

Documents

A Swedish Party Correspondence

We print below all the documents in the negotiations that were conducted by the extended Representation of the Social-Democratic Party of the Left (P. L.) with the management of the Right Socialist Party, with regard to the requirements for carrying out the great democratic and socialistic demands of the working class. It is clear from these documents where the blame for the failure of these negotiations must be laid, namely, with the management of the Right Socialists, who, in order to continue their shameful alliance with the enemies of the working class, are inventing all sorts of imaginary obstructions of a "democratic" character, in the way of a co-operation with their class comrades of the Left.

I. The Offer of the Social-Democratic Party of the Left (P. L.)

In this revolutionary era, which is now raising one nation after the other into a full political and social democracy, the working class of Sweden also demands that our country shall take its place among the democratic nations of the world. If this is to be realized, the working class must, as far as is feasible, advance on a common front against all the reactionary enemies of society. The necessity of removing all obstructions in the path of this realization impels the Swedish S. D. P. L. to do all in its power to arrange a common action by a united working class. With this object, the S.-D. P. L. asks the S.-D. P. whether it will recognize a socialistic plan of action for the impending struggles, of the following general content:

1. General political and communal suffrage, without restriction, for all men and women over twenty years old.
2. Abolition of the Upper House of the Riksdag.
3. A Republican Constitution.
4. A maximum of eight hours' work a day.
5. Complete liquidation of the military system.
6. Socialization of banks and the most important branches of industry, as well as workers' control of industry.
7. Substantial reductions in the land holdings of corporations and estates, and transfer of the land, with assured title, to the propertyless workers of the soil.
8. Complete right of public assembly and demonstration.

In order to secure the realization of these aims the S.D. P. L. is ready and willing to support a Socialist government that will accept this plan of action. Should the program not be realizable without the use of force, the S.-D. P. L. invites the cooperation of the S.-D. Workers' P. in a mass action to be inaugurated in the form of a general strike.

As the representatives of the S.-D. P. L. are at present gathered in Stockholm, an answer is requested in the course of the day.

II. The Old Party is Afraid of "Bolshevism"

To the S.-D. P. L.

In answer to your communication the S.-D. P. Executive states the following:

That the Party Executive is always ready to offer its cooperation to secure the national or international solidarity of the working class in accordance with the general fundamental principles of democratic Socialism; but that, since the Party Executive has had more and more occasion to observe the contradiction existing between a democratic solution of the problems of society, and a Bolshevik minority dictatorship, it would appear to behoove the S.-D. P. L. to create the prerequisites for a practical political cooperation, by making a definite statement of its position with regard to the principles of democracy.

The Party Executive, in order to secure the introduction of democracy into the Swedish body politic, would greet with satisfaction a complete union of all the elements in our social system that are in principle and without reserve based on the foundations of democracy.

Yet the P. L.'s program of action contains points which in our opinion are manifestly of such nature as to require a reference of these questions, either in an election or a referendum, to the people. For this reason alone the Party Executive cannot recognize it as a basis for a common action to realize the reforms that should be immediately introduced.

Should the S.-D. P. L. feel able to accept without reserve the already indicated democratic principles, and to adopt the Minimum Program set up by the S. D. Party Executive as a basis for cooperation, the Party Executive would have not the slightest objection to working together with the S.-D. P. L.

The S.-D. Party Executive.

Hj. Branting.

Gustaf Möller.

III. The Left Answers: Not Minority Dictatorship, But Complete Democracy

To the S.-D. Party Executive.

In connection with your answer to our request of yesterday, touching the possibility of a common action by a united working class in the present situation, we have the honor to state the following:

Let us first emphasize that our party has never come out in favor of a minority dictatorship. The question of a dictatorship of the proletariat, already indicated in Karl Marx's "Communist Manifesto," the basic document of modern Socialism, is for the present not a burning one in our country, at least not to the extent of allowing a difference of opinion on this question to preventing a cooperation when on all other matters there would be a possibility of such co-operation. We have clearly and distinctly, through our demand for