

# An Open Letter to Workingmen

By Sylvia Pankhurst

Comrades:

The evidence that comes to us from Russia cannot be disregarded. Reports of all unbiased witnesses agree. Arthur Ransom and Phillips Rice, who went to Russia as liberal correspondents for capitalist newspapers, Albert Rhys Williams, the American war correspondents, Col. Raymond Robbins and other representatives of the American Red Cross, Jacques Ladoul of the Society of Friends; these men all tell us that Russia is now the paradise of the workers, that the land and the industries and the houses are socialized; that prostitution and poverty are abolished; that titles and class distinctions are no more; that education is free to all, right up to the universities; that peoples schools of science, drawing, painting, sculpture and so on are springing up everywhere. Russians who come to this country regard with pity the children of our slums, comparing them with the children of Soviet Russia.

What is actually being accomplished in Russia is what the workers and idealists have dreamed of for generations. The Golden Age of the workers is established, and the rule of the master class is abolished. From Russia, socialism has spread to Hungary, and now to the new socialist republic of Slovakia. The capitalist attack has been extended to Hungary and soon it will be directed against Slovakia.

The employing classes publish lies about the Workers Republics in order that they may crush them unhindered. But remember that the Workers Republics can never be crushed by the capitalist class without the help of the workers in this and other countries! An appeal has come from our French and Italian comrades to join with them in striking against capitalist intervention.

The sailors, seamen and dockers of Italy refuse to allow troops, munitions or any supplies whatever to be carried from Italian ports or in Italian ships to Kolchak, Denikine or other counter-revolutionists who are fighting the Soviets.

The French soldiers are refusing en masse to go to Russia. French soldiers in the Ukraine fraternized with the Red Army, and French sailors mutinied in the Crimea and compelled to return to the French battleships to France. As a result of their action the revolution triumphed in South Russia and the rich food reserves of the Ukraine were restored to the Workers Republic, and the people of Russia rescued from starvation.

But aided by troops of all nations, and by British ammunition, guns, aeroplanes, tanks and all the most terrible implements of warfare, the counter-revolutionary General Denikine is again advancing in the Ukraine and striking northward towards Moscow, whilst British, Canadian, Australian and New Zealand soldiers are menacing the Soviets in the North; and, under the orders of the Big Four, and compelled by the dread of the British Naval Blockade, Finns, Estonians, Germans and Poles are also attacking Russia.

The French and Italian workers rightly tell us that Britain holds, that we

British workers hold, the key to the situation. They already have made it impossible for their Governments to do anything effective to aid the counter-revolutionaries, but munitions of war are pouring out of this country to the counter-revolutionaries; and our Naval Blockade has its strangle-hold on Russia.

The French and Italian comrades have arranged demonstrations to take place on Sunday, July 20th and Monday, July 21st, the first day to be a day of meetings; the second a day of strike. Our Norwegian comrades have formed a blockade committee of their own, which they hope to make more thorough and efficient than the capitalist blockade, and Norwegian seamen are refusing to sail on ships bound for the counter-revolutionaries of Russia. They appeal to British seamen and dockers and all other workers to join them in this blockade.

The Labour Party Congress, by a two-to-one majority, declared for the principle of direct action to stop the intervention against the Workers' Republics of Russia and Hungary.

The first exhibition of direct action should be given on July 20th and 21st. To do that successfully means hard and determined work NOW, in the workshop, in the trade union branch and on the Trades Council. There is not a moment to be lost; the time to work is now.

If the Demonstration Strike should fail to warn our Government to withdraw from Russia, then steps must be taken for a stronger and longer protest.

The Labour Party Congress, by a two-to-one majority instructed its Executive to arrange with the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress to call a special Conference to decide on the unrestricted use of Labour's industrial power to stop the intervention.

The capitalist press is already saying that nothing will come of that resolution; that it was merely a pious expression of opinion and that the Executives will let the matter drop now the Conference is over.

If that should happen, and should our

Government succeed in crushing the Workers' Republics, and if we fail to take the direct action which could save them, we shall share the responsibility for the murder of Lenin and Trotzky, Kameneff, Lunacharsky, Alexandra Kollontay, Bela Kun and hundreds of thousands—nay, millions of comrades who are unknown to us; for the massacre will be very great; the streets of Russian towns and villages ran red with the blood of popular martyrs when the 1905 Revolution was destroyed; but the vengeance of the reactionaries will be infinitely greater and more terrible should the Workers' Republics be overthrown.

Should our Government succeed in crushing the Workers' Republics, and should we take no action to stop them, we shall share their guilt, and our own hope of Socialism will be wrecked for many a long year to come.

But this must not and will not happen, and already the London District Committee of the Docker's Union has advised its members to abstain from working on any ships bound for Russia, or assisting in any way the overthrow of the Russian Proletariat. Moreover, it demands that the money invested by the Union in War Loan be immediately withdrawn and that its members shall join the General Strike on July 20th and 21st.

This is but one of the many indications that the workers are awaking; that the tide of reaction has turned and that the workers of the world are about to act together.

Comrades, let us realize the importance of the struggle. Let us spend ourselves in our efforts to rouse the workers of this country in this tremendous fight.

1. Remember the strike of July 21st.
2. The Conference to decide on further industrial action which must be held as soon as possible.
3. The blockade of the Counter-Revolutionaries who are fighting against the Soviets.

**Let us act together for the international solidarity of the workers, remembering that we have nothing to lose but our chains!**

## The "Arrogance" of Michigan

OAKLEY CALVIN JOHNSON,  
State Sec'y, S. P. of Michigan.

When the delegates from Michigan at the Left Wing Conference presented the Manifesto of their Emergency State Convention, calling for the organization of a real Socialist Party, they were met by a peculiar situation. The demand of the Russian delegates for the immediate formation of a Communist Party had been turned down, the argument of the Majority being that there still remained a possibility, at least, of capturing the National Convention of the Socialist Party of America. Moreover, signs had already appeared of irreconcilable differences between factions whose existence in the Left Wing had scarcely been suspected by the membership at large. But the delegates from Michigan, still hoping that a working basis might be agreed upon, and acting under instructions from the

Emergency Convention of the expelled State, asked the Left Wing Conference to endorse the Michigan Call for a convention in Chicago on Sept. 1, as a tentative basis for the formation of a Communist Party, PROVIDED the Left Wing failed in its capture the old party convention on August 30. The reply to this by the leaders of the Majority was, the Michigan delegates are "arrogant." And so again the Majority, flippantly shouting "menshevik," turned down a second proposal for constructive party organization.

Now this charge of "arrogance" made against the Michigan delegates is entirely baseless. The facts prove just the reverse. Considering seriatim the alleged evidences of this "arrogance," the

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