

Rationale:

While there has been criticism of the Red Party Draft Programme as overly long or schematic, we felt that the opposite problem often hampered us. While almost everything in our current programme was necessary, we did not find it sufficient. A few key-points seemed glossed by leftist language that doesn't have a shared definition between all Marxists. More importantly, we see a need to clarify that most immediate demands work to create the possibility for a mass socialist party with a Marxian program to exist, while the transitional demands of a maximum program are centered on taking political power and so need to be separated from more immediate demands, many of which are tactical and not directly related to establishing socialism or communism. While we are not followers of Trotsky, we found integrating the structure of demands followed from the Second Communist International forward more useful than the structure of demands used from the Erfurt Program forward, particularly given the Socialist Internationalist failure to even flirt with going beyond their minimum programs. We also looked at issues where we are in agreement with other groups, such as Communist Party of Great Britain and the Communist League of Tampa, where we seemingly had not addressed key issues.

Clarity here is favored over brevity, and gaps which can lead to softness on key issues like reformism, left-nationalism, or the goals of the maximum program are plugged.

We realize that in many ways this the most radical revision of the programme: adding entire planks into the transitional demands in particular, calling for the eventual establishment of a unitary North American republic, calling for autonomy and terms of integration but not complete separation for nations internal to the US and North American borders, and ensuring that the abolition of all classes, not just the supremacy of the working class in transition, remains in our documents.

We also realize that now, in addition to the current draft program, there are at least three draft programs under consideration. It is clear we may have to reconcile the proposals, but we think putting forward this iteration will help our organization think in ways that do not allow any comrade to accidentally slip into opportunism within the most important of our party documents, the Draft Programme.

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Section 1: Our Era

1.1 What Is the Present Era of Capital

Our world is torn between the needs of capitalist value production versus the unmet material and psychological needs of humanity: there is an objective need for a revolutionary transition to communism. It is clear that the productive capacity of capital has little to no relationship with the thriving of Earth as a whole, let alone the billions of human lives which depend it. In the name of our planet and species, we must overcome capitalism and establish a classless society.

1.2. The Nature of Capital and Its Contemporary Classes

Capitalism is the dominant social order on the planet: the result of the collapse of feudalism and other economic systems, bourgeois revolutions to formalize new relations of production, and imperial conquest. In its agrarian phase, capitalism created the social space for reinvestment in production. In its revolutionary phase, capitalism has developed human productivity to hitherto unheard of levels, transforming the world from one of material scarcity into one of material abundance, and ushering in the possibility—but never the reality—of universal human freedom. Even in its infancy, the primitive means of accumulation caused capitalist development to be dripping in blood, from the transatlantic slave trade to the genocide of the American First Peoples, the pillaging of the raw material wealth of the Americas, Africa, and South Asia, the world-wide dispossession of the peasantry, and myriads of other atrocities committed in the name of development. In the past century, it has become clear that capitalism has outlived its historically “progressive” function. War, social disintegration and the decline of public space, accelerating economic crises, environmental degradation, and the coming of catastrophic global warming are not aberrations but a natural result of this period of capitalist development.

Yet it is our belief that capitalism has also provided its own gravediggers. Its failure to deliver on universal freedom prompts the exploited and oppressed to link together and end the current social order. To understand this, one must understand the primary class antagonism under capitalism: society is currently divided between two main classes, the bourgeoisie (the capitalists) and the proletariat (the working class). The capital classes, a small minority whose elite make up less than one percent of the population, derive their power from private ownership of the “means of production”: the giants, both corporate and individual, of manufacturing, retail and distribution, agriculture, finance, real estate, and communication. By contrast the gravediggers of capitalism, the working class—the majority of the world’s population, including those in active employment and those capable of active employment—do not own the means of production and have little but their labor power to sell. That labor enables society to improve and use nature’s wealth, creating value for ourselves and our community.

Unlike in other systems based on direct chattel slavery, serfdom, or any other direct extrapolation of the fruits of another’s labor, in capitalism the working class is bound by wages and thus is driven by the production of value for the bourgeoisie as a whole. The worker’s status is reduced to being a cog in a machine; under capitalism, production is socialized but appropriation of wealth is private. When a meal is sold at Taco Bell, no single individual cultivates the crops and livestock, transports the ingredients, cooks and sells the items, etc. The workers generate enough value not only to cover their own wages and other operating costs, but an additional surplus value that is appropriated by the capitalist class as profit. This exploitation, with the constant tension between the bourgeoisie’s desire to increase profit by either suppressing wages or increasing labor demands and the proletariat’s to raise wages or work in better conditions, is the root of class struggle in its most basic form.

An organized working class can turn its curse— its separation from the means of production—into its source of power by collectively withdrawing its labor. It is not automatic that the

working class understands its own interests as whole, and where it exists without unity or movement its interests can be suppressed. It not merely labor that makes one a member of the working class; the proletariat is dependent on the general wage fund paid by the capitalist class. The proletariat forms as a class through class struggle on economic fronts with employers, but also on political fronts with bourgeois states where the ruling elite form a protection racket for various propertied and managerial classes. As Hal Draper wrote years ago, "To engage in class struggle it is not necessary to 'believe in' class struggle any more than it is necessary to believe in Newton in order to fall from an airplane." The awareness of the proletariat class and the solidarity that it creates are not predicated on belief in socialism, but on engaging in the struggles that make socialism a possibility.

