

Revolutionary Age

An Organ of Marxism-Leninism in the United States

For Communist Unity in the Revolutionary Class Struggle

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AN APPEAL

To All Party Members and Revolutionary Workers

THE reappearance of the REVOLUTIONARY AGE at this time marks an event of the greatest significance for the members of our Party, for the revolutionary workers of this country and for the whole international Communist movement.

The REVOLUTIONARY AGE was born out of the struggle against imperialist war. It represented the Left Wing in the old Socialist Party, uncompromising in its revolutionary purpose, holding aloft in the teeth of the bitterest capitalist reaction, the banner of proletarian internationalism. When the United States entered the World War the founders of the REVOLUTIONARY AGE were among the most active fighters against American imperialism and its war plans. No sellers of Liberty Bonds were to be found in their ranks—nor those who won the praise of the war machine in the A. F. of L. Its slogan was not the slogan of W. Z. Foster: "The war must be won at all costs!" Its slogan was the bolshevik slogan: "Defeat to American imperialism! Civil war against the bourgeoisie! All power to the workers! For the proletarian revolution and the establishment of the Soviet Power!"

The REVOLUTIONARY AGE was the unremitting enemy of opportunism and social reformism. It fought the reactionary officialdom in the A. F. of L. It fought social patriotism, reformism and opportunism in the old Socialist Party. It became the official spokesman of the Left Wing in the So-

cialist Party from which emerged the American Communist movement.

The REVOLUTIONARY AGE won its glorious traditions because it really fulfilled the tremendous tasks that history placed upon it: the introduction of the fundamental experiences of the Russian Revolution and the elementary ideas of Leninism into the American working class movement, the laying of the foundations for a mass revolutionary Communist Party in line with the growing movement of world Communism.

The REVOLUTIONARY AGE won the devoted and loyal support of the best elements of the American proletariat but by the capitalists it was feared and hated. The sweep of the capitalist reaction in 1919 struck the REVOLUTIONARY AGE with special force. Its offices were ransacked and destroyed. Its editor, manager and members of its National Council were arrested and indicted. C. E. Ruthenberg, Ben Gitlow and Jim Larkin were sent to prison for terms of five to ten years. But the movement which the REVOLUTIONARY AGE represented and led could not be suppressed!

When Lenin sent out the call for the organization of the Communist International he included the group around the REVOLUTIONARY AGE. To this group fell the great historic mission not only of being the organizers of the Com-

Free the Gastonia Frame-up Victims!

THE savage fury of capitalist class "justice"—thru its favorite instrument, the frame-up—has taken another toll. The seven leaders of the Gastonia strikers have been convicted and sentenced to long years of penal servitude. Only the power of the working class now stands between these seven comrades and the living death to which the infuriated capitalists have condemned them! Only the organized might of the masses will save the Gastonia victims from the fate of Sacco and Vanzetti, of Mooney and Billings!

Our Gastonia comrades are being sent to prison on a brazen frame-up. The frame-up is the bosses answer to the organization of the workers. It is the bosses weapon to break strikes. It is the weapon of the bosses to crush any move for better conditions. It is the bosses means of preventing the workers defending themselves against thugs and organized strikebreakers. It is the weapon of the bourgeoisie against any developing signs of revolutionary thought or action. It is the favorite method of the capitalists for "removing" the best and most militant of the workers' leaders. It is a deadly menace to the working class. Not for a single moment must the working class relax in the fight against

the frame-up system.

Those who denied or questioned the frame-up in Gastonia, the Socialists, the "Nation" and other liberals, who prated about "fair trial", "constitutional interpretation", and the "impartiality" of Judge Barnhill, are branded with the guilt of helping the Southern bourgeoisie fasten the frame-up upon the necks of the Gastonia militants, upon the whole working class. They have shown themselves to be a part of the frame-up system, the part that serves as a smoke-screen and tries to paralyze the resistance of the workers.

Our Gastonia brothers must be saved! The fight has only just begun! They have been framed-up because they led the workers in strike against the most intolerable conditions. They have been condemned to a living death because they were pioneers in the organization of the Southern workers. They are suffering because they fought the battles of the entire working class. The masses of the workers must rise to their defense!

Free the seven Gastonia prisoners! Smash the frame-up system! A broad proletarian united front against capitalist class "justice"! Support and build the International Labor Defence!

unist Party in the United States but of being among the founders of the Communist International.

The elements around the REVOLUTIONARY AGE founded our Party and carried it thru the most difficult periods. Around them crystallized the leadership under which the Party developed into a fighting revolutionary Party which won international recognition as the "stalwart leader of the workers in fierce class battles." Under this leadership and the Leninist line it pursued our Party left its glorious imprint on the pages of the history of the American class struggle. The American workers will not quickly forget Passaic, New Bedford, the needle trades struggles, the great miners' strikes, the strikes in the newly industrialized South, the formation of the new unions and the tremendous steps forward in the organization of the unorganized. The Party was indeed turning the corner towards becoming the mass Communist Party of the American proletariat, capable of linking up its daily struggles with its final revolutionary aim.

All these achievements were made in spite of a most pernicious internal war that had been raging since 1923. The demoralizing factional warfare was conducted under the leadership of W. Z. Foster who came to our Party in 1922 from the ranks of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. The group behind Foster arose and developed as an outspoken right-wing group, with opportunist sectarian policies and a sharply un-Marxian, un-Leninist ideology. The struggle against it was a struggle for the building of the Party and its revolutionary ideology. Finally, thru the pressure of nearly 90% of the membership, the bankrupt unprincipled factional group of Foster was decisively defeated at the VI Convention of our Party. The Party and the whole revolutionary movement took a great step forward in its development. The Party stood united behind its historically developed leadership because this leadership had proved able to adopt the correct Leninist policies which registered success in work, increased the membership and influence of our Party and won it leadership in the class struggle.

Precisely at the time, when, after many years of struggle, the Party could look forward to a period of rapid development in the direction of a real mass Party, it became involved in the general crisis in the Communist International.

Under the pretext of "fighting the Rights" the present leadership of the Communist International has been revising the fundamental principles of Leninism and distorting and destroying the Leninist line of the Comintern. As a result the sections of the Comintern have been thrown into isolation, chaos and confusion, and the best and most experienced revolutionists driven out and expelled to be replaced by incapable politically bankrupt "new leaderships."

Revolutionary Age

Organ of the National Council of the
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A. (Majority Group)
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The COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES could not be exempt from this general crisis. On the contrary, in the United States, the crisis is best characterized by the fact that the historically developed leadership that came from the REVOLUTIONARY AGE has been replaced by the leadership of the bankrupt extreme opportunist Foster group, which has roots neither in the Party nor among the working masses. This crisis is characterized by the recent Address of the ECCI, with its false revisionist line, its wild charges and accusations, its disastrous proposals. It is characterized by the rapid decline of the Party into sectarianism and isolation, by the even more rapid loss of influence of the Party among the workers, by the dangerous situation of the mass organizations under Communist influence. It is characterized by the mass expulsion of hundreds of the best and oldest revolutionists in the Party.

