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THE WHITE TERRORISTS ASK FOR MERCY

A Comparison of the Persecution of Revolutionists
by the White Terror and the Treatment of Counter-
Revolutionists in Soviet Russia.

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THE WHITE TERRORISTS ASK FOR MERCY

I. UNITED STATES CAPITAL AND SOVIET RUSSIA.

American capitalism stands on the crossroads. On the one hand there runs the natural path of uncompromising enmity to Soviet Russia; on the other, the path leading to an easier fulfillment of capitalism's greatest commandment: "Thou shalt make profit."

On the one hand there are Russian Soviets of workers and peasants who boldly attacked and defeated the first fort of the capitalist world, the Russian empire, who broke the rule of the capitalist class in that country and established the first workers' and peasants' government. In the eyes of capitalism the Soviets are not only usurpers whose conquest the capitalist world can never suffer to let go unchallenged, but the Soviets are also a most dangerous example for the exploited masses of the world.

On the other hand there are possibilities for profit in Soviet Russia that capitalist greed cannot pass up. Kill the Soviets—yes; but while they live, why not do business with them?

Thus American capitalism feels its heart torn between love and duty; love for war on the Soviets, the duty to make more profit, or the duty to fight the Soviets, and love for easier profits. This struggle is nearing its climax. England, France, Japan, Italy, all staunch warriors against the Soviets, have succumbed to their love for profit-possibilities and have recognized the Soviets. A gnawing pain is torturing United States capital at the thought of barred profit-possibilities in Soviet Russia. This pain grows to an unbearable proportion when it witnesses the nonchalance with which the English, French and Japanese "allies" are suppressing their hatred for the Soviets to steal a march on American capital by taking first choice in Soviet business.

In this hour of crisis international menshevism appears on the scene attempting to keep America on the straight path of capitalist duty against Soviet recognition. International menshevism tries to act as capitalist conscience. The mensheviks have not even learned that much from Marx that the seat of capitalist conscience is not in the heart, but in the pocketbook.

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II. INTERNATIONAL REACTION.

The Russian revolution fell like a bombshell and disturbed the circles of the beneficiaries of a system that coins profit out of the misery of millions. Just at the time the diverse governments of these beneficiaries were engage in a grand slaughter, the world war, in which the workers of the different countries were forced into uniforms, armed with the latest devices of systematic mass murder, and pitched against each other to determine which group of their respective capitalist masses should have a right to claim the whole world as their domain. The Russian revolution shed the first ray of hope into the heads and hearts of millions of wage slaves the world over. After the collapse of the

central empires as a result of the influences of this revolution, the war came to an end and with it there seemed to be at hand the end of the capitalist system itself. The proletariat of Hungary victorious, the workers of Germany in a death grip with capitalism, the workers of Italy in revolt, the Russian revolution seemed to have sounded the death knell of the old order.

In this hour of trial of the capitalists, international menshevism, social-democracy, arose as a welcome savior. Against the progress of the proletarian revolutionary wave, international menshevism undertook to organize international capitalist counter-revolution. Murderous uprisings organized by the mensheviks in Russia and paid for by French, English and American capital; betrayal of the workers of Italy by the Italian brand of mensheviks, by Turati and D'Aragona; mass murder of workers by the German breed of menshevism, the Noskes, Scheidemanns and Eberts; betrayal of socialism by the American breed of mensheviks, the Hillquits, the Bergers, and Cahans; betrayal in London, treachery in Paris, that is the history of the international of menshevism since 1914.

International menshevism temporarily reconquered the world for capitalism. Only Soviets withstood their treacherous attacks. With the aid of the social democrats. reaction triumphed. As a result of this the dungeons of the capitalist countries are crowded with men and women who have committed the most unpardonable crime of the capitalist order—to fight for the interests of the workers. Tens of thousands of them are in prison. There they are tortured, starved, murdered. The victims of international reaction in their agonies of tortures and death raise their accusing finger at the Second International, at international menshevism, at the Noskes and Scheidemanns, at the Turatis and D'Aragonas, at the Longuets and MacDonalds, at the Bergers and Hillquits, at the Hilferdings and the Abramoviches, and charge them with murderous treachery against the cause of the working class.

