

Revolutionary Age

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For Communist Unity in the Revolutionary Class Struggle

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L E N I N

SIX years after the death of Lenin the International which he founded and led is in a serious crisis. This crisis he foresaw and warned against. It was Lenin who saw that the developing gap between the victorious proletarian revolution and the rapid construction of Socialism in the USSR on the one hand, and "the slow development of the proletarian revolution in West Europe" and America on the other, would lead to a serious crisis in the Communist International—unless these factors were counteracted thru the conscious development of a broad collective international leadership and a line of strategy based upon a careful examination and analysis of the objective situation.

THE INTERNATIONALIST

Lenin always labored to make the Comintern a genuine *international* organization, to gather in it all those who stood for the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the rule of the proletariat. He sought to develop a truly *international* leadership in which all sections would participate collectively. Without for a moment minimizing the international lessons of the Russian Revolution and the duty of the Russian Party to contribute its superior experience and capacities for leadership to the collective leadership of the Comintern, Lenin was very anxious to avoid the danger—or the appearance of a "Russian International."

At the VIII Congress of the Russian Communist Party he expressed this very clearly:

"Many comrades have talked themselves into the idea... of the submission of all national Parties to the International Committee of the Russian Communist Party. Comrade Piatakov almost said it. He makes a remark that it would not be such a bad idea. I must answer that if any one would propose any such thing we would have to condemn him."



THE "EXCEPTIONALIST"

Lenin fought very energetically against any attempt to force a mechanical uniformity upon a world which is one-sixth proletarian and five-sixth under capitalist rule—a world in which there is a bewildering variety of stages of development, "backward" and advanced countries, industrial lands and agrarian, big states and small states, developing ones and declining ones, imperialist powers and colonies and semi-colonies. With his insistence upon the "specific peculiarities" of political and economic structure, of culture and traditions, with his scorn for dogma, learning by heart and mechanical repetition of ready-made formulas, with his tireless demands to "investigate, study, ascertain, grasp the nationally peculiar, the nationally specific features in the concrete attempts of every country to solve the aspects of a single international problem"—Lenin was, in the terms of the heroes of new course, the arch "exceptionalist". It was in his classical pamphlet on *Leftism* that Lenin said:

"One must clearly realize that such a leading center (as the Communist International) can under no circumstances be built after a single model, by a mechanical uniformity and equalization of the tactical rules of struggle. So long as national and state differences exist between peoples and countries (and these differences will continue to exist for a very long time, even after the realization of the proletarian dictatorship on a world scale), the unity of the international tactics of the Communist labor movement everywhere demands not the elimination of the varied national differences (this at the present moment is a foolish dream) but such an application of the fundamental principles of Communism (Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat) which would permit of the proper modification of these principles in par-

:: In the Next Issue: The United Front By Ben Gitlow ::

ticulars and their correct adaption and application to national and national-state differences."

THE MAN OF THE MASSES

Lenin was always the bitterest enemy of demagoguery. Lenin was the most determined opponent of the theory of "spontaneity", of the theory that the masses develop political consciousness of themselves, without leadership, without theory, without organized direction. At the same time Lenin never tired of warring upon sectarianism, upon those who would abandon the backward workers, upon phrase-mongers, upon all those who mistake their own desires for reality, upon all those who put forward their own "impatience" as a theoretical argument. To Lenin the Communists represent a vanguard straining every nerve, every energy to maintain contact with the masses and to lead them forward—but never to remain a little sectarian group running so far ahead of the masses as to lose touch with them.

"The whole Communist problem," Lenin pointed out, "is to be able to convince the backward, to work in their midst and not to set up a barrier between us and them, a barrier of artificially childish 'left' slogans."

One of the most dangerous characteristics of the present line of the Ecce and of our Party is its supreme contempt for the masses and for every form of mass work. According to the new line all organizations with reactionary leadership must be abandoned. The new leadership is too "pure" to work among the backward workers and to fight for the leadership of these workers. All workers in the A F of L and other unions under right wing control are lumped together under the simple term "social fascists"—thus making work among them unnecessary. The faithful are comforted with the explanation that there is such a radicalization of the masses that the workers are "seething with revolt," are running ahead of the Party . . . The united front—of which Lenin was the foremost champion—the great weapon of proletarian unity and the great instrument for winning and politically educating the masses, for breaking them away from reactionary leadership, has been abandoned as opportunism. Whoever advocates Lenin's methods today is told that he is an opportunist and a counter-revolutionist.

Nothing can be further from the methods of Lenin than this wholesale spattering of every form of reformist, opportunist, petty-bourgeois liberal, social-democrat, captain of industry and capitalist politician with the single label of "social-fascist". The ordinary processes of capitalist government, such as the conviction of workers by capitalist courts, suddenly become "fascism" as if capitalist "democracy" had nothing to do with injustice against the workers, the use of police and troops against pickets, as if capitalist democracy did not represent a brutal naked dictatorship by the capitalist class, as if big business never ruled America before. All of Lenin's, all of Marx's teachings on the nature of capitalist democracy count for naught with the dunderheads of the new course.

THE PARTY BUILDER

Lenin's teachings on the nature of Party life, on discipline, on Party democracy, on the role of the Party have been forgotten by the leaders of the new course. In place of developing theoretical life, we find a most desperate effort to suppress all discussion. Workers are not permitted to say anything, not even to ask questions. They are ordered to make "statements" and are then told what the statements must be. Expulsion is "rationalized" on the belt and speed-up system and the production figures rise every week. To choke off discussion of political issues the most demoralizing slanders are resorted to. Lenin had something to say of such methods. In the *League of Liars* he spoke of a method

"that has always and everywhere proved itself useful and 'infallible' above all others: lies, shouts, slanders, repetitions of lies. . . 'something will stick!' . . . The heroes who use such methods are already thru."

The Social-democrats have always contended that the Communist Party was organized like a church, that everything had to be taken on faith, that there was no possibility of discussion, that discipline was nothing but dictatorship from above. Today, the new "leadership" of the Ecce is trying to justify these social-democratic slanders of communist discipline. Lenin long ago answered the social-democratic slanders and the present methods prevailing in the Party when he wrote:

"And first the question arises: Upon what rests the discipline of the revolutionary Party of the proletariat? How is it tested, controlled—reinforced, strengthened? First: by the clarity of aim of the proletarian vanguard and by its devotion to the revolution, by its steadiness, spirit of self-sacrifice and heroism. Second: by its ability to lead the toiling masses, to form contact with them and to a certain extent to fuse itself with the proletarian masses primarily, but also with the non-proletarian toilers. Thirdly: by the correctness of the political leadership carried out by the vanguard and by the correctness of its political strategy and tactics, based on the idea that the workers convince themselves of the soundness of this political leadership, strategy and tactics thru their own experience. Without all these conditions, discipline in a revolutionary Party, really capable of becoming a party of the advanced class whose object is to overthrow the bourgeoisie and revolutionize all of society, is impossible of realization. Without these conditions, all attempts to create discipline result in empty phrases, in tomfoolery, in clownishness."

Who can imagine Lenin endorsing a wrong line or ceasing to fight for a correct one, in order to hold a Party post or a "majority"? (majority for what, if the line is wrong?) To give up one's principles, to cease to fight for a correct Communist line, to make an unprincipled endorsement of a line which you know is wrong, is to cease to be a Communist, to you hold a membership card and a functionary's post or a dozen posts.

If Lenin were alive today, and in the American Party, with his theory of the united front, his insistence on working in all organizations of the masses, his "exceptionalism", his belief in realistic analysis as the basis for tactics,—how long would he last as a member of our Party under its present leadership? What would he say to the comrades summoned to the control commission to make "statements"? What would he say to those who debate whether they should give up the struggle to correct the line of the Party because they are threatened with expulsion?

"You must and you certainly will understand that once a member of the Party is convinced of the absolute incorrectness and harm of a certain doctrine he is duty bound to take a stand against it. . . at all costs."

So Lenin answered once before (in a letter to Gorki) and never were Communists more in need of such advice than at the present moment when a crisis threatens our movement with destruction in America and on an international scale.

"If Lenin were alive," some comrades say, "then we would never have had the present crisis." But it is idle to speculate. Lenin can no longer contribute to the solution of our problems, but Leninism can. The thing for every Communist to do by way of commemoration of the Lenin anniversary is to absorb and apply his teachings and fight for Communist unity and the reestablishment of a Leninist line in our Party and in the Comintern.

B. D. W.

Unite the Party on the Line of Leninism!

An Appeal to the Party Membership

THE District "Emergency Membership Meeting" is being held in the midst of the Party's gravest crisis.

Why are we today facing the severest crisis we have yet faced? Every Party member must ask himself this question. Every Party member must arrive at a correct answer to this question in order to overcome the serious situation and hasten and insure the strengthening of our Party.

There is an increasing danger that everything our Party has won thru ten years of hard struggle against American imperialism and its lieutenants in the labor movement—the Socialist Party and the A. F. of L. bureaucracy—will be wiped out!

Why is our Party in such a desperate, deplorable condition?

The present official leadership which was overwhelmingly repudiated at our last National Convention has been foisted upon the Party by Ecce in order to put thru an opportunist sectarian line covered with ultra-left phrases—a line in flat revision of the Leninist course of the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern. That is why our Party is being isolated, paralyzed politically and shattered organizationally.

Every comrade knows what energies and sacrifices it took to build the new unions. But thru its anti-Leninist policies, thru its campaign of terror and expulsions in the T.U.U.L. and the new unions (Dawson, Gross, Jonas, Myerscough, Vrataric, Weisbord, Zimmermann, Keller, Rubenstein, etc.) the present Party leadership is reducing these organizations to empty shells—undermining their mass basis, turning them into a mere caucus of a particular faction in the Party. The policy of indecision and confusion in connection with the fake "strike" of the I.L.G.W.U. has greatly hurt the campaign of organizing the unorganized and of fighting this reactionary union. Since the new leadership has been in power, the Party has lost control of the Iron and Bronze Workers Union and of the Window Cleaners Union. No mass fight and mass picketing has been developed against the injunction as in the case of the Independent Shoe Workers Union. The Party press has been used against comrades active on the picket line and in the class struggle (the silence of the Party press for over a week on the attack on Comrade Zukowsky by right-wing thugs). No concrete campaign has been organized against unemployment. The Party "leadership" has taken the inner Party fight into the T.U.U.L., the unions and mass organizations, expelling and removing comrades because of their opposition to the revisionist line of the present Party "leadership" and thus reducing these organizations to mere sects.

A similar suicidal opportunist policy of blind splits coupled with agreements including yellow-dog pledges and waivers has dealt a mortal blow to all the work that the Party had done and all the results it had gotten in ten years of struggle against the reactionary *Forward* gang in the Workmens Circle.

