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Stabbing Soviet Russia

SOMETIME ago we called attention to the recrudescence of friendly words about Soviet Russia emanating from American Governmental sources. Steffens, Weyl and Bullitt, sent to Moscow by the President, returned to Paris with enthusiastic reports of the Proletarian Dictatorship; and semi-official reports from Washington indicated that it was only a question of time before the Soviet Government should be recognized. This appeared the more probable from the treatment accorded Comrade Martens by the authorities, who flatly refused to prohibit his activities here.

However, we had noticed in the past that whenever the United States Government gave vent to amicable sentiments toward Soviet Russia, this action was almost invariably followed by some particularly outrageous attack upon the Russian people. So we warned Russia to "keep her hand on her watch."

The new offensive heralded by the Bullitt-Steffens Mission is now developing. In concert with the Governments of England and France, the press reports that the Government of the United States is about to recognize the Kolchak autocracy as the de facto Government of Russia!

Already the White Guard Government of Finland, headed by the butcher Mannerheim, has been recognized by the Allies—including America. The papers report that fifty thousand Finns and Allied troops have been concentrated at Helsingfors for an attack on Red Petrograd.

The new organ of the Estonian League (which is composed of eighteen bankers and business men who want the Allied bourgeoisie to guarantee their right to exploit their own people) announces that the United States Government has loaned the Estonian Provisional Government some \$20,000,000, with which to buy clothing, munitions and guns to supply the Estonian White Guards in their attack upon Soviet Russia from the west.

In the east the United States Government is aiding the dictatorship of Kolchak, the tsarist, the mass-assassin who destroyed even the remnants of constitutional government in Siberia. Eight thousand American troops are being sent to murder Russian workers and peasants, and destroy the government set up by them, and restore the worst reaction of the Romanovs. In the west, the United States Government is co-operating with the Finnish White Guards who butchered seventy thousand workers in one day, with Swedish, Danish and Norwegian bourgeois volunteers, many of whom fought in the German army during the war, and with the exploiters of the people in the Baltic Provinces, the pro-Germans and the Tsarists.

The Allies' Brest-Litovsk Peace

THE delegates of "Socialist" Germany, headed by that grimy-handed proletarian, Count von Brockdorf-Rantzau, have reached Versailles, and the terms of the Just Peace are out.

By them Germany is dismembered, ruined, forced to pay staggering punitive indemnities (the first instalment to be \$5,000,000), and garrisoned by Allied troops until the payments are complete. West Prussia and Danzig are split off for the benefit of the mock-State of Poland; the Saar Valley is practically handed over to the French capitalists to exploit (besides Alsace-Lorraine); the German colonies are taken away; the German army and navy are reduced permanently to the size of the New York police force; German rivers are "internationalized"; German tariff walls are broken down; and

a strip of territory fifty kilometers east of the Rhine is forever "demilitarized."

Thus, "peace on the basis of the Fourteen Points", promised by our eloquent but ineffective President, and concurred in by the Premiers of the virtuous Western Powers. Thus the "victory of democracy over autocracy." As Bernard Shaw predicted long ago, the victorious Powers have acted as Germany would have if she had won—and perhaps a little worse. Again and again the lesson is being driven home with terrible distinctness, for all the world to read: *Power is the only thing which counts; Might is Right.*

The position of Germany at this time is an eloquent indictment of "Moderate Socialism." Having chosen to make their bed with the capitalist class, the Kaiser Socialists in control of the German Government must lie in it. Better to cringe under the whip of the Allied imperialist nations than to submit to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Russia having cut adrift forever from capitalism, rose from defeat refreshed and powerful, with allies in all the countries of the world. Starving, disorganized, ringed 'round with enemy nations, she combats the world. Germany, with thousands of well-trained troops, great quantities of war-supplies, and even foods, leans upon the shattered sword of her broken capitalism, which is turned only against her own proletarians, to subjugate them to the cruel conditions of a conquered people.

The Peace of Brest-Litovsk defeated Imperial Germany. It was the sudden revelation of the hypocrisy of German ambitions which destroyed the morale of the German armies. Said General Hoffmann, the German military representative at the Brest-Litovsk Conference, in an interview with the correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News*, published March 14:

"Immediately upon signing the peace with the Bolsheviks we discovered that we had been conquered by them instead of having conquered them. Our victorious army became rotten with Bolshevism. Our military machine became the printing press of Bolshevik propaganda. We did not dare to send a corps of the German Bolsheviks to the western front"

The Peace of Versailles, heralded with so much idealistic cant, turns out to be more disgraceful than the Peace of Brest-Litovsk. The masks have fallen; the oft-repeated "democratic" war-aims of the Allies appear in their true colors—an ignoble scramble for the loot, a bandits' peace.

We Socialists rejoice at it. We feared that perhaps Wilson's smooth hypocritical phrases might be embodied in the peace treaty, to deceive the world as to its real nature. We were anxious lest even now, after so many disillusionings, the European and American working-class might be won again by the plausible slogans of Liberalism.

But now we need not worry. There lies the shocking document in all its coarse literalness. It matters not whether the German delegates sign or no. The Social Revolution is certain.