But this gentry of the Second International, accomplished charlatans all of them, set up a mask of persecuted virtue and answer with a cry of "Stop thief!" The agonies of the tortured tens of thousands of victims of reaction in Germany, in Italy, in the Baltic states, in the Balkan states in India, in all of the capitalist states, rend the air. But international menshevism with a hypocritical mask of piety and humanitarianism demands the release of "political prisoners" in Soviet Russia.

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III. POLITICAL PRISONERS IN SOVIET RUSSIA.

International Menshevism has sent a special representative to the United States, Raphael Abramovich, member of the central committee of the Menshevik Party of Russia and member of the executive committee of the Second International. The ranks of the anti-Soviet recognition phalanx in the United States are wavering. Business with Russia holds promising prospects. No true capitalist will permit even the most rigid principle of anti-recognition to stand in the way of profit.

This change of heart is watched with fear by the Russian breed of Menshevism. Since the Russian proletariat has made the task of saving capitalism an unsafe profession at best within that part of the world controlled by the Soviets, the Russian Mensheviks have made their living by painting most terrible pictures of Bolshevism, to the edification of big capital and to the terror of the international petty-bourgeoisie. Seeing these pictures losing their terror the Mensheviks are preparing to paint them over anew. Citizen Abramovich is entrusted with the task of accomplishing this in the United States.

Abramovich raises the demand of release of political prisoners in Soviet Russia.

Who are the "politicals" in Soviet Russia? "Socialists," answers Citizen Abramovich; "Socialists, who are persecuted for interpreting Socialism different from the interpretation of the Bolsheviks; Socialist brothers of the Bolsheviks incarcerated by them only because their idea of Socialism differs just a little from that of the Bolsheviks."

When the day arrives in a not too distant future, when the victorious German proletariat under the leadership of the Communist Party of Germany will hang Noske on the highest gallows that can be found in the empire, these Abramoviches will insist that Noske fell victim to unwarranted persecution by the Communists because of his different interpretation of Socialism.

Soviet Russia is the conquest of a victorious proletariat.

The imperialist war developed the antagonism between the old order of capitalism and the approaching new order, Communism, to the climax of a decisive revolution. The old order fought every inch of its ground. First it battled under the cloak of Czarism and then under the disguise of democracy. The proletariat created Soviets as an organism that unified and, under the leadership of the Communist Party, directed its struggle. The barricades of revolution and civil war rose high all over the vast empire of Russia. The struggle raged thru years. On one side of the barricades the defenders of the coming order, the Soviets, lead by the Communists; on the other side the defenders of the old order, mercenaries of imperialism, "Socialists," Mensheviks, under the leadership of capitalism. The Soviets of the workers and peasants were victorious. After the victory they pulled out from behind the barricades their enemies: the whole coterie of defenders of capitalism. These were held up to the contempt of the workers of the world—all of them; Monarchists, mercenaries of capitalism, Socialist Revolutionaries, Mensheviks. It was then that the latter began their wailing: "We are Socialists." The revolutionary justice of the Soviets proved that they were caught with guns still warm in their hands, fighting against the revolution. As bitter enemies they fought the Soviets; but as "Socialist" brothers they demand mercy from them.

Their pitiful cries cannot deceive the workers of the world. The defeat of these "Socialists" denoted the victory of the workers and peasants of Russia. Their punishment cannot atone for their crimes against the proletarian revolution of the world. Their insistence on their "socialism" only aggravates the crimes they committed.

