

The Holy Trinity of Capital

By Nicholas I. Hourwich

"HOLY TRINITY"—these are the three conferences now being held in Europe: in Paris, the "peace conference," the "international" social-patriotic congress at Berne, Switzerland, and the German National Assembly. To a certain extent an equality can be traced among these three parties, they compose an actual "trinity," for they have, as a matter of fact, gathered to work for a common cause—to save capitalist society and its "foundations" from the coming "red-Bolshevist" menace. The whole bourgeois world looks to them as its only salvation, but, alas, each one of them is destined to become a grave of all these hopes and strivings.

Take, for instance, one of the conferences—the Paris peace conference. Here is gathered the very "cream" and pride of the whole bourgeois diplomatic world—brilliant speakers whose hair has grown gray in the political struggle, adroit diplomats and learned professors. Great importance was attached to this conference. So many hopes were centered on it. With deep interest its sessions were anticipated. It really promised to become the "centre of the world's attention."

Now that it has gathered, great God, what bitter disappointment at the very beginning! With all the pomposity and solemnity attending it, with all the apparent importance of the questions under discussion, the sessions of the conference are pale, monotonous and gray, less interesting and provocative of a greater amount of yawning than even the sessions of the American Congress. . . . It seems as though the delegates themselves have no faith in the measures they are trying to carry into life.

They obviously feel that they are deciding matters without the presence of the "master" and that when this "master" shall become audible, all their plans and rainbow dreams will come to nought, hence the paleness and absence of fire in their speeches, and the wavering and uncertainty of their decisions. The Paris conference "has died before it reached maturity." It has not succeeded in diverting the attention of the peoples from that sole corner,—oasis on the earth's globe, where the fire of the hope of all toilers really burns,—the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic. Still less hope is there that the conference can carry out its main task—to strengthen the foundations of the decaying capitalist society, which is already creaking in all directions. . . .

And, as though in revenge for the fact that they have not succeeded in "astonishing the world" and "set fire to the waters," the representatives of all bourgeois powers now gathered in Paris have begun to quarrel among themselves over the straightening out of accounts, thereby still more increasing the universal hopelessness of the "international situation."

No less sadder and hopeless to the bourgeois eye—

though to the proletariat, fighting for its emancipation, more contemptible and repulsive—is the picture of the congress of the social-traitors of all countries now in session at Berne. This congress was called with the obvious and only purpose of strengthening the position

Withdraw from Berne!

Resolution adopted by the General Conference of the Central Executive Committees of the Russian, Lettish, Ukrainian, Esthonian and Lithuanian Federations of the American Socialist Party, February 9, 1919.

The so-called International Socialist Congress, apparently called upon the initiative of the social-patriotic "Inter-Allied Labor and Socialist Conference," accepted by Camille Huysmans, secretary of the defunct International, and now in session at Berne, is a counter-revolutionary Congress of "Socialists" most of whom during the war supported their imperialistic government.

The Berne Congress has denied participation to the Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviki) and the Communist Labor Party of Germany (Spartacans), and is itself repudiated by these two organizations of revolutionary Socialism.

The Berne Congress, moreover, is repudiated by the Italian Socialist Party, the Swiss Socialist Party, and by revolutionary Socialism everywhere; it harbors elements violently opposed to the Bolsheviki; it favors a bourgeois League of Nations, instead of a Socialist League of revolutionary nations; it is promoting a fraudulent bourgeois democracy instead of the proletarian revolution; it favors a Wilson peace of phrases instead of a Lenin peace of revolutionary deeds; it is a vipers' nest of social-patriots and betrayers of Socialism.

The Socialist Party of the United States, by participating in this Congress of the great betrayal, stultifies itself; abandons the revolutionary implications of the St. Louis resolution on the war; and acts directly against the proletarian revolution in Russia and in Germany, and against the developing world revolution.

Be it therefore, resolved:

1.—That the Socialist Party shall refuse to participate in the Berne Congress; we demand the immediate withdrawal of the credentials issued to John M. Work, Algernon Lee and James Oneal.

2.—We demand that our party participate only in a Congress in which participate the Communist Party in Russia and the Communist Labor Party of Germany, who in their revolutionary deeds express the policy of real Socialism and the New International.

3.—We demand an immediate emergency National Convention of the Socialist Party to discuss these and other vital problems, and to draw the party together for the revolutionary struggle which is coming—which is here.

of social-patriotism and opportunism in all countries and of attempting to win back the lost confidence of the workers thus saving them from the "contamination" of Bolshevism. This congress had to enact a

"motion picture" of the confidence which the working masses and the Socialists are alleged to feel towards the gathering in session at Paris and its "child" the league of nations (which is to all appearances not destined to be born at all).

