

# An Outline of the Communist International

Adopted by the Congress of the Communist International in Moscow [March 1-6, 1919]

## II.

The conquest of political power by the proletariat means the annihilation of the political power of the bourgeoisie. The power of the bourgeoisie lies in its state machinery, with its capitalist army under the leadership of capitalist-junker officers, its police, its prison wardens and judges, its parsons, state officers, etc. The conquest of political power means not only the change of persons in the cabinet of ministers, but the annihilation of the state machinery of the foe, the conquest of the real power, the disarming of the bourgeoisie, of the counter-revolutionary officers, of the White Guard; and the arming of the proletariat, of the revolutionary soldiers, of the workers' Red Guard; the abolition of all capitalist judges and the organization of the proletarian court; the abolition of the rule of the reactionary state officers and the creation of new executive organs of the proletariat. Immediately after the victory of the proletariat follows the disorganization of the hostile power, the organization of the proletarian power, the destruction of the capitalist, and the erection of the proletarian, state machinery. Only after the proletariat has become victorious and the resistance of the bourgeoisie has been broken, can the workers use their former foes for the new order, place them under control, and gradually add to the work of the communist construction.

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The proletarian state, like every state, is a machine for suppression, but this machinery is directed against the foe of the working class. Its aim is to break the resistance of the exploiters, who use all the power at their command to smother the revolution in blood; its aim is to make this resistance impossible; the proletarian dictatorship,

which openly places the working class in a privileged position in society, is on the other hand a provisional institution. When the resistance of the bourgeoisie is broken, when it is expropriated and gradually reduced to the labor strata, the proletarian dictatorship disappears, the state dies out and with it classes vanish.

So-called democracy, i. e., bourgeois democracy, is nothing but the concealed dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The much praised general "national will" exists as much as the "united people." In reality the classes exist—the classes with opposite, irreconcilable purposes. But as the bourgeoisie is a small minority, it needs this fiction—the "national will"—of nice, pleasant-sounding words to strengthen its dominion over the laboring classes and impose its will upon the proletariat. The proletariat, on the contrary, being an overwhelming majority of the population, exercises the class power of its mass organization, of its soviets (councils), to abolish the privileges of the bourgeoisie and to assure the transition to the communist society.

The main power of bourgeois democracy lies in the purely formal declaration of "rights and liberties," which are unattainable by the laboring people, the proletarians and half-proletarians, while the bourgeoisie utilizes its material means to deceive and defraud the people through its press and its organization. In opposition to this the soviet system (council system), this new type of the State power, endeavors mainly to give the proletariat an opportunity to realize its rights and liberties. The soviet power gives the best palaces, houses, printing shops, paper stocks, etc., to the workers for their press, their meetings, their unions and other organizations. And only through such methods will proletarian democracy be realized.

Bourgeois democracy, with its parliamentary

system, defrauds, by words, the masses of participation in the state administration. Actually the masses and their organizations are totally deprived of the real state administration. In the soviet system the masses themselves administer, for the soviets attract the ever-increasing multitude of the workers to the state administration. Only through this method will the whole laboring people gradually become interested and take an active part in the administration. The soviet system rests upon the mass organizations of the proletariat, upon the soviets themselves, upon the revolutionary labor unions, cooperatives, etc.

Bourgeois democracy and the parliamentary system separate the masses from the State, by the division of legislative and executive power, by the toleration of unrecallable mandates. In the soviet system, on the contrary, the right of recall, the union of the legislative and executive power, the function of the soviets as working colleges, unite the masses with the administrative organs. This unity is promoted also by the fact that under the soviet system the elections themselves are conducted, not in accordance with artificial territorial districts, but in accordance with productive units.

The soviet system thus realizes true proletarian democracy, the democracy for and of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. The industrial proletariat is preferred in a sense as the leading, best organized and politically most mature class, under which the half proletarians and small peasants gradually arise. This provisional privilege of the industrial proletariat is utilized to withdraw the poorer petit-bourgeois masses in the country, from the influence of the large peasants and the bourgeoisie, and to organize and educate them as co-workers in Communist construction.