IV. THE PROLETARIAN JUSTICE.

"Motives of revenge do not determine proletarian justice" said the presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the U. S. S. R. when it transmitted the sentence of death against Boris Savinkov into ten years imprisonment. Boris Savinkov, the most energetic and ablest organizer of counter-revolutionary uprisings is one of the "politicals" in Soviet Russia. When, at the instigation of International Menshevism the "politicals" of Solovetzsk, one of the camps for "politicals" in Soviet Russia, attempted to organize mass escapes, the management of the camp decided as a counter-measure that all the prisoners in the camp must be in their rooms after six p. m. and that the electric lights will be shut off at 12, midnight. Counter-demonstrations were organized by one of the prisoners, Bogdanov. Bogdanov is another of those revolutionists" and "socialists" that are held in prison in Russia "just on account of a little different interpretation of Socialism." But incidently Bogdanov did not confine himself to interpretations. Under the leadership of Savinkov and in the pay of French imperialism he helped to organize the bloody uprising of Jaroslav in 1918. Fit protegees of Mr. Abramovich, these "politicals" are indeed. Only Mr. Abramovich should stop his wailing about imprisoned Socialists and should declare openly what is his heart's desire. His sympathies are with the capitalist counter-revolution. The capitalist counter-revolution victorious would have gladdened his heart. The counter-revolution defeated saddens him and opens the heart in pity for the defeated and imprisoned counter-revolutionists. In the solitude of his chamber Citizen Abramovich and his treacherous Second International contemporaries pray for the defeated counter-revolutionists; but in public they whine about poor and persecuted "Socialists."

"The Union of Soviet Republics covers one-sixth part of the globe. Hundred and fifty million inhabitants populate it. The counter-revolutionists of the world spent their combined efforts on Russia to organize conspiracies and conspiratory circles. And in spite of all that there are today only five hundred 'politicals' in the land of the 'Red Terror,'" says Comrade Magyar in his pamphlet, "The Red Hell." But these five hundred, participants in anti-Soviet uprisings, stipendiaries of English, French and American capital, accomplices of Noulens, Poincare and Curzon, tools of Polish lackeys of French capital, are uppermost in the minds of Abramovich and his kind. Fifteen thousand workers were murdered by Noske and his social-democratic second internationalists. Abramovich does not see that. He shakes hands with Noske as a Socialist and brother, and both, Abramovich and Noske, unite to demand the release of five hundred "politicals" from the "Red Hells" of Soviet Russia.

Let us take a look at these hells. Most of the five hundred "politicals" of Soviet Russia are interned in Solovetzsk and Susdal both former monasteries. Healthy and beautiful surroundings and excellent climate characterize both institutions.

What do the prisoners say about these "Hells"?

Belowodsky, a Menshevist, writes in a letter smuggled out of Sus-

dal: "Please do not worry about my fate. There exists here, if I may say so, a good management. Here is my menu: Breakfast: tea; dinner: soup, meat, potatoes; Supper: meat again. Rye bread we get plenty and tasty. Wheat bread also. Then we get a glass of milk, tea, sugar and besides cigarettes (tho I do not want to start smoking). We take walks twice a day in a grove of fruit trees."

Swetianky, one of the former leaders of the Menshevist youth organization writes from Susdal, sub rosa, "I assure you that I have never been better off than I am now. Sometimes I feel awful when I think that you cannot get one fifth out there of what I do get in here; I repeat that I am well. I am not privileged in here but all are kept like I am. As I told you in my last letter I am free all day long and pass the day together with the others. We take walks, read together, have talks and so forth."

From the camp at Solovetzk writes N. L. Muchin, also sub rosa: "I spent my days fishing in the little lake. Lately our rations have been increased and we always get plenty. For dinner we get two plates together with soup and preserved fruit. For supper one plate. There is always sugar. Bread we get more than we need. Aside from that we get from the local authorities herring, and sometimes butter. We also get milk and wheat bread. It is very agreeable that this is no prison; no bunks, no locks, no window bars, and no spy-holes in the doors. One really feels that this is not a prison but a camp. There are plenty books and new ones are constantly added. Modern, classical, and scientific literature are represented. One works when one feels like it. Time passes fast and almost unnoticeable. Our room faces the lake and from our window we have a wonderful view."

We could cite many more letters of that sort. All smuggled out of the camp and written under conditions that guarantee that they reflect the real conditions in camp and the real opinions of the writers. The prisoners receive the visits of their wives who stay with them for days and weeks. They organize socials and study courses of all kinds. They are permitted free social intercourse between them. Men, some of them caught red-handed in the act of attacking the Soviet power with arms in their hands; others confessed conspirators against the first workers' and peasants' government, still others proven against in the pay of foreign capital against the power of the Soviets—those are the inmates of these camps. These are the martyred "Socialists" paraded by Abramovich; and such is their punishment for crimes of conspiring with international capital against the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia. These are the "Red Hells" of Soviet Russia where these "Socialists" are interned passing their time by reading, fishing, and studying.

