

The Social Revolutionary Party Before the Bar of History

Comrade Clara Zetkin (Germany)

The S. R.'s have themselves recognized our right to attend this trial. They recognize the right of the world proletariat to judge them. The Third International represents a large section of the workers of Western Europe, and on that ground alone, our presence here would be justified. Furthermore, the political importance of this trial is greater than that of any other trial in the world. It is the trial of the Social Revolutionary Party.

The policy of the S. R. Party has been opportunistic and counter-revolutionary. This is not a struggle between parties, but between Revolution and Reaction. Two currents oppose each other: the proletarian and the bourgeois. During the whole time, the S. R.'s have been on the side of the bourgeoisie.

If it is possible for the bourgeoisie to win, it is possible for the proletariat to win. The S. R.'s used all means to bring again under the yoke of the bourgeoisie the proletarian who had broken through the struggle of the Russian workers and peasants had achieved its freedom.

The Russian proletariat had the right to bring its revolution to trial. It brought the right, and allows no one to force it again under a bourgeois yoke. The S. R.'s have attempted to bring the Russian Revolution. This is a crime with which the murder of hundreds of thousands of millions cannot be compared.

Two Kinds of Class Struggle. Some say that the S. R.'s are being tried by a class tribunal. This is true, but where does class justice consist? It is the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The class justice of the bourgeoisie is the justice of a minority ruling a majority. The class justice of the proletariat is the justice of a majority which has overthrown the rule of a minority. The Revolutionary Tribunal is a tribunal of the majority of the proletariat, in its war against the bourgeoisie.

It is not to forget the words of Karl Marx, our great teacher: "The duty of every revolution is to destroy its enemies." The annihilation of the enemy means that they will be murdered. It is already done, it is the way to our march onward. By using according to the law of the enemy, we will be able to fight the enemy further. The victor of the Russian Revolution, but acts also in the interests of the World Revolution.

There is no Socialism possible in a country surrounded by capitalist states. In France, Socialism could not be realized, but only proclaimed. The same thing happened also in Russia. Until now the Russian workers and peasants have not realized Socialism, but they have proclaimed it. In this way, the Socialists have proclaimed the Socialism for this was not possible in a country surrounded by capitalist states. In France, Socialism could not be realized, but only proclaimed. The same thing happened also in Russia. Until now the Russian workers and peasants have not realized Socialism, but they have proclaimed it.

Comrade Muna (Czechoslovakia)

In the name of the future of the international proletariat and in order that you do not inherit the traditions of this generation of revolutionists may know the infamy achieved by the party of the Social Revolutionaries the following speeches of Comrades Zetkin, Muna and Bokanyi, is presented to our readers for a two-fold purpose: their importance historically and in order to disorient the enemies of the proletarian revolution in the camp of the yellow Socialists throughout the world who are defiling the heritage of Allied Imperialism who, under the cloak of a political party tried to betray the victorious workers' government into the hands of the Imperialist butchers.

This arraignment of the Social Revolutionaries before the bar of history is at the same time an arraignment of the traitors to the working class in this country and particularly the leadership of the American Socialist Party who have sunk beneath the capitalist press in their senseless assaults upon the working class of the world.

This victory was also their final defeat. When they assumed power, instead of leading the fight with the proletariat, they sided with the bourgeoisie. Their foreign policy was a direct result of the policy of their party by the Russian bourgeoisie. With all the means of the bourgeoisie, they tried to bring the proletarian who had broken through the struggle of the Russian workers and peasants had achieved its freedom.

The S. R. Party and the counter-revolutionary parties of the Second International were united in their common aim to bring the Russian Revolution to trial. They brought the right, and allows no one to force it again under a bourgeois yoke. The S. R.'s have attempted to bring the Russian Revolution. This is a crime with which the murder of hundreds of thousands of millions cannot be compared.

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Let by the S. R. Party, the Czechoslovakia regions have elected a representative to the Russian Revolution. They (the S. R.'s) were the unclean ground which all the forces of the counter-revolutionary parties of the Second International activity of the Czechoslovakian regions created in Czechoslovakia itself a temporary confusion of which the bourgeoisie took advantage to strengthen their vacillating position. As a result of the development of the Czechoslovakian and Central European revolutionary movement was greatly retarded. Without the active participation of the right wing S. R. Party, the counter-revolutionary action of the bourgeoisie would have been assumed the magnitude that it did, which became a serious obstacle to the development of the revolution. The S. R. Party was a party to the death against the Soviet Union, making use of the Red Army as a means of financial aid and resorting to individual acts of terror.