This means that the proletariat clarifies its class position through forming institutions to fight these struggles, such as unions, mutual aid societies, workers' centers, self-defense groups, solidarity networks, political tendencies to represent their interests in workers' organizations, and political parties. It is interest and material need that drives this development, not merely conviction. It is vital, however, to admit this process is not without internal struggles; within the proletariat there are divisions of race, gender, nationality, immigration status, and worldview. Through struggles to unify the proletariat comes to represent a class which carries the interests of all humanity, the only class that can be counted on to wage a real revolutionary struggle against all forms of exploitation and oppressions within capitalism.

Through these struggles, the proletariat takes back the natural and productive property necessary to run society and dissolves capitalist class relations in the process. All other oppressed classes are brought into full participation by aligning in these struggles and all the classes protecting the bourgeoisie become irrelevant and abolish themselves in this process as well. As capitalism dissolved all prior forms of human relations, socialism frees of human capacity beyond these the forms of capitalist dissolution.

It is important to acknowledge, however, that between the two great classes lies "the middle class." Contrary to official ideology, the middle class is not based on income or what type of work one does but rather social position. "The middle class" thus refers to several distinct classes, and subclasses, including "petty bourgeoisie," small-to-medium proprietors, and the managerial "labor aristocrats": those that are technically "working class" but who are invested in capital by position or stock-holding in ways that tend to align them with the capitalist class proper. This strata, called the "middle class," also contains a wide variety of bureaucratic and technical workers who do not directly produce commodities and as such range from natural allies of the working class to elite functionaries who are clearly hangers-on of the ruling classes in general and the capitalist class in specific. The petty-bourgeoisie, in particular, tend to vacillate between allegiance to the proletariat and bourgeoisie as their material interests shift and political moods change. This benefits the current order; however, a strong, organized proletariat can bring significant layers of the middle class to its side in a struggle; where the proletariat fails to do this, the middle classes will often fall under the sway of bourgeois populist and nationalist and xenophobic demagoguery, or, as often is the case of many managerial elements, into an elite bureaucratic technocracy that aims to help manage capitalism through compromise and class collaboration. Both tendencies distract from struggle and help capitalists maintain control by using these political moments as buffer against both reform and revolution.

These conflicts, mixed with a focus on the production of commodities to accumulate abstract value (most visibly as money capital) instead of production for the needs of a given society, lead capitalism to crises of both over- and under-production which operate on a cyclical nature of booms-and-busts. Thus capitalism advances the productive forces of humanity in a grossly inefficient, wasteful, and—as the capitalist classes have lost any “revolutionary” character—an even more inhuman way.

1.3. Global Capitalism and Imperialism

The world capitalist economy is a shifting and living organic hierarchy based on exploitation and force. Depending on where a nation stands in the pecking order, capitalist countries play different roles and by different rules in the imperialist system. This is even true within a single nation, where regions with different productive capacities and different allocation of resources are exploited in different ways and local communities treated differently by ruling elites. Capitalist countries thus compete with one and other in a way that can nationalism seem attractive; furthermore, imperialism serves different interests of capital within a nation differently, and thus leads to competition between sectors of capital within a nation as well.

Though they remain viciously exploited, the under- and medium-developed countries now occupy a significant place in the world division of labor and in the organic hierarchy of capital, destabilizing former hegemonies, although not, as of yet, surpassing them. These nations are not only suppliers of raw materials and agricultural products as they were in past phases of capitalist development, they now also produce a wide range of manufactured goods. As a result, the proletariat has replaced peasantry as the majority class globally and has more self-interest in becoming a consciously international class.

Capitalist imperialism is a process which takes hold unevenly throughout the its international trade networks. The lower forms of imperialism are direct expropriation of resources of different groups and the fruits of their labor—this can be done through explicit colonialism, settler colonialism, or uneven trade deals under various types of coercion: currency regimes, market power, the balance of trade, international law, loan provisions, and overwhelming military force. There forms an immense pressures to suppress the wages of developing countries in comparison to workers in other nations. This oppression and exploitation conjoined primarily helps the capitalist classes in the developed world, but can make it appear to be in the interest of working classes in the developed world by the appearance of abundance in the core countries of capital.

A prerequisite for the final victory of the working class to be possible and its self-abolition made attainable is winning power in a significant chunk of the developing and advanced capitalist countries *at once*. Only in the advanced nations, however, has capitalism accumulated the productive capacity needed for communism to function beyond precarious, primitive subsistence of tribal and agricultural communal formations. The working class can come to power in under- or medium-developed countries, but such gains would be short lived without revolution in advanced capitalist countries—lengthy uneven developments would make socialism difficult to attain.

1.4 The United States and North America in Relation to Capital Development

The present era of capitalism thus remains an era of imperialism, and multiple stages of imperial relations exist at once. The United States cemented itself as the world's leading imperial power after World War II, and remains the predominant hegemonic military and financial power. Despite "deindustrializing", it remains the second largest producer of commodities. The United States continues to be the center of global capitalist accumulation, as it has been since the fall of the British Empire post-World War II.

In its first two centuries as a federal republic, the settler colonial structure of the United States and North America, placed it at a historically divergent path from the development of European capitalism. Through both chattel slavery and dispossession of natural property from tribes and nations indigenous to the "New World", the settler colonial structure and the unparalleled access to land and labor enabled all three of the large Republics of North America to develop more quickly than Europe had done. Due to military developments of the United States throughout its Civil War and its alliances with Great Britain during the World Wars, United States assumed the imperial reach and hegemonic power of Britain as the latter's place as the foremost capitalist economy slipped.

1.5 The Constant Dangers of War

"War is the continuation of politics by other means." —Carl von Clausewitz

War happens both between classes and between nations, a sustained conflict on an extended scale regardless of its official legal status. War is a product of class society and competition between nations, and can only be ended if humanity can overcome the national and class divisions of the global capitalist order..