So fundamental and basic are the issues involved that the very life of the Communist movement in America and on a world scale is at stake. Against the revision of Leninism, against the destruction of our parties and of their mass influence it becomes the duty of all Communists, of all revolutionary workers to fight.

The appearance of the REVOLUTIONARY AGE as the organ of the CP-Majority Group comes at a decisive moment. The sharpening contradictions of world imperialism, the drive upon the working class at home, the war preparations against the Soviet Union, the intensification of the repressions against the masses in the colonies and semi-colonies—in short the war danger and the rapidly increasing symptoms of radicalization of the masses—raise the necessity of the unification and the consolidation of all Communist forces upon a revolutionary Leninist line as the chief task of our times. It is to fight for this burning need in the United States and internationally that the REVOLUTIONARY AGE resumes publication. It is an organ of Marxism-Leninism in the revolutionary class struggle. It is an organ for the Communist Party, for the Communist International.

The struggle which the REVOLUTIONARY AGE is taking up as the spokesman of the CP-Majority Group is the struggle not only of the members of the Communist Party but is the struggle of all revolutionary class conscious workers as well. For a capable and courageous Communist Party carrying out a revolutionary line is the basic necessity of the whole working class in its struggle for emancipation. The Communist Party cannot be separated from the working class. The anti-Leninist course which the "new leadership" of the ECCI and of our Party are forcing upon the Communist movement is a serious danger to the whole working class movement, to all mass organizations and to all mass struggles. Thru the united efforts of the best sections of the Communists and the revolutionary workers will the present crisis be overcome and health and virility again restored to our movement.

The REVOLUTIONARY AGE appeals to all Party members and to all revolutionary workers for support in the struggle, for assistance in establishing itself firmly and in increasing the sphere of its circulation and influence.

Support and build the REVOLUTIONARY AGE!

For a united Communist International on the line of Leninism!

GASTONIA

By Ellen Dawson

IN the most important Southern states there is now going on an extensive process of industrialization. It is not only that textile factories are being built on a large scale; the greatest evidence of the trend of industrialization is to be seen in the establishment of steel mills, in the development of the coal industry, in the growth of oil production, in the rise of chemical plants, in the tremendous development of power resources and—above all, in the organization of industries producing the means of production.

We see here the birth of the Southern working class as a class—the growth of a consciousness on the part of even the most backward workers that their immediate everyday interests clash with the interests of their employers.

Here class struggles are being fought with an intense elemental bitterness. Here there are pitted against the employers not "hunkeys" or "dagoes,"—not foreign-born workers—but the "purest of the pure" Anglo-Saxons in the United States as well as the other kind of much oppressed 100% American—the Negro. Naturally it is not only the Southern working class that is being born. The same process gives rise to a conscious Southern industrial bourgeoisie, free from feudal traditions, illusions and hindrances, and all that goes to make up the so-called traditions of "dear old Dixie." These "new" capitalists have the cunning and brutality of their kind; they are tied up very closely with the biggest financial interests of the North.

Of course, no one should mechanically compare the present situation in the South with the situation in the Northern states during their periods of industrialization. There are many features that are similar and there are many valuable lessons to be learned. These we cannot deny or overlook. But there are important new features in the situation. In the first place, the struggles in the period of the industrialization of the South are taking place in an entirely different world situation, in the conditions of post-war imperialism, that is, on the whole, a dying, declining imperialism. Secondly, we have today a Communist Party, a conscious revolutionary force already on the scene and which will be increasingly upon the scene. Third, the development of the South does not take place thru the establishment of small factories, then larger ones, etc., but tremendous factories with the most modern equipment are installed immediately. Finally, we have in the field a new type of union, a class industrial union, the National Textile Workers Union. All of these factors indicate the new situation.

It would be entirely wrong to say that the crisis in the Southern textile industry arises merely out of the competition of the Northern textile operators. The textile industry is in crisis on a world scale primarily because it has failed to keep pace with the advancement of technical progress, with the development of rationalization in other industries like chemical, steel, railway, etc. As a result there is a feverish introduction of rationalization schemes, such as the "stretch-out," which constitutes the big factor in hastening the class awakening of

ELLEN DAWSON is one of the best-known figures in the textile workers' struggles of recent years. She was in the front ranks in the great Passaic strike during 1926-1927; she was an outstanding leader in the New Bedford-Fall River struggles in 1923; when the Gastonia strike broke out she was one of the first organizers of the National Textile Workers Union on the spot where she served in the midst of the struggle until she was arrested upon Federal charges by the U. S. government. She is now one of the leaders of the Textile Workers Union of New Bedford. Comrade Dawson, a member of the Central Committee, was recently expelled by the "new leadership" of the Communist Party because of her adherence to the CP-Majority Group in its struggle for a return of the Party to the line of Leninism.

the workers in the Southern textile industry.

Gastonia marks an historical stage in the awakening of class consciousness among the "most" American workers in this country. It is an inspiring symbol of the new reserves that the older sections of the proletarian army in the U.S.A. are winning for the class war against the capitalist exploiters.

The workers in Gastonia are not yet conscious revolutionists. They are not yet revolutionists in any form or manner.

Neither here nor anywhere else in the South are they supporters of the Communist program of the overthrow of capitalism and the proletarian dictatorship. The textile workers of Gastonia like the other workers in the South are fighting for the most elementary, the most vital needs and interests that affect their lives day in and day out. Yet the strikes in the South necessarily take on a political character because of the active strike-breaking, scab-shielding, union-smashing role of the government, because even the smallest and simplest struggle becomes a struggle against the government forces.

What the Southern workers need most is clear, conscious, militant, energetic, honest leadership. In Gastonia and elsewhere such leadership has fortunately been provided by the National Textile Workers Union—a left-wing union founded upon the principles of the class struggle. The National Textile Workers Union is still very young and weak; yet thru its fine work in the South it has already gained great influence and prestige. The National Textile Workers Union in the South—like the new Southern proletariat—is being born in a welter of blood; kidnapping, slugging, lynching threats, the murder of Ella May Wiggins, raiding of the Union headquarters, attempt to railroad the best militants to the electric chair—all this will not check the National Textile Workers Union in its drive to organize the Southern textile workers. It is precisely here that the new class union stands out in sharp contrast to the U.T.W. and the A.F. of L. bureaucracies which in the South, as everywhere else, are serving openly and shamelessly as the "labor" agency of the bosses, the open shoppers and the strike-breakers.

The rising capitalist class of the South is flushed with pride at the tremendous headway it has been making in industrializing its territory. They are pointing with gratification to the South as "the natural home of the open shop." They speak with terrible conceit of their "achievements" in setting up new factories, in building new machine producing plants, in constructing highways.

Obviously the Southern capitalists are greedy for profits. The possibilities for industrial development, that is, big profits, because of the great natural resources have only sharpened their appetite. That is why the *Nashville Banner* in discussing the situation in North Carolina said in a rage:

"North Carolina manifestly waited too long to check the Communist invasion. Its coming and intent were concealed from the time that New England Communist leaders

put in their appearance at Gastonia six months ago."

