

Revolutionary Age

For Communist Unity in the Revolutionary Class Struggle

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Communist Party U. S. A. - Majority Group

MAY 1, 1930.
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Militant Worker Barred as Citizen

A Communist cannot become a citizen of the United States! The Federal Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit, sitting in Philadelphia, decided, April 17, against the admission of Communists to citizenship. The court sustained the revocation of citizenship of a member of the Communist Party by the District Court of Pittsburgh.

The victim of this piece of class justice is John Tapolesanyi, a Hungarian Communist of Herminie, Pa. Tapolesanyi received his citizenship papers in 1920 but the interception of a letter to his brother, a Hungarian policeman, was used as the pretext for the revocation of his citizenship papers. In his letter he told his brother that he (John) was a Communist and he called his brother a murderer for shooting down striking workers. This was excuse enough for the labor hating federal courts to withdraw his citizenship.

The decision of the Federal Court of Appeals that a Communist cannot become a citizen and that a Communist's citizenship papers can be revoked merely for his political views becomes extremely important in view of the proposed alien registration and deportation bills. It will now be possible for the reactionaries to withdraw the citizenship of any militant worker and then to deport him out of the United States, perhaps to his death in some country where fascist terror is raging wildly. And yet the A. F. of L. Executive Council recently endorsed the vicious anti-alien bills and is of course in complete sympathy with any measures against the Communists. The workers of this country must awaken to the danger of the growing attack of the forces of reaction upon their rights and must form a united front to defend their interests against the capitalists.

Mass Meeting Against Injunctions

On Friday evening, April 21, the Communist Party (Majority Group) held a mass meeting in protest against the conviction of 38 striking shoeworkers who openly violated the sweeping injunction taken out by the Benjamin & Schwartz Shoe Co. against the Independent Shoe Workers Union. The meeting, which was held at Stuyvesant Casino, constituted an important step in the campaign being waged by members of the CP-Majority Group against the growing menace of injunction rule to the labor movement. A stirring resolution was unanimously adopted greeting the prisoners in jail, among them being Sidney Jonas, I. Zimmerman and Edward Wright, members of the Majority Group, calling for a united movement of mass resistance to injunctions and condemning the proposed appointment of "Yellow Dog" Judge Parker to the Supreme Court bench. The speakers included Ben Gitlow, Roger Baldwin, Joseph Maugeri, Bertram D. Wolfe, Edward Marshall and Bert Miller. Charles S. Zimmerman presided. The CP-Majority Group is the first organization which has thus far shown correct initiative in mobilizing the workers around this important issue.

Down Tools on May Day!

This MAY DAY ISSUE of *Revolutionary Age* is a SPECIAL issue for broad mass distribution before and on May Day. It does not replace any regular issue of *Revolutionary Age* but is in addition to the regular issues. For those readers who see *Revolutionary Age* for the first time in this issue we want to explain that the regular issue of *Revolutionary Age* is a large 12-page tabloid, full of the most important information and material on the working class movement in this country and thruout the world. It is a paper for every intelligent worker! Read *Revolutionary Age*!

Out in Masses on Rutgers Square!

Hoover's "permanent prosperity" has exploded! Millions of unemployed are tramping the streets and crowding the bread lines. Acute suffering prevails among the workers of this country. In a country bulging with wealth we see the most terrible conditions of abject poverty. Wages are being cut and part-time employment established in most industries. Capitalist reaction is growing more brutal every day. Strikes are being smashed in the most vicious manner. The unemployed are being clubbed and imprisoned everywhere.

American imperialism is spreading its bloody rule over Latin America, over the Philippines, in Asia, everywhere. The growing rivalry between Great Britain and the U. S. A. for the hegemony of the world is laying the basis for the outbreak of a world war of unheard of proportions. The United States government is taking the lead in preparing an attack upon the Soviet Union. It is the front ranks in the "holy alliance" of imperialists, the Pope, the bishops and the rabbis in trying to incite the masses into an attack upon the first workers government in the world.