A right-wing, legalistic, policy in the Gastonia cases has brought about a condition in which we were able to mobilize only a small fraction of the workers we had rallied in the Passaic campaign which involved a struggle of far less importance to the workers. The disastrous results in the last municipal elections where the dead S.L.P. received a vote greater by 20% than our Party did, are entirely due to the false line and the Party-wrecking course pursued by the official leadership. At the same time the shop nuclei and shop papers organized during the past few years have been destroyed. The campaign for the recognition of the Soviet Union has been dropped. The Labor Party campaign has been buried as "opportunism," despite the decision of the Sixth World Congress to the contrary. All Negro work is paralyzed. Work amongst proletarian women is at a standstill. In fact, the entire Leninist tactics and strategy of the united front have been discarded. It has been decided that the I.L.D. is no longer to be a non-partisan organization. The All-American Anti-Imperialist League has been completely neglected at a time when it is necessary to sharpen the fight against American imperialism.

The columns of the *Daily Worker* and the rest of the Party press have been filled with slime, filth, abuse, character-assassination and mud-slinging precisely against those comrades who

These paragraphs are from the Appeal issued by the C.P.-Majority Group to the recent New York membership meeting.

have for years appeared before the masses as the leaders and spokesmen of the Comintern and the Party.

In the midst of a "membership drive," the official leadership is working overtime not to win new members but even to drive out especially the oldest, most experienced and tried proletarian forces that the Party has been able to develop. Utterly impermissible methods of struggle have been introduced—methods which degrade the very name of communism (the head-splitting brigades in Section 2, for instance) make our Party a grim joke in the eyes of even the most sympathetic masses, and wipe out the Comintern's prestige and good name which it has taken more than a decade to build. A most tragic phase of the chaos and disintegration is the degrading role which some of the Y.C.L. comrades have been forced to play in this costly mess.

The Y.C.L. has suffered even more from the false line of the present "leadership" in contrast with the progress of the Y.C.L. under the former leadership.

Hundreds of the best and most tried Party comrades have thus far been expelled. Several thousand have left in disgust because of demoralization. Our Party today has less members than it ever had before. The very leadership which has built and founded the Party has been expelled from its official ranks by a leadership whose outstanding and driving forces are just those elements who at the time of the foundation of the Party were still in the camp of the bourgeoisie: Foster, in the Gompers bureaucracy; Dunne, in the Democratic Party; Browder, in the ranks of the pacifists, etc.

An unprincipled factional regime today maintains its stranglehold on the Party chiefly thru using the methods of the reactionary A. F. of L. bureaucracy—the notorious Gompers tactics which the Foster clique has brought into our Party. And, under cover of the help of a handful of the former Majority leadership—comrades who have given up every Communist principle they ever learned or stood for—this ultra-factional clique, parading as the official leadership, is wrecking factional vengeance on the great bulk of the Party functionaries and members who accepted the "new course" only under terrorism, "enlightenment," suspensions, removals, expulsions, and even open physical violence. Expulsions are the order of the day in the Party. Suspensions, removals and expulsions are the first and only answer of the discredited Party bureaucracy to even the slightest attempt at criticism. Merely to ask a question in the Party is to insure expulsion nowadays. All remnants of Party democracy have been wiped out. There is a state of martial law, military siege in the Party.

The new Party leadership even goes as far as to say that the line of the Party for years prior to the Address was wrong and that nothing was ever before achieved by the Party, in fact, there was no Communist Party before the present ruinous course was begun. Thus is every decision of the Comintern before the Address and the Tenth Plenum denounced, repudiated and spat upon by the present Party leadership. We need only compare this line of nonsensical talk with the decision of the Sixth World Congress and even the Open Letter to the last Convention which emphasized that:

"Precisely in the period following the convention of 1927 the Party has been acting with increasing frequency as the stalwart leader of mass actions of the American proletariat and has increased its influence among the native workers . . . The Workers (Communist) Party has for the first time appeared in the role of a Party of political action capable of linking up the economic struggle of the proletariat with its political aims."

Comrades, it is just those comrades who have been mainly responsible for the policies and activities on the basis of which the above characterization of the Party was made by the Comintern who have been expelled and are being today expelled!

Comrades! The Socialist Party—the third Party of American capitalism—stands vulture-like ready to capitalize every loss our Party is having. The Hoover-Wall Street government is sharpening its attacks against our ranks everywhere. The enemies of the working class are rejoicing at the fact that our Party has veered away from its course of progress and now finds itself in dire straits.

We must answer with closed communist ranks—with a unified Communist Party again having a Leninist line.

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Editorials

“BANDE MATARAM”

THE Indian Nationalist Congress at Lahore has closed its sessions with the cry: *Bande Mataram—Hail the Motherland!*

In spite of all attempts to belittle the Congress, we need only read between the lines to find that the very volume of shouting betrays the fear struck into the hearts of world imperialism.

But the importance of this Congress lies far more in the social, in the class background in which it takes root and in which it took place, and which it only mirrored in a distorted manner, rather than in what was said or done at its sessions. The Congress, led by the “Moderates,” Ghandi and Nehru,—the temporizers and compromisers with British imperialism—adopted, due to the increasing discontent of the masses, a more “left sounding” but in the last resort only a policy of camouflaged indecisions, vacillation, and ineffective action. Nor did the so-called left wing of the Congress, whose strength is far greater than the number of delegates splitting away would indicate, come forward with the necessary, positive program for concrete, revolutionary struggle against British imperialism, for complete independence, and the rule of the toiling masses in the place of the native capitalists and princes.

We must register as the basic cause for the failure of any genuinely revolutionary program coming out of or even being proposed at this Congress the present policy of the Communists not to make their voices heard and their plans presented there. Such policies lead only to political sterility and not to really Communist, genuinely revolutionary struggle and action. In this instance it is especially timely to recall the advice of Lenin:

“It is likewise necessary to wage determined war against the attempt of quasi-communist revolutionists to cloak the liberation movement in the backward countries with a Communist garb . . . The Communist International must establish temporary relations and even unions with the revolutionary movement in the colonies and backward countries, without, however, amalgamating with them, but preserving the independent character of the proletarian movement, even tho it be still in its embryonic state . . . The revolution in the colonies is not going to be a Communist revolution in the first stages. But if from the outset, the leadership is in the hands of a Communist vanguard, the revolutionary masses will not be led astray, but will go ahead thru the successive periods of development of revolutionary experience.”

There's plenty of dynamite in the situation. The Indian powder magazine is nearing an explosion. In the last resort the petty bourgeois nationalist leaders consider it their duty “to prevent an explosion if it is humanly possible”—that is, betray the toiling masses. All the more reason for the Communists striving to hasten and direct this explosion so as to crush British imperialism and its Indian native allies and agents and to bring on rule by the toiling masses!

RAILWAY CONSOLIDATION AND THE WORKERS

STATE capitalism, once called by Foster “capitalist efficiency socialism” and for years considered by the Socialist Parties just plain “socialism,” has, within the last two years, been marching forward with seven league boots in the United States. A striking example of this is to be found in the proposal of the Interstate Commerce Commission to consolidate the railways of the country into nineteen (actually seven) giant railway systems.

Of course, this consolidation proposal is an essential feature of the multiplying war preparations by the Wall Street imperialists. But important as this feature may be, the plan of the Interstate Commerce Commission is already of great interest to the railway workers in their immediate every-day struggles, and hence of all workers, for better working and living conditions. The same can be said for the consolidation bills proposed in the Senate and House by Fess and Parker, two tireless railway lawyers.

The move to merge the railroads of the country is an integral part of the entire rationalization program of the capitalists. It is an integral part of the movement toward growing centralization of government and the ever increasing fusion of the State machinery with the machinery of the biggest business interests. Thus, the railway barons will be able to act in a still-more Czar-like manner against the great mass of railway workers in the matter of working conditions and wages. Thus, the federal government will be able more easily to intervene in behalf of the rail magnates against the workers in the event of a contest between the two class interests.

Thruout the entire report there is not even pretense of concern with the welfare of the railway workers, their conditions of employment, their wages, their homes. While the workers are treated as mere pawns or tools to be thrown or moved around in this merger program, the biggest capitalists are given every consideration. This is real capitalist efficiency with a vengeance against the workers!

LESSONS IN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

RECENTLY a New York Magistrate gave a young worker a valuable lesson in American democracy. So important is this lesson that all workers should learn it. The young worker was brought before Magistrate Sabbatino for collecting funds in order to help the Gastonia frame-up victims.

This act of working class solidarity was viciously denounced by the robed dispenser of pure capitalist “democracy” and “justice” in the following fashion: His “Honor” expressed great anxiety to get the young worker alone in a room for ten minutes where he could blacken the boy's eyes.

Of course, no one should be surprised at this affair. It is a recurring incident of “normal” American capitalist “democracy.” It is American capitalist “democracy” in action! American democracy never was any better or purer for the workers than the brand handed down by Sabbatino. His “Honor” may have been a bit too frank or somewhat too clumsy. Those liberals who protest against this clumsiness or those in the ranks of the labor movement who brand this frankness as fascism are both hurting the interests of the working class by actually misleading the workers as to the truly anti-working class character of capitalist “democracy” at its best and purest.

Bonuses to the bankers and exploiters, but not a cent for the millions of unemployed and disemployed workers! Favors and services to the ruling class but abuse, jails, injunctions, starvation for the working class! These are the lessons the pure American capitalist democracy teaches the workers. Let us learn and act as a class!

Lenin to the American Workers

“The American Workers Will Stand with Us Against the Bourgeoisie!”

Moscow, Aug. 20th, 1918.

COMRADES: A Russian Bolshevik who participated in the revolution of 1905 and for many years afterward lived in your country has offered to transmit this letter to you. I have grasped this opportunity joyfully, for the revolutionary proletariat of America—in so far as it is the enemy of American imperialism—is destined to perform an important task at this time . . .

The workers of the whole world, in whatever country they may live, rejoice with us, applaud us for having burst the iron ring of imperialistic agreements and treaties, for having dreaded no sacrifice, however great, to free ourselves as a socialist republic, even so rent asunder and plundered by German imperialists, for having raised the banner of peace, the banner of Socialism over the world. What wonder that we are hated by the capitalist class the world over! But this hatred of imperialism and the sympathy of the class-conscious workers of all countries give us assurance of the righteousness of our cause. . . .

The great Russian revolutionist, Chernyshevski, once said: *Political activity is not as smooth as the pavement of the Nevsky Prospect.* They are mere imitators of the bourgeoisie, these gentlemen who delight in holding up to us the “chaos” of the revolution, the “destruction” of industry, the unemployment, the lack of food. Can there be anything more hypocritical than such accusations from people who greeted and supported the imperialistic war and made common cause with Kerensky when he continued the war? . . .

The best representatives of the American proletariat—those representatives who have repeatedly given expression of their full solidarity with us, the Bolsheviks—are the expression of the revolutionary traditions in the life of the American people. This tradition originated in the war of liberation against the English in the eighteenth and the civil war in the nineteenth century. Industry and commerce in 1870 were in a much worse position than in 1860. But where can you find an American so pedantic, so absolutely idiotic as to deny the revolutionary and progressive significance of the American civil war of 1860-1865?

