

# Revolutionary Age

*An Organ of Marxism-Leninism in the United States*

*For Communist Unity in the Revolutionary Class Struggle*

VOLUME I  
NUMBER 10.

Issued by

Communist Party U. S. A. - Majority Group

MAR. 15, 1930

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## Smash Capitalist Reaction!

*Unite the Proletarian Forces Against the Enemies of the Workingclass!*

To all Party Members!

To all Trade Union Members!

To all Left Wing Workers!

To all Working Men and Working Women!

**T**HE most brutal capitalist reaction is advancing on all fronts. The attacks on the foreign-born workers are being renewed. The murderers of the trade unionist, Ella May Wiggins, are allowed to remain free while scores of militant workers are being continually thrown into jail for attempting to mobilize the workers for struggle. Strikes are being crushed in every part of the country by armed force and all of the so-called "civil liberties" are being wiped away by the policeman's club. The murderous assaults of the police upon the unemployment demonstrations in a number of important cities are being followed by an attempt to railroad Communist leaders on barefaced frame-up charges. Now Police Commissioner Whlen has decreed that no more workers demonstration are to be permitted by the police on the streets of New York!

The capitalist powers and particularly the United States are feverishly preparing for war. All the forces of reaction are being utilized in war preparations. Today the vicious tactics of the Palmer raids and the Lusk Committee are being revived. Hoover, Walker, Matthew Woll, the leaders of the Socialist Party, ministers, newspapers, the American Legion, defense societies, Ku Klux Klan and other patriotic organizations are all denouncing in the most hysterical form the Communists and the "reds" and are calling upon the government to take the "most drastic action" in wiping out the "Communist menace" in the United States.

In the face of a severe economic crisis when millions of workers are unemployed, these forces of reaction are preparing thru the policeman's club, thru jailings, thru frame-ups and thru blood-shed to stifle and to prevent the development of any movement to demand relief for the unemployed workers.

The severe economic crisis, the wage reductions which are taking place, the mass unemployment which prevails, the speed-up in the factories, are tending to increase the discontent among the millions of workers in the United States.

The forces of reaction are determined to prevent by all means this growing discontent from securing expression. In their campaign they are also determined to utilize this situation for the feverish war preparations which are taking place, for the campaign of incitement against the Soviet Union. They are today behind the whole campaign of repression

against the labor movement. Their plans are to prevent strikes, to prevent trade union organization, to outlaw freedom of speech and assemblage and to threaten with long terms in prison anyone who dares to criticize or offer resistance to the capitalist rulers of America.

In the face of such a reactionary drive against the working class, it is necessary for the Communist forces to pursue policies which will unite and consolidate the Communist forces and the militant left wing masses in the labor movement.

The official leadership of the Communist Party, instead of facing the responsibility which this attack places upon it, is at the present time pursuing a policy of splitting and demoralizing the Party and wrecking the left wing forces.

The present leadership of the Party refuses to recognize the fact that the present attack upon the Communists is not only a blow at the Communist movement but is the beginning of an attack to destroy all the forces in the labor movement that are ready to fight militantly and courageously against the capitalist forces in the United States.

The official leadership of the Party, instead of pursuing a policy of mobilizing and drawing into the ranks of opposition to capitalism as many workers as possible, has been pursuing a suicidal sectarian course absolutely foreign to the actual conditions existing in the country and in the ranks of the working class, a course which today has succeeded in completely isolating the Communist Party from the overwhelming majority of the workers in the United States.

The policy of the leaders in the official Party has resulted in driving out and expelling from the Party over 8,000 members. The outstanding leaders and builders of the Communist movement and the left wing have been expelled from the Party. At the same time the official Party leadership together with the official Party press is pursuing a policy of calumny and lying, in an effort to destroy those who have been in the forefront of the workers struggle in the United States and will continue to be in the forefront of those struggles.

Instead of pursuing the revolutionary task of developing a powerful Communist movement based upon the masses and the organizations of the workers, the leadership of the official

Party concentrates on issuing the most irresponsible phrases which, tho appearing militant, are pure adventurism and pseudo-revolutionary bravado. The very bravado which Stalin at this late date pretends to "recognize" as an error in the Soviet Union is prevalent in an even worse form in the leadership of the official Communist Party in the United States. The irresponsible phrase-mongering, the total contempt for actual objective conditions, the irresponsible boasting offers a very fertile field for the police activities and make it easy for them to attack and to smash the Communist Party.

The Communist Party in the United States fought for years to overcome its illegal existence and to function openly as a revolutionary political Party of the broad masses of the workers in the United States. Today we have the tragic fact that the official leadership of the Communist Party appears to welcome the forcing of the Party into an underground existence and is accompanying this by isolating the Party, destroying its influence and carrying on activities and issuing statements which open the doors of the Party for spies and agent provocateurs.

It is time for the members of the Party and for the militant workers to protest most vehemently against the actions of the official leaders of the Party and to demand that a stop be put to the present course at once.

The splitting and the wrecking of the Party must stop. The breaking up of meetings like the Ruthenberg Memorial Meeting, the spurring on of Communists to split the heads of other Communists must stop. There must be permitted the widest and frankest discussion of policies before the Party members. The system of lying and slander and frame-up must be ended. Only thru clarifying the issues before the revolutionary movement can the present demoralization that exists in the ranks of the Party be overcome. This is the purpose of the Communist Party (Majority Group.)

The necessity for the unification and consolidation of the Communist forces is today one of the most urgent and most necessary steps for the working class in America.

The Communist movement is in danger! The official leaders of the Party refuse to mobilize the workers against the onslaught of the capitalist forces of reaction. Instead of trying to rally the masses the Party leaders are today replacing the class action of the workers against the capitalists by the action of a small handful of Party members. Never since 1922 has the Party found itself in such an isolated condition and never before in its history has the Party been so discredited and lacked so much in influence among the masses.

**UNITE ALL PROLETARIAN FORCES FOR AN EFFECTIVE STRUGGLE AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT, AGAINST THE WAR DANGER AND FOR DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION!**

Workers! Communists! We must defend the Party against the capitalist attack! A blow against the Party by the forces of reaction is a blow against the whole labor movement. The best way to defend the Party is to demand an end to the present insane sectarian policies which are undermining the Party! Against these insane policies the CP-Majority Group is carrying on a determined struggle. Its course is the course towards the building up of a united consolidated strong Communist movement based on Leninist policies and tactics.

Rally to the struggle of the Communist Party (Majority Group)! Smash the attack of capitalist reaction! Build up proletarian unity against the enemies of the working class!

**COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A.  
(Majority Group)**

## The Ruthenberg Meeting

On Sunday, March 2nd, the Communist Party (Majority Group) arranged a Ruthenberg Memorial Meeting at Tuxedo Hall on the occasion of the third anniversary of the death of the leader and founder of our Party. The meeting was particularly important in view of the fact that the official Party leadership did not see fit to call such a meeting and only at the last minute transformed a mobilization meeting scheduled for March 5, into a so-called Ruthenberg Memorial Meeting.

Before the meeting opened the loyalites who were present began to create disorder, upsetting chairs and yelling. These disturbers were treated as they deserved. A little while later the loyalites organized a mass rush on the door. The committees in charge of the meeting proceeded to give these disturbers a lesson which they will not soon forget.

The meeting began with Comrade J. O. Bentall in the chair. Jack Rubenstein was the first speaker. Rubenstein spoke on "Ruthenberg and the Youth" and closed with the remark that "a united Communist Party would be the best memorial to Comrade Ruthenberg who died three years ago." Whereupon one of the YCL rowdies present shouted: "Too bad he didn't die ten years ago!" The other loyalites present also began to shout and hoot and jeer and the fight broke out afresh. This gave the police the excuse they had been waiting for and they closed the meeting.

Determined to hold a meeting at all costs the CP-Majority Group then hired Stuyvesant Casino. A day later the management returned the deposit and refused to run the meeting. Then Webster Hall was hired with the same results a day later other halls refused also. It was admitted by the management of Webster Hall that police pressure had been exerted to prevent the holding of the meeting. A strong police guard covered Webster Hall on the night that the meeting was to be held, March 4. Arrangements are being made to hold a meeting in a few days in spite of all these obstacles.

\* \* \* \*

What are the net results of the Party "leadership's" campaign of hooliganism? First and foremost, the Party is thoroly discredited in the eyes of the sympathetic workers who condemn most emphatically the use of police tactics by the Party. Secondly, the Party has given the police a pretext for closing down Communist meetings altogether, on the ground of possible disorder. The difficulty in securing a hall due to police pressure and the objections of the hallkeepers will be felt not only by the CP-Majority Group but by the Party and other working-class organizations as well. Already meetings of the Bath Beach Workers Club and the Bronx Workers Club have been entered and broken up by detectives. Other such incidents will follow.

The present Party leaders will have to answer with full responsibility to the working class for the great damage they are doing to the revolutionary labor movement thru their hooliganism and provocative tactics.

\* \* \* \*

### A WORKER PROTESTS:

When I found out that there would be a Ruthenberg Memorial Meeting I decided to attend and I thought that all honest class conscious workers should do the same.

I was astonished when suddenly there rushed into the hall a group, who without saying a word picked up chairs and other implements which they brought with them, and attacked those present in a murderous manner. And they were members of the official Communist Party! I believe that such things will convince every devoted friend of the world revolution that the official Party leaders are splitting the labor movement.

### COMMUNIST OPPOSITION DEFY WHALEN BAN AGAINST WORKERS STREET MEETINGS

The first attempt to break down Clubber Whalen's threatened ban of all workers meetings on the streets was made on Thursday noon, March 13, by the New York organization of the CP-Majority Group in an open air demonstration against unemployment and police brutality. This demonstration was held in Columbus Circle and attracted over 1,000 workers. The chairman was Chester W. Bixby; the speakers included Bert Miller, Ben Gitlow, Jay Lovestone, Marion Gray and Bill White. Nearly three hundred uniformed policemen and several emergency wagons led by Police Commissioner Whalen himself were on the spot—but in vain!

# The Need of the Hour!

*Communist Unity—A United Front of Labor!*

MILLIONS of workers can now see thru the fraud of American "prosperity." On March 6 scores of thousands of workers thruout the entire country demonstrated militantly against unemployment. The capitalist rulers of the United States answered the demands of the millions of hungry men, women and children in the only way in which capitalist rulers answer such demands. They made the most brutal onslaught upon the workers who were gathered to voice their demands. The police gave an example of their customary brutality. Again blood flowed freely, heads were smashed, workers were trampled under the hoofs of policemen's horses!

The pretext for this brutality in New York was the desire of the workers to march to the City Hall to present a petition to Mayor Walker demanding relief for the unemployed. What took place in New York City—where the former director of the exploitation of under-paid department store workers has now become chief of police—was duplicated in practically every important industrial center in the country. The tactics of clubber Whalen set the example for the clubbers in all other cities.

The police brutality was followed up by the arrests of hundreds of workers. An attempt is today being made thruout the entire country to frame-up a large number of workers on serious charges and to send them to prison for a long period of time.

The vicious methods used to break up the unemployed demonstrations, the mass arrests and frame-ups are part of a drive against the entire working class to smash their organizations in order to make possible the enactment of the most vicious repressive measures against the workers. It is part of the drive of American imperialist "democracy" against the Soviet Union. It is part of the drive of American imperialism in its struggle with the other imperialist powers.

The smashing of the unemployed demonstrations is part of the whole reactionary drive of the capitalist rulers of the United States against the workers. This drive is being supported by Green, Woll and Company, the leaders of the American Federation of Labor. International Social-democracy, in the person of Abramovitch, and the American Socialist Party, in the person of Hillquit and Thomas, are supporting this drive against the workers. The Hoover-Green Pact against strikes, the letter of Woll to the biggest corporations in the United States and to Congress demanding action against the Communists and against the Soviet government show very clearly how intimately bound-up with reactionary drive are these so-called leaders of organized labor in the United States. The liberals too have jumped on the band wagon of this reactionary drive in demanding that the "full severity of the law" be meted out to those arrested in the unemployment demonstration (*N. Y. Evening Telegram*).

The drive against the workers has only begun with the attacks upon the unemployed demonstrations on March 6. The laws being proposed in the United States Congress against the foreign-born workers indicate very clearly that the drive against workers is only beginning. The resolution introduced by Hamilton Fish in Congress demanding an investigation of all militant working class organizations has the purpose of preparing the ground for a drive by the Department of Justice and the various state agencies against the militant sections of the working class. It is clear that the capitalist rulers of the United States are not interested in the sufferings and needs of the unemployed workers. But on the pretext of the growing demands

of the unempolyed workers for relief they are making a brutal drive to further enslave and to subjugate the workers in this country.

The frame-ups against Comrades Wm. Z. Foster, I. Amter, Robert Minor and the others in New York City is only the beginning of a nation-wide movement to throw into prison all the militant leaders of the working class and to terrorize the workers.

But the capitalist rulers will not succeed in stifling the spirit of resistance of the workers against intolerable conditions; precisely because they cannot alleviate unemployment, precisely because the continuation of capitalism means the further impoverishment of the workers. *The reactionary drive of the capitalists against the workers must be answered with a mighty working class movement of millions against the capitalist onslaught.* The victims of the capitalist attacks, those against whom the frame-up is directed, must be defended with all the power at the command of the working class.