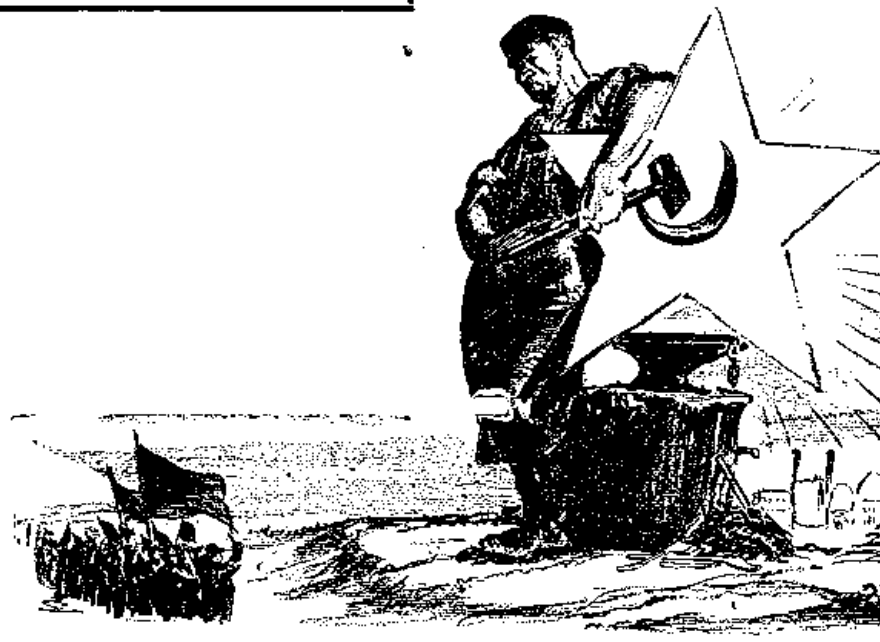
The reactionary labor bureaucrats, the Socialist Party leaders, are working overtime to serve the capitalists by hindering militant revolutionary action on the part of the masses.

The discontent of the masses is growing. Signs of this are everywhere. In the trade union the rank and file are beginning to give expression to their discontent. The unemployment demonstrations show that the unemployed workers are ready to fight against unemployment and for immediate relief.

The unity of the working class forces is the best answer to the schemes to crush the workers to the treacherous actions of the reactionary officials of the A. F. of L. and the treacherous leaders of the Socialist Party.

To achieve this unity must be the first task of the Communists. May Day, the day of international solidarity of the working class, must be a demonstration for proletarian unity against the capitalists!

Workers of all races, of all nationalities, Negro, white and yellow! May Day is your holiday! Down your tools! Leave the factories, mines and mills, by the hundreds of thousands and together with the millions of unemployed demonstrate your solidarity as a class! Demonstrate the might of your numbers and your determination to fight to
(continued on page 2).



Gandhi's March

Mass Revolt in India Grows

At the annual session towards the end of December the Indian National Congress decided to organize a campaign of passive resistance against the laws of the British government as a step forward in the struggle for freedom. The Congress empowered its Executive Committee to determine when, where and how this campaign of disobedience of the law should take place. In its turn the Executive granted dictatorial powers to Gandhi; he alone was entrusted with the carrying out of the plan. He was supposed to make the plan himself and to lead the movement personally. In exercising the full powers thus given to him Gandhi, accompanied by 40 young disciples, finally began his famous march. It was his intention to march on foot 150 miles to the coast and there to get salt out of the sea-water against the British law which forbids the private production of salt.

The making and the distribution of salt is a government monopoly in India.

The price of salt, which is relatively high, is therefore to large extent an indirect tax. This tax is bitterly hated by the poorer people who could easily get all the salt they want for nothing were they only permitted to do so. But the salt tax brings considerable income into the treasury and so there has been established a special police force to discover and to punish violators of the salt monopoly. A campaign on this field, seriously intended and correctly organized, could develop into a powerful mass movement but Gandhi and the bourgeois politicians as the head of the National Congress do not want to develop a mass movement. On the contrary they are afraid of their followers who are striving towards revolutionary struggle. They would gladly find means of leading the movement away into a harmless path. Gandhi's march was indeed so organized as to sabotage the strivings of the nationalist masses for a revolutionary struggle for
(continued on page 2).

Harlem Tenants Against Parker

In a special telegram addressed to Senators Copeland and Wagner, the Harlem Tenants League, speaking in the name of over 500 Negro workers of New York City, protested against the appointment of Judge Parker to the Supreme Court of the United States. The statement of the Harlem Tenants League clearly points out that Judge Parker's record shows him to be an enemy of labor and of the Negro people. It calls attention to his part in fixing the "yellow dog" contract upon the American workers and it brands him as a bitter opponent of the civil and political rights of the Negro. The statement concludes by declaring that the appointment of Parker is only another step in exposing the hypocritical claims of the Republican Party as the protector of the Negro people.

The Harlem Tenants League has also issued an appeal to the members of all Negro churches and fraternal societies to join in the fight against the appointment of Parker.