The representatives of the bourgeoisie understand very well that the overthrow of slavery was well worth the three years of civil war, the depth of destruction, devastation and terror that were its accompaniment. But these same gentlemen and the reform socialists who have allowed themselves to be cowed by the bourgeoisie and tremble at the thought of a revolution, cannot, nay, will not see the necessity and righteousness of a civil war in Russia, tho it is facing a far greater task, the work of abolishing capitalist wage-slavery and overthrowing the rule of the bourgeoisie.

The American working class will not follow the lead of its bourgeoisie. It will go with us against the bourgeoisie. The whole history of the American people gives me this confidence, this conviction.

We are accused of having brought devastation upon Russia. Who is it that makes these accusations? The train bearers of the bourgeoisie, of that same bourgeoisie that almost completely destroyed the culture of Europe, that has dragged the whole continent back to barbarism, that has brought hunger and destruction to the world. Oh, how human, how just is this bourgeoisie!

Its servants charge us with the use of terroristic methods . . . Have the English forgotten their 1649, the French their 1793?

Terror was just and justified when it was employed by the bourgeoisie for its own purposes against feudal domination. But terror becomes criminal when workingmen and poverty stricken peasants dare to use it against the bourgeoisie. Terror was just and justified when it was used to put one exploiting minority in the place of another. But terror becomes horrible and criminal when it is used to abolish all exploiting minorities, when it is employed in the cause of the actual majority, in the cause of the proletariat and the semi-proletariat, of the working class and the poor peasantry. . . .

For every hundred of our mistakes that are heralded into the world by the bourgeoisie and its sycophants, there are ten thousand great deeds of heroism greater and more heroic because they take place in the every-day life of the factory districts or in secluded villages, because they are the deeds of people who are not in the habit of proclaiming their every success to the world, who have no opportunity to do so.

Our revolution is unconquerable; every blow coming from the powers of madly raging imperialism, every new attack by the international bourgeoisie will bring new, and hitherto unaffected strata of workingmen and peasants into the fight, will educate them hard as steel, awakening a new heroism in the masses.

We know that it may take a long time before help can come from you, comrades, American workingmen, *for the development of the revolution in the different countries proceeds along various paths, with varying rapidity (how should it be otherwise!) . . .*

We are counting on the inevitability of the international revolution. But that does not mean that we count upon its coming at some definite, nearby date. We have experienced two great revolutions in our own country, that of 1905 and that of 1917 and we know that revolutions can come neither at a word of command nor according to pre-arranged plans. We know that circumstances alone have pushed us, the proletariat of Russia, forward, that we have reached this new stage in the social life of the world not because of our superiority but because of the peculiarly reactionary character of Russia. But until the outbreak of the international revolution, revolutions in individual countries may still meet with a number of serious setbacks and overthrows.

And yet we are certain that we are invincible, for humanity will not emerge from this imperialistic massacre broken in spirit, it will triumph. Ours was the first country to break the chains of imperialistic warfare. We broke them with the greatest sacrifice, but they are broken. We stand outside of imperialistic duties and considerations, we have raised the banner of the fight for the complete overthrow of imperialism for the world.

We are in a beleaguered fortress, so long as no other international socialist revolution comes to our assistance with its armies. But these armies exist, they are stronger than ours, they grow, they strive, they become more invincible the longer imperialism with its brutalities continues. Workingmen the world over are breaking with their betrayers, with their Gompers and their Scheidemanns. Inevitably labor is approaching Communistic Bolshevik tactics, is preparing for the proletarian revolution that alone is capable of preserving culture and humanity from destruction. We are invincible! The proletarian revolution is invincible!

—N. LENIN

The Conference of the New York T. U. U. L.

by Ben Lifshitz

THE New York Trade Union Unity League Conference held December 21 and 22 was a preparatory conference for the Metropolitan Convention to be held towards the end of January. The purpose of this Conference was to prepare for the driving out of all elements who oppose the "new line" policies in the unions.

The outstanding feature of the Conference was the size and character of the delegation. In contrast to the almost 400 delegates present at the May 18 Conference of the New York T.U.U.L. there were only about 70 to 80 delegates present at this Conference and only a handful were not Party members. The supporters of the C.P.-Majority Group were so strong that the representatives of the T.U.U.L. had to wait for quite a time before they could be sure of a definite majority. On the election of a chairman, Weisman, the loyalite candidate, received 41 votes as against 18 for our Comrade Jonas—this was the official count, it being necessary for Siskind who did the counting to "overlook" a half dozen votes for Jonas.

The first session was devoted to reports by Sazer, Siskind and Schmies. The reports of Sazer and Siskind were very superficial and neither of them took up concretely the problems confronting the workers and the left wing in the various industries. The major portion of their reports was taken up with lies and slanders and frame-ups against our comrades active in the various unions (Perlov, Razimovitch, etc.).

The main "speech" was made by Schmies who laid down the "line" for the Conference. He devoted himself to an offensive against those who resist the wrong line in the mass organizations. The only way, he declared, to assure the workers a possibility for struggle was to expell all of these elements from the T.U.U.L.!

It is most important to note that neither Comrade Schmies nor any of the other reporters found it necessary to spend one minute of their time—found it necessary to mention—the question of the struggle in the A.F. of L. and other reactionary unions. That the Hoover-Green pact and the shameful betrayal of the A.F. of L. leadership could be utilized as a point of mobilization of the masses in the A.F. of L. was not even referred to. All of the reports showed a sharp orientation away from the A.F. of L., an orientation to have nothing to do with the masses left in the A.F. of L. This orientation was closely connected with the line for the formation—or rather talking about the formation—of all sorts of paper "industrial unions" without any consideration as to objective conditions or prospects of development.

The Party leaders were worried—the opposition registered a full third of the delegates! This was too much for the Party representatives who had already announced in the official press that the "Lovestoneites" were dead. And so the credentials committee brought in a "clever" report, as "clever," some of the non-Party delegates remarked, as was to be seen at the International Fur Workers Conventions under Kaufman. Thru a tricky arrangement of "principles" the maximum number of

1. Just one example of the super-clever schemes of the credentials committee. All delegates elected from the shops controlled by the new unions were unseated on the ground that the unions were already represented thru their central bodies! Then this was so interpreted that a delegate, Victor Cibulsky, a member of the right-wing Local 24 Millinery Union, who had been elected from his shop, could not be a delegate because the strike in his shop is being conducted by the N.T.W.I.U. and this union was "already represented" thru its Joint Board! It is clear

delegates from the opposition were excluded, the opposition delegation being reduced to thirteen!

Very characteristic was the speech of Amter in the name of the District Committee of the Communist Party. Amter—who is notorious thruout the Party for his gross opportunism (Cleveland charter, "good" and "bad" mayors, etc.) and for Party wrecking—attacked and branded the comrades who are fighting for Leninism as "enemies of the working class" and declared that they must be "cleaned out" from the labor movement in order to enable the workers to make progress in their struggle against capitalism!

Comrade Otto Hall was the only speaker who called the attention of the conference to the fact that only two Negro delegates were present at this conference, that while "we are talking so much about carrying on Negro work, very little was being done to draw the Negro workers into the Union", pointing out that in the dress situation the field was being left to the right wing union which only recently held a meeting in Harlem with about 200 Negro workers present.

At the evening session, even tho a large number of opposition delegates were barred, there were still some representatives of the C.P.-Majority Group left. Comrades Jonas, Halpern, Newman and Gross spoke. Comrade Rose Prepstein introduced a resolution pointing out the great possibilities for work, the present wrong line of the T.U.U.L., and the concrete proposals to build the T.U.U.L. Comrade Jonas analyzed the situation in the shoe industry and pointed out the wrong line of policy of Biedenkapp and others. Comrade Gross pointed out that the conference had failed to achieve its purpose; to mobilize the masses for struggle—and that the attacks upon experienced and tested comrades could not cover up the fact that none of the reports had led in the direction of concrete struggle. He pointed out that the policy of driving out the so-called "Lovestoneites" from the T.U.U.L. really meant driving out workers from the new unions since these unions were affiliated with the T.U.U.L.

The effect of the speeches of Gross and Jonas and of our resolution was so impressive that it was necessary for all the "leaders" of the Conference to come out with a new offensive. Biedenkapp and Wortis—the two outstanding opportunists in the shoe and needle trade unions—had the audacity to call our comrades "rightwingers" and "opportunists."

For the official representatives of the T.U.U.L. Conference there was only one slogan: "Drive out the 'Lovestoneites' from the mass organizations and all the problems will be solved." The problem of organizing the unorganized into real mass-organizations of class-struggle, the problem of organizing the unemployed, the problem of organizing the militant workers in the A. F. of L. and other reactionary unions to fight the Hoover-Green pact, the problem of mobilizing the entire left-wing in support of the Needle Trades Industrial Union to help it organize the unorganized workers in the dress industry, the mobilization of the left wing in support of the shoe workers in their struggle against the injunction and the present lockout of the

that the "rules" were so arranged as to exclude our comrades. At first no discussion whatever was allowed on the report. But a big protest arose, Schmies had to take over the chair, and tried to start the steam-roller. All he allowed was for motions to be made and voted upon—he would not even allow appeals from the chair! Finally as a result of mass protest he was compelled to give Comrade Jonas the floor for a few minutes.

The VI Congress and the World Situation

By Will Herberg

IN a recent issue of *Gegen den Strom* (central organ of the Communist Party of Germany—Opposition) Comrade M. N. Roy has an article on *The Problem of Centralization* (the fourth of his series on *The Crisis in the Comintern*). After some very acute and generally true remarks on the question of centralization in relation to the present crisis, he comes to the essential political content of the article—a critique of the VI World Congress. This question is a very important one and since we believe that Comrade Roy's conclusions are based on a general misapprehension we proceed to examine Comrade Roy's arguments. In essential points his critique of the VI Congress deals with the estimation of the Congress of the present stage and of course of the world revolution. Around this question everything else centers. About this Comrade Roy has the following to say:

"The failure to see that in this period of its general decline capitalism cannot only stabilize itself but even prosper in particular countries led the VI Congress to set up the theory of offensive all along the line."

If this charge against the VI Congress were true it would be a serious one indeed. But is it? The theses of the *International Situation* of the VI Congress speak of the

"slow rate of development of the crisis of capitalism, in the course of which some of the principle parts of the capitalist system are on the upgrade while others are undergoing a process of relatively slow decline."

In speaking of the process of radicalization the theses point out that

"the resistance of the working class . . . is growing and assuming extremely diverse forms."

This was the general line of the whole Congress. Does this look as if the VI Congress denied that capitalism can "even prosper in some countries"? Does this look as if the VI Congress launched "the theory of offensive all along the line"?

The fact of the matter is that it is not the VI Congress and its main line that the sharp critique of Comrade Roy strikes; on the contrary it strikes very aptly the course of revision away from the line of the VI Congress now carried thru by the Ecce. Comrade Roy's arguments hit not the official World Congress but the unofficial factional "corridor congress", that was organized behind the scenes of the World Congress by Stalin and his supporters (Thalman, Neumann, Bittleman, etc.) and that carried on a demoralizing underground propaganda against the work of the Congress. It is the line of the "corridor congress"—now become the official line of the Ecce and of the sections of the Comintern and proclaimed officially by the X Plenum—that Comrade Roy really strikes at. It was

1. *Gegen den Strom*, vol. 2, No. 44, November 2, 1929.

bosses—all of these problems received but scant attention at the conference.

