
Program of the United Communist Party of America.

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The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guildmaster and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended either in the revolutionary reconstruction of society, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.

The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: It has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other, bourgeoisie and proletariat.

Communist Manifesto of 1847.

During the three-quarters of a century since these historic words were written, the class antagonisms of capitalist society have sharpened and intensified to the point that brings us face to face with the alternative of “a revolutionary reconstitution of society” or “the common ruin of the contending classes.”

I. The Collapse of Capitalism.

Capitalism today faces complete collapse. The world war, which made a shambles of civilization, proved the utter incapacity of capitalism longer to promote the progress of society.

The oppressions of capitalism, intensified by the war and its aftermath of misery, have swept the working class into a revolutionary struggle for the new social order — the order of Communism — which alone can save humanity.

Civil war between the classes now holds the world in its grip. On the one side the League of Nations rallies the forces of capitalism for a last desperate stand; on the other

side the Communist International calls the workers of the world to battle for the workers’ rule which will save civilization.

In a large part of Europe capitalist society is no longer able to function so as to produce even the bare necessities of life. Millions are starving; semi-starvation has long been the normal lot of the working masses of Europe and Asia. Even in the United States, with all the fabulous wealth of capitalism, government statistics show that in the year 1920 more than half the workers’ families are undernourished, millions to the point of slow starvation.

Central Europe is still the chaos which the imperialist war made it. Capitalism, due to its own contradictions, has been unable to rebuild the machinery of production. In Germany, Hungary, Austria, Poland, Lithuania; in the Baltic and Balkan countries; in Italy, France, England, Spain; in Egypt and the small nations of Asia Minor; in East India, China, and Japan; — in every part of the world the working class arrays itself more aggressively and decisively against the capitalist rule of society. In the United States the machinery of production and distribution is disarranged and choked by widespread strikes in the basic industries, strikes compelled by the need for the bare necessities of life.

This breakdown has resulted not from mysterious, unseen causes, but from forces innate in the capitalist system, forces accurately charted by the Communist pioneers of three-quarters of a century ago.

Capitalist Exploitation.

The essence of the capitalist system is the own-

†- Issue 1 of this publication, edited by Ruthenberg, uses the same headline slug used by the official organ of the same name produced in Chicago by the Ruthenberg group. Thereafter, the headline typography changes, indicating an apparent move to New York City.

ership and control of the materials and tools of production and distribution by a small class whose legal title to the lands, forests, mines, railroads, quarries, mills, factories, and other industrial and commercial utilities and plants gives them control over the lives of the working masses. The workers subsist in a new form of slavery, wherein labor power is paid for by wages, and the bare chance to live depends upon employment by some capitalist master.

Employment depends upon the production by the worker of a margin of value over and above what he receives for his labor power. The capitalist master has no liability on account of the wage-worker, except that of payment for labor-power on a time or piece basis.

In its earlier stages, capitalism presents itself as a large number of small manufacturers and traders in competition. Through this competition comes more efficient production, by improvements in machinery and methods. The successful competitor displaces his rivals, enlarges his plant, increases at the same time his output and investment; decreases the number of workers needed to turn out a given amount of product. As machinery develops in cost and size, requiring constantly larger outlay and larger plant, production becomes centered in fewer large-scale establishments.

This process, hastened by the piratical methods of competition made familiar by the history of our trusts, brings us to the stage of monopoly, concentration of ownership and control of the economic resources of the nation in the hands of a few individuals or corporations. This means even more arbitrary control of the lives of the working masses by a decreasing capitalist class. It means artificial manipulation of production for maximum returns on investment, that is, the attempt to limit production so as to maintain the desired level of prices. Not only lessened production and higher prices result from the very progress of capitalism — by the innate character of the system — but also constantly recurring periods of interrupted production with hundreds of thousands of workers thrown out of their only means of livelihood, the blind, servile victims of a system which responds to but one impulse — profit.

Meanwhile, along with the creation of the army of the unemployed, there is a vast accumulation of surplus, since every item of production is accompa-

nied by the taking of unpaid-for service. Under developed capitalism this surplus increases so rapidly that what is used up in the most lavish and princely indulgence in luxuries makes no impression. In the United States, it has been calculated, this surplus exceeds \$30 billion annually.

