

# The Revolutionary Age

A Chronicle and Interpretation of International Events

LOUIS C. FRAINA ..... Editor

## Contributing Editors

JOHN REED

SEN KATAYAMA

N. I. HOURWICH

G. WEINSTEIN

LUDWIG LORE

EADMONN MACALPINE

ISSUED EVERY SATURDAY

By Local Boston, Socialist Party

H. G. Steiner, Business Manager

885 Washington St., Boston, Mass.

Bundle orders 2c a copy, Subscription \$1.00 for six months (26 issues)

## The Principles and Tactics of the New International

From the Call of Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviki) for a Communist International Congress.

It is an urgent necessity that the first congress of the new revolutionary International be called. During the war and the Revolution the complete bankruptcy of the old Socialist and Social Democratic parties, and the second International, as well as the incompetency of the middle elements of the old Social Democracy (the so-called "centre") for live revolutionary action, has finally become evident. At present, however, the outlines of the genuine revolutionary International are distinctly coming into view.

As a basis for the new International, we consider necessary the recognition of the following principles, which we shall consider our platform, and which have been worked out on the basis of the program of the Spartacus group in Germany and the Communist party (Bolsheviki) in Russia.

1. The present is the period of the dissolution and the collapse of the whole capitalist world system, which will mean the complete collapse of European culture, if Capitalism, with its unsolvable contradictions, is not destroyed.

2. The problem of the proletariat consists in immediately seizing the power of the state. This seizure of the power of state means the destruction of the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie and the organization of a new proletarian apparatus of power.

3. This new proletarian state must embody the dictatorship of the proletariat, and in certain places also the small peasants and farm hands, this dictatorship constituting the instrument for the systematic overthrow of the exploiting classes and the means of their expropriation.

Not the fraudulent bourgeois democracy—this hypocritical form of rule of the finance oligarchy—with its purely formal equality, but the proletarian democracy and the possibility of the realization of freedom for the working masses; not parliamentarism, but self-government of these masses through their elected organizations; not capitalist bureaucracy, but organs of administration which have been created by the masses themselves, with the real participation of these masses in the government of the countries and in the activity of the Socialist structure—this should be the type of the proletarian state. The power of the Workers' Councils and similar organizations is its concrete form.

4. The dictatorship of the proletariat shall complete the immediate expropriation of Capitalism and the suppression of private property in means of production, which includes, under Socialism, the suppression of private property and its transfer to a proletarian state, under the Socialist administration of the working class, the abolition of capitalist agricultural production, the nationalization of the great business firms and financial trusts.

5. In order to insure the social revolution, for defense against enemies within and without, of assistance for other national groups of the fighting proletariat, etc., the complete disarmament of the bourgeoisie and their agents and the general arming of the proletariat is necessary.

6. The present world situation demands the closest relation between the different parts of the revolutionary proletariat and a complete union between the countries in which the Socialist revolution has been victorious.

7. The fundamental means of the struggle is the mass action of the proletariat, developing into armed and open war against the state power of capital.

8. The old International has broken into three main groups: First, those frankly social patriots who during the entire imperialist war from 1914 to 1918 supported their bourgeoisie and transformed the working class into hangmen of the international revolution.

Then there is the "Center," at present theoretically led by Kautsky and representing an organization of such elements, constantly wavering, not capable of following a definite plan of action and at times positively traitorous.

Finally the revolutionary left wing.

9. As regards the social-patriots, who everywhere in the critical moment oppose the proletarian revolution with force of arms, a merciless fight is absolutely necessary. As regards the "center," our tactics must be to separate the revolutionary elements, and to pitilessly criticize the leaders. Absolute separation from the organization of the Center is absolutely necessary at a certain phase of development.

10. On the other hand, it is necessary to proceed in a common movement with the revolutionary elements of the working class who, though hitherto not belonging to the party, yet adopt today in its entirety, the point of view of dictatorship of the proletariat, under the form of Soviet government; including the syndicalist elements of the labor movements.

11. It is also necessary to rally the groups and proletarian organizations who, though not in the wake as yet of the revolutionary trend of the Left Wing, nevertheless have manifested and developed a tendency leading in that direction.

## Imitating Reaction

LET the United States boast of its democracy, and events taunt it with an expose of the fraud. Our legislative and executive system of government is considered the most democratic in the world. Now comes the Constituent Assembly in Germany, which is considering a proposal to establish a presidency on the American model, a proposal, says a correspondent to the New York Evening Post, "fairly well received. Many Germans favor Preuss' argument for a stronger executive than could be achieved with a dummy President and a parliamentary Cabinet, because they see dangers ahead from the antics of anarchical states like Brunswick and Bremen, from the pretensions of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils to be states within the State and from other symptoms of political indiscipline." In other words, presidential power, as fixed in the American Government, is considered an instrument for the suppression of the proletariat, for maintaining the supremacy of Capitalism. Making the world safe for—reaction!

## Will They Impeach Him?

THERE has been a mutiny of American troops in Murmansk, Russia. These troops wanted to know why they were in Russia, since there had been no declaration of war by Congress. The Constitution provides that Congress alone shall declare war. There has been no declaration of war against Soviet Russia, yet President Wilson, as Commander in Chief of the Army, has sent troops to Archangel and Vladivostok, and has waged war against the Russian people. In the course of this war, hundreds of American soldiers have been killed and wounded. The actions of President Wilson are clearly and emphatically unconstitutional. The penalty provided for a President who violates the Constitution is impeachment. But not only have impeachment proceedings not been started, they are not even proposed. The Constitution, apparently, if it serves Capitalism, may be considered a scrap of paper. . . . Frequently, the argument is heard: "You cannot expropriate private property, since that is unconstitutional." Well?