The official representatives believe that if they can drum together 1000 delegates to the next District convention of the T.U.U.L., the "Lovestoneites" will then be buried forever . . . What political fools they are . . . The only way to meet the problems is to have a correct Leninist analysis of the economic and political situation, to estimate properly the degree of radicalization of the American working classes, to work out the correct approach to mobilize the masses thru real united front movements from below, to struggle against the most powerful enemy of the working class—American imperialism!

the weakness of the VI Congress that it allowed *surface unanimity* hide deep dissensions, that it did not uncover, expose and condemn the "corridor congress" openly and officially. But this weakness *did not and does not* extend to the actual decisions of the Congress which are in the main generally correct and as clear and ambiguous as the decisions of any previous Congress, at least.

Comrade Roy does not see that the dangerous ultra-left line of the Ecce against which he is fighting is *not* a consequence of the line of the VI World Congress but is on the contrary a revision of this line. If this were not the case why then are those who first brought forward the line of the VI Congress and are defending it now being persecuted and expelled as "opportunists", "right wingers", and "renegades" along with Comrade Roy himself? Why has Party leadership after leadership been removed (America, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, etc.) composed of those (Lovestone, Jilek, Samuelson, etc.) who stood out most prominently as the enemies of the "corridor congress"? Comrade Roy should not let himself be deceived by the empty phrases of "loyalty" to VI Congress with which the new revisionist leadership is accustomed to strew its resolutions and speeches. Comrade Roy should compare the line of the X Plenum—which we all agree embodies the dangerous ultra-left line—with the line of the VI Congress and see whether they are opposed or not. Such an examination can only yield one answer: *the line of the X Plenum, the line of the present leadership of the Ecce, is a line of fundamental revision of the decisions of the VI Congress!*

At the VI Congress Comrade Tittel (now one of the leading figures of the CPG-Opposition) concluded his speech as follows:

"Establishment of real concentration of forces on the basis of the decisions of the VI World Congress!"

If this line had been carried thru by the Ecce (and thru the Ecce in the various Parties) after the VI World Congress, there would be no crisis in the Comintern now. It is because the concentration has taken place *not* on the basis of the decisions of the VI World Congress but on the basis of a revision of these decisions and—more broadly—on the basis of a revision of the basic ideas of Leninism, that we have the Comintern in sharp crisis today. A clear understanding of this fact will help very much to increase the Leninist effectiveness of the international Opposition movements.

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Plowing the Sands of Capitalist "Peace"

About the London Five Power Conference

By Jay Lovestone

THE road to imperialist wars is strewn with the wreckage of the "achievements" of capitalist peace conferences. Hague, Locarno, Paris, Washington, Geneva and now—the Five Power Naval Limitation Conference in London!

This conference clearly portrays the countless hopeless antagonisms among the imperialist powers and the unsolvable contradictions of world capitalism. United States Rear Admiral Bradley Fiske has well characterized the London Conference as "the greatest game played for the greatest stakes that the world has ever known." This is no exaggeration, in view of the fact that chief imperialist competitors today are the still-ascending American capitalism and the already declining British capitalism.

The New World Situation.

The London Conference is a landmark in world history. Eleven years have passed since the close of the World War. It was almost exactly eleven years ago today that Woodrow Wilson set sail for Europe to serve as the spearhead of American imperialism in its struggle for world domination. Today, American imperialism is again going to Europe, in the persons of such forceful spokesmen of Wall Street as Stimson and Morrow. But today U. S. imperialism goes not to win but to insure its already-won world hegemony. Eleven years ago U. S. imperialism, thru the glib phrases of Wilson, was able to fool millions of European toiling masses with its fraudulent peace talk. Today, U. S. imperialism stands exposed in its feverish war preparations; it has already won and is winning evermore the hatred of the toiling masses the world over.

Eleven years ago America's increasing participation in European affairs signaled the beginning of the stabilization of the badly-shaken, decrepit European capitalism largely thru Wall Street credits. Today, American imperialism's increasing interference in Europe means a sharpening of the antagonisms among the capitalist powers and an intensification, a deepening of the contradictions not only of European capitalism but of all world capitalism, already sharpened by the very stabilization itself. Eleven years ago, Wilson set sail for Paris at a time when Soviet Russia was still very weak and it was hard to tell its tomorrow. Today, Stimson goes to London, when the Soviet Union has grown powerful and is rapidly organizing socialist economy in industry and agriculture.

No one can understand the London Conference unless he views it in the light of this fundamental change in the world situation. But the basic issues which reflected the unbridgeable antagonisms among the leading imperialist powers eleven years ago have not disappeared. On the contrary, the basic contradictions amongst the leading capitalist powers have even multiplied and have become acutely aggravated. It is this situation which regardless of all the hypocritical pacifist fanfares of world peace, makes the London Conference another talk-fest superficially and momentarily blurring but actually emphasizing the irreconcilability of the conflicting interests among the capitalist powers.

Headlong to Another World War

It is significant that the conference will not even dare touch the question of "freedom of the seas." And it is here that we see reflected one of the sharpest antagonisms between British and American imperialism.

Of extraordinary importance, on the eve of the London Conference, is the declaration of the "Socialist" MacDonald Gov-

ernment that in the next war there will be no neutrals. Here we have it. This significant declaration is really a notice served by the British imperialists upon the American imperialists, that in the coming war, Wall Street will not be permitted again to wax rich as a "neutral" and then as a late comer but would be drawn in at the very outset.

The two leading powers at this "peace" conference will be England and the United States. It has been well said that the United States "leads the world in talking about peace and in expending money for armaments." Even the "Socialist" government of England which is so poor when it comes to giving relief to its rising army of unemployed, is spending a thousand dollars a minute for armaments. The burden is terrific. But the competitive system of world capitalism is based on war which is only the highest expression of capitalist competition.

What the Conference is After

It is under such conditions that the London Conference will meet. The conference will not even reduce, let alone abolish, armaments. In reality, the conclave will increase the total amount of naval armaments. Parity between England and the United States in cruiser tonnage and strength is the highest goal set by the super-optimistic bourgeois pacifists. But if parity in cruisers is agreed upon, then it will only mean an increase in armaments. The United States will then go ahead and build up to the limit not only in tonnage but also in murderous efficiency.

What the conference is really aiming at is to secure rationalization in the arming of the imperialist powers. The conference is after the most efficient, up-to-date infernal war machines at the lowest possible cost. That's why there's not to be any talk about chemical warfare, poison gas, air and sea-planes. The question of submarines will be soft-pedalled. Hence, every imperialist power will be glad to agree to a limitation or even a reduction of the huge and costly capital ships, the giant battleships, the dreadnoughts and superdreadnoughts rendered archaic, in a measure, by modern technique.

But the course even of capitalist rationalization of its armaments is strewn with reefs, harder than coral. On December 18, 1929, Premier Tardieu declared on behalf of French imperialism that "no final decisions would be taken" at the London Conference. The French imperialists frankly insist that the question of armaments must be considered in regard to the special needs of each power and not on "the application of mathematical ratios." France is losing no time in preparing for the coming war. While talking peace, the French capitalists are now building an unbroken line of modern fortifications all the way from Belgium to the Swiss border at the cost of over \$200,000,000. Today, the French imperialists have 57 submarines in commission, the same number as England, and are building forty more as against England's fifteen. The French imperialists, today, even more than at the Washington Conference of 1921, look upon the submarine as their best-suited weapon on their Atlantic Channel Coast and in the Mediterranean. But the British imperialist lion sits firmly on the rock between the Eastern and Western French fleets.

The Italian imperialists are in a somewhat similar position, tho they are less bent on insisting on submarines since they are not as self-sufficient in the matter of food as are the French. Therefore, Italian imperialism may seek to make a

deal here, for the submarine is mainly effective against seaborne commerce. Thus, when Mussolini talks of the limitation of all armaments, he is really hitting at France. Italian imperialism is insisting on parity with French imperialism. This means increasing the Italian navy.

The Plague of Parity

But again the parity curse comes to plague the conference. French imperialism demands a higher cruiser ratio than that allotted them at the Washington Conference and a submarine strength not equal but superior to the strongest submarine forces today. This means a French navy more than half the size of the British. Italy insists on parity. To grant the proposals of the French and Italian imperialists—even if the French were ready to do so, which they are not—would mean the possibility of a combination of two European naval powers superior to the British navy. This, of course, the British imperialists will never agree to, since the British ruling class finds it absolutely necessary to maintain a navy superior to the combined navies of any two European powers in order to "protect" its far-flung empire. No matter what position the American imperialists take in this clash of capitalist interests, they will be serving to sharpen, the antagonisms in the entire system of the capitalist balance of power relations.

Here enter the Japanese imperialists who, in the Pacific, occupy a role similar to that of the French and Italian imperialists in the Mediterranean. The Japanese imperialists are demanding from the naval "reduction" conference, that their ratio of 10-10-6, fixed for them at the Washington Conference in relation to the American and British navies, shall be advanced to 10-10-7, not only in capital ships but also in 8-inch gun-cruisers and submarines. The Nipponese imperialists have not forgotten that Wall Street has forced at least a temporary dissolution of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. The sharpening crises in China, Korea and Manchuria make the Japanese ruling class only more adamant in its demands. The Japanese imperialists, never spending much time on false pacifist phrases, are preparing for the final showdown in the Pacific against U. S. imperialism.

This is what the capitalists call a peace conference! This is what the imperialists call the limitation and reduction of armaments! The sham and fraud of it all was brought into sharp relief by their vigorous opposition to the genuine disarmament proposal made some time ago by the Soviet Union in what is now known as the Litvinoff Plan.

Danger Ahead!

But the imperialists are in reality interested only in devising the best and most economical ways of waging the next war—a war which will most probably be an imperialist attack against the Soviet Union. That explains why the *Review of Reviews* has boldly proclaimed that: "A strong American navy in certain emergencies could always be relied upon by Europe to uphold the principles of law and order."

"The principles of law and order"! It is under this black banner that imperialist reaction has everywhere attacked the workers. It is under this imperialist banner that world capitalism is preparing a new world war at London. Herein is the challenge to the workers of the world.

On the occasion of the London Conference we must redouble our energies in the struggle against the danger of a new world war, in defense of the Soviet Union!

On the occasion of the London Conference we must bring home to the workers of America the great lesson of Lenin—that when war breaks out our slogan must be: Turn the imperialist into a civil war! Overthrow the rule of the capitalists—establish the rule of the workers!

Who Has Adopted Trotskyism?

WHILE shamelessly taking over the Trotskyist platform piecemeal and surreptitiously readmitting into the Party expelled Trotskyists, many of them even without a formal declaration of their errors (Zalisko), the leadership of the Ecce and of the American Party continue to invent all sorts of "united fronts" from "Hoover to Lovestone". More especially, however, they continually discover that the C.P.U.S.A.—Majority Group is "uniting" with Cannon. But it is clear that these cries that we are uniting with the Trotskyists are only a cover behind which they adopt the Trotskyist program in all its essentials and on which basis they are now expelling those who in the past and at the present are the most vigorous opponents of Trotskyism.

