

PROPOSED PROGRAM FOR THE NEW PARTY

(Continued from Page 1)

by which the actual dictatorship of the controlling minority expresses itself. The state or government is thus the political instrument through which the owning class exercises and maintains its power. As the necessary political phase, therefore, of the change of ownership and control of industry, the workers in the cities and on the land must take control of state power by revolutionary means.

ROLE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Consequently a revolutionary political party becomes all-important and indispensable. The class war is fought by class armies. The working class as a whole—to say nothing of its necessary allies in other sections of the population—is not characterized by firm homogeneity. It is divided by conflicting philosophies by separatist interests of caste, religion, nationality, race, sex, age. As is tragically evident today, without the revolutionary party its most valiant struggles fail to achieve lasting results. The working class as a class, as a whole, cannot directly plan and guide its battles, any more than each platoon in an army can elaborate the strategy and tactics of war. For that a staff, a vanguard is necessary—not imposed from above as in a capitalist army, without the possibility of control and verification from the ranks, but rising from the rank by tested ability and common approval. This is the revolutionary political party. It embraces the most advanced, the most militant, the most devoted workers, unites them firmly on the basis of tested principles, and welds them together in rigorous discipline.

CONQUEST OF POWER

The opportunity for the workers to take power will come in the course of the disintegration of material life and of culture under capitalist dictatorship. The masses will find themselves faced with growing hunger, impoverishment, curtailment of social services, and the threat or actuality of fascism and war. Taking advantage of the growing discontent generated by the crisis in the capitalist dictatorship, led on by the advanced workers in the revolutionary party and supported by ever larger and more significant sections of the population, the workers will take power and put an end to the destructive course of capitalist dictatorship.

In this struggle the workers, under the guidance of the revolutionary party, will forge new weapons. The united action of workers' organizations, defending workers' rights in the period of capitalist disintegration, will provide the basis for the building of genuinely united revolutionary organizations of the workers, the Workers' Councils. It is through them, not through the existing governmental apparatus, that the workers will take power. This will be no violation of essential democratic principle, for it is not the existing governmental forms, representing the interests only of the capitalist minority, but the Workers' Councils that express the political will and social interests of all the socially productive elements of the nation. To defeat the capitalist government and to transfer all power to the Workers' Councils, the workers must be prepared to use whatever means are necessary.

CONSOLIDATION OF WORKERS' RULE

Having taken power, the revolutionary government must be ready to meet the violence of the overthrow but still dangerous forces of reaction. The workers will abolish the whole machinery of the capitalist state in order to render it incapable of counter-revolutionary activity and because it cannot serve as the instrumentality for establishing the new order. Its place will be taken by the workers' state. Thus the workers' state, while assuring and continually extending far more genuine and substantial democratic rights to all those who accept the new order than ever enjoyed by the masses under capitalism, will function as a dictatorship of the entire working class against its enemies.

Against the forces seeking to restore the old order, the workers will fight with every weapon to establish and to assure their own democracy. Workers' democracy will not mean democracy for capitalists, exploiters, and parasites. The workers' state will represent only the working and socially useful elements of the nation, and will function openly as the enemy of all who uphold the old capitalist order. Against capitalist legality, serving the interests of a bankrupt minority, will be set revolutionary legality, resting on the will of the overwhelming majority.

FOUNDATIONS OF A SOCIALIST SOCIETY

The most important of the economic measures to be taken by the revolutionary government in its initial period is the appropriation and socialization, without compensation, of all monopolies in industry and land; all mines, factories and shipping; all public utilities, railroads and other organized means of communication; all banks, credit agencies, gold stores; and all other supplies and services that the revolutionary government finds it necessary to take over in order to lay the foundations of a socialist society. This socialization of the means of production and exchange injures only the small handful of financiers, landlords and industrialists whose private control of the resources of the country is the source of hunger, unemployment and insecurity for the great bulk of the people. The policy of socialization pursued by the Workers' State will make possible the guarantee to every willing worker of a well-paid job, security against unemployment, and insurance against industrial risks, old age, and sickness. There will be no need for the Workers' State to impose arbitrary and oppressive measures upon small individual proprietors and farmers. The example of the social and personal advantages of the socialist organization of production, and assistance from the workers' government, can be trusted to lead them to voluntary collectivization. Socialism will release the productive forces to serve the needs of men, and will enable production to be planned rationally in terms of actual social requirements. It will allow the utilization of every technical improvement. The leisure and educational opportunities which will accompany these material advantages, together with removal of the dead-weight of the perverted capitalist culture, will offer every individual possibilities for the fullest creative development.

