

# The Voice of Impotence and Desperation

By A. Stoklicky

**B**EFORE us we have the last word of the National Executive Secretary of the Socialist Party of America, A. Germer, in his letter to the National Executive Committee, read it carefully. There is desperation in every word, the ire of the opportunist in every phrase.

In order that the fright and desperation of the opportunistic wing of the party before the oncoming "red peril" can be better understood, I quote the "theoretic" epistle of Germer, that clear representative of our Scheidemanns, dated March 18:

To the National Executive Committee.

Dear Comrades:—

A situation has developed in the Party, that in my judgment, demands the most serious thought of the National Executive Committee. I have reference to the proposed Special National Convention.

Ordinarily, I would not comment on the subject but for several very important reasons, I feel that the pending referendum is ill-advised and calls for a statement from you. The reasons are as follows:

First—In view of the hysteria created by the war fans, I doubt whether we, at the present possess the proper judicial balance to weigh the world situation in the light of calm deliberation and formulate a practical policy and program of action. I am not so sure that we are sufficiently devoid of the passions and prejudices requisite to thoughtfully consider the world problems. There is a tendency in the Party that, if unchecked, will head us toward the same costly experiences of ultra-impossibilism and anarchism from which the Socialist movement has several times suffered in years gone by.

Second—A convention will cost anywhere between \$15,000 and \$20,000. Is it wise that we go to that tremendous expense this year when we must have another convention during April or May of next year, for the purpose of nominating our presidential candidates and formulating our platform and program. It is my judgment that we can well afford to postpone action until the proper time for the regular National Convention, because whatever program we may adopt this year, may be entirely out of date for our campaign next year, and the only result accomplished by holding a convention this year will be that we are out \$15,000 or \$20,000.

Third—We are just launching a nation-wide campaign for release of all war-time prisoners. This cannot be done without funds and to anyone, who has had experience in the collection of money, it is per-

fectly clear that to make a multiplicity of appeals, simply injures the success of all of them.

Fourth—We have undertaken a campaign for the collection of a headquarters' fund. Of course, I concede this is of minor consequence as compared with the other points that I have raised, but yet, it is a factor that should be taken into consideration when the members vote on holding or not holding a convention this year.

This "theoretic" document would not be considered seriously if it was not from the Secretary of our party.

The first reason which, according to his own words, has made Germer speak is especially interesting. Germer doubts the ability of the American class-conscious proletariat, organized in the American Socialist Party to "thoughtfully consider the world problems." Next year, in the opinion of the author of the letter we may be fit for an elaboration of our program and methods of action.

Moreover, our National Secretary speaks, in his letter of desperation, that it is impossible this year to draw the program for the next one. It will be necessary to change it anyhow. One cannot help here from proving the truthfulness of this "deep" statement of our "theoretician," that a man must buy his suit of clothes every year and it is very wasteful to buy them for the outgrowth! Does A. Germer measure the entire movement by his own measure? Does he think that if he, himself, is not big enough to judge about the events of the world that the entire party is like him also? Oh no, he does not think this; he has a much better opinion of himself than of the party, which continues to endure at the head of the movement, opportunists of his kind. But A. Germer is big enough for one thing. He has noticed a growing movement, injurious from his point of view, of so-called "impossibilism," and notwithstanding the appearance of such a dangerous phenomenon he is still opposed to the convention. Why he must put an end to these "terrible" impossibilities, if he is consistent in his actions, is because "the Socialist movement has several times

suffered (from them) in the past." And this is where the absurdity of the efforts of A. Germer and other like him is evident, in delaying the convention.

When events of such impotence are going on in the party which awake even the National Secretary from his lethargy then, indeed, the members of the party must speak on it, somewhere, in an organized way. The convention of the entire party is the place where these questions can be discussed thoughtfully. But the convention is a waste of funds. The convention will cost \$20,000. That is true and it is a big sum, but if we divide it among the members it will be less than 20 cents for each member. A. Germer can keep this argument to himself. The existence of the party is more important than 20 cents to every member.

They fear this convention because they feel no ground under their feet. Wringing his hands in despair, Germer, in his letter shouts about "injury and probable disaster" which this convention will bring. He would be completely right if he added that it is the opportunism that is perishing in our party and movement. Once for all the atmosphere must be cleaned from the stinking, rotten corpse. We must sweep out the originally opportunistic element. We must speak frankly and clearly as A. Germer has done in his letter. And through the despair and ire of his words he is right when he says that it is the Left Wing, which he in his Scheidemannistic manner, calls Anarchism. He is afraid of Revolutionary Socialism, he looks angrily at the rays of the rising sun, which disturbs his slumber—the slumber of a dead man.

We, the revolutionary followers of Karl Marx, Engels and Lenin can only greet the beginning of the new era of the Socialist Party. Our muddy creatures, the Scheidemannists, will not deny that the time has come to speak frankly and clearly on these questions. Is it compatible for these two elements to be in the Socialist Party? The members of the party must demand the immediate call of the extra party convention. Everyone who is opposing this is a traitor to the interests of our party.

