Revolutionary Tage For Communist Unity in the Revolutionary Class Struggle

VOLUME I. NUMBER 14. Issued by

Communist Party U. S. A. - Majority Group

MAY 21, 1930. 10c A COPY

An Appeal to You!

Over six months ago a small group of comrades issued the first number of REVOLUTIONARY AGE. Why did we take this great step? Because we realized that the American revolutionary movement-the labor movementneeded a paper that would courageously carry on an unceasing and energetic propaganda of the principles of Communism, of the tactics of Leninism, of Communist unity, of the united front of labor against the capitalist reaction. Because we realized that this incorrect line of the Party would lead to a smashing of the new unions and the destruction of the left wing in the old unions-because we realized that it was up to us to carry on the fight for the correct line both in the unions and in the fraternal organizations.

We knew that the task was tremendous—but we also knew that in this task we could count on the support of large sections of the militant and left wing workers whose sacrifices in the cause of the working class have been immeasurable. And we were right! Thousands of workers now look to REVOLUTION-ARY AGE for inspiration and guidance in the difficult conditions of the class

struggle in this country-

It was thru your sacrifices that we were able, two months ago, to greatly improve our paper, to change its form, to enlarge its content, to make it a more powerful weapon in the struggle. But this very welcome change has faced us with greater difficulties, greater financial burdens. They have grown greater than ever before. ONLY THRU YOUR HELP CAN WE OVERCOME THESE DIFFICULTIES AND FORGE AHEAD!

We speak frankly because we have nothing to hide from you! It is your struggle as much as it is ours! We find ourselves in a very critical financial situation. THIS CRITICAL FINANCIAL SITUATION IS A GREAT OBSTACLE, A GREAT MENACE TO OUR FURTHER PROGRESS, EVEN TO THE MAINTENANCE OF OUR PAPER IN ITS ENLARGED FORM. Think over what this means:—IT MEANS GREATER SACRIFICES—IMME-DIATE HELP-ON YOUR PART! How will you answer?

We are establishing the REVOLUTIONARY AGE FIGHTING FUND to provide a solid financial basis for our paper and to make is possible to forge ahead with the regular progress that our struggle demands. BUT WE NEED IMMEDIATE HELP! No delay! Send in donations! Make collections in groups and organizations! Rush every cent you can! The future of REVOLU-TIONARY AGE depends on you!-What will be your answer?

BEN GITLOW, Editor

HARRY M. WINITSKY, Manager

New Wave of Revolt in Party



Gangster Attack on Roy Stephens

With the opening of the so-called pre-convention "discussion" in the Communist Party has come a new wave of resistance against the non-Leninist sectarian and wrecking course of the present leadership of the Party, a new wave of support of the struggle carried on by the Communist Party (Majority Group).

The most outeranding Communist leaders among the New York food workers, who still remained in the Party after the expulsion of Comrade B. Kalfides many months ago, Comrades Gitz,

Christman and Costas, have been expelled from the Party because of their resistance to the burocratic sectarian splitting course of the Party burocrats in the Amalgamated Food Workers and have signified their support of our position in the general struggle now taking place in the American Party and in the Communist International. The position taken by those comrades is alteady proving very effective in waking up cornrades in the food industry and in other industries to the seriousness of the present situation and to their Communist duty. The declaration of these comrades, which is being distributed throout the Party and the militant workers, is summarized elsewhere in this

Another sensational development marking the opening of the Party discussion is the

open declaration of Roy Stephens, District Organizer of the New England district of our Party, of his support of our viewpoint and of his adherence to our group. Comrade Stephens was formerly District Organizer of the Kansas District and was selected as a student in the Party National School in 1927. As his declaration, published elsewhere in this issue explains, Comrade Stephens was led by very experiences as District Organizer to see the correctness of our position and the necessity of our struggle.

The rapidly growing sympathy of the Party membership for our position and our struggle has infuriated the Party burocrats beyond measure and his driven them to desperation. Comrade Stephen's own story of what happened to him at the hands of so-(Continue on page 2)

Wave of Revolt Sweeps India

CP-Majority Group Demonstrates for India

Over a hundred workers, members of the Communist Party (Majority Group) and sympathizers, staged a surprise demonstration on May Day before the British Consulate in N. Y., in solidarity with the Indian masses carrying on fierce struggle against British imperialism. The demonstration was particularly timely and necessary in view of the fact that neither the official Party nor any other organization of labor had yet voiced the slightest protest against the brutal atrocities being perpetrated against the Indian workers by the British government nor had there yet been any

Gandhi Arrested - Imperialist Terror Spreads

The revolt of the Indian masses against their English masters has now reached a point where it is a recognized menace to British imperialism. Gandhi has been arrested and with him scores of others fighting for freedom. The revolting masses have risen by the scores of thousands, have captured important cities, such as Sholapur, and have held them for a time against greatly superior forces. At Peshawar the native troops sent against the revolting masses have refused to fire upon their brothers fighting for emancipation. In the large industrial centers great strikes are break-



The CP-Majority Group Demonstration Before the New York British Consulate

expression of solidarity in America in behalf of the revolt of the Indian toilers. The slogans carried by the picketers made the following demands: "Free India and Ireland from British Tyranay" "Stop the murder of Indian workers" "Down with the MacDonald Government, Murderer of Indian workers" "Hail the Indian Revolution!" "Down with American Imperialism!" "American workers stand by your Indian brothers!" "Defend the Soviet Union, champion of the oppressed peoples!" etc. After parading for some time, the police arrived and broke up the procession with the usual Whalenite brutality. Two comrades were arrested Morris Nemser and Max. Herling but were released on suspended sentence.

Under the auspices of the New York organization of the CP-Majority Group, an open air demonstration was held on (continued on page 2).

ing out; in the villages the peasants are organizing to resist the payment of rent.

All meetings of more than five persons have been banned in every part of India. Martial law prevails practically everywhere. The Indian Legislature has been prorogued, a strict censorship has been declared, and feverish military mobilization and preparations are taking place in every corner of the vast country. As an English imperialist observer remarks: "All India is in flames and there is no telling how far the fire will spread!"

The agent of British imperialism attempting to crush, with fire and sword, the rising of the Indian masses is the Macdonald "Labor" Government of Great Britain, the heads of which claim to be "Socialists" and "devoted to the interests of the working masses." Within the last few weeks alone, hundreds of Indians

(continued on page 2).

Pays Whalen?

India in Revolution

(Continued from page 1)

fighting against British imperialist oppression have been muredered by Macdonald's soldiers, while hundreds more have been sent to prison. The reactionary, bloody imperialist character of the so-called "Labor" Government stands self-exposed.

The struggle of the Indian masses for emancipation is part of the world struggle against imperialism. Remembering our own struggle for independence from the British yoke a hundred and fifty years ago and our struggle today against American imperialism, the American workers and farmers must support with the greatest enthusiasm the revolutionary struggle of their Indian brothers.

The Situation in India and the Course of the Revolution

India today is in the period of revolution but not yet in the period of proletarian revolution. Today India is in the period of the anti-imperialist nationalist revolution fighting under the slogan of self-determination and complete inde-

pendence from British rule. The road to this is a revolutionary democratic people's alliance of the workers, peasants, city petty bourgeoisie, and intellectuals against imperialism, an alliance based upon the economic and social demands of the masses. For the peasants the national revolution means: the agrarian revolution, the taking of the land away from the princes and the landlords; for the workers it means: strong organization into unions, the 8hour day, the contantly rising minimum wage, social legislation, etc.; for the entire mass of the people: the establishment of a democratic people's government in place of British imperialism and its native puppet princes, civil liberties, free and universal education, the abolition of caste disabilities, etc. It is upon such a deep social basis that the Indian national revolution is developing.

Within the revolutionary people's alliance fighting on the basis of the Indian revolution, the working class, as the fundamentally revolutionary class in modern society, must strive for and achieve leadership. The winning of leadership by the working class not only leads to the victory of the nationalist revolution over all obstacles but also provides the basis for the proletarian revolution which will follow it after a longer or shorter historical interval.

In India the leadership of the nationalist movement is still in the hands of the petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals, and, even to a large extent, of the right wing of the petty bourgeoisie. Gandhi's political perspective, which is the political perspective of this leadership, is a form of mystical pacifist utopianism arising out of the peculiar historical conditions and traditions of the Indian people. It shrinks from mass force and violence and frowns upon the development of mass action which inevitably passes beyond the bounds of mere passive resistance which Gandhi preaches. Gandhi's fanatical pacifism has even led him to de- them were threatening me and telling me clare: "Lawless physical violence must that they were going to kill me. One of be stopped, even if that must be done them took out his knife and was going thru the government's forced use of to cut my throat, but he was stopped. arms"! It is clear that the Indian na- From their talk I learned that at night tionalist revolution will only be able to they had already called together some achieve its goal thru overcoming and Buro members and Alpi, the CC reprediscarding Gandhism. But it is equally sentative, told them what to do. They clear that today Gandhi (irrespective held me there until 7 o'clock in the evenof his own desires) is the symbol of the ing. I tried to escape and they threw revolutionary upsurge in India-the ar- me down on the floor and kicked me and rest of Gandhi is the symbol of the op- trampled on me. At 7 o'clock in the pressive hand of British imperialism. That is why the Communists and all revolutionary forces the world over must

INDIA DEMONSTRATIONS

(Continued from page 1)

Saturday, May 10, at Columbus Circle to protest against the arrest of Gandhi and others in the Indian revolutionary struggles and to express the feeling of solidarity of the American workers for the Indian fight for freedom. The sneakers included Ben Gitlow, for the CP-Majority Group, Bert Miller, J. O. Bentall, Chas. C. Weber, of the American Civil Liberties Union, and Bertram D. Wolfe. A resolution pledging support to the Indian Revolution was passed.

protest against the arrest and demand the liberation of Gandhi.

> One of the most painful manifestations of the crisis in the Communist International today is the Indian situation. In the face of a real revolutionary upsurge, the leadership of the Communist International, which is so ready to discover "revolutionary upsurges" where none exist, stands paralyzed, unable to do anything. The only solidarity demonstrations so far held either in Europe or America have been held under the auspices of the Communist Opposition! As the declaration of the Indian Opposition Communists makes clear the present leadership of the Comintern fails completely to understand the character of the present stage of the Indian revolution and is therefore unable to exercise any serious influence over the masses-All that the official Communist press can do is to make the center of its attack not British imperialism and its Labor Party lackevs but-Gandhi! In spite of the extremely favorable objective conditions no Communist Party exists in India today while the best and most capable Com-munists (M. N. Roy and his group) have either been expelled or are going to be expelled very soon. And even today no attempts at establishing a mass basis for the Communist Party in India are being Only the struggle of the Commade. munist Opposition holds the promise of a real change in the course of the Communist International and its restoration to a condition where it will really be able to serve as the organizer and leader

Revival of Revolution Miners Rebel In China

A definite revival of the Chinese revolution after the crushing defeat in 1927 is indicated in the press reports coming from Shanghai and other centers. "Communist bandits have acquired such power in China," declares the Times report of May J, "that they now constitute a definite menace to the Nanking government." The "Communist bandits" referred to are the revolutionary peasant armies and bands. The reports declare that at least four provinces are under revolutionary control. It is stated that if the various revolutionary forces join together they will constitute a formidable force, large enough to challenge the bloody Chiang Kai-Shek regime in Nan-

The foreign press is full of "atrocity" stories, of "ravaging" and 'terror," of "poor missionaries" who are "murdered" or are in "danger of their lives"-this building up a smoke screen for the coming imperialist intervention in China against the growing Chinese revolution.

Meanwhile, in the face of these extraordinarily favorable objective conditions, the Communist Party of China stands powerless. It has lost almost all influence among the Chinese workers and its organizations in the big industrial cities are destroyed. Its policy of putschism on top of its old opportunism-a policy forced upon it by the present leadership of the Communist Internationalis making it impossible for it to take its rightful place as the head of the Chinese

Wave of Revolt in the Party

(Continued from page 1)

called "Communists" shows to what depths the frantic Party burocrats will descend What they did is a shame and a scandal for the whole labor movement. No progress for the revolutionary movement will be possible until people who practise such methods are effectively removed from the working class movement in which they are only a source of corruption.

Comrade Stephens story deserves the closest attention of every Party member, of every worker.

ROY STEPHENS STORY

We had a Buro meeting called for 3 o'clock in the afternoon on Sunday and I did not want to dodge that Buro meeting. I wanted to have a hearing and an opportunity of giving my views before the Buro. So at 2 o'clock I went to the Party office and immediately I was grabbed by five of the lovalites who had been mobilized as gangsters against mc. They started beating me and pushed me into a back room and barred the door and held me there. Then they went and brought in about five more and all of evening they twisted my arms around my back and five of these gangsters escorted me down-stairs and pushed me againstthe door and had a car waiting and told me they were going to kill me. They told me they were going to take me to a "hearing." They took me to the rooms of the Lettish Club. There they took me into a back room of the Lettish Club and again locked the doors. They had four or five of them to guard me. I did not know really what they wanted. I asked them why they didn't let me go. They said they wanted to hold me there. They kent me for an hour or two in the room of the Lettish Club and I did not have the chance to speak to anyone. About He had the door locked and the table

tish club they opened up the door and

took me into the next room and there they had the members of the Buro and the gangsters that had been mobilized. Peter Hagelias opened the meeting by saying: "Comrades, we have found a spy, a traitor, in our midst." I was asked whether I had anything to say, I said: "Yes, I would like to have about one hour to explain my views in the Party." But Alpi said: "I propose that we give him a few minutes." Then I took a few minutes and spoke on the situation in the Party and a number of those present listened rather attentively. Suddenly, Alpi got up and said: "Now comrades I don't think any of you want to speak to a renegade." Alpi said that a motion was in place to expel Stephens from the Party. A motion was made that I be expelled from the Party. They all raised their hand including the gangsters. They didn't ask whether anyone was against it or not. I said: "I vote against the motion." Someone got up and said: "You can't vote, we really expelled you last night!" Then Alpi, said: "I propose that we do not be lenient with him. What do we do with spics in the Party? With spies we hang them, we kill them! What is he? He is an agent for Lovestone in the Party. He should be dealt with this

Then began the trial to see what they were going to do with me. First they kept me in there with four or five gangsters and in the other room they began to discuss as to what they should do with Pitt, \$388, or an average of \$408 per me. I could hear Alpi giving them a cropper. Tetal interest and time charges leng speech. How in a case like this something desperate should be done. And I could hear him telling them about how they do away with spies. Such talks went on for about one hour. I could hear all that was going on. The only a per annum charge of 38.6 per cent for one that objected was Cantor. In dis- all credit advances." cassing how they were going to do away with me, they were asking themselves the question what would happen to them if the police found out. This seemed to be the only objection that they had to killing me. They were saying: "You could easily do it this way or that way, no one will ever know it, etc." I began to realize that my life was really in danger. There was a window in the room. I noticed that it wasn't locked in the middle and I sat by the window and M. sat in the other corner guarding mc. running. So I walked down to the resione hour after I was brought to the Let- against the door. I realized that it garage and there the fellow took me would be very difficult to get out of there. down to the hotel.

in the Anthracite

The growing discontent of the coal diggers with the miserable conditions in the industry and with the pro-boss policies of the Lewis administration in the United Mine Workers of America showed itself in unmistakable form at the anthracite tri-district convention of the UMWA which met on May 2 at Hazleton, Pa.

As a result of the recent split in the UMWA, in which the Illinois bituminous field and other bituminous regions formed the reorganized UMWA, the Pennsylvania anthracite region is the only substantial organized territory left to the Lewis organization. The rise of revolt there is therefore very significant.

The sharp struggle came upon the report of the wage scale committee, headed by John Boylan, which presented the Lewis program for the coming wage negotiations. The report specified "no reduction in wages," but did not come out for wage increases, or for any of the other demands of the militant miners. It was precisely the program Lewis wanted in order to be able to sell out the anthracite miners again.

The report of the scale committee aroused the deepest protest on the part of the delegates. But there was no conscious leadership, for as a result of the deliberate sectarian policy of the Communist Party and the National Miners Union the left wing in the UMWA has been destroyed. Nevertheless, the delegates fought back at Lewis and after a het battle defeated Lewis's proposals!

There was consternation in the ranks of the burocrats and the convention was adjourned over the wek-end. When the convention readjourned Monday, May 5, the Lewis officials had already pulled the necessary strings and used the necessary terrorism so that their original proposal passed. But the resentment and protest of the hard coal diggers is not allayed.

In the next issue of Revolutionary Age there will be an article by an anthracite miner on the Hazleton Convention.

AGRARIAN CRISIS GROWS

The Department of Agricultural Economics of the State College of North Carolina, has just issued an important report dealing with the cost of storecredit to tenant farmers. The report is based on an investigation made in four counties in North Carolina during 1928.

Dr. G. W. Forster who directed the investigation says in part:

"From the studies it was found that the tenant's cash income was \$766. The value of the cropper's family labor was \$271, leaving him \$495 for his annual wage. But in addition to receiving an average of \$766 in cash, the cropper got additional living from the form to the value of \$170. This made a total of \$936 for the tenant and his family for

"The income varied somewhat according to the size of the farm operated. For instance, 90 croppers who operated less than 20 acres of land had a cash income of \$808 and 32 who cultivated over 40 neres had a cash income of \$1253.

"The total advances for cash and supplies for the counties were; Wayne, \$318; Lenoir, \$360; Edgecombe, \$489 and paid on these cash advances and supplies by the 588 croppers was \$60 Wayne, \$71 in Lenoir, \$77 in Edgecombe and \$98 in Pitt, or an average of \$78. This made a flat charge of 19.1 per cent and

However, some of them went out and left M. alone. I noticed that M. began to get sleepy so I walked back and Buddenly I grabbed at the window and jumped down the fire escape. I was all dirty with my clothes all torn. I was afraid to go out into the street because I was afraid that someone would call the police. It was then past 3 o'clock in the morning and there were no street cars dential district and finally came to a

Parker Out -Roberts Picked

Because of great opposition, especially from Negro and labor sources, the Scnate, by a vote of 41-39, rejected Hoover's nominee for the Supreme Court, John J. Parker of North Carelina. The exposure of Hoover's attempt at political trading for the Republican Party was an important factor in mobilizing Democratic schators against Parker.

Hoover has come forward with the nomination of Owen J. Roberts of Pennsylvania to take the place of Parker. Roberts is a notoriously reactionary corporation lawyer. An equally or more reactionary nomince than Roberts has not been put forward by a President in many years.

Owen Roberts was "the representative of the people" in the government Teapot Dome oil case against Doheny. In this case Roberts so ably "defended the people" that Doheny was acquitted. From 1901-04 Roberts was Assistant District Attorney of Philadelphia and proved to be a very vigorous prosecutor of labor. In 1918 Roberts was appointed Deputy Attorney General for the Federal Government and served as a relentless prosecutor of several papers in eastern Pennsylvania on the ground of their having published "seditious" material during the War. At a dinner of multi-millionaires, in 1923, at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York, Mr. Roberts bitterly assailed all those who would advocate taking the slightest measures for the restriction of the oil monopolists.

Hoover's new nominee has for years advocated measures aiming to abolish the system of trial by jury and concentrating still more power in the hands of appointed judges. Roberts is closely tied up with the powerful financial interests of castern Pennsylvania and as such has been a strong advocate of the U. S. joining the World Court. For years Mr. Roberts has been a director of the City Trust of Philadelphia which administers the largest estates in the city.

Today Mr. Roberts is a director of the Real Estate Titles Insurance and Trust Company, the Franklin Fire Insurance Company, American Telephone and Telegraph Co., Bell Telephone Co. of Pennsylvania, and the Equitable Life Assurance Society of the U.S. These firms are dominated by Morgan-Rockefeller inter-

WALL STREET PICKS HAITI'S PRESIDENT

After considerable bickering, dickering and the threat of armed invasion on a grand scale, Wall Street's Hoover Administration succeeded in forcing Haiti to accept Eugene Roy as its president.