If any proof were needed of the ideological affinity between many basic tenets of Trotskyism and the present line of the Ecce and the various Party leaderships, the speech of Stalin at the last Congress of Agricultural Experts has furnished it. In this speech he declared openly and frankly that the present policies are those proposed by Trotsky two years ago and for which Trotsky was expelled. Only Trotsky was "premature". This is an open shameless revision of the traditional estimation by the Comintern and the Russian Party of the Trotskyism as "menshevism hiding beneath left phrases." This is the road for the open incorporation of the anti-Leninist views of Trotsky into the Program of the Comintern. Is it any wonder that all the most outstanding Trotskyists are rushing back to the Party and finding an open-armed welcome there?

The Trotskyists who have not yet been taken back are not unaware of these developments. Their remaining outside is more a matter of loyalty to an individual (Trotsky) and an act of organizational self-preservation than a struggle based on principle. This is, of course, partially a reflection of the fact that the Ecce has substituted the campaign against the individual Trotsky for the struggle against Trotskyism. The Trotskyists today admit the absence of difference between themselves and the official leadership of the Comintern. But they explain this by saying that Stalin "has borrowed from the program of the Trotskyists". While being far on the road to Trotskyism, he has not yet gone all the way. According to them, he still occupies a "center" position, that is, half-way between the Trotskyists and those fighting for a correct line in the Comintern.

In the light of this attitude of the Trotskyists toward the official leadership, it is interesting to note their attitude toward those fighting against the revision of the Comintern line in the direction of Trotskyism. The common point of attack is—"exceptionalism." The Trotskyists attack us as "national Socialists". The Trotskyists have no other characterization of the various opposition movements in the Comintern than "national reformists". But the difference between the Trotskyists and the Ecce leadership is—the Trotskyists demand no "exceptionalism" for the Soviet Union. For (and rightly so) if the Ecce adopts an "anti-exceptionalism" policy, then is not the theory of the possibility of building Socialism in one country (the Soviet Union) also "exceptionalism"? Therefore, while Trotskyism has maintained its basic theory—permanent revolution, the impossibility of Socialism in one country—the Ecce now applies this very theory to every country with the exception of the Soviet Union.

In the light of this ideological rapprochement between the official leadership and policies of the Ecce and of the Trotskyist movement, let the Party members and revolutionary workers see for themselves where the united front is.

The Convention of the Textile Workers

By Ellen Dawson

THE recent convention of the National Textile Workers Union is a good example of how an organization with the greatest possibilities for growth can be crippled and paralyzed by false policies and destructive methods. It is a real warning to all Party members and all revolutionary workers of what is ahead for us in all mass organizations and in all mass work if the wrong policies of the Party are not immediately changed.

The "new line" of the Party had already done great damage to the Union even before the Convention. Because of their support of the struggle of the C.P.-Majority Group both Dawson and Pires had been removed in the most mechanical manner from leadership in the Union. Previous to that Weisbord had been removed as Secretary. Eli Keller was chosen to replace him. But in the end Keller hesitated in carrying thru the destructive line of the Party in the Union which means the destruction of the Union—and so Keller also was "removed" as Secretary without any authority or any ceremony. He was simply "put out" and a committee of three—J. P. Reid, Clarina Michelson, and Martin Russak—was "chosen" to take the place of Secretary until the Convention. Of these Clarina Michelson had never worked in a textile mill, Martin Russak was until recently a student in New York University, and even J. P. Reid who has good traditions, had not been working in a textile mill for a number of years. The few weeks before the Convention were full of confusion and demoralization.

The Convention was prepared on a narrow factional basis. No attempt was made to stimulate the initiative and activity of the workers and to elect the delegates from below. On the contrary the mechanical hold of the Party was paraded at every opportunity and "control from above" was the order of the day. In getting delegates to the Convention all efforts were made to keep out the "Lovestoneites" and everybody else who was suspected of having an opinion of his own or of expressing any criticism. But in doing this they also kept out some of the best non-Party workers and put the whole convention into a straight-jacket.

Some examples will show how the Convention was "prepared." From Passaic there came only one delegate who was working in a textile mill at the time. On the other hand the Passaic unit of the Young Communist League as well as the Paterson unit and other units sent delegates to the textile workers convention! In New Bedford, instead of having mill meetings to elect delegates they had a "general meeting" at which Nahorsky, the organizer, brought in a slate and if it happened that those elected were not the same as the slate, Nahorsky disregarded the votes and himself "elected" his slate. Only three out of the many New Bedford delegates were non-Party workers! Keller, a member of the Executive Board, actually working in a silk mill in Paterson was not permitted to participate in the Convention.

It was officially claimed that there were over 200 delegates, "representing 32,000 members of the Union and 240,000 workers in the industry." This is wild exaggeration. Even the number of delegates was exaggerated—there being no more than about 150. But that was nothing to the exaggeration in regard to the membership and to the "workers represented"—the figures were based on nothing but imagination, pure and simple. With such methods no organization can be built and the confidence of the workers won.

The Convention was carried on in the same spirit of narrow-

ness and suppression. At the very beginning, when greetings and the like were being sent, Keller got up and made a proposal to send greetings to the striking shoe workers of New York—which was greeted with hisses! Russak even made a motion not to allow Keller to make any motions at all! The attempt was also made by Nahorsky and Ben Wells (neither of whom ever worked in a textile mill) and their "strong arm" squad to get Ellen Dawson out of the hall but without any success. Thruout the whole Convention Dawson, Pires, Keller and Weisbord were bitterly attacked and this seemed to be the main task of the Convention.

Reid reported for the National Executive and Beal on the South. Amy Shechter reported on Women's Work and Sophie Melvin on the Youth—neither of them had ever been in a textile mill in their lives. The reports consisted of very little except the high-sounding empty phrases which sounded "revolutionary" but actually hid a complete lack of understanding of the real concrete tasks before the Union. Bill Dunne was the "general supervisor" of the Convention—that itself shows what sort of Convention it was.

There was practically no real discussion from the floor. Whatever discussion took place was very general and was fit more for a mass meeting than for a Convention. This was not the fault of the delegates but of the way the Convention was prepared and run and of the character of the reports.

The resolution adopted and the decisions of the Convention show that it made no real effort to tackle the problems of the textile workers in a realistic manner. The resolution is full of bombast and concentrates upon fighting the "renegades" and "right wingers." The decision to call a general strike in the silk industry in February or March as well as a general strike in the whole textile industry at a time when the Union is disunited and demoralized and when no preparations have been made shows how adventurist and unrealistic the strike policy was.

The Convention elected an "executive council" of 41 but the real control lies in the hands of a small group. Hardly any of those who really participated in the militant textile struggles of the last four years (Passaic, New Bedford, South) are now in the leadership. Neither Weisbord, nor Keller, nor Dawson, nor even Murdock is on the big council. The new secretary of Union is Clarence Miller, who never worked in a textile mill in his life and who has never shown any ability in any direction.

The miserable conditions of the textile workers in the United States, their lack of organization and the continual betrayals of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats makes the development of a militant union movement among them absolutely necessary. The workers are becoming more and more ready to struggle. In the past the National Textile Workers Union accomplished very much in the face of the greatest difficulties in supplying real leadership to the textile workers. But the "new line" in the Union which brings in disunity and weakness into its ranks, which deprives it of the services of valuable comrades, which makes it impossible really to tackle the great problems in an effective way constitutes a great menace to the Union. It must be overcome if the Union is going to develop.

1 It is interesting that this is the second textile convention from which Keller and I have been "thrown out." We were expelled from the convention of the United Textile Workers in 1928, just before the formation of the N.T.W.U. But there were given the floor for four hours to defend ourselves!

The Facts Speak for Themselves

THE Party press is full of the most shameful and slanderous attacks upon Comrade Lovestone for some alleged actions in the trial of Comrade Winitzky in 1920. We will not answer mudslinging with abuse. We merely reprint two documents: (1) the decision of the International Control Commission in 1925, and (2) the letter sent by Comrade Ruthenberg (then in Sing Sing prison) to the Central Committee of the Party on the same question. In the coming issue of *Revolutionary Age* we will have an article by Comrade Winitzky himself.

In this connection it should be remembered that Comrade Lovestone—against whom the Browders and the Fosters now make such outrageous charges—was not only entrusted with the highest positions by our Party but was frequently placed in positions of great responsibility and trust by the Comintern (e.g., *Senioren Konvent*, Statutes Commission, Political Commission, at the VI Congress, proposal that Comrade Lovestone be editor of *Communist International*, etc.) Even after Comrade Lovestone flatly refused to accept the Address, the Eccis was prepared to send him as its representative to direct its work in the country where there is now developing the most important colonial revolutionary movement, India!

DECISION OF THE I.C.C. CONCERNING THE AFFAIR OF COMRADE LOVESTONE, APRIL 8, 1925.

After careful examination of the entire material relating to the conduct of Comrade Lovestone at the trial of Comrade Winitzky (in 1920) and after hearing Comrades Foster, Cannon and Larkin on the one hand; and Comrades Ruthenberg and Lovestone on the other, the I.C.C. establishes the fact that Comrade Lovestone made some statements at this trial which do not entirely correspond to the dignity of a member of a Communist Party. In view of the fact, however, that the examination of Comrade Lovestone lasted eight hours, and the replies in question constituted a very small part of the testimony during which Comrade Lovestone defended the interests of the Party; that Comrade Winitzky, whom these replies affected directly as well as the Central Committee of the Party, continued their former comradely relations with Comrade Lovestone after the examination in court; that five years have elapsed since then and Comrade Lovestone himself does not now regard the answers as being entirely beyond reproach that such answers are to be explained by the fact that the Party was just in the process of formation and did not yet work out definite rules of conduct in such cases, the International Control Commission declares the case settled finally and for all time.

April 11, 1925.

International Control Commission.

LETTER OF COMRADE RUTHENBERG

354 Hunter St., Ossining, N. Y.
March 14, 1922.

Dear _____,

(1) The Executive Committee, on January 1920, some time prior to the development of the matter in which Comrade Lovestone was involved, had directly instructed Comrade Rose Stokes to make an appearance in a similar situation and enforced its decision against her wishes.

(2) The transaction which involved Comrade Lovestone also involved Ferguson and Rose Stokes. At first it was thought that certain legal provisions would relieve them from any responsibility and make their appearance unnecessary, but while the matter was pending the state legislature changed the situation by amending the law covering it. There was no meeting of the Executive Committee when the new situation arose and the matter was not put before it for decision. On the basis of the ruling stated in point one I personally gave instructions to Lovestone and Ferguson to make an appearance and also telephoned Rose Stokes, giving her the same instructions.