Gandhi's March Free the Framed-up Communists!

(continued from page 1)

freedom.

Before Gandhi began his performance he indicated the basis thereof in a pompous letter to the English viceroy. He demanded a number of reforms (all in the interests of the bourgeoisie) and declared that if these reforms were granted he would restrain the movement from violation of the law. He called upon the English viceroy to help him in his desire to hold in leash the forces of violence. The viceroy took no notice whatever of this letter. And then Gandhi was forced to make some gesture in order not to lose the confidence of the petty bourgeois masses. At the same time that he informed the British government (as he had promised to do) that he was considering beginning an action in disregard of the law, he also wrote that he had to do this, otherwise it would be too late to dominate the forces of violence which were raising their heads on all sides. Thus, the purpose of the march was clear from the very beginning. Gandhi himself made no secret of it. The government fearing that Gandhi's march would be the occasion for mass demonstrations, sent troops to the places under consideration. On the first day there gathered more than 20,000 people, crowding around the small group about the Mahatma. But the Mahatma would have nothing to do with them and told them to go home again—to pray that he should reach his goal in an atmosphere of complete non-violence. In the villages thru which he passed the peasants waited eagerly in the hope that the Mahatma would tell them to stop the payment of rent and taxes. But the Mahatma did nothing of the kind. He made their speeches on the virtue of non-violence. Consequently the masses soon became disappointed and lost considerable interest in Gandhi's performance. The unrest and bitter discontent of the masses has burst thru Gandhi's counter-revolutionary attempts at suppression and riots and clashes with the authorities have taken place—directly against Gandhi's wishes and orders. In the beginning the government announced that it would ignore the march of Gandhi and his disciples but as the spontaneous force of the masses began to be felt, this attitude was changed and the government has passed more and more to a murderous suppression of any sign of resistance of the masses. It is hard to tell what the consequences of the march will be; in spite of all Gandhi's care and preachings a mass rising on a large scale may burst out and the way for a broad people's revolutionary struggle for freedom opened. But this will take place thru the destruction of the influence of Gandhi over the nationalist movement and the elimination of the illusions of Gandhism.

Meanwhile in a situation of seething discontent and brewing revolt there still is no Communist Party in India and the Communist International seems to have no influence on the development of events. With a Communist Party established and a correct Leninist policy on the national revolution (which the Communist International no longer has at the present time) the events in India could become a pillar of fire in the onward march of the world revolution.

DOWN TOOLS ON MAY DAY!

(Continued from page 1)

free yourselves from unemployment, exploitation and imperialist war!

Demonstrate your solidarity with the workers of all countries. Join with them in the international revolutionary struggle to wipe out capitalism with its oppression, its brutality and bloodshed, off the face of the earth!

Demonstrate your solidarity with the workers and farmers of the Soviet Union! Let your demonstration be a fitting expression of your loyalty to the Soviet Union, the only workers government in the world! Demonstrate that you will fight with all your might to beat back and to crush any attempt on the part of the imperialist powers to attack and make war upon the Soviet Union—the fatherland of all the workers of the world!

A call for the unity of all workers against the gathering forces of reaction is the keynote of the statement issued by the Communist Party (Majority Group) on the conviction of Comrades Foster, Minor, Amster and Raymond.

"The railroadings of Foster, Minor, Amster and Raymond," the statement declares, "to the penitentiary for 3 years and the sending of Lester to the workhouse for 30 days is the logical conclusion of a capitalist frame-up against innocent workers whose only crime was that they dared to take up the fight for the unemployed in which they proposed to the workers to march to City Hall to petition Mayor Walker for unemployment relief.

The trial and conviction of these workers to long terms of imprisonment is only another phase of the reactionary capitalist drive against the unemployed workers and those who are uniting with them in a fight that the government, local, state and national, immediately provide adequate relief to the millions of starving workers and their families.

"It is another act in the brutal drama of clubbing, assault, and brutality which marked Clubber Whalen's breaking-up of the impressive unemployment demonstration on March 6, at Union Square.

"To the brutal police clubbing is now added judicial clubbing administered in a prejudiced court by capitalist judges who are happy of the opportunity of giving vent to their hatred of the working class to wreak vengeance upon the leaders of the workers.