What the bosses are after is to make an example of the militants, to send them to the electric chair or to send them to jail for years and to terrorize the masses and really break all efforts at organization.

We can expect the most brutal suppression of the workers in the South just as soon as they raise even the faintest voice of protest. What I have experienced in Gastonia is sufficient proof of this. Attacks will be made upon the workers who dare show any resistance to the stretch-out system, no matter if the workers are Communists, Republicans, or rock-ribbed Democrats. But as everywhere else this will be in vain. The rapid development of capitalist industry on such a large scale itself provides the economic basis for the building of mass organizations of the workers. Huge class battles are in the making in the South. Whether Communists or not the workers will use arms as well as mass demonstrations in resisting capitalist rationalization. Thus, in Marion, where Communists did not give leadership and where the A. F. of L. gave *misleadership* there have recently taken place armed clashes. In the South the use of arms is neither a novelty nor a sign of revolutionary struggle. This is another of the features that will distinguish the Southern class struggle from the Northern. We must not lose our balance because in the Southern class struggle there appear from time to time "strange" and apparently contradictory features—if we come with a blue-print approach. How symbolic was the funeral in Marion a few days ago where religious hymns were sung along with trade union songs!

Let no one make the mistake that the class struggle in the South is limited to the textile industry. Even bigger, sharper and more bitter class battles are coming very soon in the coal and oil fields, in the iron foundries, in the steel mills, in huge power plants. New regiments of the American working class are forming, vigorous, energetic, militant.

What shall we do? With proper tactics we Communists have a big field here. Its significance cannot be exaggerated. In the South especially it is necessary that the campaigns we wage be on the broadest class basis and not on any *narrow* and *sectarian* line. In this way we will be able to win the confidence of the workers and be in a position to deepen and give political character to their struggles, to make these backward workers of yesterday the militant fighters of today and the conscious revolutionists of tomorrow.

We must be extremely careful never to do anything which will lay us open to the charge of having interests other than and different from those of the workers themselves. We must lay the greatest stress on developing good local leadership, good Communist leadership among the 100% American Southern workers.

The Negro question plays a decisive role in the South. On this we can make no concessions or compromise. We use every occasion to convince the Southern workers of the correctness of our program of complete social, political and racial equality. It is true that in the beginning our uncompromising attitude may slow down our progress but it cannot be too much emphasized that the road to victory in the South lies in our ability to destroy the dangerous weapon of race hostility so carefully cultivated and so effectively used by the bosses. We are convinced that our propaganda tied up with the experiences of the actual struggle will weld together the solidarity of the Negro and white workers in a united fight against the bosses and the strike-breaking government.

It is true that for obvious reasons the Southern workers are, much less than the Northern, under the influence of the poison of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. Yet the attempts of the reactionary A. F. of L. fakers and their Socialist partners to "bring peace" to the South are a serious danger to the Southern workers. The recent announcement of the Executive Council of

the A. F. of L. that it will raise a million dollars for "organizing" the South is really a notice that a monstrous move is being planned to paralyze all attempts at genuine working class organization and struggle.

Our entire work concentrates upon building up the National Textile Workers Union upon a broad basis. The N.T.W.U. is not and must not be a department of the *Communist Party*. It is not and must not be a *Communist Union*. The acceptance of the proletarian dictatorship is no prerequisite for membership. It must be open to all workers in the mills who are ready to struggle for a union, for higher wages, for better conditions, for better living standards, no matter what their other beliefs may be.

The lessons of Gastonia must be brought home not only to all Communists but to all workers in this country. Around the issue of Gastonia and the defense of the framed-up militants must be mobilized a broad united front of workers all over the country, on an even bigger scale than was done in the Passaic and New Bedford situations. What we do now will have great influence upon the future of the class struggle in the South. It is our responsibility and our task.

Gastonia is an inspiring trail-blazer. It is a symbol, a source of inspiration. Now let's get on the job!

Opportunism under 'Left' Phrases

THE morass of opportunism into which the Party is sinking as a result of the "new course" is fast reaching the point of *direct liquidation* and the *renunciation of the most elementary revolutionary tasks of the Party*.

The visit of the Soviet Fliers offers our Party an excellent opportunity for mobilizing masses never before reached for the defense and the recognition of the Soviet Union; it provides us with a splendid opportunity of bringing the C.P. before the **workers as the leader** in the struggle to defend the Workers Government of the U.S.S.R. A correct united front policy for a broad mobilization in which the Party appears in its rightful role would have meant much for the Communist movement in this country and for the U.S.S.R.

The Party has indeed initiated a "campaign" in connection with the visit of the Soviet Fliers—but what sort of campaign? Here follows an extract from the letter of instructions sent out on August 5 by the C.C. (signed P. Smith) to all Party papers and to the districts:

"Under no circumstances are you to link up these editorials or press releases on the reception of the fliers with the defense of the Soviet Union, recognition of the Soviet Union, or in fact with any other campaign that the Party or the C.I. is carrying on . . ."

"The policy of the Reception Committee of the Fliers as decided by the Party is not to show the Party face . . ."

This is supposed to be the policy of a Communist Party!

When the C.P.-Majority Group insisted that the slogan of *recognition* must not be dropped the "new leadership" heaped abuse upon us as "opportunists" and "renegades" and informed us that the slogan of recognition was a "right wing" slogan and that only the slogan of defense was revolutionary. Now this same "left" leadership drops *both* the slogan of recognition and the slogan of defense! "Left" phrases hiding the most rotten opportunist content!

And yet these same "left" leaders are the people who accuse us of "being against the Soviet Union," of "failing to bring out the initiative and independent role of the Party!"

The line of the C.C. is the line of the most dangerous opportunism, of actual liquidation of the Communist struggle. It flows directly from the revisionist anti-Leninist line of the Address of the Ecce. It means death for the Party unless it is effectively checked!

Declaration to the Plenum of the C. C.

Speaking in the name of nearly one-third of the C.C. members, several Central Control Commission members and League National Executive Committee members, many leading Party and League functionaries, district organizers, District Executive Committee members, and hundreds of removed and expelled proletarian Party members thruout the country, we herewith make the following appeal to the Plenum of the Central Committee:

Our Party is now in its gravest political and organizational crisis. Fundamental differences have arisen because the basic conceptions of our movement are now being changed. The Party is grappling with life and death problems. The founders and builders of the Party, fighting for the Leninist line and the decisions of the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern, have on this account has been expelled. There are taking place wholesale expulsions of the oldest, most experienced, best proletarian fighters in the Party ranks because they are resisting the anti-Leninist, the revisionist line of the Address and of the Tenth Plenum of the Ecce which is driving our Party into the dangerous morass of opportunist sectarianism.

The Plenum, in order to be a Plenum authoritative and responsible, a Plenum which the Party members can take seriously; in order to overthrow the revisionist line and to restore the line of Leninism in our Party; in order to solve the many difficult problems confronting our Party, must be constituted on the basis of the immediate reinstatement in the C.C. and C.C.C. of the comrades elected by the VI National Convention of our Party to these bodies. All comrades removed and expelled from the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission, the Polcom and the Secretariat and the National Executive Committee must be called in to the sessions of the Plenum and are to function as full members.

