

The Communist Program

THE Left Wing Program is implied within the terms of the program of the Communist International. We therefore outline, as the controlling propositions of our own program, the main principles of Communism as follows:

1) The present is the period of the dissolution and collapse of the whole capitalist world system, which will mean the complete collapse of world culture, if Capitalism, with its unsolvable contradictions, is not replaced by Communism.

2) The problem of the proletariat consists in organizing and training itself for the conquest of the power of the state. This conquest of power means the replacement of the state machinery of the bourgeoisie with a new proletarian machinery of government.

3) This new proletarian state must embody the dictatorship of the proletariat, both industrial and agricultural, this dictatorship constituting the instrument for the taking over of property used for exploiting the workers and for the re-organization of society on a Communist basis.

Not the fraudulent bourgeois democracy—the hypocritical form of the rule of the finance oligarchy, with its purely formal equality—but proletarian democracy based on the possibility of actual realization of freedom for the working masses; not capitalist bureaucracy, but organs of administrations which have been created by the masses themselves, with the real participation of these masses in the government of the country and in the activity of the communistic structure—this should be the type of the proletarian state. The Workers' Councils and similar organizations represent its concrete form.

4) The Dictatorship of the Proletariat shall carry out the expropriation of private property in the means of production and dis-

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tribution, by transfer to the proletarian state under Socialist administration of the working class; the abolition of capitalist agricultural production; nationalization of the great business enterprises and financial trusts.

5) The present world situation demands the closest relations between the revolutionary proletariat of all countries.

6) The fundamental means of the struggle for power is the mass action of the proletariat, a gathering together and concentration of all its energies; whereas methods such as the revolutionary use of bourgeois parliamentarism are of only subsidiary significance.

In those countries in which 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 worker's 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. If the finance-oligarchy considers it advantageous to veil its deeds of violence behind parliamentary votes, then the capitalist power has at its command in order to gain its ends, all the traditions and attainments of former centuries of upper-class rule, multiplied by the wonders of capitalist technique; lies, demagogism, persecution, slander, bribery, calumny and terror. To demand of the proletariat that it shall be content to yield itself to the artificial rules devised by its mortal enemy, but not observed by the enemy, is to make a mockery of the proletarian struggle for power—a struggle which depends primarily on the development of separate organs of working-class power.

7) The old Socialist International has broken into three main groups:

a) Those frankly social patriots who since 1914 have supported their bourgeoisie and transformed those elements of the working class which they control into hangmen of the International revolution.

b) The "Center," at present theoretically led by Kautsky (by Hillquit in the United States), representing elements which are constantly wavering and incapable of following a definite plan of action, and which are at times positively traitorous; and

c) The revolutionary Left Wing.

As regards the social patriots, who everywhere in the critical moment oppose the proletarian revolution with force of arms, a merciless fight is absolutely necessary. As regards the "Center" our tactics must be to separate the revolutionary elements by pitilessly criticizing the leaders.

8) It is necessary to rally the groups and proletarian organizations who, though not as yet in the wake of the revolutionary trend of the Left Wing, nevertheless have manifested and developed a tendency leading in that direction.

Socialist criticism has sufficiently stigmatized the bourgeois world order. The task of the International Communist Party is now to overthrow this order and to erect in its place the structure of the Socialist world order. Under the Communist banner, the emblem under which the first great victories have already been won; in the war against imperialistic barbarity, against the privileged classes, against the bourgeois state and bourgeois property, against all forms of social and national oppression—we call upon the proletarians of all lands to unite!

Program of the Left Wing

Adopted by the National Left Wing Conference

1. WE favor international alliance of the Socialist Movement of the United States only with the Communist groups of other countries, such as the Bolsheviks of Russia, Spartacans of Germany, etc., according to the program of Communism as above outlined.

2) We are opposed to association with other groups not committed to the revolutionary class struggle, such as Labor parties, Non-partisan leagues, People's Councils, Municipal Ownership leagues, and the like.

3) We maintain that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle, that is, a struggle by the proletariat to conquer the capitalist state, whether its form be monarchic or democratic republican, and to replace it by a governmental structure adapted to the Socialist transformation.

4) We favor organized party activity in co-operation with class-conscious industrial unionism, in order to unify industrial and political class-conscious propaganda and action.

a) The Party shall propagandize industrial unionism and industrial union organization, emphasizing their revolutionary implications.

b) The Party shall make the great industrial battles its major campaigns, to develop the understanding of the strike in relation to the general proletarian emancipation.

5) We do not disparage voting nor the

value of success in electing our candidates to public office—not if these are in direct line with the class struggle. The trouble comes with the illusion that political or industrial immediate achievements are of themselves steps in the revolution, the progressive merging of Capitalism into the Co-operative Commonwealth.

The basis of our political campaigns should be:

a) To propagandize the overthrow of Capitalism by proletarian conquest of the political power and the establishment of a Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

b) To maintain a political organization as a clearing house for proletarian thought, a center of political education for the development of revolutionary working-class action.

c) To win representatives in public offices to serve as special propagandists of the social revolution.

d) To keep in the foreground our consistent appeal for proletarian revolution; and to analyze the counter-proposals and reformist palliatives in their true light of evasions of the issue and impotent; recognizing at all times the characteristic developments of the class conflict as applicable to all capitalist nations.

e) To propagandize the party organization

as the organ of contact with the revolutionary proletariat of other lands, the basis for international association being the same political understanding and the common plan of action, tending toward increasing unity and detail as the international crisis develops.

6) Socialist platforms, proceeding on the basis of the class struggle, and recognizing that the Socialist movement has come into the historical period of the social revolution, can contain only the single demand for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

a) The basis of this demand should be thoroughly explained in the economic, political and social analysis of the class struggle, as evolving within the system of Capitalism.

b) The conclusions of this demand should be illustrated by the first steps and general modes of social reconstruction dependent upon and involved within the proletarian domination of the political life of the nation.

c) A municipal platform of Socialism cannot proceed on a separate basis, but must conform to the general platform, simply relating the attainment of local power to the immediate goal of gaining national power. There are no city problems within the terms of the class struggle, only the one problem of capitalist versus proletarian domination.

7) We realize that the coming of the social revolution on an overwhelming asser-

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