(3) Later there was an investigation regarding Comrade Lovestone's appearance and statements by the Executive Committee. At that investigation I assumed all responsibility for Comrade Lovestone having appeared, citing as my authority the previous ruling of the Executive Committee. The decision of the Executive Committee was that in view of my instructions Comrade Lovestone was exonerated from all

We Must Build Our Press!

ONE of the blackest spots in history of the American Communist movement is the methods of yellow journalism which the Party leadership is forcing upon the Party press. Lies, slanders, perversions, distortions—these are the political food upon which the Party membership is being fed. Methods such as these disgrace the Party and destroy its influence and prestige among the workers for years to come.

On a level with these methods can be placed the extensive use of the capitalist press by the new leadership of our Party and of the C.I. against us. Beginning with the Address, which was reproduced and hailed in all important capitalist papers in the United States and other countries, the bourgeois press has been devouring every bit of scandal spread by the Party leadership against us. The "burglary" story was gobbled up by the capitalist press, which even embroidered the story with "details" about going into hiding, the distribution of the booty, etc. Especially did the S.P., S.L.P. and renegade press (*Volkszeitung*) hail all the attacks against us, using this information (the only way in which it could be used) to discredit the entire Communist movement and the Soviet Government. Even in the special dispatches of bourgeois correspondents no opportunity is ever missed to take a slam at us. Thus for instance Duranty's dispatches contain attacks against us almost as frequently as the *Daily Worker* itself. When the Party "leadership" talks about the attitude of various class enemies to us, let them explain the extensive use of the bourgeois press against us. It is no accident that while our policies and methods of activity have always been such that the bourgeois press can make no use of them against the Communist movement, the methods of fighting adopted by the official leadership are easily adopted by the capitalists for use against us and against the Party—against the entire revolutionary movement.

REVOLUTIONARY AGE has to contend against these anti-Party methods of the Party's own leadership; it has to carry on a struggle against the capitalist press to save the prestige of the Communist movement—a struggle that has been completely given up by the Party leadership and press. Therefore the struggle of REVOLUTIONARY AGE becomes more than the struggle of a group within the Party. It becomes the struggle of the entire Party; it becomes the struggle of all revolutionary workers.

This struggle is being greatly hampered today because REVOLUTIONARY AGE does not appear frequently enough. The immediate need is to convert REVOLUTIONARY AGE into a weekly fighting organ—fighting for the line of Leninism within the Party, fighting for Communism among the toiling masses. The drive for a WEEKLY REVOLUTIONARY AGE must receive the support of every worker who stands on the basis of revolutionary proletarian unity.

responsibility for his appearance, leaving open only the question of what he said. The minutes of the Executive Committee covering this exoneration are in my possession and I will have them brought to New York and turned over to you, if necessary.

(4) As to what Comrade Lovestone said, Ferguson requests me to say, that he was present during the proceedings and Comrade Lovestone followed the instructions given him by the attorney representing Comrade Winitzky, and further, that he has read and studied the proceedings and that there is nothing that Comrade Lovestone said that was not already a part of the proceedings and that nothing he said could have been of any material effect in influencing the outcome.

I trust that this statement will serve to close up this matter definitely and relieve Comrade Lovestone from any further annoyance about it.

C. E. Ruthenberg (No. 17624)

The Workers Speak

ESTHONIANS CONDEMN PARTY WRECKING

The following resolution adopted by a large meeting of Esthonian workers in Boston shows the reaction of the non-Party workers to the wrecking campaign of the new "leaders."

RESOLUTION

WE, the Boston Esthonian Workers, readers of the *Uus Iilm* and its subscribers and supporters, protest against the act of the American Communist Party Central Committee and of the Party Control Commission in taking over by force the Esthonian working class paper the *Uus Iilm*.

We do not sanction such "Communist" tactic, and protest that the Party Central Committee ordered, in such a brazen, bourgeois manner, the secret invasion of the *Uus Iilm* headquarters, even before a statement appeared in any Party or other paper that A. Kobel, the editor of the *Uus Iilm*, who had been expelled from the Party.

We protest against the work of the present staff of the *Uus Iilm*, who are not satisfied with blackening the acts and character of the former editor, A. Kobel, but are trying to blacken and discredit the American Esthonian Workers Clubs and all those workers who are not of the Communist Party, not taking into consideration that the subscribers and supporters of the *Uus Iilm* are largely workers who are not Party members.

We demand from the present Central Committee and the present *Uus Iilm* staff, that the slanders against the former and better leaders and active workers, and such statements as "Renegade A. Kobel and Co.," must disappear from the columns of the *Uus Iilm*.

LETTERS FROM WORKERS

Dear Friends:

I am enclosing 50 cents in stamps for which please send me a copy of *The Crisis in the Communist Party of the U.S.A.* and number four of *Revolutionary Age*.

Being a patient in a T.B. hospital for the last few years I cannot donate anything for circulation of your paper, the R.A., which should reach every worker, especially those who read the *Daily Worker* and have been poisoned with its lies.

J. K., Fort Stanton, New Mexico.

Dear Comrades:

By accident I received the fourth number of *Revolutionary Age*. I read it thru from beginning to end and found that the information about you that I read in the *Daily Worker* and *Freiheit* is not true. Instead of a counter-revolutionary sheet I found that *Revolutionary Age* is a sincere Marxist-Leninist journal.

I therefore want to ask you to send me regularly the *Age*, from the first issue on and you will find the money enclosed. I would send you more money but at present I am out of work. I hope to send you some more money in a few weeks. . . I have been a member of the Canadian Communist Party for the last four and a half years. I am a leading comrade among the Jewish masses in Montreal. At present I am on the blacklist—they say I am a "right deviationist." If you are interested to know who I am and what I do in the Party I will let you know. There is lots to write about. The "new course" and the "new line" is applied here as well as in the U.S.A. I am not discouraged but on the contrary I am carrying on the struggle with more energy. . . .

I., Montreal, Can.

Dear Comrades:

I am a sympathizer of the Communist movement altho I am not a member of the Party. I have always supported the Party morally and financially.

I am a reader of the *Freiheit*. The *Freiheit* reported that the "Lovestone gang" broke in and robbed the National Office of the Party. And in another issue I saw a cartoon showing Lovestone dragging after Hoover and Green in support of the capitalist class. Does the *Freiheit* think that the workers are such herd of cattle that they will swallow everything that is peddled out to them?

In order to find out what is actually happening in the Party I attended a meeting in a private house with Comrade Bentall as speaker. Then I realized who were really the gangsters of

LIEBKNECHT

By MARION GRAY

IN August 1914, when the German Reichstag voted the war credits to aid the German Government to carry on the war, one man, Karl Liebknecht, led the fight against the war credits. August 4 was the day of betrayal. Socialists, so-called "leaders" of the workers in every country, called on the workers to support "their" governments. "Let us have class peace until the war is won," said these traitors.

Not so Karl Liebknecht. "There is no truce in the class war," said he. "The World War is for the benefit of the bosses. The real enemy is at home! No truce, but an intensified class war! Turn the imperialist war into a civil war! Fight for the workers, not for the bosses!"

Karl Liebknecht will always be remembered as the valiant fighter against militarism and as the champion of the youth movement. At a time when most of the leaders of the Socialist Parties were indifferent or opposed to an independent youth movement because they feared its militancy, Karl Liebknecht fought for a Socialist Youth League to act as the leader of the working class youth. When most of the Socialist leaders were opposed to an active struggle against militarism, because it would endanger the legality of the Socialist Parties, Liebknecht insisted on carrying on such a struggle. When most of the Socialist leaders were busily engaged in "revising" Marx, Liebknecht fought for the revolutionary principles of Marxism.

In his struggle against the war, Liebknecht gathered about him the best revolutionary workers in the country, including the youth. These workers, under the leadership of Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring, and Clara Zetkin united in the *Spartakusbund*, formed the vanguard of the revolutionary working class movement and served as the foundation of the Communist Party of Germany.

The Russian Revolution found no better friends than the Spartakusbund. When the German workers, weary of the years of war and of continued betrayal, turned against their rulers and started to follow in the steps of their Russian brothers, it was the Spartakusbund that was the guiding force in the struggle.

When the forces of reaction triumphed, they took revenge on the leaders for the heroic struggle of the Spartakusbund. For days, even after it was apparent that the struggle was temporarily lost, while the streets of Berlin were placarded with posters calling for their assassination, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were everywhere speaking to the workers, encouraging them to continue the struggle.

On January 15, 1919, these two great leaders of the working class fell victims to the assassins of the betrayers of the workers, the yellow Socialists. They were murdered in a most cowardly manner.

Liebknecht and Luxemburg are dead but the cause for which they fought and for which they died lives on. Not with tears do we in the revolutionary movement remember our dead. Not merely by building of monuments do we honor them. The answer which Liebknecht would have made to the blows and bullets of the assassins is the answer we make today: We fight on. . . !

the Party. (This meeting was broken up by a group of loyalites and a number of comrades injured.—Editor)

As a follower of Marx I know that "Knowledge is power" and that "In unity there is strength." So the Party "leaders" give us knowledge by breaking windows and beating up comrades and give us unity by expelling the best forces of the Party.

I would also like to state that in the Independent Workmen Circle I refused to sign the yellow-dog waiver.

I am enclosing five dollars as a contribution to *Revolutionary Age*. Comrades, forward with a weekly *Revolutionary Age*! Back to a correct Leninist line! For the victory of the working class!

L., Hartford, Conn.

In the Communist International

THE SITUATION IN THE CANADIAN PARTY

The crisis in the *Communist Party of Canada* is slowly but surely coming out into the open. Characteristically it has broken out in the foreign language organizations in its most virulent form.

The Canadian Party was one of the weakest in the Comintern, not only in membership but also in social composition. The overwhelming proportion of Finnish and Ukrainian membership and the practical absence of any Anglo-Saxon or French-Canadians was the outstanding shortcoming of the Party which would require the hardest work and the fullest united effort to overcome. Instead, of course, the Ecce decided to force the new course upon the Party, to initiate the hunt for the "right danger," to throw out the most reliable leaders of the Party, to set up a "new leadership" of discredited incompetent elements, and to throw the whole Party into demoralization and chaos.

The recent Canadian Party Convention (June 1929) marked the turning point. As representative of the Y.C.I. came J. Williamson, well known to the American comrades, and as representative of the American Party came C. Hathaway.

The *MacDonald-Buhay C.C.-Majority* had control of this Convention but because of their conciliatory and passive policy the actual hegemony rested with the former C.C.-minority (Smith-Buck), who were encouraged and led by Hathaway. The resolutions adopted endorsed the new course, etc., etc. Nevertheless, even on the new C.C. there were elected a majority of the former supporters of McDonald merely because it was absolutely impossible to find enough of the others to fill up the C.C. But the Polburo that was elected had a decisive majority of the "new leadership" who were committed to the new course and to the political extermination of the former leadership.