The wrong policies pursued by the leadership of the Communist Party in the development of the unemployment campaign must be corrected; they must not be repeated. The movement must be on the *broadest possible basis*, mobilizing all workers who are prepared to fight against the present intolerable conditions which capitalism forces upon them. It must be a movement to unite all working class organizations on a common platform of militant struggle regardless of their present political differences. It must base itself upon the actual conditions confronting the working class in the United States; it must not raise, as was done in the unemployment demonstrations, slogans which are untimely; it must not use tactics which do not help to develop and organize the movement.

The workers in the United States today are face to face with the necessity of making a most determined stand against the capitalists. The unemployment movement must be developed; the unemployment movement must be built on a broad basis. It must be an organized movement including all workers. It must be bound up with the entire movement to fight against the vicious onslaught of the capitalist rulers against the working class.

Against the offensive of the bosses—a united front of labor! Unite the ranks of the revolutionary movement—unite the Communist Party!

EMPLOYED! UNEMPLOYED!

**Demand  
RELIEF FOR THE UNEMPLOYED!**

**Protest Against  
POLICE BRUTALITY AGAINST  
THE UNEMPLOYED!**

**THURSDAY EVENING**

March 20, 1930. 8 PM

**NEW HARLEM CASINO  
116 Street and Lenox Avenue**

*Speakers:* Benjamin Gitlow, Jay Lovestone, J O Bentall, Marion Gray, Edward Welsh, and Chas. S Zimmerman.  
*Chairman:* Bertram D Wolfe.

*Auspices:* Communist Party of the USA (Majority Group). **ADMISSION FREE**



# Revolutionary Age

Organ of the National Council of the  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A. (Majority Group)  
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Published twice monthly by the Revolutionary Age Association,  
37 East 28 St., Room 807, New York City. Phone: Caledonia 2957  
Subscription rates: Foreign: \$3.00 a year—\$1.50 six mos.; Domestic:  
\$2.00 a year; \$1.00 six mos.; 10 cents a copy.  
Application for second class entry pending.

## Editorials

### WHAT'S HAPPENING IN LONDON!

**W**ORLD imperialism is scoring another brilliant "success" at London in its efforts to secure and insure world "peace!" The high-powered salesmen of international capitalist diplomacy are in a fine mess. They opened their conference with lavish declarations of mutual love. MacDonald's own King welcomed them. The churches blessed them. Wall Street's barking dogs, Morrow and Stimson, guarded them.

But to what avail? As we have foretold, French imperialism is hammering away at Italian; British imperialism is most disturbed and aroused by French demands; Japanese imperialism slyly pretends to be at the feet of United States imperialism. And the indisputable fact of the whole tragic farce is that the entire pack of imperialist pirates is at the throat of the Soviet Union! What else is the meaning of the proposal now being hatched on the Thames that the imperialist powers should "consult" each other "in the event of any disturbance likely to threaten the peace?" We have not forgotten the Kellogg Pact in the Stimson manouever against the Soviet Union.

The capitalist spokesmen are in a desperate effort to prolong the breathing spell between the last imperialist world war and the coming one. Some (British imperialism) are today too poor to fight those whom they have to fight for their place in the sun. Others (the United States) are not yet adequately prepared and are first trying to get as much as possible by the threat of potential overwhelming force. Still others (French imperialism) are demanding immediate guarantees of better success in the next war than in the previous one. Then again, some (Japan, Italy) insist on playing first instead of second fiddle in the next war concert. Some Americans are already saying: "We might as well bring our delegation home." Briand is standing pat. Mussolini is sitting tight. These are the "achievements" of eight weeks of "peace" conferring!

Should the imperialists fail in extending an all-around breathing spell or a slight slowing down in their headlong rush towards the next imperialist war, it would prove a major disaster to international capitalism. Such an event would go a long way towards dynamiting the underpinnings of post-war capitalist "stability." New alliances growing out of this conference, regardless of the Powers involved, can be only new alliances to hasten and win the next war. And the whole crisis is still further complicated and aggravated by the present turn in the world economic situation.

After the failure of American and British imperialism to "agree" at Geneva in 1927, came the present desperate effort at London. But what will come after London? Shades of Locarno, Paris, Hague and Washington! What costly wreckage! What miserable capitalist peace "successes!" To what is the London Conference leading? The answer is plain. To another imperialist world war! It is yet too soon to say how

straight or how devious the route will be. But the *direction* was clear from the very outset. Only the broom of the proletarian revolution can clean out the whole sordid mess of capitalist "peace" conferences and the imperialist wars to which they inevitably lead.

### STEP ON THAT VIPER!

**O**NE of the bitterest enemies of the working class of this country is the National Civic Federation. For years it has been fought by all progressive forces in the ranks of labor. Its acting president is Matthew Woll, vice-president of the A. F. of L. This is natural. The reactionary A. F. of L. bureaucrats are the lieutenants of Wall Street in the labor movement.

This is the secret of the latest letter of Woll against the unemployed in the name of this strike-breaking organization which is controlled boot and baggage by J. P. Morgan & Co. It is especially timely to emphasize that the guiding spirits in the National Civic Federation are the heads of those American insurance companies which have lost heavily thru the overthrow of Czarism and the victory of the Russian workers. That's a decisive reason why Woll is so vicious in his ceaseless attacks against the Soviet Union. We openly declare—and challenge Mr. Woll to deny and disprove—that Mr. Woll is on the pay roll of these finance capitalists and that he is simply rendering services for payment received.

Whenever there is any dirty job to be done against the workers, the capitalists strike their first blow thru the Wolls. Mass misery and starvation are the order of the day in the richest capitalist country. Mass unrest is growing among the workers. Every other building trades worker—front-seat holders of the labor-aristocracy—is now jobless. Lieutenant Woll, holding a "distinguished service" medal from Wall Street, fears the proletarian discontent too close to home. So he appeals to the A. F. of L. locals to unite against the Communists. Apparently Mr. Woll knows his enemies as well as his friends.

Woll rants against the Communists fanning "the fires of class hatred to destroy all civilized governments of the earth." He raves against attempts to lead the jobless into militant roads and "to violent and destructive ends." The audacity of the traitor Woll to speak of the Communists as "exploiting the unemployed!"

Woll is a poisonous viper, and as such he must be stepped on and crushed. Every labor organization should adopt resolutions unmasking and branding Woll in proper fashion. Woll is against class hatred of the capitalists because he wants the workers to hate each other, because he prefers class treason to the toilers to class war against the exploiters. To Woll, the governments of kings, czars, fascists, bankers and manufacturers, the government of imperialist wars, are "civilized governments" which must be preserved, but the government of the Workers and Peasants in Russia is not civilized and must be destroyed. Adequate immediate relief for the unemployed, militant struggle against the forces of reaction—this is what Woll calls "violent and destructive." It's high time the workers began to know the Wolls as well as the capitalists do. The sooner that is done, the sooner will the Wolls be yanked out of the trade union movement, and the sooner will the workers be on the road towards wiping out unemployment, corrupt trade union officialdom, and all capitalist exploitation.

### NOT AT ALL CONCERNED!

**T**HE unemployment situation has become so serious that even that arch-angel of Wall Street's prosperity, Herbert Hoover, has been forced to talk about it.

Of course, Hoover, Lamont, Davis and the rest of the multi-millionaire cabinet, are on the job frantically denying that there

is serious joblessness in the country. Hoover plays with stale statistics. But stale statistics can't stop starvation. Hoover tries to mislead the workers with the shallow, dishonest statement, that only twelve out of the forty-eight states are suffering from "abnormal" unemployment. What sort of bluff is Hoover engineering now? Why must he always Hooverize on the truth? Why does the commander-in chief of American Big Business at the same time forget that the twelve states where the workers are hardest hit, are just those states where the greatest number of workers are found? That is why Hoover didn't mention these states by name. We know them to be New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois, Ohio, Massachusetts, Indiana, Connecticut, Rhode Island, California, Tennessee, and Maryland. Besides, it is precisely in these highly industrialized States that the bitter fruits of Hoover's "prosperity" (election) campaign have fallen most heavily for the workers.

Hoover pretends to console the workers that the worst will be over in sixty days. Well, supposing Hoover's prophecy did come true, what should the jobless workers do with themselves in the coming eight weeks? Has Hoover or his parasitic ilk ever gone hungry for one hour, let alone months? This is truly capitalist charity and generosity that could be manufactured only in the efficient United States!

The economic crisis is still becoming more acute and not less acute. Industrial activity is cooling off to the freezing point. Sleet storms of wage-cuts and layoffs are the season's greetings to the workers. For the great mass of unskilled and semi-skilled workers the song of American prosperity is only "bubble, bubble, toil and trouble." But Hoover and Co. say things aren't so serious. Certainly not—for the dividend-devouring class! No wonder Hoover proudly proclaims that he is "not at all concerned over the unemployment crisis." But growing masses of workers are becoming "concerned" about it and this concern is rapidly becoming a basis for a joint struggle of the employed and unemployed workers against unemployment and for immediate relief!

### THE TROJAN HORSES OF LIBERALISM

**A** TRIED and true enemy of the American working class is liberalism. Its philosophy, tactics and deeds are poison—the sometimes chocolate covered poison. The gifts of liberalism to the workers are traps, pitfalls, and betrayals.

Today, millions of workers are facing starvation, tramping the streets, jobless. The Communists are working overtime, in the face of terrific difficulties, to arouse the hungry masses to take action in their own behalf. But, just at this time, when the workers are up against it most, the liberals sink a knife into the back of the working class. Thus, Heywood Broun, a most talkative and reputed liberal, joins hands with Whalen, Walker, Du Pont, Hoover and Mellon in denouncing the Communists. This highly self-overestimated apostle of "truth and fairness" screeches:

*"It does not seem to me that the Communists have done the unemployed any good. I doubt that they intended to. Even the most sincere and optimistic believer in the economic philosophy of Russia, can hardly contend that successful results can be obtained except after tribulation and the long pull."*

It is entirely natural that of all the New York papers, Heywood Broun's liberal *New York Telegram* should be the loudest and most virulent in the demand that the arrested Communists should be railroaded to jail with the speed of the most powerful locomotive. This is the role of liberalism in a show-down. The Brouns and their philosophies are only symbols and expressions of capitalist decay and degeneracy. Let the workers be on guard—especially against their soft, sweet, "clever" words, which are only a mask for capitalist brutality!



## Lenin Said:

### ON LEADERS

**P**OLITICAL thought... has progressed far enough... to make it clear that without ten leaders of talent—and talent is not born by the hundred—proved, trained to their task, schooled in it thru long years, it is impossible in present-day society for any class to carry on any sort of energetic struggle.

—Where To Begin.

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### ON LEADERSHIP OF THE MASSES

**M**ILLIONS of men and women will never follow the advice of a Party if that advice does not coincide with what the experience of their own lives teaches those people.

—Speech at I All-Russian Congress of Peasants Deputies, 1917.

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### ON CONTACT WITH THE MASSES

**I**NSEPARABLE contact with the masses of the workers; to possess the ability to carry on continuous agitation among them; to take part in every strike, to respond to every need of the masses—these are the principal things a Communist Party must do.

—A Letter to a British Communist, 1919.

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### ON INTERRELATION WITH THE MASSES

**I**N order to assure victory over capitalism it is necessary to establish proper interrelations... with the masses... We must learn to approach the masses with particular patience and caution, to understand the peculiar features of the psychology of each stratum, profession, etc. among the workers.

—The Infantile Sickness of "Leftism."

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### ON THE TWO CAMPS IN THE MODERN WORLD

**T**HE characteristic feature of imperialism is that the whole world is divided at the present time into a large number of oppressed nations on the one hand and an insignificant number of oppressing nations which possess colonial wealth and powerful military forces on the other.

—Report on Colonial Question at II Congress, C.I., 1920.

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### ON THE ALLIANCE WITH COLONIAL REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

**T**O think that the social revolution is possible unless the small nations in the colonies and in Europe revolt, unless a revolutionary outbreak occurs among certain sections of the petty bourgeoisie in spite of all its prejudices, unless a movement breaks out among the non class-conscious proletarians and semi-proletarians against landlordism, clericalism, monarchy, and national and other tyranny—to believe this means to renounce the social revolution.

—Discussion on Self-Determination, 1916.

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### ON THE SUPPORT OF THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

**W**E would be very bad revolutionists if in the great proletarian war for liberation and Socialism we failed to utilize every nationalist movement against the various misfortunes caused by imperialism for the purpose of intensifying and expanding the crisis. If we shouted at all the cross-roads that we were "opposed" to all kinds of nationalist oppression while at the same time described the heroic rebellion of the most active and intelligent sections of certain classes of the oppressed nations against their oppressors as a "putsch" we would sink to the level of stupid Kautskyans.

—Discussion on Self-Determination, 1916.

# The "New Turn" and the Crisis in the C. I.

By Will Herberg

Office at New York, N. Y., under the no. 100  
DAY, MARCH 4, 1930

## WORKERS CLASH WITH FASCISTS IN GERMANY

Stalin Criticizes Wrong Views of Five-Year Plan

Against Exaggeration

German Red Unions Win Victories

(Wireless By Imprecors)  
BERLIN, March 3.—On Saturday there were collisions between fascists and police and masses of workers before the Liebknecht House, headquarters of the Communist Party, in connection with the funeral procession of a fascist who had been killed. The police cordon was broken and the fascists and workers came to grips. There were small collisions between police and workers with numerous shots fired, and this continued till late at night.