The Washington State Department frankly declared that the success of the Forbes Commission Plan for the United States stranglehold on Haiti depended upon its ability to put over Roy as Provisional President. Hoover has expressed great confidence in Roy on the basis of his "notable record" as the first native representative of the National City Bank in Haiti some years ago.

Flushed with its success in railroading this tool of United States imperialism into the Presidency of Haiti, the State Department is now preparing to give San Domingo the same lesson in American democracy.

ENCE IN ANTHRACITE

Upon the call of a Provisional Unemployment Committee there will take place on Sunday, May 25, 2 P. M., an anthracite unemployment conference which will take up the question of mobilizing the anthracite workers for a struggle against unemployment and for the demands of the unemployed. The unemployment situation has been very acute in the anthracite mining field and a successful conference with representatives of many labor organizations is expected. The conference will take place in Wilkes-Barre, Pa., at 206 South Main

Whalen Fake Exposed

Thru the disclosures of Representative F. La Guardia of New York and of the New York Graphic it is now completely clear that the so-called "documents" peddled by Whalen are crude forgeries. A certain East Side printer has made a public declaration read in Congress that he printed the letter-heads on which the cret orders" were supposed to have come

"mandates" and "instructions" and "sefrom Russia! So it seems that another "Russian document exposure" has turned



WHALEN AND HIS BOSS

At the inauguration of Grover Whalen. From left to right: Grover Whalen, Mayor J. J. Walker, J. S. Bache.

Berlin Meeting For India

On May 7, in Berlin, the Society of Indians in Central Europe held a protest meeting against the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and the other Indian leaders. Among the speakers were M. N. Roy, well known figure in the international Communist Opposition and for years a leader in the Indian revolutionary movement, a nephew of Rabindranath Tagore and several representatives of the younger Indian revolutionaries. The speakers discussed the course of the Indian revolution, the policies of Gandhi, and the tasks of the Indian masses. The sharpest protest was expressed against the murderous policy of British imperialism under the "Labor" government. A Moslem called upon the Moslems and Hindus to fight shoulder to shoulder against their common enemy.

NUMBER OF RICH GROWS

Advance calculations on the basis of the income tax rates filed during the past month indicate that there are in the United States at least 700 milliondollar annual incomes. The Buro of Internal Revenue in its previous statement indicated that there were approxi-UNEMPLOMENT CONFER- mately 500 persons reporting a receipt of annual incomes of \$1,000,000 or more.

The growth of millionaires in the United States has been steady for some time as shown by the following figures: 1924—74; 1925—75; 1926—207; 1927 -231; 1928-290; **1**929-496; 1930-700 (approximate).

The concentration of wealth is proceeding with giant strides in this country. The workers are getting less and less and the biggest manufacturers and bankers are getting more and more. As wage cuts increase the millionaires increase. As the workers are speeded-up and more intensity exploited the huge profits mount and the millionaire column

This is in line with his policy of hiring such private detective agencies, for example, the Pinkertons, to act as agent provocateurs in the ranks of the revolutionary labor movement.

of "letters" which were given by Com-

missioner Whalen to the press are noth-

ing else but clumsy forgeries made by

private detective agencies whom Mr.

Whalen hired especially for this purpose.

For years we have been working as an integral part and as the leaders of the Communist International organization in the United States. We know its workings and methods thoroughly. Therefore, we are in a position to declare categorically that these "documents" and the "information" given out in reference to so-called Soviet agents are a stupid concection from beginning to end. The "individuals" referred to are non-existent and never did exist. Whalens "startling red exposures" are the product of a fantastic fraud which could be manufactured only by cheap forgers and ambitious politicans like Grover A. Whalen.

We charge that Mr. Whalen has deliberately manufactured this fake in order to ride in on an anti-red wave. Mr. Whalen feels that he must do this in order to lend color to his famous banquet. Mr. Whalen feels that he has gotten himself into a most uncomfortable position, first of all, in the peculiar circumstances surrounding his assuming the office of Police Commissioner, and secondly, of his handling of the job iton the Rothstein case, on wide-spread racketeering, on his opposition to low fare taxis in New York, on his attempt to force the expensive uniforming of taxi drivers, above all, on his brutal cossacklike handling of the unemployed demonstration in New York on March 6, and his political blacklist through the use of private detective agencies against militant workers.

We charge that this anti-red mania that Mr. Whalen is trying to develop is simply a measure of self-defense and. protection on the part of the Police Commissioner. We therefore challenge Mr. Whalen to answer the following ques-

1. Who first proposed that Mr. Whalen drop his post as General Manager of the Wanamaker's stores and assume the position of Police Commissioner of

Who Pays Whalen? CP-Majority Group Answers Frame-up

The "startling" news given out by 2. Who agreed to pay, and who has Police Commissioner Whalen to the been paying, the difference between the newspapers, charging that the Soviet salary of Mr. Whalen as Police Comgovernment, the Comintern, and the Ammissioner of New York and his salary as General Manager of John Wanamaker's torg, were directing the Communists in -a difference of \$65,000 a year? the United States to create disorders 3. Is it a fact or not that the banker on May First, is absolutely false from beginning to end. The photostat copies

who has been paying this difference was compelled to pay Mr. Whalen two years in advance at the Wanamaker's rate and that Mr. Whalen has already taken from this banker the full two years' salary though he has served only 16 months as Police Commissioner?

4. Who first suggested the idea of the coming May 6 banquet?

Who is really behind it and what is its real purpose?

Clubber Whalen has refused to answer our challenge. Instead it is plain that he is considering taking severe measures against us for letting the dirty cat out

With the exception of the New York Times and the Herald Tribune the entire capitalist press has kept silent over our challenge to Mr. Whalen. Incidentally it may be added that even the Daily Worker has not seen fit to take up the struggle against Clubber Whalen which we initiated while the Freiheit of course discovers that we are police spies and agents of Whalen!

We are herewith making public the answers to our questions-which Mr. Whalen has refused to answer! What will Wall Street's Police Commissioner say or do now?

THE FACTS

1. At a gathering of some of New York's most prominent bankers, merchants and manufacturers, about a year and a half ago, Mr. J. S. Bache, well-known Wall Street financier of J.S. Bache & Co. with offices at 42 Broadway, remarked: "What an excellent Police Commissioner Mr. Whalen would make!" Then and there, upon the proposal of Mr. Bache, Wall Street's "finest" selected Mr. Whalen as its New York City Police Commis-

2. The same Mr. J. S. Bache agreed to pay and has been paying the difference between the salary of Mr. Whalen as General Manager of Wanamakers and his salary as Police Commissioner—a difference of \$65,000 a year!

3. Mr. Whalen agreed to Mr. Bache's proposition only on consideration that he would, at the outset and in advance, be paid the total difference in salaries for a period of at least two years—that is, a minimum sum of \$130,000! Mr. Bache complied with Mr. Whalen's request, Now Mr. Whalen is going back to his old job at Wanamakers. His office there is being refitted, repaintedall is being made ready to welcome him in a short while.

4. The May 6 banquet was arranged by Mr. Bache and a few of his closest associates.

5. The purpose of this banquet is to mark in a most dramatic manner and "with a stroke of genius" in publicity, the career of Mr. Whalen as Wall Street's best Police Commissioner.

In a coming issue of Revolutionary Age, we will show what special interest the banker, Jules S. Bache, had in making Whalen Police Commissioner,

REVOLUTIONARY

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MAY 21, 1930.

Editorials

HOOVER'S "CHRISTIAN SCIENCE" ECONOMICS

"WE have been passing thru a great economic storm" and "we have now passed the worst"—this was the hormote storids by Mr. Hassan in his passed the worst"—this was the keynote struck by Mr. Hoover in his report to a select gathering of his masters—the United States Chamber of Com-

But Wall Street's Commander-in-Chief was not content merely with these unfounded remarks. He mustered enough impudence to spit the millions of jobless in the face by again prating about "the conquest of poverty, which is the great human aspiration of our life."

There would be little gained in examining in detail this Hooverian "masterpiece" which is a valuable contribution to the literature of economic illiteracy. It is an excellent index to the great supply of muddled thinking in which the best of American capitalist economists excel. It is true that American capitalism has been going thru a great storm. But it is untrue that the storm is already over. And it is still more untrue that even the worst of the present serious economic crisis is over. Of course, Hoover knows that facts can't be engineered. Facts must be faced and faced frankly. But Hoover prefers "Christian Science" to economic science, the Couè method of cheap hypnotism to the realistic approach to the multiplying facts of stark suffering and misery now rampant among the masses in the whole country.

The economic crisis continues very acute. The gains of recent weeks have been only temporary and superficial. Among themselves, the big bankers and merchants are beginning to whisper ever more loudly and sorrowfully that the worst will not be over until the summer is gone. No manufacturer now dares admit of ever having hoped or said that the Spring would bring relief. The statistical soothsayers of the Stock Exchange have been driven to cover. It is clear to all that the deepgoing economic crisis will not show any signs of real improvement until the latter part of the Fall, at the earliest.

Ordinarily one would expect that after such an Address by the President the Stock Market would thrill to a great rise in prices. Shares would soar to new dizzy heights. But Wall Street did not take Hoover's loose thinking and empty talk seniously. They know Hoover better and understand the economic situation much more than the reports handed out to the poor fish and small-fry speculators would indicate. That's why the very morning after Hoover's new 'conquest of poverty" and prosperity outbreak the Stock Exchange not only didn't buoy but even suffered the worst break, the most violent crash of the year. It is especially significant to point out that the President did not dare say a word about the condition of the farmers. And there is a very good reason for this golden silence. Recent months have seen a considerable worsening of the agricultural situation. Obviously, Wall Street puts very little faith even in Hoover's main recommendation and panacea—the appointment of a commission of the biggest business and allied groups to study ways and means of "achieving greater stability in the future." Hoover's December conferences and National Business Council have proven barren. The captains of finance and industry have too much of a practical eve for results in the terms of profits and dividends.

Every recognized index of the economic situation gives the lie to Hoover's claims that things are again on the upgrade. The leading shares on the New York Stock Exchange tapered off more than a billion and a quarter dollars during the month of April. Last month showed the largest number of failures on record for April in the last eight years. The April steel ingot output shows a drop of 145,-673 tous from the previous month and nearly 800,000 tons from the corresponding month of last year. During the first quarter of 1930 exports and imports fell by more than half a billion dollars from the totals for the first three ing and the frame-up. It's only here capitalist class—the imperialist warmonths of 1929. Brokers' loans have mounted rapidly and consistently for the where they feel at home. last six weeks to indicate that the speculation mania which is inherent in American capitalism is again assuming PERILOUS PROPORTIONS.

Of course, no one will take seriously Hoover's remarks that there have been no wage cuts during this depression. The bosses have learned to make most of their wage cuts in a somewhat more roundabout but even more deadly way than they did ten years ago. They now lay off their workers by the thousands and then re-employ them, or get other workers, by the hundreds AT REDUCED WAGES. This is a sham and fraud worthy and typical of American capitalist democracy. But very often wage cuts are openly forced upon not only the great mass of unskilled and semi-skilled workers but even the most skilled and aristocratic native workers. For instance, only a few days before Hoover's speech, several thousand members of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers were forced to take a wage cut of 25cents a ton at Youngstown,

But we cannot let Hoover's insolent talk pass without saying a few words about his great "successes" to date in his campaign for the "conquest of poverty." We have before us the latest survey of the conditions prevailing in the United States. It is made by a conservative professor of one of the most reactionary universities in the country, Columbia University. Professor Paul H. Nyom points out that in the best days of American "normalcy"—that is not dur-

IN BRIEF

Cossack Whalen boasts that he has "the assistance not only of undercover B. D. WOLFE, Associate Editor men in the Communist ranks but of Communists in the Party." Clubber Whalen further boasts that he has taken advantage of the bitter factional war which Street's Police Commissioner claims to have learned much about the workings of the Comintern machinery as a result of these sharp disputes. This is merely another tempest in a teapot. There are no "secrets" in our basic fight against the bosses and their government. Nobody need be worried about Whalen's loud talk. Long ago Comrade Lenin said:: "They (the opponents of Marxism) are overjoyed at the sight of our discussions. They will attempt to exploit for their own ends certain passages of this book devoted to the mistakes and shortcomings of our Party. The Russian Marxists are already sufficiently steeled in battle not to let themselves be troubled by these pin pricks, to continue their task of self-criticism and of merciless exposure of their own defects, which will inevitably disappear as the working class movement is strengthened."

Yet, how do we find the official Party

leadership reacting to Cossack Whalen's manouvers and provocations? Instead of uniting with us to beat back the attacks being launched against all workers, especially the Communists, the new leadership, as usual, plays right into Whalen's hands, just as it did on March 6 and May First before we saved them. In order to slander the former Party eadership, the CPUSA---Majority Group, the new leadership sinks to such low depths as to say that "most of these letters . . . stupid and criminal forger-By denying that all and saying that only most of Whalen's documents are forgeries, the unprincipled. Partywrecking burocrats allow themselves some elbow room for the vilest slander against us. Such opportunities, the new leadership" will never let slip by them. On this occasion it is in place to note that amongst the chief mudslingers is one Overgaard, expelled in 1928 from the Communist Party of Denmark as a plain thief and ununimously expelled from the CPSUA for the same reason. Another "Old Bolshevik", now yelling his "loyalty" for all he is worth, is a writer on the Freiheit, called Buchwald. We have not yet forgotten that only a short time before our Party was organized Contrade Weinstone officiated at a debate between Comrade Lovestone and Buchwald over the question:"Will the Russian masses be led to freedom by Lenin or Kolchak?" Needless to say, the same Mr. Buchwald spoke in behalf of the White Guard leader, Admiral Kolchak, while Comrade Lovestone defended the Bolshevik position of our leader, Comrade Lenin. But it would be foolish to expect any other course from the irresponsibles and adventurists now serving as our Party's leaders. For them the truth is dangerous, forbidden fruit. Anything will go with them to rouse their rapidly drooping morale. It would be utterly futile for any worker to hope that the Party's present "leadership" can ever stop tenting on their old camping

Cloudy and chilly! That's the economic weather today. Mass misery is rampant. The charity houses are establishing records. The unemployment army is advancing out of the factories and not falling back into the factories. The usual seasonal expansion is missing in many industries. The too rapid advance in the stock market is fraught with serious dangers. The much longed-for relief from the building industry is still a myth. Here the March records compare unfavorably even with last year's figures which were nothing to brag about. It's especially important to notice that the pick-up in residential building-which is decisive-is disappointing. Nor does the pivotal automobile industry afford any sunshine. So far, 1930 shows a decline of 27% in production and 17% in retail sales from the last 7-year average for all cars except the Ford and Chevrolet. But the workers suffer much more from the resulting unemployment than these declining production figures outwardly show. Because of the life-sapping speedup, this amount of work is today done by less auto workers than ever before. Under capitalism, labor-saving machinery means labor-displacing machinery.

Too great significance cannot be attached to the speech recently made by Owen D. Young, of General Electric and Young Plan same, before the University of California. Mr. Young putting his finger on some of the most hopelessly sick spots of American capitalism said: "If Germany does make the payment . . . the rest of the world must be careful to avoid the enervating effects resulting from the effects of receiving such payments." Evidently Mr. Young is not so hopeful about his Young Plan. "To pay or not to pay"-that is the question which world capitalism cannot answer in its handling the crushing war debts and reparations. And as outstanding Democratic Party presidential timber Young went on to warn against "tariffs and other petty political barriers"! This advice was concluded with a prayer to American imperialists that they should show "restraint in speech."

We cannot overlook an important admission Young made in the same speech when he said: "Washington . . . makes our political contacts abroad but they are relatively superficial and inconsequential." Wall Street's men surely know what they are at when it comes to defending their class interests. To the author of the Young Plan-which is supposed to bring peace—the war danger is so great that he is forced to say: "America is too rich to be loved." To us it's no mystery why Young didn't say whom he meant by "America." Did he mean that the hungry millions of unemployed were "too rich to be loved" Did he have in mind the bankrupt farmers? Of course, not. Young spoke of the sharpening clash of interest between the bosses of Lombard Street and Wall Street, of the Quay d'Orsay and Lombard Street, and of Tokio and New York. The American workers would do well to heed this warning. An imperialist war is drawing nearer and nearer. And only the workers can stop it, by crushing the

ing periods of especially severe unemployment as we have today-there are in the U. S. at least eight million people who live in such dire poverty that "they must have help from charity to exist." These millions live in shacks and shanties and use as their furniture "the wreckage of cheaply made goods or of articles that have largely outlived their customary usefulness. The income of these masses must be supplemented," says Prof. Nystrom, "by coal picked up on the railroad tracks and by cast-off clothing. Then, there also are 20,000,000 people in the U. S. who have "a bare subsistence". These don't get adequate nourishment. have no savings at all at any time and should unemployment, sickness or accident befall them they are then driven to charity in order to avoid plain starvation. Thus, one out of every six inhabitants in Hoover's prosperous America is-in the best of days-dependent on charity either all the time or some of the time.

The proud and still powerful American capitalism can boast of no less than twenty millions of the toiling masses in constant fear of starvation! What more damning indictment of the present system can anyone make? There will be no conquest of poverty until the workingclass conquers the forces which are reponsible for and which bring poverty—the capitalist class and its strikebreaking government, the whole capitalist system.

"American Labor Is A Patriotic and Nationalistic Institution"--Woll

In this issue we begin the publication of some of the confidential documents of the War Department dealing with the relation of labor and war and especially with the connections between the burocracy of the American Federation of Labor and the American imperialist war machine. The following paragraphs are extracts from the Address delivered by Mr. Matthew Woll, Vice-President of the A.F. of L., before the Army War College. His address was followed by questions and answers some of which are reproduced here.

Mr. WOLL:

I need hardly emphasize that there is ac other body or group within our highly organized society that is or has been more patriotic and loyal than American Labor. It has demonstrated its loyalty, its devotion to our country not only in the last war but in practically every contest into which the American people have been thrown. We can, therefore, assume from the outset that American organized labor is a patriotic, loyal and nationalistic institution.

We are, of course, opposed to war as a general principle. We realize, however, that we are living in a practical world and that we are not secure against war. That being the case, it behooves us to be prepared for whatever emergency may arise. Our attitude is that if our nation should be thrown into war, that war should be carried on so aggressively that it may be terminated speedily and victoriously. To that end every energy and effort should be bent, and every way and means should be resorted to.

Our idea on the subject of capital and labor during war is not so much one of compulsion or conscription or conversion of private ownership into government ownership, but rather the regulation of control of business and capital toward the end of carrying on the military requirements for the emergency and the regulation of occupation rather than the regulation and control of the individual

We believe, too, that wealth should bear the burdens of war. After all, we find most of our interests are concerned, in the main, in the protection of property and property rights. We find the element of property rights is constantly gaining. If we review the decisions of our courts and actions of our legislatures, we find that ninety percent of the decisions rendered and the legislation enacted deals with protection of property and property rights, with little consideration being given to personal rights. That being the case property should pay for that protection and no element of profitmaking should be permitted by reason of a national crisis or emergency.

As to the conduct of military as distinguished from civil activities, we believe that the military authorities should guide and direct the military forces, that they should plan and execute the military activities of our nation. We do not believe, however, that the military authorities should invade or control the civil activities of the people the civil authorities should guide and direct civil activities and execute civil undertakings; that there should be a joint council the thru which both military and civil authorities should coordinate their activities in time of war as well as in peace time, that this joint council should not dominate either branch of government but rather coordinate the activities of both civil and military authorities.

So far as wars themselves are concerned, we feel that we have not reached that period of life in the world's history where we can feel secure against war. To the contrary, we feel there is an imminent danger of war, perhaps not so much in our country and land as in some of the older lands. If we are to have a peaceful relation existing between all members of the human family, than the peoples of the world must first place of peace. Unc., this is done our physical

Matthew Woll Tells Army War College How to Enslave Labor



preparation cannot be permitted to lag. There is, therefore need for preparation as long as war is possible and probable, and the American Federation of Labor stands for adequate preparation in time of peace, believing to a large extent that proper preparation is conducive to a

promotion of peace.