"The denial of a jury trial by the court of General Sessions, the Chicago slaughter-house speed in which the trial was conducted by the three judges of Special Sessions, the gag rule that was applied in court to prevent the defendants thru their own testimony and thru numerous witnesses to show up the whole dastardly role of Cossack Whalen and his police at Union Square when they attacked the workers and without any cause whatsoever clubbed them unmercifully, proves that the verdict was prearranged by Wall Street's Mayor Walker, Cossack Whalen and the Courts.

"The trial from the point of view of

impartiality was a farce. It was a travesty upon justice. The arraignment of the workers, their indictment, their trial, was a mere formality in the carrying out of the frame-up, to send these workers to prison. These workers just like Sacco and Vanzetti have been framed-up because the capitalist rulers of the U. S., the Czars of Wall Street, hope thru such frame-up to crush the movement of the unemployed for relief.

"The conviction of these workers demands the united action of all forces of the working class for their immediate release.

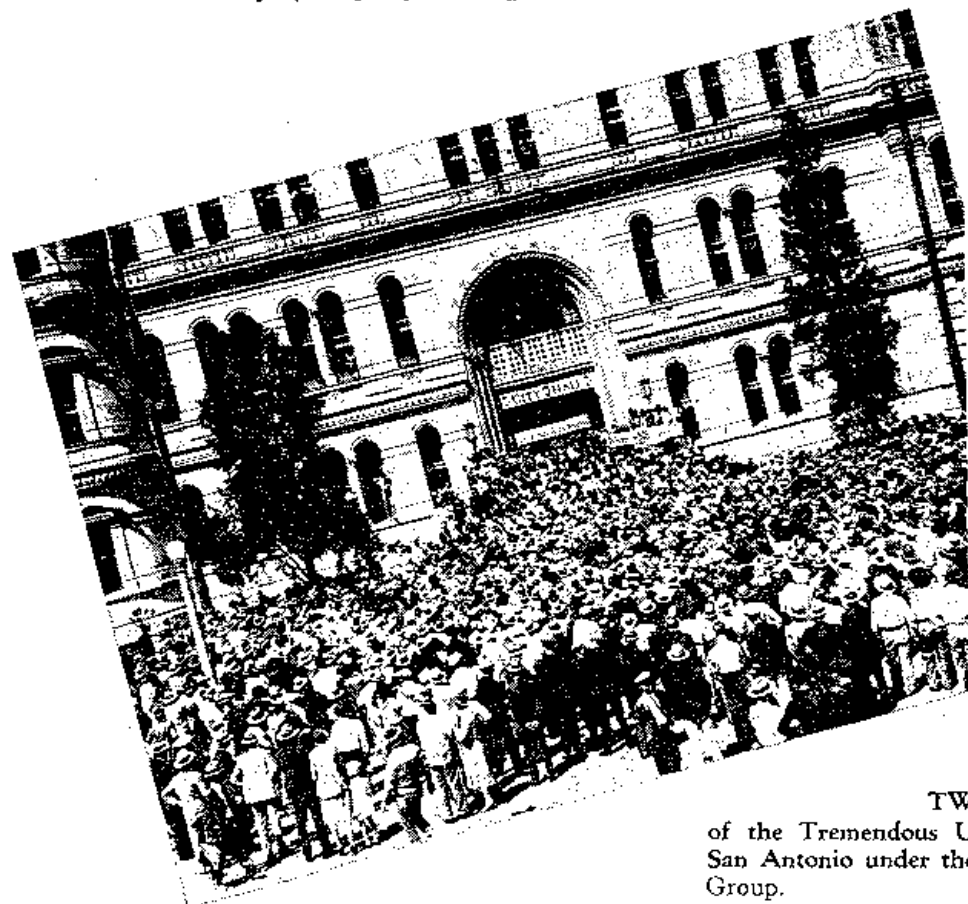
"The Communist Party (Majority Group) therefore, calls upon all workers and workers organizations to protest against this latest and most shameful frame-up of innocent workers.

"The Communist Party (Majority

Group) calls upon all workers to link up the demand for the immediate freedom of Foster—as part of a nation-wide campaign to free all those arrested and imprisoned thruout the U. S. in the numerous demonstrations. It calls upon the workers to make this campaign also a nation-wide movement for the liberation of the Gastonia frame-up victims, of Mooney and Billings, the Centralia I. W. W. prisoners and all other class war prisoners behind the bars.

"The C-P Majority Group, calls upon all workers to make the movement on behalf of the freedom of these workers part of a nation-wide movement of employed and unemployed workers against unemployment and for immediate adequate relief for the millions of unemployed in the U. S.

"The situation demands the unity of the workers in militant action to defeat the capitalist reaction of which these outrageous convictions are a part!"