In the bourgeois press and the Second and Third Internationals. And as a living proof of that treachery, Mr. Vandervele appeared here. This movement was a direct result of the policy of their party by the Russian bourgeoisie. With all the means of the bourgeoisie, they tried to bring the proletarian who had broken through the struggle of the Russian workers and peasants had achieved its freedom.

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Comrade Bokanyi (Hungary)

The Court is not only the tribunal of the Russian proletariat, it is a court of the vanguard of the proletariat of all nations. The Russian Socialist Revolution is the only revolution of the 20th century, just as the French and English bourgeois revolutions were the only bourgeois revolutions of the 19th century. It is the only revolution which has broken through to the masses of the world, and accelerated thereby the coming of the World Revolution. It forced the end of the bourgeois world. This, however, is not its chief merit. Our gratitude goes to it because it laid the cornerstone to the proletarian government in the world and accelerated thereby the coming of the World Revolution.

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The Class Struggle in Germany After the Rathenau Murder

More than a month has passed since the German parliament has revealed a mass of storm events of villainous deed and to some extent, a great deal of long been in negotiation with the Russian government. Major Kratochvil writes in his book that the S. R. Party claimed to be the only party in the world to raise a laponic telegram from Gayda, to the effect that on the 25th of May, the S. R. Party had accepted the Russian Government, and that the S. R. Party were advised to take part in that act. The S. R. Party had accepted the Russian Government, and that the S. R. Party were advised to take part in that act.

The relations of the S. R. Party to the Czechoslovakians are proved not only by the testimony of the Czechoslovakian workers, such as Páral, Mayer, Dvořák, and others, but also by the testimony of certain of the Russian workers, such as Páral, Mayer, Dvořák, and others, but also by the testimony of certain of the Russian workers, such as Páral, Mayer, Dvořák, and others.

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WORKERS' CHALLENGE

A Weekly Labor Paper
Published by the UNITED TOILERS' PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

83 East Fourth Street New York, N. Y.

Subscription \$2.00 per Year \$1.00 for Six Months

Entered as second class matter April 12, 1922, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

Vol. 1 September 16, 1922 No. 26

STABBING RUSSIA IN THE BACK

Free Discussion in Russia

It is with regret that we note that Frank P. Walsh in an interview with a World correspondent in Berlin states that "any government would have condemned the Social Revolutionaries who were tried in Moscow. It is probably correct in saying that any government would have acted, but that it is no reason for agreeing with the action."

Several officials and trial judges organized mass meetings, spoke at them and assured their audiences that the accused would be convicted. Atrocious as some of the public trials were in this country, previous ones were more so. It is not surprising that the trial of the Socialists in Moscow was a far more sensational affair than that held in Moscow, like the trial of the Socialists in Chicago also denounced the unfairness of that trial. The Socialists in Chicago were given members in great numbers in 1919 and 1920.

All revolutions, including the American, have at their start a fighting suppressed free discussion. When these social upheavals reach the stage of a trial of strength discussion is of no avail. The number of who shall have power is being tested by the issue of power on both sides. When this stage is passed, however, by the ascension to power of the stronger group another period follows, that of reconstruction and administration. In the case of Russia the ascension to power was followed by armed intervention of the imperialist powers. Reconstruction and administration were halted and with them also discussion.

But this intervention has also ended in Russia, and the period of reconstruction and administration begins more than a year ago. When that period begins it is essential that freedom of organization and discussion shall be resumed, especially in the classes that were opposed to the old regime. This was the case in the new period of the struggle for power period in the new power to confess that it cannot defend itself before the law of free discussion. It places itself in the category of the ruling classes of the world.

Furthermore it deprives itself of the value of critical discussion and the result is a mistake after a mistake. Now we have the grotesque spectacle of the Soviet leaders admitting such mistakes time after time. They are justifying the penalty for their suppression of free organization and free discussion. Communist workers and peasants in the reconstruction period.

It is just as much for the sake of the Russian masses as for the principle involved that The Challenge takes its position against the policy involved in the Moscow trial. A Russia in which the masses are free to speak is a Russia that is a great Soviet Russia. It can mark time in the lockstep of Communist uniformity, with fear dogging the heels of every man and woman who doubts, but it can never be a free nation. The critical faculty that is so essential to the reconstructive and administrative period.