We believe, that our industrial enterprises should bear in mind the possible military requirements. We do not believe in large standing armies or large armaments, but we do believe in the ready conversion of peace-time pursuits to military needs whenever required. We should take the youth of the land and educate it, first in the understanding, by example and practice, that here we have a land worth fighting for, here we have institutions truly democratic, a social, economic and political order worthy of men giving up their lives for its protection if threatened. We believe in the upbuilding of the physical standards of our manhood. To that end we are in accord with the military training camps now being promoted. They do not tend to promote militarism as such, to the contrary they tend to promote levalty and patriotism, and understanding of our American institutions and the upbuilding of the physical condition of our youth, thereby making him better equipped physic-ally, mentally and morally to take his rightful place in our society. That is the most constructive and helpful means of preparations conceivable.

Of course, we believe in the training of sufficient numbers of officers and ex- event of a future war. There has been pert stall, in sufficient numbers for a no direct effort made on the part of the flexible army or military organizations to meet all possible emergencies.

Labor in America well understands that our nation today is looked upon with envy, if not with hatred, by a good many of the nations of the world-first on account of the controversies that have developed on the international debts, created during the war and which were incurred as a joint allied undertaking, second, because of the large investment of American capital in the European nations of the world. One can really understand how the American interests have permeated into the industrial and prices to remain at a level, to fix the social life of the peoples of other coun-

We feel the military organization of our land can be made so attractive that it will become one of the great educational mutitudens of our hand to promote industrial and peace-time pursuits and stimulate proper civil conduct, and in the events of new should such an visfortunate crisis come—serve to carry on the militaristic requirements of warfare efficiently and proficiently and in such a manner as will unite the civil and industrial forces of our land with a common inspiration.

I have tried to touch upon mainly the high spots of labor's attitude on the subject of war and peace. I trust I may have presented at least a fair sketch of our conception of the service the military arm can render at least to the nation, the great regard organized labor of America has for the military forces of our government, the great respect in which it holds those in charge of the way upon the milibery arm of our govmilitary division of our nation, and of the assurance that labor is today as loyal as it has ever been and perhaps more loyal than ever because we more truly appreciate the correctness of our American democratic institutions and the great country of free men that we here enjoy on the North American continent.

Question: You understand of course that the quesion of war demands a great deal of preparation and planning. I want to ask if the American Federation of Labor has taken into consideration any plans, in cooperation with the military, have you had any meeting looking to tying the power of labor to the Army? Answer: I will be very frank with you

and say so far as the American Federation of Labor is concerned, since the end of the war the American Federation of Labor hasn't made any specific study as to how labor might, of its own accord and own volution to regulate or conduct itself as to be of greatest service to the nation and the military forces in the employing side or on the part of capital, If we choose to use the term, or on the part of the military arm for bringing together the various groups so that they might give some thought to the problem involved in the question.

question: You mentioned the great desirability of taking the profit out of war for capital and labor. One of the methods which has been suggested is the method of price-fixing, torbidding of more than a certain rate of interest, setting of prices of all commodities which are sold and, in order to permit these price and wage of labor that enters into the preparation of these commodities, it being understood that this price-fixing would be arranged by a conference between the interested parties. What would be your attitude on that method?

Answer: I would not favor so much fixing the prices of commodities of life as regulating them. Labor, that is its reward for services, was also regulated thru that Labor War Board and other agencies. The principle and methods followed in the recent war were helpful and quite successful.

Question: Let us assume it was derired to bring together to study these things all the best minds we could and a group of us would ask to consult with a group of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of working out in advance the line of action. Do you believe it would be possible?

Answer: American labor has always tooked in a most sendly and friendly ernment. It has always demonstrated its willingness to cooperate with that branch of the government in every way possible.

Question: That was the impression I had gotten from our officiers who worked with the American Federation of Labor during the war.

Answer: The American Federation of Labor has only words of kindness for the Army. It is ever willing to cooperate with it in any way it can.

The next installment of this series will expose the plans of the War Department for the suppression of strikes, "riots," revolutionary movement, etc. DON'T

BILL WHITE TELLS:

How We Won the Militia In the Anthracite

One of the many lessons that the Rus- of their wives and children. sian Revolution has taught us is the . At first the smattering of discipline property. necessity of penetrating the armed forces which they got from their one or In fact so notorious became this fraof capitalism and winning them for the working class. The history of the American labor movement shows how true this is. I remember a case like this during the general strike of the Anthracite miners in 1902. The militia was called into the field of strike. Many of these soldiers were drawn from the union men of the day, painters, carpenters, stone masons, and steel workers, with union cards in their pockets. Men who under ordinary circumstances hated a scab worse than the devil hated holy water. Yet they had been lured into this branch of master class guards by the inducement held out of a trip to some camp near some city or town or in some mountain resort. They did not see the bait in the trap and now when it was too late they faced the fact that they were to guard men who were just ready to help the bosses lower their wage in case they themselves in a moral and mental state struck, by scabbing on them, and taking the bread and butter out of the mouths

two nights training per week held them aloof from their fellow workers, the miners. But not for long did this condition last-for under the experienced eye of old Mother Jones and such as her-for let it be known that many of them had heard her and others denounce the work of the militia in times of strikes--the miners were urged to approach those whom they knew as union men and in this way the discipline of the officers was rendered nugatory and useless. The discipline of the militia men quickly went by the hoard and in a few weeks they were using the butt end of their guns on the heads of seabs sending many of them to the "bull pen" hospital because of their realizing that these scabs were their enemies as well as enemies of the miners. Toward the last of the strike much of the rations of the militia found its way into the stomachs of the wives and children connivance of those whom the masters Government in the USA.

had entrusted with the guarding of their

ternization before the strike came to an end, thru the selling out of the strike by John Mitchell, the head of the miners union and Theodore Roosevelt, that when it was ended the master class of Pennsylvania hurried to place upon the statute books the present state constabulary lawknown generally and correctly as the "state Cossack law." Here the masters could exercise a greater selection of their servants. Thus it is now impossible for one to get a job in this body unless he has served a number of years in the regular army enough to make him and automatom and his record is carefully searched for leaning to the cause of labor.

The workers of today have much to learn from the experiences of the American workers of the past--real revolutionary lessons, very valuable for us in accomplishing the task that faces us: the overthrow of canitalist rule and the esof the strikers slyly going there thru the tablishment of a Workers and Farmers

For Genuine Militant Unionism!

The present policy of the Trade Union Unity League is De Leonism dressed up in a language that is absolutely foreign to the class struggle in the United States; it is De Leonism speaking in terms that are Greek to the millions of American workers. In the ranks of the Communist trade unionists there exists a babel of confusion and even the most loyal supporters of the line of the TUUL in leading positions in the unions cannot carry out the present policies of the TUUL to the satisfaction of the leaders. Self-criticism has been turned into selfabuse; instead of strikes, struggles, the organization of masses, we see lengthy abusive polemics, the continual shouting of empty left phrases which have the effect of lulling the workers to sleep. Instead of Communist work in the existing trade unions to win the masses of the organized workers we witness the establishment, one after the other, according to a blue print, of so-called "revolutionary industrial unions," without masses and without a base in the in-

Instead of being an organizing center for the left wing the TUUL has been set up as a dual center to the AF of L. But the TUUL does not even function as a trade union center-it functions as a Communist Party. It systematically and mechanically transposes the inner-Party into its own ranks, into the ranks of the unions affiliated with it.

In the TUUL and in the unions affiliated to it there is now going on a campaign to shift the blame for the failures that result from the ultra-De Leonist policies of the TUUL to those who have tried most to execute its policies and decisions. The established leaders must be removed-shout the top burocrats. "In spite of their willingness to fight Lovestoneism, they have not freed themselves from the poison of Lovestoneism. Out with the old leaders-is the cry in the TUUL! In this campaign for "new leaders" there occurs all the vituperation and frame-up, all the deliberate lying and slander, all the distortion and the manufacture of facts that has characterized the "enlightenment campaign" in the Party for the last year and that still continues developing new forms of of discrediting Communism and wrecking the movement.

Leninism or Losovskyism?

I am sure that, as a result of this article, the Party and the TUUL will launch a campaign of manufactured lies against me, more vicious than ever before. They will certainly not meet the issues raised in this article. The answer will some of them be unsigned and some of them will come from the penof such intellectual giants and outstanding proletarian leaders as Sazer, Overgaard, and the Lenin School graduate, Zack; they will make even the Hearst yellow journals and the New York Graphic blush and take notice.

ly and, on the basis of facts, form our of the NTWU. conclusions. We must not run away from the truth nor must we build up smoke-screens of lies against it. In this suffered a disastrous defeat because of some facts that must be recognized if Union members are tearing up their the Communists are to cease playing union books. An organization of 5,000 with revolutionary phrases and are to built up by a few workers under the deal with facts, if they are to win mass Lovestone leadership in the Party has influence in the trade unions and in the working class.

against Leninist policies in trade union work can be clearly seen in the results and workers have been removed. A of the work of the TUUL. Lenin con- regime of bossism has been instituted tinually warned the Communists and that puts to shame the regimes in the stressed this point at the time of the reactionary unions. Democracy in the height of the revolutionary wave in Eur- union is denied. The rank and file is ope-that the Communists must work in given no avenue of expression. The right that it is against the policy of the Bol- bership of the union is decreasing and sheviks to split even the most reaction- strikes are being lost. ary trade union organization. As head

BY BEN GITLOW

inauguration of the Stalin ultra-left factional regime in the CI, there took place a change of attitude of the Comintern to Lozovsky's anti-Leninist policies of splitting the trade unions and organizing ated completely by AF of L reactionaries blue-print revolutionary unions.

This sectarian policy, as a part of the whole sectarian leftist line of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, has given the Communists ten-league boots in running away from the masses! The policy of dividing the working class into two camps—one with the Communists and all others being with the "fascists" or the "social-fascists"has already made almost complete the isolation of the Communists from the trade union masses.

Havoc in the U.S.A.

In the United States the havoc wrought by this false anti-Leninist Losovskyan line is most strikingly seen. With the transformation of the TUEL from a center of the left wing in the existing unions into the TUUL, the work of organizing a left wing in the existing unions, the AF of L and independent unions, was practically abandoned. The TUUL became a caricature dual "revolutionary" trade union center to the AF of L.

Today there is no left wing to speak of in the old unions; whatever groups still remain are being prepared for a split, as c. g., in the Amalgamated Cloth-Workers, in the printers union and in the building trades. Whatever rank and file movements develop in the old unions are independent of the Communists and without left wing leadership.

The new unions are in a state of collapse. This is a carefully considered

The National Miners Union is today unable to lead any struggles, it has no membership. At the last Party Plenum it was reported that only 400 miners are paying dues to the NMW today! Yet it is in this union that the expulsion of the Cannon-Trotskyites and of the "Love-

stoneites" is being proposed! The National Textile Workers Union has not led a single struggle for the last year! The Gastonia strike was the last big struggle movement of this union. We must not forget that the Gastonia strike took place when the Lovestone leadership was still at the head of the Party and the Party was praised by the CI as the leader of bitter class battles. The new line finds the stronghold of the union, New Bedford, reduced from a dues paystartling "revelations" that will be their ing organization of 4,000 to a few hundred. The outstanding textile leaders, the leaders of the heroic struggles in Passaic, New Bedford, Fall River and Gastonia, have been removed and driven out of the union: Pires, Weisbord, Rubenstein, Dawson, Keller, Vera Buch, and the rest. The big strikes in the South and elsewhere that have taken place But as Communists, as working class have been under AF of L or Musteite revolutionists, we must face facts square- leadership and not under the leadership

The Independent Shoe Workers Union has, under the leadership of the TUUL. the leftist sectarian policies pursued. been reduced to a mere handful of approximately 200 workers and that num-The fruition of Lozovsky's long fight ber is disintegrating and breaking up.

In the needle trudes the best leaders the most reactionary trade unions and wing is making headway while the mem-

Among the food workers a criminal of the Red International of Labor split of the Amalgamated Food Workers Unions, Lozovsky long fought against was forced upon the Party members. this Leninist position on the trade union In this case a left wing union was split. question. The Comintern repudiated his Over 5,000 workers remain with the position continually and more than once Amalgamated and approximately 500 rejected his proposals. But with the workers make up the new paper "indus-

trial union.' The Window Cleaners Union has been lost, a union completely under the leadership of the Communists is now domina tribute to the present policies of the TUUL. The Architectural Iron Workers Union has suffered the same fate.

It is not a happy picture-this situation of the TUUL and the new unions. It is enough to make any Communist ask what is happening to the Party and to the mass organizations. It is a most damning condemnation against the whole crazy sectarian leftist wrecking course of the present Party leadership in the trade unions. A return to Leninism and a complete break with Losovskyism is absolutely necessary to repair the damage wrought. It will take years of painful work under the most difficult ircumstances to repair the damage that has been done, to establish the prestige and influence of the Communists among the trade union masses and to build the

Build the Left Wing!

The present period is one of great opportunities for Communist work in the trade unions. The economic crisis, the growing capitalist reaction, the role of the reactionary trade union burocracy, the speed-up, the wage reductions, the severe unemployment and part-time employment are causing wide discontent of the masses of workers, organized and unorganized. This discontent is already finding expression in rank and file movements of rebellion in the trade unionswitness the situation among the miners, the discontent of the workers in the Amalgamated Clothing. Workers and in the right wing unions in the needle trades. With 700,000 workers, members of the AF of L unemployed, with 40% of the building trades out of work, only a fool can take the position that the trade union masses, those in the reactionary unions, will remain static and will not move, will not be stirred into action by the unbearable conditions that afflict them. The basis for a left wing exists. The trade union masses are discontented. To follow the present policy of the TUUL is to abandon these workers to the reactionaries, to refuse to give them leadership, to refuse to direct their discontent into conscious struggle against the reactionary trade union officials and against the bosses. It is our duty as Communists to remain in the reactionary unions to organize the struggle against the reac- against capitalism!

tionaries and the bosses, to build the

The present Party leadership and the leadership of the TUUL refuse to fulfil the tasks that face them. It therefore becomes our duty, our responsibility to the Communist movement in the United States, to build the left wing and to give leadership to the trade union masses.

The basic trade union problem in the United States for Communists is the organization of the unorganized. Only thru building an effective left wing base can this task be accomplished. Only thru a united front tactic on the issue of trade union unity (as was done in Passaic) against the burocracy and the bosses can we establish that trade union front of the organized and unorganized masses that will make it possible for us to organize the unorganized into genuine unions under left wing leadership. The present policy of the TUUL makes a such a course impossible. Their policy is to organize simon-pure so-called "revolutionary" unions, everywhere mechanically in a stereotyped fashion. The TU UL policy is De Leonism, doomed to failure and costly to the Communist movement.

We must fight for genuine unions based on the class struggle. The nonsense of the "third period" phantasies in trade union organization must be done away with. We must fight for militant unionism to defend the interests of the workers, for unions that will fight for their everyday needs and for conditions in the

The politicalization of the working class is one of the biggest tasks for the Communists. The Labor Party is a big step in this direction. The TUUL has progressed from cowardice in handling this question at the Cleveland Conference, to the adoption of the resolution for a "Communist" Labor Party, to the logical completion of this policy in a rejection of the Labor Party altogether. We must include the Labor Party as an integral part of the left wing program in the unions.

This is the way out of isolation and ruin. To the trade union masses! Build the left wing! Organize the unorganized! Trade union unity! For a Labor Party! In other words: the tactics of mass work against sectarianism and De

If the TUUL will continue to obstinately refuse to change its present disastrous course, than it is up to us as Communists to take the initiative in building the left wing and in winning the trade union masses for the revolution

A Leninist Line in Needle Trades

The following is a section of the declaration just issued by the Minority of the General Executive Board of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union. The viewpoint here expressed is in entire agreement with the viewpoint of the Communist Party (Majority Group).

What is our program? What do we tionary burocracy is not as strong as the ve propose the following policy for our

I. Our main aim in all our work is membership and reaches sections of the the strengthening and the building up membership in the reactionary unions. of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial At the present time the hold of the right

The International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the Fur Workers International Union, the Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union are reactionary A. F. of L. unions with company union policies and company union leadership. The same is true of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, altho it is not today in the A. F. of L. The leaderships of these unions work closely with those capitalists who wield the decisive influence in the industry. The "strikes" recently called by the burocracy in the needle trades were organized in collusion with the bosses in the industry primarily in order to "stabilize production" (thru intensifying exploitation) and not to improve the economic conditions of the

2 At the present time the reactionary unions have a bigger proportion of the workers than has the NTWIU. However, the ideological hold of the reac-

propose to do? In the present situation membership of the right wing unions while the ideological influence of the NTWIU is much bigger than its own wing burocrats over the membership of their unions is not very firm. In the reactionary unions there is a growing discontent of the workers because of the policies of corruption and betrayal of the burocrats.

3. In the present situation great emphasis must be placed upon the task of building and leading a left wing in the reactionary unions. It is now necessary to launch a general campaign to organize and crystallize a left wing in the ILGWU, FWI, HC & MWL, ACW, etc. to serve as a powerful ally in the struggle of the NTWIU.

- 4. The general program of the left wing in the reactionary unions should be: a) Fight for the economic program of the NTWIU!
- b) Fight against the company union leadership and policies!
- c) Fight for the shop delegates sys-

d) Fight for one industrial union in

Defeat the Wreckers in the ILP Denounces Food Workers Union!

Comrades Gitz, Costas and Christman Issue Statement

the Party membership and the militant for organizing the unorganized. They workers, Comrades D. Gitz, A. Christman and A. Costas, the leading Communist functionaries in the Amalgamated Food Workers, just expelled from the Party for their resistance to the sectarian trade union tactics of the Party leadership, review the recent history of the Hotel and Cafeteria Workers Branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers, show the effects of the new Weisman regime in the union and of the destructive new policies, expose and condemn the recent splitting adventure of the TUUL in the AFW, and conclude with a call for real trade union unity, to save the union and to unite the ranks of the Communists and the left wingers.

The declaration begins with a review of the splendid cafeteria workers strike of one year ago which, in spite of tremendous difficulties, brought such excellent results to the union and to the Party. "The leaders of that big strike are the ones now called right wingers by the present Party leadership." Immediately after the strike came the notorious Address of the Communist International and the course of the union-controlled by the Party and the TUUL-began to change immediately. The change in leadership of the New York Party District was followed by the sending of the worst and most discredited elements (Gertrude Welsh, Weisman) to "lead" the food workers and to carry thru the new Party line. The comrades at the head of the Hotel and Cafeteria Workers Union did not first see the turn things were taking. "We supported the Address of the Communist International," they declare,"because we wanted to remain in the Party and in the union to continue our work, irrespective of who might be in the Partu leadership or of the policies they stood for. However, we were soon disillusioned. New leaders in the Party with new policies - we learned soon enough-meant an entirely new course

in our union.' Immediately there began-the statement makes clear-a vicious campaign against the tested and experienced leaders of the union, especially against Comrade Gitz. This was done upon the initiative and with the full endorsement

Burocracy and corruption began to seize hold of the union. Weisman, whose record is one of incompetence and opportunism, was made dictator of the union. Having built his machine, Weisman "immediately" launched a most slanderous campaign of villification against last year's strike in order to discredit the leadership then in control of the union. He promised that now that he was leader he would show the workers how a genuine mass strike should be conducted!" He proposed the election of innumerable committees and put forward plans which had no connection with the actual situation in the food industry. "We declared frankly and openly," Comrades Gitz, Costas and Christman state, "that empty left phrases and paper plans would never organize the food industry. . . . We

the industry!

The left wing in the reactionary unions should be organized in: (a) left to unite our ranks!" wing groups in the shops as shop committees, and (b) left wing groups in the locals of the reactionary unions. The left wing in the reactionary unions will, of course, be under the indeological influence of the MTWIU and work with it.