Comrade McDonald and his friends continued their attitude of political passivity with the result that it became very easy to push them out of any influence or control in the Party. It did not take long for the crisis to make itself felt in the movement. Valuable comrades in the unions and mass organizations were either removed or else dropped away in disgust. Then the crisis reached the big foreign language organizations. The new course of the Party, the policy of crude mechanical control from the top threw into turmoil the *Ukrainian Labor Temple Association* as well as the important *Finnish Workers Organization*. The Canadian Finnish Communist daily, *Vapaus*, and the comrades grouped around it (Vaara, Bruno Tenhunen, etc.) have taken up the struggle in a more militant manner altho they too still harbor illusions. Thus they have sent a delegation to Moscow to try to "convince" the Ecce to stop the operation of the destructive new line in Canada—altho it is clear that the new line was forced upon the Canadian movement thru the initiative and under the direction of the Ecce.

The Canadian movement is very weak and is working under great handicaps. The policy of passivity and vacillations on the part of those elements who see the danger in the new course will not help the Party. It is time that the foundations were laid for a clear and conscious Communist Opposition movement in Canada.

THE CRISIS IN POLAND

The Polish Communist Party has won for itself some splendid revolutionary traditions and in spite of the conditions of the severest illegality and terror has succeeded in developing into a powerful and influential mass Communist Party. Now, the new course of the Ecce threatens to destroy the work of years.

The new line forced upon the Party openly rejects the tactics of the united front, brands all non-communist workers as "social fascists", declares the situation to be "immediately revolutionary" and calls for the establishment of Soviets! This line is indicated in the following extract from an authoritative editorial in the Russian edition of *Communist International* (44-222, November 1, 1929):

"It is necessary to put forward clearly in Poland the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat and combine with it the struggle against fascism and social-fascism. The slogan of a Workers and Peasants Government, the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat must become the lever for the

mobilization of all revolutionary forces, must become the line of demarcation between the camp of revolution and of fascism."

At the same time measures have been taken to intensify the inner Party crisis in the CPP and to throw it into complete chaos by bringing into the foreground the well-known "struggle against the right wing". A few days ago the Polsecretariat of the Ecce adopted a resolution on "The Struggle against the Right Deviation in the CP of Poland". As representatives of the "right deviation" are branded Comrades *Kostreva*, *Stefanski*, *Brand*, and *Barthoshevitch*, who were in the leadership of the Party at the time of the VI Congress (July 1928). The resolution declares that in spite of the fact that these comrades have "condemned" the right deviations in other sections of the Comintern (Soviet Union, Germany, America) they nevertheless maintain their own right deviations on Polish questions; this, the Ecce declares, only intensifies the danger. Comrade *Kostreva* is particularly accused of conduct that "threatens to transform the right deviation into right-wing factional activity. Comrade *Warski* is "warned" about a "tendency towards the right" as shown in an article of his on Party history.

A WORTHY CHAMPION AGAINST OPPORTUNISM COMRADE COUNT VON MOLTKE

Among those who were sent by the Ecce to split the Communist Party of Sweden and to force the new course upon the membership was the representative of the Communist Party of Denmark, the chairman of its Central Committee, Comrade Count von Moltke! This individual—whose father was well known as a reactionary cabinet minister in Denmark and who is closely related to the notorious Junker family of the same name in Germany—has been a member of the Danish Party for no more than four months—and he is already its chairman!

And this is the personage who is sent to Sweden to drive out of the Communist movement men like Kilboom, Samuelson and others who have records of decades of service to the revolutionary movement!

THE ELECTIONS IN THURINGIA

On December 7, 1929 there took place elections for the provincial legislature (*Landtag*) of Thuringia, the results of which are very significant. The official Communist ticket received 85,000 votes, as compared with the 113,000 votes received in the last *Landtag* elections in January 1928 and with the 105,000 votes received in Thuringia in the last national elections in May 1928. This vote represents a loss of half the vote of the Communist ticket in 1924 (162,000 votes).

In comparison with last year's Reichstag elections the Social-democracy lost about 30,000 votes, still managing to obtain 257,000.

The real winner in the Thuringian elections this year was the *National-Socialist Party*, the fascists. From 27,000 votes in January 1928 and 30,000 votes in May 1928 the fascists jumped to 90,000 in December 1929. The other fascist parties also gained!

The ticket of the C.P.G.-Opposition received over 12,000 votes, located primarily in the most proletarian sections of Thuringia.

THE CRISIS IN THE OPEN IN SWITZERLAND

In the period immediately after the VI Congress the disastrous new line met with the resistance of the majority of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Switzerland which took a position in support of Comrade Humbert-Droz. The Ecce apparatus was set in motion and by the most outrageous methods the majority was "changed" and the "struggle against the right danger" initiated. Since then the Swiss Party, which was very weak at best, has been in a constantly aggravating crisis. Nevertheless, for a long time the opposition in the Swiss Party did not develop beyond a certain degree of "conciliationism," naturally with very little results. Recently it appears the development has entered another stage. On December 30, the *Inprecor* reported the expulsion from the C.P.Switz of Comrade Thalmann as a "right winger" and a "renegade factionalist." Comrade Thalmann was a member of the C.C. of the Swiss Party and formerly of its Polburo.

PARTY LIFE

THE NEW YORK MEMBERSHIP MEETING

On December 23 there took place in New York a special Emergency General Membership Meeting of the Party. For days it had been advertised far and wide in the Party Press—and shrouded in a veil of mystery—so that considerable curiosity was aroused among the membership. Then, “strong” letters threatening expulsion were sent out instructing all members to come to the meeting. Finally, it was made known that the comrades would be seated according to sections and that a “strict check-up” would be made. As a result, there were about 1200 comrades present and the tension was high.

The theme of the meeting was the sharp crisis in the Party—but of course only the financial aspects were permitted to be touched upon; anybody raising the political and organizational aspects is, of course, as is well known, a “renegade.”

Finally, after a great deal of whooping-up an appeal for money was made! It was declared that unless \$14,000 was raised in the next few days . . . ! The warning was even issued that unless that sum was raised the *Daily Worker* would perhaps have to suspend as a daily and be converted into a weekly. The results were: collection including pledges—\$5,000; cash—\$1,200. And here is how the \$1,200 cash was collected: from Grace Burnham (the widow of a rich soap manufacturer, a big stockholder in the New York Yankees, etc.)—\$350; from Lydia Gibson (a rich petty bourgeois artist)—\$300; from Edward Royce (a salesman and business man)—\$150; from four comrades \$50 a piece. The remaining \$200 was raised from the hundreds of members! Such was the mass response!

Our comrades distributed a special appeal addressed to the Party membership calling attention to the serious situation in the Party and appealing to the Party membership to unite on a Leninist line for a vigorous struggle against capitalism.

A SPLENDID PROPAGANDA MEETING

On Thursday, January 2, the Harlem Section Group (Section 4, New York City) held its first open propaganda meeting which was a great success. In spite of conflicting meetings there were thirty-five comrades present. Among these there were twelve Negro workers (nine non-Party), some loyalites and some sympathizers. Comrade Gitlow reported on the *Labor Party* question. His report was listened to with the greatest attention and was followed by a lively question period and discussion. Several of those present indicated their active support of our struggle and a number of subs for *Revolutionary Age* were obtained. The example of the Harlem group must be followed by all our groups all over the country.

LIFSHITZ SPEAKS BEFORE W. C. BR. 417

Some time ago the workers of Branch 417 of the Workmen's Circle (New York) decided to find out why the Communist Party of this country was being split and why the Communist movement was in such a deep crisis. They therefore appealed to the Party office and to the C.P.-Majority Group to send speakers to discuss the question, either together or one after the other. But the Party officials refused to discuss any questions. It was therefore decided to have Comrade Ben Lifshitz report on the matter, answer questions and lead the discussion. Comrade Lifshitz spoke at a well attended meeting (seventy present) on Friday evening, January 3, on the subject: *The Crisis in the American Communist Movement*. A number of questions followed and a lively discussion. Ten dollars were donated for *Revolutionary Age*.

SUCCESSFUL R. A. BANQUETS

The slogan: *Forward to the WEEKLY REVOLUTIONARY AGE!* is beginning to be answered by action in an increasing number of organizations of the C.P.-Majority Group. In the last issue of *Revolutionary Age* we reported on the successful banquets arranged by our Philadelphia and Baltimore groups. Since then similar banquets even more successful have been held by our Boston group and by the groups in Harlem (Section 4) and Bronx (Section 5), New York City. At the Boston banquet (December 29, 1929) there were about fifty workers present, a large proportion non-Party members. Comrade Gitlow was the speaker at this meeting. The attempt of the Party

bureaucrats to break up the banquet was in vain. At the Harlem banquet (Dec. 24, 1929) there were nearly sixty comrades while at the Bronx banquet (December 31, 1929) there were fifty-five present, in both cases a considerable number of non-Party workers. Comrade Lovestone and Gitlow were present at these banquets.

The success of the *Revolutionary Age* banquets is an encouraging indication of our contact with and influence over important sections of the Party membership and sympathetic workers. It is also a clear indication of what all of our groups must do in order to develop our organization and build our organ.

SPLENDID MILLINERY WORKERS SOCIAL

On Sunday evening, January 5, 1930, the New York Millinery Workers Group of the C.P.-Majority Group arranged a social for the left wing millinery workers for the purpose of discussing the situation in the Communist movement and in the left wing organizations. The party was a great success. There were about sixty present, of whom nearly thirty were non-Party workers. Comrade Zam spoke on the question of: *Proletarian Unity in the Mass Organizations*, pointing out how the present line and leadership of the Party are splitting instead of uniting the left wing forces. He declared that all Party members and all militant workers were faced with the duty of working for the unity of the left wing in order to preserve the mass organizations that have been built up thru years of struggle. The spirit of the social was very high and shows the influence of our comrades among the millinery workers.

“RENEGADE”—OR MILITANT FIGHTER?

It was not so long ago that our comrades in the Suit and Bag Makers Union (Arenoff and Razimovitch) were “expelled” from the T.U.U.L. group as “renegades” and “agents of the bosses.” They were kept off the slate and were viciously attacked at every opportunity. However, Comrade Arenoff was elected to the Executive Committee anyway. On January 4 took place the first meeting of the Exec. Comm. When nomination for the Office Committee took place, the secretary of the Party fraction, the loyalite Reitman, who had voted to expel Arenoff from the T.U.U.L., nominated the same Arenoff to represent the left wing on the Office Committee of the Union. Evidently he did not regard our comrade as a “renegade” and an “enemy of the working class.” This fact proves that the expulsions and wrecking campaign is forced upon the membership from above and that when the Party comrades are allowed to act on their own initiative they show that they regard our comrades as devoted and active revolutionists.

D. R., New York.

THE CRISIS IN THE PARTY INSTITUTIONS

The crisis in the Party is already beginning to tell in the breakdown of the various institutions controlled by it. The *Proletcos*—the cooperative in restaurant—has been closed down by creditors and is thrown into bankruptcy. This action came at a time when the Party “leaders” were negotiating to sell the restaurant to a private firm with the right to exploit the cooperative name of the restaurant! The *Unity Housing Cooperative* in Harlem is in a similar situation. Behind the backs of the workers a few “leaders” (Segal, Kravitz, etc.), all loyalites, sold the building to a private owner and took it back on lease. When the tenants found this out they refused to pay rent whereupon the *Unity Cooperative* took them into court and got the judge to force them to do so. On the other hand a number of non-Party tenants went to the District Attorney to ask him to protect their rights. The whole situation is a horrible mess and shows the depths of irresponsibility that have been reached in the Party under the new regime.