On this basis we demand that the following comrades be immediately restored to their rightful places on the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the Party and the National Executive Committee of the Young Communist League and, furthermore, that they should all be called into the Plenum to make a decision on the pressing questions now before the Party:

C.C. Members:—*Bixby, Chester W.; Dawson, Ellen (Expelled from Party by District Bureau); Gilow, Benj.; Kruse, Wm. F.; Lifshitz, Benj. (Suspended from the C.E.C. by the Secretariat and excluded from Plenum); Lovestone, Jay; Miller, Wm.; Vrateric, Frank; White, Wm. J.; Wolfe, Bertram D.; Zimmerman, Ch. S.*

C. C. Candidates:—*Bail, Alex; Miller, Bert; Novak, Chas.; Sorenson, J.; Welsh, Edward; Zam, Herbert.*

Central Control Commission Members:—*Bentall, J. O.; Nesser, M.*

Y.C.L. N.E.C. Members:—*Grey, Dan; Gray, Marion; Lurye, Minnie; Rubenstein, Jack; Silvis, Miriam; Siro, Paul; Welsh, Edward; Yablon, M.*

The Plenum, consisting of those elected as Central Committee and Central Control Commission and National Executive Committee members, by the highest authority of the Party and the League, the Sixth National Convention and Fifth Y.C.L. Convention, should consider and decide the following questions so that the Party may once more establish itself as the stalwart leader of the masses:

1. The Plenum must reject the revision of the principles of Leninism and of the Sixth World Congress by the Ecce and Secretariat which is taking place along the following lines:
 - a) The anti-Leninist conception of the development of world capitalism (rejecting the basic Leninist viewpoint of the uneven development) and the false estimate of the present world position of United States imperialism.
 - b) The social democratic conception of the primacy of inner contradictions in the present period.
 - c) The opportunist sectarian estimate of the Third Period.
 - d) The inverted social democratic evaluation of radicalization and rationalization.
 - e) The anti-Marxian, anti-Leninist attitude towards the concrete application of the Program of the C.I. (unanimously adopted at the Sixth World Congress) in the United States—hiding behind the fraudulent unfounded accusation of "exceptionalism" against the leadership of the Party which for six years had been endorsed by the Comintern.
 - f) The abandonment of the campaign against the Right danger by the application of opportunist policies and by placing in

charge of the Party the discredited opportunist, the traditional Right wing, the Foster group, which does not have roots either in the Party or in the working class.

- g) The readmission of Trotskyites and the turning of the Party policies towards Trotskyism.
- h) The pursuing of a policy of opportunist sectarianism covered with ultra-left phrases in the leading campaigns of the Party—the fight against imperialist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union, the industrial work, the Negro work, the New York election campaign, Gastonia, Palestine, etc.

2. The Plenum must examine and take a stand toward decisions of the Tenth Plenum of the Ecce which are a revision of the decisions of the Sixth Congress.

3. The Plenum must put a stop to the Party-splitting and mass expulsion campaign, the outrageous violation of the most elementary rights of Party democracy, illegal expulsions of Central Committee and Central Control Commission members by a sub-committee of the Central Committee—the Secretariat. The so-called "enlightenment campaign" should be repudiated and abandoned as harmful to the Party and genuine discussion of the vital problems facing the Party and the Comintern instituted in its place, the right being given to all comrades to freely express themselves and to give voice to their convictions.

4. The Plenum must bring about the unconditional immediate reinstatement of all Party members thruout the country who were expelled because of their adherence to the line of the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern and resistance to the revisionist, anti-Leninist line of the Address and the Tenth Plenum of the Ecce.

We emphasize that the Plenum as at present constituted is incompetent and unqualified to consider and act upon the problems before the Party, because its present composition is an outright violation of the decisions of the Sixth National Convention—the highest authority in our Party on the basis of the Party and C.I. Statutes. We declare that with one-third of the Central Committee expelled—including the previous Party leadership, founders of the Party, leaders in the Party's mass struggles—such a Plenum cannot speak in behalf of the Party.

Comrades: Bolshevik unity of the Party on the basis of rejection by the Party of its present anti-Leninist line and the unreserved acceptance and execution of the line of the Sixth World Congress is an absolutely urgent necessity. Only such unity can save our Party from ruinous opportunism. Great tasks are before us. Splendid opportunities for Communist work are at hand. With a correct, with a Leninist policy, our Party can make great headway towards becoming a mass Communist Party leading the American proletariat to victory over the bourgeoisie, to the destruction of United States imperialism. We demand that in the best interests of the Party and the Comintern you should act favorably on our appeal and proposals.

S - U - B - S - C - R - I - B - E

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The New York Municipal Election Campaign

By Herbert Zam

THE municipal election campaign of the Communist Party in New York City was ushered in by the adoption of an opportunist, municipal-reform election platform written by Weinstone and forced thru the District Committee without even a discussion and without even the opportunity for making criticism or amendments. Despite the fact that under the barrage of the followers of the C.P.-Majority Group this platform was surreptitiously suppressed, and replaced by no program at all, it gave the entire election campaign of the Party an opportunist character.

Coming at a period of growing radicalization of the workers, as a climax to two years of severe struggle in important industries (needle, food), the election campaign offered the Communist Party a splendid opportunity for mobilizing the workers in a political struggle against capitalism, a struggle which would pass the bounds of parliamentary legalism. Such an achievement for the Party is of tremendous importance in its efforts to establish itself as the leader of the American workers in all their struggles. While the Communist Party has already led thousands and even hundreds of thousands in many severe class battles, it is still confronted with the task of demonstrating to the workers its leadership in the political struggle against capitalism, including the election campaign. The municipal election campaign this year offered the Communist Party this opportunity at a time when the both capitalist parties have openly become expressions of finance capital centered in New York and the Socialist Party has openly become the Party of the labor bureaucracy and of small capital, denying the class struggle and seeking to maintain the capitalist system. The fusion between finance capital and the state apparatus is so complete that every movement of the workers for improvement of their conditions brings them face to face with the forces of the government as a strike-breaking agency. The struggles of the workers are growing and are being directed more and more against the government and the capitalist system as a whole. These circumstances create the possibility for the Communist Party really placing itself at the head of the workers and directing them in their struggles for the improvement of their conditions, developing these struggles and raising them to a higher level, till they are aimed at the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. But in order to accomplish this task the Communist Party must itself have proper leadership and present a correct platform to the workers. Unfortunately, as a result of the crisis in the Party, both of these conditions are lacking at the present time.