## Are They Still There?

THE mutiny of American troops in Murmansk again brings up the question of the withdrawal of troops from Russia. This is promised by the Government for July 1. In the meantime, reinforcements, apparently, are being sent to Archangel. But while the Allies are refusing to withdraw their troops from Russia, the Soviet Army is expelling them. The position of the Allies at Archangel is desperate; the fear is that the Soviet troops may drive them into the sea. Most of the Ukraine is now Soviet, the French being compelled to evacuate Odessa. British troops occupy a small slice of the Caucasus, while the Denikine and Don Cossack Governments are verging on collapse, the report being that the Bolsheviki may soon conquer all of the Caucasus. The Allies are still at Archangel and Vladivostok—but are they, really?

## The "Labor Covenant"

THE imperialistic governments during the war recognized the importance of cajoling labor. Of developing in workers the ideology of "carry on." In this task, they used the services of the moderate "Socialists" and trades union officials.—betrayers of labor, all. With the proletarian revolution in action or preparing to act, the imperialistic governments, through their Peace Conference in Paris, recognize the importance of the policy of cajoling labor, of making concessions in words while maintaining the oppression of labor in deeds. The Peace Conference, accordingly, instituted an auxiliary in the form of an "International Labor Convention." The task of this Convention was to consider international labor legislation and the "protection" of labor's rights. Its "Covenant of Labor," which is as much of a miserable compromise and as counter-revolutionary as the "covenant" of the League of Nations, has been accepted by the Plenary Council of the Peace Conference: this in itself is a condemnation. The "Labor Covenant" provides—in words—for an eight-hour day, "adequate living wages" for all labor performed, equal pay for equal work for men and women, and against child labor. With Capitalism on the verge of collapse and the proletarian revolution in action, these "concessions" (which, even, labor will never get unless it takes them) are a ghastly mockery of the oppressed. There is included a declaration, adopting the provision of the Clayton Act of the United States, that labor is not a commodity. This declaration, which the A. F. of L. hailed as a great victory, is mere jugglery, since under the conditions of Capitalism labor-power is a commodity, bought and sold in the labor market. The

"Labor Covenant" provides for an International Conference each year, consisting of representatives of the governments, a representative of labor and a representative of the employers in each country. This is loading the dice against the workers, since the representatives of the governments and the employers, representing capital, are a majority and control; and, moreover, none but the most yellow and conservative labor organizations will be represented. It is an excellent plan for capital and reactionary union officials; as well as, perhaps, the imperialistic aristocracy of labor; but fatal to the militant proletariat. That is precisely why Samuel Gompers enthusiastically acclaims the "covenant," in the preparation of which he was active.

## The Monroe Doctrine

THE American press is acclaiming as a great victory the report that the Monroe Doctrine will be recognized and protected in the "covenant" of the League of Nations. This is another indictment of the proposed League, another indication that it is an imperialistic League against the nations and the peoples of the world.

A League of Nations that is real, and not imperialistic camouflage, requires certain precedent conditions. It requires, in the first place, the end of the subjection of "backward" peoples: but the revolts in India, Korea and Egypt are proof that the Paris Conference is confirming and tightening this subjection. It requires the end of "spheres of influence," which means the monopolization of undeveloped territory and raw materials by foreign capital in the interests of Imperialism. It requires the end, in short, of the policy of dividing the world among the Great Powers, the end of the arrogated suzerainty of the large nations over the small, of the strong over the weak,—the end of Imperialism.

The Paris Conference is ending none of these imperialistic evils. In fact, it accepts them and proposes to make them permanent. The acceptance of the Monroe Doctrine amply proves this fact.

Originally promulgated by President Monroe as a protection against the "Holy Alliance," against depredations of the monarchic nations of Europe in the Americas, the Monroe Doctrine has in the course of history developed into something altogether different. Originally a means for defense of republican rights, it has become a means for defense of American capital, a means of aggression against the small republics of Central and South America. President Cleveland, in the Venezuela dispute with Great Britain, altered the Monroe Doctrine; President Roosevelt, in his policy of aggression toward Colombia and the Caribbean republics, definitely transformed the Monroe Doctrine into an instrument of Imperialism; while President Woodrow Wilson has definitely completed the imperialistic transformation of Roosevelt by emphasizing the control of the United States in Central and South America. The Doctrine is now a means of assuring American capital priority of "rights" in Central and South America and of collecting usurious debts from weak governments.

The Monroe Doctrine, as President Wilson has made clear through Secretary of State Lansing, "is a national doctrine of the United States." This "national doctrine" arrogates to the United States hegemony over the American continents and abrogates the full independence of the other American republics. The abrogation of full national autonomy is necessary to any real League of Nations; but this must be accomplished by the free will of the nations concerned (which is impossible under Capitalism, realizable only through International Socialism.) The abrogation implied in the Monroe Doctrine, however, and incorporated in the "covenant" of the League of Nations, is imposed upon these nations by the might of Imperialism.

The minor American Republics, presumably, are to be included in the League. But their dependence upon the United States is recognized by this very League: how, then, is this a real League of Nations?—which must be a league of autonomous nations and free peoples.

This acceptance of the Monroe Doctrine by the Paris Conference is characteristic. The Conference is dividing the world among the five Great Powers. These Powers are to control the League absolutely through having five out of nine delegates on the Executive Council, a clear majority—and that in a League which is to include fifty or sixty other nations! This control (which makes the League an imperialistic alliance of five nations) is to maintain a particular Imperialism in supremacy, and to parcel out the world. The United States is to have hegemony over the American continents. Priority of "rights" is recognized in Europe for France and Italy, for Great Britain in any desirable part of the world, and for Japan in China. These are the deeds of reaction that mock the words of progress frequently and unctuously indulged in by the Peace Conference at Paris.