Nearly ten thousand revolutionary workers and Communists wither their lives away in German dungeons, sent there by Socialist police officials, persecuted by Socialist ministers of state, sentenced with the help of Socialist judges, and kept in prison by a Socialist president. They are convicted of the crime of having fought for bread for the starving workers, for having demanded the application of the eight hour day as guaranteed by the constitution, for having fought against capitalism

which extracts golden profits out of the misery of the German proletariat.

But Abramovich and his kind does not see this life and death struggle of the German workers. He does not hear the appealing cries of the thousands of proletarians starved and tortured in German prisons by German Socialists. He does not notice the agonizing cries of the suffering families of those unhappy victims of capitalist "justice" administered by socialists. He only sees his five hundred counter-revolutionary "Socialist" friends in the "Red Hells" of Soviet Russia who sit peacefully at the shores of a quaint little lake and fish. And their "suffering" inspires Abramovich to join hands with the Second International to join hands with Severing, the socialist minister of Prussia who is responsible for thousands of workers lingering in prison. He joins hands with Ebert who, as President of Germany, refuses amnesty to the victims of Severing. He takes Noske's hands which are dripping with the blood of thousands of German proletarian fighters against capitalism—and hand in hand with these murderers and persecutors of workers he demands the release of—proven agents of international capital, of conspirators against the first workers' and peasants' government, against Soviet Russia.

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V. ABRAMOVICH: THE GUARDIAN OF DEMOCRACY

The Second International is a champion of democracy. Standing on the pedestal of this championship its leaders, such as Abramovich and Noske, fight for the release of "politicals" in Russia on the ground that these politicals are victims of a dictatorship. Out of their love for democracy the Abramoviches try to spin a rope with which they hope to strangle the Soviet Republic of Russia and thus kill all revolutionary aspirations of the workers of the world.

"To make the world safe for democracy" was the slogan given to allied imperialism to cover up the real nature of its death grip with the imperialism of the central powers, by Woodrow Wilson. Today this slogan serves as a cloak to cover up the services of international menshevism for international capital. Dame democracy is passed off to the workers as a virtuous fairy ready to use her magic rod to assist the workers in their struggle for their birthright. But over five years of post-war reign of this fairy have given millions of workers the world over the chance to see her stripped of all her deceptive raiments. They know her now in the naked ugliness of a shameless prostitute for the ruling capitalist class.

These workers have experienced the strikebreaking and union destroying activities of American democracy. They have witnessed how the new-born German democracy fed its starving workers with bullets. They have heard the appealing cries of their Polish brothers tortured in the goals of Polish democracy; peremptorily they ask of Citizen Abramovich: You who are so solicitous for the welfare of your counter-revolutionary "socialist" brothers in Soviet Russia, you who defend capitalist democracy against a proletarian dictatorship, why do you not demand the release of the thousands of revolutionary workers languish-

ing in the prisons of Germany? Why do you and your Second International comrades not raise your voices in protest against the cruel torments inflicted on the thousands of revolutionary workers in Poland? Why don't the mass murders committed by the Bulgarian government against the workers and peasants of that country inspire you to at least a feeble remonstrance? Why, Citizen Abramovich, cannot the streams of proletarian blood shed by the Roumanian bourgeoisie, by the unspeakable Horthy government, by the lumpenproletarian murder bands of Mussolini, why do not all these cold-blooded and murderous campaigns against the international proletariat create a sign of shame in your face for your contemptible role as a defender of that system?

There is only one answer possible:

Because the defense of democracy by Citizen Abramovich is only a gesture used to hide his bitter hatred for everything proletarian; because his plea for his "socialist" brothers in the "Red hells" of Soviet Russia is a conscious appeal in behalf of the bitterest enemies of the working class; because he is a representative of the bourgeoisie fighting against the interests and aspirations of the workers.

His sympathies for democracy have their roots in his clear understanding of the role of democracy as the last line of defense of capitalism. He fights in the trench of democracy as a defender of the old order—capitalism—and as an enemy of the new order—Communism.

VI. WHITE HELLS.

Poland.