The Conduct of the Election Campaign

The election platform of a Communist Party is not a mere set of demands. It is not collection of pre-election promises. It is a program of action for a certain period, and as such must combine the immediate tasks of the Party with its final aim of overthrowing capitalism in such a way as to utilize the immediate struggles of the workers in order to develop the conscious struggle against capitalism. The election platform of the Communist Party must therefore be based on an indictment of capitalism; it must demonstrate to the workers that their grievances arise out of the capitalist system, and it must develop such immediate demands as will direct the struggles of the workers against the capitalist system. The municipal election platform of Weinstone lacks this essential prerequisite. It treats each evil, not as an expression of capitalism, but as something by itself, thus making all immediate demands arising from such an analysis purely reformist. It separates the workers

of New York and their struggles from the rest of the working class of the United States and the world, leading to such opportunist mistakes as the total omission of the defense of the Soviet Union, the omission of mention of the struggles in the colonies and semi-colonies, the omission of all mention of the attacks on the Soviet Union at a time when the Manchurian railway had just been seized. The platform fails even to mention the Gastonia frame-up and the necessity for rallying all workers to the defense of Gastonia workers. The platform fails to point out the necessity for the working class struggling against the bad effects of capitalist rationalization, but contents itself with the frantic denunciation of "devilish devices of industrial speed-up". While on the one hand, the platform demands the abolition of the police and its substitution by a "toilers militia," it at the same includes the typical petty-bourgeois liberal demands for "smaller school-houses."

Thus, the election platform, far from serving as a means for rallying the Party membership and the revolutionary workers, and for directing and coordinating the activities of the working class along anti-capitalist channels, became a mill-stone around the neck of the Party, preventing it from carrying on a Communist election campaign and from utilizing the favorable objective situation for strengthening itself and winning thousands of workers for the revolutionary struggle.

The opportunist leadership which produced such a platform cannot be expected to be less opportunist in the election campaign proper. While its empty revolutionary bombast converts every open-air meeting into a "demonstration," and every Party meeting into a "united front," the essential work of organizing and mobilizing the workers has been completely neglected. The instructions for the Party membership, printed in the Daily Worker, are of the internationally famous "Codd type," while the workers have never been given the Communist platform, either in the Daily Worker or in any other form. The Communist Party is the only Party in the election campaign which has not published a platform, which has not even published an official statement of its demands. The campaign is looked upon as a necessary formality, not as a means of mobilizing the workers. The struggle against the Socialist Party and social reformism generally has been completely abandoned, despite the opportunity for exposing them offered by their traitorous role in many recent labor struggles. The struggle against social reformism has been replaced by a struggle against the former Party leadership, the C.P.-Majority Group, and against the leading Communist figures in mass organizations. This has naturally given the S.P. an almost clear field for presenting itself as the Party of the workers. No real effort has even been made to mobilize the mass organizations and the workers behind the Party campaign; formal endorsements have been considered sufficient. Such is the opportunism that lied hidden under the "left" phraseology of the new "leadership."

The Fruits of Opportunism

This opportunist election campaign is having a serious effect upon the Communist movement in New York, not the most important of which will be the loss in votes in the elections. It tends to drive away workers who look to the Party for leadership. It creates a doubt in the minds of the masses as to whether our Party really is a Party participating in every struggle of the workers and leading these struggles. For this, the opportunist sectarian leadership of the Party is wholly responsible. It is stifling the Party and preventing the membership

(Continued on Page 14)

Twelve Years of the Soviet Union

By Jay Lovestone

THROUGHOUT the world the working masses are greeting with joy and pride the thirteenth year of the great victory of the international proletariat—the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

Twelve years have passed since the death blow was dealt to Czarism and capitalism in Russia. Twelve of the most eventful and significant years in world history, years that saw the collapse of the Romanoffs, the overthrow of the capitalists, and the annihilation of the Kerenskys, Korniloffs, Kolchaks, Denikins and Wrangels; the stinging defeats inflicted upon world imperialism and its agents in intervention and encirclement; the victory over the famine; the birth of the Communist International; and the giant strides forward in building Socialism! These are victories inscribed upon the crimson banner of the international working class unfurled by the first Soviet Republic.

The Meaning of October

The October Revolution was the first victorious proletarian revolution. True, it was not yet the world revolution—but it was much more than merely a prelude to the world revolution. The October Revolution has always been and in the future will continue to be the very base and center of the international struggle for the emancipation of labor. The struggle of our victorious Russian brothers is inseparable from—is bound up by the closest historical ties with the struggles of the working masses all over the world. The strengthening and consolidation of the Soviet Union constitutes a most powerful force in the development of a victorious proletarian revolution in all countries. Likewise, the destruction of capitalism in a number of the more highly developed bourgeois countries will have a profound effect upon the course of the Russian Revolution, will insure the final victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union.

The historical period of imperialism in which we are living is characterized by extreme unevenness of development; it is full of violent changes and class conflicts, of ever-sharpening antagonisms among the imperialist powers leading to cataclysmic clashes and world wars. It was precisely in such a period that the Russian Revolution was born. The October Revolution was the breaking of the "weakest link" in the imperialist chain under the terrific strain of the deep crisis of the war and post-war period. The U.S.S.R. is the living proof that we are today in the period of decaying, moribund capitalism.

The U.S.S.R. exists as a socialist island in the midst of world capitalism. The basic contradictions between the two cannot be solved, nor can the opposing systems exist side by side peacefully for any length of time. Only the sharp clash of interests among the imperialist powers themselves and the fear of the rising revolutionary movement at home have hitherto postponed an open outbreak of the gathering imperialist offensive against the U.S.S.R. But the fundamental contradiction between Socialism and capitalism is there and can only find its final solution in a great sweep of the victorious proletarian revolution over the face of the globe.

The Main Lessons of October

The driving force, the inspiring genius of October was the great teacher and leader of the toiling masses—Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. The greatest gift of October is—Leninism! The lessons of October are the lessons of Leninism!

1. October gave us the highest type of democracy—proletarian democracy: the proletarian dictatorship based upon the Soviet Power.

2. October dramatized on a world historical scale the union of the workers and the exploited farmers, under the leadership of the proletariat, as the basis for the proletarian revolution and the Soviet Power.

3. October gave to the oppressed national minorities and colonial peoples a mighty ally, a leader in the struggle for freedom. It showed the indissoluble bonds uniting the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the struggles for liberation of the oppressed colonial slaves.

4. October showed—what in these days of fraudulent "peace conferences" and "disarmament" swindles it is especially necessary to remember—that the only road to the abolition of war, to universal peace, is the overthrow of capitalism, that war is to be fought with the class struggle, by turning imperialist war into civil war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie.

5. October has taught the advanced workers all over the world the significance of the revolutionary political Party of the proletariat. It has shown the necessity for "the highest form of working class organization," guiding and unifying all struggles, forming "the organized political lever by means of which the more advanced part of the working class leads all the proletarian and semi-proletarian masses"—the Communist Party. Without the revolutionary political Party of their own (the Bolshevik Party) the Russian workers could never have achieved their victory. Only under the leadership of revolutionary proletarian parties—Communist Parties—united together into a world Party—the Communist International—will the workers of the world achieve their October!

Building Socialism in the Soviet Union

Today Socialism is being steadily built in the Soviet Union. Already many great Socialist achievements have been secured. The Russian proletariat has decisively defeated capitalism on the economic front. Capitalist elements still remain but the rapidity of the construction of Socialism guarantees the definite victory of the Socialist over the capitalist elements in economic life.