6. At the same time the NTWIU must be completely rid of the abuses that are undermining it today. Union democracy must be reestablished. The policy of elimination of capable forces for factional political reasons must be ended once and for all.

The NTWIU must act as a union that will be an inspiration to the workers in the needle industry.

7. At the same time that work is being conducted to build a left wing in the reactionary unions, the NTWIU must concentrate all forces to strengthen itself directly. A real campaign for the organization of the unorganized in the needle industry is absolutely necessary for any decisive progress on the part of the

In a spirited declaration addressed to pointed out how really to conduct a drive rejected our proposals and started an

> abusive campaign against us. . . . It did not take long, however, before many workers who had been incited against Comrades Gitz and the others by the Party leadership to wake up and see that something was the macrer with the union. Shops were being lost and the membership of the union was decreasing and the blame for everything was being put upon the membership.

> "The discontent in the Party fraction increased by leaps and bounds. But no fraction meetings were called We demanded fraction meetings. The only answer that Weisman gave us was to threaten to expell us from the Party."

> Finally a fraction meeting was called. But it was under the autocratic control of the burocracy. A chairman, Siskind, not even a food worker or a member of our union, was "appointed" by the TUU Comrade Johnstone openly declared that the members of the fraction had no right to discuss the affairs of their union at their fraction but had only to get instructions and carry them out. In spite of everything Comrade Gitz got the floor for a few minutes and exposed the ruinous course in the union. The members of the fraction received Comrade Gitz's remarks with thunderous applause, because he expressed the sentiment of most of the comrades present. Comrade Amter, the district organizer of the Party who had been hastily summoned to the meeting, answered in the proper burocratic manner of telling Gitz that this would be the last meeting he would attend-that is, that he was expelled from the Party. The subsequent control Commission proceedings were a hollow farce.

> The wrecking policy of the Party leadership---the statement goes on---found a shining example in the attempt to split the Amalgamated Food Workers that is taking place today. This is one of the most criminal wrecking adventures the new Party has yet been guilty of. Forrunately, "the split of the AFW, engineered by the present Party leadership, was a complete failure. Not only did not the bakers respond to the split but also a large number of hotel and restaurant workers, the stronghold of our union, refused to split and remained with the AFW." The declaration very correctly brands the split adventure as "a crime against our union and a blow against the working class!"

> "In the 'new union' organized as a result of the split the will of the rank and file is flaunted. Membership meetings have been abolished and burocracy is given free reign. . . . "

> "Comrades!"-the appeal ends-"Save the union we have built thru struggle and sacrifice. Fight against splits, which divide our forces instead of uniting them. Not thru splits but thru hard organization work, thru sacrifice and devotion. can we build the AFW into a mighty industrial union. . . . We are for real trade union unity: We are against burocracy. We are for democracy in the union.' 'We want a union that is responsive to the will of the rank and file.

"Comrades! The need of the hour

The appeal of the leading Communist forces in the AFW is finding great response among the militant food workers and there is real promise that an effective halt will be called to the splitting, wrecking course of the present Party

REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH

Organ of

YCL MAJORITY GROUP

Issued Monthly

25 cents 6 mos.

Labor Party

The Birmingham Conference of the Independent Labor Party has voted to break with the Macdonald Government. A resolution was adopted, amid great enthusiasm, denouncing the Labor Government as reactionary and demanding it be ousted. This action came after considerable pressure from the workers in the ranks of the Party. For months the official leaders of the Independent Labor Party resisted this leftward movebut then they were compelled to give

The ILP controls thirty members in Parliament. Thus, Macdonald's strength is reduced from 289 to 259 out of 615 in the House of Commons. The Labor Party's unemployment policy was especially under the fire and it was declared that Lord Privy Seal Thomas did more for capitalism in the last ten months than the Conservatives, led by Baldwin and Chamberlain, had been able to do within five years. These resolutions were adopted by a vote of 356-53. It is certain that in order to make up for this loss of support, the Macdonald Cabinet will cement its alliance with the Liberal Party still more firmly and

These decisions of the II.P Conference are expected to have great effect in the ranks of the Labor Party, because the fight is to be carried from Parliament into various election districts.

Textile Unity Com mittee Formed

On Sunday, April 20, there took place a preliminary conference of some of the leading left wing forces in the textilindustry, all except one of whom had been expelled from the Communist Party There were present: Eli Keller, former secretary of the National Textile Work erds Union, and leader in New Bedford Ellen Dawson, who has been associated with the Passaic, New Bedford and Gas tonia textile struggles and former organizer in New Bedford; Albert Weis bord, leader of the Passaic strike and former secretary of the NTWU, a comrade from Passaic whose name cannot be disclosed; Barney Herman from Philadelphia; Rafael Pires, from New Bedford, former New Bedford organizer and editor of the Portuguese Party paper: Vera Buch, one of the original Gastonia defendants and formerly in charge of women's work in the NTWU; Jack Rubenstein, well-known in the Passaic and New Bedford; and Ben Lifshitz of th CP-Majority Group upon whose initis tive the conference took place.

The order of business included the situation in the industry and in the National Textile Workers Union and the tasks of the left wing. There took place a thoro general discussion, following reports on the various centers. A state ment was drafted to be issued to th textile workers. A provisional Unit Committe of the NTWU was elected w Comrade Weisbord as the secretary.

Chaos in the Womens Councils

By KATE GITLOW

The Working Class Women's Councils are deteriorating. They turn and turn and turn and they cover the same ground.

In no time in the history of the Couneils did it happen that in such a iromendous situation like unemployment, the Central Executive Committee did not present a program of action on such an important issue. The minutes and record of six years of activities of the Councils previous to the new line proves that the Councils were always in the forefront on every issue confronting the workers.

The membership drive recently conducted was not connected with unemployment or with any other issue of interest to the great mass of proletarian women. The membership drive had no life, no bottom. Very few joined and those who did were from left wing organizations. Very few other women joined and as soon as they joined they fell thru the empty bottom, pushed by the sectarian policy of the present leadership of the United Council of Working Class Women.

At no time were the proletarian women in such need of guidance and correct leadership as they are now. The proletarian working class housewives are hard hit by unemployment. Yet at the last membership meeting, March 27, the unemployment issue was not on the order of business. When a motion was made to place it on the order of business it

At the last conference in June 1929 of the United Council of Working Women, the secretary in her report pointed out that the organization, if it wants to live, must fulfill the mission for which it was organized, namely to organize the proletarian women for the class struggle, The secretary pointed out the necessity of local Councils carrying on activities in their localities among the working women on problems confronting the working class housewives. She warned that unless this would be done in the future the Councils would deteriorate. The present Central Executive Committee has failed to do this work. It is busy watching that the membership should be "nure," not to question or criticize, accept without a murmur everything that the Central Executive Committee thrusts upon them. The Central Executive is busy reducing the U. C. W. W. to a sect.

The U. C. W. W. has grown on united front activities on issues confronting the working women and the workers as a whole. Council members must remember our activities during the Passaic strike, left wing struggles in the needle trades and other activities.

The unemployment question gives the employment insurance!

opportunity to the class conscious wome to organize the broad masses of back ward women. We must organize the women of all shades of opinion, creed color or present political views for a united struggle against unemploymen for a fight for adequate relief of the u) employed.

Council members! Demand from non Central Executive Committee to stop its terrorist sectarian line and to take seriously the work of organizing the workwomen! EXERCISE YOUF

Unemployment and Charity

"You see . . . I have never been o of work in my life before . . . I nevi asked help of nobody before. I'm joot jour in my socks and I can de good day's work but nobody will take on. I've tramped every inch of the land, it seems to me.

"I wouldn't have come now (to t Charity Organization) but things so good at home . . . I just can't go bu again tonight and say there's nothing . . been telling them that for the la three months. You see I've got four k: and for some time now my wife's besick in bed . . . It was bad enough befor but last night they turned the gas offwe ain't paid for so long and I just can': have her lying there sick in a cold house

"Gawd, you don't know whether to cry r go out and lick somebody!"

This is how the Charity Organization Bulletin describes the case of "Jona than," unemployed worker.

What then does the Charity Organ tion do after describing this case and claring that today we have "the wor unemployment situation . . . since 1921' It contents itself with making a hypocri tical appeal for charity for the unen ployed!

What is charity? It is an attempt to use part of the wealth stoken from t working class by the explciters in ord to "mop up" and put out of sight a least some of the mess that capitalisi makes. Charity demoralizes and brea the fighting spirit of the workers. Cha rity breaks down the class solidarity c the workers. Charity is a scab-herding scheme to break down the class inder dence of the workers. The circular the Charity Organization lets the cat o of the bag then it says: "It is not wis for a community to let any of its men bers feel trapped and at bay." It is -"wise"--it may lead to revolt!

The unemployed workers do not v charity. They want: Work or We They want unemployment relief '

Our Discussion Page

its space to a discussion of the

main problems before the Party in

its present crisis. This discussion

will be conducted in connection

with the discussion preceding the

National Conference of our group

Revolutionary Age is the only

paper in this country in which the

Party comrades can discuss the

problems of our movement freely

and without fear of the "enlighten-

ment campaign." We invite all

which will take place in July.

Up to the coming Convention of our Party Revolutionary Age is going to devote a large section of

I Learn from Experience

By Roy Stephens (District Organizer, District 1)

The following paragraphs are from a political declaration issued by Comrade in control of the Party. Any criticism Roy Stephens to the Party membership and primarily to the membership of District I.

When the Address came I disagreed ford the union and the Party have been with the contents of the Address but I did not think that the line of the Party was being changed. Therefore, I remained quiet and as District Organizer, carried out the policies of the Party and in fact even helped in slandering and expelling comrades from the Party and mass organizations who did not "believe" in the Address of the Comintern.

Later I began to see that the line of the Party was really being changed. I could see it very clearly in the line that was being pursued in the unions and in the mass organizations. The actual application of the new line in real life began to convince me that I must come out and fight for my opinion. My real awakening came, however, at the April Plenm of the Party. Although attempts vere made at the Plenum to hide the

ciousness of the Party wrecking that as been going on nevertheless anyone tho wanted to could clearly see how the new line is wrecking the Party, the C. U U. L. and the mass organizations of

Many comrades do not understand why the Party is being wrecked. Others think that the wrecking of the Party and the Unions is going on only in their district. Many of our most sincere comrades think that all that is the matter is that the membership does not work hard enough. These comrades do not derstand that a correct political line

is necessary in order to do effective work and to win the leadership of the workers. The present Party "leadership" has al-

most entirely abandoned the tactics of the united front with working class organizations. This theory of social fascism formulated at the Tenth Plenum of he ECCI has thrown to the winds all nat Lenin has taught, us about united ront tactics and has brought chaos and estruction to all sections of the Comntern. The comrades who fought

ainst these anti-Leninist theories and ied to save the Leninist line of the arty have themselves been branded as social fascists."

These anti Leninist tactics have reulted in a failure to mobilize the broadnumber of workers possible in our ampaigns and demonstrations. At the present time our Party is working under sie most favorable objective conditions id its history and with proper policies an tactics could mobilize much larger numbers of workers. I might add that if it were not for these extremely favornew line would already have been even

Look at what has happened in the campaign to save the Gastonia victims!

has been organized on a most narrow working masses. basis. This was strikingly illustrated TUUL were scated.

almost destroyed because the NTWU there carried out the policies of the

National Office of the Union. We in the Boston district have been swept along with the wave of errors being committed by the Party as a whole and now all members can see the results of it. The tragedy of it however is that the members think that the district leadership should be blamed when in reality the blame should fall on the line of the Party that has been carried out by us.

Another result of the incorrect political line of the Party that is isolating us from the masses is the chronically bad financial condition which the Party is in. This is true of both the districts and the central office. Some of the principal reasons for this are the wrecking of the unions and the TUUL which makes it necessary that the Party finance this work. The sectarian line of the Party also has the effect of more and more isolating us from the mass organizations of the workers thus losing much of the financial support which we formerly get from these organizations.

The thesis adopted at the last Plenum ian line that has ben forced on the American Party. The thesis fails to give a Lemnist analysis of the present economic crisis, speaks of the AF of L as being fascist, does not stress the necessthe other hand speaks of the "narrowing basis of social reformism," says the masses are on the "counter-offensive" and in a "revolutionary upsurge." It has dropped the slogan of "For a Labor Party," in flat opposition to the decisions of the VI World Congress. In no way does the thesis indulge in any self-criticism of the mistakes and errors of the Party but attempts to gloss them over with bluff and self-praise. The indications now are that no discussion of the errors of the Party or suggestions to change the thesis or line of the Party will be tolerated. The Thesis like the

will be termed "Lovestoneism" and the comrade will be forced to keep still or

The situation in the European Communist Parties and other sections of the Comintern is no better. The same false ists," very simple! line is everywhere. Puppet leaderships have been set up everywhere. The Partjes have been split. In Sweden practically the entire Party was expelled from the Comintern. In the Soviet Union the CPSU has been forced to make a sharp turn because of the incorrect policies

in the execution of the plan. The crisis in the Comintern we can see is international. It has resulted from the attempt to introduce non-Leninist theories and tactics into the various sections of the Comintern. In every country however, oppositions arose against these wrecking policies and the fight to restore the Comintern to a Leninist line is going on. The CP-Majority Group in the American Communist Party endorsed for years by the Comintern when the Comintern was following a Leninist line, are today the only bearers of the Leninist line in America.

Every sincere and loyal Party member must think seriously over the problems facing us. He must rise up and demand officially endorses the present left sectar- a change. To remain quiet and cary out the policies of the Party when you know they are incorrect makes you equally guilty in the crime now being committed by the present "leaders" of our Party, that of destroying the Communist Party ity of tighting social-reformism but on and the workingclass movement. It is not only true that a large percentage of the Party members do not believe in the new line of the Party but leading functionaries of the Party have told me, personally, that they do not believe in the new line of the Party.

Many sincere comrades are keeping quiet because they say they believe in discipline but they fail to remember that "revolutionary discipline is based on Party democracy" and that Party democracy has been destroyed.

Every Party member must take a stand for restoring the Leninist line to our Party, of fighting uncompromisingly new line will be pushed down the throats - for the very life and future of the Comof the membership by the burocrats now munist movement which is in danger.

Our Independent Activity

opped the slogan of frame-up which meant disaster and demoralization for seen used to mobilize great numbers of this country. But the greater the ruin workers, as in the Sacco-Vanzetti case. that comes as a result of the new course, Despite the fact that there are over six the greater are the tasks facing the Commillion unemployed workers in America, munist Party (Majority Group) which not one functioning council of unemploy- makes as its aim to save the Communist ed has been organized by the official lead- movement of this country, to return our campaign to organize the unemployed the prestige of Communism among the

The CP-Majority Group, as we have during the recent unemployment confer- made it clear more than once, is a group ence in New York City where only dele- of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. It gates of organizations affiliated to the is true that most of our comrades have 1) the workers, by refusing to follow been "expelled" but the edicts of the the wrong line of the Party leadership, These errors committed by the Party burocrats cannot tear our comrades away are "voting with their feet," thus cona whole thruout the country were from the vanguard of the proletariat in committed in our district in varying de- whose midst they have been fighting for correctness of the line they are so blindgrees. We made precisely the same fund- many years. We are therefore a grounamental mistakes in the unemployment of the Party (an outgrowth of the old work. We failed to make the necessary Ruthenberg group and then of the for- corect policy will not become demoralited front in organizing the March 6 mer CC-majority) with this "peculiarity" ized, their organizations will be saved,

By D. Benjamin It is now practically one year since are not officially on the lists of the Comthe Address of the Executive Committee munist Party. This necessarily means of the Communist International was sent that our struggle to restore the Party to able objective conditions the fruits of the to the American Communist Party. The unity and a correct Leninist line must be analysis of this Address and the fore- carried on by us both within the Party cast of its consequences made by the and within the working class as a whole Delegation sent by our VI Convention to -thru direct propaganda among the the Comintern, and later on by the CP- Party membership on the basis of their Here the Party not only abandoned the Majority Group, have proved more than experiences with the false line of the necessary united front tactics but also justified by events: the Address has present leadership and at the same time thru bringing the pressure of the workas so obvious and which could have the whole revolutionary movement of ingclass as a whole and of the left wing intensifying our propaganda among Parto bear against the wrong policies of the official leaders. These tasks are sup-

The second of these tasks is especially important in view of the reign of terror a much more positive factor in the that has been established by the present ership of the Party or the TUUL. The Party to the line of Leninism, to restore Party leadership, creating an atmosphere in which members are afraid to think, talk, criticize, or even be seen talking to comrades. For us to win non-Party workers for the correct policies achieves two important objects at the same time: vincing "loyal" Party members of the in- up to us to improve our organizational ly and mechanically following, and 2) the workers who are led to follow the d May I demonstrations. In New Bed- -that most of the members of our group they will not lose their faith in Commu- saving our movement.

Rationalizing The "Empros"

This is the period of rationalization and, as the Party leaders assure us, rationalization means simplification. Rationalization has hit Communist thought too - official Communist thought. Everything is "simplified." All workers who are not Communists are-"social-fase-

Rationalization-and simplificationof Communist thought has struck the Greek Buro and the editorial board of the Empros. Skill is completely climinated in the Empros as anyhody can see who reads this paper.

If any one maintained some time ago any word about the uneven development of capitalism or that the conditions in the U.S.A. are different from those in Greece, for example, he was called a renegade, an exceptionalist, etc. But today the official thesis of the Party starts out with the "unequal development of capitalism" in the U.S.A., with the "uneveness" of radicalization, etc. This proved too much for the "rationalized" editor of the Empros. It sound too much like Lovestone. So in translating the thesis of the Central Committee the "unskilled" editor changed "uneven development" into "anomalous development," The thesis also speaks of the crisis bearing all the earmarks of a "cyclical crisis." But our editor makes this into a "general crisis"!

B. KALFIDES.

nism. This means that the CP-Majority Group must not only intensify its work within the Party but must do everything possible to win the workers in the unions and in the mass organizations. We cannot fight the sectarian line of the Party by remaining a sect ourselves. In other words our group must become a direct positive factor in the class struggle our very coming out as an independent force is a most effective manner for winning the Party member-

Take for example the Indian situation. The present leadership of the Party and of the Comintern have been criminally negligent on this most important ques-Weeks have passed and nothing has as yet been done. The CP-Majority Group by its meetings and demontrations, as well as by rasing the question in the mass organizations and with Party members directly, is not only holding aloft the banner of Communism which the Party leaders have dropped but is forcing the Party to take action on this vital question. Is it not clear that all this teaches a very necessary lesson to the Party membership about the real character of the new line and leadership, about its "revolutionary" talk but quite other action, about those who are shouting of the non-existent revolutionary upsurge in the U.S.A. but who cannot see the real revolutionary upsurge in

What organizational lessons does this hold for the CP-Majority Group? While ty members by visiting their homes, having meetings with them, speaking to them at meetings, on the picket lines, etc. our group must determine to become unions, in the mass organizations and in the class struggle generally. Our group must initiate Communist campaigns that have been dropped by the present Party leadership (especially in the trade unions). Our fractions, especially our trade union fractions, must take on a greater importance.

The situation, nationally and internationally, is very favorable for us. It is functioning, to spread a better understanding of the character of our group. to make our second year of struggle a year that will set in motion large numbers of workers as a fighting factor for

Stop That Game of Bluff

The Facts of the Membership Drive

By Jay Lovestone

One of the trump cards of the present puppet leadership of our Party has been its much-heralded "membership drive." The "tremendous gains" of the memberthe expulsion of the former Party leadership and of every other crime or stutionally, the membership drive figures have proved a gorgeous feather in the cap of Stalin-Molotov.

But "now it can be told." What a grand fraud, what a plain fake the whole thing has been! The new leadership of the Party stands convicted of a most Plenum told how Williamson, head of the

1. The Organization Department on the grounds of unemployment or some the sake of argument let us grant this ship have been broadcasted thruout the for the moment and assume that this is the "radicalization of the masses," the ure indicates a loss of more than 4,000 "correctness" of the "new line" and of members as compared with the months prior to the Address of the Comintern. Where did these 4000 members go? It is pidity of the new leadership. Interna- sad but true that the majority of these thousands of members dropped out of the Party in utter disgust with the new line and the new leadership.