Capitalism's crises and its uneven development create a constant pressure for re-division of spoils. Rising powers challenge the existing imperialist hierarchy and seek to offset their own problems at the expense of foreign rivals, leading to constant ruthless competition. Just as each capitalist is in competition with other capitalists, the ruling class in each country fights a war of position against the ruling class elsewhere. When diplomacy fails and trade wars fail as a means of competition, military force decides. Trade blocs become military blocs, and so this element of imperialism means that there is constant preparation for war. Peace is only a period of formal ceasefire.

Popular support for increased military spending once justified through Cold War anti-communism and is now secured by a "clash of civilizations" with "rogue" states and "terrorist" non-state actors in the Middle East. The frequency with which the American war machine attacks civilian targets and kills innocent people renders its "War on Terror" bankrupt in the eyes of much of the world. Despite this there has been no end to the development of the war machine in the United States.

Capitalism now possesses weapons capable of destroying all human life across the entirety of the planet Earth. After 1945, the United States elevated arms production to the level of policy;

investment in weapons of mass destruction was treated like a federal jobs program, and reckless nuclear brinkmanship became legitimate diplomacy. The struggle to end war is a struggle for the survival of humankind.

1.6 The Capitalist Depletion of Nature

During the Cold War, nuclear annihilation seemed to be the most clear and present danger to humanity generated by class society. While the collapse of the Soviet Union has not removed “Mutually Assured Destruction” from our nightmares, climate science over the last few decades has established that industrial greenhouse gas production is driving an unprecedented rise in global temperatures. Even the most conservative climate models predict catastrophic flooding of population centers in the developing world.

This era of massive animal and plant extinction and endangerment presents major problems for human relationships to natural world: Deforestation, erosion of topsoil, spread of deserts, increased acidification of the oceans, overfishing of the seas and oceans, anthropogenic air and water pollution have grown at an exponential pace, depletion of mineral and hydrocarbon resources through stripmining and other destruction practices. In developing and large cities in the developed world, smog, chronic bronchitis, emphysema, and asthma have become more and more part of daily life. Huge numbers have no proper sanitation facilities and no ready access to clean water.

Bourgeois politics has demonstrated again and again its unwillingness to confront the looming environmental crisis with the urgency it demands: the hard denial of climate science by the right is matched by the inadequate half-measures of patient “green” reformers in both climate change and other problems of environmental depletion. The essential logic of profit-seeking sacrifices long-term public interests for short- and medium-term private gains, and bourgeois states have consistently secured the optimal conditions for the expansion of capital—no matter the human cost.

Communists reject the claim that workers create all the wealth of capitalism. Labor creates the value that generates profits including the labor of peasants, petty bourgeoisie, and all the middle classes. Yet, as Marx asserted in his *Critique of the Gotha Program*, nature is the foundational source of wealth above and beyond all human labor. Without the natural world, there can be no human life at all. It is, however, working class power that presents the only viable alternative to destructive reproduction of capital. The proletariat has the means and the motivation to end the over-appropriation of material wealth as it disrupt and redirect the political and economic logic of daily life.

1.7 The Lingering Threat of Political Opportunism

Capitalism creates the conditions for communism. Yet achieving communism must be the conscious self-liberation of the proletariat, a liberation that will end class division and self-abolish the proletariat itself. . These long term goals will liberate all humanity, and thus are of utmost important. Therefore, there is a vital struggle against opportunism—that is, elevation of short-term or purely sectional interests over the general interest.

This means that while the proletariat must reconcile its internal conflicts and realize that a simple majority does not constitute the needs of the entire proletariat, the benefit of the entirety of the working and oppressed classes must take priority. No country, no party, no trade union, no leader, no section of the working class can take precedence over the world revolution or the class as a whole.

The communist revolution begins as a political act by an oppressed people. The end of the exploitation, alienation, and oppression is not automatic or mechanical.

Though, for example, the capitalist class is tiny, it possesses immense power - and not only in the form of currency and the state machines. As a ruling class, its ideas are those of a ruling class worried about being besieged. Capitalist ideas are spontaneously generated and in the battle for hearts and minds are carefully cultivated by a paid army of permanent persuaders—the media, formal education, the arts, religion, establishment parties, etc. opportunistically subsuming tangential sectors to capital's goals,

In contrast, particularly in the developed world, the working class is enormous. Like any oppressed or exploited class, it can fight for better conditions within the existing system. Yet to realise itself as a class for itself, a class with a historic possibility, it must acquire a rational and well-rounded world view as a whole, and cannot do this except through open struggle against false notions or half-measures. This should encompass the struggle against the manifestations of opportunism within our own communist ranks.

We must not repeat the mistakes of left-activism: the mistakes of the myriad sects, the sect itself or the swamp of left-activist careerism. The working class as a whole and communists in particular are to be aided and encouraged in creating their own intellectual culture not dependent on the state or capital immediately for its possible creation. The working class is diverse, and thus communist politics should also be diverse as long as the key views of abolition of all classes, including the working class, the working class seizure of the means of production and ending of capitalist exploitation, and the belief in the necessity of international struggle are shared.

Despite this internal diversity, we must remark that the “sects” and parties exist *for* the class, not to subordinate the class to themselves. To maintain this, workers should be encouraged to congeal their activity both within and outside of a working class and/or communist party such as our own. Furthermore, working class identity is not to be valorized over working class interests or the eventual abolition of the class in communism. One must be ever vigilant against these views.

