

An Outline of the Communist International

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

III.

THE breakdown of the capitalistic order and the disruption of capitalistic industrial discipline makes impossible the reorganization of production on a capitalistic basis. Wage wars of the workingmen—even when successful—do not bring the anticipated betterment of conditions of living; the workers can only become emancipated when production is no longer controlled by the bourgeoisie but by the proletariat. In order to raise the standards of productivity, in order to crush the opposition on the part of the bourgeoisie (which only prolongs the death struggle of the old régime and thereby invites danger of total ruin), the Proletarian Dictatorship must carry out the expropriation, only delay the process of disintegration and convert the means of production and distribution into the common property of the proletarian State.

Communism is now being born out of the ruins of Capitalism—there is no other salvation for humanity. The opportunists who are making utopian demands for the reconstruction of the economic system of Capitalism, so as to postpone socialization, only delay the process of disintegration and increase the danger of total demolition. The communist revolution, on the other hand, is the best, the only means by which the most important social power of production—the proletariat—can be saved, and with it society itself.

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 systematic plan. As the first step—socialization of the great banks which now control production; the taking over by the 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 co-operative 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 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 debt), 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 re-establish commerce by an accurate distribution of products; to which end the following methods are to be considered; the socialization of wholesale establishments, the taking over of all bourgeois State and municipal apparatus of distribution; control of the great co-operative societies, which organizations will still have an important role in the production-epoch; the gradual centralization of all these organs and their conversion into a systematic unity for the rational distribution of products.

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 co-operation, will retrieve the separation of physical and mental work which Capitalism has developed, and thus will Science and Labor be unified. 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.

During this great transition period the power of the councils must constantly build up the entire administrative organization into a more centralized structure, but on the other hand constantly draw ever increasing elements of the working people into the immediate control of government.

The revolutionary era compels the proletariat to make use of the means of battle which will concentrate its entire energies, namely, mass action, with its logical resultant, direct conflict with the governmental machinery in open combat. All other methods, such as revolutionary use of bourgeois parliamentarism, will be of only secondary significance.

The indispensable condition for successful struggle is separation not only from the direct servitors of Capitalism and enemies of the communist revo-

lution, in which role the Social Democrats of the Right appear, but also from the Party of the Centre (Kautskians), who desert the proletariat at the critical moment in order to come to terms with its open antagonists. On the other hand, there are essential elements of the proletariat, heretofore not within the Socialist Party, who stand now completely and absolutely on the platform of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the form of Soviet rule; for example, the corresponding elements among the Syndicalists.

The growth of the revolutionary movement in all lands, the danger of suppression of this revolution through the coalition of capitalistic States, the attempts of the Socialist betrayers to unite with one another (the formation of the Yellow "International" at Berne), and to give their services to the Wilsonian League; finally, the absolute necessity for co-ordination of proletarian action,—all these demand the formation of a real revolutionary and real proletarian Communist International. This International, which subordinates the so-called national interests to the interests of the international revolution, will personify the mutual help of the proletariat of the different countries, for without economic and other mutual helpfulness the proletariat will not be able to organize the new society. On the other hand, in contrast with the Yellow International of the social-patriots, the Proletarian Communist International will support the plundered colonial peoples in their fight against Imperialism, in order to hasten the final collapse of the imperialistic world system.

The capitalistic criminals asserted at the beginning of the world war that it was only in defense of the common Fatherland. But soon German Imperialism revealed its real brigand character by its bloody deeds in Russia, in the Ukraine and Finland. Now the Entente states unmask themselves as world despoilers and murderers of the proletariat. Together with the German bourgeoisie and social-patriots, with hypocritical phrases about peace on their lips, they are trying to throttle the revolution of the European proletariat by means of their war machinery and stupid barbaric colonial soldiery. Indescribable is the White Terror of the bourgeois cannibals. Incalculable are the sacrifices of the working class. Their best—Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg—have they lost. Against this the proletariat must defend itself, defend at any price. The Communist International calls the whole world proletariat to this final struggle.

