

The Revolutionary Age

A Chronicle and Interpretation of International Events.

LOUIS C. FRAINA Editor

Contributing Editors

JOHN REED

SEN KATAYAMA

N. I. HOURWICH

I. E. FERGUSON

LUDWIG LORE

EADMONN MACALPINE

ISSUED EVERY SATURDAY

By Local Boston, Socialist Party

H. G. Steiner, Business Manager

245 Washington St., Boston, Mass.

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

The Ideal Candidate

THE campaign that is being organized to make Major-General Leonard Wood the Republican Party candidate for President in 1920 fits in with the requirements of contemporary Capitalism.

Friends of Major-General Wood describe him as "the rightful heir" of Theodore Roosevelt. This comparison has truth, and characterizes the sort of President the plutocracy wants. Roosevelt was a dictator, the "man on horse-back" President; his militarism coincided with the requirements of imperialistic Capitalism, and his "strong" policy promoted the supremacy of trust-capital. An adept at deception of the workers, Roosevelt was in all things faithful to Imperialism. His "Larger Americanism" was a policy of Imperialism, of State Capitalism and war.

Major-General Wood has the Roosevelt ideology. He is a "strong" man, devout in his adherence to military ideals, strong for an aggressive international policy, recognizes the commercial basis of war,—and he promulgates all these reactionary ideas with a cynicism that people mistake for gentle candor.

Stormy days are ahead. Capitalism must fight for its life. It will use the White Terror. And Major-General Wood would make an excellent person to direct this Terror from the White House.

Terrorism—Against Whom?

IN order to show the real motives behind the terror unleashed against the Socialists and I. W. W.'s on May Day, come two items. One is that two strike leaders in Lawrence were kidnapped, being dragged out of their beds, beaten into insensibility and thrown out of town, one of them being left unconscious. The police, moreover, are preparing to use machine guns against the strikers. The other item is that in Providence, R. I., the police have discovered that "driving strike agitators into the river is said to have disposed of 'undesirables' so well that the practice will be continued. Deputy Superintendent of Police William O'Neil is credited with the new move. He disposed of a gathering of 200 men in the rear of the Weybosset mill by driving them into the Woonasuck river, obliterating them to swim across the narrow stream."

This is terrorism against strikes and strikers—against men, women and children struggling for more of the means of life. And the terrorism against the Socialists and I. W. W.'s is against the conscious representatives of this struggle, against those who are trying to transform this small struggle for more wages into the larger struggle against Capitalism as the only means of actually securing more life and happiness.

Workers who participate in terrorism against the Socialists are acting against their own interests. The policy of Capitalism is divide and conquer, by means of terrorism.

Bolshevism—Its Two Phases

VERY much satisfaction is being derived by the capitalist press at the military "defeats" sustained by the Bolsheviks recently. They jubilate over the military crushing of the Bolshevik Republic in Munich; they chuckle over the "instability" of the Hungarian Soviet Republic because of the invasion of Rumanian troops; and they hold their sides in laughter at the defeats of the Russian Soviet troops.

The troops of the Ebert-Scheidemann bourgeois—"Socialist" assassins of the Revolution are temporarily in power in Munich; and they have unleashed the yellow terror of moderate "Socialism" against the revolutionary proletariat. But in Hungary, the Soviet Republic seems as strong as ever, the proletariat mobilizing to resist the invasion of Rumanian and Entente troops. In Russia, the news of Bolshevik "defeats" are misleading; preparations are being made for a new Soviet offensive, the re-distribution of troops provid-

ing the enemy with the chance to advance slightly; while it is indisputable that the French were forced to get out of Odessa and the Ukraine is Soviet.

The persistence of Bolshevism does not come out of its military power: that is one phase, and not the most important, except at certain junctures. The power of Bolshevism comes out of the social-economic collapse of Capitalism, out of the economic needs of the workers, out of the struggle of class against class. It is this social-economic phase that is decisive. While you cannot build a new society by means of military force, neither can you permanently save an old society from collapse by that means. Bolshevism is the proletarian answer to the economic collapse of Capitalism. That is why Bolshevism will determine the future.

Turn to the Left!

COMRADE Ludwig Lore has joined the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party of New York City. In a letter to Executive Secretary Cohen, Comrade Lore says:

"I was of the opinion that an organization as it exists here in New York—and I understand that nowhere else have such organizations been formed—would be a constant menace to the unity of the party in this most critical time. ... If the coming National Convention should declare itself against revolutionary Socialism, a split would not only be necessary but inevitable. But since I am of the firm conviction that the party membership, in its overwhelming majority, stands with us, I thought that we took no chances in waiting for the convention to speak.

"But now I am confronted with a situation, not a theory. The organization is in the field and if a split is to be avoided at this time it can be done only by so strengthening it that the conservative and opportunistic forces in the party will not dare to force expulsions or employ provocative measures."

This is an excellent appraisal of the situation. Our most important task at this moment, as adherents of revolutionary Socialism, is to strengthen the Left Wing in the Socialist Party, as the preliminary to conquering the party for revolutionary Socialism.

The Mooney Strike

THE preparations for a general strike to compel the release of Tom Mooney are not acquiring the speed that they should. There seems to prevail a tendency to remain satisfied with resolutions, to allow words to speak instead of deeds.

Meetings are held to pass general strike resolutions. The frame-up of Mooney is denounced in strong terms. But the action of actual organization for the general strike lags miserably.

