

The Capitalist World and The Communist International- Manifesto of the Second Congress of the Third Communist
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Workers of the World Unite!

The Capitalist World and The Communist International



Manifesto of the Second Congress
of the Third Communist International

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The Second Congress of the Communist International, representing thirty-five countries, met at Petrograd on July 17th, 1920, and continued its sessions in Moscow from July 27th to Aug. 7th. Its purpose was to form a clear idea regarding the international situation, to cast a retrospective glance over the road already traveled, and to establish the milestone of further struggle.

The World Congress of the Communist International unanimously addresses this manifesto to the workingmen and women of the whole world with the profound conviction that its aims are just and its methods correct.

1. International Relations After Versailles.

The bourgeoisie of the whole world is looking back wistfully upon the days just past. All the foundations of international and internal relations have been overthrown or shaken. Threatening clouds darken the future of the capitalist world. The old system of alliances and mutual insurance which formed the foundations of international equilibrium and of armed peace has been utterly destroyed by the Imperialist War. The Versailles Treaty has failed to establish any other adjustment in its stead.

Russia, Austria-Hungary and Germany in succession have fallen out of the world race. Some of the powerful empires which had themselves previously played a prominent part in the world's plunder have now become the objects of plunder and dismemberment. A new and vast field for colonial exploitation, beginning from this side of the Rhine, embracing the whole of Central and Eastern Europe and stretching as far as the Pacific Ocean, opens itself before the victorious Imperialists of the Entente. How can the Congo, Syria, Egypt or Mexico be compared with the steppes, forests and mountain lands of Russia taken together with the skilled labor power of Germany? The new colonial policy of the victors has worked itself out: the overthrow of the Labor Republic in Russia, the plunder of Russian raw material, the compulsory application of German labor power to work this raw material with the aid of German coal, using the German employer as an armed overseer — and the assembling of the manufactured products and the profits that go with them. The victorious Allies have inherited the program of "organizing Europe", which had been advanced by German Imperialism in the heyday of its military success. Thus when the vanquished bandits of the German Empire are to be put on trial by the Entente rulers, they will certainly be tried by a jury of their peers.

But there are defeated parties even in the camp of the conquerors.

Stupefied by the fumes of a chauvinistic victory which it had won for the benefit of others the French bourgeoisie fancies that it has become the ruler of Europe. But in reality France has never been in such slavish dependence upon the more powerful governments of England and America than she is today. France is dictating Belgium's industrial and military policy, thus converting her weaker ally into a subject province. While she herself is nothing but a larger Belgium in relation to England. For the time

being the English Imperialists allowed the French usurers to have their way within the limits of the continent assigned to them, thus shrewdly diverting from themselves the keen indignation of European and English workers, and turning it upon France. The power of moribund and devastated France is ephemeral and almost farcical. Sooner or later this fact will penetrate into the minds of even the French social-patriots.

I t a l y has fallen still lower in the scale of international relations. Deprived of coal and bread, deprived of raw material, having its internal equilibrium lost as a result of the war, the Italian bourgeoisie is incapable, though entirely willing, to realize in full measure the rights to plunder and violate even those colonial allotments assigned to it by England.

J a p a n, torn within her feudal shell by capitalist contradictions, stands on the verge of a great revolutionary crisis which is already paralyzing her imperialist aspirations, in spite of the favorable international situation.

Thus only two great powers remain: G r e a t B r i t a i n and the U n i t e d S t a t e s.

The English Imperialism has rid itself of the Asiatic rivalry of Czarism and of the menace of German competition. The military power of Britain has reached its apex. England has surrounded the Continent with a chain of subject nations. She has subjected to her control Finland, Esthonia and Latvia, thus depriving Sweden and Norway of the last vestige of independence and converting the Baltic Sea into a British bay. She has no rival in the North Sea. Her supremacy in South Africa, Egypt, India, Persia and Afganistan has converted the Indian Ocean into a British lake. Her domination on the sea makes her likewise mistress of the continent. Her power over the world ends only with the American Dollar Republic and the Russian Soviet Republic.

The U n i t e d S t a t e s was absolutely thrown off the path of continental provincialism by the world war. The Monroe doctrine — "America for the Americans" — which was the program of the newly fledged national capitalism, has given place to the imperialist watchword — "Make the Whole World America". Having started with exploiting the war and profiting from the European bloodshed by commercial and industrial deals and exchange speculation, America went on to direct participation in the world war, playing a predominant part in the destruction of Germany and now has its hand in all questions of European and world politics.