This surplus cannot go back into the same industries without rapidly increasing the output, compelling lower prices and lower rates of profit. It becomes capital seeking new avenues of investment. Investments are centered in the finance institutions, which are joined with the monopolistic enterprises — in the banks, trust companies, brokerage and mortgage houses, endowments, foundations, etc. These institutions are controlled largely by the same persons who own and control the basic industries; also the finance establishments themselves have become highly centralized. This tremendous concentration of economic power leads inevitably to the more open political dictatorship of the capitalist class. Political control serves, in the first instance, the immediate business objects, domestic and foreign. Fundamentally, this control is needed for the entrenchment of class privilege. A powerful, highly militarized central government is built up to ward off working class revolt against this gigantic system of exploitation.

Imperialism.

The production of tremendous amounts of new capital, with monopolization of the most important investment opportunities in the home country, compels an intense international competition for investments in undeveloped countries. In part, loans are made, and these serve as payment for our exports. Also new industries are established in these backward territories. Railroads are built, sometimes with very little regard for the actual needs of the territory. In general, the export to undeveloped countries tends to become more an export of steel and machinery for the setting up of new industrial enterprises; and there is a quick transformation of the natives, sometimes little removed from savagery, to the “civilized” status of wage-slavery.

As a guarantee for these loans and investments gives control over the governments of the exploited territories. Sometimes this is secured by a direct conquest, but since this imposes the difficult burdens of

foreign rule the preferred method is to obtain the real control while maintaining a nominally independent native despotism, or even a sham democracy. China, East India, Turkey, Morocco, Algiers, Tripoli, Persia, Tunis, Egypt, Abyssinia, South and Central Africa, Korea, Madagascar, the Philippines, Haiti, San Domingo, Costa Rica, Mexico, Ireland — all these tell the same story, with inessential variation in the forms of imperialistic exploitation.

In the competition between the national groups of capitalists the governments act as agents of the capitalists. Diplomacy is used — bluff and threats — until the pressure of conflicting economic interests compels war. First the government acts as agent in making the foreign loans, as in the case of the six-power loans to China; or the government bargains directly for investment concessions. Later the government steps in to enforce the interest and profit obligations by might of arms. The flag follows the dollar; the army and navy follow the flag. As in the case of Mexico, where our government intervened to dictate the rates of taxation on oil lands held by American, English, and German capitalists. It is this partnership between investment capital and governments which has come to be known as finance-imperialism. It is the epoch of finance-imperialism, with its unbearable oppressions of militarism and incalculable destructiveness of life and waste of productive energies, which compels the workers to organize themselves for the overthrow of the whole capitalist system.

Capitalist-imperialism, particularly in the rivalries for the trade routes to the Orient, threw tens of millions of workers at each others' throats upon the battlefields of Europe. It was American capitalistic interests which brought this country into the world war, at a cost of 100,000 dead and twice as many maimed. Capitalist-imperialism let loose the forces of destruction which are condemning tens of millions to starvation and which threaten to engulf the whole world in the mire in which Europe is desperately struggling.

The War and Revolution.

During 4 years of war the capitalist nations engaged in the greatest orgy of destruction which humanity has ever known. The entire energy of the nations was directed to producing the implements and

ammunition which were poured out in an incessant stream upon the battlefields. Hundred of billions of dollars worth of wealth were poured out in an incessant stream upon the battlefields. Hundreds of billions of dollars worth of wealth were produced for instant destruction; the direct expenditures alone have been calculated at \$370 billion. An equal amount is represented in property destruction, loss of production, interruption to trade, etc. The United States alone, in less than 2 years, paid out over \$32 billion. Such sums are beyond the grasp of the mind.

Instead of being paid for by the capitalists, the war costs were largely met by government promises to pay in the future — by war bonds, which are mortgages upon the future production of the world. Investment in something that has been destroyed, yet the interest must be paid — so it is planned — for hundreds of years, out of the labor of the masses. War profits of fabulous proportions were immortalized in bonds, while the burden of payment was passed as a heritage to rest on the backs of the toilers for indefinite centuries.

Finally the financial structure of capitalism has come to the breaking point and threatens to bring down with it the whole capitalist system. It is this inflation — multiplication of the evidences of value at the same time that the actual values are destroyed — which is undermining the whole organization of capitalist exchange and production. High prices are the reflection of inflation. As money decreases in value the working masses are thrown into a far more bitter struggle for the chance to live like human beings.