Indeed, in regards to our own purposes, we should heed the words of Cornelius Castoriadis,

“Marxism, itself born in capitalist society, has not freed itself, and could not free itself from the culture in which it grew up. Its position—like the position of any revolutionary ideology and like the situation of the proletariat until the revolution—remains contradictory. “The ruling ideas of each epoch are the ideas of its ruling class” does not simply mean that those ideas are physically the most widespread or the most widely accepted. It also means they tend to be

assented to, partially and unconsciously, by the very people who oppose them the most violently. In the theoretical sphere no less than the practical sphere, the struggle of the revolutionary movement to free itself from the hold of capitalism is a permanent struggle.”

This means that the internal practices of any party claiming to represent the working class must maintain some level of struggle to avoid pitfalls within its own ranks even incidentally.

1.8 Capitalism and Misogyny

Capitalism’s continued existence requires more than just raw productivity and accumulation—it must also reproduce itself constantly, and renew its productive capacity. We have seen, however, that capitalist production is nothing without the laborers that make it up. Social reproduction then, is two-fold: it requires first the reproduction of the value of the necessities that those laborers consume—that is, the food, healthcare, clothing, etc. that workers need in order to continue to work—and second the biological reproduction necessary to replace laborers who inevitably will grow old and unable to work.

The reproductive labor necessary is then divided into two spheres: public and private, social and individual. Both of the above categories are represented in both of these arenas: the food a worker buys in public must be cooked in private, and the children born in private must be educated in public, for example. This presents a contradiction for capitalists. They wish on the one hand as agents of progress to bring domestic labor into the public sphere; as Marx says in *The Communist Manifesto*, the bourgeois put an end to all such “patriarchal, idyllic relations”. Capitalist profit, after all, economically requires waged labor, and domestic labor is definitionally unwaged. Where they can, the bourgeois move domestic labor into the profit-making sector with services such as daycare, restaurants, and laundromats. On the other hand, the costs involved for many domestic tasks are extremely high, and the need to stay profitable in a competitive market economy make it financially infeasible to do so in many cases. The bourgeois are stuck with the choice between leaving labor domestic, in which case it generates no profit, or bringing it into the public world, where it makes profit but not enough to offset the costs. They will always choose the former; under capitalism as we know it, domestic labor can never be fully socialized.

The primary site of domestic labor is the working-class family—without it, the infrastructure for capitalist social reproduction dissolves. Attempts to alter this are met constantly with conservative appeals to “family values,” and ultimately with violent moral panics against perceived threats to the family order: homosexuals, transgender people, sex workers, etc. These divisions are pervasive even among the working class, and we must always be vigilant to protect those victimized by them within our ranks. Furthermore, we seek to transcend the family—to provide freedom of romantic and sexual association and to make the labor of the household a collective burden.

The division between social and domestic labor is the source of women’s continued oppression in capitalism—the social identity of “woman” emerged historically from a specific role within the household and the family. This is not the entire story however: the current era is sociologically marked

by a huge divergence in understanding gender as a social phenomenon as more and more people come to find that the social roles historically constructed around these relationships to production unsatisfactory to describe themselves, and as medical technology allows certain people material freedom from some of these roles, it becomes ever more clear that both the social phenomenon of gender and the division of labor that generated them must be transcended. This has a necessary precondition: the abolition of capitalism, and the rise of socialism in its place.

1.9 The Need for Socialism and Beyond

Capitalism employs other methods to overcome its inbuilt boom-and-bust cycle: creating new markets for artificial needs, Keynesian government intervention, neoliberal deregulation, monopolies over intellectual property through patents and other means to create artificial scarcity, but owing to private ownership, production for profit, and the market economy – not to mention the undemocratic capitalist state itself – capitalism cannot be reformed to put humanity over accumulation.

The socialist revolution and the transition to communism represent humanity's collective self-liberation. Socialist revolution requires active support from the majority of the population; a socialist society would radically extend democracy into every sphere of life. In place of the wasteful, anarchic market economy there is the democratically planned economy to rationally put humanity's tremendous wealth to use satisfying people's wants and needs, including the need to live sustainably with our planet. In place of the highly limited 'democracy' of capitalist states there is the democratic republic in which people exercise meaningful control over their lives – on the job, in the community, and in the world. A full flowering of science and culture would take place, freed from the war of each against all.

Not only are the end of war, exploitation and environmental destruction bound up with socialism, but so is the end of social oppression. Racism, national oppression and misogyny serve our rulers' interests by dividing sections of the working class against itself; fighting social oppression is an essential need for working class partisans. In particular, racism in the United States is a bedrock on which the repressive state apparatus is built which is then wielded against the people in general. And women's oppression has propped up exploitative social relationships since the beginnings of class society. Socialism means genuine equality for the first time in history for people of all genders, races, sexual orientations and national origins.

Socialism, as a new world system, will only be possible if the working classes of imperialist countries could be persuaded to give up their national privileges in exchange for emergence from their exploited and dominated class position. Still the party upholds the right of free association and sovereignty to indigenous and colonized nations, under the conditions that free territories would not be allowed to maintain the egregious class inequalities brought about by colonization or re-establish traditional forms of oppression. Reparations to colonies should be provided as requested in the form of infrastructure, education, technical aid, etc. Fragmenting into smaller, ethnically-delineated political entities should be avoided if possible. Instead an equality of nations should be established within the democratic republic, with reparations and integration initiatives for racialized populations.

The final victory of international socialism is only secured when the working class, in alliance with all oppressed people, has taken power in the advanced imperialist countries. Socialist revolution in the United States or the European Union would rapidly signal capitalism's death knell. When the clear majority of the world is part of the socialist republic, the need for the workers' state itself will fade away along with other inherited vestiges of capitalist society. This is the transition to communism – the stateless, classless, moneyless society that marks humanity's rise from the "kingdom of necessity" to the "kingdom of freedom."