2. The Party burocracy claims 6,167 members. Obviously, this is just a plain fraud. For instance, Stachel at the last deliberate campaign to fool the member- Organization Department, had asked him

CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U.S. A.

claims that there were 8800 members other reason. In the New Yorw District, left in the Party after the Address. For for instance, the proportion of dues paying members in the exempt class recently totalled nearly 72%. Actually, there whole Communist International to prove so. But what does this show? This fig- are about 3,000 dues-paying members in our party today. How does the new leadership explain that in the whole Party only 6,145 paid dues (inclusive of exempt stamps given away by the carload) when according to their own claims 6,167members joined the Party in the last drive alone? How come that the grand total of dues-paying members is 22 less than the number which are supposed to have joined our Party in the last drive alone? What happened to the 8.800 old members? Are they excused from paying dues?

Organization Department

comrades, whether they agree with us or not, to make use of our columns. Let us make this a FREE Party discussion! In the next issue in this section there will be: An analysis of the CC Thesis: a review of the Party during the last year-"One Year of the Address"; an article on "What Has the Party Line Meant for the Unions"; and other valuable material.

bers! And our ultra-revolutionary Comrade John Adams (Bimba) of Cleveland is also in the race. He reports the magnificent sum of 225 dues stamps sold and given away to 668 alleged new memhers by February 1st. Detroit, under the tutelage of Stachel.

has rationalized the whole business of membership drive. Here we have Fordization and the speed-up of bluff with a vengeance. By February 1, Stachel succeeded in "selling" and handing out 874 stamps among a total membership of 1,-654. But let this be no surprise to anybody. In Detroit, a considerable proportion of the new members was recruited in the McGregor Institute under the plea that the homeless, jobless, would be given a chance to sleep in Party headquarters if they were to sign up. Hathaway, in Chicago succeeded in getting rid of only 212 initiation stamps during the drive and by February 1 selling and gra-The Party leadership will have a hard ing away only 365 dues stamps. This time explaining to the membership how is interesting. Compare this with the they can expect the workers to believe fact that in June 1928 the Chicago disthem when they themselves, after the trict had a dues-paying membership of wildest exaggerations, can do no better 1368. By June 1929 this number dropped than to say that of the 15,005 only 6,to 100! This was in the dog days of the 145 paid dues. What appalling bankheat of enthusiasm for the Address! Before leaving the Chicago District for his new and higher post, Hathaway succeeded in lifting the dues sales, exempt and all, to the grand number of 556! Thi is the lowest "normal" dues-payment. the Chicago district has shown at any time in the ten years of our Party's ex-

At this very moment, after the "fabulous success" in the last membership drive, under extremely favorable objective conditions, after huge manipulation and falsification in the records, the new Party leadership is compelled to admit, in its own ranks, that thousands of members have dropped out of the Party since the Address and that today the total membership of the Party is less by several thousands than it was before the new line was instituted.

We cannot but wind up with a few retotal membership is supposed to be 802, empt is only 479. In New York, the banner district, shows only 620 initiation stamps sold and given away within three months among the 1450 members who Party in the New York District only 2,914 have on February 1st, been gathered up to make cash dues payments and to receive exempt stamps free. It is

shows only 120 initiation stamps sold

members. The dead Buffalo district

The other districts do not show anything different. Seattle seems to have forgotten to make any dues-payment :: mittances to the National Office for the last three months. The painful fact of the matter is, that the Seattle district iv marks in regard to the terrific discrep- practically wiped out. In Kansas City ancies shown by the figures in the vari- the devout Lenin student, Gorman, sucous districts. In the Boston District, the ceeded in expelling one-half of the Party liquidating five shop nuclei, driving nearly all the Negro members and ma ing things pretty hot for any work

who dared stay in the Party ranks. And last but not least, we note the for the last three months there are only were supposed to have joined the Party. 27 dues stamps—the overwhelming maj It is especially significant to note that ority of this number being exempt-i of the 4,450 alleged members of our the entire South. Really even we who entertain some doubts about the Communist integrity and principledness of new leadership, could never believe that there were so few members in the Party particularly instructive to note that with in the South today. We confess we also a total claimed membership of 1,097 the were somewhat fooled by all the noise Philadelphia district can only show a which the Daily Worker and the Party total dues payment on February 1st, of Theses and proclamations had mad 223-inclusive of exempt! This district about our victories in the South.

In short we will ask one questiwhich will sum up all our questions: How long will the Party membershi tolerate such humbug, such quacker

district		Memb.		Init.			Dues Sates for months of .				
		before Plenum	New memb.	Total $memb$.	three months	June 1928	Jan. 1929	June 1929	Dec. 1929	Jan. 1930	Feb. 1930
1.	Boston	500	302	802	215	767	492	534	599	450	479
2.		3000	1450	4450	620	2396	2664	2218	3138	3253	2914
	Philadelphia	650	447	1097	120	608	389	275	429	223	376
4.		250	267	517	26	246	246	211	155	128	
5.	_	350	266	616	80	918	406	270	284	110	228
	Cleveland	560	668	1228	276	417	575	162	183	225	414
	Detroit	575	1079	1654	450	509	356	452	675	374	505
8.	Chicago	1125	605	1730	212	1368	795	100	754	365	556
	Minnesota	450	423	873	110	454	515	379	319	461	561
0.	Kansas City	195	50	245	35	193	268	234	99	109	182
1.		100	25	125	0	25	76		134	42	64
2.	Scattle	350	84	434	60	251	410	206			
3.	California	450	307	757	95	409	200	234	268	299	315
5.	Connecticut	245	132	377	82	128	57	198		106	
	South		62	100	. 10						27
_	TOTAL	8800	6167	15005	2389	8689	7449	5773	7037	0145	6621

fool the whole Communist International. members in Detroit the Party would suc-On the basis of American cables the ceed in keeping? To which Stachel ad-Pravda informed the Russian workers mitted replying: "Comrade Williamson as did the Rote Fahne the German and the Humanite the French workers that the Party now has over 15,000 members. But we have an official document of the Central Control Commission told before us, the unpublished Conme that in his district not even 10% of vention Call, dated April 19. In order to have the coming Seventh Convention equal the size of the Sixth Convention of March 1929, the basis of representation is changed from 125 to 75 or major fraction thereof. On this basis, there will be 102 delegates, exclusive of the Young Communist League. Even if we were to say that every delegate will represent no less than seventy-five members, then, the total number of delegates to be at the Convention shows very clearly that there are in the Party today at most - inclusive of exempt "members" and allowing for terrific padding and manipulation-7,650 members. This is only about half of the number of members who are supposed to be in the evidence to disprove our claim that at but the dues payments inclusive of ex-Party today. According to these figures there are today in our Party 6,167 new members and, therefore, only 1483 old members. Obviously, even these rockbottom calculations of the Party burocrats are reeking with falsehoods.

We herewith reproduce a confidential tabulation of membership figures prepared by the Organization Department. The membership figures shown for June 1928 and January 1929 are deliberately reduced from what they actually were and the figures shown for June and December 1929 and January and February 1930 are purposely inflated. But, for the sake of avoiding issues, let us momentarily accept all the figures of the following table as true. Then, let us proceed to ask the new "leadership" some pertinent questions which we hope will not embarrass them too much in this socalled pre-convention period.

should rather have asked: How many new members have we succeeded getting to join the Party." Likewise a member the alleged new members have actually ioined the Party. However, let's shut our eyes and be lieve the official figures presented in the above table. On this basis, we demand

ship, to fool the American workers, to how many of the 1,079 reported new

that the Party leadership explain to the membership how they account for only 2,389 initiation stamps being "sold" to new members when 6,167 are supposed to have joined. Here we underline the face that we don't mean cash sales. In the 2,389 we already included exempt initiation stamps to the total of more than 1200 as well as deliberately falsifiedexaggerated reports from district offices

The new leadership would do the Party good turn if they came across with least 60% of the 2,389 initiation stamps sold are exempt. This practice of manipulating the exempt stamps "sales" serves as a very handy proposition for the bankrupt burocrats. This is what may be truly called boot-strap lifting progress. The more a District Organizer pushes up without any basis, his dues-payment figures, the more his reputation soars not only at home but what is most important, "in the present third period," abroad. This explains the recent rise of Stachel, the "hero" of the membership drive and the "brave boy" of

the Detroit March 6 mass outpouring. 3. The claim is made that there are 15,005 members in our Party today. But the records for February 1 of this year and given away to the 447 alleged new show that only 6,145 are registered as dues payers. Of this 6,145, at least 60 shows quite some life in this game of % are in the exempt class-that is, fake. It reports 26 initiation stamps sold such charlatanism to parade una workers who are allowed not to pay dues and given away among 267 new mem- guise of Communist successes?

May Day in New York the U.S.A.

By Bert Miller

spite of the oft-repeated boasts that they

would "never" ask for a permit). Whalen

granted Benjamin's "requests" in full be-

cause, indeed, they were very modest and

represented a real capitulation-on the

questions of Union Square, the line of

march, the time of arriving at Union

But this was not all. While on March

27, the Daily Worker claimed that "the

Communist movement of this country is

a mass invement, representing today

1,250,000 workers" as a basis for the

"capture of the streets," on April 23, we

read: "We are still not in period in this

country when armed battles for posses-

sions of the streets are on the order of

the day." Even Union Square ceased

to be an issue and the Daily Worker de-

nounced any "fetishism connected with

ped in May Day preparations. The so-

called "united front conferences" were

shameful farces. The real "united front"

character of the demonstrations was

shown by the tearing down of the banner

carried by the Boro Park Youth Club

because of its "Lovestoneism," and the

exclusion of delegates from the prelimin-

parade this year was considerably small-

demonstration this year was smaller than

the demonstration last year, in spite of

the fact that last year both the parade

and demonstration took place in a con-

tinuous heavy rain. One year of the

new course had its effects. Whereas

last year there were 2,000 food workers

in line, this year there were only a few

hundred. Whereas there were 4,000 shoe

workers in the parade, this year there

were hardly 100. Whereas last year

there were 1,000 window cleaners, this

year there were hardly any. The same

lack of mobilization could be seen among

the needle trades workers, bakers, metal

workers, building trades workers, etc.

An accurate count of the entire parade

showed about 10,000 in line of march-

while there were between 15,000-20,000

in the demonstration. Last year there

were 25,000 in the line of murch and 40,-

000 in the parade. No comment is nec-

Curiously enough Whalen and the

bourgeois press wildly exaggerated the

Whalen claimed 70,000 in the parade but

even the Daily Worker was obliged to

say that Whalen was exaggerating and

claimed only 25,000. Of course, Whalen's

exaggerations were deliberate and form-

ed a part of his campaign of self-adver-

May Day in New York! The events,

before and on May Day in New York

are surely enough to make every Party-

"MORALITY" & POLITICS

How concerned the American capital-

I'd rather see the democratic and re-

How touching and humane the "vir-

labor? What about this reactionary fos-

Negroes? We haven't forgotten that the

same Senator once proudly said in the

in South Carolina by the Constitution . . .

We have plenty of ballot boxes in South

"We keep the colored man from voting

U. S. Senate:

ist government officials are for the wel-

risement and raid-haiting.

member think-and act!

size of the demonstration and parade.

essary. . . .

As a result of all of these factors the

than the parade last year and the

The united front was completely drop-

particular locations."

It must be clear to every body that objectively the situation was especially favorable this year for the biggest May Day demonstration yet held in New York. Yet it is equally clear that in spite of these numerous favorable factors the present Party leadership proved absolutely incapable of utilizing them in any way. The existence of mass unemployment and the utilization of the March 6 New York demonstration offered the posibility of making the struggle against unemployment the central teature of the entire May Day demonstration. Added to this is the fact that the four Communist leaders are now in jail, railroaded as spokesmen for the unemployed. Yet the struggle against unemployment was pushed to the background both before and during the demonstration. The demonstration occurred at the time of tremendous rise of the revolutionary movement in India but this very important issue was entirely neglected. It was left for the CP-Majority Group to take up this issue in its demonstration before the British consulate on the morn-

May Day last year was the climax of a series of successful strikes among the shoe workers, food workers, etc. At our Coliseum meeting last year there were a series of spontaneously organized marches by groups of workers from these organizations who felt that the meeting was theirs, that it belonged to them. This year not one major strike or organization campaign can the Party leadership show as the result of its work. On the contrary, its record is black with disruption and splits in the unions and fraternal organizations.

The political preparations this year were hardly of a nature to inspire the masses to follow the call of the Communist Party on May Day. We witnessed a crazy ultra-left adventurist line in phrases tending to repel the workers followed by a cowardly, underhand method of retreat in practice, tending to disgust the best sections of the workers.

The central political slogan for May Day issued by the Party leadership was a "mass political strike." It was merely playing with the slogan against which Lenin often warned. There was no "mass political strike"-not even in unions ender Party control. Everybody knew this but the tracic farce went on.

When Whalen issued his ban against the Communist use of Union Square, the Party leaders made absolutely no attempt to break this ban by a test case before May I. Instead they issued slogans of the most dangerous character, completely falling into Whalen's trap. The Daily Worker wrote:

"Will the workers of New York permit the fascist provocation against the working class? Do they intend to allow these vandals to carry thru their fascism with

ha). 's down (our emphasis), " (April 9). "Umon Square hus become a center of struggle between the workers and the

fascisti." (April 8) "At a conference to prepare for May-Day, it was unanimously decided that despite all the fascist preparations of fare of the "morality" of the masses!

se bosses and Whalen's Cossaks, the In the recent debate over the consorship evolutionary workers of New York will clause of the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Bill, demonstrate in Union Square on May 1 Senator Blease of South Carolina said: at 11.00 o'clock AM" (the precise hour of the veterans meeting! (April 5).

publican form of government forever As our statement in Revolutionary destroyed if necessary to protect the vir-Age pointed out the Party leaders "per- tue of the womanhood of America . . . mitted themselves to fall into a trap so The virtue of one little 16-year old girl carefully laid by the forces of reaction." is worth more to America than every book that ever came into it from any Then thru the pressure of the memberother country . . . I love womanhood. ship and the workers, the Party leadership began to retreat along the road of Tuke from a government the purity of shameful twists, turns and backdowns its womanhood and that government will be destroyed." evhich made it an object of ridicule. At the same time it was calling upon the tuous" Senator is! What about his own masses to "fight for the streets", at the black record as an exploiter of child

same time that it was issuing mimeoaphed instructions (Letter of H. Benamm, April 10), calling upon workers sil's indorsement of lynch-justice for the no report for "drilling," the Party leaders were carrying on back-stairs negotiations with certain liberals prior to cap-

itecing before Grover Whalen. After a d 2 preliminary "fixing," H. Benjamin an official request for a permit (in BOSTON

Tuesday's American stated that the Boston May Day parade arranged by the Party would march from Harrison Ave. to the Commons Band Stand at 11 A. M. on May Day. But the march did not take place. There were about 5,000 people there. When the time was up, Harry Canter, the chairman, announced that the meeting would be continued at the Charles Street Hall. When the Conmunists left the Band Stand, the crowd did not become any smaller, because they were all waiting for the Band Stand Entertainment which was given by the Vaudeville Association. In fact it got much bigger as the vaudeville got under way. There were about 1,000 people moving about restlessly and without spirit around the Charles Street Hall meeting. The speakers included Wales. Ross, Whittier, and Rabinovitz. There was hardly any applause during the meeting. Then the comrades marched back to headquarters with their placards, but there were no arrests.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut meetings were very noor. In New Britain a crowd looked passively on as a speaker was arrested. In Stamford the meeting was broken up. In New Haven there were several hundred on the Green. In Waterbury there were 200 present. In Hartford there was a small open air meeting. In Bridgeport, the most important industrial town in the state, there was no meeting,

PHILADELPHIA

The May Day demonstrations of the Party turned out very badly. The demonstration at City Hall at noon time had about 2,000 present, including bystanders, altho the Freiheit claims 12,000 and the parade only had a few hundred participating. In the evening of May 1 they arranged three meetings, expecting enormous turnouts. All three meetings were flops. The New Traymore Hall meeting, the main one, had less than 200 attendance. Schmies was the main speaker, and the chief burden of his talk was an attack on the "renegades." downtown meeting had about 150, as wellas the Kensington meeting. All three audiences tegether would about half fill

The CP-Majority Group held a May Day meeting with a good sized audience. Comrade Newby was the chairman. The speakers were Barney Herman, Bertha Yampolsky, and as the main speaker J.

THE ANTHRACITE

In Scranton at the Court House Sq., there were about 50 present, most of them waiting for street cars, when Frankfeld arose to speak. He didn't say five words before he was arrested. At the Wilkes-Barre public square there; were 20 present to listen to the chairman, Dan Slinger, open the meeting and introduce the speaker, Pershing. He spoke for three minutes and was arrest-The crowd offered no resistance. At the Luzerne indoor meeting there were about 30 to 35 present. The speakers had nothing more to talk about than about the "Lovestoneites," about Gitlow as an "agent of Whalen," etc. The few non-Party workers were disgusted and demoralized. At the Hanover indoor meeting there were 25 present.

PITTSBURGH

The meeting in Pittsburg was held in West Park, North Side. A photograph of the meeting shows from 300 to 400 present. Among the speakers were Max

Carolina in our primary elections where nobody is permitted to vote but white people, there one candidate receives every vot . . . I think Mr. Coolidge received 1,100 votes in my state. I do not know where he got them. I was astonished to know that they were cast and shocked to know that they were counted."

This is the same Senator who has just introduced a bill to register and fingerprint the foreign-born workers.

MAY DAY in Majority Group Meetings

After the demonstration and parade on May Day the members of the Communist Party (Majority Group) and sympathizers held a fine meeting at Stuyvesant Casino. About four hundred workers heard Charles Zimmerman of the Needle Trades Industrial Union, Sidney Jonas former vice-president of the Independent Shoe Workers Union, who was just released from Welfare Island, Jack Rubenstein of the Young Communist League (Majority Group) and Albert Weisbord. Comrade Ben Gitlow, the keynote speaker of the meeting raised the demand for Communist unity and a halt to the wrecking policy which is playing havoc with the mass organizations.

In addition to the New York meeting. well-attended and enthusiastic May Day meetings under the auspices of the CP-Majority Group were held in Philadelphia, Wilkes-Barre, and San Antonio. At the first two Comrade J. O. Bentall was the speaker, the San Antonio meeting was covered by the local comrades.

Salzman, acting district organizer; Charles Guynn, secretary of the National Miners Union; Nell Amter, district organizer of the Young Communist League; Rae Hein, women's organizer; Joseph Cash, youth organizer for the National Miners Union and Bill Dunne. A detail of six police guarded the meeting. The meeing lasted from about 12 to 1:30, after which a crowd of about 200 marched to the headquarters on James

THE SOUTH

The Daily Worker carries no report of any demonstration or meeting in the

BALTIMORE

In Baltimore there was a parade of 78 people (actual count). At the "mass meeting" there were only from 85-90a small fraction of the usual size of Baltimore mass meetings of 300-400.

DETROIT

May Day in Detroit was a sorry performance. At the outdoor demonstration there was a maximum attendance of 1500, which included 300 or 400 workers that hang around the park in the day. In the evening there was a meeting at Danceland Auditorium, Danceland has a scating capacity of 800. The hall was half full-an attendance of 350-400. The spirit was low and by 9 o'clock the few workers began to leave the hall. What has happened to the 100,000 who, according to Stachel's telegrams, turned out on March 6?

The turnout for the May Day demonstration and meeting was the worst that Detroit has seen for a long time.

CHICAGO

In Chicago, there was a parade, with the permission and under the supervision of the police, in which about 1,200 parlicipated. In the evening there was a meeting in the Ashland Auditorium at which about the same number of people participated. These figures should be compared with the bluff of 35,000 and 25,000 in the Daily Worker!