In those countries where the breakdown has been most complete, where the masses have been goaded to final desperation, where the political structure based on capitalism can no longer function to meet the demands of the national life, there has been revolution or there is revolution in progress. First came Russia, with by far the greatest toll of deaths in the war, with its ruthless autocratic despotism. Revolution against tsarism, under extreme economic pressure, quickly became revolution against capitalism, the Bolsheviki taking the lead to arouse the masses to consciousness of power and to realization of the need for the Communis reconstruction of society.

Then came revolution in Germany, the overthrow of the Kaiser regime. But now the war was sud-

denly brought to a close, and capitalism in Germany entrenched itself behind the traitor Socialists of Germany, using the threats of Allied intervention to hold back the proletarian masses. Nevertheless, under the inspirational leadership of Karl Liebknecht, the revolution against capitalism broke out in Germany — only to be drowned in the blood of martyrdom. Traitor Socialists and junker militarists made common cause against the workers' revolution. Again and again the working masses of Germany have shown their revolutionary courage and vigor, but betrayal and the ominous shadow of intervention have checked their progress. But there can be no other solution.

In Hungary there was not even the possibility of effective resistance on the part of the privileged classes against the Communist demand for all power to the workers. Only by Allied intervention, accompanied by untold savageries, was the workers' revolution crushed in Hungary. But for how long?

Italy is on the verge of the Communist revolution. The national debt of Italy exceeds the national wealth. The capitalist political parties are unable to solve the economic problems of Italy. More and more the workers and peasants are turning to the Italian Socialist Party (a section of the Communist International) — to the program of soviet rule under a working class dictatorship, committed to the Communist transformation of the economic life.

No capitalist government feels itself entirely secure against the revolutionary impulse and power of the working masses. The united military power of world capitalism is hurled against Russia, the symbol of the world proletarian revolution. But the Red Guard of workers and peasants fights with unconquerable zeal against enemies from all sides — not alone for Russia but for world Communism.

The United States government has financed and armed one expedition after another — has supplied its own soldiery — for intervention against the revolutionary workers of Europe. At home the government has turned its might against the bare idea of the onswEEPing proletarian revolution. Thousands have been arrested, on deportation and felony charges, who have dared to express the aspirations of the masses; particularly the Communists, who hold forth the program of the destruction of capitalism.

By one form of treaty and another, made by pri-

vate negotiation, the government of the United States makes common cause with the Imperialists of the world for the last stand of destructive capitalism against the revolutionary toiling masses.

League of Nations vs. Communist International.

The League of Nations was created to save world capitalism from inner forces of destruction and from its open enemy, the revolutionary proletariat. It has been a broken instrument from the start, because of the inevitable antagonisms between the national groups of capitalists. Besides, the breakdown of capitalism has gone too far for the easy establishment of a new equilibrium. The world war has not ended; it has only transformed itself into the international civil war of the classes. The League of Nations cannot secure peace; nor can it rally its peoples into a great offensive against the revolutionary workers of Europe. It must depend on semi-barbarian mercenaries. The class consciousness of the workers of every advanced nation undermines the military organizations upon which imperialistic exploitation finally depends.

The Communist International came into being during the first week of March 1919. It calls the workers of the world to the defense of the accomplished proletarian revolution in Russia and for its extension into every other country.

In the working masses inheres the power of the Communist International — a power which is brought to consciousness and action by the pressure which robs life of all its values, by unending wars, starvation, repression.

The Communist International unites all the conscious revolutionary forces — it issues the call for the final struggle against Capitalism.

To this call the United Communist Party of America answers. It joins itself with the parties, organizations, and groups in all countries which rally for the overthrow of world Capitalism and for the reconstruction of society on the basis of Communism.

*The Communist International calls!
Workers of the world, unite!*

II. The Class Struggle.

The conflict that is rending capitalist society is a class struggle. It is a struggle between exploiter and exploited, between oppressor and oppressed. The basic facts of the present economic system place capitalist and worker in opposition to one another, in constant conflict over wages, hours, and working conditions.

The overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a Communist society is the historic mission of the working class. The United States Communist Party is the conscious expression of the class struggle of the workers against capitalism.