While Abramovich, arm in arm with Noske, Hillquit, Dasczinski and MacDonald try to incense the workers of the world against the "tortures" that their counter revolutionary "Socialist" brothers "suffer" in the "Red Hells" of Soviet Russia, these Socialist prisoners, all of them betrayers of the cause of the workers and peasants, sit on the lake of the Monastery of Solovetzki fishing, or sit in the spacious rooms of the Monastery of Susdal enjoying classical literature.

But in the meantime there are six thousand revolutionary workers and peasants in the clutches of bloody bourgeois justice in Poland. During the last year the Polish bourgeoisie executed 109 political prisoners at the rate of more than two a week. Lawyers who dare to defend Communists are imprisoned. In the gaols of Borislav the brutalities of the police resulted in the death of three workers in short succession. In the dungeons of Bielostok the manhandling of proletarian prisoners is the daily pastime of inhuman jailers. The beastialities of Polish democracy make insignificant even the most exquisite cruelties of medieval chambers of horror. In Lodz the military authorities tortured the 19 year old worker, Engel, to death. Then they sentenced him to be shot and carried the sentence into effect on the dead body. Membership in the Communist Party is punished by that "democracy" irrespective of the age or health of culprit with imprisonment of four to twelve years. Happy are those who can find release from the torments of prison life thru a benevolent death. In Warsaw the police arrested the worker Kalinowski. No charge could

be lodged against him. He was beaten until his bowels burst and death released him from the hands of his torturers.

"Kurjer Wetschernij" a bourgeois newspaper in Lodz contains the following item:

"THE SECRETS OF THE JAIL IN TARGOWA STREET"

"During the last days the people living around the jail are in a terrible state of anxiety. Day and night there emerge from the jail groans and cries of pain, that drive a shudder down the backs of those that pass. The jail is surrounded day and night by a ring of police on horseback and on foot. This morning the people living in the vicinity of the jail were awakened by horrible cries. But that was only the prelude to what followed. Thru the gates of the prison there were dragged from ten to twenty people who had lost even the semblance of humans, starved and half dead creatures. Coarse commands of the police, the noise of auto trucks, stamping of horses hoofs, cries of horror and pain—all this created the impression of indescribable hell. The finale of the episode came when the truck with the prisoners on board began to hurry away. A plainly clothed working woman cried out: 'My son!' and threw herself under the wheels of the truck.

"Unwillingly one was reminded of the czarist 'Kibitki' surrounded by Cossacks which drove thousands of humans to Siberia."

Here is the description of White Hell in Poland, taken from a bourgeois source. Abramovich and his friends, Noske, Hillquit, Vandervelde, and others join hands for the relief of the sufferings of the five hundred inmates of the "Red Hells" of Soviet Russia who themselves say that they pass their time by fishing and studying. But they do not hear the cries of the six thousand Polish proletarians and peasants, starved, tortured and murdered in the prisons of capitalist democracy in Poland.

Why should they hear these cries?

In Poland their counter-revolutionary Socialist brothers were victorious. Against the conditions in Poland the Abramoviches find no reasons to complain. In Poland it is not the workers who, in just rage, imprisoned socialist lackeys of imperialism, the Pilsudskis and Dasczinsky; but it is the Pilsudskis and Dasczinskies who jail, torture and murder the thousands of workers, so that the profits of their capitalist masters may go on unimpaired.

Bulgaria

In Bulgaria Dame democracy so valiantly defended by the Abramoviches celebrates her greatest triumphs. After the regularly established and according to all the rules of the democratic game elected government of Stambulitski was overthrown by a military coup an unprecedented reign of terror was inaugurated. As if desiring to show up democracy in all its mockery the bloody tool of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie, Zankow, ordered new elections. Over them the invisible arm of the assassin, surrounded by the bayonets of a drunken soldiery the people of Bulgaria were permitted to vote—for Zankow and his accomplices.

The leaders of the peasants' party whose government was overthrown by the coup of Zankow were practically wiped out thru a campaign of murder. The leaders of the Communist Party are assassinated in broad daylight in the streets by the hired murderers of Zankow.

Small Bulgaria can count about 23,000 victims of democracy. Thousands fell under the daggers of assassins. Alone in one day, on September 13, 1924, a sort of Bulgarian St. Barthelomew, there were murdered thruout Bulgaria 400 workers and peasants.