LOS ANGELES

In Los Angeles about 200 Party comrades and close sympathizers attempted to hold a meeting at the Plaza but the police disturbed it and eight were arrested. In the evening there were about 700 workers at the indoor meetings.

At this time accurate information about May Day in the rest of the world is not at hand. The next issue of Revolutionary Age will contain a short review of May Day in Europe, Asia, Australia, Africa, etc.

Worker

Dear Comrades:

I am enclosing a leaflet issued by the TUUL in Philadelphia which says: "Join the Men's Clothing Group of the TUUL which is laying the basis for a nationwide drive to organize the men's clothing workers into the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union" and calling them to a meeting to actually organize them into the new NTWIU.

In Philadelphia, in connection with the membership drive of the NTWIU, they have set a quota of 500, 200 of whom are to be men's clothing workers. In Philadelphia, the Amaigamaed Clothing Workers has about 12,000 members. It is the strongest union in Philadelphia at the present time, bigger than the United Textile Workers. It controls every shop in the city. Thru the check-off the bosses help finance the union burocrats. The officialdem is quite determined to drive out of the union any left wingers. Even granted that the NTWIU in Philadelphia should get its quota of 200 from the Amalgamated (and this is absolutely impossible), they would be taking away 200 out of 12,000! What a criminal step this would be! To take away at most a few hundred Communists and left wingers and to leave the thousands of workers with the reactionaries-this is the best service that could be rendered to the burocrats.

We will certainly fight this anti-Leninist policy of the sectarian burocrats who are leading the Party today.

- A Phila, Comrade.

From a Philadelphia Clothing From a "Loyal" Party Member Chicago, Ill., April 19, 1930.

Dear Comrades:

I notice by the label on my Revolutionary Age that my sub has about expired. Therefore I am enclosing Kerewith one dollar so that you can extend my paper for another six months.

While I belong to the opposite side in the questions at issue in our movement I don't want to be without Revolutionary Any which quite often contains material which I am quite in agreement with as are other members of the Party. . . . I was especially impressed by the April issue containing the letter of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and the story of Clara Zetkin of which the Daily Worker will tell us nothing. We need Revolutionary Age as well as the other papers in the

Fraternally,

From Honolulu

I have the letter from you and I am over sorry because I have no more money to send you. Some time there is no work--some time a few days in the week. Wagos 22 lee an hour. When I am sick there is no money to buy something and to call doctor. I hope you will show me the way all the time and I follow the Communist Party (Majority Group) to fight.

Your comrade, SING SING FOY,

The Crisis in the Bronx Housing Cooperatives

By George Halpern

The Freiheit recently announced with an adventure," that it is a "scandal" great triumph the "Communist victory" in the Bronx housing co-operative consisting in the expulsion and suspension of nine members of that organization. Of course these members are all labeled as "Lovestoneites" the five of them have never been members of the Party. In order to get a clear understanding of the latest adventure of the present Party leadership in the mass organizations, it will be necessary to go back to the recent past and explain the background of the

recent developments in the co-operatives. About a year and a half ago the cooperatives reached a very critical financial situation. Considerable funds of the organization tied up in land and plans for the third building could not be realized because of the decision to discontinue further building activities. These funds also comprised part of the rent monies and as a result of this big arrears to the mortgage company accumulated. The situation became more aggravated about the end of the summer of 1928 when the then Castrell-Nemeroff caucus started a propaganda campaign, at first underground, and then open, not to pay the rent. In the board of directors they opposed any measures for the enforcement of the payment of rent, which served as a stimulant to many co-operators to withhold their rent pay-

The mortgage company seeing that not only were the arrears not being reduced but were increasing-the income from rent dropping monthly-began to threaten foreclosure. The Party leadership could not remain indifferent to the fate of such a large workers institution, in which such large sums of workers monies were invested. The Party therefore considered the situation seriously and decided to make an effort to get financial assistance from people sympathetic to the labor movement, who were in a position to furnish money.

This decision of the Party was an unpleasant one to the Fosier-Bittleman- which the Party succeeded in getting the Castrell caucus. Castrell, who was "the promise of the necessary funds. The inexpert" on co-operative in their caucus, dividuals in question had it made clear that time the enthusiasm amongst the raised a cry "that the Party is going into to them that they could not expect their co-operators over the rent strike had be-

to throw more money into the buildings because the income was not sufficient to cover the cost of maintenance, therefore, another deficit would thus develop in a short time, unless-he insisted-we raise the rent \$5.00 per room per month, in order to provide sufficient income. In that event it would be worth while to pay off the arrears to the mortgage company

To clarify this matter, the Party appointed a committee to find out whether the houses could be maintained with the present income, or whether a raise of the rent would be necessary. This committee could not agree on a budget. We (Cohn, Gerson, Halpern) submitted a budget showing a deficit of \$27,000 a year including interest payments on the gold bonds. Should we discontinue paying interest on the gold bonds there would practically be no deficit and no raise in rent would be necessary. Comrade Wattenberg submitted another budget showing a deficit of between \$55,000-\$60,000 and therefore he proposed to raise the rent at least \$2.00 per room per month. Castrell with his accountant, Woods, insisted that the deficit would amount to enough income to cover the cost of maintenance.

On the basis of the Castrell report Foster made a motion in the Central Committee that, in view of the fact that it is impossible to carry thru such a raise of rent, the Party should not even attempt to obtain the necessary amount to cover the arrears to the mortgage company but instead we should declare a ront strike and "turn the financial crisis in the co-operative into a political strug- pany. This time we were successful in gle!" This was how the Foster-Castrell causeus wanted to "save" the co-opera-

After long wrangling in the Party and in the co-operatives our (the first) bud-

From a Canton Worker

Canton, Ohio, April 4, 1930. Dear Comrade Bill:

About Recolutionary Age. . . . I was much interested in Jay Lovestone's article "Party Cleansing or Party Wrecking". This is the trouble all over the country. It is surely true that something is wrong. I don't approve of the "socialfascism" business, cither.

I re-read "Leftism in Communism" Lenin again. That is contrary to his teaching. That is a wonderful little book. I had marked some passages touching on this "new line" which I was going to quote to you, but since receiving Revolutionary Age I saw the same quoted in "Shall We Fight for Legality?"

Does the Comintern read this literature of the CP-Majority Group and the Oppositions in other countries? Can it be possible that they are ignorant of these mistakes? If they know it and do nothing I would like to know what is to become of the movement? I had one T. U. U. L. organizer tell me that "Leftism in Communism" was old and out of date when I referred to it in an argument. If that is true Marx must also be out of

Fraternally yours, M. E. C.

money back before the debts to the workers were paid up. A real estate lawyer sent by them to examine the situation reported that there was a chance in the course of a number of years to pay off the workers creditors and then to get back their money. It was then agreed to furnish the funds on the basis of the above report.

The co-operative then proceeded to negotiate with the mortgage company for concessions, including the waving of amortization payments till the end of the mortgage term, reduction of the interest on the mortgage, adding part of the arrears to the mortgage, and some others. The organization was particu- ership, larly interested in getting the company to wave amortization. The company refused all our demands.

Then Nemeroff came out with the old Foster-Castrell proposition. At a meeting of a leading Party committee Nemeroff insisted that the budget proposed by us was not correct, that there was no chance of saving the houses because there was practically liquidated. There remainwas not enough income for their upkeep and it was therefore a sheer adventure to throw more money into this enterprise.

Instead he proposed to declare a rent could lay their hands on the houses. It strike and direct it into a struggle against financial capital thus turning the wrath tions of the organization to the workerof the co-operators from the Party on to creditors shall not be changed or diminthe big capitalists.

The mortgage company then placed a receiver, to which the co-operators responded by a refusal to pay rent. We of the Comintern arrived, and the leadrealized full well, that the rent strike, ership of the Party was turned over to while hitting the mortagage company, at the same time struck back at the co- less factionalists. The "new line" began operatives. The situation was fraught with the danger of immense amounts izations. Nemeroff became the "leader" of unpaid rentals accumulating with the tenants which the organization would no less than \$150,000 a year, and a raise never be able to collect. This would that feed) and became converted to the of rent amounting to \$5 to \$6 per month have meant a huge loss to the coopernew line. per room would be necessary to provide active and a further increase of the arrears to the mortgage company. The Foster-Costrell-Nemeroff caucus was very — the fight around it and the expulsions, as anxious for events to take such as turn, because the house would then have been "unavoidably saved" in their fashion, and they resisted every attempt to resume negotiations with the company. We (the Cohn group") then took the initintive and, thru the assistance and with the help of reliable individuals, renewed the negotiations with the mortgage comour efforts and the company consented to our most important demands - the waiving of amortization payments. Whereupon we laid before the organization the possibility of a settlement. get was approved. The negotiations Nemeroff and Costrell were enraged at were started with certain individuals in our acting without their knowledge, but could not afford any longer to oppose the acceptance of this settlement, because by

Two Soviet Victories

Great Britain has finally concluded a new trade treaty with the Soviet Union. This treaty gives the Soviet Union better credit and commercial terms than the previous one which was broken by the Baldwin-Chamberlain government three years ago at the time of the Arcos raid

The severe economic crisis in which England finds herself as well as the rapid growth of Soviet economy and foreign trade were the primary factors forcing British imperialism to make the concessions demanded by the Soviet Union.

At the same time, there has been announced the opening of the new, the Turksib railroad of 1,700 miles thru Turkestan, in Western Asia. This railway connects the present Central Asia railway at Aris, Usbekistan with the Transiberian Railroad at Novosibirsk. This will make possible the development of a huge area of considerable economic importance to the Soviet Union. The rich Siberian granaries are thus opened to Turkestan and the latter country will serve as a greatly enriched cotton-producer. The Soviet Union will within a short time be independent of the United States and Egypt for its cotton supply. Besides, the railroad parallels the Chinese frontier for about 750 miles and will prove of great value for the defense of the Soviet Union from attack in this

"Bill" Shatoff directed the construction of this railroad which took about four years. The work was done entirely by Soviet labor and without the least technical or financial assistance. The entire equipment was manufactured in the Soviet Union.

gun to weaken.

Thus the Foster-Costroll group in the Party for their own narrow factional purposes fought every attempt of the Party leadership to save the co-operatives, and deliberatly and criminally drove for the collapse of the big co-operative enterprise, in order to bring down discredit on the heads of the Party lead-

The arrangement with the mortgage company proved to be satisfactory in the course of time. The arrears would be paid off in a few months. The waived amortization payments would be available for part payments to the worker-creditors. The budget proposed by us turned out to be correct. The financial crisis ed only to go thru a legal reorganization in order to make safe and to assure that no undesirable non-projetariae elements was expressly decided that the obligaished by whatever new legal arrange-

ments would be made. Meantime the now notorious Address the crew of hopeless sectarians and reckto ravage the Party and the mass organin the co-operatives and Amron, the house manager, saw the light (the hands

of the Party plan for re-organization, well as an analysis of the present situation and the perspective, will appear in

CONCERT & DANCE

Entertainments! Refreshments

SATURDAY EVEN., MAY 24, 1930

STUYVESANT CASINO 142—2nd Avenue

Arr, by Jewish Propaganda Committee

Communist Party (Majority Group)

Admission 35 Cents

In the American Communist Movement

What Really Happened at the Plenum? Revolt in W.C. The Phila. May

By A Member of the Central Committee

situation, the Plenum should have carefully discussed and soberly analyzed the half of which is exempt stamps, and all present situation, the tasks and policies of which is padded by the DO's! (See of the Party and should then have adopt- the article on the dues figures on page ed a thesis based on the conclusions of 9.-Editor.) such a discussion.

But what actually happened? First, the Plenum was dominated thruout by Browder and the Comintern representative, Williams. Today, Browder is the real leader, the boss of the American Party. Foster did not open his mouth-he gave the excuse that "his teeth were at the dentist!"-nor was he even consulted by the so-called leaders at the Plenum! Foster's days are numbered!

Minor had been chosen to open-to "greet"-the Plenum. His role was that of slandering the comrades of the former CC-majority. He "predicted" that these comrades would be supporting the capitalist government in the next imperialist war (as Minor supported Woodrow Wilson in the last war, I suppose). Minor did not contribute one word of political value during the entire Plenum but was used for the "dirty work." The Browders, Dunnes and Williamsons, the real leaders of our Party today, still think it advisable to have figure-heads of the old CC-majority to holler "social-fascist" at those who do not agree with the new line. Stachel is still being used for this purpose but he dosen't present a very good face and is rapidly being pushed into the background. Bedacht was not at the Flenum. He had gone to Moscow to get the draft thesis of the Polburo officially operated on and endorsed by the Ecci. Today he plays second fiddle to Browder, so he can be conviently sent away on a journey.

On the first day of the Plenum a long letter arrived from Bedacht and a cable from the Ecci informing us of the changes in the thesis. After a hypocritical declaration that it believed that to make changes would be an "undue interierence" in the life of the American Party, there followed a whole list of Ecci "suggestions" and changes, telling what to put in and what to leave out, where to put more emphasis, where less, elc. These "improvements" came as the "ideas" of "Max and Will"—Bedacht and Weinstone. With the thesis having to be changed, the "political discussion" was

delayed for several days. These days were taken up with conferences on the TUUL, organization problems, and the task of "keeping new members." These sessions had as chairmen - Johnstone, Williamson, "John Adams" (none other than, A. Bimba). Comrade Schmies was loud in declaring the "great gains" in "political influence" of the TUUL-but he admitted that there was a crisis in the TUUL-only it was a "crisis of growth!" He was careful not to mention the wrecking of the unions under the control of the TUU L because of the sectarian line. No figures were given on the present membership of the new unions. No criticism was allowed. Pat Devine made an attempt as mild criticism of the National Office of the TUUL for which he was attacked by Schmies for 20 minutes and warned: "Any comrade who makes such a criticism has no place on the Central Committee." Comrade Devine is no longer PO of Pittsburgh; he has been promoted to the secretaryship of the still-born "unemployment conference."

A real exposure of the regime of bluff came with the "discussion" on keeping new members. District after district reported that only a small proportion of the new members were actually in the units. In most districts not more than 30 to 40% of the applicants had even attended the affair. The festivities lasted been assigned to the units, let alone been made actual members of the Party. An even worse situation was brought

The April Plenum of the Central Com- to light when a confidential dues report mittee has written a shameful page in was given. It shows that instead of the history of our Party. Faced with there being a membership of 15,005 as the great tasks due to the objective claimed by the CC, there is a dues paying membership of a little over 6,000,

> Finally, came the discussion on the "political situation." Browder and the CI representative reported. Then the floor was given to their most trusted followers. They lifelessly and monotonously repeated as best they could, what Browder had said. No one dared to make any criticism or express any differences-that would be "Lovestoneism." Comrade Gardos tried his best to avoid anything of that nature but unfortunatehe referred to Commade Gitlow as a "potential social-fascist"-whereupon he was promptly rebuked and corrected by Browder: Gitlow was a "full-fledged social-fascist."

> After a while Comrade Norman Tallentire got the floor. He started his speech explaining that he had been warned by Browder that if he spoke on the political situation he would be treading on dangerous ground. But Comrade Tallentire spoke. In summing up, Browder said that the words he used were all right for "soap boxing" but will not do in a new line Plenum. This incident is an example of the atmosphere that prevailed thruout the Plenum and that stifles the Party today.

During the "discussion" the question of the WIR providing relief for the unemployed came up. Browder said: "We do not want to compete with The Little Church Around the Corner." Echoing his master's voice Comrade Amter went one better and tried to prove that not only should we not feed the unemployed but that we should not feed the workers when they are out on strike. He explained that during the mining strike of 1927-28 the WIR fed the miners and as a result the miners lost their militancy!

Thus began and ended the Plenum!

At this moment I am still holding on to a big job in the Party. I consider it my duty as a Communist to speak up and tell the entire Party membership and working class what is actually happening. I would much rather have told my real convictions and feelings to the Plenum itself, to membership meetings, to unit meetings, thru the Daily Worker. But I am sorry that I haven't yet been able to come out and let you use my name. I don't think the time has come yet for my coming out in the Party. I hope this article docsn't help the burocrats to expel me from the Party. However, if these few impressions of the Plenum will be of service to the Party. then I will feel that it was more worth while for taking this chance.

SPIRITED DANCE IN NEW YORK

The entertainment and dance arranged by Section 3 (NY) C.P. (Majority Gr.) for Saturday, April 19, was one of the liveliest affairs ever seen in this district. Astoria Hall was the scene of real proletarian revelry on that night, in which hundreds of workers participated. A Negro worker rendered some excellent vocal selections. A beautifully framed plaque of Lenin was the center of a hard fought auction sale. J. O. Bentall weicomed the workers in the name of the CJ-Majority Group. A large group of members of the Boro Park Youth Club until two in the morning. The proceeds of the affair went for the Recobitionary

The most recnt expression of revolt against the splitting policy of the Party in the Workmens Circle comes from Los Angeles. The City Committee of that city consisting of 3 Workmen Circle branches and 8 Independent branches, endorsed the new Communist order by only 1 vote, but decided to remain in the Independent. As a result the City Committee is being attacked as counter-revolutionary, as "Lovestoneities," etc. In the Olgin branch 17 out of 30 voted to leave the Independent, 2 were against, the rest refused to vote. In the Winchevsky branch, the pride of the left wing, consisting of 100 members, only 22 members left the branch to go into the new order. Former factional lines are being forgotten by the Party members of Los Angeles in a common struggle against the disastrous split policy. To aggravate the situation, when the remaining members of the Winchevsky branch decided to greet the Freiheit at its Jubilce and contribute financially toward its support, this was refused and the representative of the branch was threatened with eviction from the hall-These tactics, however, only serve to increase the resentment of the workers against the Party's wrong line, and to steel their determination to fight for the unity of their organization.

AN ANSWER TO THE SPLITTERS

A fitting answer to the Party line was given recently by the workers of the Faupier shop, who voted 100 to 7 against the propsal of the leadership to split away from the Amalgamated Food Workers Union, only the loyalites voting to

WRECKING UNIONS!

The Party "leadership" has assumed an attitude of proprietorship over the mass organizations, as if the workers are in duty bound to follow unquestioningly its proposals, no matter what it involves. A case in point is the letter sent out by Sam Weissman, the commissar of the new "food workers union." He sends a letter on April 8, 1930 to the membership of the Hotel, Restaurant & Cafeteria Workers Union, calling upon them to attend a membership meeting "to call a strike in all our shops on May First," to elect "permanent representatives to the central body of the TUUL" and to hear a "report on the election of a delegate to the Fifth Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions in Moscow." While these are very interesting and important matters for the membership to discuss, there is not one question mentioned in the letter, involving the direct economic conditions of the workers, which is what a union should be primarily concerned with. Yet Weissman closes his letter with the following threat: "Those not present and without sufficient reason will not be tolerated by our organization!"

This same Weissman, who has a long record of utter incompetence in the Boston capmakers and the New Bedford textile strike, comes out in the Daily Worker of April 19 with a call for the building of a new "National Food Workers Industrial Union, (another paper union) not primarily as a weapon of struggle for the eight hour day, better pay, sanitary conditions, etc. but for a union that will fight "against unemployment, capitalist wars, for the defense of the Soviet Union, for a solid mass political strike on May First, against the capitalist class , and for international solidarity with

the working class of all countries under the leadership of the Red International of Labor Unions." The addition of the demand for the dictatorship of the proletariat would make almost a complete Party program.

Finally we have the case of Anna Fox, who while on the picket line in the Del-

Day Conference

by CLARA YAMPOLSKY

On Sunday, April 20, the May Day "united front" Conference called by the Party was held in Philadelphia at 39 N. 10th st. with about 100 delegates present, consisting for the most part of Party unit representatives, I. L. D. branch representatives, and even representatives from street corners!

