed working populations in all the nations now under the iron heel of American capitalists in their economic and military aggressions upon the populations of the weaker American Republics. The Communist Party of America will strive to organize communist nuclei in the army and navy of the United States in order to carry on a systematic agitation against every kind of oppression of the colonial people by American imperialism. The Communist Party will support every armed uprising on the part of the oppressed colonial people to throw off the yoke of American imperialism, and will assist the exploited and toiling masses in the subject countries to link up their struggle with that of the proletariat of the United States against their common enemy, the American capitalists and against the native bourgeoisie in the subject countries, who are the tools of the American capitalist class.

The Communist International

The Communist International issuing directly out of the proletarian revolution in action is the central organ of the revolutionary proletariat in their struggle for the conquest of world 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 in order to render service to the Imperialist League of Nations, and to betray the revolution, and finally the absolute necessity of coordinating proletarian action all over the world—all these considerations demanded the formation of a really revolutionary Communist International.

The Communist International subordinates the so-called national interests to the interests of the international proletarian revolution and embodies the reciprocal aid of the proletariat of all countries; on the other hand, the Communist International supports the exploited colonial peoples in their struggle against imperialism in order to accelerate the final collapse of the imperialist system of the world.

The Communist International is the concentrated will of the world revolutionary proletariat. Its mission is to organize the working class of the whole world for the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of communism. The Communist International is a fighting body which assumes the task of combining the revolutionary forces of all the countries of the world.

The Communist International makes it its aim to conduct an armed struggle for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie and the creating of an International Soviet Republic as a transition stage to the Communist Society.

The Communist International forever breaks with tradition of the Second International, which recognized only the white race. The Communist International fraternally invites to its ranks men and women of all colors, the toilers of the entire world. The Communist International declares that for the purpose of the speedy achievement of victory, it must have a firm and centralized organization. The Communist International represents a single universal Communist Party, and the parties operating in various countries are its sections.

The Communist International issues its call to the world proletariat for the final struggle against capitalism. 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!