

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 the Communist Party of Russia (Bolshevik) 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 (Bolshevik) 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 is to 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 upon the bourgeois state.

8. The old International has broken into three main groups: First, those frankly social patriots who during the entire imperialistic 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.

The official Socialist Party of the United States was not invited to this Congress, but the Left Wing of the party was. Our task is to conquer the party for Left Wing Socialism, and affiliate with the Bolshevik-Spartacan International.

Mexico and the Monroe Doctrine

THE Mexican Government has made it publicly clear that it will not recognize the validity of the Monroe Doctrine. Mexico would not protest against the original Doctrine, which provided that there should be no colonization by European powers on the American continents; but the Monroe Doctrine today is something altogether different.

The reception accorded to Mexico's repudiation indicates clearly the character of the Monroe Doctrine today. There are two phases to this reception:

1.—It makes no difference, say the defenders of the Monroe Doctrine, what Mexico says; she will be compelled to accept the Doctrine.

2.—The Monroe Doctrine, say these defenders, is a national doctrine of the United States, maintained upon its own responsibility.

What is this but the attitude of the conqueror? A national doctrine that another nation must accept—that is aggression, Imperialism. This aggression and Imperialism are actually comprised in the Monroe Doctrine today. It is not a question of European colonization, but of European capital and investments: the Monroe Doctrine is now an instrument to preserve these continents for the aggrandizement of American capital.

"Revising" the League

CERTAIN amendments have been made to the Peace Conference's proposed League of Nations. They have been made in order to satisfy certain objections to the League. They satisfy bourgeois objections, perhaps, but not the Socialist. The fundamental defect of the League of Nations—inevitable under Capitalism—is that it is not a League but an alliance of five Great Powers, a defect stressed even by parts of bourgeois radical opinion. This imperialistic alliance is consummated by means of the Council of the League, which is to consist of nine members—five representing Great Britain, France, Italy, the United States and Japan, and four representing all the other nations. This means that these five powers actually control the League, having a clear majority on the Council.

That is fundamental. A League must be a League of free nations; but this imperialistic alliance constitutes nothing but an imperialistic League against the nations of the world.

It is said that the new draft satisfies the Republicans in the United States Senate who opposed the original draft. Well it may; since the new draft recognizes and protects the Monroe Doctrine and makes the League even more a fraud than it was.

There is a real need for a League of Nations. The world must be united against war and for peace, must unite for purposes of life and prosperity. Production is international. But this League cannot actually be consummated under Capitalism, since Capitalism requires industrial and commercial competition, cannot abandon Imperialism. If it did, Capitalism would no longer be Capitalism. The federation of the peoples of the world, free and actual, is a task that history imposes upon the international Socialist proletariat.

New Aggression Against Russia

THE twistings of a snake are straight lines in comparison with the twistings of the Peace Conference in Paris concerning the "Russian problem." This "problem," of course, is simply what should be done—or can be done—to crush Soviet Russia, that realization in life of Socialist theory and practice, that menace to international Capitalism.

They tried invasion—but it didn't work: too many troops are required, and they are "corrupted" by revolutionary Bolshevik propaganda.

They tried to use the "oppressed peoples" of the Ukraine, Poland and the Baltic Provinces, whom they were to "liberate," to crush the Bolsheviks, but it did not work.

They tried to use the former German army against Soviet Russia, but the German imperialists had their own Bolshevism to deal with.

Intrigue and fair words, cunning and beautiful promises, treachery and expressions of friendship—all these have been tried: but they haven't worked.

So now they decide to continue their old policy of starving the Russian people and the Russian Revolution. They are to continue financing and feeding the counter-revolutionists; they are going to recognize the "Omsk Government" and provide it with munitions and food, while the barbarous blockade of Russia continues—this is the policy they are forced into, the policy of the skulking murderer of women and children. This is Capitalism! This is the Peace Conference!

No! This crime against the new civilization, against a revolutionary people must not be allowed. Capitalism is exposing itself in all its sinister horror. It scruples at nothing to accomplish its savage purposes. Nothing short of proletarian action, of mass pressure

upon the imperialistic governments, of the world revolution will help the Russian people and preserve the Russian Revolution for all peoples and for all time.