## The Victory of the Hungarian Proletariat

**"O**UR forces have been augmented"—all conscious proletarians can say in regard to the fact transmitted by wire, concerning the establishment of a Soviet republic on the banks of Danube—in Hungary. Bolshevism has been marching on with gigantic strides breaking down all obstacles on its way, and completely confirming the opinion of those revolutionary Socialists who have said that the modern society has entered the stage of a social revolution. It is beyond the power of all these dwarfs of the petty bourgeoisie—Kerenskys, Scheidemanns and Karolyis—to stave off the triumphant march, and it is beyond their power to confine the world's storm into one small section. The ideal of a dictatorship of the proletariat born out of the depths of the working class is becoming the slogan of large masses. The events in Hungary are a bright and significant illustration of this.

The ideologists of the bourgeoisie and the phrasemakers of petty bourgeois Socialism have been annoying us lately by their assertions to the effect that only in economically backward Russia could the form of Soviet government be adopted. They have been trying to prove that "enlightened" and economically advanced Europe will reject the ideal of a dictatorship of the proletariat, which, according to the fathers of revolutionary Socialism, should triumph in a period between the abolition of class dominance of the bourgeoisie and the complete realization of the Socialistic ideal. The formidable developments on the European continent which lead directly towards the strengthening of the idea of a Soviet form of government, have proved with sufficient clearness that precisely this form of state construction, proclaimed by our teachers and for the first time realized in Russia, is the type for the proletarians of all other countries. That which towards the end of the past week took place in Hungary must, sooner or later, take place also in other countries.

Observe: the gigantic growth of the Spartacan movement in Germany, a growth which is taking place despite all titanic efforts of the bourgeoisie to stop it and drown it in rivers of blood; the tremendous growth of the class struggle in Great Britain; the fast increasing revolutionary activity of the Italian and French proletariat—are not all these occurrences precursors of a new gigantic movement in the direction of the social revolution, the road towards which has been lighted by the flaming torch lit in Russia?

In all the dispatches from Paris, London and Washington can be detected notes of great apprehension for the skin of the bourgeois society. Apparently, the proclamation of a Soviet Republic in Hungary has created a confusion at the so-called Peace Conference in Paris.

What shall the defenders of the modern capitalist society do now? To attempt, with the aid of the forces of the bourgeois Czecho-Slovak government, to crush the Hungarian proletariat? But, indeed, Czechia itself stands on a Bolshevik volcano as the all-bourgeois press is forced to confess.

Turn to Rumania? But, indeed, even the Rumanian bourgeois State is going to pieces, and the sending of "loyal" troops to Hungary can serve as a signal for a revolution in Rumania herself.

To expect help from the government of Padarewsky? But even at the Polish Shipka everything is not well. The Polish government of the bourgeoisie resembles itself a hastily built hut which at any moment may blow up to pieces.

The French soldiers also are becoming untrustworthy. We have already seen the statement made by two French regiments on the Odessa front, which refused to fight the Russian Soviet troops. It is significant in this connection to note that the Clemenceau government refrains from sending considerable French forces to Russia, and is trying to send Italians and Serbs in their places, as they did on the Archangel front.

It is hardly possible that the troops of other nations will agree to play the role of executioners of the proletarian revolution.

We send our fraternal greetings to the Hungarian proletariat. Its activity is to be interpreted not only as directed against its own national bourgeoisie, but as a bold resistance to the impudent plans of the Allied imperialists, whose appetites have grown wild.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the best road towards the final triumph of the Russian, Hungarian and the world revolution.

## The Communist Congress

**T**HE Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviks) recently issued a call for an international Communist Congress of Socialist parties, or left wing groups in the Socialist movement which accept the principles and tactics of revolutionary Socialism, to organize our forces for the world revolution that is coming. This call excluded the American Socialist Party, but invited the left wing groups of the party. This exclusion was justified, since the official policy of the party is not at all revolutionary.

But our party is being revolutionized by events and by the intensive agitation of the left wing in the party.

Local Boston of the Socialist Party, accordingly, through the Central Branch, recently adopted a motion for a referendum on the international Congress, as follows:

That the Socialist Party international delegates now being elected stand instructed to participate only in an International Congress or Conference called or participated in by the Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviks) and the Communist Labor Party of Germany (Spartacans).

This motion has already been seconded by a number of branches of the party, among them being Local Warren, Ohio; Local Moline, Ill.; Finnish Branch,

Allston, Mass.; 13th and 17th Ward Branch, Reading, Pa.; Lettish Branch, No. 2, Roxbury, Mass.; West End Jewish Branch, Boston, Mass., and the Esthonian Branch of Boston.

The proposed referendum will put squarely up to the membership of the Socialist Party the issue of the party's international policy. Our N. E. C., through its unconstitutional selection of three delegates to "represent" the party at the Berne Congress of the Great Betrayal, of the pro-war Socialists and social-patriots who are sabotaging the proletarian revolution, has made it urgent that the membership repudiate this betrayal of Socialism by deciding that our party shall participate *only* in a revolutionary Socialist Congress and International, affiliate *only* with the Bolsheviks, the Spartacans, and those parties or groups who pursue a similar revolutionary policy.

But this is not all. The adoption of this proposal should, to make it effective, proceed together with the revolutionizing of the party, with the repudiation of the officials and the policy which in the test have been demonstrated as reactionary and potentially counter-revolutionary. The party members must rally to the left wing, they must make the left wing the party, they must conquer the party for the party, for revolutionary Socialism.