In October last year there were murdered alone in the town of Samokoff, 17 workers. On July 12th, the hired assassins of Zankow murdered and mutilated the bodies of Ivan Raganoff, a Communist in the village of Salonowzi, his wife and three children.

Thousand languish in prison. Lately the "democratic" government of Zankow gave orders that wherever the police notices any assembly of crowds they must shoot without warning.

Why do not Abramovich and his comrades of the Second International, the Hillquits, the Noskes and the MacDonalds, raise their voices in protest against the orgies of blood revelled in by the Bulgarian bourgeoisie, with the workers and poor peasants as victims?

Because their Second International socialist brothers in Bulgaria are working hand in glove with the murderous Zankow. Because the bourgeoisie is triumphant in Bulgaria, and the Abramoviches have no fault to find with mass incarcerations, with torture and murder as long as "only" workers and poor peasants are the victims, and as long as the profit mills of capitalism are not interfered with in their daily grind.

The Baltic States.

Democracy is the middle name of the Baltic states. Democracy was the mother and self-determination the father of these political creations. Aside from these legitimate parents, however, there were a number of illegitimate but more potent ones. There was first the Second International and its Finnish, Esthonian, Lettish and Lithuanian subdivisions; then there was the bloody conquest of General Mannerheim and last but not least there was the German imperial General von der Goltz. The Baltic states prove worthy of their parentage. To be a worker there is a crime. To be a Communist worker is the major crime punishable, if at all possible, with death. Jan Tomp, chairman of the Esthonian Federation of Labor Unions was sentenced to death and shot on the spot for "insulting" the court because he answered the demand to enter a plea by saying, "Before a court of the government of the scoundrelly Esthonian bourgeoisie I plead not guilty."

Together with this victim of Esthonian bourgeois democracy there stood before the court 149 workers, all members of labor unions accused of having passed resolutions and holding views inimical to the interests of the government of the Esthonian bourgeoisie. Of the accused, 39 were sentenced to life imprisonment, 28 to fifteen years in the penitentiary, six to twelve years, 19 to ten years, five to eight years, 15 to six years, and 16 to four years imprisonment. In the face of this monstrous perversion of justice the workers of Esthonia, who found themselves robbed of their

most trusted leaders, went on strike and rebelled. Aided by the Esthonian socialists of the Second International, brothers of Abramovich, Hillquit and Longuet, the Esthonian bourgeoisie established martial law. This makes it possible now for them to shoot the workers wholesale even without the formality of a farcical trial. In Reval alone, there were shot in a single day 26 workers.

Where is Abramovich with his vigorous protest?

An accomplice of the Esthonian socialists he acquiesces and abets in these crimes and tries to draw the eyes of an indignant international proletariat from this picture of bloody treachery and persecution by raising the cry of "Red Hells" in Soviet Russia.

In Finland labor unions are outlawed. Communist deputies whose immunity is guaranteed by Dame Democracy were arrested out of the legislative halls and were sentenced to barbarous prison terms.

Twelve hundred workers, mostly Communists, are crowded into Finnish prisons and point with their accusing fingers to the Finnish social democratic friends of Abramovich. And Abramovich bows his head—not in shame but—nodding assent to the betrayal of the Finnish workers by the socialists. With the Finnish "socialist" traitors Abramovich wants to save the profits of the Finnish bourgeoisie.

In Letland and Lithuania almost every form of labor organization is outlawed. To be a Communist is worth from six to eight years imprisonment. Workers are arrested, kept in prison and tortured for months, altho no charge is placed against them and finally they must be released "for lack of evidence."

Abramovich has no fault to find with his social democratic friends who participate in the Lettish government and in the persecution, imprisonment, and torture of workers and poor peasants. He finds that perfectly in order because it is necessary to save capitalist rule from its destruction.

Germany.

In 1918, inspired by the glorious example of their Russian brothers the German workers arose. Thus they made it impossible for their imperialist masters to continue the war. They sent the meglomaniac, who called himself emperor on the road to exile. Workers' councils sprang up all over the empire and challenged the right of existence of the old order. Capitalism was demoralized; its old leaders were fleeing from the country; the army was unreliable; the navy revolted; the very foundation of the system was tottering; capitalism seemed doomed.