Section 2: For an International Communist Party and Other Workers' Parties

2.1. The Partisan Situation in the US

The political landscape of the United States is dominated by the two-party system. The ruling class finds its representation through the Republican and Democratic parties, respectively the most enthusiastic and second most enthusiastic parties of capitalism on the planet. They are, as the great 20th century socialist leader Eugene Debs said, the political wings of the capitalist system. Millions of working people support the Democratic Party with sincere illusions in its ability to deliver change on their behalf, or as a lesser evil to the GOP, or in the hope that it can be reformed in a left-wing direction.

Communists oppose the Democratic Party as an institutional component of the U.S. capitalist state. Despite its name, the Democratic Party is not democratically structured – even in theory – the same way a trade union is, where even a bureaucratized union can be collectively reclaimed by the workers. In power, it delivers the same imperial foreign policy and anti-worker domestic policy as its counterparts across the aisle, differing only in detail and not substance. In opposition, it acts as a break on struggles from below rather than political representation for those movements – evidenced in recent years by the 2011 Wisconsin uprising and the 2015 Baltimore rebellion. Even progressive icon Franklin Delano Roosevelt's 'New Deal' programs were enacted not from the good conscience of the liberal bourgeoisie but to stave off the threat of socialist revolution from a combative proletariat. As the abolitionist Frederick Douglass observed, power concedes nothing without a fight.

In order to oppose capital at a higher level than ephemeral, elemental outbursts, the working class needs its own organizations – its own political wing. Historically there have been attempts at building political parties based on sections of the workers' movement in the U.S. Examples include the Farmer-Labor Party of the 1920s and the short-lived 1996 Labor Party, which aimed to create parties based on the trade union movement akin to labour and social-democratic parties in Europe and Canada. Then there are periodic calls for a so-called "broad left" party or "party of the 99%," which would encompass any force claiming to be left of the Democrats.

Today the far left exists as an alphabet soup of small, mutually hostile sects. While these radical groups of a few dozen or a few hundred members do valuable work, their energies are largely wasted and their potential capped by the sect form of organization. Hyper-activism with little sense of strategy

and proportion, undemocratic internal regimes (bureaucratic centralism) and a lack of roots in the working class characterize this form. The *impulse* toward left unity felt by those who promote the “broad left” party is correct, but ultimately such halfway houses between reform and revolution are doomed to failure. In practice such formations do not act as a stepping stone toward a revolutionary party, because the revolutionary left continues to lack its own banner under which it can fight for a Marxist program. “Broad left” parties in power, like the Greek Syriza or the Brazilian Workers Party in recent years, end up not only failing to transcend the existing order but actually administering neoliberal capitalism. For its part, the Green Party – the largest existing party to the left of the Democrats today – does not even claim to present a systemic alternative to capitalism, nor represent the interests of the proletariat as a class within the confines of capitalism as a social-democratic party would.

2.2 The Need for a Party of Labor in the United States

The Red Party calls for a mass, union-based Labor Party as part of its trade union policy. The Labor Party we envision is a permanent united front of the working class, in which the labor movement, cooperatives, other workers’ organizations (such as they exist and may exist in the future), and socialist organizations participate. Such a party would draw broad layers of the working class into active politics and represent a step toward our class’s political independence from the major capitalist parties.

Agitational effort for the Labor Party is not counterposed to the key strategic necessity of a Communist Party, nor is it a “stage” through which the working class must pass before a Communist Party comes into being. Rather, the Labor Party policy is a tool which can be used to advance our work in the labor movement and a means for the working class to transition its political demands and work out its own contradictions. The Labor Party itself (were it to materialize in the future) would establish a crucial arena of struggle for the communist program.

2.3 Left-Wing Regroupment, Working Class Recomposition, and Our Mission

The Red Party’s central task is campaigning for principled revolutionary unity in a Communist Party, the highest form of working-class organization. With its party, the working class is no longer simply a class in itself – a class that objectively exists with only potential power – but rather a class *for itself*, organized in conscious pursuit of its interests. The raw material for a party can be found in the already-existing organized left in this country, and its para-state institutions call to be the limbs of its base of power.

Building a Communist Party worthy of the name will require decisive action on the revolutionary left. We fight for a Marxist program as the unifying basis for the future party—a program guided by the three principles of working class political independence, internationalism and radical democracy. While the Red Party works toward and engages in concrete steps toward unity, we do so on the basis of this kind of *principled* unity around a socialist program supported by Marxist historical, economic, and political theory.

2.4 Internationalism and the Necessity of International Communist Party

Without class-political independence, the working class cannot act as an independent social force. Internationalism is not just a moral claim but our indispensable strategic need – an injury to one is an injury to all. A worker in the United States has far more in common with her fellow worker in Syria, or with her immigrant brothers and sisters, than she does with an American capitalist. The interests of the working class in every country are bound together. Despite its internal conflict the ruling class organizes globally; the proletariat must do the same. Therefore the Red Party calls for increased international trade union organization and a Communist International, to be composed of communist parties in individual countries – a world organization with a world strategy for world revolution.

2.5 Democracy Inside and Outside of the Party

For its part, extreme democracy is both the life-giving oxygen of our movement and the only way the working class can become the ruling class. Radical democracy in our movement means reorienting the far left away from the model of bureaucratic centralism and toward a model enshrining free, open discussion and debate while still preserving unity in action – in other words, democratic centralism. Both rigid ideological uniformity and eclectic disorganization are unnecessary for and in fact incompatible with a party capable of winning millions to communism. In the broader workers' movement, communists cannot effectively oppose the class-collaborationist labor bureaucracy without first getting their own house in order.

