The Revolutionary Age

A Chronicle and Interpretation of International Events

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Still They Investigate!

HE Senate Agricultural Committee is to institute a "sweeping" investigation into the high cost of living. Congress seems to have become investigators of conditions it cannot control. It investigates the war, it tries to investigate the President, it investigated Bolshevism,—impotence in the face of forces beyond control by a parliamentary body. Investigations are for the purpose either of playing politics or of deceiving the masses. The cost of living is rising because of fundamental economic laws of Capitalism; Bolshevism is becoming ascendant because the workers must organize and struggle to end Capitalism. The collapse of Capitalism cannot be investigated away; the will of the proletariat to conquer power cannot be crushed by investigations. Let them investigate! We shall organize and direct the hosts of the proletariat in the revolutionary struggle against Capitalism.

Recognizing Reaction

THE Allies, it is reported, are preparing to recognize the "government" of Admiral Kolchak; and Woodrow Wilson, finicky as usual when he is preparing to put something over, is reported willing to recognize Kolchak providing guarantees are given concerning the calling of a Constituent Assembly.

This recognition, should it materialize, will be simply a diplomatic avowal of an actual fact. The Allies have already recognized the Kolchak dictatorship, by loaning it money, providing it with the guns and the bullets to murder the workers and peasant of the Sov-

iet Republic.

Kolchak represents the worst elements of the old regime. He is a Czarist official, and under him the old bureaucracy would come to power again. His government is a brutal, murderous dictatorship against the workers and peasants of Siberia. This is the government that the Allies are to recognize-the Allies who have spoken so gloriously about democracy and the self-determination of peoples.

But after all, is this prospective recognition not

just?—reaction recognizing reaction!

Provoking a Crisis

THAT small clique of the conscious bourgeois, which is directing the campaign against Bolshevism and Socialism, has apparently scored another coup. The recent bomb explosions, directed at men active in the campaign against the revolution, is being used to the limit to provoke a crisis.

The policy of this clique is clear. It is, by hook or by crook, to provoke a crisis providing the government with a convenient pretext to crush the militant

proletariat by means of blood and iron. The master class is apprehensive—and justly. An economic crisis approaches, is here. The workers are awakening; new and larger, more militant strikes approaching a revolutionary character, are being accepted by the workers. In spite of the millions spent on the "educational" campaign against Bolshevism, the American workers' sympathy for the Bolsheviki steadily grows—the ideal of the Bolsheviki, workers' coniral of industry, industrial democracy, being accepted by large masses of our workers. This bodes ill for the master class in the days to come; so it decides to crush

this movement now by provoking a premature crisis. This plot is conscious. There was the "powderpuff" homb business prior to May Day, which excited people against the Socialist demonstrations on May Day; there was the "plot" in New York to seize the government and a similar "plot" in Chicago,—all of which was a fizzle. Then the press and prominent individual gangsters of the bourgeoisie, such as Mayor Ole Hanson, inciting to murder and riot against the Socialists.

The militant proletariat depends upon mass action to accomplish its purposes,-not upon acts of individuel violence. The use of individual violence is characteristically petty bourgeois; it is significant that the party of the terrorists in Russia, the Social-Revolutionists, developed into a counter-revolutionary force against the Soviet Republic; while the Bolsheviki, who had always opposed individual violence, are the heart and soul of the proletarian revolution.

A premature crisis is the purpose of the master class, in order to crush the militant workers. We shall not fall into their trap; we shall not play their game.

Neither shall the campaign of terrorism frighten us or make us cease our propaganda. On with the struggle against Capitalism!

The Militant Strike

THE general strike in Winnipeg is sweeping Canada. Toronto is becoming as much of a storm centre as Winnipeg itself. The significance of this great general strike is not in its demands, which are moderate, but in the fact that it is a general strike, adopting militant means of imposing the will of the workers upon the capitalists and the capitalist state.

The militant strike ends the old passive strikes, and imposes the rule of the Strike Committee in a municipality. This is the case in Winnipeg. The Van-

couver, B. C. Sun says:

Winnipeg today is virtually a lost city, with her telegraph wires silent, her telephone system out of commission and her postal service completely disrupted as the result of the strike. The city is practically out off from communication with the rest of Canada and the outside world.

The central strikers' committee has practically commandeered the telegraph office and only messages pertaining to deaths, the arrival of troop trains and government business are allowed to be transmitted.

The local newspapers were forced to suspend publication on Friday and there seems to be no possibility of the papers appearing on the streets until the strike is settled. The web pressmen and the stereotypers were among the first to leave their jobs.

The banks have already closed their doors, claiming that with the telegraph and mail service disrupted

they are unable to do any business.

So acute has the bread and milk problem become that the strike committee has allowed several of the bakeries to resume only upon the latter agreeing to operate under the jurisdiction of the strikers. . . . An indignant manager refused and he was told that if he did not accede his bakery would be taken over by the strike committee and operated by the strikers.

The government of Canada is impotent. The parliament talks, while the strikers act. The Montreal Daily Star laments this government impotence:

Existing conditions in Winnipeg and other Western cities, by whatever causes produced, are a challenge to the authority of government in Canada. No state can be subject to any self-constituted organization. No group of capitalists or workers can be permitted to assume the functions of government and impose their authority upon other classes and interests. If they could do so, "the resources of civilization would be exhausted" and we would have revolution. . . . A government which submits to such domination abdicates its functions and evades its responsibilities.

This conception of the state as neither of the workers nor the capitalists, but as something impartial, is a petty bourgeois fairy tale. It is precisely the purpose of the militant strike to impose its will upon the state, which is the state of the capitalists.