Readers of the CHALLENGE will readily recognize the source of error in the article. It is the so-called "rightist" publication in the English language that resorts to such vile methods in attacking the Soviet government of Russia. Only those branded with the ineffable infamy of yellow socialism could be guilty of such monstrous distortion of facts regarding the struggles of the working class to maintain itself in power. The above untruthful and libelous assault upon the working class could only originate in the disordered brain of James O'Neil, editorial writer on the New York Call. He is the only person within the confines of the United States that writes what passes for the English language of the rightist. His only rival is the labor-jargon editor of the Jewish Daily Forward, if translations we have read of his articles are correct.

All newspaper correspondents in Russia unanimously agree that the Social Revolutionaries were guilty of the unspeakable crimes charged against them and they likewise agree that the accused had greater freedom of expression, more latitude in defense than has ever been witnessed in any other court in the history of the world. Lawyers, accustomed to the traditions of capitalist courts, were absolutely astounded that prisoners could stand up and hurl vitriolic denunciations against the court.

Throughout the whole procedure of the trial of the Social Revolutionaries every effort was made to bring out every scrap of evidence for or against the accused. The charge that Soviet officials spoke before mass meetings and

assured their audiences that the prisoners would be convicted is depicted as something particularly shocking and that valiant champion of the working class, Mr. O'Neil, sinks so low as to endeavor to compare the proletarian courts of justice with the Whitely Palmer-Barkeley inquisition that prevailed in the United States during the war. There are no words in all the languages of the earth that can describe the loathsome act of the Call editor in befogging the workers' tribunal of Moscow by comparing it to the court at Sacramento where 1906 Socialists were railroaded to the penitentiary. The American workmen were victims of a contemptible frame-up and they knew that it was useless to present a defense. They were convicted before they were tried; their crime consisted of endeavoring to organize the migratory workers of California. They were sentenced because they served their class. The prosecuting attorney in the I. W. W. cases never attempted to bring forth facts that would tend to prove the innocence of the men he was paid to send to the penitentiary. Instead of endeavoring to learn the facts in the case, the workmen he deliberately contrived to manufacture evidence and when no evidence could be manufactured he relied solely upon the insane hysteria created by a war-crazed press to silence his victims behind stone walls. In the Moscow cases to do this was not only not only were they guilty of the unspeakable criminality of conniving with the agents of Allied imperialism in order to drown the workers' government in oceans of blood, but they showed no remorse when confronted with the results of their deeds.

The Call editorial is not a condemnation of Russia; it is a confession of the possibilities of the Call and the Socialist Party of America. It reveals the leaders of that organization as potential murderers of the working class. They prefer capitalist courts to workers' tribunals; Palmer in place of Krylenko.

The sickening hypocrisy of the analogy between the American revolution and the Russian revolution is an exhibition that is quite in keeping with the historical record. The Socialists of America, obviously a delusion if one understands ever so little of the history of the people of the United States. There have been periods of relatively free discussion and administration, but never, at any time, have the vast majority of the People of the United States enjoyed free discussion, for the simple reason that free discussion implies that everyone would have access to the best of meeting places and also the columns of the press. As a matter of fact "free discussion" is merely one of the numerous delusions fostered by bourgeois democracy in order to perpetuate the slavery of the working class.

Probably the Communists who were arrested in Michigan a few weeks ago can shed some light on the beauties of free discussion in America. There is no any doubt that O'Neil and the whole crew of Socialist Party officials who secretly rejoice at every blow dealt the Communists in this country, although they dare not openly parade their glee in their publications, otherwise they would reveal themselves to the workers who support them for what they really are.

Just as the Call editor perverts past history so he distorts current history by endeavoring to imply that Russia is a land of oppression where people dare not criticize the Bolshevik administration even for its own benefit. There has never before been a government in the history of the world where critical discussion is so sought after and welcomed as it is today and has always been in Soviet Russia. One of the distinctive features of the proletarian revolution has been its constant self-criticism and its readiness to frankly admit mistakes. O'Neil thinks it is grotesque that the Soviet leaders admit their mistakes, instead of like him, persisting in them long after they have been exposed as errors.

But there is a vast difference between permitting critical discussion of policy and permiting a group of servants of Allied imperialism to conspire to assassinate the leaders of the revolution in order to betray the workers into the hands of the White Terror! That is one of the crimes proved against the friends and comrades of the Socialist Party of America.

The Workers' Opposition in Russia has been unpunished in its criticism of the policies of the government and has been expelled from the Communist Party of Russia, but they are still permitted to continue their criticism of the government, but not as bona-fide members of the dominant party. There are hundreds of other groups opposed to the policies of the government, but their agitation remains within the bounds of criticism and propaganda, instead of following the example of the Social Revolutionaries and calling in the aid of foreign agents of imperialism.