The foundation of Socialist construction is rapid industrialization, especially the planned intensified development of heavy industry. It is on the basis of a steadily socialized urban industry that Socialism in both town and country proceeds. And for the successful organization of the new economic order they must both proceed together, side by side.

The absolute prerequisite not only for the maintenance of power in the hands of the proletariat but also for the construction of the new economic system is the firm alliance of the proletariat with the masses of the poor and middle peasantry. Socialism proposes the organization of industrial and agricultural production into one organic economic whole. In achieving this end agriculture comes under the leadership of socialized urban industry. Without the development of agriculture in the direction of collectivization and socialization the construction of Socialism cannot proceed. Agriculture provides the necessities of life and raw materials for production as well as a market for industry. The proletariat in building its new economic system does not treat the masses of the peasantry "as a colony of industry"—as do the capitalists—but rather as an ally and co-worker in laying the foundations of the future.

The participation of the U.S.S.R. in world trade has been growing rapidly. Far from constituting proof, as the Trotskyites have erroneously declared, of the growing dependence of the Soviet economy upon international capitalism, this development

is to be greatly welcomed. Relatively speaking those countries participating most in world trade are the most independent. This is all the more true for the U.S.S.R. for one cannot exaggerate the inestimable importance of the foreign trade monopoly as the regulator of the relations of the Soviet Union with the capitalist world.

The Five Year Plan

Planned economy is an essential feature of Socialism which is free from the anarchy characteristic of the highest and strongest capitalist system as well of the weakest and lowest. The Five Year Plan is the embodiment of the beginnings of this planned economy. The development of industrial production, the socialization of agriculture, the relations of exchange and foreign trade are all included in its wide sweep—and calculated to the decimal point as a guide for action. The Five Year Plan shows the way to Socialism!

The Five Year Plan was first put forward by Comrade Rykoff at the XV Congress of the C.P.S.U. towards the close of 1927. Since then every Plenum and every Conference of the C.P.S.U. has endorsed it unanimously. Whatever differences there may have occurred were only over the methods of the application of the industrialization program and not over the Five Year Plan as such.

From the first, the aim of the Five Year Plan was declared to be the attainment and the surpassing of "the economic level of the advanced capitalist countries in the approaching historical period, thus assuring the triumph of the Socialist economic system." This aim has been attacked in earnest and the economic progress of the U.S.S.R. in the last two years under the Five Year Plan has amazed the bourgeois world and has inspired the proletarian masses. Last year industrial production increased by 24%; this year the rate of increase promises to be 31%. By 1933 83.9% of all production will be socialized; in industrial production the level of socialization will reach 92.4%.

Already in his report to the XV Congress Comrade Rykoff pointed out that "the realization of the Five Year Plan is connected with the overcoming of numerous obstacles and difficulties." In this he was merely repeating the profound thought of Comrade Lenin:

"I must repeat here what I have said many times: it was easier for the Russians than for any of the advanced nations to begin the great proletarian revolution, but they will experience greater difficulties in continuing it, in bringing it to a complete victory, i.e., in organizing Socialistic society."

But these difficulties of the Soviet Union are only the pains of growth, the difficulties of the construction of the highest social order the world has ever seen, in a country that still bears the marks of Czarism, capitalism, war, civil war and intervention. These difficulties will be overcome thru the united efforts and resources of the Russian proletariat and peasant masses, supported by the toilers of the whole world!

Our Duty to the Soviet Union

The very growth of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. arouses world capitalism to ever more bitter opposition and hostility. That is why the danger of imperialist war against the Soviet Union is so acute. We, American Communists, fighting in the land of the most powerful imperialism, face this danger in an especially grave form, for in such a war the U. S. A. would play the most aggressive and decisive role. An especially responsible duty rests upon us, which grows heavier as the danger of war grows nearer.

The Soviet Union is the only fatherland the workers of the world have. It is the bulwark, the fortress of the hopes and achievements of the international proletariat. The workers of the whole world must unite in a solid international front to

fight against the imperialist war plans, to protect the peaceful Socialist growth of the U.S.S.R., to defend the Workers Republic. With the coming of war it becomes our international duty to strive with all our might for the defeat of American imperialism and for the victory of the Russian workers and peasants and for the final destruction of American and world capitalism!

The United States remains the one big capitalist power that has not yet entered into diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union; yet, at the same time, the sentiment in favor of the First Workers Republic has been continually growing among the proletarian and farmer masses and even among large sections of the petty bourgeoisie. This makes it a matter of the very first importance for the Communists of this country to crystalize the sentiment for the recognition of the Soviet Union, to mobilize the masses for it and to link it up politically with the struggle for the defense of the U.S.S.R. in the face of the growing war danger. In the present period the importance of this task is greater than it ever was before.

A Mass Leninist Party—Our Greatest Need!

The best that the American workers can do for the Soviet Union today is to hasten the building of the Communist Party into a mass party with a Leninist line, with correct Communist policies. A powerful Communist Party with roots and influence among the masses is the best defense of the Soviet Union!

We must clearly emphasize that whatever is today constructive in the American labor movement owes its inspiration to the great October Revolution. The relative lack of revolutionary Socialist traditions in America makes this truer for this country than for most others. Our movement lacks revolutionary effectiveness precisely to the degree that it disregards or rejects—as is unfortunately and temporarily happening today—the great lessons of the Russian Revolution, the foundation principles of Leninism.

The Task For Us

We in the United States have an especially difficult task ahead of us. We are fighting for Communism in the most powerful imperialist country, the very pole of the capitalist world. We too take our inspiration from the great traditions and achievements of the Russian Bolsheviks, from the great labors of the Soviet working masses. We recognize that in our struggle for Communism in America we are marching along the same road, shoulder to shoulder with our Russian comrades building up a free Socialist society.

On the twelfth anniversary of the October Revolution we declare in the eloquent, inspiring words of Gorki:

"Comrades! The toilers of the entire earth look to you with ardent hope: they expect to see new, honorable, unselfish men, indefatigable at the work of building up a new world!"

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What Was the Cleveland TUUL Convention?

By Ben Gitlow

IN estimating the T.U.U.L. Convention recently held in Cleveland, one must not attempt to work oneself up into a frenzy of religious enthusiasm but, on the contrary, one must soberly analyze the forces represented at the convention, how they were elected, the directives given before the convention, at the convention and following the convention, as well as the work of the convention itself. If we will take such an objective view then we can really judge it, recognize its accomplishments as well as its shortcomings.

Is there need for the establishment of a center for the new unions, the revolutionary and militant minorities in the existing A. F. of L. and independent unions, for the shop committees and organizing committees functioning in the unorganized industries? The answer must be emphatically: Yes! The organization of a genuine center of this kind which will really unite all the militant and revolutionary workers is absolutely necessary. But what actually took place?