THE GOAL OF A CLASSLESS SOCIETY

The elimination of all socially useless and parasitic classes and groups will proceed simultaneously with these material and cultural changes. The entire population of the country will be transformed into a community of free producers owning the total productive wealth and resources of society. The need of coercion and repression of socially alien classes will disappear with the disappearance of these classes. With it will vanish the need for a state machinery—even the workers' state. The noblest objective of the human race, the classless socialist society which inaugurates a new era for all mankind, will be realized.

WORLD-SOCIALISM

The Workers Party of the U. S. aims not merely to lead the working class in taking political power and establishing socialism within the United States, but to join the revolutionary workers of all other countries in building world-socialism. Modern forces of production have compelled capitalism itself to

transcend national boundaries. Imperialism, itself a predatory force, can not, however, achieve a harmonious society. World-socialism is the only solution for the conflicts and disorders in the modern world, as well as for the major contradictions within a single nation. A socialist society will utilize rationally the natural resources and productive machinery of the earth in the interests of the people of the earth, and solve the conflict between the efficient development of productive forces and the restrictions of artificial national boundaries. It will grant the rights of free cultural self-determination and self-development to all nations and all individuals. World socialism will remove the causes of international wars that under capitalism now seriously threaten to send mankind into barbarism or complete destruction.

INADEQUACY OF EXISTING PARTIES

The founding of the New Party on the basis of the present program is the one possible step toward revolutionary unity. A mere attempt to fuse the programs and tactics of existing parties of protest would lead nowhere since careful analysis reveals their falsity and inadequacy.

a. Socialist Party

The Socialist Party is not a party of revolution but of reform and pacifism. The fundamental error of all wings of the party is the failure to grasp the nature of the state. From this flows its parliamentary illusions, its notion that the workers can achieve power within the framework of existing state forms, its faith in the sweet reasonableness of the capitalist dictatorship, its fetishism of capitalist democracy, its policies of class collaboration. It is affiliated and gives allegiance to the bankrupt Second International, which bears the responsibility for supporting the last imperialist war, and whose leading section, the German Social-Democracy, openly aided the capitalists to suppress revolutionary uprisings of the workers and made possible the triumph of Fascism in Germany. The Socialist Party conducts no systematic struggle against the reactionaries in the trade union movement and important sections of the Party are directly associated with these elements. Though now as at other periods in its history the Party contains many sound and leftward moving workers, the powerful right wing elements of the Party openly spurn and combat all revolutionary tendencies. The radical phrases of the centrist wing represented by the "Militant" leaders serve as a cover for an essentially reformist attitude. The Party and the Second International with which it is affiliated therefore serve the purpose of preventing the consistent evolution of the workers to revolutionary Marxism.

b. The Communist Party

The rise of fundamentally anti-Marxian nationalist tendencies and the abandonment of the principle of workers' democracy in the Third International and its sections, constitute the twin source of their decline and impotence. No semblance of party democracy obtains in the International or its sections. They have sponsored divisive tactics in the trade unions and other mass organizations, the policy of building dual sectarian unions, the theory of social fascism and the tactic one day of the united front from below, and the next day of purely formal united fronts "only from above" in which non-aggression pacts with reformist parties are concluded. They have brought low, vicious tactics into the labor movement, time and again ordering their members to break up meetings called by other labor organizations, and to beat up spokesmen of other viewpoints. They have followed an unprincipled zig-zag policy, which in the United States, for example, has ranged from the "broad" opportunistic efforts in support of the LaFollette agrarian movement to partisan exclusiveness and ultra-Leftism. In their own ranks, dissident opinion is stifled and bureaucratism reigns supreme.