But at the eleventh hour a savior appeared on the scene. No outside force could save capitalism. Only treachery within the ranks of the proletarian army could accomplish the seemingly impossible task. That treachery happened and became the most unprecedented event in history. The social democrats took leadership over the Soviets and used them as pacifiers instead of as instruments of proletarian struggle. They induced the masses to lose their precious time in hopeful waiting and secretly organized discharged army officers into armed units to resurrect the powers of capitalism. This task completed, they refused to recognize the status quo of virtual workers' power, ordered a plebecite

and then, as true lackeys of the bourgeoisie put the power back into the hands of the bankrupt capitalist class. The bourgeoisie showed its appreciation of this monstrous treachery by accepting the chairman of the social democratic party, Ebert, as president and the Scheidemanns and Noskes as ministers of state for the new-born democratic republic.

When the workers awakened from their short dream and the monstrosity of the social democratic treachery dawned upon them they found themselves confronted by the newly organized pretorian guards of the old order and the German proletariat paid with rivers of blood for its mistake of ever having trusted to menshevism. Noske revelled in the role of a German Gallifet. By his orders and with the acquiescence or even active participation of all the leaders of his party the revolutionary leaders of the German proletariat were assassinated. Workers were killed wholesale, fifteen thousand in all. Every attempt of the proletariat to take a stand against the rapidly progressing enslavement of the German workers was drowned in workers' blood. Every capitalist and monarchist coup was unresisted. The social democrats answered only with a knowing augur's wink, when Kurt Eisner, the proletarian premier of Bavaria was assassinated by the monarchist Count Arco Valley. The leader of the social democrats of Bavaria, Auer, sent to the murderer a bunch of roses in appreciation.

Today nearly ten thousand workers suffer in the prisons of Germany. During the years 1919-1920, two hundred and fourteen assassinations were carried out by monarchists and nationalists. During the same period 13 killings could be laid at the door of the revolutionary workers. The 214 nationalist murders were punished by a total of 31 years and six months imprisonment; one, the murderer of Kurt Eisner, was sentenced to life imprisonment but was pardoned after he had served one year.

For the 13 killed by revolutionary workers, eight were executed and 176 years and 10 months imprisonment were meted out. That is "democratic" justice.

The conspirators of the monarchist Kapputsch strut about the country their breasts covered with imperial decorations. They are hailed as the great men of the country. But hungry workers demanding bread are pitilessly dealt with as enemies of the state.

Where are the protests of Abramovich and his friends? The Hillquits and MacDonalds, the Longuets and Turatis sit at one table with Noske, the murderer; they belong by choice to one organization with them and with Ebert and find no word of protest against the outrages committed against the revolutionary workers in Germany. Their hearts are with the defeated counter-revolutionists in Solovetzk and Susdal. The German workers may suffer; they may bleed, starve and die. As long as capitalism lives, these "socialists" find no reasons to complain.

The United States.

American democracy is the classical form of that guise of capitalist dictatorship. It is said that in the United States the "rights of men" are deeply rooted in the fundamental laws of the land. The constitutional right of free speech is unquestioned, yes, as long as one keeps one's mouth shut. But even if one should be imprudent enough to say some-

thing not approved by the "democratic" authorities, he need not fear for his life. About ten years imprisonment is all he would get.

These "rights" inspire the American breed of mensheviks, the Hillquits, to the enthusiastic pledge made in Albany in 1920 that they would unhesitatingly defend these rights if those terrible Russian bolshevists would dare to attack them.

American democracy accusingly speaks of the undemocratic character of the Soviets and American mensheviks write the tune to this music. They are instrumental in the importation of Abramovich and while this gentleman recites the "sufferings" of the "unhappy politicals" in Soviet Russia the Hillquits and Cahans stand by in an attitude of deep mourning.

But in the meantime American democracy runs amuck. It sends Ruthenberg, the executive secretary of the Workers (Communist) Party to the penitentiary for five years for the crime of having "assembled with" Communists. It contemplates sending Foster, Minor and thirty others to prison for the same crime. It condemns the Mexican revolutionist Magon to a slow death in the dungeons of a federal prison. It keeps Mooney and Billings in jail tho their innocence has been established beyond a doubt. It sent them into prison for bomb throwing—it keeps them there for their activities in the labor movement.