TW
of the Tremendous U.
San Antonio under the
Group.

The New Party May Day Policy

Wall Street's Clubber-General, Police Commissioner Whalen, and his thugs, uniformed an un-uniformed, have been defeated in their criminal manouvers to launch an armed attack upon the Communists and class conscious workers of this city. The working men and working women of New York City will now demonstrate on the streets on May Day and will show their class solidarity with the victorious workers of the Soviet Union and with the exploited workers and the oppressed colonial masses the world-over. This is a blow to American capitalist reaction; this is a victory for the entire working class!

Under pressure of the unmistakable sentiment of the Party membership and the class conscious workers, as expressed in our statement of appeal to the Party members, the Party leadership has made a complete and decisive retreat from its previous policy of dangerous bravado and irresponsible adventurism. Despite all its loud boasts it has applied for a permit from the police department. It has dropped all its empty but dangerous phrases about "seizing Union Square." It has been forced to give up its suicidal plans which would have led to an unequal pitched battle with the jingo thugs and the police.

This retreat is absolutely correct. We point out, however, that the lateness of the retreat and the manner in which it was carried out will not be greatly to the credit of the Party. Had the Party leadership adopted the correct line as proposed by us at the outset of the May Day preparations, much more satisfactory arrangements for the demonstration and parade could have been made. What is more, the Party leadership has made this retreat not openly and honestly by frankly telling the Party membership the mistakes it committed and the necessity for dropping its previous wrong line; it has made the retreat under the cover of more bluff and hypocrisy.

For proposing a correct policy at the outset and then for proposing a far smaller and far better retreat, we, the CP-Majority Group, have been branded as renegades, as police tools, and as enemies of the working class. Today, our original policy and our policy for retreat stand vindicated.

Workingmen and workingwomen of New York City: Demonstrate your loyalty to your class on May First, the Labor Day of the working-class of the world! Show your class solidarity on May Day by making the demonstration in Rutgers Square and the parade to Union Square an event even more inspiring and greater than the splendid parade and demonstration of the thirty-five thousand workers in Union Square, May 1, last year.

Workers, comrades: Demonstrate your determination to end the whole capitalist system of exploitation and slavery!

The Next War

1. How It Is Being Prepared

Twelve years after the "war to end all wars" the leading nations of the world are spending \$4,500,000,000 annually on the preparation of the next war. After all the "disarmament" conferences and "disarmament" agreements, the "Locarno" and the Kellogg Pacts, the imperialist powers are spending 200 to 225 million dollars more per year than they spent in 1913 when they were preparing to enter the late world war. All this in spite of the enforced reduction of armaments in Germany, Austria, Hungary etc. as a result of the restrictions placed upon these countries by the Versailles Treaty.

The same message admits that the American army, navy and military budget have been mounting steadily since 1924. (Till 1924 it dropped steadily from its maximum in 1918, because of the gradual liquidation of the war time apparatus and expenditures of the world war). His message admits further that the army is three times as large today as it was in 1914, and that the expenditure for national defense purposes" has multiplied three times in the same period and that "programs now authorized will carry it to still larger figures in future years."

which there will be no non-combatants—no difference between the front and the rear.

That is something of what the figures say. Only figures, but the figures are eloquent. The millions and billions translate themselves into marching men, into belching guns, into 800-ton tanks (800 tons is 1,600,000 pounds!), into bombing planes, into screaming shells, into a thousand different death-dealing chemicals, into clouds of suffocating smokes, into laughing, blistering, coughing, itching, sneezing, choking, vomiting, tear and death-dealing gases, mangled bodies, starving children, wasted cities, ruined regions, scientifically spread pestilences, incalculable misery, famine, destruction and death. . . .

BERTRAM D. WOLFE

In the coming articles Comrade Wolfe will discuss the causes that are bringing on the next war, the meaning of the "disarmament conferences," what the war will be like and what weapons will be used in it, the meaning of the various proposals to prevent its coming, to stop it after it gets started and to abolish war altogether, and what those who will bear the burden, the workers and the toiling masses, should do about it.

The practice of quoting from "respectable" authorities will be continued thru-

Mother Jones 100 yrs. Old

May Day 1930 will mark one hundredth birthday of Mother Jones, the veteran American labor fighter. The long tradition of Mother Jones in the labor movement, the splendid part she played in many an historical struggle in the mining industry, has rendered Mother Jones dear to the working class of this country in spite of the fact that she has not been able to see thru the treacherous role of the Greens, the Lewises and the Wolls and the other reactionary labor barocrats.

