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Disarmament

THE disarmament policy of the Peace Conference is peculiar. It is disarming the defeated nations, while the victorious nations are preparing larger armaments.

There is much said about the League of Nations imposing disarmament. But it is not. The military alliance concluded between Great Britain, France and the United States indicates that not peace but war is to come in the days ahead.

France and Italy are making plans for more military power; the small nations "liberated" by the Allies are developing an aggressive militarism; Great Britain strengthens its navy. The United States also strengthens its navy; while plans are proposed for increasing the pre-war strength of the standing army and having a National Guard of 440,000 men.

Militarism has not been crushed, except in Austria and Germany. The Allies are ending their war to end war by a more militant military policy. Militarism is necessary to Imperialism.

Temporary Failure

THE plans for a general strike in Europe as a protest against intervention in Russia did not materialize on the projected scale. That the militant proletariat made a great effort is clear; but the reasons why the protest strike did not assume larger scope are not yet apparent. We must secure more information before final judgment.

It is clear, however, that the hesitation and sabotage of the old union officials was a great factor against success. The executive of the French Federation of Labor issued a statement calling off the strike, thereby *disorganizing* the plans for the demonstrations.

It is equally a fact that the bureaucracy and parliamentary leaders of the British labor movement opposed this political strike of the masses in solidarity with their Russian comrades.

But even the censored reports indicate that there was a formidable protest on July 21. The protest must become still more formidable in the measure that the pressure against Rus-

sia continues and economic problems weigh down upon the proletariat.

At the same time come the reports of decisive victories of the Russian Soviet Army on three fronts,—against the Finns marching on Petrograd, against the Siberian forces of Kolchak, and against General Denikin in the south. The bourgeois press admits that these are serious reverses for the counter-revolution, the New York *Tribune* mournfully admitting that the Soviet Republic will now surely endure for another winter.

Time and the march of the proletariat are working inevitably for the triumph of the Russian Soviet Republic.

But more proletarian pressure is necessary. The struggle of the Russian Soviet Republic is agonizing, the most terrible struggle of the ages. Against the world, against internal enemies, against disorganization,—Bolshevik Russia is fighting, and fighting nobly. The proletariat of the world must come to its assistance. It will come.

The Shantung Controversy

THE United States Senate is protesting vigorously against the "injustice" perpetrated by the Peace Conference in awarding control of the Shantung Peninsula, with its 40,000,000 Chinese inhabitants, to Japan.

But these protests are not at all a matter of justice. The award of Shantung to Japan is infamous; but there are other infamous acts of the Peace Conference,—awarding England one million and a half square miles of territory. France as much, destroying Germany and Austria economically, blockading Russia and Hungary, thereby condemning millions to starvation. But there are no protests worth the name against these outrages.

The motive behind these protests about Shantung are purely imperialistic. China, before the war, was the scene of a fierce struggle between competing Imperialisms for control; and the struggle must become more acute now. The only considerable competitor in the Far East of American Imperialism is the Imperialism of Japan; and there is a natural protest, accordingly, against solidifying Japanese control in China.

The "award" of Shantung to Japan is characteristic of the predatory peace of conquest concluded by the Allies. China was engaged in the war against Germany; but not alone is defeated Germany dismembered, but China as well, against the futile protests of the Chinese delegation, who refused to sign the peace treaty.

The American government O. K.'s this infamous act. It has diplomatic precedent, since it agreed in 1916, by means of the Ishii-Lansing Agreement, that Japan had special rights in China.

President Wilson is making no public statement concerning why he agreed to this act of spoliation against China in favor of Japan. But he has invited a number of Senators to a private conversation and inform them of his reason *under pledge of absolute secrecy*. This is the diplomacy of "open covenants of peace openly arrived at."...

The controversy engaged in by the Senate is revealing a number of things, prime among which is that the Senate is concerned, not with problems of justice, but with problems of power. It favors China in order to beat Japan, and aggrandize American Imperialism.

The Communist Party

THE National Left Wing Conference at New York laid the foundation for a party in the United States which will function according to the principles and tactics of Communism.

The name *Communist* is virtually certain to designate the movement of revolutionary Socialism in the United States which has already taken its more or less definite formulation as the Left Wing movement within the Socialist Party.

There is sometimes magic in a name, and no one would now seriously contend that the name *Communist* is without powerful appeal to the working class of the world. In the name itself is an eloquent expression of fellowship with the comrades in Europe who stand today on the firing line of the social revolution.

Even more, those who sense that our Bolshevik and Spartacan comrades, and the Communists of Hungary, are reasserting and advancing the call to the workingmen of all the world which went forth from London in 1848, in form of the Communist Manifesto, realize the entire fitness of bringing under the one name the unity of the long revolutionary preparation and struggle which has now come to the stage of final crisis. The *Communist League* of 1848, the *Communes* of the Paris of 1871, and the *Communists* who rule today in Russia and Hungary—all these are of one flesh and blood.

On the other hand, the name *Socialist*, although not without its inspiring traditions, has been dragged in the mire of opportunism too long ever to be resurrected as the party name under which the militant proletariat of all countries can hail one another in comradeship. It has become hopelessly the name of a game of politics which ignores the fundamental realities of proletarian life.

We do not mean to ignore the fact that there are individuals everywhere, by the thousands and millions, who today call themselves *Socialists* and yet function in absolute accord with the Communist tradition and understanding. We do not ignore the splendid Socialist Party of Italy, which has already joined with the Communist International and which we are confident will soon control the destinies of Italy as one of the sister nations of the new era of Communist civilization.

But in Italy there has been the determined, consistent march of the Socialist Party toward the goal of Proletarian revolution since the party threw off its petty bourgeois reformist elements in 19. There is no internal contract impied in the two names, as is there in Germany, in France, in the Scandinavian countries, and in the United States.

Especially is the name of itself given sharp perspective in the starting of a new party. In another month the *Left Wing* will cease to exist as a faction of the Socialist Party. It will merge the Socialist Party within itself, absorbing all its vitality and casting off the rottenness of a working class party of potential betrayal in the crucial hour of action. But the *Left Wing* must become the *Communist Party*, regardless of the fate of the Socialist Party.

Assuredly the inspiration and challenge of the Communist tradition should of itself be the crushing answer to the little group, hungry for petty power and conspicuousness, who are now trying to make of the starting of the new party a small game of intra-factional politics. The Left Wing must answer to the instinctive comradeship of the workers in America with the Communists of the world.