The postponement of the Convention from May 30 to August 31, a period of three months after the elections of delegates to the May 30 convention had taken place in factories, mines, mills, shop committees and trade union organizations, was the first criminal act that helped wreck the possibility of the establishment of a genuine center with a broad mass base. This postponement which was prompted by factional considerations, emanating directly from Lozovsky and his clique in the R.I.L.U., and not by the needs of the workers, opened the convention to attack as an out-and-out Party affair, tended to narrow it down to the Party membership and a small fringe of the closest Party sympathizers.

The convention was further narrowed down by the one advertised as the outstanding leader of the convention, Wm. Z. Foster who in the August *Communist* gave the Party membership the perspectives for the conference. Not one word appeared in his article of the needs of the workers, of why it was necessary to organize a center; instead he informed the workingclass that the convention was called primarily as a mobilization and concentration point for the inner Party fight against those comrades expelled because they refuse to endorse the revision of Leninism now taking place in the Party. The gist of Foster's article was to go to Cleveland not to organize the workers, to establish a center, but to fight Lovestone! This made the convention a Party mobilization for factional purposes not a mobilization of representatives from factories, trade unions, shop committees, etc., to act upon the vital organizational and fighting needs of the workers. The conclusions of Wm. Z. Foster contained in the September *Communist* on the achievements of the TU.U.L. Convention, prove this without the shadow of a doubt.

A rank and file movement cannot be built up by the use of the trade union methods of the reactionary officialdom and precisely these methods were used in the preparation of the convention delegation. The will of the rank and file was flaunted. If the elections did not suit the Party faction leaders they were disregarded and delegates appointed to take the place of those regularly elected by the rank and file. The most active workers were intimidated—some forced to decline to run as delegates and others expelled in order to prevent their election. Delegates were appointed who were discredited while influential comrades with mass prestige and following were shoved aside. Local conferences were not called on the basis of representatives elected by the rank and file but were constituted by the Party fractions. At these local conferences leading local committees

and delegates were hand-picked by a few "leaders" on top and not selected by the rank and file. In addition delegates who were never active in the trade union field, who represented nobody but who could vote and create atmosphere were sent to Cleveland. By the use of such methods you do not build up a Trade Union Unity Center. Such a center starts with disunity and must necessarily in spite of all the fanfare and worked-up enthusiasm end in a caricature.

The trade union methods of the reactionary bureaucrats was continued in Cleveland. Regularly elected delegates, who were suspected of disagreeing with the present Party leadership, were kept off the convention floor and were denied even a formal hearing before the credentials committee. In the heyday of Gompers such brazen methods were never resorted to: a delegate was always given an opportunity to fight his case before the credentials committee and even on the floor of the convention—the case of Wm. F. Dunne at the Portland A.F. of L. convention, for example. The expulsion from the convention of Jack Rubenstein, militant textile fighter, of Passaic, New Bedford, etc. arrested, slugged and imprisoned scores of times for strike activity, head of the Youth Department of the T.U.E.L., took place on the grounds that he was expelled from the Party, that is, for his political opinions. The T.U.U.L. is not a Communist Party. To consider it as such, as was done in the case of Jack Rubenstein who was elected by the National Textile Workers Union, is to make a farce of the Trade Union Unity Center. This action on Rubenstein and other similar actions made Cleveland the burial city of the Trade Union Unity League. For this destructive work Wm. Z. Foster and the "leaders" of the Cleveland Convention will have to answer to the workers who wanted a genuine center, not expulsions, trade union methods, factionalism and disunity.

An examination of the convention delegation is essential in order to determine its mass character. We do not take the position that there were not present good militant revolutionary workers, full of enthusiasm and determination to build a genuine center. There were. But we must emphatically register the fact that the way the so-called leaders of Cleveland Convention organized and led the convention made the organization at the Cleveland Convention of a genuine center impossible.

The delegation at the Cleveland Convention was mostly self-appointed by the Party organizers. Out of the reported 690 delegates present over 550 (80%) were Party members. At the Cleveland convention the overwhelming majority should have been non-Party representatives elected by the workers from shops, shop committees, and union organizations. But actually it was just the opposite. That is why to date no estimate has been given of how many workers the delegates represented. In the article of Wm. Z. Foster in the September *Communist* there is not one word upon this important subject. All he has to say about this is the following:

"On the contrary, had the Convention been thoroughly understood, properly evaluated, and the necessary work done, undoubtedly the Convention could have been twice as large as it was, it would have had a better mass base, and its general effects would have been much greater."

It would have had a better mass base, says Foster. But what was its mass base? On that there is silence. Because Foster and the others in charge cannot answer this question to the credit of the convention and their leadership, because they stand guilty of utilizing the Cleveland Convention for factional clique

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:-: THE TREND OF THE STRUGGLE :-:

“Unthinkable” - But Unavoidable

MUCH ink has been spilled in the capitalist press to show that the MacDonald-Hoover conferences make war between Great Britain and the United States “unthinkable.”

Yes; the ruling classes and their labor lieutenants in England and in the United States would have the British and American working classes not think about a war between these two giant imperialist powers. But this war which the bourgeoisie would have “unthinkable,” for the toiling masses, is nevertheless unavoidable.

The fight between Great Britain and the United States for the domination of the world continues to be the prime feature of the present situation of the capitalist sector of world economy. This remains true regardless of “campfire talks,” sweet words, and the \$400,000 the Federal Government spent to welcome the “Labor” Premier. What does the much heralded “naval parity” mean after all? British imperialism is only accepting that which it cannot avoid today in the face of the present strength of United States imperialism. Britain no longer occupies the world economic position she did in the period between Trafalgar and Scapa Flow. Wall Street's acceptance of parity—which it does not yet have today—is only a forward step towards complete supremacy which potentially it already has and which actually Britain cannot maintain.

But there is another angle to the “disarmament talk.” Wall Street and Lombard Street know that the day of the battleship is over. Rationalization and technical progress have developed far more economical and effective infernal weapons than the battleship of yesterday. Air forces, chemical weapons, militarization of industry, fast merchant ships capable of mounting a few guns, submarines—these are the main “tools” of the next imperialist world war. What MacDonald and Hoover are after is not genuine disarmament, as proposed by the Soviet Union, but a rationalization of armaments.

It is no accident that while the capitalist press was getting the masses keyed up to concert pitch in singing praises of this “peace” drive, the American Army Ordnance Association was staging the warfare of the future at Aberdeen, Md., only a stone's throw from Washington. This was hailed as the world's greatest demonstration of mechanized warfare—“a test of the most deadly and destructive military implements yet devised.” In short, 4,000 pound dynamite “eggs” punctuated the “peace talks” between Hoover and MacDonald.

All the fanfare of fraudulent pacifism has not served to remove the basic sources of antagonism between English and American imperialism. While MacDonald was preparing to launch British imperialism's “peace” offensive in the United States, J. H. Thomas, another notorious betrayer of labor and now Lord Privy Seal, was playing the role of Empire salesman, arranging to have Canada buy more coal and steel from England and thus to lessen its purchases of these commodities to the United States. From the United States MacDonald goes to Canada to put the finishing touches on this job. What the exploiting class solemnly calls statesmanship is only another name for salesmanship. From 1913 to 1928 British exports of coal (which for generations has played a vital role in British foreign trade) fell twenty million gross tons.