The Great Collapse

THERE was an enormous upflare of popular enthusiasm when President Woodrow Wilson first arrived in Europe. It was, to certain extent, mass enthusiasm. A popular image had been created of Woodrow Wilson as a great emancipator,—one of those suggestive social myths with which history abounds.

President Wilson, in his inimitable words (without deeds) catered to this popular sentiment,—in Italy even indulging in "Socialistic" expressions. Then he got together with the distinguished diplomats in Paris; and the social myth gradually disintegrated. Open diplomacy, democracy, all the beautiful ideas of President Wilson were, in the test, proven to be dross. The popular reaction developed immediately—the great illusion was broken. The second coming of Woodrow Wilson to Europe evoked no popular enthusiasm. This is how William Allen White, in an article from Paris dated March 27, describes the "second coming."

When President Wilson came to Europe in December, 1918, he appealed to the masses of Europe over the heads of their Governments. Now he is dealing exclusively with the organized Governments of Europe. When he appeared in Paris a dozen and six weeks ago great crowds packed the Champs Elysees. His progress from the Arch to the Tuileries was a great triumph. No other ruler ever had a greater reception: the day he came back to Paris in March a tattered cotton banner, sagging in the wind, rain-stained and bedraggled, bearing the legend, 'Honneur a Wilson, le Juste,' a banner left from December, hanging near the corner of the Avenue Montaigne and the Elisyan Fields, was the only reminder of a day that was gone.

As the banner was fraying in the light spring breeze the train bearing the Presidential party was steaming into the station; a poilu band was throwing back its head and blowing into the brass the glory that is France in a grand salute; a dozen frock-coated, plumed, elderly gentlemen with cynical turn of face—Clemenceau, up from his bed of pain, Poincare and Baron Cellere, along with the Americans, Mr. Lansing, Bernard Baruch, Vance McCormick—gentlemen of the bed chamber—stood on a red velvet carpet in the station amid potted palms and evergreens and welcomed the President back to France. The whistles did not blow; there was no cheer in the station. There was little more ceremony in the greeting than if the village delegate had come from the Grand Lodge, ready to exemplify the new work.

This shift in mass opinion in Europe has two causes: the utter incompetence of the Peace Conference and the collapse of President Wilson's "ideals;" and the penetration of revolutionary sentiments in the proletarian masses.

The abandonment by President Wilson of his "ideals" is not a study in personality, but a study in social facts and tendencies. It is not to the man alone, but dominantly to the social circumstances that is attributable the collapse of his beautiful program.

In the mouth of President Wilson, democracy and the League of Nations did not mean what they mean to an oppressed and butchered people. His ideals were the holy water that was to wash away the sins of Capitalism. The masses, however, expected deeds; and Wilson gave them words, while the Conference gave them deeds of reaction.

"When President Wilson came to Europe in December, 1918, he appealed to the masses of Europe over the heads of their governments. Now he is dealing exclusively with the organized Governments of Europe." This was inevitable. Experience showed the danger of appealing to the masses: the Bolsheviks and the Spartacans did the same thing; and the masses must not move, or Capitalism totters. President Wilson had to adjust his words to facts; and the facts imposed the necessity of the Peace Conference maintaining the supremacy of Capitalism. The requirements of maintaining the supremacy of Capitalism are responsible for the great collapse of Woodrow Wilson,—and his "ideals"—the words—were meant to maintain the supremacy of Capitalism.

The imperialistic war necessarily had to be concluded by an imperialistic peace. That is the peace being concluded in Paris, however it may be camouflaged.

The masses have nothing to hope for from Capitalism and the representatives of Capitalism. They may trust, but their trust will always be a great illusion doomed to a great betrayal. The most tragic aspect of a tragic war is that the masses developed dumb, blind hopes of a real change, of a new world; these hopes were exploited by astute diplomats and the journalistic hirelings of Capitalism; but this exploitation having accomplished its purpose of developing the popular ideology for "carry on," the masses are given a stone where they expected bread.

On all issues, Capitalism and the representatives of Capitalism are necessarily against the proletariat, the liberty of the world. Upon their own action, the masses depend; upon the implacable and constant class struggle of the conscious proletariat against Capitalism and for Socialism.