

# 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 (Bolsheviks) and the Communist Labor Party of Germany (Spartacists), 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 Bolsheviks; 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."—quarreling 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.