STALIN WARNS AGAINST WRONG POLICY.

(Wireless By Imprecors)  
MOSCOW, March 3.—Yesterday's "Pravda" carries an article by Josef Stalin, general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, entitled "Successes of Our Party," which is a warning to the Party to be on guard against the danger of the "new turn" in the line of the CPSU.

IN an article published in *Pravda* and in the whole Soviet press on March 2, Joseph Stalin, General Secretary of the CPSU, launches an attack upon the belief that "a Communist utopia can be established in the villages by bureaucratic ordinances." He warns against the danger of producing a "rupture between the Communist Party and the masses." He urged "caution" and "care" in dealing with the carrying thru of the Five-Year Plan, in the problems of industrialization and collectivization! And Walter Duranty, (the *Times* correspondent) who a few months ago hailed Stalin as greater than Lenin because of his "return to uncompromising Communism" now hails Stalin as "on a level with Lenin himself" because "he knows when and how to compromise!"

The "new turn" in the policy of the CPSU, as signaled in the declaration of Stalin, is of a piece with the "new turn" in the Comintern that was made public in the now famous speech of Comrade Manuilsky at the recent Plenum of the E C YCI. The character of this "new turn," the factors that have brought it about, as well as the manner in which it was brought about, expose very clearly the real depth of the crisis in the Communist International and show that only a radical change in the entire method of leadership and a complete right-about-face in the tactical line can lead the Comintern out of the blind alley into which it is heading!

How is the "new turn" in the line of the CPSU brought about? Does Comrade Stalin as leader of the Bolshevik Party exercise the much talked about self-criticism? Does Comrade Stalin declare that at least some mistakes were made in the line of the CPSU and that now some revision of the line is necessary? Does Comrade Stalin admit that there were once elements in the CPSU who urged "caution" and "care," who warned against the "rupture between the Party and the masses," etc. in almost the same terms as does Comrade Stalin today but before and not after the events? Does Comrade Stalin have anything to say about the fact that merely to raise these questions a few months ago would have been to invite expulsion from the Party—and worse? Does Comrade Stalin explain why now the "new turn" is necessary? No! Nothing of the kind! Comrade Stalin actually declares that it is not any shortcomings in the policy of the CPSU that makes any new turn necessary; on the contrary he maintains it is the very correctness of the line that leads to its revision! Stalin was right then—Stalin is right now—Stalin will always be right!

What are the factors that have brought about the "new turn" in the CPSU? Not a real recognition of the demands of the objective situation in the Soviet Union but far more the actual requirements of the inner-Party situation in the CPSU. In order to smash Bukharin and his friends Stalin found it necessary to heighten the tempo of the building of Socialism and to resort to methods of struggle without regard to the objective

situation and the relation of class forces. Now with Bukharin (as an organized opposition) smashed, Stalin executes a "strategic retreat." But it is necessary for the Communists and workers to realize that neither the original course nor the present "new turn" was dictated by or based upon the demands of the objective situation but far more by the question of factional advantage or disadvantage in the CPSU and internationally. On such a basis any turn and twists—no matter in what direction—can bring no real benefit or good to the CPSU or the CI; all they can do is to heighten the crisis and to intensify and aggravate the false method of leadership to which the crisis is due.

The "new turn" in the Comintern is of the same character. Introduced partly as a reflection of the inner-Party relations in the CPSU and partly because it was no longer possible to avoid "doing something" about the crisis, how has this "new turn" been executed? By suddenly beginning a mock war against the "left" without explanation or discussion! By finding here and there a scapegoat (Shatzkin, Reimann, Fried) on whom to unload the entire responsibility for the disastrous situation in the Comintern! But never an honest reexamination of the line of the Ecce! Never a question as to the correctness of the line that has led to isolation, chaos, and disintegration! And not a word about the fact that the "new turn" merely repeats in halting, confused and partial form what the Communist Oppositions have been declaring for many months and for what they were expelled for declaring! In the Comintern also the "new turn" is not based upon a change of line as a result of the examination of objective conditions; here also it is dictated by questions of factional advantage and bureaucratic necessity!

In America too there is a "new turn"—just beginning. At the recent New York TUUL conference Comrade Johnstone discovered that it is necessary to do Communist work in the reactionary unions! Is it not curious that he discovered this novel fact at precisely this time? But did Comrade Johnstone exercise a little self-criticism and reexamine the ultra-sectarian Party line of the last year and more? Did Comrade Johnstone have anything to say about the fact that the comrades of the CP-Majority Group were expelled as "opportunists" and "renegades" precisely because they insisted on the necessity of Communist work in the mass organizations? Is this "new turn" of Comrade Johnstone dictated by the necessities of the American class struggle? Nothing of the kind! It is dictated by the principle of "factional symmetry"—the Manuilsky maneuver must be transferred to the USA! Such new turns can bring nothing but further harm to our Party!

What is the real content of the "new turn?" Is it not significant that precisely at the time when the mock battle against the "ultra-left" waxes hottest, the ultra-left line of the Ecce and the American Party is carried to the most extravagant limits? Is it not characteristic that Manuilsky, the champion against the ultra-left, declares that the dictatorship of the proletariat is on the order of business in a whole series of European countries? Is it not significant that those in the American Party leadership who are now learning to repeat some phrases about mass work, are raising the isolationist line of the Party into a whole system (as, e.g., in the unemployment campaign) and are deliberately replacing the class action of the workers by the isolated action of a handful of Party members? The fact is: all the twists and turns that may be executed cannot change the basically ultra-left course of the Ecce because this ultra-left course is a direct result of the failure to bridge the gap between the rapid growth of Socialism in the USSR and the retarded pace of the revolution in the capitalist countries by the development of a real international collective leadership for the Comintern, a leadership really reflecting the world revolutionary movement. Until this is done all "new turns" and diplomatic maneuverings will change nothing for the better; they will only aggravate the dangerous crisis in the Comintern!

The present situation offers great opportunities to the Communist Oppositions all over the world. The unexplained twists

# The Mexican Workers in the Southwest

by D. R. Ortega

ONE of the most serious problems in the South of this country is that of the Mexican workers who come in enormous numbers from the other side of the Rio Grande. They leave the "country of eternal spring" as they affectionately call Mexico and enter the "land of the Dollar" to undergo a new experience in the economic, political and social conditions of the most powerful imperialist country of the earth.

In the state of Texas we have approximately 500,000 Mexicans concentrated in the towns where there seems to be most possibility of making a living and where factories and industries hold out the greatest promise of livelihood to them. Thus, in the principal towns, such as Houston, Ft. Worth, Dallas, Galveston and San Antonio, we find the greatest number of Mexican workers. Next to these cities are the immense Texan plains where cotton is cultivated over which are scattered great numbers of Mexican workers. All these indeed are victims of the present capitalist system—especially so because in the South wages are extremely low.

In addition to the low wages there is race prejudice which does not permit equal social conditions to those who come from the other side of the Rio Grande. Frequently there are conflicts due to race hatred.

We will limit ourselves to San Antonio. Here—there are 70,000 Mexicans making up about one-third of the population. In addition to the fact that the city is not very industrialized, there is great unemployment for the Mexican population and the wages are tremendously low for Mexican women in factories and domestic employments and for hand-work, sewing and embroidery. A large number of Mexican women workers work in the laundries which do not pay anything like a living wage to these unorganized workers. The wages of these women are from \$5 to \$6 a week and there are thousands who even work for \$3.00. They work long hours, as many as 12 and 14 daily.

The Mexican male workers have almost the same conditions and the great majority of them face the problem of unemployment and the problem of maintaining families that are in want. The wages of these workers is from \$2.00 to \$2.50 a day and their work is almost always temporary. We suffer also from

and turns of the official leadership are opening the eyes of large numbers of Party members and revolutionary workers to the real situation. Many workers are beginning to say: *For what Manuilsky is saying now in a hesitating and confused manner the Opposition was expelled for saying in a determined and clear manner at a time when the warning was timely!* The Party officialdom are absolutely unable to meet this situation. They are thrown into confusion and desperation! The *Daily Worker* of March 4 hides the highly significant declaration of Stalin in between two utterly insignificant items about Germany! Not even a one column headline is vouchsafed to Comrade Stalin's "new turn;" all it gets is a small sub-head. This is not accidental.

It is the task of the Communist Opposition to see to it that the awakening of the revolutionary workers that is certain to arise out of the new era of twists and turns is led into constructive channels in the direction of restoring the Comintern and the Party to the line of Leninism. We must make it clear that the solution of the crisis in the Comintern cannot be brought about by any diplomatic "half-turns" dictated by the external necessities of the factional situation in the CPSU or by bureaucratic attempts to hide the crisis in the Comintern. The crisis can only be overcome by removing its source: by changing the entire method of leadership, by establishing a broad international collective leadership for the Comintern, by returning to the tactical principles of Leninism!

the demands of the foremen who want much work in little time and try to speed us up continually.

In the square nicknamed "Zacate" there are every morning about 1,600 Mexican workers waiting for the bosses to hire them. In addition, in all parts of the city there are many more seeking a chance to sell their labor power. Government statistics do not want to tell exactly how many unemployed there are in this place. But we can calculate that including Mexicans, Americans and Negroes and workers of other races there are more than 10,000 unemployed who are in desperate need.

The idea of organization and of unification among us Mexicans seems to be quite far at the present moment because of patriotism and religion. But in spite of this at the bottom the Mexicans are distinctly revolutionary. The leaders of our people up till now have been the priests and the bible-preachers, but now there is beginning to be noticeable an awakening and an agitation amongst us which grows as unemployment and misery take possession of our homes. We have seen the necessity, therefore, of reaching the Mexicans in those places where they gather in order to speak to them of the bad conditions of life which result from the present capitalist system, in order to inculcate in them the spirit and the idea of the class struggle, in order to awaken in them a desire to seek a great improvement in their lives and to develop our class so as to establish a true worker-peasant government like that which stands strong and powerful in the Soviet Union and which we affectionately call the Fatherland of the Workers of the World.

Communism has reached many Mexican workers in this region but very few are prepared to belong to the Communist Party since most of them are so far only vaguely Communist in their ideas. Our struggle has developed itself now with the formation of a "Mexican Labor Council" where every Sunday more than 300 Mexican workers come together of whom only 85 belong to our Council. We have drawn up a fighting program including such demands as the following: *better houses in which to live, higher wages, equal pay for equal work for men and women, no child labor, government insurance for the unemployed and the aged, no arrest for vagrancy.* We are planning to develop a struggle for freedom of speech, freedom of public demonstrations and to enter into active agitation and propaganda work, such as the present necessities of the thousands of Mexican workers in this city require.

Our movement and struggle has begun and very soon we expect to increase our group to include greater forces and to increase the ideological development. We have initiated this work along with the CP-Majority Group which has most efficiently aided us, morally and economically. Naturally we seek the collaboration of all healthy and conscious elements. We send our sincere thanks from here to *Revolutionary Age* which has so kindly put its columns at our service to insert news of our movement

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# The Situation in New Bedford

By Rafael Pires

IN 1928 the cotton manufacturers of New Bedford announced a 10% wage cut. Twenty-eight thousand workers went out on strike called by the American Federation of Labor. A few weeks before the strike organizers were sent to New Bedford in preparation for the strike. Even before the strike we formed a committee of fifteen and this committee called a mass meeting at which we succeeded in rallying 3,000 workers. It is important to state that the AF of L bureaucrats did not call any meetings of the workers whom they intended to call out in protest at the 10% wage cut. This mass meeting served as a foundation for the National Textile Workers Union, which we immediately proceeded to form in New Bedford. After a few weeks of intense organizational work of the committee and due to the conscientious energetic direction of the then Party leadership we succeeded in taking the entire strike situation in hand and received the support of all the striking workers numbering over 15,000.

The AF of L bureaucrats and the cotton manufacturers, seeing that the workers were following enthusiastically our leadership in the strike, joined forces to crush it. It was decided that the AF or L bureaucrats should call a meeting and sell out the strike. But when this meeting was called the 4,000 workers present defeated the proposal of the AF of L bureaucrats to return to work on a 5% wage cut. The workers vehemently protested and came to join our ranks to fight side by side with other strikers under our leadership.

After this smashing defeat of the AF of L bureaucrats, the Cotton Manufacturers Association attempted to open a mill with scab labor supplied by the AF of L. To this we answered with a day and night picket line of 2,000 workers in front of the mill and mass demonstrations of 25,000 workers thru the streets of New Bedford. The mill did not open, even tho they arrested 600 of our pickets in the clash. The strike lasted for six months. And not once did the militant spirit and activities of the strikers lessen for a moment despite the AF of L bureaucrats and the bosses trying to demoralize the fighting capacity of the strikers. On the contrary, the militancy of the workers forced the release of the 900 pickets arrested during the strike.

Meanwhile there had sprung up a national movement and even in some respects an international movement in support of the fearless fighters in New Bedford. The Party leadership carried on an intense solidarity campaign among the workers thruout the United States. Mass demonstrations of workers of other trades in many cities were held in support of the New Bedford strike; the relief organizations and temporary united front committees for relief and defense played no small part in the national campaign to support the New Bedford strike.