Down with the imperialistic conspiracy of capitalism!

Long live the International Republic of the Proletarian Councils!

Clearing the Decks

(Continued from page 1)

two gentlemen, and who during a revolutionary period would inevitably act in the same way as has disgraced the name of Socialism in Germany? If not, does he expect the Spartacists to meet with the German Social Democracy in a Congress of international solidarity? Comrade Hillquit answers none of these questions, he dismisses the question of the Third International in a glowing generality!

What, according to Comrade Hillquit, is the function of the American Socialist Party in the immediate future? The United States emerges from the War the strongest capitalist country in the world; our "liberal" administration has become reactionary; the "progressive" element in politics and social reform has collapsed like a house of cards. The "only voice of protest and the only vision of progress have come from the Socialist Party and a negligible group of industrial workers and radical individuals."

The implication is that the Socialist Party is to take the place of this bankrupt "element," to continue, as it has been in the past, a "voice of protest" and a "vision of progress." Protest against what? Why against the failure of the capitalist government to be "democratic"—to protect the working class against itself. Vision of what? Of an infinite accumulation of petit bourgeois social

ing to be Socialist institutions, are two places where the red card is not honored.

In view of the facts enumerated, in view of the deliberate distortions and lies published in the Executive Committee's statement, the members of the Socialist Party should demand the recall of the Executive Committee, the resignation of the Executive Secretary and vote, "No," on the State Committee's referendum for the expulsion of Left Wing locals and branches.

reforms, such as were advocated in the Congressional platform for 1918—which Comrade Hillquit must mean when he speaks of the Party during the War as a "vision of progress."

It appears that the failure of peace, the governmental persecution and repression, the obscurantism of the capitalist press, terrorism, unemployment and intensified exploitation will soon awaken the American workers. Then will come the opportunity of the Socialist Party to convert them to Socialism—whatever that is, for Comrade Hillquit doesn't say. But in order to prepare for this, we must concentrate on propaganda and organization—"propaganda through all methods available, including political campaigns and legislative forums." This is the Left Wing position; this is the Left Wing's idea of political action—for the purpose of propaganda, and for no other reason.

But propaganda for what? Comrade Hillquit has pointed out that there are two theories struggling for control in the Socialist movement—that of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that of "sharing governmental power and responsibilities with the capitalist class . . . during the period of transition." It is all very well to plead for a "harmonious plan of action"—but what shall it be? Comrade Hillquit does not tell us; but he hints that we shall embrace the second of these two plans of action, and he proposes to read out of the Socialist Party all those who disagree with him.

In its particular application to the present situation within the Party the document is a blanket endorsement of the tactics of the Right Wing in Local New York. Hitherto the cry of all "leaders" has been unity, now Comrade Hillquit wants a split. Why? After months of agitation the Left Wing has broken down the opposition and succeeded in having a referendum taken on the necessity for a Na-

tional Emergency Convention. The present attitude of the rank and file forecasts that such a convention will be another St. Louis, and Comrade Hillquit and the other "leaders" doubt whether they can weather another storm. The only thing left is to split the Party before the convention.

This is exactly what Local New York is doing. This is why the "reorganization" of branches goes on apace. Disfranchise the revolutionary section of the membership, expel its spokesmen and the Party is safe for the official junta! The Party officialdom has found that it is unable to accomplish this purpose in time to save the National Executive Committee, hence the "leaders" call for a split.

But we refuse to split the Party, that is not our purpose. We will capture the Party and if the Right Wing wants to split, it must do the splitting, it must break away from the Party. The rank and file is behind our position, we are the Party, and when the time comes for clearing the decks we will handle the mop.

LEFT WING MEMBERSHIP MEETING

—ON—

SUNDAY, MAY 25th, at 1 P. M.

—AT—

MANHATTAN LYCEUM

66 EAST 4th STREET

NEW YORK CITY

TO ELECT AND INSTRUCT
DELEGATES TO NATIONAL
LEFT WING CONFERENCE