Imperialism sharpens the class antagonisms within the capitalist system and intensifies the class struggle. The small capitalists are forced to accept the domination of finance-capital. In a measure, they are allowed to participate in the fabulous profits of imperialism. The middle class invests in monopolistic enterprises; its income depends upon the adventures of finance-capital; its members secure positions of management in the industries. Through various bribes the middle class becomes the defender of imperialistic capitalism. Also the "aristocracy of labor" aligns itself with the capitalist class, in exchange for concessions to its reactionary craft unionism. To this group there is the semi-privileged inducement of wages and hours above the general labor standards.

The division is between those who profit from the capitalist system, directly or indirectly, and the proletariat — the mass of workers largely unskilled and semi-skilled — which can emancipate itself from exploitation and oppression only through the overthrow of the entire capitalist system.

The Nature of the State.

In every historical epoch the existing government — the state — has been the organ of coercion used by the ruling class to keep the exploited class in subjection. The state is the expression of the organized power of the dominant class.

In capitalist society the state is sometimes democratic in appearance. The workers are permitted to take part in elections and seemingly the government is the expression of "the will of the people." The capitalist government is none the less a class government, the organ of the capitalists for the coercion of the workers.

So long as the capitalists control the power of the newspapers, the pulpit, the politicians, the schools and colleges; so long as millions of workers are disfranchised through racial and residential qualifications and naturalization laws, the capitalists can well afford to allow the workers the empty privilege of periodically voting to confirm their rule.

As the class struggle develops more bitter antagonisms, the state arrays itself openly on the side of the capitalists. In every strike the state power is used to coerce the workers. The steel strike and the miners' strike furnished conspicuous examples of this use of governmental power.

In the control of the state power lies the strength of the capitalist class. This control places at its command the military and police power for the protection of its class interests. While this power remains in the hands of the capitalists the working class cannot achieve its emancipation.

Election Campaigns.

The United Communist Party participates in election campaigns and parliamentary action only for the purpose of revolutionary propaganda. Nominations for public office and participation in elections are limited to legislative bodies, such as the national Congress, state legislatures, and city councils.

The United Communist Party will make use at appropriate times of the policy of boycotting the elections, especially when the elections would be a diversion from the mass action of the workers.

Moderate Socialism, such as that of the Socialist Party, proposes to secure control of the capitalist state through electing a majority of the legislative and constitution-making bodies, to use the position thus achieved to transform capitalism. It proposes to capture political power by strict adherence to exactly those constitutional methods which capitalist representatives have astutely selected to make their government immune from fundamental change through the popular suffrage.

The expulsion of the Socialist Assemblymen at Albany, the expulsion of the Socialist Councilmen in Cleveland during the war, indicate how summarily the capitalists get rid of elected officials who even in the least degree challenge the capitalist dictatorship.

When Moderate Socialism assumes the appar-

ent control of the state power it uses this power not to transform but to protect capitalism, as did the Kerensky regime in Russia and the Ebert-Scheidemann-Noske government in Germany; that is, the condition upon which the Moderate Socialists are allowed to hold the political power without armed resistance by the capitalist class is that they shall betray the working class struggle for emancipation.

The United Communist Party participates in the election campaigns and in the legislative debates only to avail itself of these propaganda opportunities to expose the sham of capitalist democracy. It will not, however, be always and everywhere the policy of the party to nominate candidates, even though not prevented by legal persecution. When the revolutionary crisis shatters the mass illusions as to capitalist democracy, it becomes unnecessary for the Communists to direct their agitation to the destruction of these illusions. The events of 1919 and 1920 have gone far toward enlightening the American workers as to the real nature of capitalist democracy.

But when the workers win one or more battles of revolutionary potentiality the doors of the legislative halls are likely to be thrown wide open to the Socialist and Laborite betrayers of the workers struggle. † Then the “yellow” spokesmen of Labor will become invaluable to the capitalist class as the most useful agents to bring to life again the illusions of parliamentary democracy. At such a time the consciously revolutionary workers will send to the legislatures and to Congress the Communist spokesmen to expose this deception and to keep to the front the slogan: Down with the parliamentary sham of capitalism; Hail to the soviets and real working class democracy!