The C. I. and its sections are completely and mechanically dominated by the C.P.S.U. As the revolutionary tide temporarily subsided in other countries, the Russian workers were obviously confronted with the need of concentrating upon the tremendous task of laying the foundations of a socialist economy in the Soviet Union, in expectation of decisive aid from the workers in other lands when the next revolutionary wave raised them to power. At this juncture the leaders of the C.P.S.U., however, instead of pursuing this work of laying the foundations of a socialist economy in the U.S. as one significant part of the movement for world revolution, adopted the position that socialist society could be built in the Soviet Union even though revolutions did not take place in other countries and that the building and defense of "socialism in the Soviet Union" is the first and well-nigh exclusive task of the entire world revolutionary movement. In the process of mechanically imposing this position upon the Communist parties of other countries all semblance of party democracy was wiped out. These parties, instead of concentrating their attention and energies primarily upon advancing the revolutionary movement and seeking the overthrow of the capitalist state in those countries, became little more than agitational groups dedicated to so-called "defense of the Soviet Union", pacifist activities for disarmament and "against war and Fascism", etc.

This degeneration of the Communist parties everywhere and their diversion from the task of achieving the revolution in the capitalist countries, weakened the defense of the Soviet Union and contributed to the defeat of the workers in other lands, as so tragically demonstrated by the collapse of the C. P. in Germany when Hitler came to power. In order therefore to accomplish the effective defense of the Soviet Union today, as well as successful workers' revolutions elsewhere, it is necessary to establish new revolutionary parties throughout the world and a new revolutionary International. The Workers Party pledges its support to these revolutionists in the Soviet Union who fight for the revival of the Communist Party of Lenin's time, based on the principles of revolutionary internationalism and party democracy. To accomplish all these objectives we devote ourselves with all our energies to the building of the new revolutionary party and International in the United States and other capitalist countries.

THE DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

Our opposition to the Stalinist parties, in no way affects our unwavering solidarity with the Soviet Union. Our attitude toward the Soviet Union differs basically from our attitude to any capitalist country: The Soviet Union is a workers' state, product of the Russian revolution and beacon light of inspiration to the workers of the entire world. Despite all the difficulties imposed upon it by its isolation within a ring of capitalist enemies, the Russian workers have already accomplished marvels, and have demonstrated beyond doubt that a socialist order of society is manifestly superior to capitalism even in its best period. The unconditional defense of the Soviet Union is an elementary duty of every worker and progressive-minded person. Any attempt by the imperialists of any land to attack or undermine the Soviet Union will find the revolutionists of the Workers Party ready to defend it to the utmost. Against all anti-Marxian nationalist tendencies, however, we

readfirm that socialism cannot be built in the Soviet Union alone and that the real defense of the Soviet Union depends not upon the League of Nations, non-aggression pacts, or any such measures, but upon successful workers' revolutions in other countries.

c. Intermediate Groupings

While challenging the C.P. and S.P. and the Internationals of which they are a part, the Workers Party of the U. S. likewise firmly opposes the formation of any centrist organization based upon a national existence and trying to occupy a middle-of-the-road position between the C. P. and S. P. The party opposes any utopian attempt to reconcile reformism and revolutionary Marxism or to find an independent position between the two.

d. Labor and Farmer-Labor Parties

At present the Farmer-Labor party movement in this country is weak and inconsequential. It is, however, possible that there will rise into being a fairly "radical" farmer-labor movement, or some combination of farmer, labor and middle class movements, which will seek to reform capitalism.

The workers' revolutionary movement faces a complicated problem in dealing with such developments. It is not the task of the revolutionary party to engage in building up any party of reform. In the period of capitalist decline, so-called reformist parties cannot pretend to the progressive role they have played decades ago. Political and economic concessions can now be wrested from the capitalist class only by means of the most resolute and militant class struggle. Besides, any party which purports to represent two or more classes on an equal footing, or to direct its appeal "to all classes", is essentially a middle class party doomed to irresolution and surrender to the big capitalists in every decisive test. We do not believe that the American working class must inevitably pass through a protracted experience with reformist parties. It is entirely possible that it will either skip this stage, or else concentrate it within a brief period. Another dangerous aspect of middle class reform movements, in the present period, is the fact that they easily fall prey to those demagogic appeals, chauvinistic slogans and reactionary ideas of class harmony which are the hallmark of the fascist movement. However, the membership of these groups represent real blocs of social unrest and of potential antagonism to the existing order. They must be won to support the revolutionary movement. The revolutionary party will show them by theory and historical example, and above all by its own activities that the actual consequences of the policies of reform movements, here as in all other countries, are directly opposed to their avowed aims, that they act to preserve, not to reform capitalism into something that is not capitalism, and hence are of no lasting value to the workers. In order that it may effectively perform this task the revolutionary party must at all times maintain its own political and organizational integrity.