After we succeeded in defeating the bosses and exposing the AF of L bureaucrats and after establishing a powerful, militant union in the textile industry with a mass membership and support, all the reactionary forces allied themselves in the last attempt to defeat the militant demands of the strikers. In order to break the strike the New Bedford City government and the bosses demanded a public statement from all shop keepers of New Bedford to announce that they would discontinue the selling of any food on credit or any other supplies to the strikers. The UTW also stopped giving any relief to their members on strike. This meant an actual campaign to starve out the strikers. Under these circumstances the workers were virtually forced to go back with a 5% wage cut but the National Textile Workers Union was a definitely established factor in the class struggle of New Bedford.

After the strike, our Union continued its organization

campaign and continually gained in influence and membership among the textile workers, so that when the bosses and the AF of L bureaucrats attempted to put thru the "specialization" and "band" plans, they were unanimously defeated by the NTWU.

Then came the Address of the CI—and the new Party line. With the removal or expulsion of the outstanding leaders of the Union, Dawson Pires, Keller and Weisbord, the Party leadership took the first step in bringing the inner-Party differences into the Union, setting a precedent that only those workers who are in complete agreement with the Party's political line can be members or leaders of the Union. This was a powerful disintegrating and destructive force, the results of which can be plainly seen already. In plain words it means that the Union is scheduled to become a narrow fraction of Communists and not a mass fighting organization for the immediate economic demands of the workers in the textile industry. Thus the founders and builders of the union were removed; they were replaced by "loyal" Party members, who were never textile workers, of the caliber of Clarina Michelson, Nahorsky, Sophie Melvin, Miller, who can not understand the textile workers, who are petty bourgeois, student elements. They were put in to execute the wrecking line of the Party in the Union and to destroy the organization which we built up thru so much struggle and sacrifice. After the removals of the builders of the Union the Party sent Nahorsky down to New Bedford. Instead of carrying on any activity which would be in line with Union work, he replaced such work with fighting the so-called "Lovestoneites" at the Party, Union and other meetings whether workers assemble.

Of course these "leaders" know nothing about the conditions of the industry nor what is necessary for the Union. It was these "leaders," forced upon our Union, who decided to declare a general strike in New Bedford! So foreign were such proposals to the actual present conditions in New Bedford that the membership meeting of our Union rejected the proposal for a general strike made by Comrade Foster.

The new line hit the Party organization in New Bedford very hard. The Party has been reduced from 189 members in March 1929 to a mere handful. The Young Communist League has been reduced from 135 to practically nothing. From the over 300 Pioneers only a dozen are left!

In view of the situation described above, the Union is continually losing in influence and membership. This is significant especially at the present time, when the prospects for work among the New Bedford workers are so favorable for us. Unemployment in New Bedford is continually increasing, but the Union has taken no steps in organizing these unemployed. It is estimated that there are 15,000 fully unemployed and about 6,000 part time workers. The conditions in the mills are going from bad to worse; speed-up is rampant and it is to be expected that in the near future the bosses will try to put thru a wage cut. What is our Union doing to meet the situation?

The answer is evident thru observing the work or lack of work of the Union. The present situation demands the complete unity in the proletarian ranks against the bosses. The present Party leadership does exactly the contrary by removing, expelling, eliminating the best class fighters in the ranks of the workers, diminishing our fighting strength on the class front.

The workers must demand a stop to this ruinous policy of the Party in the NTWU and the immediate unification of its ranks. They must demand the immediate reinstatement of the removed leaders who built up our Union. This is the only way that our Union can be saved from destruction!

# Is There a "New Turn" in T.U.U.L. Policy?

by Ben Lifshitz

THE policies pursued by the leadership of the Trade Union Unity League were subjected to sharp criticism at the convention of the New York metropolitan area of the T. U. U. L., held in New York on March 1 and 2.

In anticipation of this criticism, Johnstone, reporting for the National Council, and Siskind, for the Local Council, directed their criticism against the present leadership of the new miners, needle trades and shoe workers unions!

At this conference we witnessed the same diplomatic maneuver that we have seen in the Comintern. A "new turn"! But no criticism based on the general estimation of the objective conditions! No real discussion of the false line in the struggles in the various industries which would explain the reason why our new unions (miners, needle trades, shoe, textile) have *lost ground* in the present period!

Instead of frank discussion of the general policy of the TUUL which is primarily responsible for the present conditions of our unions and for the situation of the left wing in the reformist unions, the responsibility for all shortcomings and failures was placed upon scapegoats—the present leaderships of the individual unions. They, as individuals, are made the scapegoats and accused of "failure to carry out the correct general line of the T.U.U.L."

Thus, Johnstone criticized the leadership of the National Miners Union and of the N.T.W.I.U. He had the audacity to declare: We have not yet learned how to build up the broadest forms of the united front; that when we speak about the bosses agents we must distinguish between the bureaucracy and the rank and file; that it is ridiculous to call strikes when we only have small fractions of the workers in the factories (he even went to the extent of specifying a minimum of 150 out of a thousand); that we must understand the meaning of democratic centralism and apply it in the work of our unions! A "new turn" a la Manuilsky indeed!

Johnstone also indicated in his remarks that some new "changes" and further "cleansings" are coming in the TUUL. We are being hindered "somewhat", he said, by a certain group ("Gitlowites") but since the Cleveland Convention there is no more excuse. No longer is this main danger within the TUUL, tho some of them still remain in the leadership. "We must now direct the center of attack against those that accept the policies with their mouths and do not carry them in our life." While Johnstone did not mention any names, it was clear that he was referring this primarily to the present leadership of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union and the Independent Shoe Workers Union!

Siskind's general report was full of bombast. He spoke about the "fierce, stubborn battles" carried on in the New York District, about the "series of strikes" that "paralyzed" New York! But coming down to earth he had to admit a number of "shortcomings".

In the discussion of the reports on the first day of the conference, Lifshitz pointed out that the "new" line of policy indicated by Johnstone can only have any significance if the leadership of the TUUL would frankly admit that the errors made by the leaders in the various unions were due primarily to the false line of policy followed by the TUUL. Lifshitz pointed out that there were four outstanding issues at present which gave the TUUL a splendid opportunity to develop and crystallize a mass movement around them: 1) unemployment; 2) the Hoover-Green Pact; 3) the alien registration bills now pending in Congress which are openly being supported by the Executive

Council of the A. F. of L.; and 4) the recognition and defense of the Soviet Union. But on all these issues the T.U.U.L. has failed to do anything at all!

Lifshitz emphasized that the present situation in the labor movement demands unity of action of all proletarian forces. Instead of this, however, the T.U.U.L. leadership is dividing the forces by bringing in inner-Party differences and by pursuing a policy of expulsions, eliminations from the Leagues (millinery, metal, suitcase, bag, etc.) by removals from offices of the new unions, by denying proletarian democracy in the Leagues and the new unions.

Other delegates, Pearl Halpern, Sarah Rosenberg and Nelson from the Needle Trades Union spoke. An especially ringing speech was made by Sidney Jonas of the Shoe Workers Union. Unfortunately we can give only a few of the important points.

*"Under the former leadership of the T.U.U.L. we had good success in organizing over 5,000 workers into the militant Independent Shoe Workers Union. But now it is different! When I made the proposal of sending out of an appeal to all the labor organizations the present leadership of the union rejected that proposal, giving as the "argument" that those organizations that are not affiliated with the T.U.U.L. are fascist organizations (!) The wrong line of policy, the failure to broaden out the leadership of the union, the failure to broaden the struggle generally brought the present catastrophic situation in the union, resulting in a heavy loss of the membership and of most shops."*

So forceful was the speech of Jonas that Foster took the floor immediately after him. He admitted the correctness of the criticism made by Jonas, but attacked his speech as coming from a "sabotager."

Following the lead of Johnstone and Siskind, all loyalites who participated in the discussion evaded the issues and problems raised by the opposition delegates and contended themselves with their usual cry of "traitors" and "renegades". Each did his best to fan the lynching spirit that reigned over the conference.

\* \* \* \*

This was supposed to be a conference of 1,000 delegates. The credentials committee reported 440 delegates of which 80 delegates came from dress shops, etc. This conference was not at all as representative as those held in May and August 1929.

There was an attempt to unseat a number of delegates from unorganized shops. Finally the Credentials Committee seated the delegates with the exception of Lifshitz whom they unseated as a delegate, because, Sazar reported, he represented a department of "skilled" workers! (Incidentally this is untrue because Lifshitz represented a department of two hundred workers and no metal shop has more than 10% skilled workers). It was clear to every delegate of the conference that Lifshitz was being removed because of his political views. The chairman of the conference went so far as to reject a motion made by Comrade Wortis to have two speakers on the report of the Credential Committee. It was railroaded thru in a genuine A. F. of L. bureaucratic way. It is interesting to note that the leadership at this conference was a pure Foster leadership. While some members of the former majority were placed on some of the committees they took no part in guiding the conference.

\* \* \* \*

The "new turn" in the T.U.U.L. is like the "new turn" in the Comintern as a whole. The "new turn" is no more than a diplomatic maneuver. The wrecking line remains the same. The ultra-left sectarian split line remains the same.

# The Economic Situation in the United States

## From the Draft Thesis of the February Plenum

(The following paragraphs are from the section on the Economic Situation in the United States in the draft thesis presented to the recent plenary session of the National Council of the CP-Majority Group).

10. The basic features of the economic situation in the United States are: (1) a rapid development of rationalization and mass production; (2) a vast accumulation of capital; (3) a marked trend toward mass mergers in industry and finance; (4) a superabundance of credit; (5) the increasing intensity of exploitation; (6) a growing army of unemployed with multiplying indications of permanency; (7) continued deep going critical conditions of agriculture; (8) a widening gap between the growth of production and consumption.

But tho the general trend of American capitalism, in its world position, is still upward, recent months have seen a rapid and serious decline in the immediate economic situation—the low point of which will not be reached for months to come. The situation is made more acute by a simultaneous depression on an international scale. Thus the present conditions are not comparable to the period of deep depression in 1924 and serious decline in 1927 when European conditions were going upward and were very favorable for the expansion of American foreign trade and capital export. Likewise, the immediate American economic decline sharpens the situation in other capitalist countries. It is not an ordinary cyclical crisis in which American capitalism now finds itself. This is so because of certain basic structural changes in United States capitalism—the sharpening and magnifying of the inherent contradictions in rationalization, mass production, mass credit, concentration of industry and finance, etc. For instance, the economic crisis today travels much faster and further precisely because of the extent of integration of industry and concentration of finance. But it is absolutely fallacious to conclude that the present economic crisis is already the final, basic crisis of American capitalism ushering in the period of revolution or even marking the beginning of the immediate downward trend of capitalist development in the United States. American capitalism will recover from this crisis only to fall into some other, reach perhaps even still higher peaks and fall into a still more serious crisis—along the road of a series of crises to its collapse.

### THE CRISIS AND THE OUTLOOK

11. (This section includes a detailed examination of the economic decline in the following fields: automotive production, building construction, car loadings, commodity prices, coal, copper, cotton goods, bank clearings, commodity export, capital export, business failures, pig iron, steel, agriculture, employment, wage cuts, and general).

Today the outlook is that the crisis will last longer and reach lower levels than the 1927 or the 1924 severe declines, but that it will not assume the dimensions of the 1921 collapse. The general decline may continue well into the coming fall. The small banks holding on to dead securities will be hard hit within the coming months. The decline of the purchasing power of the farming masses which began last August is continuing still further. The present signs of so-called recovery are, in a large measure, superficial and artificially strained. This "recovery" may very likely prove false and premature and thus hasten a renewed trade reaction and stock explosion. The recent rebound in steel has such elements in it in addition to the seasonal factor. The recent increase in auto production will probably end by the first quarter of 1930. The gains in stock quotations are temporary and the further easing of credit thru the last reduction in discount rate by the New York and Chicago Federal Reserve Banks may prove a stimulant to a revival of accelerated speculation.

12. The collapse of the stock market is the outstanding feature of American capitalist economy in 1929 and marks the end of a

relatively steady upward swing for five years. It has been quite correctly described as an event making the United States feel "the effects of a financial shock as great as that sustained by any country in the present century." Never before were so many hit; never before was such a large proportion of the investors hit; never before was a collapse so violent and so much money lost in so short a time. It is estimated that the panic brought an average loss of 48% in stocks and a total of over fifty billion dollars. It is instructive to note that in the panic of 1903 stocks fell only 38%; in 1907, 45%; in 1916-17, 40%; in 1919-20, 44%. Even the so-called thrifty depositors of the savings banks in New York State alone lost over \$200,000,000.

