

The Geneology of Right-Wingism

By John Everett

"MODERATE SOCIALISM"—Menshevism—Right Wingism—is the bastard off-spring of the *Communist Manifesto* and the Darwinian Theory.

The "moderate" or "constructive" Socialist has for half a century advocated a type of social evolution which shall slowly, and in an orderly manner, transform Capitalism into the Socialist Commonwealth by slow and almost imperceptible degrees. Basing their argument upon the proposition that Socialism is inevitable, and that in modern "democratic" states social change must be accomplished through the parliamentary system, the "moderate" Socialist arrives at the fascinating conclusion that all we have to do is to keep on passing laws—cunningly framed, of course, by Socialist politicians—that will, little by little, whittle away the capitalist system until it finally disappears beneath a mountain of statutes, constitutional amendments, city ordinances, and all the other by-products of the bourgeois "democratic" state.

In accordance with this program, the Right Wingers have created all that imposing array of "immediate demands" and "transitional programs," which call for laws establishing Unemployment Insurance, Accident, Death and Sickness Insurance, the Eight Hour Day, Abolition of Child Labor, Decrease of Armaments and—incongruously enough—Repudiation of National Debts!

These, of course, are not Socialist demands. They are petit bourgeois reforms. They enlist the active support of small property owners, little tradesmen, government employees, and adventurous professional men, the latter consisting largely of lawyers. During the last ten years, the old-line capitalist parties have seized upon many of these "Socialist" demands and planks in the "transitional programs," and put them into more or less effective operation.

In face of this, the "constructive Socialist" proudly insists that the capitalist class is digging its own grave, and that the "stealing" of "Socialist" demands by the capitalist parties demonstrates the truth of the proposition that social evolution must proceed upon moderate and constructive lines.

The "intellectuals" among the "moderates" appeal, among other things, to biology to support their theories; they quote Darwin's "Origin of Species" in proof that they are right.

The history of that book is extremely significant. It was first published in 1859, and shortly afterward was welcomed by the bourgeoisie of the world with great enthusiasm.

Only the dogmas of orthodox religion stood in

the way; but astute ministers of the Church quickly accommodated the story of the Creation of Darwinism, by explaining that the Bible really did not mean what it said, but quite the contrary.

At that time capitalism had just triumphed. It had secured almost undisputed control of the State, it was in its competitive heaven of adulteration and exploitation, its income from domestic and foreign markets was piling up fabulous wealth, and "everything was for the best in the best of all possible worlds." It was very much to the bourgeois interest that *no violent convulsion should upset credit or impede the normal flow of industrial production*. At the same time, the victors in the competitive struggle naturally dominated in industry, politics and social life, and having won "success" through competition, believed very earnestly in the virtue of competition and its corollary, *Laissez Faire*. It was the zenith of the Manchester School.

Darwin showed that the most intense struggle for survival runs through all forms of life—that struggle is the fundamental law of all life forms. And he showed that out of the struggle for existence, mercilessly waged in a "nature red in tooth and claw with ravin," had emerged types and species which had survived by reason of their fitness alone.

Coincident with this, he showed that the development of species from a common ancestry had been an infinitely long process, achieved by the unceasing accumulation of minute advantages inherited and developed by countless generations. And, looking over a world plunged in the misery of relentless competition for mere survival, he sighed from a great heart over the prospect of its endless continuation, with all its sufferings and triumphs.

Could any philosophy fit more completely the requirements of a system of exploitation and competition more merciless than any which ever plagued mankind? Could any philosophy so happily justify the horrors of the capitalist system? Above all, here was scientific justification of the desire of the property-owning class for a stable social system, free from those revolutionary movements which so sadly upset the very basis of capitalist production and profit!

Capitalism and Darwinism went hand in hand. They were the moulders of social thought. Only a few magnificently independent thinkers, like Marx, Bakunin, Kropotkin, could break the mould, and run into new and freer forms.

In this social mould, then, lie the foundations of "moderate, constructive Socialism"—the creed which dominated the Second International in 1914,

and collapsed at the first beat of the war drums—the "Socialism" so admirably represented by Kerensky in Russia, Ebert and Scheidemann in Germany, busy butchering the proletariat in the interests of international capitalism; and by the Right Wing in America.

As a matter of fact, the "moderate Socialist" had long before the war ceased to be a Socialist. He was a fool, deluded by half-baked economic theories, by an antiquated school of biology; he rushed headlong, not into the Socialist Commonwealth, but into the impossible servility of State Capitalism.

To this day, as he wanders uncertainly among the ruins of capitalism, the "Socialist intellectual" has not discovered that biological science has completely abandoned the Darwinian idea of the evolution of species by slow and age-long processes, as being not in conformity with observed facts. The "moderate Socialist" has not kept pace with the development of biology. He does not know the cataclysmic theories demonstrated by the modern biologists such as Mendel, De Vries, and others. These observers have discovered that sometimes species are produced almost overnight. Others have shown that for the survival of large numbers of species, the factor of "mutual aid" is as important as is individual victory for other forms of life in the cruder forms of the struggle for existence. In brief, the "evolutionary" theory of Darwin has been profoundly modified by the "cataclysmic" factor. The discovery of the nature of protoplasm by Dr. MacDougal, announced on April 28th in the *New York Times*, with its corollary of the possibility of creating new species from the ovaries of plants by the injection of certain chemicals, completely destroys the time-factor in the Darwinian theory of organic evolution.