FOR THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

The W. P. realizes that the liberation struggle of the working class is an international struggle and that the working class must be an international party. We hold that the existing international organizations of labor of the Socialist and Communist parties are bankrupt and can no longer serve its interests. We are therefore committed not only to the formation of new revolutionary parties throughout the world, but the formation of a New (Fourth) International. Such an International does not now exist. It cannot be brought into existence by an amalgamation of the Second and Third Internationals or created on the basis of a mixture of the bankrupt policies of the two. It must be built up on the foundations of revolutionary Marxism. The Workers Party is therefore prepared to cooperate with all groups and parties in other countries which stand on the same fundamental program as our own for the speediest possible establishment of the New International.

THE MAIN TASK

The main and immediate task of the W.P. is the mobilization of the American masses for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a workers' republic in the U. S. To this end the Party will work within the mass organizations of workers and farmers and will support and seek to give leadership to all their immediate practical struggles, strikes, demonstrations, mass action for relief and social insurance, fights against lynching, evictions, foreclosures, etc. The W.P. will participate with its own candidates and program in election campaigns. It will carry on constant propaganda to convince the workers of its theoretic competence by the cogency of its analysis, the accuracy of its predictions and the applicability of its proposed solutions. Everywhere, it will seek to demonstrate in action the success of its mass leadership.

THE TRADE UNIONS

The trade unions are the basic organs of working-class defense against capitalist aggression, and of all trade unions the most important are those in the large shops, mills, factories, and mines of the basic industries.

With these as its base, the Party will penetrate similarly the unions and federations of all groups of workers, activating and politicalizing their struggles. The main aim of the W.P. in the trade unions is to infuse them with the spirit and policy of class-struggle and to aid in developing a militant leadership in accord therewith. We shall encourage and inspire workers in the unions to fight against autocracy, corruption and gangsterism and against the class collaboration tendency so prevalent in the trade union movement, wherever these appear. We are opposed to any general policy of dual unionism, recognizing that a divided trade union movement facilitates the progress of reaction and Fascism. In particular, the Workers Party is opposed to the Communist party policy of building paper unions, mechanically controlled by the Party, which are in no sense genuine mass organizations. The W.P. stands for rank and file control, trade union democracy, as essential if the workers are to have confidence in their organizations and are willing to fight for them.

The Workers Party does not believe, however, that the American Federation of Labor has any right to claim a monopoly in the field of labor organization. Too often the Federation has repelled workers in the basic industries by an insistence on craft unionism. In numerous cases, important groups have been forced out of its ranks by bureaucracy, racketeering and other evils which have tended to bring the labor movement into disrepute. Where the masses form independent unions as a result of such intolerable situations the W.P. will support them in their efforts and struggles. It will, however, continue to work for a united, industrially constructed and militant trade union movement.

The Workers Party stands for industrial unionism, and will press forward the issue of amalgamation in every field in which such action is necessary.

We warn the organized workers against the tendency, particularly noticeable since the NRA, to tie the trade union movement up with the capitalist government. This trend, nourished and supported by many of the leaders of the American Federation of

Labor, must inevitably result, if it is allowed to continue, in emasculating the unions, in restricting the right to strike, to picket and carry on any normal activity, and in preparing for the fascist "corporate state".

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS AND FARMERS

The section of the agricultural population on which the Workers Party bases itself directly consists of the agricultural laborers whose standard of living is even lower than that of the industrial workers and whose efforts to organize in order to improve their conditions are met by the most brutal repression. The organization of these workers into militant unions is an essential part of the development of the revolutionary movement in the United States. The Workers Party will give special attention to this task, and pledges its fullest support to all the struggles of the oppressed agricultural workers.

