

tho the welfare of thousands of other human beings is involved.

Crimes of Capitalist Dictatorship

The Russian Revolution encountered the full force of the capitalist dictatorship. The Russian bourgeoisie first attempted to crush the workers' revolt by resorting to sabotage, closing factories, disorganizing transport, trying in every way to create a scarcity of goods which would discredit the Soviets in the eyes of the masses.

When these tactics failed they attempted to overthrow the Soviet government by armed insurrection, with the aid of Tsarist generals and adventurers like Alexiev, Krasnov and Kaledin.

After the native Russian brand of counter-revolution had broken down, the Allied capitalist governments took a hand in the game. They revived the moribund civil war by instigating the Czecho-Slovaks to make a treacherous and unprovoked attack upon the Soviets; they sent troops to Vladivostok, Archangel and Odessa; they supplied arms and other materials to the various counter-revolutionist leaders; and by imposing a ferocious blockade they sought to break the Revolution by starvation.

To reproach the Bolsheviks for adopting dictatorial measures in such a crisis is as fatuous as it would be to reproach them for opposing Kolchak and Denikin with the Red Army, and not with Tolstoyan tracts.

The creation of the Extraordinary Commission, authorized to dispense with legal formalities in making arrests and conducting trials, was absolutely necessary in order to detect and suppress the plots of the bourgeoisie and the activities of gentlemen like Mr. Paul Dukes, the selfconfessed British spy, who slipped into Soviet Russia for the amiable purpose of blowing up bridges, creating disorder in the rear of the Red armies and otherwise accentuating the misery which was caused by the Allied blockade.

Of course a dictatorship has its unpleasant features. The senile Kautsky, the sentimental Mrs. Snowden, and the philosophic Mr. Bertrand Russell all lift their voices in horror at the difference between the realities of Soviet Russia and the ideals of a perfect communist state.

The Bolsheviks, however, considered the obligation to preserve the conquests of the Revolution even more pressing than the obligation to satisfy the complaints of such estimable critics as Herr Kautsky, Mrs. Snowden, and Mr. Russell.

The proletarian historians of the future will not fail to see in the success of the Russian Revolution the best possible vindication of the instrumentality by which it was preserved against all the attacks of the capitalist world: the proletarian dictatorship.

The Paris Commune, the historical predecessor of Soviet Russia, failed, among other reasons, because its leaders were divided and vacillating in their ends, because they were unable to guide its destinies with firmness and decision in the critical moments which mark the success or failure of any revolutionary movement.

Dictatorship Is Historical Necessity

Some Socialists profess to believe that the dictatorship of the proletariat, while it may be necessary in Russia, will prove superfluous in countries where the industrial workers constitute a majority of the popula-

tion. There is little historical or psychological basis for this viewpoint.

In the first place, the mere fact that a man is a workman does not make him a revolutionist. If he is a Pole, he may quite possibly hate the Jews more than the capitalists. An Ulster workman often sides with the Protestant employer, rather than with his Catholic fellow-workers.

Now a revolution does not take place because a majority of the people are converted to some definite scheme of social and political reorganization.

It comes because the government has broken down so completely that it has not only lost the power to supply the most elementary necessities of life to the masses, but also the control of the armed forces which ordinarily sustain it.

A revolution is made by the unconscious majority which is primarily moved by a blind, fierce determination to sweep away an intolerable existing order; but it is preserved and given form and direction by the efforts of the conscious minority which is morally and intellectually prepared to build up a new system upon the ruins of the old.

This active, intelligent minority was represented by the Puritans in England, by the Jacobins in France, and by the Bolsheviks in Russia. In each case it was compelled by the pressure of events to assume dictatorial powers in order to save the revolution from the attacks of external and internal enemies.

There is no reason to suppose that a period of proletarian dictatorship can be dispensed with in countries where the city workers are a majority of the population.

For a numerous proletariat, in a capitalist state, presupposes a powerful, intelligent and comparatively numerous bourgeois ruling class.

And it will certainly be fully as difficult for the numerically strong working classes of the western European countries to overthrow their capitalist rulers as it was for the numerically weak Russian proletariat to overthrow the Russian bourgeoisie, which was not only weak in numbers but untrained and incompetent in the exercise of power as a result of Russia's late emergence from primitive feudal conditions.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is not a Russian accident, or a hypocritical slogan devised by the Bolsheviks to justify their retention of power. It is just what Marx defined it: a historical necessity of the social revolution everywhere.

GO TO THE MASSES!

In response to the great demand, we have issued in pamphlet form the Manifesto of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the workers of all countries. This is the proclamation of the Third Congress on the world situation.

This pamphlet also contains the historic withdrawal statement of the Committee for the Third International of the Socialist Party, in which the comrades now active in the WORKERS' COUNCIL tell why they left the Socialist Party.

The price of this pamphlet is 10c. per copy; six cents per copy in lots of 10 or more. Send all orders to the WORKERS' COUNCIL, 80 E. 11th St., New York City.