## Soviet Russia's Red Army

(Continued from page 3)

"The greater part of the Ukraine is now in the hands of the workers' and peasants' government of the Ukraine. And this will be the greatest aid to Soviet Russia. Let us first consider the regiments of the directorate under Hetman Petlura, and then the troops of the Entente. In Petlura's army are the Ukrainian nationalists and the counter-revolutionists, in addition to some Galician regiments. His troops nevertheless are already fairly disorganized and are deserting to us in masses. Our Bolshevik Hetman in Ukraine is Rakovsky, formerly very prominent in the Rumanian S. P. In Sebastopol and Odessa the Entente has its main basis of operations. They even have negroes there. In Ukraine we have captured districts which have put all together several millions of poods of grain into our surplus. The

Germans obtained no more than a fraction of the grain they expected from Ukraine. It was a poor speculation on the patriotism of other races! What they got they found on the farms of big farmers and land-holders, where it had been collected in great stores. But the small farmers were crafty, as they always are, they buried the grain in their fields!"

Comrade Sklansky lighted his fourth cigarette before he got through with Ukraine. We also went into the question of the inner organization and the working methods of "Red Army." But we must postpone this to another day.

It is so cold here in the "Iron corridor" in the fortress of the Kremlin, that I am hardly anxious to look a bit at the heavy military map

which I only got this evening, sent to me from the All Russia General Staff. It shows that the front of the Red Army, drawn continuously and without any regard to the thin reporting and patrol lines, represent a front-line of all together 12,000 kilometers, in other words, five times as long as the entire external island coastline of Norway from Christiana to Borislep on the Varangian boundary! And the area which the Red Army has won back for Central Russia in the first year of its activity amounts to about 3,240,000 square kilometers, or about ten times the area of all of Norway.

And now I shall light a Russian cigarette. I am eager physically to find something that will fill the largest space in a short time—even if it is only cigarette smoke.

## A Moderate Socialist Office-Holder

(Continued from page 1)

Q.—Tell us what you spoke on—that social revolution?

(Question objected to by Zabel and objection sustained.)

After he had testified and was leaving the court building, LaDucca was arrested by the police. Counsel for defense objected to the arrest of a witness for he defense, to which Zabel gave the following answer:

Zabel—If this man was taken I don't know, he is not a witness any more, he has testified and has left the court room; and what the police department does with him is none of counsel's business.

In reporting the arrest of LaDucca, *The Milwaukee Leader* wrote as follows:

"Three other members of the local Italian branch of the Socialist party were arrested Monday, and the police announced that literature had been found on their persons that might prove of significance."

After deliberating seventeen minutes, the jury found the eleven defendants guilty of "Assault with Intent to Murder."

Commenting on their conviction, *The Milwaukee Leader* of December 29th, 1917, had the following to say:

"The element which seemed to weigh most heavily against the defendants during the trial was the fact that they were supposed to have been members of an alleged anarchistic organization in Bay View (Milwaukee) which advocated the overthrow of the existing forms of government and society by force."

Judge Augustus C. Backus imposed upon the

eleven defendants a uniform sentence of twenty-five years' imprisonment, the minimum sentence that he might have imposed upon them being one year.

Before imposing sentence Judge Backus addressed to the defendants the following words:

"There can be no excuse for your actions. You have banded yourselves together and worshipped at the shrine of criminal anarchy. You have been drinking from the bitter cup of poison which has led to your destruction."

The man responsible for the sending to prison of eleven Milwaukee workers for a term of twenty-five years, who charged them with a crime, which, it was evident, they did not commit, and who brought about their conviction by brazen illegalities, by the vilest sort of trickery and by inflaming the minds of the members of the Jury against the defendants by producing evidence intended to show that the defendants were socialists, members of the I. W. W. and anarchists, was Winfred C. Zabel, Socialist District Attorney for Milwaukee County.

It remained for the Supreme Court of Wisconsin to almost entirely undo the crime against eleven members of the working class committed by Socialist District Attorney Winfred C. Zabel. The Wisconsin Supreme Court has just set aside the conviction secured by Zabel in the case of nine of the eleven prisoners, seven of whom have been freed altogether (after having spent over a year and a half in prison) and two of whom are to get another trial. The two whose conviction the Supreme Court confirmed, will, as appears likely, soon be pardoned.

## ATTENTION!

Members of local Bronx Socialist Party.  
SHALL LOCAL BRONX GO LEFT?

TO DISCUSS THIS MOST IMPORTANT QUESTION CONFRONTING THE MEMBERS OF LOCAL BRONX ALL COMRADES ARE URGED TO ATTEND A

## MASS MEETING

ON SUNDAY AFTERNOON, MAY 18th

At 1 o'clock

At the FINNISH HALL,

[Bronx Opera House Bldg.]

442 East 149th Street

The following speakers will address the meeting:

BERTRAM WOLFE

JOHN REED

J. BRODSKY

JAY LOVESTONE

ADMISSION FREE, Party Cards Must Be Shown.