Millions of share-croppers and tenant farmers in various sections of the United States have been reduced to virtual servitude and a peasant basis of existence. Even those farmers who nominally own the land they occupy, are loaded with a growing burden of mortgages and debts and under capitalism are less and less able to make a living from the sale of their produce. This situation has driven them to openly violent "Holiday" movements, milk strikes, anti-foreclosure and anti-eviction demonstrations, etc. The Workers Party pledges its support to the struggles of the farmers against our common enemy. These struggles, however, have a consistently progressive character and can achieve lasting results only if they are directed against the capitalist system itself. For the farmers, as well as for all oppressed groups, emancipation and security can come only through joint revolutionary struggle with the working class for a socialist society.

NEGROES AND OTHER OPPRESSED RACIAL GROUPS

The Negroes compose the most exploited and persecuted section of the population of this country. Racial differences are used by the capitalist dictatorship to drive down the standard of living of all workers and to keep them from uniting against their oppressors and thus achieving complete emancipation. The Workers Party will labor unceasingly to convince the white workers on the one hand, and the Negroes and other oppressed racial groups, such as Japanese, Mexicans and Filipinos, on the other hand, that their interests are the same. It stands for the complete social, political and economic equality of the Negroes and all other races, and will fight against every form of race discrimination, wage differentials, lynchings, Jim Crowism, the barring of Negroes and other groups from the trade unions, and all other forms of racial and national chauvinism. At the same time, we point out that the Negro urban and rural masses cannot achieve deliverance by reliance upon Negro capitalists and middle class elements or a so-called "Negro capitalism". Only by allying themselves with all other workers for the complete abolition of capitalism will they gain freedom from exploitation and tyranny.

COLONIAL PEOPLES

The workers in the United States and the peoples of Latin America, the Philippines, Hawaii and Liberia, have one enemy in common—American imperialism. The Workers Party pledges its unqualified and active support to these peoples in every progressive struggle they undertake to gain the unhampered right of self-determination, free from military, political or economic intervention or pressure by U. S. imperialism. Our Party stands for the unconditional and immediate independence of the Philippine Islands, Hawaii, Porto Rico, the Virgin Islands and all other colonies and dependencies of the U. S., and for the withdrawal of all troops from any territory outside the boundaries of the U.S. The Workers Party is further pledged to active opposition to any endeavor by American imperialism, be it open or masked, to infringe upon the right of self-determination of any nation or people.

PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL WORKERS

The Workers Party will seek to overcome the traditional hesitancy of American professional and technical workers to take part in social and political activity and to draw them along with all other exploited groups into the labor and revolutionary movement. We recognize that the professional and technical workers have a distinctive contribution to make both in the struggle to overthrow capitalism and in the building of a new social order. With these considerations in mind the W.P. will build up organizations of these workers and seek to penetrate existing organizations.

THE UNEMPLOYED

The great and largely permanent army of the unemployed during the period of the rapid decline of capitalism is a vast depository of every kind of social discontent. In a position where the conduct of their lives has lost social meaning, the unemployed will join with the movement that convincingly promises them a new and integral place in the social order. Unless the working-class movement by giving support to their struggles and by convincing presentation of the revolutionary way out of the crisis, draws in the unemployed, they will be prey to chauvinistic and military propaganda, to fake social nostrums and to fascist demagoguery. The Workers party will resist all efforts to erect barriers between the employed and unemployed and will constantly stress the community of interest between them. It pledges support to all struggles of the unemployed masses for relief, against evictions, for social insurance, etc.

STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

The Workers Party is pledged to a revolutionary struggle against war, which can be eliminated only by the overthrow of the society which breeds it. It will strive by every means in its power to prevent the outbreak of another imperialist war. It will combat the idea that it is to the interest of the workers to support defense of the capitalist "fatherland", based as this idea is on the conception of a community of interest between classes which capitalism by its very nature makes impossible. The masses have no fatherland save the one they conquer when capitalism is overthrown. The Workers Party rejects the utopian and illusory ideas of pacifism. We support ardently the wars of the oppressed against the oppressor, of the enslaved peoples against their imperialist exploiters, of the colonies against those who keep them in servitude, of the nationalities, races and minorities who groan under the yoke of a ruling caste. Against imperialist war the Workers Party opposes not a futile policy of folded arms, passive resistance, "conscientious objection", and other middle class nostrums, but the working-class policy of utilizing the crisis into which capitalism is plunged by such a war, for the purpose of bringing the war to an end by overthrowing the warmongers and establishing the rule of the working class.