All the so-called stabilizing and organizing agencies (Federal Reserve, Bankers Pool) saw the crash coming but could not prevent or even seriously check it. For more than a year the Federal Reserve took every possible preventative measure. Then, the brokers raised margin requirements sharply; call money was raised sky high; interest rates were doubled; yields on many stocks had even fallen below those on government bonds and mortgages. Yet the mad speculation went on. This overwhelming collapse was caused by the huge overproduction, growing excess capacities in American industry. Capitalist production is chaotic, speculative. Mass production and mass credit go hand in hand. The overproduction of commodities, flowing from the basic structural changes of economy in the United States (over-speculation in industry), brought an overproduction of securities (over-speculation on the exchange). The crash did not come as a result of a credit shortage or "stringency." On the contrary, it came because of the terrific surplus of credit. This credit situation brought on a condition in which there was a serious dislocation in the relation between the stock market and the fundamental conditions of capitalist production. In the years 1925-29—the "Coolidge-Hoover Boom"—productive capacities were increasing at an annual average of 2% and trade perhaps 4%. At the same time, due to the great confidence of the American bourgeoisie (because of their leading world position) stock prices often rose at an almost ten times greater rate. Thus, the already overdeveloped industries could not consume all the available capital at a sufficiently "profitable" rate. Thus gigantic industrial corporations put their money on the loan market to secure interest rates far in excess of the possible rate of profits in industry or in the export of capital. Foreign bourgeoisie with capital supplies rushed them to the New York stock market to take similar advantage of the high rates of interest. This was only to the basic disadvantage of their home industries as a whole which consequently suffered still more from a lack of capital already acute because of the decline of American export. These heavy investments of foreign capital and their subsequent withdrawal (forced by the credit dearth in European capitalist economy) only aggravated the debacle on the Exchange. But aggravation was not limited to the United States. Once the deluge of selling came it engulfed the capitalist world and brought ruinous effects upon the industries and stock markets of most of the leading capitalist powers.

Clearly, the panic did not come because of the decline in various industries from the all-high peaks of a summer which didn't even see a seasonal recession. In 1927 the decline in American industry was much more severe than the decline between May and October in 1929 and yet there not only was no stock panic in 1927 but the Exchange even boomed. The gap between production and securities had not yet been wide enough in 1927. Of course, once the crash did come it served to intensify and accelerate the general declin-

which up to then had only been a recession from the highest records.

### THE HOOVER PROGRAM

13. With the recession from "abnormal" peaks being accelerated, and transformed by the stock market panic into an economic crisis, the Hoover administration issued a frantic call to the biggest capitalists, the United Chamber of Commerce, etc. to get together and dam the broken dikes of production and exchange starting to overflow the entire economic life of the country. There was thus organized the National Business Council—America's new "Four Hundred." Stripped of all its verbiage the Hoover program rests on four principles: (1) the stock market will no longer consume so much capital—therefore, capital will flow "back into industry" which will thus be improved; (2) the letting loose of government and private capitalist forces (public works, etc.) to stimulate and increase production; (3) the intensification of the exploitation of the workers thru further rationalization, speed-up, "more work" and devious wage-cut schemes in order to save the biggest capitalists from all possible losses; (4) a vigorous foreign trade drive. This program is doomed to failure for the following reasons: (1) The so-called change in the flow of capital from the stock market to the industries instead of from the industries to the stock market is of no avail. Until the stock crash, during the time that the market was booming, production was reaching skyward, and "prosperity" was mounting, we were told that all was sunshine precisely because of so much being centered on the Stock Exchange. (2) Granted for the moment, that the building of new steel plants and shoe factories and the enlargement of textile plants will, for a while, give jobs to some workers, tend to check unemployment. But very soon the capitalists face their first problem in a still more acute form—the question of the consumption of the newly produced commodities on an even greater mass basis. Overproduction cannot be cured with more production. Overdevelopment of the productive capacities cannot be overcome with still further expansion of the excess capacities. Thus the gap between the productive capacities and consumptive possibilities of the workers is becoming still more developed. Thus, Hoover's program of furthering the already existing overdevelopment of industry is only accentuating, intensifying the basic capitalist contradiction—the growing contradictions between the possibilities of production and capacity for marketing the commodities produced. (3) The worsening of the workers' conditions, the wage-cuts and speed-up can only lead to more unemployment and greater resistance by the workers. (4) And a new "export offensive" is not so easy and simple today. The world market is more overcrowded than ever. Thus, more precious "harmony and stability" is being undermined.

### THE CAUSE OF THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

14. Here we confront a still more basic, the basic question. What is the cause of the present economic crisis? All the forces that went into making for the recent so-called prosperity remain, but the "prosperity" has vanished. Mass production, rationalization, technique, efficiency, speed-up, intensification of exploitation of labor, tremendous capital accumulation, huge natural resources, dominant world credit position—all of these usually ascribed causes of American capitalist prosperity are still here but the cumulative effects and sequel today are an economic crisis. More than that! All of the capitalist "standard," the "normally" recognized, causes of a severe depression or crisis are absent—but a crisis is here. For instance, there has been no rise in commodity prices with "a resultant inflation of inventories carried on borrowed credit." (Dr.

Friday). Certainly, there has been no inefficiency and let-down of production on the part of the workers. Nor was there any dearth of capital or credit in industry. On the contrary, industry has a plethora of credit and trade has been much stimulated by the extension of credit thru widespread installment selling, etc. The origin and source of the present crisis in the United States are primarily international in character. The causes of this crisis grow out of the basic structural changes in American capitalist economy. These structural changes have come as a result of the United States becoming the dominant world power in the present condition of international capitalism. It is the very "prosperity" of yesterday that has produced the crisis of today. Thus we find that it is the very peak production records, efficiency, mass production, mass credit, etc, which have produced the present crisis. An examination of these factors clearly reveals this to be the correct conclusion. We find that in 1929—the actual beginning of the crisis—there were more commodities manufactured in the United States than ever before in any country.

Obviously, the present crisis comes not from underdevelopment but from overdevelopment of the productive capacities. The crisis was caused not by underproduction, not by the decline of production, but by the overdevelopment only partly reflected in the production peaks. The great overproduction has produced the aggravated underconsumption. In 1929 total production increased by about 9% or twice the "normal" annual average growth in the past 25 years. Consequently this crisis is not a mere cyclical crisis a mere temporary downward turn, lapse in production. First of all, (1) its being accompanied by the severest stock panic the world has yet seen would be alone sufficient to make this crisis much more than merely cyclical in character. No such condition was faced in 1924 or 1927—not even in 1921. Besides, there are a number of other new factors: (2) today, the whole world economic situation makes for an accentuation and prolongation of this crisis; (3) the extent of the building decline; (4) increasing forces for cutting down domestic markets (condition of agriculture, etc); (5) the increased gap between productive capacities and marketing possibilities; (6) growing army of permanently unemployed due to rationalization; (7) certain so-called healthy highly rationalized industries like auto and building—but yesterday the buttresses of American capitalist prosperity—have, momentarily at least, joined the so-called sick industries like coal and oil, because of their immediate vast overproduction. The same can be said in regard to radios and airplanes.

The main reasons why American capitalism can weather this storm are: First, U. S. imperialism is still relatively powerful enough to maintain its privileged world position. Secondly, since 1916 the American corporations have accumulated over \$30 billion of "surplus" (wrung from the workers). Thus, for instance, the huge corporations are still in a position to maintain an increasing flow of dividends—prosperity for the ruling class.

We see, that: (1) tho the United States is today in an economic crisis, the general trend of American imperialism is not yet downward. (2) This general trend of American imperialism does not exempt it from the general historical crisis of world capitalism. (3) The very growth in American imperialism strength has already reached a point where it is itself sharpening the inherent contradictions of capitalism in the United States and (4) generating and intensifying contradictions and antagonisms which will lead not only to the overthrow of American capitalism but also of international capitalism as a whole. (5) Today this rapid development of United States imperialism only intensifies the historical crisis of international capitalism, only "serves as a force for sharpening and stimulating the elements of disintegration in international capitalism, thus making for a world crisis."



# A Great Step Forward!

*The February Plenum of the National Council, C.P.-Majority Group*

ON February 22 and 23 there was held a full meeting of the National Council of the Communist Party of the USA (Majority Group). The meeting was attended by the members of the National Council and a number of delegations. Delegations were present from the following districts: Boston, Connecticut, New Bedford, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Detroit, Baltimore, and the Anthracite. A number of these important centers had not been represented at our October (1929) Conference.

The Conference was attended by 60 regular delegates and a large number of visitors. Those present represented a good cross-section of the working-class. They came from the important industrial centers and from the important industries of the country. There were workers present from the building trades, mining industry, shoe industry, needle industry, textile industry, automobile industry, miscellaneous trades, etc. A large number of women delegates were present and also a number of Negro delegates.

Not only was the February Plenum organized on a much broader basis than our first Plenum in October but politically it presented a much more advanced stage of development. Whereas the October Plenum concerned itself chiefly with a discussion of the basic principles of our group and main lines for our organization, the February Plenum discussed political and organizational progress that already reflected the movement in progress.

\* \* \* \*

The Conference opened Saturday, February 22. The Chairman at this opening session of the conference was Comrade N. Borich, an Anthracite miner. At this session, Comrade Lovestone made his report on *The Economic and Political Situation and the Situation in the Labor Movement*, at the conclusion he presented a draft thesis. The chairman of the second session was William Miller, Detroit auto worker, and the report given at this session was by Marion Gray, who reported on the situation and tasks confronting the Young Communist League (Majority Group).

The third session, which was held in the evening, was an open session. The chairman of this session was Comrade J. Newby, a Negro shipyard worker from Philadelphia. The reporter to this session was Comrade Gitlow who reported on *The Situation in The Communist Movement, Our Activities, Problems and Tasks*.

The fourth session was opened by Comrade Vrataric, an Anthracite miner and member of the Executive Board of the National Miners Union, who acted as chairman. The fifth and final session of the Plenum was opened by Comrade Edward Welsh, a Negro comrade, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Harlem Tenants League. At this session Comrade Bertram D. Wolfe made his report on the *Crisis in the Comintern and the International Opposition Movement*. The report of Comrade Wolfe was followed by a report on *Revolutionary Age* by Comrade Zam. In the discussion that took place on the reports 38 comrades participated. The discussion was on a high political level and many comrades who attended the sessions declare that never before had they attended a Plenum which in two days time so thoroughly, politically and seriously tackled the problems before it.

\* \* \* \*

The report of Comrade Lovestone dealt with the present position of world capitalism, the economic crisis in the United States, the structural changes and basic contradictions of American capitalism, the great American illusion—the “Prosperity Myth,” the present political situation and the situation in the labor movement.

Comrade Gitlow dealt with the condition in the CPUSA, giving a graphic picture of the disastrous consequences of the ultra-left sectarian policies of the Party. He laid main stress on the necessity of turning our face to the masses, intensifying our work for building up the new unions but at the same time of continuing to establish ourselves also among the masses in the reactionary trade unions. The tasks of winning over the membership of the Party for the correct Leninist line was given serious consideration in the report. The development of *Revolutionary Age* into a mass weekly was put forward as an important and immediate task.

Comrade Marion Gray told of the results of the new line in the League. Dealing in detail with conditions in the YCL she pointed out the loss of about 50% in membership and the practical disappearance of the Pioneers as a broad national childrens organization. Attention was called to the liquidation of such an important phase of League activity as anti-militarist work. Comrade Gray then passed over to a discussion of the Fifth Convention of the League and the later crystallization of an opposition—now the YCL-Majority Group. She concluded with an explanation of the chief tasks of the Communist Youth Opposition.

Comrade Wolfe discussed in his report the crisis in the Comintern, tracing its source to the gap that has developed between the CPSU and its problems in the construction of socialism on the one hand, and the slowing up of the tempo of the revolutionary movement in West Europe and America on the other hand. He discussed the manifestations of the crisis on a world scale as well as in each country. Contrasting the difference in origin between our opposition and the Trotsky opposition he pointed out that while the Trotskyist oppositions were inspired from above and were based primarily on Trotsky's differences in the CPSU, the international Communist oppositions arose from below as a result of the execution of the sectarian policies of the Eccei in each section of the Comintern. He showed that there is common agreement among all Oppositions on the most basic problems arising out of the present crisis (origin of the crisis, character of the “new line,” relations to the Party and the Comintern, inner Party course, etc.). He concluded by proposing to approve the suggestion of a number of European Oppositions for the establishment of an *international discussion and information organ*. He also proposed to endorse the proposal of the Swedish comrades for an international conference of all Communist Oppositions (i.e., excluding the Trotskyists), to be held before the VII Comintern Congress or the 11th Plenum of the Eccei, with as long a period as possible of discussion preceding. It was proposed that the requirements for participation in the international conference and in the discussion organ shall be:

1. Against the ultra-left sectarian course—for a return to Leninist tactical principles. (This excludes the Trotskyists).
2. Against any tendencies towards the formation of a new Party or International—for the restoration of the Comintern to a correct line.

\* \* \* \*

The Plenum made a number of very important decisions, among which the following are the most outstanding: (1) To approve all the reports (Lovestone, Gitlow, Gray, Zam and Wolfe); (2) to accept the Draft Thesis as a basis and to instruct the Buro to prepare it in its final form after a consideration of all proposals; (3) to endorse the proposals for an international opposition organ of discussion and information and for an international conference of the Communist Oppositions (on the basis given above); (4) to transform *Revolutionary Age* into a mass organ and to change its form into a 12 page tabloid; (5) to begin the issuance of a scientific-theoretical quarterly magazine; (6) to organize a national delegate conference of the CP-Majority Group for July 4, 5, and 6, 1930; (7) to add to the National Council: a certain Chicago comrade, Jonas, Winitsky, Koppel, Ravitch and Sands; (8) to empower the Buro to issue a manifesto to the workers of America and an appeal to the Party membership.