THE COURSE OF THE RECRUITING DRIVE

The tremendous weakening of the Party that has been brought about thru the consistent application of the false “new line” of the Address of the Eccl is brought out in tragic clarity by the recruiting drive figures published in the *Daily Worker*.

It will be remembered that the drive was to last for eight weeks (December-January); it had as its objective 5470 new members, 5900 new subscribers for the *Daily Worker*, 125 new shop nuclei, 68 new shop papers. It was conducted under such inspiring slogans as: “Fight the right danger! A hundred proletarians for every petty bourgeois renegade!”

Well, we are now in a position to examine results: The table in the *Daily Worker* of December 24 shows that in the first quarter of the drive period 270 members (5%) were obtained, 12 subs (0.2%), 9 nuclei (8%), 1 shop paper (1.5%)! Eight out of 16 districts did not gain a single member! fourteen out of the 16 not a single sub or shop nucleus! fifteen out of the 16 not a single shop paper! Results such as these should make every Party member think! In the *Daily Worker* of December 31 there are reports of the first half of the drive for the New York district. In membership 15% of the quota had been obtained; of the quota for Negro workers only 13%. The increase in membership (172 in a month) is no more—it is even less—than the usual routine recruiting necessary to overcome the regular turnover loss.

Comrades will remember the flourish and fanfare, the bombast and verbiage that marked the initiation of the recruiting drive. “Revolutionary rivalry,” raising of quotas by “mass enthusiasm,” everybody challenging everybody else in the most “heroic” manner—and now we suddenly hear of “irresponsible boasting” and “miserable records.” What has happened?

The facts of the “recruiting drive” show very clearly the inner weakness of the Party due to its false line, to the loss of its prestige among the workers, and to the disastrous wrecking campaign. It is a lesson to all Party members, to all revolutionary workers.

THE PHILADELPHIA W. C. SITUATION

The demoralizing effects of the Party's criminal line in the Workmen's Circle situation has already begun to tell in the most disastrous fashion. In Philadelphia the split from the W.C. was carried thru more successfully, probably, than anywhere else; at least 500 members split off. But in the ensuing weeks something happened! Finally, when on Thursday, December 26, a meeting was called for the split-off left wingers and for the left wingers in the Independent—hardly sixty were present. Almazof reported—but carefully avoided the subject under consideration. He discussed the Soviet Union, the Five Year Plan, and everything else, but not—the W.C. situation. When very pertinent questions were asked by workers, Almazof had a favorite answer—he “didn't know!”

B., Philadelphia, Pa.

To Whose Advantage?

The Suspension of Comrade Weisbord

THE *Daily Worker* recently announced the suspension of Albert Weisbord from the Party. This followed shortly after his removal from his post as Secretary of the National Textile Workers Union.

What is the real reason behind the expulsion of Weisbord? It is well known that Comrade Weisbord was one of the first to welcome the Address of the Eccl. No one has hitherto doubted his loyalty to the “new line” or his bitter opposition to “Love-stoneism.” But even Comrade Weisbord, apparently, could not swallow the corrupt and incompetent leadership that the Address hoisted into power. He had the temerity to raise his voice in some sort of protest—and out he goes!

Meanwhile, the bitterest enemies of the workers, the newspapers owned by the textile mill owners, are gloating over the sign of terror in the Party and getting the most out of it to discredit the whole revolutionary movement. Thus, the *Passaic Herald* of December 18, 1929 carries a leading editorial on: “OUT GOES WEISBORD.” In this editorial we read:

“A bull buffalo keeps going when the herd is stampeding and it's a wise revolutionary who swims with and not against the current of revolutionary thought . . .”

“Communism demands ‘yes men.’”

“And so Albert Weisbord, the dynamic, cunning Communist who came to Passaic in 1926 when industry was slowing down, and who made conditions worse and kept them so, for the sake of Communist propaganda, has been kicked out of the Communist Party. . . .”

“Weisbord has learned what the victims of his mischief making have learned long ago.”

To whose advantage is the Party wrecking campaign? To whose advantage is the reign of terror in the Party? The Party membership—the revolutionary workers—must answer!

JUST OUT!

WHAT IS “EXCEPTIONALISM?”

WHO IS REVISING LENINISM?

WHAT'S HAPPENING TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A.?

HOW CAN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT BE UNIFIED?

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That "Mexican Money"

A LETTER FROM COMRADE WOLFE

The letter below was sent by Comrade Bertram D. Wolfe to the *Daily Worker* but, of course, was never published. In spite of the information contained here, the *Daily Worker* continues to publish slanderous articles by Browder and others.

Editor, The *Daily Worker*

Dear Comrade:

I have just finished reading an article by Earl Browder in which he explains to the readers of the *Daily* that the Mexican Government is supporting the C.P.-Majority Group of the U. S. A. According to him the \$100 received from Mexican comrades by the *Revolutionary Age* was received from *Diego Rivera, Reyes Perez, Luis Monzon, and Fritz Bach*, who received it "from the treasury of the Mexican government, which in turn received it from Ambassador Morrow, representative of Washington and Wall Street."

Friend Browder is wasting his time. He should write dime novels or detective stories. . . .

To set the matter straight—altho I have little hope of your printing this to get the truth to our membership after seeing how you treated Lifshitz's rectification of the Baltimore lies and our correction of your burglary frame-up story during the time of the raids on your office by the Dept. of Justice—here are the facts:

1. Diego Rivera has no connection with us. He is in my opinion no Communist. When I was in Mexico, I told him so, and persuaded him to leave the party and regard himself as a sympathizer not a member. Why he was readmitted, I don't know. His expulsion now was correct. He is a great painter—a very great painter, but is not now, and never was a Communist.

2. Reyes Perez has no connection with Diego Rivera and no connections with us. He is a Trotskyite and an employe of the Governor of Guadalajara. He may have connections with Cannon. His expulsion was correct.

3. Fritz Bach was sent to Mexico by the W.I.R. In Moscow in the Executive of the Comintern, I was the principal critic of Bach's opportunism and subservience and service to the Mexican Government. His actions were defended by Willi Muenzenberg, but my proposals were adopted by the Ecce and his actions were repudiated. Since they involved support of the Government and treachery to Communism, his expulsion was justified.

4. Luis Monzon, has no connection with us or with any names which the talented novelist linked into a "party" He is an old man who once was a revolutionist and who wanted a job from the Government as "labor" ambassador to Russia. The Party properly forbade his taking it, and properly expelled him because his action helps the Government to fool the Mexican masses as to its true character.

5. The money sent us from Mexico collected from Party members and sympathizers. No expelled Communists contributed. The Mexican Party leadership has not degenerated into a revisionist position towards the line of the Sixth Congress so far as I can judge from its publications and actions (in spite of their formal endorsement of the new line) and has not expelled any member for supporting the line of the Congress or fighting against revisionism and for a Leninist line. Maybe Browder can go down and "annex" them for his line.

Yours for Communism,

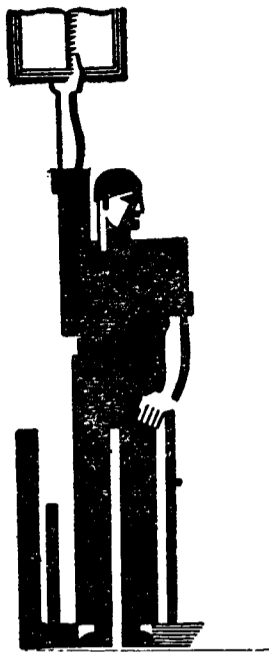
BERTRAM D. WOLFE

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Furniture Workers Strike

In the *Furniture Frame Factories*, 242-6 Newport Ave. Brooklyn, New York, a parlor frame shop, over a hundred men are on strike. The strike was declared against the demand of the bosses that wages be held up for a certain time. Comrade M. Perlov—whom Sazer and the Party-loyalties call an "agent of the bosses"—is a worker in the shop and secretary of the Strike Committee. The strike is in good condition and the spirit of the workers is excellent. The carvers of the same shop have come out in sympathy strike.

The Weekly Is Coming!



THE DAILY WORKER continues to discover new "united fronts" daily. The latest "proof" that we are in a "united front" with Trotskyists is REVOLUTIONARY AGE is sold by the same stores as the MILITANT. The DAILY WORKER forgot only one little thing—that these same stores also sell the DAILY WORKER and the COMMUNIST. This haste on the part of the new "leadership" to discover new "united fronts" only reflects their consternation at the growing demand among Party members and revolutionary workers for REVOLUTIONARY AGE, which induces news stands and stores to order it. This also indicates the growing need for a WEEKLY REVOLUTIONARY AGE.

The REVOLUTIONARY AGE can become a WEEKLY only if every reader and sympathizer does his share to make it a weekly. A contribution of ONE DOLLAR from every reader NOW will enable us to convert the REVOLUTIONARY AGE into a WEEKLY in a short time. IT IS NOW UP TO THE READERS. Your dollars can convert the semi-monthly into a weekly. Are you for it?

WHERE TO BUY REVOLUTIONARY AGE

New York City—All News Stands.

Newark, N. J.—Alle News Stands.

Jersey City, N. J.—All News Stands.

Boston, Mass.—Andelman's Book Store, Tremont St.—Shapiro's Book Store, 7 Beach St.—Goldberg's Warren St. opposite Waumbeck. News Stand, 38 Causeway St.

Pittsburgh, Pa.—M. Rose, 1332 Fifth Ave.—B. Hirsch, 1623 Center Ave.—P. & A. News Co., 220 Federal St., N. S.

Washington, D. C.—Gale Book Shop, 805½ Tenth St., N. W.

Cincinnati, Ohio—Barkers News Shop, 21 East 6 St.

Detroit, Mich.—News Stand, Michigan cor. Cass—News Stand, Michigan cor. Shelby—News Stand at Family Theatre.

Chicago, Ill.—Ceshinsky's Book Store, 2720 W. Division—Britchke's Candy Store, 1611 N. Kedzie Ave.—Borenstein's Book Store.

St. Louis, Mo.—Foster Book Co., 410 Washington Ave.

Kansas City, Mo.—Buehler's Book Store, 220 W. 12th St.

Omaha, Neb.—Ak Sar Ben News Stand, Cor. Haines Drug Co., 16th St. & Howard.

Butte, Mont.—International News Depot, 121 S. Arizona St.

Tacoma, Wash.—Raymer's Book Store, 1317 Pacific St.

Seattle, Wash.—Raymer's Book Store, 905—3rd Ave

Los Angeles, Cal.—Western News Stand, 604 Arcade Station.

San Francisco, Cal.—H. Koblick, 1010 Fillmore St.—J. A. McDonald, 65 - 6 St.

Montreal, Canada—Shulman News Store, 62 Rachel E.