

Problems of the Representative of Soviet Russia in America

By Nicholas I. Hourwich.

A FEW days ago the proletariat of America joyously greeted the news of the appointment here of an official representative of the Socialist Republic of Russia. Celebrations on this account are still going on. Everywhere meetings are being held to greet this newly appointed ambassador. Socialist and labor organizations from all parts of the country are sending telegrams of greetings and letters, promising aid and expressing willingness to help in every way the success of the cause officially represented here by him; and equally dear to the conscious proletarians of the entire world—the cause of the Proletarian Revolution in Russia, the creative-constructive work of the toiling masses already begun there to strengthen and deepen the foundation of the new Socialist-communist system.

But the revolutionary Socialist organizations of the American proletariat would have made an inexcusably fatal error had they—with an idea that now there is someone here who, without their aid, could take care of Revolutionary Russia—limited themselves only to these greetings and promises, failing to translate all this into revolutionary activity.

The great significance of the appointment here of a Soviet representative consists precisely in that this appointment opens before the American proletariat new perspectives and new opportunities; opportunities of revolutionary activity in direct contact and cooperation with the Russian proletariat and the Soviet Government of Russia. The significance of this appointment lies in the fact that it represents a great appeal, reminding the American workingman that the emancipation of the workers can be accomplished only by the workers themselves.

Not for a single moment do we doubt the great importance of the purely "diplomatic," so to say, activity here of the Soviet representative. Still less are we inclined to doubt the magic power of the Russian gold—the influence of this gold on the minds and disposition of American plutocracy has already manifested itself in a most obvious manner. But, with all due allowances, giving due justice to all this, we should like to sound a warning to the American workers—and to Comrade Martens himself—against any undue exaggeration of the importance of his purely diplomatic-commercial functions here. We would consider it a fatal mistake if purely diplomatic-commercial "efforts" become the centre of his activity.

However, as regards "diplomatic" activity, Comrade Martens himself evidently entertains no sentimental illusions. In an interview given by him and published the other day, he definitely and unequivocally stated:

The Russian Socialist Federated Republic does not care about political recognition by the United States. . . . All that we want is trade recognition. Comrade Martens perfectly understands that, in the world of capitalistic relations, "commerce"

in the words of Kuzma Prutkov—"is the real thing, and all the rest—nonsense." "Commerce" will create definite social-economic relations, a definite "equilibrium

of social forces," after which, as Comrade Martens has it, "the flag, i. e., political recognition, will follow.

We should like to go a little further in this absolutely correct, truly Marxian reasoning. We should like to emphasize that "commerce" itself—the establishment of commercial relations between Russia and the United States—will come only as a result of definite social forces—the very equilibrium upon which depends the success and the salvation of the Russian Revolution in general.

What, indeed, will guarantee the success of the Russian Proletarian Revolution? The Soviet Bolshevik leaders in Russia, including Comrade Lenin, have answered that question on several occasions.

Comrade Lenin has stated that the final triumph or the ruin of the Proletariat Revolution in Russia depends on whether the revolutionary movements of the proletariat and Proletarian Revolutions in other countries will come to its assistance. And in this phrase one finds the key for the understanding of the present political situation!

If the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in other countries triumphs, then the conquest of the Russian Revolution, the Russian Soviet Republic will be saved; and as a result, there will come also "commerce" and "trade" and all sorts of other relations. If, on the contrary, the revolutionary working class movement in other countries fails, it will strike a mortal blow at the Revolution in Russia. And no "commercial and trade relations" can help Russia in that event. Why, after all, should the capitalist world, capitalist America included, need "commercial relations" with Socialist Russia, while the cherished hope of the entire capitalist world is something greater, namely—to crush the revolutionary resistance of the Russian proletariat, to suppress Socialism in Russia, and then swallow the whole of Russia—with all her commerce, trade and natural resources?

Under present day political conditions, the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in all countries is the main thing, is the center of gravitation, is everything—both for proletarian Russia and for the emancipation of the proletariat of all the world. The success or failure of the proletarian movement, the strength of the Bolshevik movement, in countries ruled by capitalism, is at the pres-

ent moment a barometer of the "favorable" or openly hostile, attitude of capitalist governments towards Soviet Russia.

The establishment of commercial intercourse between Russia and capitalist countries, with all its intrinsic advantages for the economic life of Russia, is on her side to a certain degree similar to the signing of the Brest Litovsk treaty, merely a means to "gain time."

All the forgoing, in our opinion, tends to indicate a "line of behaviour" for the revolutionary Socialist organizations of the American proletariat, as well as for Comrade Martens as the representative of the Russian Soviet Government.

The center of his attention, the ever-constant "compass" directing his activity here, should be the interests of the revolutionary Socialist movement among the American proletariat, the interests of the advanced guard, the hope and guarantee of the success of that movement—the Left Wing of the American Socialist Party.

We are fully aware that in his manifold activities he may not always, or even frequently, be in a position to act under the banner of the Left Wing; but he should take great care that his attitude does not provide "bait" for the Right and "Moderate" social-opportunists, thereby unconsciously to "stab in the back" the only bulwark and hope of proletarian Russia—those whom it invites to its International Communist Congress—the Left Socialist Wing.

With these wishes, which are at the same time Bolshevik greetings to Comrade Martens, we conclude our article.

We believe that the "compass" recommended by us, and revolutionary Bolshevik sensitiveness, will help Comrade Martens to orientate himself in difficult moments, and will guarantee success to his coming serious and responsible work.

We heartily wish him that success.

The Jewish Federation of the Socialist Party, which is one of the most powerful props of the Right Wing, and whose action in "reorganizing" Downtown Jewish Branch 2, threatens to change a normal Left Wing Branch into an abnormal Right Wing Branch, is publishing a magazine called *The International*. This magazine, evidently with the idea of camouflaging its Right Wing tendencies, reprinted in its first number an article by Comrade John Reed from *The Liberator*.

Comrade Reed gave and gives no permission to *The International* or any other Right Wing Socialist paper to reprint his articles.

The Left Wing endorses only one Jewish paper in New York, *Der Kampf*, organ of the Jewish Left Wing.

On Saturday evening, April 12, the Central Committee of Local Kings instructed the Executive Committee to send copies of the *Left Wing Manifesto and Program* to all members of Local Kings; and to call a Borough meeting for May 11, to consider the question of endorsing the *Left Wing Manifesto and Program*.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY CITY COMMITTEE, LEFT WING SECTION, SOCIALIST PARTY, LOCAL NEW YORK, APRIL 14, 1919.

WHEREAS, Comrade L. C. A. K. Martens has been appointed by the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic as its representative in the U. S. of America, and

WHEREAS, the form of government established in Russia by Workmen, Peasants and Soldiers represents the highest ideals of the revolutionary Socialists workingmen of the world, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that we greet most cordially their representative, Comrade Martens, and assure him of our undivided support.