\* \* \* \*

This Plenum registered the fact that as a virile, live, Communist force we are already making an imprint on the labor movement and particularly in the left-wing of the labor movement. Furthermore, this Plenum gave striking proof to the fact that we are not a provincial, national group, but that the struggle that we are conducting is part of an international struggle against the wrong line which the present leadership of the Executive Committee of the Communist International is pursuing. The Plenum realized that there can be no final solution of the present international crisis on a national scale, that the crisis can only be overcome on an international basis by the combined activities of all forces that will fight for Leninism against revision and the wrecking policies today pursued in the International!

## Again the Question of the VI Congress of the C. I.

*by M. N. Roy*

IN the article on the international situation I have shown how far the decisions of the VI World Congress are responsible for the present crisis in the Communist International. Nevertheless, it does not appear that the Opposition in the Communist Party of America is convinced of the correctness of this viewpoint on the crisis in the Communist International. In his article Comrade Herberg maintains that the VI Congress did not put forward the theory that we are in a period of capitalist collapse that embraces the whole world. He denies that the tactics of the “offensive all along the line”—the platform of the current ultra-left putschism—were proposed by the VI Congress. He believes that the theory of social-fascism did not originate at the VI Congress.

Here are some quotations from the resolution of the VI Congress on all these questions:

*“This third period . . . is inevitably giving rise to a fresh series of imperialist wars: among the imperialist states themselves, wars of the imperialist states against the USSR, wars of national liberation against imperialism and imperialist intervention, and to gigantic class battles.”*

Here is to be noted that this is not brought forward as the perspectives of the situation but rather of the situation itself. (It is not declared that these crises will give occasion to new imperialist wars but that they occasion these wars now). This has shown itself a false prophecy; the fact is that this estimation of the international situation has been proven incorrect. Hysterical shouts in connection with the war danger dominated the tactics and the activity of the Communist Parties for the whole period since the VI Congress . . . Events have shown that the danger of war which continues to exist and becomes greater to the degree that the contradictions in capitalism grow is not as acute as the resolution of the VI Congress pictured. The Congress would not have erred in this matter had it had a correct estimation of the crisis of capitalism. . . .

On the basis of such prophecies (which do not correspond to a Marxist estimation of future development) the nature of the present crisis of capitalism is characterized as follows:

*“The intensification of the internal antagonisms in capitalist countries . . . will inevitably lead—thru the further development of the contradictions of capitalist stabilization—to capitalist stabilization becoming still more precarious and to the severe intensification of the general crisis of capitalism.”*

Either this paragraph contains simply a repetition of the law of capitalist production or it attempts to estimate the perspectives of a given situation on the basis of this law. Apparently the latter is the case; how then is the situation estimated? The general crisis (that is, a crisis embracing the whole world) is not viewed in perspective. It is already here; or else how can one speak of its intensification. As a matter of fact the intensification has not set in to an appreciable degree in more than some countries. The prophecy of the “intensifica-

1 In No. 6 (January 15, 1930) issue of *Revolutionary Age* there appeared an article in connection with some questions about the VI Congress raised by Comrade Roy in an article in *Gegen den Strom* (the theoretical organ of the German Communist Opposition). This article by Comrade Herberg was reprinted in *Gegen den Strom* and to this article Comrade Roy made a rejoinder which is published here. The article of Comrade Herberg represents the general point of view of the C.P.-Majority Group.

2 Comrade Roy is here referring to an article of his on “The World Situation” which appeared in *Gegen den Strom*.

tion of the general crisis of capitalism,” made by the VI Congress, provides the basis for the tactic of “offensive all along the line.”

Whatever is said in the resolution about the possibility of local upward developments does not change its general sense which indicates the generality of the crisis from which immediately emerges the coming period of gigantic catastrophe. If this were not the essence of the estimation of the world situation by the VI Congress then the theory of the third period would be meaningless. In fact, the third period, as seen by the VI Congress, was clearly the period of the collapse of capitalist stabilization and of a corresponding revolutionary crisis extending over the whole world, in which the capture of political power is the immediate task of the proletariat in all countries. In this way it was the resolution of the VI Congress which laid the theoretical basis for the ultra-left putsch tactics which naturally did not arise suddenly and all at once. The resolutions of the X Plenum of the Eccei were the immediate fruit of the theories of the VI Congress.

On the question of tactics we find the following in the resolution of the VI Congress:

*“The development of every such strike must lead to its taking on an anti-state character.”*

Further:

*“Just as the beginning of the stabilization period and the general capitalist offensive gave rise to great defensive battles, so the new period is marked by great mass struggles.”*

The sense of this statement is very clear. It is: the present period is the period of offensive struggle. Here we have the theoretical justification for the present tactics of “offensive all along the line.” The cry about the non-existing political mass strikes which today serve the Communist Parties as an excuse to give up all real activity thru which the masses could be mobilized was a discovery of the VI Congress. And what was the basis for the theory that “great mass struggles” are the characteristic feature of this period?

*“The strike wave in a number of countries; the uprising of the Viennese proletariat; the demonstrations against the executions of Sacco and Vanzetti; etc.”*

This declaration represents the self-deception which has become so clear since the Congress that finally an official voice was raised against it (Manuilsky's speech at the Plenum of the Y. C. I.). Furthermore the theory about the political nature of every strike in the third period was a point of departure for the new trade union line which separates the Communist Parties from the organized and advanced sections of the proletariat. If every little action of the working class, even over questions of immediate economic demands, takes on a political character, raises the question of state power then the trade union ceases to be an organ of class struggle. Under such circumstances the work in the trade unions with the object of winning the organized workers for Communism loses all importance; the workers still remaining in their trade unions, that is, the most advanced section of the proletariat, cease to be the leaders in the struggle; the centre of gravity is shifted to the unorganized, glorified as the “storm troops” of the revolution, free from “trade unionist prejudices”; and the trade union as such is considered to be an obstacle to the development of the class-struggle, unless it is a branch of the Communist Party.

The Stalinist theory of the unorganized, which has provided the C.P.'s with the plausible pretext for abandoning all work in the trade unions, has its germ in the resolution of the VI

Congress. It is found in two different places. Dealing with the role of the "left" Social Democratic leaders the resolution says:

"Therefore, while taking into account the leftward swing, even among the workers in the ranks of Social Democracy, etc., etc."

In the chapter on tactics we find the following:

"Nor is the slogan: 'Fight for the Masses' (including the masses following the lead of the bourgeois and Social-democratic parties) repealed by this."

In both cases, the organized workers are placed in a subsidiary category. On whom, then, is the main attention riveted? Obviously on the workers who are neither "in the Social-democratic ranks" nor "follow the lead of the Social-democratic Parties," that is, on the unorganized workers.

On the vital question of trade union policy, we read the following in the resolution of the VI Congress:

"To organize the unorganized, to win over the reformist trade unions, to organize the expelled where conditions are suitable (in countries where the trade union movement is split), to break away local organizations we have captured and get them to affiliate to revolutionary industrial organizations—these are the tasks of the day."

These measures are recommended, of course, after a homily on the necessity of working in the trade unions. But once the theory is accepted that in the given period the trade union ceases to be an organ of class-struggle, all talk about working in them is meaningless. Why should the Communists work in organizations that have become obstacles to the development of revolutionary struggle? On the contrary, the interests of proletarian revolution demand their disruption. Can we accuse them of revising the "Leninist" resolutions of the VI Congress, who do nothing but draw the logical conclusion from those resolutions?

This sort of recommendation "to organize the unorganized" necessarily leads to the formation of new, parallel unions, since this recommendation is not accompanied by the specification regarding where they should be organized. When the old unions are considered to be bulwarks of reaction, the Communists cannot be expected to lead the unorganized masses into them. The other recommendations similarly are admirable points of departure for the present trade union tactics.

The roots of the theory of "social-fascism" are equally to be traced in the resolution of the VI Congress. Here they are:

"This evolution finds political expression in the general crisis of bourgeois democracy and of bourgeois parliamentarism."

Then:

"It is precisely this state of affairs (political nature of every strike) that compels the bourgeoisie and its state to resort to complex methods of economically and politically corrupting definite sections of the working class itself and its political and industrial organization."

When the Social-democratic leaders undertake the administration of the government under conditions of "the general crisis of bourgeois democracy," they naturally become converts of fascism; for between bourgeois parliamentarism and dictatorship of the proletariat there is no other way. The second quotation testifies to the size of "the labor aristocracy which is the social basis of social fascism." It goes further. It predicts the "fascisation" not only of the Social-democracy, but of the "political and industrial organizations" of the working class!

Further,

"Simultaneously with corrupting Social-democracy, the bourgeoisie in critical moments and under certain conditions establishes a fascist regime."

Thus grows "social-fascism," for

"the ideology of class-cooperation—the official ideology of Social-democracy—has many points of contact with fascism."

The adherence to parliamentary democracy as an abstract principle is the characteristic feature of the revisionist Social-democracy. On the contrary, fascism grows out of the collapse of parliamentary democracy. The theory of Social-fascism is all nonsense because it disregards this basic contradiction. Insofar as this disregard crept into the basic resolution of the VI Congress, it laid the foundation for the theory of social-fascism.

In view of these achievements of the VI Congress, it is rather dogmatic to assert, as Comrade Herberg does, that had the line of the VI Congress been carried thru, there would be no crisis in the C.I. now. The crisis in the C.I. has been caused no more by the imagined revision of the VI Congress line than by the simple adoption of that line. It is caused by the contradiction that has grown inside the C.I. in the course of its development. It is caused by the monopolization of its leadership by one single party, after the original objective grounds of that monopoly have long been removed. The strikingly false resolutions of the VI Congress were the first imposing expression of the crisis. The resolutions of the VI Congress should be considered independent of the fractional fight in the C.P.S.U. Be it led by Stalin or by Bukharin or some one else, the C.P.S.U. can no longer monopolize the leadership of the C.I. The VI Congress made this evident. Hence its significance as the indicator of the crisis in the C.I.

\* \* \*

(An extended rejoinder to Comrade Roy's article is hardly necessary since the questions raised have already been dealt with in my first article. It is only necessary to note that—aside from a certain ambiguity which must be admitted—the quotations which Comrade Roy presents to prove his point actually prove, in my opinion, very much the opposite. Comrade Roy, for instance, complains that the task of winning the reactionary unions is placed second on the list of tasks in the resolution of the VI Congress and is therefore "minimized," thus providing the occasion for the complete neglect of this central task. But is this not essentially mere hair-splitting? The important thing is that the VI Congress did speak and speak emphatically of the "winning of the trade unions" while now the winning of the trade unions is "opportunism," "Social-democracy," "Brandlerism," etc! Or take the question of social-fascism. The quotations adduced by Comrade Roy, whatever construction may be placed upon them, certainly cannot wipe away the fact that the VI Congress resolution enjoined upon all Parties "to make a clear distinction between the Social-democratic leaders . . . and the honest but misled masses of workers!"

Comrade Roy also makes an error when he declares that I maintain that the crisis in the Comintern is caused by the revision of the line of the VI Congress. We believe—and so does Comrade Roy and the whole Communist Opposition movement—that the fundamental source of the crisis is: the maintenance of the monopoly of leadership of the CPSU in the Comintern under conditions of the growing gap between the tasks facing the CPSU and those facing the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. On this basic question there is agreement. But the question of the role of the VI Congress in the crisis in the Comintern still remains. It is a very important question and it is very good that a discussion has been initiated on an international scale on this question.)

—Will Herberg.

MARCH ISSUE ALREADY OUT!

## Revolutionary Youth

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(Majority Group)

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# What About the Needle Trades?

by Ben Gitlow

(continued from last issue)

NO wonder the manufacturers were jubilant as reported in the *Women's Wear* on Feb. 5, 1930:

"The Association of Dress Manufacturers had an enthusiastic meeting at the Hotel New Yorker last night. Some 700 contractors attended. They were given strict orders to keep their shops closed until such time as the conference committee gives word to return to work."

Mr. Schwartz, president of the Affiliated Dress Manufacturers, Inc., let the cat out of the bag that the dress strike was called for the bosses' interests when he issued this statement in *Women's Wear* of Feb. 7th:

"Our organization was formed scarcely two months ago (that is for the dress strike—B.G.) for the purpose of fostering stabilization in our chaotic industry."

A complete agreement between Schlessinger, president of the union and Schwartz, president of the manufacturers, to call the dress strike for the purpose of stabilizing and ending the chaos in the industry.

The recent so-called dress strike was not a strike at all. It was called by the right wing bureaucrats in agreement with the certain sections of the bosses, not to improve the economic conditions of the workers but primarily to rationalize the industry further and thus increase the exploitation of the workers.

This is proven by the statement issued by the union itself after it held two conferences, one with the Affiliated Dress Mfg. Ass'n, Inc. and one with the Wholesale Dress Manufacturers Association, composed of the jobbers. The statement is from the Nov. 22 issue of *Justice*, official organ of the right wing. It is as follows:

"The result of both of these conferences was an agreement by the employers to follow the example of the inside manufacturers and participate in the appointment of a joint sub-committee of representatives of the employers and the union to work out basic agreements which would serve as a foundation for the reorganization of the industry when the General Strike of Dressmakers is called next January."

