

# The Revolutionary Age

Combined with The New York "Communist"

National Organ of the Left Wing Section  
Socialist Party

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Bundle orders, 10 or over, 3½ cents a copy.  
43 West 29th Street, New York City.

Owing to the simultaneous resignation from the staff of "The Revolutionary Age" of John Reed, Eadmonn MacAlpine and Ben Gitlow, due to opposition to the joint call issued by the National Council for a Communist Party Convention on September 1, and financial disorganization, this paper appears in half its usual size. We shall resume sixteen-page publication with our next issue. But money is needed.

## Kolchak Collapses

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the fall of the Soviet Government in Hungary through a monarchist coup engineered by the Rumanian army and the Allies, comes the confirmation of the complete collapse of the military power of the "Government" of Admiral Kolchak in Siberia.

This collapse is the answer to the temporary success of the counter-revolution in Hungary. Kolchak, the Czarist adventurer and murderer of the Siberian workers and peasants, who has been financed by the Allies and acclaimed by the bourgeois press, is now no longer a formidable enemy of the Soviet power in Russia. And as long as Soviet Russia persists (and Imperialism prevails) the world revolution is still an issue that must challenge the proletariat of all countries.

So complete is the military disaster of Kolchak that his government is reported about to evacuate Omsk, the capital of the counter-revolutionary government. The Kolchak force have retreated more than eight hundred miles, and lost thousands of prisoners to the Soviet forces, which are thoroughly disciplined and inspired by the revolutionary spirit.

## The Yeast Ferments

CONGRESS and the President are discussing plans to end the "general unrest." The press is yelling frantically, now that something should be done, now that too much is being done, always ending with a screech against Bolshevik agitators.

Strikes are multiplying, food prices soaring, and an ugly temper developing among the workers. Union men are becoming insurgent, while union officials boast of "holding down the lid." There are explosions of resentment

against the President, against Congress, against the union officials. All dreams of a placid "reconstruction" period are now at an end: it is clear that our's is an epoch of militant struggles.

The discouraging feature of the situation is that there is no unified revolutionary group to use this critical situation for aggressive agitation and militant action. The Socialist Party still looks to action from the bourgeois state, and indulges in its petty bourgeois liberal propaganda; the I. W. W. has its nose to the grind-stone of petty strikes and organization insularity, not realizing the necessity of uniting all the militant forces of the proletariat; while the Left Wing is still in process of constructing itself for action in the days to come, unable as yet to act.

This situation will be the test of the Communist Party now in process of organization. After the organization of the Communist Party will come a movement conscious of its purposes, capable of merging in the general proletarian movement while maintaining its revolutionary independence and directing the proletariat to conscious revolutionary action against Capitalism.

## Communist and Socialist

AN instructive feature of the situation in Hungary is that the Allies were willing to negotiate with a Socialist Government but refused any negotiations with the Communist Soviet power. The new President of Finland, in an interview cabled to the New York Times October 9, said: "The Entente's friends, the Progressives and the Agrarians, combined with the Socialists, elected me to prevent a threatened new outbreak of Red turbulence."

In Hungary and Finland, accordingly, as in Russia and Germany and Austria, the Socialists are against a proletarian revolution, against proletarian dictatorship, become the "friends" of the bourgeoisie and the Allies against the revolutionary Communist proletariat. This is emphasized by the Socialists in all other nations repudiating the necessity of a revolutionary, Communist reconstruction of the proletarian movement.

Socialism, originally a revolutionary movement, is now ultra-reactionary. It is the enemy of the militant proletariat and the revolution. It is a traitor to the revolutionary ideals of traditional Socialism. It is now, in the eyes of the masses and the consciousness of the militant proletariat, the bulwark of Capitalism, directly and indirectly.

Communism, in accord with Marxism and the ideals of the first Communist International and united in the new Communist International is now the carrier of the proletarian revolution. The Communists everywhere are in the front of the great struggle against Imperialism, and their worst opponents are the old Socialists.

There must be a separation of the revolutionary forces from the dominant Socialist movement. The Communist International gathers unto itself all the virile elements of the old Socialist movement and the new revolutionary accessions from the conscious proletariat; it accepts all that is vital in traditional Socialism, restoring it to its original revolutionary integrity plus the new experience of the proletarian revolution in action.

The Socialist who is faithful to his revolutionary ideals must organize in the Communist Party. Any other course is compromise and a repudiation of the revolutionary task.

## The Plumb Plan

THE controversy precipitated by the Railway Workers is a vital and interesting one, exposing many aspects of that social problem which must become the great issue in the days to come.

Progress is implied in the Brotherhood proposal because of recognition of the determining fact that labor cannot permanently improve its status by dickering with wages and prices. But the proposal does not develop the implications—the necessity of breaking the power of the capitalists and placing control and management of industry in the communistically organized producers.

The Plumb Plan proposes that the United States Government shall purchase the railways and place them in the control of a government corporation, the Board of Directors of which shall consist of fifteen men,—five chosen by the government, five by the officials of the railways and five by the workers. The owners are to be given bonds paying four per cent. interest, these bonds to be "retired" after a period of years. Profits, up to a certain point, are to be divided between the government and the workers, to "retire" the bonds and to lower rates. Financiers are to be dispossessed of managing powers, the roads to become actual organs of transportation instead of material for speculation.

This plan has certain features which, while promoting a more efficient Capitalism (and State Capitalism) would not promote the workers' emancipation:

1) The roads would still pay a tribute to capital, which would possess the means for exploitation.

2) It would make the railroad workers a privileged cast, united with chains of iron to the capitalist state against the whole working class.

3) The application of this plan to the whole of industry is not feasible, since capital must have opportunity for investment, and these would be denied under a universal Plumb Plan in industry.

4) The government representatives on the Board of Directors would necessarily represent general capitalist interests, as would the representatives of the railway officials, who are socially, politically and economically integral parts of the capitalist class.

5) The plan does not break the power of the capitalists or the capitalist state; and the power of the state must first be broken before there can be an actual socialization of industry by and for the workers.

In effect, the Plumb Plan proposes a modification of the power of the capitalists and the lessening of their profits in the railway industry. But capital is a unity; and you cannot socialize one industry while the whole of industry is under the domination of finance-capital. The Plumb Plan, even if it did propose to socialize the railways—which it does not—would be equivalent to sneaking in at the back door.

The railway workers, as other workers, vaguely realize that their burdens are imposed upon them by the profit system. They must end this system. They can end it only by a general assault upon the citadel of Capitalism, by the conquest of the power of the state, and the socialization of industry by means of workers' control and the industrial administration proposed in Communist industrial unionism.