The Moscow trial has ended, the executive committee has committed the sentence of death upon the traitors of the working class. The object of the trial has been accomplished.

The Social Revolutionaries and their defenders, the Minister to the King of the Belgians, Vandervelde; the Anglo-Maniac, and Social-Patriot, MacDonald; the renegade, Kautsky; down to the mental pervers, O'Neil, have been condemned. They all stand condemned, not merely before the bar of proletarian justice, but before the bar of history for all future generations to view their shame. They are pilloried before the workers of the world as servants of the most ruthless imperialism that ever inflated the earth.

The vile attacks appearing in the Call and other publications engaged in the business of deceiving the working class can never bestride the achievements of the first working class republic in the history of the world but they will be eloquent testimonials of the total abasement of those responsible for their appearance.

DAUGHERTY'S CRITICS

A veritable avalanche of denunciation has fallen about the head of Attorney General Daugherty because of the temporary injunction secured against the shop strikers. Upon reading the capitalist press of the country one who happens to be unphilosophical might draw the conclusion that certain elements of the ruling class objected to oppression of the workers by such methods.

But when we recall the fact that there is a congressional election in November, the assaults acquire a new significance. All is grist that comes to the mill of a politician when election is approaching. Not only have the Democrats taken advantage of Daugherty's strategic blunder, but the "insurgent" republicans as well. So overwhelming has been the assault and so vulnerable the defense of the administration that it is not unlikely that Daugherty's days are numbered. If the success of Republican aspirants to office is in danger it is certain that Daugherty will be sacrificed.

Joining in the hue and cry against the corporation tool and cheap "face" who was appointed by Harding to the position of Attorney General is a number of more or less influential labor politicians. In place of militant action by the workers they propose impeachment of Daugherty and Wilkerson, the hapless judge who was so foolish as to issue the thing at this time.

It is not a bad idea to remember that Daugherty is just the type of person the capitalist class that owns and controls the United States government wants for attorney general. If he is impeached, or discharged, or in any other way eliminated, it simply means another creature of the same type will be appointed by Harding. And if, two years hence, the Harding administration is defeated and the Democrats who are today criticizing Daugherty return to power and a situation arises similar to the present one there will be other injunctions and more talk of impeaching Attorney Generals and judges.

Meanwhile the reactionary leaders of labor will be serving the ruling class in their own peculiar way by subduing the spirit of revolt on the part of the workers and avoiding the rise of Bolshevism to challenge the supremacy of the ruling class and all its political marionettes, whether Republican, Democrat, or Farmer-Labor or Socialist.

That is, provided labor itself does not arise and assert itself, thereby eliminating the whole capitalist apparatus with its hiring judges, attorney generals and labor-fakers and establish in their places the direct rule of the vast majority of the population through a workers' government.

EULOGIZING A BUTCHER

Wednesday, September 6, was celebrated in various parts of the United States as Lafayette-Marie Day, being both the anniversary of the birth of Lafayette and of the Battle of the Marne.

As usual the hack writers of editorials as a part of their regular prostitution were expected to eulogize Lafayette as one of the world's benefactors and to paint the battle of the Marne as the blow that stemmed the onrushing tide of barbarism and saved civilization for the world. Like all patriotic writing, there was not one word of truth in any of the editorials discussing the subject that came to our attention and we carefully observe all the principal metropolitan newspapers in the United States.

Without exception the battle of the Marne was pictured as the first decisive battle in the World War. "Liberty and the civilization of the world upon freedom were preserved at the Marne," was the burden of all the comment. It certainly requires a mind capable of ignoring the plain facts of our everyday existence to describe the hell of capitalist oppression under which the suffering class of the United States groans today as liberty and freedom. It is

pretty generally conceded that had Kaiser-Bill and his "barbarous hordes" been successful in subduing the entire world it could not conceivably have been worse than it is in the United States today.

The working class that made possible the success of the war for itself, eight years after the Marne, in a worse condition than the workers of Germany under the Kaiser. The recent Daugherty injunction surpasses in viciousness any thing ever conceived either by Kaiser, King or Czar. There has never been any darkness any more, the workers had begun to look forward to an ever increasing prosperity. All at a sudden everything was in store, and the present period of unemployment has been under a violent sweltering from streams of "Social Peace" for large sections of the industrial workers.