Instead, however, of the touching enactment of an act of "reconciliation of classes," the Berne conference began with quarrelling and the flinging of mutual accusations by these "Socialists of the home pot"—quarrelling and recriminations which only add a still greater degeneration of social-patriotism in the eyes of the working masses. True, all these "veterans" and "leaders" of the Second "International," becoming wiser, tried to "reconcile" matters and conclude temporarily some sort of a compromise. The vocabulary of these sham-internationalists, previously rich with such words as "enemy," "enemy country," changed over night to words more appropriate to the occasion, but the general picture remained unchanged. The reconciliation became a failure because the language of these Berne delegates is not that of International Socialism but the vulgar language of nationalism and patriotism. On all participants in this congress lies the mark of Cain, the mark of social-treason. . . .

With the same object of saving the German bourgeoisie and with it the world bourgeoisie from the growing proletarian wave the German National Assembly was gathered at Weimar. The German bourgeoisie and its henchmen succeeded in triumphing over the German working class. The national assembly is not dissolved. In it the German bourgeoisie will get back all its rights which were lost during the revolution. The working class in the person of the Central Executive Committee now holding sessions at Berlin, not only does not protest, but even with a touching thoughtfulness declares its readiness to lay down its authority to the "all national" institution.—thereby again giving proof to the correctness of our assumption that not every Soviet, but only Soviets sharing the view of the principle of dictatorship of the proletariat, is the real exponent of the interests of the workers in their fight for liberation.

All things show apparently the success of the German bourgeoisie. Here, on the Weimar national assembly the sad eye of the world bourgeoisie can rest. But, alas! even on the apparently calm German horizon oftener and oftener begins to flare up lightning announcing the coming of a storm. In this "new storm" the working class of Germany will correct all its past errors. And this "new storm" is not a good omen for the German bourgeoisie. . . .

The three "strategic points" of the world bourgeoisie—Paris, Berne and Weimar—with historical inevitableness are destined to become the three grave crosses in the cemetery of world capitalism.

The Bolsheviki Repudiate the Berne Congress

THE Central Committee of the Russian Communist (Bolshevik) Party in a manifesto on the proposal to call together an International Conference at Lausanne declares that the project cannot be considered even as an attempt to revive the Second International. The latter ceased to exist during the first days of August, 1914, when the representatives of the majority of nearly all the Socialist parties passed over into the ranks of their Imperialist Governments. The attempts made to revive this International, for which agitation has been carried on in all countries throughout the war, emanated from elements standing mid-way, which, whilst not recognizing openly Imperialist Socialism, nevertheless had no idea of creating a third revolutionary International. The attempts made to go back to the pre-war situation regarding the labor movement crashed against the Imperialist policy of the official parties which could not at that time admit the appearance of an attempt to restore the International, fearing, as they did, that this might tend to weaken the war policy of the Government and the working class working in unison. To counteract these attempts the Imperialist Socialist parties undertook to change the conditions of representation of the national sections in the old International. The last so-called inter-Allied conferences in the Entente countries made it clear that this change had been effected. Great Britain was represented by a motley organization in which the Socialist parties could play no direct role. Italy was represented by men whose party never before belonged to the International and whose presence compelled the absence of the official Italian Socialist Party. America was represented by Gompers representing associations which never had anything to do with the Socialists.

As against the International of traitors and coun-

ter-revolutionaries organizing themselves for the purpose of forming leagues against the proletarian revolutions the world over, the Communists of all countries must rapidly close their ranks around the third International—already, in fact, existing. This third International has nothing in common with the avowed Socialist Imperialists or with the pseudo-revolutionary Socialists, who in reality support the former when they refuse to break with them and who do not recoil

against participation in the conferences of falsely called Socialists. The Russian Communist (Bolshevik) Party refuses to take part in these conferences which abuse the name of Socialism. It invites all those who desire that the third Revolutionary International shall live to take the same line; the task of this third International being to hasten the conquest of power by the working class.

The Communist parties of Finland, Esthonia, Lithuania, of White Russia, the Ukraine, Poland, and Holland are at one with the Russian Communist Party. The latter also regards as its associates the Spartacus group in Germany, the Communist Party of German Austria and other revolutionary proletarian elements of the countries in the old Austro-Hungarian Empire: the Left Social Democrats of Sweden, the Revolutionary Social Democracy of Switzerland and Italy, the followers of Maclean in England, of Debs in America, of Loriot in France. In their persons the third International which is at the head of the world Revolution already exists.

At the present moment when the Socialist Imperialists of the Entente, who formerly hurled the most violent accusations against Scheidemann, are about to unite with him and to break the power of Socialism in all countries, the Communist Party considers that unity for the World Revolution is an indispensable condition for its success. Its most dangerous enemy now is the Yellow International of the Socialist traitors—thanks to whom Capitalism still succeeds in keeping a considerable portion of the working class under its influence. For the conquest of power by the workers let us carry on an implacable struggle against those who are deceiving them—against the pseudo-Socialist traitors.

Mass Meeting

in

Grand Opera House

Corner of Dover and Washington Streets
Boston, Mass.

Sunday, February 16, 1919
at 2 P. M.

IME KAPLAN

General Secretary Lawrence Strike Committee,
and other prominent speakers

Auspices Boston Local Socialist Party

ADMISSION FREE