A Coalition Convention

MR. JAMES DUNCAN, vice-president of the A. F. of L., is quoted as saying that his organization will have nothing to do with the strikes threatened on July 4th in protest against the imprisonment of Eugene V. Debs. He goes on to say: "We do things in a regular and legal fashion and do not engage in flighty outbursts; we have agreements with our employers which we intend to carry out."

Apart from the fact that Mr. Duncan by implication thus does what Congress wanted to do but dared not—declares strikes to be illegal—apart from the fact that he announces it to be the policy of the A. F. of L. to support the employers against the workers where, through the legal trickery of union lawyers, the workers are used against each other; apart from these facts we would like to know what the officialdom of our Party expects to gain from a convention in which people of this stripe and organizations which support them, will be represented? Debs has been quoted to support the idea of the Amnesty Convention; *The Milwaukee Leader* editorially chastises the Left Wing for opposing participation by the Party in such a convention, and suggests that we are obstructing the work of releasing our imprisoned comrades by so doing.

It is generally accepted that the political prisoners will not be released until the workers release them. To those who do not accept this we would cite the Mooney Case. And the only way the workers can bring pressure to bear is through the exercise of their economic power, through the general strike. But Mr. Duncan announces in advance that the A. F. of L. will have nothing to do with the general strike for this purpose. The Liberal organizations who will be at the convention have no economic power, one of the spokesmen of the labor movement says labor will not move, therefore the convention will simply be a talking machine, and at the best will pass a few weak resolutions pleading for amnesty or pardon, which will be thrown in official waste baskets. Perhaps it may even influence a partial pardon, which indications point will be the government policy, and maybe under

this Debs will be released—because of his advancing years. But Debs has publicly stated that he does not want such a pardon, that he will not accept it unless all political prisoners are freed, and it is very doubtful if he would accept any release at the hands of men like Duncan. He, like many others of our imprisoned comrades, has stated that the workers themselves must release him.

If the Party is really in earnest about the liberation of the political prisoners, then we must organize along Socialist and revolutionary labor lines. There has been enough talk, action is necessary now, and we can safely leave the pleading and the pardoning to the "Liberals."

The money wasted in such a convention could be utilized to better advantage in organizing the movement to the end that its voice will be the voice of power, of the economic might of the class conscious workers. Let the "Liberals" take their own course; our course is clear; the Socialist and revolutionary labor movements must act on their own responsibility. Only in this way can we achieve results, and give due honor to those who are suffering that the cause of Socialism may live and thrive.

Tactics of a Desperate Oligarchy

THE statement concerning the Left Wing, issued by the Executive Committee of Local New York and printed in *The Call*, is the crowning act of a series of illegal expedients to preserve the power of a little group of political bosses in Local New York.

Every branch where a Left Wing majority has recently made its appearance has been ruthlessly disrupted by the "machine." Against the will of the majority of the members of the 17th A. D., the 2nd A. D., and the 8th A. D., the Executive Committee has ordered a "reorganization", which means the disenfranchisement of most of the members of those branches. Without daring to risk a referendum, the Executive Committee has dispatched punitive expeditions, usually headed by "Socialist" Aldermen, who have locked headquarters, and in one case, at least, carried off the furniture with the help of the police.

These petty larceny proceedings, however, have raised a storm of protest wholly out of proportion to the results achieved. Therefore the Executive Committee has decided to make a clean sweep of the entire Left Wing, and for that purpose has appointed a committee "to reorganize Local New York." This means, to expel all branches and all members affiliated with the Left Wing organization.

The petty political bosses in control of the Executive Committee, who dominate Local New York, established long ago a "steering committee" of their own, which effectively blocked democratic action in the Party here for years. It is therefore hardly consistent for them to accuse the Left Wing of action by caucus. They have deliberately opposed Party control of the official Party press; they have made use of every parliamentary trick to thwart the will of the rank and file; they have held up for months the application cards of new members, and put them through the third degree as to their opinions on labor organization; they have acquiesced in the formation of political cliques on the East Side, and the establishment of a system of patronage, by means of which "good" Comrades were seen: on lecture tours and given jobs as "organizers" in Socialist unions.

It is as a protest against these methods that so many of the rank and file have joined the Left Wing. And to this perfectly legitimate movement within the Party the bosses oppose strong-arm tactics.

At the last Central Committee meeting, when the police had finally been brought in by Right Wingers, Karlin suddenly announced that there would be no more meetings until called by the Executive Committee. No motion to this effect was ever made or voted upon. And no motion was ever made or voted upon to "empower and instruct the Executive Committee to reorganize Local New York." These statements, as all other statements of fact in the Executive Committee's manifesto, are perversions of the truth.

The Left Wing is charged with "ridiculing all ideas of democracy." It is true that we ridicule capitalist "democracy," which is merely an instrument of the ruling class to oppress the workers. It is this kind of "democracy" which is defended by the Executive Committee—a form of government which permits them to retain control over the Party for their private benefit, and prevents the rank and file from dictating Party policies. This is why the Right Wing, which has been for years organized in a close and secret machine, objects when the rank and file organizes openly and in accordance with the best Socialist precedents.

It is because the Right Wingers are not revolutionary Socialists that we refuse to submit any longer to their domination; it is because they are opposed to Socialism that they must go.

Let the Executive Committee try to "reorganize" Local New York if it dares!