While a principled unity would not immediately create a *mass* Communist Party, even a party encompassing the thousands of existing socialist militants would greatly strengthen the workers' movement. Its existence would be a pole of attraction for class-conscious workers and oppressed people. It would be an organizing locus for the most politically advanced sections of our class, a vehicle to spread Marxist ideas throughout society, and a center from which the proletariat can rebuild and regenerate its mass organizations – not just the trade unions but cooperatives, mutual aid and youth organizations, *et cetera*. In short, a Communist Party is the precondition for building a mass systemic opposition force in society.

Section 3: Minimum Program—Immediate Demands (for the US)

Not all battles needed to create a meaningful workers movement are solely related to creating either a Workers' Constitution or Socialism as a transition to communism. Indeed, the movement potentially outside of, and counter to, capitalism and its state has been dissolved by public-private partnerships, NGOs, the Democratic Party, state and union bureaucracy, reactionary legislation and law enforcement—even supposedly friendly leftist political/activist strata. Our immediate demands are about unfastening the straitjacket imposed upon the movement of proletarians as much as possible. They need the time, energy and freedom to engage, participate and cohere. Here we demand, at all levels of government (local, state and federal) feasible and applicable:

3.1 Economic Demands

- A \$20.72/hour (possibly higher) minimum wage in 2017 dollars (and increased yearly by the Consumer Price Index), with no exemptions of tipped workers, domestic workers, farm workers, seasonal workers and disabled workers.
- The reduction of the work week to no more than thirty hours a week, six hours a day, with mandatory overtime pay, paid sick leave and time off, paid parental leave, subsidized child care.
- The repeal and court-challenge of reactionary labor law, especially the Labor Management and Relations Act of 1947 (or Taft-Hartley) and all laws mandating open shops (so-called “right-to-work” legislation).
- Expansion and extension of unemployment benefits.
- Expansion of the Affordable Care Act (“Obamacare”) to include a public “Medicare-for-All” option.
- Immediate ending of redlining for credit access, home loans, and policing.
- Immediate abolition of high interest and “subprime” loans that target the poor in general and minority groups in particular.
- A universal real estate tax of 20%, and the end of all subsidies for homeownership

3.2 Democratic Demands

- The right of prison inmates to form and join labor unions and the end of felony disenfranchisement, repeal and court-challenge of voter ID laws and other racist, anti-proletarian voter suppression tactics.
- Provide free IDs for all citizens regardless of their ability to drive.
- The great expansion of the number of members of state legislatures and Congress, push for hard term limits.
- The repeal or court-challenge of the Uniform Congressional District Act of 1967 which mandates single-member districts in Congress, push for proportional representation (or range voting, or other reform amenable to multipartyism) in state legislature.
- End the Drug War: legalization of Schedule I–IV drugs, with an immediate exoneration of all nonviolent drug offenders. Rerouting of Drug War funds to establish addiction management centers and overdose emergency response teams.
- Amnesty for undocumented immigrants, voting rights for noncitizen residents after a residency of one year.
- Open review of district boundaries to confront “gerrymandering”—arbitrarily shaping voting districts to drown out the influence of proletarians and people of color.
- Repeal and court-challenge the Hyde Amendment, expand services and subsidization under single payer, crack down on state-bureaucratic suppression and bloated red tape on providers.
- Decriminalization of sex work, tactical support for unionization of sex industries, medical check-ups provided by the state, and alternate jobs training provided for sex workers who seek it

- Expansion and stricter regulation of affordable housing provision. Housing market caps and controls to address displacement.
- Repeal Communist Control Act of 1954.
- Banning for-profit universities whose primary form of income is student loans.
- Implement para-state educational institutions for vocational schools that are no cost for proletariat and impoverished students.
- Full sexual education in school.
- Free access to reproductive health care, including birth control, hormone therapy, surgeries related to gender affirmation, and abortion.
- Subsidized quality education for minority groups underserved in University
- The creation of free high quality community colleges
- Subsidized sexual assault prevention training, shelters for victims of sexual abuse, and trauma therapy for victims.
- Removal of limitations for third parties to run in state elections and increased federal oversight of election law to allow for the creation of third parties.
- The creation of a mass Labor party to represent the interests of labor within the States.

Section 4: Minimum Program- Transitional Demands (for the US and North America)

The transitional demands in a minimum program outline the process in which we smash the bourgeois state. This aids directly in the creation of a workers' Republic and aids in the development of socialism and communism. There is some overlap with the immediate demands, but the goals here are more focused and as demands will force us to maintain a program beyond the seemingly reformist goals of the immediate demands.

- **The re-constitution of the armed forces**
 - Full democratic and union rights for active servicepeople.
 - Disband the standing army; expansion of the National Guard and the general arming of the people in its place.
 - The right of soldiers to elect and recall their officers. Full trade union rights in the armed forces.
 - End all foreign aid to repressive, reactionary regimes abroad.
- **The nationalization of the core of industry**
 - Nationalize all banks and consolidate them into a single, nationally administered central bank.
 - Workplace election of all managers in socialized industry.
 - Nationalization of all mineral wealth and mineral rights.
- **The creation of a worker friendly infrastructure**
 - Establishment of socialized, widespread, worker-controlled cafeterias, day cares and laundries as a step toward women's liberation.
 - Nationalize the energy giants and create a mass public works program to rapidly transition from fossil fuel to renewable energy.
 - Free, quality local public transportation and expansion of the Amtrak system to provide

low-cost medium- and long-distance transit.