Communist representatives will not introduce nor support reform measures. They will make clear that such measures are of no fundamental significance to the working class; that they are only the recognition by the capitalist representatives that there are “efficiency” limits to the using up of the health and lives of the working men, women, and children. At best they are belated parliamentary acknowledgments of defensive gains won by the workers in their industrial struggles. Indeed, all concessions by the govern-

ment to the working class reflect the strength of the workers in their distinct class organization.

The United Communist Party will maintain the uncompromising class struggle under all circumstances and refuse to cooperate with groups or parties not committed to the revolutionary class struggle, such as the Labor Party, Socialist Party, Socialist Labor Party, Non-Partisan League, Municipal Ownership Leagues, and the like.

Industrial Unionism.

Industrial unionism is potentially a factor in the action for the conquest of power, and it will constitute a basis for industrial administration of the cooperative commonwealth. The United Communist Party therefore propagandizes industrial unionism as against craft unionism of the AF of L type.

Craft unionism has become the bulwark of capitalism in this country. In every recent struggle of moment the workers have been betrayed by the reactionary officials of the American Federation of Labor and the Railroad Brotherhoods. The officials of the latter organization even went so far as to call upon the government to use the courts against the workers engaged in what they chose to call “outlaw” strikes. The tactics of the trade union leaders are those of dickering with the capitalists and their governmental representatives to secure privileged positions for their trade groups, at the expense of the mass of workers.

The concentration of industry rapidly enlarges the new class of industrial workers, the unskilled laborers and semi-skilled machine tenders. It is among these workers particularly that there has developed the new form, industrial unionism — and the new method of struggle, mass strikes of all the workers in the industry. The common level of labor and wages and the common interest of workers by the millions bring class solidarity in opposition to craft disunity.

The United Communist Party rejects the conception, as advocated by the IWW, that industrial unionism is of itself the means through which industry can be transferred from the capitalists to the workers. The proletarian revolution cannot be achieved by

†- The term “Laborite” is a reference to the adherents of the Labor Party of the United States, a left wing party with an ideology akin to that of the Socialist Party of America established in 1919. The Labor Party would later change its name to Farmer-Labor Party and would become a chief object of the Workers Party’s strategic affection in the years 1922-1924.

direct seizure of industry by the workers, without the workers first having conquered the power of the state and established themselves as the government. While pointing out that industrial unionism cannot transform society, the United Communist Party recognizes that industrial unionism is a revolt against the existing trade unionism and offers more efficient methods of struggle.

The Socialist Party policy of "boring from within" the AF of L is vicious in that it is only an indirect and hypocritical method of supporting an inherently reactionary labor organization. A Communist who belongs to the AF of L should seize every opportunity to voice his hostility to this organization, not to reform it but to destroy it. The struggle against the AF of L must not be purely negative. The IWW is the obvious medium for giving the advocacy of industrial unionism affirmative character. The IWW must be upheld as against the AF of L. At the same time the work of Communist education must be carried on within the IWW.

Mass Action.

It is through revolutionary mass action of the working class that the power of the capitalist state will be destroyed and the proletarian government established.

At an advanced stage of the class struggle the capitalist realize the futility of other means and resort to widespread use of the armed power of the state. The capitalist government then functions openly as a military dictatorship. The working class must then answer force with force.

The class struggle, which so long appeared in forms unrecognizable to the millions of workers actively engaged in it, develops into open combat, civil war. The United Communist Party will systematically and persistently familiarize the working class with the inevitability of armed force in the proletarian revolution. The working class must be prepared for armed insurrection as the final form of mass action by which the workers shall conquer the state power and establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The United Communist Party will make the great industrial struggles of the working class its major campaigns, in order to develop an understanding of the strike in relation to the overthrow of capitalism.

As the pressure of capitalism increases, strikes grow in number and scope, particularly in the basic industries which are highly monopolized. In mass strikes under the conditions of concentrated capital-

ism there is the tendency toward the general mass strike.

With greater unity and effectiveness the workers' struggles in the industrial field become more dangerous to capitalism. The capitalists are no longer able to offer effective resistance in the economic struggle. They resort to the use of the power of the state; the government, which previously posed as the arbiter between classes, is unmasked and appears as the dictatorship of the capitalist class. The workers are compelled to direct their economic struggles against the state and the struggle takes on a political character.