Celebrations are being arranged by the American Federation of Labor in a number of leading cities in honor of Mother Jones' birthday. She will not be able to attend any of them but she expects to send a radio message to her fellow workers all over the country.

out, so that even the least conscious worker can be convinced and aroused to see the danger of the situation and what he must do in the matter. Order a batch of extra copies of this issue for your fellow-workers, neighbors, relatives and friends. Get subs, sell, and if necessary give away copies, and talk over this revealing series of articles with your fellow-workers. In the next article Comrade Wolfe will write on THE CAUSES OF THE NEXT WAR.

A RETROSPECT

May Day a Year Ago

By Bert Miller

On May Day last year the following cable was sent to the Soviet Union in behalf of the May Day Labor Conference of Unions and Fraternal Organizations and the Communist Party (New York District):

"Between forty and fifty thousand workers participated in New York's May Day demonstration. Twenty-five thousand paraded despite rain, auspicious the Communist Party, supported by many unions, southern textile strikers, Negro organizations."

This was the first May Day parade in New York since 1916.

Among the organizations participating were: Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, National Textile Workers Union, Independent Shoe Workers Union, Millinery Workers Local 43, Window Cleaners Union, Bakers Local 164 (AFW), Hotel, Restaurant and Cafeteria Workers Union, Progressive Bakery Workers Club Marine Workers Progressive League, Grocery Clerks Union, Cooks and Broilers Local 719, various sections of the TU BL, United Council of Workingclass Women, Ukrainian Labor Club, Williamsburg Workers Club, Anti-Fascist Alliance, Labor Sports Union, United Workers Cooperative, Unity Cooperative, Workmens Circle Branches 472, 225, 324, 637, 254, 564, 608, 325, 245, 187, 322, 673, Independent Workmens Circle Branches 5, 54, 116, American Negro Labor Congress, Brooklyn Finnish Workers Association, Armenian Workers Club, Harlem Progressive Youth Club, Brooklyn Scandinavian Workers Club, Anti-Imperialist League, Freiheit Gesangs Verein, Pro-

leteos, Swedish Workers Club, and the various sections of the Party and the League. These organizations were headed by four brass bands, one of which was a Negro band, marching from Union Square down Fourth Avenue thru Astor Place up University Place back to Union Square—thru the heart of the factory district.

The success of the demonstration was due largely to the fact that the Party had previously won considerable influence and prestige thru its leadership of the strike in Gastonia, the shoe workers strike, and the brilliant struggle of the cafeteria workers. In a strike chart published in the *Daily Worker*, on May 6, 1929 for April 1 to 15 54 strikes are shown as led by the left wing unions as against 25 led by the AFL. Out of 24 shoe strikes, the Independent Shoe Workers Union registered 16 strikes won. The National Textile Workers Union led 21,172 textile workers during this period, in 10 strikes as against 6 strikes led by the UTW.

Every militant worker, every honest left winger, every supporter of the Communist movement should compare May 1, 1929 with May 1, 1930. The tragic losses which the left wing and revolutionary movement has sustained due to the present incorrect policies and tactics of the Party leadership, must be immediately checked, the wrong line must be corrected, those responsible for the tremendous injury to our movement must be swept out, and the Party and the left wing must be reestablished on the line of Leninism, on the line which made the Party "the stalwart leader of stubborn class battles."

Revolutionary Age

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MAY, 1, 1930.

The Gastonia Trial

By VERA BUCH

Comrade Vera Buch, the author of this critical retrospect of the Gastonia Trial one year after, is one of the original defendants in the trial. She is not yet a member of the C. P. Majority Group but is in opposition to the false line of the Party from a viewpoint generally like ours. The secondary questions in the above article in which Comrade Buch differs from our viewpoint will be evident to every reader of REVOLUTIONARY AGE. — Editorial Committee.

With appeal of the Gastonia case now being heard, predictions are rife as to an unfavorable outcome. The prison walls are casting their shadows already over seven young men of the working-class. Was everything done to save these boys from conviction, in the first place? What is more, was the case conducted in a revolutionary manner, that is, was the widespread interest in the case used to acquaint as many people as possible with the real oppressive nature of the government under which they live and to move the workingclass further towards a revolutionary path?