It is significant of the utter break-down of the "constructive intellectual Socialist" school of thought, that the "cataclysmic" theory in biology and chemistry was developed at about the same time that European Labor Movement began to break away from the leadership of the "orderly evolutionists," and resort to drastic forms of direct action under the stimulus of syndicalism, industrialism, and other cataclysmic methods of social progress.

The bankruptcy of the "orderly evolutionary" philosophy of Darwinism today is no less complete than the bankruptcy of "orderly evolutionary" Socialism, confronted with the living fact of the Social Cataclysm.

Bourgeois Dictatorship in Local N. Y.

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In their fight to stem the tidal wave of the Left Wing, the Socialist-Bourgeois dictators have not hesitated to use police and thug power. Remember that the removal of furniture in the 17th A. D. succeeded under police supervision summoned by the Honorable Alderman Calman. Remember that the last official meeting of Local New York's Central Committee was adorned with the assistance of a Police Captain. Remember that a Murmansk Victory Arch Alderman hit a Left Wing spokesman at a Central Committee meeting! The Socialist Bureaucracy, exploits its control of the Party judicial power most brutally. Workers who show thorough class-consciousness are not permitted to join the Party, and reactionaries are rushed in. Vicious, unfounded charges are preferred against Left Wing spokesmen, and the stage is set for rendering them "swift" justice. The dictatorship of the Socialist-Bourgeoisie through its control of the Party courts, ruthlessly sabotages all efforts of the rank and file to discipline and bring justice to the Right Wing officials, Congressmen, and Aldermen for their utter disregard and continuous violation of Party rules and principles.

SOCIALIST PARTY AND BOURGEOIS SOCIETY.

Comrades! "The working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made State machinery, and use it for its own purposes." The bourgeois dictatorship, whether it be cosack or republican, can't be altered by our most sincere desires. The bureaucratic, arbitrary, geographic nature of the State must be discarded. The right to determine the form and nature of society must be the right only of those who do socially necessary work. Not the amount of wealth amassed, but the degree of social usefulness is to be the criterion of social standing in the Communist Society!

Comrades! The Socialist Party as at present organized and managed, can't over-night become a revolutionary Party. The dictatorship of the Socialist-Bourgeoisie cannot be destroyed by means of

the most vociferous resolutioning. The arbitrary, bureaucratic, legal technique of our Party constitution must be discarded. The amount of wealth and the social position attained in capitalist society are no longer to be criteria of Party standing. A real Socialist Party's aim will be the spreading of revolutionary propaganda, and not the mere holding of office in bourgeois legislatures. The reborn Socialist Party must base its tactics on science, and not on twentieth century Utopian-pacifist humanitarianism. Our members must all be trained in the principles of scientific Socialism. Education must supplant fantasy. The class basis must be our only basis in our attitude and policy toward all problems of capitalism.

THE TASK BEFORE US.

Comrades! The Revolution will never come through the good graces of the High Magistrates of capitalism! Nor will Communism be attained through worshipping the fetish of a political majority with capitalism intact! The Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie will never be undermined by parliamentary victories! The class struggle will never be won in the temples of Bourgeois Justice! Only revolutionary mass action organized into a Proletarian Dictatorship can sweep away the Bourgeois tyranny and inaugurate Communism! The Bourgeoisie must be expropriated. The capitalist must be ousted from power. All counter-revolutionary efforts of the Bourgeoisie must be ruthlessly suppressed. Sabotage of industry by Bourgeois leaders must be crushed at all cost. To lighten all this pain of the transition period between capitalism and Communism, the Proletarian Dictatorship must be set up.

Yes. Thus only will the workers learn to control industry and production and to manage the affairs of society. The victory of the proletariat will be attained through a world-wide federation of Soviets!

Comrades! The Socialist Party of A will

never become a proletarian organization through the good graces of the high bureaucrats of the Right Wing. Nor will the lessons of the Bolshevik and Spartacan Revolutions be learned by the American working class as long as the ownership and control of the Socialist Party by the Right Wing Bureaucrats remains intact. The Dictatorship of the Socialist Party Bourgeoisie will never be undermined by useless resolutioning, and purposeless, indefinite discussion. The struggle of the mass of the membership against the Socialist Party Bureaucracy will never be won in the domains of Party legal technique. Only revolutionary mass effort galvanized into a Left Wing organization can sweep away the tyranny of the Right Wing Bureaucracy and bring to birth an uncompromising Socialist Party, worthy of union with the Bolsheviks and Spartacans. The Socialist Bureaucracy must be uprooted. The Right Wing terrorists must be ousted from Party control. All attempts of the Right Wing directors to hinder the realization of the will of the mass of membership must be decisively defeated. Sabotage of Party life by the Right Wing chiefs must be stopped at all cost. In the transition period between petty-bourgeois and Communist policies and tactics, many pernicious influences and perilous situations will be encountered. To overcome all these difficulties, the Left Wing organization must be built and supported.

Thus only will the rank and file learn to control and manage the affairs of the Socialist Party. The victory of the revolutionary elements of the Socialist Party, i. e., of the Left Wing, will be attained only through the systematically united efforts of uncompromising Socialists the country over.

Left Wing Speakers, Attention!

The outdoor speaking season is upon us. Many branches will hold open air meetings, and requests for speakers are so numerous that we cannot supply the demand. We urge all those who are capable of speaking to send in their names and addresses to the secretary, 43 W. 29th St., and state what dates they are willing to give.