Gradually the understanding of the political character of the class struggle is forced upon the workers. With the growth of this understanding the struggle intensifies. Greater and greater masses of workers are involved, until the mass action of the workers becomes conscious class action.

Likewise the United Communist Party must enter into other mass protests and demonstrations which constantly disturb capitalist society, tending toward open class warfare. Such are the protests which accompany the financial panics that periodically throw capitalism into chaos. Such are the mass protests against enforced military service in the interests of imperialism and counterrevolution, protests which must be aggressively encourage by Communist propaganda and example. Elemental outbursts of the masses, possessing political significance as they relate themselves ever more directly and on an increasing scale against imperialistic exploitation, merge with the organized and semi-organized mass action of the workers in the basic industries.

The United Communist Party participates in the mass strikes of the workers primarily to develop the revolutionary understanding and action through which the workers will achieve Communism.

The Communists aim to give these struggles the direction of conscious organization for the final struggle; and, at the proper time, it becomes the vital duty of the Communists to initiate the creation of councils — the soviets — through which the whole power of the working class can be united into one overwhelming offensive against the capitalist police and military power.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The immediate aim of the United Communist Party is to overthrow and destroy the capitalist government and to establish a working class government.

The form of the working class government which must accompany the proletarian revolution is the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. It is the Dictatorship of the Proletariat which breaks the opposition of the capitalists and inaugurates Communism.

The capitalists of this country have given ample evidence that they will not easily give up their privileged position as exploiters. They have murdered thousands in their efforts to prevent the workers from gaining better wages and working conditions. Homestead, McKees Rock, Lawrence, Ludlow, Calumet and Hecla, Massaba Range, Hammond, and scores of other industrial struggles have shown that the capitalists do not hesitate to shed the blood of the workers in order to protect their interests.

No ruling class in history has given up its power without a bitter struggle. The final arbiter in the struggle between the classes which is written across the pages of history is force.

The working class must prepare itself for this conflict. It must develop organs of working class power and government. The experience of the proletarian revolution in other countries has shown that it is through workers' councils — soviets — that the power of the working class can best be mobilized for the struggle against the capitalists. These councils then become the basis for the workers' control of society, the initial units for the organization of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is the means through which the workers reconstruct the industrial system according to the program of Communism.

In contrast to the Communists, the Anarchists propose at one stroke to do away with all government, not taking into account the need of the workers for their own organs of governmental power to crush the resistance of the capitalists. Only after private property has been converted into communistic property, by expropriation of the bourgeoisie, do the class divisions disappear; and with the passing of the class antagonisms goes also the state — organ for control of one class by another. The workers' government — the Dictatorship of the Proletariat — as the division of

the classes disappears, finally converts itself into an administrative organization of society without coercive functions or power.

Immediate Tasks.

In order to enable the party to function more effectively in the immediate struggles of the workers, shop groups of the party must be organized to secure actual contact with the workers. These shop groups, together with Communist groups within the unions, shall carry on the agitation for industrial unionism and against the AF of L.

The Communists in the shops and unions, and the party through its general propaganda organs, shall take part in the strikes in order to deepen and broaden them — to unite them on a class basis and to give them revolutionary political consciousness.

The unskilled and semi-skilled workers, including the agricultural laborers, constitute the bulk of the working class. It is an important part of the work of the United Communist Party to awaken these workers to industrial union organization and action.

In close connection is the problem of the negro workers. The racial oppression which is the special burden of the negro workers is essentially an expression of extreme economic exploitation. This complicates the negro struggle against oppression but it does not separate it from the general struggle of the working class. The United Communist Party will carry on an agitation among the negro workers to unite them with all class conscious workers.

The United States is developing a large-scale policy of militarism. Veiled or open plans for compulsory military service are being formulated and carried out. A tremendous semi-official military organization, tending to maintain and keep mobile the military power of the consciously counterrevolutionary upper and middle class elements — the American Legion — is already playing an active part in the struggle against the militant proletariat. The Communists will point out the class character of militarism; they will aim to direct the mass protests against imperialist militarism and war toward the civil war against the capitalist class and its organs of power.

Non-intervention in the workers' struggle in Russia, in Germany, in Italy, and in other countries

must be brought to the front as part of the strike demands, or made the basis of direct political strikes.

Likewise, the demand for release of class war prisoners must be projected into the strikes and other workers' demonstrations and struggles.