These kind of "politicals" are a specialty of American democracy. The frameup system is developed to a science. Sacco and Vanzetti, Jacob Dolla, Mooney, Billings, all of them victims of that system. The murderous judicial farce of Centralia, Ford and Suhr, Rangel and Cline, kept in prison by profit hungry plutocracy, the actual murder of Salseda by department of justice agents in New York, Communists sentenced in California and in New York, in Michigan and in Pennsylvania, persecution, mistreatment of prisoners, all these the unmistakable symptoms of the true character of American democracy as a capitalist dictatorship.

Why does the International of menshevism not protest against these orgies of persecution of proletarian fighters? Because its mission is not to weaken the regime of capitalism with a proletarian struggle against persecution of revolutionary workers, or for amnesty of political prisoners. Its mission is rather to battle against the workers everywhere and against Soviet Russia in particular, and to this end they raise the false cry of the "Red Hells" of the U. S. S. R.

VII. MENSHEVIKS THE JUDASES OF LABOR.

The Horthy government of Hungary shocked the world with its bloody deeds. So horrible were its crimes that even the international of menshevism found it necessary to make a public gesture and, thru the Amsterdam International, declared a boycott against Hungary. A graceful gesture, but at the very time when this gesture was made by international menshevism the Hungarian mensheviks made a written agreement signed and sealed with the same Horthy government pledging their support. In this pact signed in the name of the socialists of Hungary by Karl Payer, Stephan Farkas, Franc Miakits and Alexander Popper, the Hungarian mensheviks promised not to make any republican propaganda, not to lead strikes, not to organize the agrarian proletariat, and to support the internal and foreign policies of the Horthy government.

Where is Citizen Abramovich with his protest? Here not only 500 "socialists" are interned, but the whole working class of Hungary is betrayed and sold out. And the Judases that perpetrated the dastardly deed are the leaders of the Hungarian social-democrats, are the men with whom Abramovich and Hillquit join hands to wail and whine about the 500 "politicals" in Soviet Russia.

There is not a knavery that was committed against the proletariat in the last ten years in which the leaders of the Second International, the mensheviks of all the countries of the world did not take a leading part. From the first of August, 1924, to this very hour there leads a long road of misery, suffering, starvation and death for the workers of the world. On both sides of this road the bodies of proletarian victims are piled u sky high. We find the millions slaughtered in imperialist war; we find the victims of counter-revolution, of reaction, of fascism; we find the bodies of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht; we find hecatombs of victims of white terror; we find the goals of international capitalism crowded to the bursting point with fighters for the cause of the proletariat. And behind these endless rows of victims of imperialism we see the ugly grin of international menshevism, the most active agent of the tormentors of the international proletariat. We see them busily engaged extending this via Dolorosa of the workers. We see them pledged to sustain capitalism. We see them shed the blood of new and numberless victims because these most treacherous lackeys of the bourgeoisie know that capitalism can only be maintained at the cost of more and ever more proletarian blood.

And when representatives of these arch-traitors, when the Abarmoviches and Hillquits appear before us and try to play on our pity by pointing to the "Red Hells" of Soviet Russia then we join with the masses of the workers of the world in one thunderous accusation: **SCOUNDRELY TRAITORS! HOW DARE YOU, YOU WHOSE HANDS ARE STAINED WITH THE BLOOD OF OUR MARTYRED BROTHERS, HOW DARE YOU SPEAK IN THE NAME AND IN BEHALF OF THE WORKERS? YOU ARE THE LACKEYS OF CAPITALISM AND YOUR INFAMY IS ATTESTED TO BY EVERY WORD THAT YOU UTTER TO DEFAME OUR ONLY FRIEND, THE SOVIET REPUBLIC OF RUSSIA.**

* * * *

Convinced by the experiences of the history of the last ten years of the treason of international social democracy, the workers learn to shun the advice of the Abramoviches and Hillquits. They begin to answer the propaganda of menshevism against the Soviets of the workers and peasants of Russia by the insistent demand of recognition of Soviet Russia. They learned to struggle for the defeat of capitalism and its lackeys, the social democrats, by following the leadership of the Workers (Communist) Party.

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