The Conferences was opened by Mozer, the chairman, and the "keynote speech" was given by E. Gardos, District Organizer. Gardos in his speech declared that he was in favor of the "united front" for May 1-but, this should be a "united front" which should exclude, and fight against the enemies of the working class, fascists, A. F. of L. "company unions," Musteites, and "Lovestone renegades." He particularly attacked Comrade Gitlow for a statment which was printed in the New York Times, in which Comrade Gitlow was supposed to have told the workers not to demonstrate on May Day.

In answer to this Comrade Clara Yampolsky, representing her union shop, rose and stated: "I am for a broad united front to fight the enemies of the working class, but, I protest against their slandering Comrade Gitlow as an enemy of the working class. He is a founder and builder of the Communist Party in America and he was expelled from the Party at present because of certain political differences and not because he betrayed the working class." She repudiated the lie about the statement, and challenged Gardos to read the statement, which he did not do.

Gardos at once took the floor and answered the arguments of Comrade Yampolsky with the typical disgusting and terroristic methods of the Party burocrats today. He shouted: "We want no Lovestone stool-pigeons in this Conference," and made a motion to elect a Committee to throw the "Lovestoneites" from the Conference. A committee of 5 loyalites was selected to do this "revolutionary" job. Comrade Yampolsky, M. Kramer, representing Branch no. 118, a split branch of the Workmen's Circle. I. Ingber, representing Branch no. 305, another split of the Workmen's Circle and F. Finkelstein, representing a dress shop, were expelled from this May Day

This "United Front" Conference continued with the Party loyalite members having a united front with themselves! Such is the character of the "united front" in the Philadelphia organization!

Fearing that their May Day demonstration at City Hall and their mass political strike would be as successful as their meeting at City Hall on Friday, April: 19, where only 125 people were present, the Conference decided to have in-door meetings on the evening of May first, "supplementing" the "mass demonstrutions.

A "LEFT" UNION!

Enraged by the fact that the workers of the Taupier Restaurant had voted 100 to 7 against the proposal to split the Hotel Workers away from the Amalgamated Food Workers Union, Weissman and Kramburg, two of the leading officials of the former union, called upon the employer and asked him to get the workers in their organization. Since when is it the custom for left wing officials to go to the employer in order to establish relations with the workers? In view of the splendid organization in the shop, the boss declared that he would deal with whatever organization the workers want to deal with.

by a loyalite because Comrade Fox is a so-called "renegade." Thus a shameful exhibition was given before the employer and the workers on the nicket line of division in the union. This procedure is utter violation of the most elementary mar Shoe Strike was refused a picket sign principles of trade union solidarity.

"National Socialism" ---

Or Factional Tail-End?

tions of national Socialism!"

By WILL HERBERG

In the Militant of May 3 there is an Russian Revolution and the building of article-From Hillquit to Lovestone- Socialism but I don't have to be for the in which the author attempts to answer Stalin faction or the Bukharin faction. our analysis as contained in the article Whither Trotskyism? (Revolutionary tion movement based upon the issues or Age, April 21). And since the best defensive is an offensive the Militant writer launches into the old familiar attack upon "national Socialism," etc. It would be worth while to examine this article a little more closely.

Before proceeding to the central question itself, we must take note of the charge of "literary forgery" made against us by the Militant article. It is declared that we "omitted quoting the whole sentence" in our quotation from Trotsky about the "honor" of "sectarianism." But the charge is not true! Our quotation is from Trotsky's letter published in Die Fahne des Kommunismus (Leninbund organ) of July 5, 1929 and reads in the German as follows: "Jest ein 'Sektierer' zu bleiben ist eine Ehre fur jeden wirklichen Revolutionar." In English this is: "To remain 'sectarian' today is an honor for every real revolutionary." Nothing at all omitted! So much for this.

Now to the main question. The author of the Militant article makes what he considers a very striking parallel between our attitude on "Russian questions" today and the attitude of Hillquit on "Russian questions" in 1921. By a careful slection of quotations he achieve a certain surface effect but the superficial resemblance hardly stands any sort of deeper examination.

The Militant author declares in effect: "In 1921 Hillquit said: 'I'm for the Russian Revolution but I don't have to choose between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. I am for the social revolution but that doesn't mean that I have to be for one of the Russian factions.". In 1930 Lovestone says: 'I am for the Russian Party? There seems to be a

In no sense is the international Opposigroupings in the CPSU." There! There is your parallel between two genera-

Very clever-but there is only one "little" difference-and precisely this difference damns the whole argument. When Hillquit could not choose between Lenin and Martov, between Bolshevism and Menshevism, he refused to choose between the proletarian revolution and the bourgeois counter-revolution-and such a refusal amounts to actual support of the counter-revolution. This is one thing. . . .

But when Lovestone says that the international Opposition movement is not an international extension of either the Stalin or Bukharin factions, he is merely stating a fact: the issues upon which the Communist Opposition has crystallized internationally are not those upon which the Russian factions have been built up. This is another question entirely.

In one case it was a matter of choosing between two parties, the party of revolution and the party of counter-revolution. In the other, it is a matter of choosing between two factions, both in and of the Communist Party, both within the party of the revolution.

Of course the proletarian revolutionary movement all over the world is most intimately connected with, and in fact finds its strongest point of support in the victorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union. But does it follow from this that the international Communist Opposition, fighting to restore the Leninist line of the Comintern, must become the tail-end to a faction in the

Two Shop Delegates Councils. In Philadelphia

The Philadelphia Shop Delegates Council of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union met on April 21, 1930. It showed that the Party is continuing its adventurist course in trying to force

a "general strike" in the needle trades. They seem desperate in their desire to manufacture strikes regardless of the fact that there are no strikers to strike; in spite of the wide-spread opposition of the members of the union to their policy, and in spite of the fact that the season is now unusually poor and just about to

Sazar was sent down from the G. E. B. as a representative to again attempt to put over the strike policy. The sentiment of the Shop Delegates Council was over- series of speakers-Zimmerman, Zweiwhelmingly against him. A sympathizer, a worker of a large dress shop, got up and said that if there is a strike called, she would go home because she knew that the rest of the workers were not going to strike. Other sympathizers and its incompetence, likewise took a very decided stand against the Party's policy

Clara Yampolsky, took the floor and and it was found that comrade Marcus showed that the original support they had been physically attacked by a loyalgave to the general strike called four the for distributing our May Day leafweeks ago, was based upon the idea that the right wing was calling a strike. The voiced a sharp protest against such slugsituation today was entirely different. Our comrades took a correct stand, and made a sharp criticism of the Party line. Sazar at once took the floor and opened his brilliant speech with an attack on "the renegades, the Lovestoneites." Our comrades put a stop to this at once. Comrade Yampolsky, got up manite methods of the loyalites. As long and shouted: "where do you think you are, in a unit meeting of the communist Party? This is a Union! There are no renegades in this union! We are all active members and we all want to see the union grow. What did you come here rades (they were fed up with renegade for? Have you anything to propose in stuff from the May Day Conference and reference to the strike? If you have not, then get to hell out of here! We will changed his line of talk and ceased to not permit you to speak like this in our union!" So determined were our com-

In New York

Last Tuesday, took place the monthly meeting of the New York Shop Delegates Council of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union. The minutes of the Executive Council meetings came up first. On the report of the Cloak Department, the question came up of carrying on activity among the workers of the ILGW U. The sectarian leadership of the Union made some "proposals" which essentially meant complete refusal to do any real work among the members of the rightwing union. An amendment was introduced by our comrades providing for the building up of left-wing groups in the shops and local unions of the ILGWU. This resolution was well defended by a bon, Nelson, Stenzer etc.--but was defeated by the loyalite majority. A number of other important questions came up in which the present leadership of the union completely exposed its false line

Towards the end of the meeting a fight suddenly broke out in the rear of the Our comrades, Gertrude Pollin and hall. All eyes turned in this direction lets. Comrade Zimmerman immediately ging methods. Rose Wortis, the secretary, actually attempted to defend the shameful conduct of the loyalites. Thereupon Louis Hyman, the President of the Union, took over the chair and obtained order. He then made a bitter attack upon Rose Wortis for defending the Sigas he remained President of the Union, he declared, such methods would not be tolerated in the Union!

> other meetings) that Sazar immediately speak about "renegades" and "Lovestone-

Wreckers Smashed

In Cooperatives

In the middle of April there was held the convention of the Central Cooperative Exchange (the Finnish cooperative movement in the North central states). For six months previously the Party press and especially the Tyomies conducted a bitter campaign against the leaders of the cooperative because these comrades resisted the introduction of the new narrow sectarian course in the cooperative movement. Hundreds of thousands of words of abuse have been published by the Tyomies and the whole Party apparatus was mobilized-but this time it very fortunately proved impossible for the Party burocrats either to deceive the workers or to destroy the organization. The convention decided by a vote of 228 to 51 to uphold the viewpoint of Comrade Halonen and to reject the wrecking attempts of the Party burocrats. One of the big "issues" used against Halonen in the discussion was his "Lovestoneism", especially his "secret meeting" with Lovestone in Detroit!

hitch in the political logic of the Militant

This is not a more fault in logic. It uncovers the fundamental political error of Trotskyism. The parallel between Hillquit and us can be seriously made only if it is maintained that the groupings in the Russian Party represent different and opposing classes. But to maintain this means to maintain that the Soviet State is now run by elements representing the class enemy - in other words, it is to maintain a variety of the theory of Thermidor which lies at the root of Trotskyism. But since the Communist Opposition-and every real Communist-must start out by rejecting this theory decisively we can hardly be expected to overlook the fact that the whole structure of the Militant writer falls of its own weight.

Incidentally, it should be noted that the Militant writer carefully avoids making any sort of reply to our remarks about the "new turn" of Trotskyism. The reason is obvious. . . .

UNION MEMBERS DEFEND MILITANT

Because he defended some proposals to make it easier for the unemployed to pay their dues, David Razimovitch, a supporter of the CP-Majority Group, was suspended from the Suit Case and Bag Makers Union by the Executive Committee. At the membership meeting, however, Comrade Razimovich was reinstated by a vote of 40 to 13. It is gratifying to note that the loyalites at the meeting supported Comrade Razimovitch, quite forgetting the official theory that he was a "renegade," an "agent of the bosses," a "social-fascist," etc.

THE CRIME OF "CONSORTING WITH"

An unexpelled Party member, Comrade Carl Brodsky, met Comrade Wolfe, on Broadway and 11th Street, It appears that Carl has not yet been sufficiently terrorized and demoralized so he ventured to shake hands with Comrade Wolfe and even talk with him for a few minutes. And this on Broadway an 11th Street, within a stone's throw of the I. L. D. office!

The next day, Comrade Brodsky received a summons to appear before the District Control Commission charged with the crime of "consorting with a right of peaceful picketing! 'renegade'," thereby aiding Hoover, Whalen and the Pope. Expulsion-Expert Perilla was judge and district attorney. It was useless for Brodsky to aver that Wolfe was an old friend of his, that they had worked with each other in founding the Left Wing of the Socialist Party, in building the Commun- offense would mean expulsion! ist Party, etc., nor did Carl dare to give what were probably his real reasons for conversing with Comrade Wolfe, namely that he was not convinced that arbitrary ancy, spying and heresy hunting, deexpulsion of loyal Communists makes moralization and party-wrecking, will them renegades. Judge Perilla warned never train a proletarian vanguard equal him against repeating his crime and dis- to the task of leading the workers of missed him with a reprimand on proba- America against the most powerful imtion, with the threat that a second perialism in the world.

"A Voice From Another World"

At the recent Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., Browder, the new leader of the Party, created a sensation by announcing that an article had been received from John Pepper under the title A Voice From Another World, which would be published in the pre-Convention "discussion." In this article Pepperdeclares that he had been "misled by Jay Lovestone for ten years," that he "now sees that Jay Lovestone has been an agent of American imperialism for the last five years," and so on in the

Poor John Pepper! Indeed "a voice from another world"-from the world of political ghosts! Imagine, you "enlightened" Party members—the innocent naive Gretchen Pepper seduced thru the wiles of the wicked, sinister Lovestone

REVOLUTIONARY AGE BOOSTERS BANQUET

On Saturday night, April 26, Revolutionary Age Boosters Club held its first affair for the paper. This affair took the form of a banquet which was held at the Anmah Restaurant, 89 Lexington Ave., New York City. The restaurant was crowded to capacity and the banquet was a splendid success.

The speakers were Jay Lovestone, Ben Gitlow, of the Communist Party Majority Group, L. Nelson of the Needle Trades Industrial Union, C. B. Jenkins of the Harlem Tenants League, and Alex Costas of the Hotel and Cafeteria Workers Branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers Union. The speakers were all greeted with a great deal of enthusiasm, and a large collection was made for Revolu-

L. Nelson, of the Needle Trades Industrial Union, who is the chairman of the Revolutionary Age Boosters Club announces that the group is planning a series of new affairs for the benefit of Recolutionary Age. The Boosters club will announce their future plans in a forthcoming issue of Revolutionary Age.

THE "NEW" SCABBERY

In Paterson there is a Cooperative Bakery controlled by the Communist Party. The workers in that bakery have for a long time belonged to Local 165. International Bakers Union, affiliated to the AF of L. A few days ago the TUU L experts created another "industrial union," the Food Workers Industrial Union. They decided that it would be an insult to the revolution if the workers in the Cooperative Bakery belonged to the "fascist" A. F. of L. at a time when there was a good, pure Communist "union" all ready and waiting. So the bakers in the Cooperative Bakery were told that they would have to leave the AF of L and join the new "union." The bakers refused. Thereupon the Communist managers of the Bakery locked out the bakers and imported other bakers, plain scabs, from New York. The locked-out bakers immediately declared a strike and stationed pickets. The Com munist managers of the bakery attempted to drive the pickets away by force. There took place arrests and both sides went to court. There a Democratic Judge lectured the Communists on the

It is to shameful situations of this sort that the present anti-trade union, anti-working class policies of the Party leadership are leading

That is what the present leadership regards as Communist discipline. A system which breeds cowardice and sycoph-

Two Lies Nailed!

DAILY WORKER SLANDERS EXPOSED

By BEN GITLOW

One of the most unfounded lies given

out by the present Party leadership in

its efforts to discredit me was the lie that

at the Garland Fund Board meeting on

March 26, I voted against giving money

to the National Miners Union. The pres-

ent party leadership backed up this lie

by declaring that two members of the

Fund, both by the way, Party members,

facts? Needless to say I did not vote

against giving an appropriation to the

National Miners Union. At the Garland

Fund Board meeting on March 26, we

had before the Board two requests for

loans, one from the United Mine Work-

ers which was set up at Springfield

against the John L. Lewis regime and

the other from the National Miners

Union. The Springfield organization re-

quested a lon of \$30,000 and the National

Miners Union requested a loan of \$3,000.

I made the following proposal: that a

special large fund be set aside for the

purpose of making it possible to unite all

should include the genuine forces of the

rank and file in the Springfield organiza-

tion and the National Miners Union;

that the sub-committee of the Board

should bring in a recommendation for

the organization of a committee to make

this unity move possible; that the funds

should be turned over to this committee

and should be used to unite all the forces

against John L. Lewis and against the

reactionaries, for organizing the unor-

ganized and establishing a fighting min-

ers union in the coal industry. I voted

for my proposal, which was the only

correct Communist proposal to bring in

on this matter. There were two other

proposals before the Board. One was to

give the Springfield organization a loan

markable, "Communist" principled pro-

posal made by a "loyalite", to the effect

hat he would favor giving the Spring-

field organization, which today include

the Fishwicks and Farringtons, \$15,000

provided the Board would give the Na-

tional Miners Union \$3,000. Such a

proposal the party leadership does not

find it necessary even to criticize. Such

a log-rolling proposal is characteristic of

the United States Congress, and certain-

win on behalf of the Garland Fund gives

the facts. This letter was submitted to

the Daily Worker and the Daily Worker

only quoted part of the letter and then

purposely misinterpreted it so that it be-

comes necessary for the Revolutionary

My attention has been called to a state-

ment in the Daily Worker to the effect

that you united with others "to prevent

the National Miners Union securing a

loan from the Garland Fund for their

In the absence from the city of the

Secretary of the Fund, I am acting in

his place to state to you for such use as

you care to make of it, that the records

of the fund show the above statement to

At the meeting of the Fund Board on

March 26, a report from a sub-committee

was considered involving proposed loans

to the new Mine Workers Union formed

at the Springfield convention and the

National Miners Union. The minutes

show that you proposed an amendment to

the report, authorizing the committee to

consider the situation again and to bring

in a report for uniting and aiding all

the progressive forces in the miners'

The votes which were taken record

you as voting for your proposal and not

for the loan to the "progressive" union

nor against an appropriation (the loan

proposal having been changed on vote to

a direct appropriation) to the National

I hope that this will clear up the facts,

Sincerely yours,

ROGER BALDWIN.

Age to publish the letter in full.

Mr. Benjamin Gitlow.

organizing campaign."

be entirely incorrect

movement.

Miners Union.

The following letter of Mr. Bald-

has no place in Communist action.

\$15,000. And the other was the re-

Not long ago, there appeared an article in the Daily Worker with the ridiculous conclusion that I was going over to Hillman and that pretty soon I would become a paid organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. I have never been on the payroll of the Hiliman machine while many of those in the present Party leadership have been on the payroll and have been servile tools gave this information. What are the of Hillman and his burocracy. To show the real "value" of this charge, I wish to present the following documents which are not based, like the charges and inferences now appearing in the Daily Worker, on bluff and thin air, but upon actual facts.

I was expelled from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers for leading the fight of the left wing against the Hillman burocracy and the Beckerman gangsterism. My expulsion was demanded by Hillman and was actually carried out by Beckerman. On April 15, I sent the following appeal for reinstatement in the Amalgamated to the General Execu- the genuine progressive and left wing tive Board and to the Amalgamated Con- forces in the mining industry; that this

To the General Exec. Board, A.C.W.ofA. 11 Union Square, New York City. Dear Brothers:-

I the undersigned member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. hereby appeal to the General Executive Board to consider the question of my expulsion from the organization.

I maintain, that I have been expelled from the union because of my political opinions and not because of violating hona fide trade union rules and prac-

! maintain, that an honest consideration of my case will prove that my expulsion followed as a result of my advoention of policies for the union that would overcome the inability of the union today to maintain union conditions in the industry, to improve the conditions of the workers and to establish a democratic regime of the rank and file in the organization.

I maintain, that it is the right of every member of our organization to fight for policies which he believes are in the interests of the rank and file of our union.

I demand, therefore, that the General Executive Board on the eye of the coming National Convention of our union, reconsider my expulsion and reinstate me immediately with full rights in the

I further demand that in the event that the General Executive Board fails to act on my case favorably that the matter of my appeal be placed before the National Convention

Fraternally yours, BEN GITLOW.

On May 13 I received the following letter addressed May 10 from the Amalgamated Convention. Mr. Benj. Gitlow,

Your communication asking for reinstatement into membership was submitted to the General Executive Board at its session in this city. The communication contains nothing to warrant granting your request, and the Board was unable to take the action you asked for.

Very truly yours, JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Genral Sec'y-Treas.

It is clear that the Hillman Burocracy and the Beckerman clique in the Amalgamated under no circumstance will reinstate me in the organization. This proves that they realize that I will always be in the forefront of the fight against their reactionary, corrupt regime and the policies it is pursuing. In the face of this decision of the General Executive Board to keep me out of the Amalgamated one has to laugh at the insane, ridiculous, wild charges that the present Party leadership is making that I will become a well paid organizer of the Hillman burocracy. Such nonsense does not discredit me, but certainly exposes the futile extent to which the Party leadership is going in its efforts to discredit comrades who disagree with and fight against their wrong political line.

Convicts Brutal- London Meet ly Murdered

Smoke and fire killed 320 prisoners in the Ohio State Penitentiary at Columbus. The prisoners, being confined behind stone wails and steel bars, were helpless before the devouring flames. At the time of the fire, the immates were locked in their steel cells. The roofs over their heads were made of a sort of "tar paper" and other extremely inflammable material in order to reduce the expenses of the upkeep of the jail.