More than two months before the strike was called the capitalist bosses and the union officials agreed on plans to reorganize the industry and to call the strike. This strike it is clear from *Justice* itself was a colossal fraud and conspiracy on the part of the bosses and the right wing officials. It was actually called by the bosses. The right wing as a result of the pressure used by the bosses upon the workers in the factories succeeded in enrolling a considerable number of dressmakers in the union organization.

*Justice* of Feb. 14 writes about the conference at which the strike was settled as follows:

"In the course of his remarks on that historic occasion Lieut. Governor Lehman declared: 'I want to compliment the union particularly for its attitude and highly conciliatory spirit.'"

This from Mr. Lehman who was supposed to have settled this so-called strike. He compliments the union officials' highly conciliatory spirit. It is the spirit that surrenders the bosses. Who is this Lehman? He is of Lehman Bros., bankers for the garment industry, member of the family who direct and control The National Cloak and Suit Co., Oppenheimer and Co., Stern Bros., which corporations are among the biggest factors in the garment industry.

The same banker-Lieut. Governor Lehman, capitalist financier

for the needle industry, is supplying capital to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers for financing cooperative houses. Hillman, Schlessinger and other right wingers' attachment to and admiration for the banker capitalist of the clothing industry is brought out by their relations with banker Lehman.

The agreement concluded in the dress industry gives the workers absolutely nothing. The right wing agreed to extend the piece work system by making a provision that piece workers shall not receive extra time pay for overtime. They virtually agreed to abolish the 40-hour 5-day week. Saturday work is permitted. No increase in wages took place. A 10% reorganization was agreed to. The unemployment fund was postponed till the future. Jobbers are not restricted from giving work to non-union contractors. The provision requiring jobbers to pledge to use union contractors in New York City for a three months trial has already been broken. The jobber, the most important factors in the industry refuses to live up to the fake provision. The agreement is to run for two years.

The workers in the right wing fold will not get improved conditions. Their conditions will become worse and worse. The *Times* editorial puts in very correctly when it states:

"In sharp contrast with the International has been the experience of the other great organization in the needle trades, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, comprising the operatives on men's clothes. The recent annals of the Amalgamated have been happy in being comparatively blank. When the name has come before the public it has not been in connection with conflict, but with constructive experiment and progress. The Amalgamated is mentioned in the development of the new labor-union philosophy of guaranteed output in return for fair wages and good working conditions, or in connection with labor banking, or with cooperative home ownership as exemplified in the model apartment house development in the Van Cortland Park section."

The right wing in the ladies' garment industry is now applying the trade union policies of the Amalgamated. As the *Times* states: "The recent annals of the Amalgamated have been happy in being comparatively blank." Right! Blank for the workers! Prosperity for the bosses, and the worst kind of corruption and betrayals of workers on the part of the officialdom.

The lot of the workers is bound to become worse and worse. The right wing bosses' agents cannot, will not and dare not do anything in the interests of the workers. Nevertheless, we must record the fact that today even in the ladies garment industry the right wing has a much larger base than the N.T.W.I.U. We must face this fact boldly and courageously like Communists.

These workers in the right wing organizations must be won by us. They must be won for the N.T.W.I.U. Under no circumstances must we give up these workers to the right wing. We must fight to win them for a genuine union, for the N.T.W.I.U.

We must fight with them against the intolerable conditions that prevail in the industry. In the Amalgamated and Hat, Cap & Millinery we must do everything in our power on the basis of the economic issues to develop a broad left wing to fight for the overthrow of the Hillman machine and the Zaritsky machine. The left wings in these two organization must work and fight together with the N.T.W.I.U. for one industrial union in the industry:

Among the workers in the I.L.G.W.U. we must organize



a left wing to fight the betrayals of the right wing bosses' agents and for a militant program.

We must utilize the discontent among the workers to develop a left wing in the local unions. The left wing groups in the shops and in the local unions must be linked up with the N.T.W.I.U. and must carry on their activities under the direction of the N.T.W.I.U.

We must strive on the basis of an economic program for the industry to unite all the workers in the needle trades.

The advantages the right wing gained in the dress situation are due to the fact that the new union did not sufficiently develop its organization campaign. The present Party leadership bears the responsibility for this because on the one hand, it did not understand the industry and on the other hand it turned the union into a Party fraction in which the issues in the Party must be thrashed out. Instead of organizing shops the campaign was to slander, to discredit, and to prepare the union for the driving out of Zimmerman, Gross and the best militant workers from the union.

W. Z. Foster conceived the idea that the ladies garment industry in New York was being concentrated because he saw an aeroplane picture of the garment center. So he was busy with his new discovery rather than with meeting the problem confronting the N.T.W.I.U.

As far as the concentration of the industry is concerned the following authoritative source proves the direct opposite to there are certain developments in the industry that are leading towards some concentration:

*"The author finds while New York shops are smaller in average number of wage earners, more irregular in employment and more often disturbed by labor upheavals; the labor cost per dollar of output is lower there than in any other city and the output per plant exceeds that everywhere else in the country except in Cleveland the town of large cloth-in factories."*

In the dress industry no policy was presented to the workers

1 *Review in Womens Wear on—Trends In Location of The Womens Clothing Industry, by Mabel A. Magee.*

## The Anti-Foreign Born Bills

For the benefit of our readers, and for the benefit of the various organizations interested in fighting the vicious legislation now being proposed in Congress against the foreign born workers, we print herewith important excerpts from the bills presented.

### THE ASWELL BILL

The most vicious bill is the Aswell Bill, HR9101, which contains the following provisions:

"Every alien shall enroll or register at such time and place as may be fixed by regulation. . . A certificate of registry shall be given to each alien at the time of registration who is twenty one years of age or over. Such certificate shall contain a photograph of the registrant. . . EVERY ALIEN SHALL REPORT ALL ARRESTS OR CONVICTIONS OF SUCH ALIEN AND THE CHARGES UPON WHICH SUCH ARRESTS WERE MADE OR CONVICTIONS OBTAINED. . . A full record shall be made thereof on the original and duplicate records of registration. (This of course applies to arrests for picketing, and activities in the labor movement). Whenever, in the judgment of the President, the interests of the national defense so require, he may, by proclamation, require all or any part of the aliens to report at such times and places as he shall fix. . . EVERY ALIEN SHALL, ON DEMAND, AT ANY TIME EXHIBIT HIS CERTIFICATE OF REGISTRY TO ANY AGENT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, TO ANY FEDERAL, STATE, TERRITORIAL, OR PUBLIC POLICE OR PEACE OFFICER. . . ANY ALIEN WHO WILLFULLY FAILS OR NEGLECTS OR REFUSES TO REGISTER FOR TWO CONSECUTIVE YEARS UNDER

until the last moment tho our comrades, Zimmerman and Gross, did present a correct policy which was eventually adopted but not carried out as it should have been.

One day there was one policy to call out a general strike—the next day another policy and the third day still another policy. The Party leadership was confused and unable to come to a definite conclusion on policy much to the detriment of the N.T.W.I.U.

What are the tasks for the left wing?

The organization of the unorganized still remains the central campaign for the building up of the N.T.W.I.U. This has been neglected. Instead of organizing, instead of preparing to fight the right wing offensive in the dress industry, a campaign of slander against the best comrades was instituted. Nominations and elections were ordered during a time when every force should have been mobilized for organization work and for a determined fight to defeat the right wing and the bosses.

In the fur industry no work was done. The bosses brought back Kaufman. We took no steps to fight his reentry into the industry.

This wrecking policy, this sectarian policy of the present Party leadership must be stopped if the N.T.W.I.U. is to be built up.

It is up to the workers to end this policy, to save the N.T.W.I.U. and to make it the dominant trade union in the industry.

There is only one way in which to do this:

Establish proletarian unity in the union! No elimination of good left wing workers from the activities and leadership of the union must be permitted!

Organize the unorganized!

Fight to win all the workers and smash the right wing!

Build broad left wings in the shops and in the local unions on a program based upon the economic needs of the workers.

Unite the left wing struggle in all the organizations A.C. W.A., Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers, Journeymen Tailors, I.L.G.W.U. with the N.T.W.I.U. to the end of making the N.T.W.I.U. the industrial union of the entire needle industry!

Unity and not disruption is the solution for the workers in the needle industry and for the Communists also!

THE PROVISIONS OF THIS ACT MAY BE TAKEN INTO CUSTODY ON WARRANT OF THE SECRETARY OF LABOR AND DEPORTED."

### THE CABLE BILL

Another bill proposed in HR 9147 by Mr. Cable also calling for the registration of all foreign born workers within six months after the passage of the legislation.

In line with this policy of the Federal government, the city of Detroit has discharged 748 foreign born employees from the municipal service.

Speaking before the League for Political Education on Friday, March 7, "Police Commissioner Whalen said he was cooperating with the United States Commissioner of Labor, and that large numbers of alien Reds were being deported." (N. Y. Times, March 8)

In spite of the pernicious and dangerous character of these bills, the loyalites actually oppose resolutions presented against these bills. This has occurred in the Middle Village Branch of the Independent Workmens Circle and also in Bath Beach and Sacco-Vanzetti Branches of the ILD where loyalites actually fought against proposals to mobilize in the defense of the foreign born just because these proposals were brought in by supporters of the CP-Majority Group! This must cease at once. All proletarian forces must unite in the campaign to prevent the passage of these bills directed against the whole labor movement.

Read **REVOLUTIONARY AGE**

# In the Communist International

## THE INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION AND DISCUSSION ORGAN APPEARS!

Under the title *INTERNATIONAL REPORTS OF THE COMMUNIST OPPOSITION*, Issued for the Representatives of the *International Opposition* by M N Roy and August Thalheimer there appeared in the month of February the first issue of the information and discussion organ of the international Communist Opposition movement. The paper is published in Berlin and appears in the German language. It is expected that future issues will also have material in English.

The first number contains much valuable material. After a prefatory introduction which explains the political character of the international Opposition movement and the need for an organ of information and discussion, there follow informative articles on *Germany, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, England, Finland, the USA, China and India*. Each of these short articles is full of valuable information, the articles on China and India being especially interesting. The *International Reports* is certain to prove a great political and organizational aid to the Opposition movements of the various countries.

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## WHAT'S AHEAD IN CANADA

The situation in the C.P. of Canada is sharpening every day. Already there has taken place the expulsion of a number of the oldest and best leaders of the Party, apparently for some secondary reasons but actually as an expression of the deep crisis in the Canadian movement. Comrades *Moriarty*, the first secretary of the CPC, *Peel*, a veteran of the Canadian labor movement and for years editor of the Party organ, *Shoemith*, a delegate to the IV RILU Congress, and others have already been expelled from the Party. Comrade *Macdonald*, the former secretary of the Party and a member of its Polburo, has been suspended and recommended for expulsion by the coming Plenum of the CC.

In the *Finnish organization* the struggle has reached a new stage. The decision of the Ecce is an obvious attempt to accomplish by a flank attack what the Canadian Party leadership failed to accomplish by a direct frontal attack. Some of the outstanding leaders of the Finnish Communists in Canada (*Ahlquist*, etc.) still remain expelled while the rest are "suspended" for "further investigation." It is a deliberate attempt to break the ranks of the Finnish comrades. Among the *Ukrainian* workers things are also developing. The Party fraction at the recent conference of the Ukrainian Labor Temple Association rejected by a vote of 83 to 6 the proposals of the CC as presented by *Stewart Smith*! Plans are now on foot for the expulsion of at least 5 members of the CC, the leading native elements and trade union leaders.

The next stage in the development of the crisis in the CPC will show itself at the coming Plenum of the CC, March 22 and 23.

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## THE END OF CONCILIATION IN GERMANY

On Feb. 23, 1930, *Inprecorr* reported that *Arthur Ewert*, the head of the German "conciliators," had capitulated to the Remmele-Neumann-Thalman clique in the CPG and to the Stalin leadership in the Ecce. His declaration: complete surrender of every opinion he ever had and, indeed of the right to independent thought and criticism altogether. At the same time, *Stefan*, a Hamburg conciliator, also capitulated.

*Ewert's* declaration is a striking example of "cowardly opportunism." "I recognize that the conceptions represented by me in words and in writing at the Wedding Congress and rejected by the Party . . . are false. The point of view I represented on the estimation of the situation has also been proved to be wrong. Among other things the crisis in the U.S.A. (!) as well as the sharpening of the situation in Germany has shown the correctness of the estimation of the situation on the part of the CI and the CPG. This is also true on the tactical questions in which I opposed the decisions of the Party (trade union questions, factory council elections, social-fascism). I promise to carry out actively the decisions of the Party on all questions . . . I stand completely on the general line and tactics

of the CC of the CPSU and reject the conceptions represented by Comrade *Bukharin*. I pledge myself to fight—under the leadership of the CC and of its leaders (the *Thalman-Neumann-Remmele clique!*)—against the right wing Party friends of the *Brandler* organization as well as against any conciliatory attitude to them. My agreement to the decisions of the CI and the CPG . . . includes also the decision of the CI on the *Wittdorf case*" (!)

The capitulation of *Ewert* and *Kurt* as well as of *Stefan* in Hamburg marks the end of conciliationism as a tendency in the CPG and also internationally. The best elements of the conciliators have already passed over to the Opposition. The lines have been drawn so sharply that there is no longer any room for any half-way elements.