The Socialist Party and Soviet Russia

Morris Hillquit, altho not a candidate this year, was the principal speaker at the ratification meeting that opened the municipal campaign of the Socialist Party in New York.

As becomes the leader of the party, Hillquit dealt with policies and principles rather than with immediate campaign issues.

After assuring the assemblage that the vote for the S. P. mayoralty candidate will have a world-wide effect, Hillquit took up the attitude of the S. P. toward Soviet Russia, for, as he declared, "no political party has a right to exist without defining its attitude toward Russia."

But let us quote Hillquit's formulation of the S. P. position on the Russian Revolution as reported verbatim in the New York Call:

"We Socialists of America do not accept all the new social doctrines that emanate from Moscow. We do not seek to establish a Soviet Government in the United States. We strive to bring about the working-class control of the government and industries based upon the principles of democracy and majority rule.

"We are bitterly opposed to terrorism and oppression exercised by the capitalist class; we do not propose to supplant them by working-class terrorism and oppression. We hope to bring to all mankind a steadily increasing measure of freedom and happiness; we do not believe that our whole social ideal can or will be realized in one blow, and we do not propose to martyrize and sacrifice the present generation for the assumed benefit of the generations to come."

No, the S. P. Socialists do not accept all the ideas which the Russian Revolution brought to the fore.

In fact, we are not aware of any ideas emanating from Soviet Russia to which the S. P. now offers its hospitality.

The S. P. does not propose to secure all powers to the workers, but intends to share these powers with bourgeois elements as well. It expects to gain control of the government and the industries by the prevailing democratic methods, rather than a social revolution, and intends to continue the present system of government after the workers have acquired control.

The American workers have found bourgeois democracy so helpful in their present struggles in West Virginia and Kansas that the S. P. hates to part with it.

It places its hopes for the emancipation of the workers from wage slavery on democracy and majority rule.

At the Detroit Convention of the S. P. last summer, Hillquit spoke glibly about proletarian dictatorship and even offered a resolution favoring a modified interpretation of it, which was, however, defeated by the California-Wisconsin brand of Socialists.

Perhaps Hillquit thought that that resolution would satisfy the left elements, and the party would not face another split which it could not very well afford.

According to Hillquit, the S. P. expects the workers to vote themselves into power. The ballot is the sacred instrument which will do the trick. Small wonder that the S. P. leadership is only interested in elections when reform proposals can be traded for votes and offices.

The second paragraph of Hillquit's speech quoted above brands him and his party, whose principles he

was espousing when he spoke these words, as foes of Soviet Russia who should be classed together with such anti-Bolshevik "Socialists" as Savinkov, Burtzev and their ilk.

Hillquit places proletarian dictatorship on the same plane with capitalist oppression and exploitation, and the New York Call, of October 13, in an article by its editor under the caption "Where We Stand," having heard its master's voice, expresses the same counter-revolutionary sentiment.

By declaring that the S. P. does not "propose to martyrize and sacrifice the present generation for the assumed benefit of the generations to come," Hillquit imputes that Soviet Russia does martyrize and deliberately sacrifice the present generation in a gamble for alleged future benefits.

What the implacable enemies of Soviet Russia have charged against the Russian Revolution in order to justify their support of the various counter-revolutions, Hillquit now states in a prepared speech as the position of the Socialist Party.

All that Hillquit and the others in the S. P. wrote and spoke about the Russian Revolution during the past four years seemed to have been intended to fool the workers, who were stirred to exaltation by the message of the Russian Revolution, and to make them believe that the party was genuinely happy about the noble achievements of the Russian proletariat.

Now that the party has lost all of its revolutionary elements, it feels free to open its counter-revolutionary heart and give expression to all the hatred and venom against the Russian Revolution which lay there accumulated and subdued.

After thrusting his knife in the back of Soviet Russia, against which all forces of reaction have been arrayed for the past four years and which are still waiting like vultures for the opportunity to inflict deadly wounds upon its starved and weary body. Hillquit chants the song of all the "Socialist" enemies of Russia, appealing for aid to the famine-stricken districts and asking that Soviet Russia be allowed to work out its own problems.

The New York Call carried for a few days an advertisement appealing for Russian relief, which was headed, "The Russian Government Sinned Against Capitalism," implying thereby that Russia's present plight could be traced to its struggle against world capitalism. Mr. Hillquit and the S. P., whose organ the Call is, should demand a retraction from the paper. It is not against capitalism, but against revered democracy, the newly found Messiah of the disinherited proletariat, that Soviet Russia has sinned, and sinned most outrageously, according to Hillquit.

The Socialist Party has disintegrated, not only in members, but in Socialist principles as well. It has bartered its Socialist soul for votes and offices. It has become, not only an open enemy of the Russian Soviet Republic and its bravely struggling workers, but also a counter-revolutionary and anti-Socialist force in the labor movement of America. As such it should be considered, and as such it should be fought by all the militant and class-conscious workers of this country.