Among those jailed here are a number of comrades imprisoned for their activities in the strike of coal miners.

The extreme brutality prevailing here is brought into tragic relief by the fact that one of the guards, under strict orders, refused to unlock the cells. This delay was especially fatal. The Governor is now promising an "investigation" as a measure of relief for this worst prison tragedy in the history of

Since this calamity, the prisoners who escaped the inferno have begun to speak up and demand more rights. They are protesting against the unbearable overcrowding and outrageous denial of the most elementary rights to which they have been subjected.

The State Mititia stands in readiness to shoot down the protesting survivors. This terrific loss of life is expected to make still more restive the inmates of the prisons thruout the country who, in the last nine months alone, have made seven major outbreaks and a whole series of minor ones in protest against the outrageous conditions forced upon them by the system of capitalist law and order.

U.S. WAR PREPARATIONS

The United States Postmaster General has just awarded five more ten-year subsidies to the United Fruit Company, the Grace Line and the Roosevelt Steamship Company at the cost of \$2,500,000 a year. This will make it possible for the companies to run 11 new ships totalling

In making this award the Postmaster gave the latest official interpretation of the Merchant Marine Act as aiming "to help build more ships conforming to the specification of the navy, so as to supplement the navy in event of national mergency." The Postmaster boasted "American flag vessels will be found in all parts of the world and on all the 'seven seas.' "

U. S. IN BIG STEAL

The Board of Engineers of the United States Army was directly charged by John Collier, the executive secretary of the American Indian Defense Association, with inflating the capital of the Montana Power Company in order to belp it get the Flathead River power sites at low rates. Mr. Collier declares in the statement that there is a "conspiracy of secrecy" between the Federal Water Fower Commission and the Montana Power Company.

It is reported that the "progressive" Senators Walsh and Wheeler and the two representatives from Montana have a year ago. 'gone over the matter" with the members of the Power Commission and have "raised no objection" to the reported proposal.

so that every worker will know the truth. As to the defenders of the Party line in the Garland Fund, Clarina Michelson and Robert W. Dunn, it must be born in mind that Clarina Michelson was not even present at that Board meeting--nevertheless she has been making statements which were absolute falsehoods as to what actually took place. I might say in conclusion, that it would perhaps be of benefit to the Communists and left wing workers if the present Party leadership would examine the records of its present representatives on the Garland Fund, and would make public the results of its investigation. It would be a startling exposure of how they voted on many proposals that should have been fought by Communists.

Ends

With the adjournment of the London "Peace" Conference the biggest imperialist powers have dashed into the most vigorous war preparations with terrific

The Italian imperialists have just launched five new naval units-an 800ton submarine, two 5,000-ton cruisers, and two 10,000-ton cruisers. The Fascist Cabinet has at the same time amounced the authorization of a new building program of 29 war vessels with a tonnage of 97,000 and has proclaimed "parity in fact." The French imperialists are much workied over this development and are preparing steps to outstrip Italy so deeisively, on the sea, that it will be economically almost impossible for the Fascists to overcome them. As a first answer to Italy, France has just prepared a big sea review off the Algerian Coast and in the Western Mediterranean.

Nor is the British Cabinet asleep. The Admiralty has prepared a five year building program. W. C. Bridgeman, former First Lord of the Admiralty, has come out with a stashing attack against the Macdonald Government as the opening gun in a campaign of the British navalists for a much bigger navy than the United States.

Senator Robinson has returned to make an eloquent plea for the London "Peace" Conference by saying that "unless we build up to our requirements, we will not gain the full advantage and be in a nosition to advance the cause of disarmament." In agreement with this proposal Congressman Britten, Chairman of the House Committee on Naval Affairs, has already introduced a program for the spending of a billion dollars on the United States Navy.

Hoover is speeding up all governmental machinery for the speediest ratification of the London treaty. The President handed the treaty to the Senate within 24 hours after he received it from the returning delegation.

BANKERS ADMIT WORLD DEPRESSION

The National City Bank of New York, the second biggest bank in the world, has just issued a statement admitting the serious economic depression the world over. The statement says: "It is now evident that the failure of business to make a more rapid recovery since the first of this year is due to the worldwide extent of reaction. The fall of prices of staple commodities has been even more serious to other countries. This is most clearly seen in the state of British industry and trade. London has been for more than 100 years the headquarters of a great trade with her own over-seas dominions and colonies, the Orient, the Near-East, Africa, Latin America and the continent of Europe. and the pulse of world trade is still felt in London more certainly than anywhere else. The roll of unemployment in Great Britain is now longer than any time since 1921 . . .

"The loss of purchasing power and forced policy of economy in all countries are reflected in this country's trade and are a factor in the lessened activity in most of the industries as compared with

"The world's industries have more than recovered their pre-war capacity but the markets are overloaded with staple pro-

This statement is especially significant in view of the fact that it represents the findings of an American bank which has more international connections and is more active in world trade than any other American hank today. It is dominated by a combination of Rockefeller and Morgan interests.

JEWISH MONTHLY BULLETIN

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In the Communist International

For a Leninist Line in India!

Declaration of Indian Communist Opposition Group

We publish below the most important sections of the declaration recently issued by the group of the Indian Opposition in connection with the Appeal of the German Communist Opposition to the Communist International. We call especial attention to this declaration because it embodies in very clear form a Leninist critique of the ultra-left Comintern line in the colonial revolution.

from the C. I.

contained in the letter of the German

deviation from the principle of democra-

tic centralism have done such great dam-

age to the mature Communist movement

in the advanced capitalist countries, their

ffect in India has been more disastrous.

The return to the Leninist tactical line

is not possible, so long as those advoca-

ting them are kept out of the C. P. and

the disputed questions are not intelligent-

ularly harmful in India where the Com-

munists must have the confidence of non-

proletarian revolutionary elements. These

get disgusted with the Communists if

they fight among themselves and the

founders of the movement are suddenly

denounced as "renegades." Therefore

we are determined to fight for the unity

and strengthening of the C. I. on the

conditions formulated by the German

Opposition. Now that the ultra-left pol-

icy, which split and so seriously weak-

ened the Communist Parties, has broken

OPPOSITION IN ITALY

tral Committee of the Communist Party

of Italy was marked by sharp struggle.

According to the incomplete reports at

present available there was a minority,

led by Comrades Pasquini and Santini,

members of the Polburo, which put for-

ward a position on political and organ-

izational questions characterized by the

ultra-left Party leadership as "opportu-

nist." Apparently the burocratic regime

of the Ecci has already been introduced

in full force in the Italian Party-Com-

rades Pasquini and Santini were imme-

diately removed from the Polburo and

the Central Committee and the Polburo

was instructed to "take severe organiza-

tional measures against all comrades who

oppose in any way the policy of the

Communist International and of the Com-

At the same Plenum, the veteran lead-

munist Party" (!)

The recent illegal Plenum of the Cen-

Berlin, March 31, 1930.

S. K. Vidyarthi

Sama Singh

Abdul Karim

M. N. Roy

discussed by those working on the

The policy of expulsion is partic-

Opposition. If a false tactical line and the

In behalf of those Indian Communists C. I. tries to change the catastrophic and other revolutionaries, who disagreed ultra-left course in India as well as in with and opposed the tactics followed by the Communist International in India ever since the VI World Congress, we Kuusinen himself now comes out with a fully endorse the address of the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition) to the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The revolutionary movement in India is developing rapidly. Imperialism is making great concessions to the native the working class and peasantry. (Inprebourgeoisie, detaching them from the movement of national freedom. Never- the slogan, he tries to smuggle in surtheless, the leadership of the nationalist movement still remains in the hands of the national bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeois masses (peasants, small traders, artisans, poor intellectuals, students etc.), revolting against the compromising politics of the nationalist leaders, fail to influence the situation effectively. The most advanced nationalist elements search the way to a determined revolutionary struggle, and show a growing tendency to a fighting alliance with the working class. The proletariat, on the other hand, has greatly outgrown the influence not only of the nationalist bourgeoisie, but even of the reformist trade union leaders. During the last two years, the country has been the scene of a continuous wave of great strikes which, under the given conditions, usually assumed more or less pronounced political character. Finally, the vast masses of the peasantry are seething with discontent which breaks out here and there in active resistance to the forces of exploitation

and oppression. To combine all these forces of revolution into a mighty struggle for the overthrow of foreign imperialism and native reaction is the task of the moment. In the given situation the duty of the Communists is to help the accomplishment of this historic task. But following the tactical lines indicated by the VI Congress of the C. J. the young, weak, and inexperienced C. P. of India has failed to do its duty. While all the objective conditions are favourable for the development of a mass Communist Party, as in China in 1925-26, "infantile sickness of ultra-leftism" keeps the Communists entirely isolated from the general political movement. Dominating the labor movement to a growing extent, the Communists, however, fail, on the one hand, to organize themselves into a powerful party, down, our fight is nearing victory. and on the other, to form a fighting alliance of all the revolutionary forces (proletariat, peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie) under the hegemony of the proletariat. In the conditions of a developing bourgeois democratic revolution the Communist operate with the siogans of the proletarian revolution. They refuse to support the petty bourgeois radical nationalists when these revolt against the betrayal of the big bourgeois-, denouncing both as equally counterrevolutionary.

Now, the bankrupt leadership of the

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er, Comrade Amadeo Bordiga, who has 37 East 28 Street just finished a long term in Mussolini's New York City prisons, has been expelled from the Party for his Trotskyist views.

Indian Communists For Opposition (Inkopp) Incompletes reports from In-

dia indicate that the Comintern burocracy has suffered a serious defeat in India. It appears that the most outstanding Communists in India, especially the leaders in the trade union movement and in the youth movement, have taken a stand against the expulsion of Comrade M. N. Roy, one of the outstanding figother countries. The foster-father of ures in the Indian revolutionary movethe colonial Thesis of the VI. Congress ment and in the Communist Internation-Because of the bad conenctions of the Comintern in India and because of very feeble effort to rectify the sectarian policy. He no longer talks of the "Soviet the weakness of the Communist move-Republic of India," but says that the ment there, it was only recently that any slogan of the present struggle in India real information as to the differences in should be: "Drive out the British imperthe Communist International reached India. But the rapid development of the ialists by the democratic revolution of revolutionary situation in India put before the leading comrades in India the corr) what he still apparently ignores in problem of choosing between the false and dangerous tactical line of the Comreptitiously. He writes that one of the tasks of the moment is "the organization intern burocracy and the Leninist line of the revolutionary youth." That is, represented by the International Oppothe Communists should no longer desition and for which Comrade Roy stood. At a conference of the most important nounce the petty bourgeois radicals as "counter-revolutionaries" but work for Communist functionaries, especially trade union functionaries, which took bringing them under their influence and leadership. Kuusinen goes still further. place about six weeks ago, the majority He proposes "the utilization of even the of the conference solidarized itself with sham fights of the nationalist bourgeoisic the viewpoint of Comrade Roy. The against British imperialism." For adenergetic defense of Comrade Roy's conceptions on the part of the leader of the vocating these Leninist tactics in the colmost important trade union organizaonial revolution, Comrade Roy was contion of Calcutta and of the representative demned as a "renegade" and expelled of the Communist youth organization was especially noticeable. The significance These facts, specially relating to India of these events cannot be overestimated. add force to the criticism of the general line of the present leadership of the C. I.

THE CRISIS IN FRANCE

The development of the crisis in the Communist Party of France proceeds at a rapid rate, altho in an involved and complicated manner. The same can be said about the development of the oppositional forces. The Secretariat of the Central Committee has just announced the expulsion of the Paris Communist deputy Piquemal, the Paris Communist councillor Salom and the Communist mayor of Athis-Mons, Paqueraux. At the same time the Communist mayor of Douarnenez (where the famous strike took place recently), Le Flanchec, and his assistant, Louis Pencalet, have been expelled from the Party.

Very serious developments are taking place at the center. At the recent Plenum of the Central Committee, Comrade Vassart, member of the Polburo and head of trade union work, the reporter for the Polburo on trade union work to the Plenum, made a report which was to a large extent a criticism of the false sectarian trade union line of the CI and of the French Party. Comrade Vassart's report was repudiated right on the floor of the Plenum by the Party leaders and he himself was branded as a "conciliator," as an "opportunist," etc. The ultimate consequences of Vassart's position is still uncertain.

WATCH FOR IT!

What's Happening in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union?

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******************************* READ

REVOLUTIONARY AGE

'New Turn' in CPG

Merker Removed—Remmele's Expulsion Demanded

For several weeks the official Party circles in Germany have been full of talk of a "left-opportunist group that has organized itself and is waging war against the Central Committee." Now it has all come out in the open in a most sensational manner and a new epoch of clique struggles in the "united" "Bolshevik" Central Committee has opened.

Paul Merker, member of the Secretariat of the CC and head of trade union work, the special champion of the Losovsky split trade union line in Germany, has been made the chief scapegoat. He has been removed from the secretariat and from his post as head of union work. Werner Hirsch, chief editor of Rote Fahne, has gone the same way and along with these two shining lights a large number of important Party functionarics are beginning to feel the sting of the new "Party democracy."

This latest factional outburst in the German Party came as a reaction to the recent "new turn" in the Comintern-the mock war against "ultra-left excesses." A number of functionaries of the German Party and some sections of the membership-who evidently had embraced the ultra-left line largely thru conviction-showed some hesitation and even asked some questions when orders came for the "new turn." It did not take long for a "Left-opportunist" opposition to spring up (the Bertz group in Chemnitz, the Peuke group in Berlin-Zentrum, groups in Leipzig, etc.), with a program of attack against the CC from the "left." An explosion came in connection with Hermann Remmele!

In the recent issue (No. 7), of Internationale Hermann Remmele, the political chameleon, who has supported every political tendency in the German Party while it had power and was always the first to desert it in the days of difficulty, this worthy Hermann Remmele wrote an article of political justification of the "new turn." In this article he blames the "ultra-left excesses" upon "certain editors and publicists!" He deliberately cites a number of articles of Merker and subjects them to a scathing criticism that would be more convincing did we not remember Remmele as the great ideological champion of the worst ultra-left nonsense for the last two years.

Remincle's article roused the widest protest among the Party memoers! who stood aghast as such a glaring example of the most shanicless lack of principle. Resentment was aroused everywhere. At the Berlin functionaries conference a proposal was brought in to expel Hermann Remmele from the Party. The sub-district Zentrum of the Berlin District made a demand for the expulsion of Hermann Remmele and Heinz Neumann from the Party. The same sentiment was voiced in many sections of the Party. The clique in power, of course, defends Reminele, its shining light. And so Peuke, the political secretary of the sub-district Berlin-Zentrum has been removed, the Berlin functionaries have been warned .etc.

Confusion and demoralization-the inevitable consequence of the unprincipled twists and turns of the cliques in control of the Comintern and the German Party-have set in among the wide masses of the membership. . . .

IN THE NEXT ISSUE ON THIS PAGE

a special article by a German Comrade on The Results of the Factory Council Elections.

Recent Developments in Canada

The Opposition Grows in Finland

Big Meeting In Boston

150 At CP-Majority Group Meeting

The first public mass meeting under the auspices of the Boston organization of the Communist Party (Majority Group) was held at the American Hall on Sunday evening, May 18. Over 150 workers listened in wrapt attention to Comrades Gitlow, Lovestone and Rubenstein.

Comrade Roy Stephens, who was supposed to be the first speaker, was arrested as the meeting opened and was thus unable to report on the shameful physical attack made against him by the corrupt Party burocrats because he criticized the ultra-left adventurist line of the new Party leadership.

The Party burocrats resorted to the vilest tactics to prevent the holding of this meeting. The hall keeper was telephoned several times and threatened with a riot. He was told by these self-styled pure

"Communists" that he'd better 'not allow any Communists to use his hall because Communists are bad people and trouble makers." Full preparations were made by Alpi, now boss of the Boston District, to use force to break up the meeting. But when his agents saw the large size of the meeting and the militant, determined spirit of the workers, they changed their plans to attempts at heckling, insults, noise, and general disruptive methods. The workers saw thru the methods and repudiated them.

The meeting ended in wonderful spirit. Much support was won for the CP-Mapority Group of Boston which is laying plans for considerably increased activi-

A meeting will be arranged for a report by Comrade Stephens as soon as he is released from jail.

Corporation Profits Grow

The Standard Statistics Company of New York has just issued a report showing that corporations in the United States increased their net profits in 1929 by 16.9% over 1928. This factor is of special importance today in view of the serious crisis which has prevailed in production and exchange for many months.

The industrial corporations, 513 of which were investigated show an average increase in profits of 18.1% in 1929 over the profits garnered by them in 1929-a year of severe depression in comparison with the previous year.

A National City Bank examination of the annual earnings of the American corporations further reveals the following startling facts:

	Increase in	Rate of
Name of	profits in	profit
Industry	$1929\ over\ 1927$	in 1929
Agricultural	imp. 63.5 %	13.4%
Amusements	127.0	16.2
Automobiles	15.3	23.5
Aviation	1021.0	17.4
Chemicais	49.7	18.0

•		
Electrical Equip.	49.5	17.7
Fertilizer	362.4	4.0
Iron & Steel	119.7	11.5
Machinery, etc.	54.2	14.3
Meat Packing	73.8	5.5
Mining, Copper	210.8	16.6
Petroleum	146.4	11.1
Shipping	34.5	5.7
Textile products	35.8	8.8

SUMMARY	
Manufacturing and trading	53.79
Railroads	17.5
Telephone	60.0
Other utilities	30.2
Banks	47.5

This shows plainly that the big corporations have not suffered from the economic crisis but have shifted the losses during the economic crisis to the backs of the workers and toiling farmers.

It must also be kept in mind that these figures as to profits are already tampered with by the corporation accountants with the idea of avoiding income taxes

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The Draft Thesis of the February Plenum of the CP-Majority Group, in

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A review of L. D. Trotsky's "My Life".

An Analysis of the CC Thesis.

One Year of the Address.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE PARTY LINE.

An Analysis of Comrade Browder's Pamphlet.

By Vera Buch.

and allowing hundreds of millions of dollars to be pocketed by the individual big directors and stock-holders without showing these on the books. Actually the profits are much larger.

Despite the collapse of the Stock Exchange in 1929 and the huge losses in the crash, it is important to notice that the profits of the big corporations in 1929 were considerably larger than in 1927 during which time an economic depression of far less seriousness took place than in 1929.

Textile Committe Calls First Meeting

The first mass meeting under the auspices of the Unity Committee of the National Textile Workers Union was held on Sunday, May 18, at Monte Pio Hall, New Bedford. It was attended by about 150 workers and addressed by Comrades Weisbord, Keller, and Ruben-

The Party burocrats inaugurated a reign of terror to prevent workers from attending. People were placed at the door of the hall not to allow the workers to enter the hall. The two competing meeting organized by the local NTWU burocrats proved flat failures. When the meeting opened, Murdock entered with a group and attempted to break it up. His call to the workers to leave the meeting fell on deaf ears. Then the police entered and also tried to disrupt the meeting by arresting Murdock and handing out summonses to Comrades Weisbord, Keller, and Rubenstein. Comrade Weisbord, in the name of the Unity Committee, denounced the police and called upon the workers to continue the meeting. The meeting went on with great enthusiasm despite all obstacles.

The statement of the Unity Committee was adopted unanimously by the mass meeting.

THE SNOWDEN BUDGET

"Comrade" Snowden has come forward with his budget. Hillquit, Thomas & Co. can now applaud it as a "Socialist" budget. Surely, this is a model they will offer to the American workers. But what interests us-and what should interest all the American workers-is that Big Business in the United States thinks of Chancellor of the Exchequer Snow-On the matter budget. tariffs, Snowden has allowed policy to be dictated by existing formulae and need of revenues." To Wall Street's three cheers for Mr. Snowden we can add: The Liberal Party may be dying, but Liberalism isn't dead by a long shot. It is flourishing under the cover of Laborism. And MacDonald and Snowden have displaced the Georges and the Asquiths as the most vigorous and dangerous leaders of Liberalism before the working

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