Under the banner of the L e a g u e o f N a t i o n s the United States tried to extend to this side of the ocean its policy of uniting various nationalities on a federative basis and hitch to its golden chariot the nationalities of Europe and other parts

of the world and govern them from Washington. The League of Nations was to be essentially nothing more than a world monopoly of "Yankee and Co."

The President of the United States, the great Prophet of Platitudes, had descended from Mt. Sinai to conquer the world with his Fourteen Commandments. Stockbrokers, ministers and men of business entertained no illusion whatever regarding the meaning of this new revelation. The European "Socialists" on the other hand, baked on the Kautskian oven, got into a religious transport, and danced like King David following in the wake of the Wilsonian ark.

But in coming down to practical questions the American apostle learned that in spite of the excellent exchange rate of the dollar, England still occupies, as heretofore, the first place on all sea routes which connect and divide nations, for she has the strongest navy, the longer cables and the greater experience in world plunder. Another obstacle in Wilson's path was the Soviet Republic and Communism. Thus the American Messiah resentfully deserted the League of Nations, which has become one of England's diplomatic offices, and turned his back upon Europe.

It would be childish, however, to suppose that American Imperialism, its first advance thwarted by England, is going to lock itself up within the shell of the Monroe doctrine. By no means. The United States is planning to create its own international system with its center in North America; both the Republican and Democratic parties stand by the policy of continuing to subject the entire American continent, convert all the countries of Central and South America into colonial dependencies, and thus create a counterpart to the English League of Nations. This end is to be achieved by means of a naval program, which in 3 to 5 years will create a navy surpassing that of Great Britain. This being a matter of life and death for English Imperialism, it results in a frenzied shipbuilding rivalry between the two giants, accompanied by a no less frenzied scramble for petroleum.

France, which had expected to play the part of arbiter between England and the United States, but which has herself like one of the lesser planets been drawn into the orbit of Great Britain, now finds herself unbearably burdened by the League of Nations and is trying to rid herself of it by fanning antagonism between England and the United States.

Thus the greatest Powers are preparing the ground for a new world encounter.

Instead of liberating the small nationalities the War has brought ruination and enslavement upon the Balkan nations, both victors and vanquished, and has Balkanized a considerable part of Europe. Actuated by their Imperialist interests the conquerors

adopted the policy of dividing up the devastated great powers into small separate national states. This policy bears not even a trace of the so-called national principle: Imperialism is essentially inimical to national boundaries, even though they be those of great powers. The new petty bourgeois states are nothing more than the by-products of Imperialism; it has created as temporary props for itself, a whole series of small nations, such as Austria, Hungary, Poland, Jugo-Slavia, Bohemia, Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Armenia, Georgia and others, some of which are openly oppressed while others are officially patronized, but all are treated as vassals. By means of its banks, railways and coal monopolies, Imperialism dominates these nations, dooming them to intolerable economic and national hardships, to endless conflicts and sanguinary strife.

What an overwhelming irony of fate that the reconstruction of Poland, which formed a part of the program of the revolutionary democracy during the first revolutionary outbursts of the international proletariat, should now be brought about by Imperialism for counter revolutionary ends, and that the "Democracy" of Poland, whose predecessors had died on the barricades of Europe, should be used as a foul and bloody weapon in the murderous hands of the Anglo-French bandits against the first Proletarian Republic in the world!

"Democratic" Czecho-Slovakia has likewise sold itself to French capital, and has furnished White Guard contingents against Soviet Russia and Hungary.

The heroic attempt of the Hungarian proletariat to free itself from the national and economic chaos prevailing in central Europe, and emerge upon the road of a Soviet Federation, which is the only means to salvation, was stifled by the combined forces of capitalist reaction at a time when the proletariat of the more advanced countries of Europe, misled by its parties, proved incapable of doing its duty both toward Socialist Hungary and its own self.

The Soviet Government of Budapest was overthrown with the assistance of the social traitors who after having stayed in power for three and a half days, were themselves overthrown by the unbridled counter-revolutionary canaille, surpassing in its bloody deeds the crimes of Kolchak, Denikin, Wrangel and other Allied agents... But even though temporarily crushed Soviet Hungary is like a beacon light to the toilers of Central Europe.

The Turks are unwilling to submit to the base peace terms dictated by the London tyrants. In order to get these terms fulfilled England has armed Greece and set her against Turkey. Thus both the Turks and the Greeks are given over to mutual destruc-