Today the "leaders" of the Communist Party who were responsible for the methods of conducting the Gastonia case are carrying out on all sides policies of reckless adventurism. In the name of the "third period" real crimes against the workingclass are being committed. That the conduct of the Gastonia case was such a crime we do not wish hastily to declare. He would be a poor revolutionist who would not consider the tremendous power lined up against the workers in such an affair as the shooting of a chief of police. The bourgeoisie will go to any length whatever to defend its own. But on the other hand, the workers are not always foredoomed to defeat even in the face of the most crushing legal opposition. The workers too have weapons which if correctly used, may be able sometimes to prevail.

"Red" Publicity-Liberal Policies

The Party publicity on the Gastonia case was of the most lurid nature. Nothing could have been more "red" than the *Daily Worker* on Gastonia last summer and fall. But in actual fact, pacifist liberal policies were in control.

Let us first consider the central slogans of the case. There was a difference of opinion among the Communist groups. The Trotsky-Cannon group and also the C-P Majority Group claimed that the slogan of "Smash the Frame-up!" should be the chief slogan. The Communist Party also had this slogan at first. Later the frame-up slogan was dropped entirely and the main slogan became the one put forth by Wm. F. Dunne: "Defend the right to self-defense!"

The argument was that "frame-up" was an out-of-date slogan belonging to the period of A. F. of L. struggles. Furthermore, that in the Gastonia case there was no frame-up, the workers actually did shoot and kill the chief of police. It was a suicidal slogan as far as the trial was concerned, and the reckless use made of it before the trial seriously endangered our lives—as for example, when Dunne came drunk into our cell one day last summer and declared in a loud tho thick voice, that his only regret was that there had not been more Communist organizers with guns in their hands on June 7! (which, by the way, has now become "May 9 to be precise!"—See Dunne's article in the *Daily Worker* of April 19.)

Remember that the charges were murder and conspiracy to murder. Also that the prosecution had no direct evidence as to whose shot killed Aderholt and only the flimsiest proof of conspiracy. Yet in these circumstances with the electric chair threatening sixteen, the *Gastonia Labor Defender* actually declared that it "did not deny" that the union guard had killed Aderholt and—"defending the right to self-defense"—that they had the right to kill.

This slogan could not mobilize the widest sections of the population or even of the working class. But by that time the "third period" had hit the Communist Party in the form of a brainstorm so that it had become the order of the day to make-believe that the whole working class was on the verge of an armed struggle for power. This being the

case, naturally, the working class would readily support southern workers on trial for an armed clash with local police.

Stripped of all its wild, exaggerated dressings, the slogan of "self-defence" amounts only to this, that any citizen has the legal right to shoot an intruder into his home. But any liberal will go to great lengths to uphold this right. Thus it was simply plain liberalism that Bill Dunne and Co. were defending!

In all the hysterical hullabaloo about guns, the main issue was lost sight of. The main slogan should have been "Defend the right of workers to organize and to strike!" This, with the basis of the awful conditions of the Southern textile workers and their valiant resistance against capitalist rationalization combined with the worsening of workers conditions everywhere and their increased will to struggle, would have made the broadest appeal. The slogan "Build Workers Defence Corps!" was in order for the southern workers whose every effort to organize is met with armed fascist bands. The frameup slogan should have been retained. There were enough elements of frameup in the case to warrant its use. The slogan of frame-up however should always be a secondary one. It is a narrow slogan emphasizing only the legal machinery of the state, rather than the everyday oppression of capitalism which hits all the workers. Hence it is really not much better as a principal slogan than the Party slogan "Defend the right of self-defence!"

These correct slogans were advocated by Comrade Weisbord before he was driven out of the South and his advocacy of them was made part of the vicious frame-up under which he was finally expelled from the party.

Several important questions are raised here which can only be mentioned in this article, as for example whether it was correct to maintain the Loray strike as long as we did, with only a handful of workers outside, whether we should have kept an armed guard under these circumstances, also as to whether the formation of armed guards of workers and armed clashes with the police are in order in all parts of the country today.

"Only Communists Can Defend Communists"

Proclaiming a period of "sharp working class offensives" to be at hand, the Communist Party leadership have thrown the policy of the united front of the workers and their sympathizers against the capitalists to the winds. There was not even the realization, apparently, that the sympathy of various strata of the population both nationally and locally for the Gastonia case, should have been mobilized. Even in North Carolina, the whole population outside of the mill workers was not a frenzied fascist mob thirsting for the blood of the defendants. On the contrary, there was much sympathy both latent and active. Had defence conferences been organized, the farmers' jury sitting in judgement over our boys might have had a different story to tell. Many professional people, and middle class elements, too, would have rallied. But as it was even such sympathetic liberals who did come offering help were openly rebuffed or oggled at suspiciously as "spies". As for the Negro masses, all the hollow boasting of the *Daily Worker* about "black and white fighting shoulder to shoulder" cannot alter the fact that no attempt to reach them was made. The inclusion of Negroes in the Labor Jury was a good gesture, coming late, but mere gestures do not win the masses. On this basis it was no wonder that the mobilization of support was not on the wide

est but instead on the narrowest possible scale.