The general strike in Canada is not now a revolution,-whatever may happen in the days to come. The demands are for a forty-four hour week, "recognition" of the union, the right of "collective bargaining" and the "reinstatement of idle members,"-surely moderate demands.

But the strike is revolutionary in its method. And the method is important. The revolutionary Socialist does not yield up the struggle for the betterment of the workers, but uses means that develop the mass action and the mass power of the proletariat. The militant strike is a school of revolutionary practice, developing the action and class consciousness of the proletariat, a preliminary form of the final political strike that will overthrow Capitalism.

In this is the significance of the general strike in Canada. It is a strike that is general, that is showing the workers their power, proving that the power of the state persists only as long as the proletariat allows it to persist. The mass strike is the means for the immediate struggle against Capitalism and the final means for the Social Revolution.

The most encouraging feature of recent labor struggles is the fact of the strike broadening its character, becoming not only a general strike, but a strike in which the workers consciously try to usurp the funtions of government,-in England, in Ireland, in Seattle and Butte, and now in Canada. This impulse of the proletarian masses must be clarified and directed by revolutionary Socialism into a conscious struggle for the conquest of power.

Working class power manifests itself through the political mass strike, the force of which can coerce the capitalist state, and finally develop the force to end Capitalism. That constitutes the militant tactics of the militant workers,—mass action to accomplish proletarian dictatorship.

In the actual mass struggle of the proletariat is the force which revolutionary Socialism must organize and direct,-upon this basis we must build.

Clear the Decks!

N his article in the New York Call of May 21three days before the session of the N. E. C .-"The Socialist Task and Outlook," Morris Hillquit laid down the policy of the moderates concerning the controversy in the Socialist Party: "It would be futile to preach reconciliation and union where antagonism runs so high. Let the comrades on both sides do the next best thing. Let them separate, honestly, freely and without rancor. Let each side organize and work in its own way, and make such contribution to the Socialist movement in America as it can. Better a hundred times to have two numerically small Socialist organizations, each homogeneous and harmonious within itself, than to have one big party rent by dissensions and squabbles, an impotent colossus on feet of clay. The time for action is near. Let us clear the decks."

Just before the N. E. C. convened, there was a conference of the moderates at Saranac Lake, where Hillquit now is. . . . While Hillquit was not present at its sessions, the N. E. C. carried out his policy. It split the party; it tried to compel the revolutionary Socialists to get out and form a new party, while the moderates retain control of the Socialist Party. This they did, ruthlessly, venomously, infamously, all the while aware that the Left Wing was the majority in the Party.

Abraham Shiplacoff, the moderates' master of camoutlaged sincerity, said to the editor of The Revolutionary Age, who was in Chicago observing the moderates' burlesque coup d'etat: "If you are honest, you must admit that it is better to have two small parties, each united, than one large party split by factions,"

"The Left Wing is willing to accept your challenge, Shiplacoff," came the quick answer. "Count the referendum votes, make them public, and decide who is majority and minority. If we are in the minority, we'll get out and form a new party; if you are a minority, you get out and either form a new party or join the Labor Party."

But Shiplacoff's answer was a refusal, making it clear that his purpose is to retain control of the party machinery for the moderates, no matter how much

of a minority they are. . . .

The issues in dispute are not simply factional issues, or issues of personality. They affect the whole future of the party; they are to decide whether the Socialist Party shall reconstruct its policy and practice in accord with revolutionary Socialism, or whether it shall persist officially as a party of bourgeois liberal social reform, avoiding all actual problems of the Revolution.

These issues are fundamental, and cannot be dodged.

Clear the decks!

The central issue in dispute, which is the heart and soul of all other issues, is whether the Socialist Party shall affiliate with the Communist International of the proletarian revolution, or whether it shall affiliate with "ome other "International" of the betrayers of Social-

The Left Wing enthusiastically and unequivocally accepts affiliation with the Communist International, the heir of the revolutionary First International. The moderates-Right Wing and Centre-want affiliation with the yellow "International."

Hillquit, in his Call article, repudiates the Communist International-saying that its organizers are "dictatorial." Precisely what the bourgeois says about the Bolsheviki! Dictatorial-because it excluded Hilly ' and all the other apologists of moderate petty bourgeois "Socialism." The Communist Internation would not be the Communist International if it did not ruthlessly, dictatorially exclude all actual or potential counter-revolutionary elements.

Hillquit admits that the Second International broke down under the test of war,-a fact which he denied only one year ago. Surely, the revolutionary upsurge in the party has accomplished something! He repudiates Berne, half-heartedly-another accomplishment for the Left. After repudiating the Communist International—that historic act at Moscow, providing new energy and enthusiasm to the revolutionary proletariat,—Hillquit says: "The task of organizing the Third International is still before us." Still before us-what a travesty, what a monumental expression of charlatanry and opportunism! In a letter to the N. E. C., outlining the draft of a declaration of principles, which the N. E. C. adopted as its own, Hillquit says concerning his International:

It [the N. E. C.] recognizes the necessity of reorganizing the Socialist International along more harmonious and radical lines. The Socialist Party of the United States is not committed to the Berne Conference, which has shown itself retrograde on many vital points and totally devoid of creative force. Nor is it affiliated with the Communist Congress of Moscow. whose principles and policies seem to be adjusted primarily to countries in active revolution, and whose composition is so one-sided as to render it inadequate for the task of regenerating the organized world movement of Socialism. It should be the aim of the Socialist Party of America to stimulate and hasten the