The Communists must bring into these struggles the tendency toward conscious organization of the workers for taking over complete social control. Such control as the workers can secure of capitalist industry through their mass demands can best be exercised through shop committees, shop stewards, or similar organizations. But control of industry won and maintained by the power of the workers must not be confused with the sham "industrial democracy" established by the employers for the same deceptive purposes as the political democracy of capitalism.

At the appropriate stage of the struggle the Communists must take the lead toward the establishment of the workers' councils which serve to unite and coordinate the whole power of the revolutionary workers.

III. The Communist Reconstruction of Society.

The breakdown of capitalist order and the destruction of industry makes impossible reconstruction on the capitalistic basis. The workers can become emancipated and social order can be maintained only when production is controlled by the workers.

In order to crush opposition, in order to raise the level of productivity, the Proletarian Dictatorship must proceed as rapidly as possible with the expropriation of capitalism. The means of production and distribution must be converted into the common property of the working masses organized in a Council system.

The power of the Councils must be built on direct participation in control of the government and industry by ever-increasing elements of the working masses.

As the opposition of the capitalist class is broken, as it is expropriated and gradually absorbed in the working groups, the Proletarian Dictatorship disappears; until finally, the class distinctions having been wiped out, the state — organ of one class for domination of another — dies out, leaving only the administrative communistic association "in which the free development of each is the condition of the free development of all."

Economic Reconstruction.

The foregoing guiding principles outline the transition from capitalistic to communistic economy,

but it is obvious that the detailed program of reconstruction must depend upon the exact circumstances which confront the Proletarian Dictatorship when it assumes power.

It is to be remembered at all times that the Communist proposals for the socialization of industry have nothing in common with the proposals for nationalization and government ownership which abound in the Socialist, Labor, and Non-Partisan League programs. These are plans for the extension of the public services under the capitalist rule. Extensions of the government services, which in no way conflict with the general capitalistic system of exploitation, have become one of the most important methods for strengthening the capitalist state power. Millions of workers are brought more directly under state and military control; the railroads are converted into more effective instruments for the militaristic program of capitalist-imperialism (as in Germany and France, as in the United States during the war, etc.).

There can be no true public services except under the rule of the working class, since then only is the government itself an instrument of the mass welfare — an instrument against exploitation. All of the Communist program for the socialization of industry is to be understood only in connection with — as subsequent to — the conquest of the political power by the workers as a class and establishment of the Workers' Dictatorship.

As illustrative of the general Communist program of economic and political reconstruction, we present the guiding policy stated in the manifesto of the Communist International, with the qualification that the more exact and more detailed program for the United States must await the further progress of the class struggle:

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat does not in any way call for partition of the means of production and exchange; rather, on the contrary, its aim is further to centralize the forces of production and to subject all of production to a symmetrical plan. As the first step toward socialization of the entire economic system may be mentioned; the socialization of the great banks which now control production; the taking over by the state power of the proletariat of all government-controlled economic utilities; the transferring of all communal enterprises; the socializing of the syndicated and trustified units of production, as well as all other branches of production in which the degree of concentration and centralization of capital makes this

technically practicable; the socializing of agricultural estates and their conversion into cooperative establishments.

As far as the smaller enterprises are concerned, the proletariat must gradually unite them, according to the degree of their importance. It must be particularly emphasized that small properties will in no way be expropriated and that property owners who are not exploiters of labor will not be forcibly dispossessed. This element will gradually be drawn into the socialistic organization through the force of the example, through practical demonstration of the superiority of the new order of things, and the regulation by which the small farmers and the petty bourgeoisie of the cities will be freed from economic bondage to usurious capital and landlordism; and from tax burdens (especially by annulment of the national debts), etc.

The task of the Proletarian Dictatorship in the economic field can only be fulfilled to the extent that the proletariat is enabled to create centralized organs of management and to institute workers' control. To this end it must make use of its mass organizations which are in closest relation to the process of production. In the field of distribution the Proletarian Dictatorship must reestablish commerce by an accurate distribution of products. To this end the following methods are to be considered: the socialization of wholesale establishments, the taking over of all state and municipal organs of distribution; control of the great cooperative societies, which organizations will still have an important role in the proletarian epoch; the gradual centralization of all these organs and their conversion into a systematic unity for the rational distribution of products.