THE YOUNG WORKERS

The capitalist system has throughout its existence been marked by the most hideous exploitation of children and youth. Capitalist society today cannot offer jobs even at starvation wages to millions of its youth, but only frustration or actual destruction un-

Intervention in Cuba

(Continued from Page 3)

such a country to the revolutionary forces. Within a backward country the revolution cannot be brought to a close with the proletariat in power unless intervention is defeated. Intervention can only be defeated by a policy that combines the extension and the deepening of the revolution with maneuvers to modify intervention. Such cannot be accomplished if instructions are issued not to seize eighty percent of the property of the country.

The first task of the revolutionary force is to square accounts with its own exploiters. And in Cuba this primarily means American imperialism. When a worker of the United States or Cuba speaks of his own exploiters he is speaking of American imperialism.

The Stalinists' betrayal in Cuba is an American expression of the revision of Marxism and their concept of the character of the Cuban revolution as the "Agrarian Anti-imperialist revolution" that establishes a "Democratic Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Peasantry". It is the logical result of the theory of socialism in one country. It is the first fruit of the American-Soviet recognition and a victory for American imperialism.

HUGO OEHLE

der fascist reaction or war. The working student youth will and in the Workers Party, which aims at the establishment of a socialist society, the constant champion of their interests.

The Workers Party stands, first of all, for the abolition of child labor up to the age of 16. In its place we demand the provision of adequate educational, vocational and recreational opportunities, and adequate governmental maintenance of school children. The Workers Party advocates breaking down the archaic and harmful bars established in many trade unions against young workers, and the admission of the latter without discrimination. The party stands for equal wages for equal work for young and old. The Workers Party proposes that all those eighteen years of age and older shall have the full right to vote. It energetically opposes all attempts at militarism of the youth in the interests of the capitalist class, condemns compulsory military training in the schools of this country, and such institutions as the C.M.T.C., R.O.T.C., C.C.C., the Boy Scouts movement and the like. The Party will undertake as one of its most urgent and important tasks the building of a youth organization embracing young workers, young farmers and young students and based on the party's principles of revolutionary Marxism.

THE UNITED FRONT

In spite of organizational and political differences, the workers, to defend their rights and advance their interests, must achieve united action. If they do not, wage and relief cuts, increasing abrogation of political and civil liberties and finally war and the victory of fascism are assured. This does not mean the false and in practice disruptive united front such as was proposed by the Communist party in the "united-front-from-below". Likewise, the W.P. rejects arbitrary arrangements between bureaucratic officials imposed upon the masses, and so-called "non-aggression pacts" which in practice mean capitulation to reformist tendencies since they obscure differences of principle between reformist and the revolutionary party. The Workers Party stands for an honest, straightforward, carefully defined united front of organizations on specific and immediate issues facing the workers. Such united front actions in which the participating organizations retain complete political and organizational independence, teach the workers the need and value of unity, expose the weakness or treachery of reactionary and reformist leaders, and give the revolutionary party the opportunity to show in action the correctness of its principles and tactics. Thus, united front actions are indispensable preparations for the genuine unity which, in the revolutionary crisis, will enable the workers to take power. The Workers Party, therefore, urges vigorous united front actions of all working class organizations whenever the interests of the working class as a whole can be defended or advanced thereby.

CONCLUSION

We call upon the American masses not to submit passively to injustice, not to be deceived by half-measures and so to drift into greater and greater misery. The present social order is out of tune with the enormous progress labor or productive capacity has made. Due to this discrepancy we starve while there is plenty, and unless the prevailing social system is replaced by a scientific socialist economy, the modern world will sink into barbarism. Catastrophe will be avoided, and happiness for all will displace misery if the masses realize the truth and act positively on that basis. American workers and their allies must make real the vision of a nation of free men and equals, knowing no oppressors, no oligarchy of birth or wealth, no class distinctions. They must join with the workers of the world in the creation of a new society, a world federation of workers' republics.