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## THE "TWO PARTY" QUESTION

The following extracts are from a letter recently sent by the C.P.-Majority Group to a leading comrade in the C.C. of the Communist Party of Sweden. (It will be recalled that the whole Swedish Party was recently "expelled" by the Ecce for refusing to embrace the new ultra-left sectarian course. The C.P. of Sweden is now supporting the struggle of the Communist Oppositions in the other parties of the Comintern). The letter of the Swedish comrade raised some important questions as to the problem of group or Party.

"On the question of 'two Parties' I am afraid that you have misunderstood our viewpoint which is the same as the German Opposition has. We do not maintain that it is impossible at any moment and temporarily to have two Communist Parties in any one country. How could we maintain this when in our country there were more than once-two Communist Parties coexisting: the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party in 1919, the Communist Party and the United Communist Party in 1920, the two Communist Parties in 1921. What we do maintain and insist upon is that as a perspective there cannot be two real Communist Parties coexisting for any length of time because there cannot be two vanguards of the working-class. Now what have you got in Sweden? In Sweden you do have now two Communist Parties. You have the old *Communist Party of Sweden*, the real leader of the Swedish revolutionary movement. Then you have the little *Sillen-Linderot* Communist Party, recognized by the Ecce. This is as things stand now. But, the *Sillen-Party*, in my opinion, will not remain very long as a Party. It will degenerate and decline and become even more of an impotent sect, even tho recognized by the Ecce. The C.P. of Sweden will remain the one Communist Party in Sweden.

"In Germany and the U.S.A. the situation is quite different. Here the loyalites are really the Communist Party while the Opposition is only a group. To call itself a 'Party' (as by the way, the oppositional municipal councillors in Paris have recently done) would not correspond with reality and would be fatal for us. Our task is to win the Party, to overthrow its ultra-left leadership, and to change its false line.

"You raise another interesting question. Are we a group of the Communist Party or are we a group outside of the Communist Party? You say we are a group outside of the Communist Party because we have been expelled. But this is not decisive. The mere act of the Party bureaucrats in 'expelling' us cannot change our relation to the Party. The Party is not the private possession of the bureaucrats to do with as they will, even if temporarily they do have the power. The Party is the organized vanguard of its class and from this no bureaucrats can ever expel us.

"Let us look at the question from the practical viewpoint. True, we are expelled, at least most of us are, altho we still have comrades in the Party. But does this mean we have lost contact with the Party membership and no longer influence them? Nonsense! On the contrary, as a group we continue to maintain contact with the Party membership and to work among them, even tho we are expelled. At the same time we carry on independent work outside the realms of the Party. Actual

1 *Sillen and Linderot are the leaders of the loyalite 'Party' in Sweden recognized by the Ecce, but having no more than about 3,000 supporters out of the 18,000 members of the Party.*

# PARTY LIFE

## SAN ANTONIO WORKERS PROTEST EXPULSIONS

The following protest was received from San Antonio against the recent expulsion in that city: "We the undersigned members of the San Antonio Unit CPUSA No. 10 at a general meeting held February 12, 1930, after a discussion of the charges brought by Comrades Sarah Leveen, and Lizzie Shaffer against Comrades TOM REAGAN, Secretary and JOE MURPHY, Organizer of the Unit, have found the charges groundless.

"We further vote our confidence and appreciation to Comrades REAGAN and MURPHY for active and faithful work in building the unit.

BERNARD HINES	LOUIS FARINA
ROBERTO H. SOROLA	JAUN MARTINEZ
ERNEST STOUTZENBERGER	E. PADILLA
JOSE A. MARTINEZ	TOM REAGAN
HUBERT STOUTZENBERGER	JOE MURPHY

## DISRUPTIVE TACTICS IN THE LABOR

### MOVEMENT

In Carpenters Local 1073, Philadelphia, the loyalites are carrying on a constant campaign of disruption with the deliberate intention of smashing the Local. At first their method was to create wild disturbances at the meetings, breaking chairs, shouting, fighting, etc. Having no other alternative, Leckerman, the chairman, decided to fine those who created the disorder. This was successful. One Party sympathizer begged forgiveness after being suspended for three months. Leckerman lifted the suspension when the sympathizer agreed not to continue these tactics and blamed the loyalites for having egged him on. This put an end to the Party policy, so the "loyalites" bethought themselves of a new method of disruption. They

facts show that we are a group of the Communist Party and not something outside of the Communist Party.

"Let us approach the same question from another viewpoint—from the viewpoint of your Swedish experiences. The Eccei bureaucrats have expelled your Party from the Comintern, just as these same bureaucrats, and the smaller bureaucrats in the U. S. A., have expelled us from the C. P. U. S. A. Yet you still call yourselves: *Section of the Communist International!* Does that "correspond with reality"? Yes, because the C.I. is not the property of the Eccei bureaucrats but is a world Party composed of Communist Parties as sections.

"And since the C.P. of Sweden is a real Communist Party it remains a section of the C.I., no matter what Stalin may say. Your VIII Congress decided to appeal to the VII Congress of the Comintern, in spite of the fact that "officially" you are no longer a member of the Comintern. Was this correct? Yes! Why? Because whatever the bureaucrats may do you still remain Communists and a section of the Communist International. Exactly the same is the case with us. Whatever the bureaucrats may do we still remain Communists and a part of the American Communist Party."

## THE ULTRA-LEFTS WELCOME THE NEW LINE!

Nearly ten years ago took place the split in the Communist Party of Germany in which certain semi-syndicalist ultra-left elements broke with Leninism and formed the so-called *Communist Labor Party*. For a whole decade this small group has been maintaining a miserable existence as an ingrown sect. The largest of their organizations was in Spandau. But the new course of the Eccei and of the C.P.G. came as a very welcome turn to these anarcho-syndicalist sectarians. The whole Spandau group of the C.L.P.G. has applied for admission into the C.P.G. on the following basis:

"For years we have been talking about Social-fascism; now the C.P.G. has adopted our standpoint on this question. In the trade union question the C.P.G. has taken steps in our direction. We will join and help the C.P.G. make further progress."

Exactly the same phenomenon is to be seen in this country where the small group of ultra-left Letts in Massachusetts who have stood aside from and fought the Party for years are now making advances in its direction because "the opportunists (Ruthenberg and Lovestone) are out and the Party is going in the right direction."

then proceeded to bombard the Local with communications from the Communist Party, the TUUL, the Industrial Unions, with the very evident purpose of creating trouble. If Chairman Leckerman accepted these communications and committees, he would be immediately expelled by the District Council. If he refused to accept them, the loyalites would denounce him as a "right winger." The policy of the Party was a deliberate provocation of the Hutcheson machine to "reorganize" and break up the only left local in the building trades in Philadelphia. Such tactics are plainly playing into the hands of the reactionaries. It is to be noted that in the Painters Local which the "loyalites" control, the Party leadership carefully avoids sending such communications. The outcome of such provocative tactics can only be harmful to the Union and injurious to the prestige of the Party.

## NOISE VS FACTS

In spite of all the noise being made about the results of the membership drive and the tremendous growth of the Party, the following quotation from a letter dated Feb. 16, signed by M. Green, Organizer, and A. Rostrom, Secretary of Section Five, Chicago, is typical of what is actually going on in the Party today:

"The attendance of the last Section membership meeting was: (Unit No.) 501 - 28 per cent, 502 - 37 per cent, 503 - 45 per cent, 504 - 44 per cent, 505 - 34 per cent, 507 - 0 per cent, 508 - 86 per cent, 509 - 22 per cent. See to it that your nucleus will be better represented at this meeting."

## SABOTAGE IN THE ILD

The work in the ILD of San Antonio is being obstructed by the Party members. A. Bustos, the only Mexican in the Branch, went over to the Anarchists and is engaged in attacks on the Soviet Union. The newly elected officers in the ILD are very incompetent (loyalites). For this reason the meeting with Mother Bloor was a complete failure with only 23 present and not a single Mexican or American! Now the same comrades are obstructing the meeting for Luis Martinez, for which there is an excellent basis as there are 70,000 Mexicans in this city. By remaining away from the executive committee meetings it is plain that loyalites are sabotaging the mass meeting which could be a big success.

## THE ILD REFUSES TO DEFEND WORKERS

On February 17, the ILD (New York office) was notified that Michael Intrator was to come up for trial on February 20 in the Raymond Street Court Brooklyn on a charge of disorderly conduct in connection with his activity on the picket line of the Furniture Workers strike. He was held in \$500 bail. The ILD was called upon to give its assistance as an organization pledged to the defense of all class war prisoners. But the ILD failed to respond. It is therefore necessary that all members of the ILD raise this question in their branches to find out just what is the policy of the ILD and what is its attitude toward the defense of class war prisoners, and why discrimination is shown.

## SMASHING THE BOSTON ILD

One of the best organizations of the ILD existed in the New England district under the previous leadership and under the previous non-partisan policy. A contrast of the previous situation with what is happening today shows to what extent the organization is disintegrating due to the present suicidal policies. On Sunday, March 2, Comrade Elsie Pultur, one of the most active workers in the Lettish ILD Branch was expelled. There were 44 members present, 15 Party members. *Fourteen voted for the expulsion, nine against and twenty-two abstained.* The expulsion was based upon the recent criticism of the present policies of the leadership of the ILD, published in *Revolutionary Age*. The loyalites held me responsible for the articles as a member of the National Council of the CP-Majority Group and for this reason demanded my expulsion. I was asked to leave the "Lovestone Group" and vote for the ILD convention report, then I would be allowed to remain. Zelms was the chief

executioner, thus taking the lead in destroying what has taken years to build up.

But the destructive path is even deeper. A new policy is being adopted to unite the language clubs with the language branches of the ILD, and in some cases to abolish them. Comrade Dirba was in Boston for this purpose. The same thing is being done in the Polish Club. The Polish workers certainly do not like these instructions and are not going to stand for the breaking up of their organization.

—Elsie Pultur

## HARLEM TENANTS LEAGUE LEADS DEMONSTRATION AGAINST EVICTION OF NEGRO TENANT

The first demonstration against the eviction of a Negro tenant, B. Pace, who refused to pay the exorbitant rent demanded by the Divack Realty Company, occurred on February 25. Brother Pace, who resided in apartment at 673 Lenox Ave., called upon the Harlem Tenants League for help when notified of the increase of \$19.50 in his rent for four small rooms on the top floor, rear. When the marshal appeared to evict Mr. Pace, members of the Tenants League demonstrated on the sidewalk with a placards denouncing the campaign of rent gouging. Hundreds of workers on the sidewalk listened to Edward Welsh, I. Trotman and Chester Bixby, who called upon them to organize house committees, and build up a mass movement of resistance against the rent increases. "Refuse to pay rent increases"—was the keynote of the demonstration. The demonstration aroused widespread sympathy among the tenants of Harlem.

## WORKERS PROTEST AGAINST HOOLIGANISM

The following letters were sent by workers to District Organizer Roy Stephens of Boston, following the *Revolutionary Age* banquet held there:

"Dear Comrade Stephens: I attended the banquet where Comrade Gitlow spoke and a group of Party members broke in and attacked some of those who were present. The banquet was not broken up; it ended in good spirit, but I think that the most disgraceful thing for the Party did happen when these methods were used. It is the kind of activity that the Party should not use. Instead of the workers present agreeing and accepting the leadership of the Party, this action succeeded in antagonizing us instead. The sooner you stop this activity, the sooner will workers be attracted to the Party.

Comradely yours,

*John Nunes, Jose Manuel, Idalina Nunes*

"Dear Comrade Stephens: From what happened at the banquet with Comrade Gitlow as speaker, I am convinced that the Communist Party leadership is not what it used to be and that the work of the Party is changing from Communist activity to campaigns of terrorism and physical attacks upon workers. This meeting with Comrade Gitlow was the best I attended for a long time. Your members did not succeed in their dirty work. You as the leader of the Party in Boston, should put a stop to that or the workers will begin to hate the Party and will refuse to join, altho they may be ready to fight actively in the class struggle and defeat the bosses and their government.

Comradely yours,

*Julius Lameiras, Julia Lameiras.*

## UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE LEATHER GOODS UNION

At the meeting of the Fancy Leather Goods Workers Union held on Tuesday, February 25, Shiplacoff, the \$150 a week Socialist manager, was supposed to take up the problem of the unemployed workers in the trade. Astounded at the response to the Union call and the number of unemployed workers who demanded some concrete action, he tried to evade the question by giving the workers some general platitudes. At this point Comrade Lester Diamond took the floor and demanded that a committee be immediately elected from among the unemployed to draw up plans for action. Unable to handle the situation Shiplacoff adjourned the meeting. But the movement for action on the question of unemployment will continue and grow.

## THE PHILA. UNEMPLOYMENT DEMONSTRATION

The unemployment demonstration held on Friday, February 14 at City Hall was of the narrowest character. . . . About 200 participated. It is reported that in the Paperhangers Union and in the Carpenters Local 1073 they knew nothing about the demonstration in advance, altho many are unemployed. It was a mobilization chiefly of Party and League members, with

very few outsiders. There is a real basis for a broad unemployed movement in this city which the Party seems to be unable to utilize.

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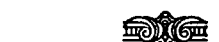
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But the change of form will not diminish the political character of our paper. The extra space we will have at our disposal will allow us to maintain all our old departments as well as to give the same amount of space to political and theoretical articles. In addition, we have decided to begin the issuance of a

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