"Don't Irritate the Prosecution!"

All thought of rallying the other strata of the population having been cast aside by the Party officialdom one might expect that at least the working class would have been mobilized to exert the powerful pressure of mass demonstrations and strikes. "Only the mass action of the working class can save the Gastonia defendants." How many times these words were bandied about in press articles, leaflets, speeches! As a matter of fact the working class demonstrations were very weak throughout the country. In the scene of action, Gastonia and Charlotte, they were abandoned completely. A demonstration and parade in Gastonia at the opening of the trial was discussed and rejected. The lawyers were opposed to it. It would "irritate the prosecution," would arouse our enemies.

The workers themselves, of their own initiative, thronged the court house that day, and spontaneously gave an impressive demonstration of solidarity, which if organized, could have been multiplied one hundred fold. There was never a demonstration held in Charlotte during all the weeks of the trials there. All suggestions of a mass protest strike were sneeringly turned down. The conviction was allowed to pass by without a sign to express the bitter disappointment and rage of the workers of the whole territory. The working class was obliged to take this blow lying down. And since the conviction agitation has been practically dropped. Are we relying upon a Georgia U. S. Senator to win the appeal?

Thus while the *Daily Worker* painted highly colored pictures of stark class battles, in fact there went on on all sides a quiet capitulation to liberalism—"This must not be a propaganda trial."

This was true of the trial itself as well as of the agitation accompanying it. A trial of Communists must be fought bitterly every step of the way not only with a view of freeing the defendants but with a view of bringing forth in the most powerful way the terrible oppression against which the workers have rebelled.

But here, since the right of "self-defence" had become paramount, and since lawyers, not Communists were allowed to control the trial, testimony on technical points tended to predominate. The defence showed very little cleverness in evading the court's orders against propaganda. With the ears of the whole country turned towards that court room in Charlotte, there was no statement made there as to the aims for which the Communist organizers were struggling. Perhaps this was due to lack of trust in the defendants' ability to explain their ideals, for the only attempt the Party made was to try to get the

State to put Bill Dunne on the stand as an "expert" on Communism! Some testimony on the work of the Pioneers was the nearest approach to such a statement of ideals by any defendant.

Nor was much brought out of the awful conditions of the southern mill workers—the very basis of all this tremendous struggle. Such facts as the workers did manage to give on the stand regarding their miserable wages, their overwork, their bayonetting and clubbing appeared to come as a result of their own ingenuity rather than of direction from defence counsel.

Other minor errors were made. The Gastonia trial was a golden opportunity for the working class but it was an opportunity lost.

Demoralization

The Gastonia case occurred at a time of crisis of leadership in the Communist movement. We who did the work in the field had to go upon the firing line with the general staff in a state of protracted demoralization at the center. The chaos and strife in the Party leadership showed itself in really criminal neglect and toying with a situation dangerous to the lives of the organizers. It was a real crime to have removed Comrade Weisbord, for factional reasons from the field where he had gone at once after the shooting. It was a crime to have permitted "President" Reid to flee to Rhode Island to "look after his real estate property." (Ellen Dawson was recalled for a trial at the same time). It was a crime to have sent no union representative to replace these comrades from June 10 to the middle of July, with the trial coming off July 29! (Frenzied talk about "mobilize the workers" went on apace meanwhile). It was a crime to leave the I. L. D. work in the hands of one so notably dilettante as Juliet Stuart Poyntz, with the result that the real preparation of the case was left till the eleventh hour.

But worst of all was the political crime, the failure of the Communist Party to appear in this most important situation. The Party was buried under the towering weight of other organizations. Two tiny little meetings in Charlotte were all that could be found of it, and even these Dunne carried out only under pressure from other comrades in the field. No wonder that no Communist slogans were introduced, no wonder that today the Party membership in the South is nil.

What is needed now for the Party members as a whole is to prick the airy bubble of "Southern achievements" and to make a real appraisal of the situation. This will be for them a step towards demanding what the movement needs so much—Communist leadership.

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