- **The creation of a multinational commission of a unified North American governmental zone**
 - The current governments and constitutions of the three largest North American countries revise treaty laws and collapse certain functions of their governments and create a plan for a democratic confederation of these three Republics.
 - The right of self-determination and the terms of integration into a Workers' Republic to all Native American and First Peoples nations, colonial possessions including Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Northern Marianas, Virgin Islands, Guam, American Samoa, former US Pacific Trust Territory, as well as all ethnic or national minorities by democratic vote on a community-by-community basis.
 - Reparations to colonies should be provided as requested in the form of infrastructure, education, technical aid, etc, by popular demand of the affected groups. Fragmenting into smaller, ethnically-delineated political entities should be avoided if possible. Instead an equality of nations should be established within the democratic republic, with reparations and integration initiatives for racialized populations.
 - Voluntary union as the basis of the democratic republic(s) and a North American Union for which citizens of those Democratic republics can reside and work together.
 - The dissolution of existing states, provinces and territories, an independent commission selected to redraw the North American map and its immediate subdivisions.
 - Free movement of people across the borders.
- **Abolish the secret state**
 - Immediate repeal of the Patriot Act and the NDAA
 - Immediate shutdown of the CIA and NSA
 - End secret diplomacy – all international relations to be conducted in public view
 - Prosecute all exposed official crimes, war crimes, and crimes against humanity, past and present.
 - Surveillance repurposed to supervise officials, not civilians.
- **Prison abolition: for corrections based on rehabilitation and no slave labor**
 - Corrections to be localized & downsized, and for rehabilitation & restorative justice; training & education available; no torture including, but not limited to, deprivation/isolation; abolish state-of-peace executions.
 - Universal release and expungement for all prisoners, probationers, and record-holders prosecuted for non-violent 'moral' crimes, including, but not limited to, homelessness, sex work, or small-scale drug possession/sale
 - Comprehensive audit of all plea sentencing and suspect classes of convictions. Provide clemency for all non-violent and political offenders.
 - Labor in corrections shall be at fair market wage, with union rights. Up to ten years back-pay for felons.
- **A people's, not advertisers', mass media**
 - At least 50% of information capacity (bandwidth, printing output, frequencies, etc.) to be nationalized.
 - Public info capacity at disposal of non-partisan democratized media and communication services.
 - Full access by all factions and opinion; freedom to criticize officials and adopted policy in public media.
 - Freedom of the press as equal/proportional opportunity to publish information, not equal opportunity to buy market shares; thus, revoke licenses to all foreign- or

- advertising-financed reactionary media
 - That considered, no censorship except for advocacy of violent opposition to charter.
- **No support for, or indifference to, patriarchy in the working class; a foundation for abolition of gender**
 - End support for oppression of women, youth, and LGBTQ+ people. End discrimination over, and grant total freedom of contract by, form of household. No legal classification by gender/sex.
 - Abolition of legal marriage to be replaced with 2-or-more person civil unions with collective child-care responsibility and full medical visitation rights.
 - Subsidized household services: cleaning, laundry, and cooking for those who need it.
- **The abolition of town and country distinctions**
 - Tax and other measures to encourage cooperatives in both services and agriculture
 - Development of transit and increased population density
 - Increased used of urban agriculture so the separation of rural and urban life is reduced and public density can be maintained for the preservation of the environment
 - Administrative districts include both urban and non-urban areas
 - Concrete jungles, urban sprawl, huge farms and uninterrupted industrialised agriculture are profoundly alienating and inhuman. Towns and cities should be full of trees, roof gardens, planted walls, allotments, wild parks and little farms. Density should not mean caves of steel and concrete.
- **The protection of the environment and natural wealth of North America and the World**
 - Inshore seas must include wide non-fishing areas. The aim should be to fully restore marine life and thus create a sustainable fishing industry.
 - Where feasible there should be the re-establishment of forests, natural floodplains, marshes, fens and heath land. Extensive wilderness areas should be created in the countryside, along with the reintroduction of the full array of native plants and animal species.
- **The abolition of systemic racism**
 - the banning of all redlining, predatory lending, and rent-seeking of minority groups.
 - Encouragement of minority representation of all levels of administration.
 - Ending the subsidization of homeownership and thus ending the zip code apartheid
 - Making gentrification irrelevant but increasing the infrastructure development
 - Universal access to quality education as well as formal policies to increase the representation of minority groups particularly underrepresented in academia and law.
 - The formal recognition of the contribution of minority groups, particularly those of the African diaspora, to the development of North America.
 - Formal recognition of identity caucuses within Labor and Communist parties as well as community welfare advisers to aid to fairness in administration beyond proportional representation.
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- **The creation of a convention for a new constitution favoring the workers within the US and within Canada and Mexico separately, and the eventually creation of a unitary North American Republic.**

4.2 Demands For a Workers' Constitution

The workers' constitution must be the foundation for both the transition to socialism in the United States and in North America at large, and would be a basis for participation in a truly international world wide movement of communism.