Immediately, the shortage of orders arose, the employers resented the problem except such as served in normal times, and being unable to see that economic laws made the extension of unemployment a certainty, they did not trouble to erect such an organization as the times demanded. The non-unionized six-section was allowed to remain in the hands of the capitalist class. They have forgotten that those workers were merely a cloak behind which he, with Odion Barrot and other roving court lackeys, was conspiring to throttle the revolution and place Louis Philippe on the throne. A dastardly act of treachery that was consummated. For his betrayal of the people of France Lafayette was repaid by the King with an appointment as head of the National Guard.

He justified the King's confidence by consciencelessly using the National Guard to keep down those referred to as "the lower orders of society" during two years beginning in 1830. Lafayette was an expert at murdering the "lower orders," business as usual, he perfected through forty years' experience, his first slaughter of the workers of France having occurred June 20, 1790, when he murdered citizens of Paris in the Champ de Mars for the crime of signing a Jacobin petition. Lafayette, in his long career has never had a better day than the day he was only one rival and that was the notorious General Huguacud, who while an officer in the National Guard attained the surname of the Butcher of the Rue Transnonain.

Finally, an old man, grizzled through endless slaughters and embelmed militarily, Lafayette died in Paris, the city he had many times turned into an abattoir, and was buried in the cemetery consecrated by royalists to the victims of the Terror of the Revolution. It was here that Black Jack Pershing uttered the words "Lafayette, we are here!" The soldier who stood at the cradle of capitalism at the close of the Eighteenth and the dawn of the Nineteenth centuries was greeted by the soldier standing at the cradle of capitalism in the twentieth century, both unconscious of the roles they had played and were playing.

Capitalism will celebrate its heroes and its victories for a short time longer, but, soon, like Lafayette, the sceptre it has wielded will fall from its hand and the proletariat will step upon the stage of history and rewrite the world's history better than it was ever written before, and at the same time make history better than it was ever made before.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN ENGLAND

By Bill Smith (London)

Since the collapse of the trade boom about the middle of autumn 1920, the English worker has experienced unemployment to an extent never before known in the history of English industrial life.

The Ministry of Labor reports today 1,821,000 men out of work. In January 1922 there were 1,267,523. These figures represent unemployed men and women and include the many thousands who have exhausted their unemployment pay. It must be remembered that two million registered unemployed men and women represents from 10 to 15 million persons cut off from the means of life by their enforced separation from the means of production.

The economic causes of unemployment are the same in all capitalist countries. What the workers tolerate Capitalism will also have to tolerate unemployment. Our object, however, is not an academic discussion of the cause of unemployment but an attempt to show what effect this protracted and severe period of unemployment is having upon the English working-class.

Owing to the fact that Capitalism became established in England earlier than elsewhere and that for a number of generations the master class has kindly provided the worker with an "Education" (the sole object of which is to deprive him of all power of independent thought), the English worker has become the most conservative section of unemployment but an attempt to show what effect this protracted and severe period of unemployment is having upon the English working-class.

Having won "the war for liberty, etc. etc." and experiencing during the period immediately following a period of trade boom, not only a satisfactory gain in the form of hours, wages, and conditions by ordinary trade union negotiation, but occasionally by extraordinary work stop action under the influence of the Shop Stewards movement, the workers had begun to look forward to an ever increasing prosperity. All at a sudden everything was in store, and the present period of unemployment has been under a violent sweltering from streams of "Social Peace" for large sections of the industrial workers.

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He justified the King's confidence by consciencelessly using the National Guard to keep down those referred to as "the lower orders of society" during two years beginning in 1830. Lafayette was an expert at murdering the "lower orders," business as usual, he perfected through forty years' experience, his first slaughter of the workers of France having occurred June 20, 1790, when he murdered citizens of Paris in the Champ de Mars for the crime of signing a Jacobin petition. Lafayette, in his long career has never had a better day than the day he was only one rival and that was the notorious General Huguacud, who while an officer in the National Guard attained the surname of the Butcher of the Rue Transnonain.

Finally, an old man, grizzled through endless slaughters and embelmed militarily, Lafayette died in Paris, the city he had many times turned into an abattoir, and was buried in the cemetery consecrated by royalists to the victims of the Terror of the Revolution. It was here that Black Jack Pershing uttered the words "Lafayette, we are here!" The soldier who stood at the cradle of capitalism at the close of the Eighteenth and the dawn of the Nineteenth centuries was greeted by the soldier standing at the cradle of capitalism in the twentieth century, both unconscious of the roles they had played and were playing.

Capitalism will celebrate its heroes and its victories for a short time longer, but, soon, like Lafayette, the sceptre it has wielded will fall from its hand and the proletariat will step upon the stage of history and rewrite the world's history better than it was ever written before, and at the same time make history better than it was ever made before.

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