Besides expropriating the factories, mines, estates, etc., the proletariat must also abolish the exploitation of the people by capitalistic landlords, transfer the large mansions to the local workers' councils, and move the working people into the bourgeois dwellings.

As in the field of production so also in the field of distribution all qualified technicians and specialists are to be made use of, provided their political resistance is broken and they are still capable of adapting themselves, not to the service of capital, but to the new system of production. Far from oppressing them the proletariat will make it possible for the first time for them to develop intensive creative work. The Proletarian Dictatorship, with their cooperation, will relieve the separation of physical and mental work which capitalism has developed and thus will Science and Labor be unified.

Political Reconstruction.

The main emphasis of bourgeois democracy is on formal declarations of rights and liberties which are actually unattainable by the proletariat, because of want of the material means for their enjoyment; while the bourgeoisie uses its material advantages, through its press and organizations, to deceive and betray the people. On the other hand, the Council type of government makes it possible for the proletariat to realize its rights and liberties. The Council power gives to the people palaces, houses, printing offices, paper supply, etc., for their press, their societies, their assemblies. And in this way alone is actual proletarian

democracy possible.

Bourgeois democracy, with its parliamentary system, uses words to induce belief in popular participation in government. Actually the masses and their organizations are held far out of reach of the real power and the real state administration. In the Council system the mass organizations rule, and through them the mass itself, inasmuch as the Councils draw constantly increasing numbers of workers into this state administration; and only by this process will the entire working population gradually become part of the government. The Council system also builds itself directly on the mass organizations of the workers: on the councils themselves, the revolutionary trade unions, the cooperatives, etc.

Bourgeois democracy and its parliamentary system sharpened the separation of the masses from the state by division of the government into legislative and executive powers, and through parliamentary enactments beyond popular recall. The Council system, by contrast, unites the masses with the government by right of recall, amalgamation of legislative and executive powers, and by use of workers' administrative boards. Above all, this union is fostered by the fact that in the Council system elections are based not on arbitrary territorial districts, but on units of production.

In this way the Council system brings about true proletarian democracy — democracy by and for the proletarians against the bourgeoisie.

Social Reconstruction.

Under Capitalism the very development of higher productivity is inevitably accompanied by an intensification of the bondage and oppression of the workers. The machines invented to serve humanity have become the instruments for [enslavement] of the producing masses.

Communism will release all the productive energies for the common welfare of all the people. In place of profit as the animating impulse to production must stand the needs and enjoyments of the producing masses.

The right and the obligation to labor — service toward the common enjoyment of all — this shall be the basis of citizenship under the Communist regime.

Education of the masses toward better social service and toward higher appreciation of the enjoyments of life is the foremost item in the Communist transformation. This education must go to the adult workers, who have so long toiled in the darkness, as well as to all the children of the nation.

Education under Communism, as already in process of development in Russia, takes account of the physical welfare of the children along with their men-

tal training. Under the blockade conditions compelling the rationing of food, it has been the children who have always been given the preference. Tens of thousands of children of the poor in the big cities have been fed on a communal basis. Meanwhile, too, the palaces of tsarism have been converted into homes for the homeless war orphans. The general educational system includes periods for all city children in the country, on the socialized agricultural estates, while the village children, in turn, will be brought periodically into the cities, and in this way education is made to include contact with every phase of the industrial, institutional, and cultural life of the nation.

Art, music, the stage — all the cultural advantages which have been held aloof for the enjoyment of the privileged few, and in their more vulgar forms have been used to deceive and cajole the masses — become the institutions of the working masses. Art is thereby released from its prostitution to exploiting interests, and becomes imbued with new inspiration and vitality.

In a work, the working class will have at its disposal all that civilization has thus far produced for the enhancement of individual and social life. The better organization of the industrial and social system can in a single generation, with the advanced technique and science of today, achieve more toward the eradication of disease, crime, depravity, and superstition than has been accomplished in all the prior centuries together.

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The United Communist Party, the American section of the Communist International, urges the workers of America to take their place alongside their revolutionary comrades of Europe.

There is but one solution for the ills of capitalist society, but one way for the workers to achieve freedom and human life — the way of the Revolution and the Workers' Dictatorship!

All power to the workers! Hail to Communism!

Edited with footnotes by Tim Davenport.

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