The Mooney case is a test of organized labor. It is a challenge to the workers, and this challenge must be answered in one way: by the use of the economic power of the workers to compel the release of Mooney.

A number of organizations of the A. F. of L. have adopted resolutions which provide:

"Unless new trials or freedom are granted Mooney and Billings before July 4, 1919, we will go out on a general strike to take effect for five days—July 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8.

"Further, if justice is still denied in spite of our first protest, we will join in a general strike for five days, beginning Labor Day, September 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5.

"Again, if no relief is forthcoming, we will join a third strike taking effect November 19, 20, 21, 22 and 23.

"Following the third period, if Mooney and Billings are still in jail, we will join a general strike for an indefinite period."

This is progress; but why that interval provision? It savors too much of hesitation, of trying to avoid the struggle that is necessary in order to compel justice from the master class.

A general strike in order to compel action must actually threaten the capitalists, it must actually make a dent in their profits, and paralyze industry. Simply to cease work won't work; it must be a general industrial strike united with giant demonstrations of the workers.

Moreover, this sort of action requires preparations and organization; but these are not as yet apparent. Is sabotage still being used by the A. F. of L. officials against Mooney?

In this crisis, the militant Socialist must make his contact with the militant elements in the A. F. of L., and by means of the mass action of the membership compel the officials to cease their sabotage. This is a real task for the Socialist Party at this moment. It is a task that, while acting on an immediate issue, is potential of more revolutionary action in the days to come. The party must actively engage in the movement for a real general strike; it must use the opportunity, not only to organize this strike, but to educate the proletariat in the meaning and importance of the political strike in the struggle for labor's emancipation.

Our Red May Day

THE First of May has come and gone. But this May Day lingers in the memory; its events have imparted new inspiration and energy to the militant Socialists in our party.

In the streets of city after city was revealed the brutality of Capitalism and its official agents, and the savagery of mobs whose emotions have been savaged by the infamous campaign of slander and riot indulged in by the hireling enemies of the militant proletariat. But, on the other hand, the events of our first Red May Day revealed equally the awakening determination in our party to struggle for the streets, to combine the usual old meetings in halls with demonstrations of the mass in the streets.

Let us say it: the Red character of our May Day was imposed upon us by the masters. Their hirelings had prepared to crush the militant workers on this day. In the press and in the pulpit, in the courts and in the gutters, in newspapers and magazines, there was a systematic campaign urging murderous violence against the Socialists on May Day. The mob was inflamed; and this inflammation assumed the form of murderous assaults upon the Socialists, protected by the police.

The "great bomb plot," undoubtedly engineered by agents provocateur, was exploited deliberately to inflame the passions of the mob. It was openly declared that the program of revolutionary Socialism, of the Bolsheviks, was a program of murder, assassination and arson. The fact that the Bolsheviks, opposed assassinations even in Russia, where if any where assassination could be justified, the Bolsheviks insisting on mass action as against these individual acts; the fact that neither the Bolsheviks in Russia nor the Spartacists in Germany have used assassination, while assassination has been used against them,—these practical and theoretical proofs were scorned by the bourgeois press and the bourgeois hirelings.

And that it is the bourgeois and their hirelings who resort to murder and riot was proven on May Day. ...

Characteristic of the campaign of incitation to riot and murder against Socialists and I. W. W.'s was the Victory Loan address of Mayor Ole Hanson, of Seattle, delivered in Topeka, Kansas, on May 1. Mayor Hanson, whose taste of "glory" for breaking the Seattle general strike went to his head and revealed the degenerate, murderous instincts of his soul, said:

[The policy pursued by the government toward anarchism and the I. W. W. is] skim-milk, weak, vacillating and changeable. ... The government is on the wrong track in starting conferences instead of cemeteries in dealing with the I. W. W. ... I trust Washington will buck up and clean up, and either hang or incarcerate for life all the anarchists in the country. If the government doesn't clean up, I will give up my mayorship and start through the country. We will hold meetings and have hanging places. ... Any Mayor that will permit an I. W. W. meeting in his city should be recalled and banished from America. He is not an American.

This is clear incitation to murder and riot. This is a clear revelation of the murderous, savage instincts of Capitalism and the agents of Capitalism. And these are the men who condemn the "savagery" of the Bolsheviks!

The result was inevitable. In city after city there were riots on May Day, beating up of Socialists, breaking of meetings, in which rowdy elements joined hands with the "respectable" thugs of the "Loyalty" leagues. The authorities co-operated by refusing permits for parades and preventing meetings being held; the police co-operated by protecting the rowdy and "respectable" thug elements, and by themselves "raising hell" with clubs and guns; the judges co-operated by imposing heavy fines and prison terms upon those arrested.

And the real inciters to murder and violence, the Hansons and the other thugs of the bourgeoisie, are still at large to wreak their murderous will upon the people. ...

The Socialists and conscious workers were not prepared for this terrorism. But, unprepared, they hit back. They were overwhelmed, and beaten; but next time they will be prepared.

The battle of May Day stretched all over the country; but it was particularly acute in Cleveland and Boston. There the comrades have acquired new determination, new energy, after the manifestations of bourgeois brutality. There they are determined to the White Terror of the American bourgeoisie shall not proceed unhampered to murder the conscious workers. And these two locals are at the heart of the Left Wing movement in the American Socialist Party. ...

The class war flared up in the streets on May 1. It will flare up again. ... On with the struggle against Capitalism, in spite of all and everything!