- **Abolition of the elected, term-limited but nonetheless imperial power of the Presidency.**
- **Abolition of the Senate and its functions collapsed in a unitary democratic legislature. Instead, full and unified powers vested in the plenary sessions of a unicameral deliberative body organized on principles of extreme democracy.** Therefore, that body shall:
 - Have all members elected according to the same term, without 'classes' of membership.
 - Be subject to regular elections on a period no less than biennially, else sesquiennially or annually.
 - Be elected directly, or else a maximum of one-level indirectly, by means reflecting proportionality and locality
 - Meet regularly and often; limit delegation of duties/powers; provide streamlined debate & floor vote.
- **Abolish incumbency: end to office-holding or career in the state as a right to property**
 - All specialists (civilian official or military officers) receive maximum pay at the skilled workers' average wage [SWAW]. No managerial/officerial bullying.
 - All specialists, not directly responsible appointees or elected officials, candidacy / selection by semi-random process, and regularly rotated between positions and also in/out of public service.
 - All specs subject to elective confirmation or selection by their rank-and-file [R&F] civilian / military subordinates. All specs instantly dismissible by majority vote of their R&F subordinates.
 - All specs correspondence and papers accessible at-will by R&F subordinates and popular authorities
- **The Judiciary shall be the arbitrator of the Democratic will and a check on the legislature. This means**
 - Abolition of the current supreme court and replacement with a national appeals court with elected justices serving a term of no more than a decade.
 - Election of the judiciary.
- **All elected officials to be recallable people's representatives on a workers' wage.** Therefore, they shall be:
 - Salaried, after official expenses subject to public scrutiny and formal audit, equivalent to the SWAW (as determined by workers' organizations); subject to ironclad oaths.
 - Subject to instant recall and replacement, organized along principles of:
 - Being a real and practical, not theoretical, challenge to incumbency and security of office, but:
 - While avoiding abuse by majorities and only with direct participation of the electorate.
 - Subject to extraordinary elections by initiative from below; no self-cherry-picking or self-reelection.
- **Abolish lifework as a politician, official / bureaucrat, or military / civilian specialist**
 - Max term of office shall be biennial, limits on reelection/reappointment/rerotation per

- position.
- Limits on political/spect career, across any and all positions, by both continuous, and lifetime, totals.
- Resignation from office, including mass org and party, prereq for candidacy for election/selection.
- All spect/elected officials will serve in intensive programs, of political education, training, internship, and potential candidate apprenticeship, enabling rapid turnover in official/professional positions.
- Given qualified, preference in candidacy & selection to lessen spect service or private sector equivalents.
- **Provide for true universal suffrage and positive freedoms to participate in public life**
 - Enfranchise all wards, correctioners, felons, one year resident jobseekers, and citizens age 16+.
 - Freedom from insecurity: provision of a CPI-indexed UBI supplement, access to housing and health care, an essentials' costs-indexed minimum wage & jobseekers' benefit, and targeted full employment.
 - Freedom from ignorance: free political, remedial, supplemental, vocational, or university education & training, with a stipend for duration of studies, available to all workers. Work flexibility for studies.
 - Freedom from work: a 25 hour maximum work week, with 5+ paid hours a week for union/political activity, or equivalent.
 - Citizenship rights for all immigrants then currently residing within the United States.
 - Full legal and social equality for LGBTQ+ people, including adoption for same-sex couples and surgery for transgender health issues as a health care concern. Provide housing and quality social services for LGBTQ+ and other displaced youth.
 - Abolish "English only" laws and recognize regional minority languages.
- **Participatory democracy: for mass assemblies and councils- or committees-of-action**
 - Freedom to occupy and make political use of non-thoroughfare public spaces, free from harassment.
 - Freedom to form, both general/mass assemblies, and committees-/councils-of-action, by immediate and organic, functional or geographic constituencies, contingent only on consent with the charter.
 - Freedom of association, collective action, self-management, and independence for such bodies.
 - Mandate for local, regional, and central elected authorities to facilitate and regulate such bodies.

It is important to note that our demands here do not include all that could arise out of the working class. Furthermore, as paradoxical as it might seem, the aim of this constitution is to facilitate its own negation. The constitution of the workers' state will become simply a piece of paper, a historical document, as the state withers away along with classes. These demands and the constitution enable a transition beyond the world we currently know.

Section 5: Beyond the Workers' Republic

5.1 The Socialist State and Beyond

In its transition from socialism and into the early development of communism, the body polity will not have reached complete maturity or completely rid itself of the traditions and remnants of capitalism. The class struggle and private property continue and so does the need for the state.

The socialist state (the rule of the working class) is needed in the first place to counter capitalist resistance or the possibility of renewed resistance from other revanchist factions within the body politic. Though this can involve draconian measures, it must be emphasised that as the rule of a large majority the socialist state is characterised by the fullest flowering of democracy. Democratic norms must be maintained. The socialist state dispenses with much of the bureaucratic and military baggage of the capitalist state - it is a semi-state even in the earliest development.

The repressive role of the state is not only connected with overcoming the capitalist class. There is also the division of labour. Until work becomes life's prime want, laws, courts and state coercion will be required.

The global rule of the working class will make it possible for the state to begin to disappear in its entirety, as classes wither away on the basis of the socialisation of the productive forces on a global scale.

5.2 There is No One Blueprint

There are no ready made blueprints for communist organisation or for communism itself. Indeed, the world beyond both capitalism and socialism can be little understood during our transition to it. Timeless recipes for the structure and relationship between the various bodies that make up a Communist Party are the result of habits from the best, not active engagement with the present.

We proceed from the fact that a Communist Party is a living organism. It evolves and constantly changes according to objective circumstances and the struggle to put the revolutionary programme into practice.

We proceed from the fact that a Communist society, classless and without the need for a state as we currently understand it, would also evolve as circumstances changed and the struggle to maintain it were pushed into practice. The communist social totality cannot be enumerated exactly now.

We also proceed from the fact that the material conditions and historical baggage of different peoples and regions will make their incorporation and means to socialism slightly different from our own in North America. We must support the working class and the development of a classless society with an understanding that the terms in which it can be made manifest are different as the workers and proletariat are internally.