And while the peace-drums are beating in New York and London, the “Empire Crusaders”, headed by Lords Beaverbrook and Melchett (Mond) are working overtime to raise such a

barrier “against the foreigner (the U. S.) until such a time as he shall plead for economic admittance.” At the same time the battle over the bank rates is sharpened, in Palestine the conflict is brought into the open daylight thru the dissensions in the Zionist—chauvinist camp, England grudgingly pays five million dollars daily interest on her war debts, America makes serious encroachments in India and Africa, the contradictions in China and Latin America are intensified. In the latter countries, British imperialism has just struck some heavy blows at Washington thru the mission headed by Lord D'Abernon of Berlin-Bagdad fame. This is especially true of the Argentine's showing today, under British pressure, a growingly hostile attitude to United States imperialism. The Shell Oil interests have just begun an invasion of New York itself in their war against the Standard Oil interests. Then, regarding the American Tariff bill, the *London Times*, has just said:

“This scheme of tariff revision appears to make counter-measures necessary as acts of self-defense . . . No country is so deeply and so immediately threatened by the Tariff Bill . . . as the British Empire.”

No wonder the influential *Mail and Empire* of Toronto remarked, in judging the MacDonald negotiations:

“It would be wise to remember that the United States has at various times shown a readiness to regard Britain as a potential enemy . . . There is plenty of room for sweetness and light . . . but there will have to be some other British characteristics brought into the business.”

In the light of these facts, no worker can have illusions about the coming Five-Power Naval Conference in London. The organs of American finance capital are already comparing this Conference with “the pathetic impertinence of Henry Ford's peace ship.” They are further admitting, among themselves, that the Conference “shall be saluting the dove of peace with a salvo of shotguns, and crossing the olive with poison ivy.”

Peace doesn't depend on the weapons with which the imperialist wars are fought but upon the capitalist struggle for markets, for colonies, for source of raw material.

The contradiction between the growth of the productive forces of capitalism and the world market is today more sharp than ever. This breeds imperialist war. This serves also to sharpen the class war at home. The MacDonald-Hoover confabs don't point the way to peace. They are only raising a smoke screen to make more difficult proletarian revolutionary resistance to imperialist war. It is only such resistance, under Communist leadership, the turning of the imperialist war into civil war against the exploiters and their labor lieutenants, which alone can hasten and insure genuine world peace.

So This Is the “Socialist” Party!

NEW YORK seems to have a lively municipal campaign for an off-year in elections. Tammany Hall is busy. So is the Republican outfit. The Socialist Party also has its hat in the ring. In fact, in this campaign the Socialist Party is making bigger headway than usually—away from even the slightest pretense at working class character.

In the present New York municipal campaign, the Socialist Party mayoralty candidate Norman Thomas is working overtime to prove that his Party is an out-and-out capitalist reform party.

The even about-to-be-born Liberal Party of which John Dewey is the would-be father has given its blessing to the Socialist Party mayoralty candidate. LaGuardia, today candidate of the Republican Party, only a few years ago, ran on the Socialist ticket. In his debate with LaGuardia, Thomas said that in 1924 he agreed with the former because his (LaGuardia's) political ideas had then been “somewhat different.” Between Thomas and Walker the differences are no less thin. W. E. B. DuBois, a shining light among the misleaders of the Negro masses, has not found even the faintest difficulty in endorsing the Tammany candidate, Walker, and serving, at the same time, as a member of the Norman Thomas Non-Partisan Committee.

Hence there's nothing extraordinary in the reactionary capitalist organization, known as the Citizens Union, endorsing Reverend Norman Thoams' quest for the holy majoralty grail. The Citizen's Union thus declared:

“He is a man of ability, learning and high ideals . . . He would bring dignity and character to the Mayor's office.”

And the Socialist Party has gone at it with a vengeance to get such “dignity and character” and “high ideals.” In Mayor Walker's official reception committee to welcome MacDonald we find such Wall Street figures as Guggenheim, Baker, Baruch, Atterbury, Raskob, Young, Warburg, Schiff and Morgan alongside of Norman Thomas, Vladeck, and Hillquit! A fitting occasion and just the right kind of a school for the Socialist Party to learn to render with “dignity and character” its services to the capitalist class. A very efficient director of highly appropriate choice has been placed in charge of this campaign—the war-time munitions expert and efficiency engineer, August Gerber.

The Socialist Party makes its bid on a platform of a cheaper “cleaner” and more efficient strike-breaking apparatus for the city—consolidation of municipal government departments, a vigorous drive on speak-easies, and adequate promotion for the zealous policeman.

All working men and working women who are loyal to their class, who are interested in the welfare of the exploited and oppressed masses, will vote for the only Party of the working class—the only Party against the capitalist class, in the New York municipal election campaign—the *Communist Party of the United States*.

The A. F. of L. Convention

EVERY worker should give the most serious thought to the Forty-Ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor just concluded at Toronto, Canada.

From the official report of the Executive Council we get a dismal picture of the bankruptcy of the A. F. of L. as a trade union organization. In face of the most splendid opportunities, the Federation has been losing membership—the padded figures to the contrary notwithstanding. The United Mine Workers, once the mightiest International Union, the most proletarian part of the A. F. of L., now officially admits itself bankrupt. This year for the first time, the A. F. of L. was forced to “remit” to John L. Lewis \$66,000 in per capita tax!

The “activities” of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, as reported by itself, constitute a continuous record of brazen betrayal. The record of the A. F. of L. in the South, where it has openly served as the agency of the bosses to head off the rising resistance of the workers and the militant trade union movement, is only one illustration of how the reactionary labor bureaucracy has increasingly become part of the employer-government machine

and is fulfilling its role as the labor lieutenants of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the workers.

It is on the basis of the strikebreaking record of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy in New York, New Orleans, Seattle, Marion, the Western Pennsylvania coal fields, etc., that the Convention of the American Plan Association recently held at Oklahoma City could declare

“The Open Shop Movement is attaining its goal of expansion in all phases of industry in every section of the United States and has brighter prospects for 1930 than ever before.”

Without exception every step taken by the convention was against the interests of the working class. The “decision” to “organize the South” that has so aroused the enthusiasm of A. J. Muste is the most obvious attempt to head off the spread of militant unionism in the South, and is recognized as such by the bureaucrats and employers both.

But the most tragic fact of the situation is that this anti-working class officialdom still has great influence over millions of workers. Owing to the position of American imperialism the A. F. of L. is identified with the elements of the labor aristocracy far more than any other trade union movement in the world. Yet it has within its fold over two million workers and possesses influence over many more. It would be a crime against the working class for the Communists to underestimate the extent and the danger of the influence of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and to abandon the workers in the A. F. of L. to these bureaucrats. Our duty, the Theses of the Sixth World Congress of the C.I. point out, is to “draw a distinction between the sincere but mistaken workers and the leaders cringing at the feet of imperialism.” These workers must be won for the revolutionary class struggle.

“It is the bounden duty of every Communist to belong to a trade union, even a most reactionary one, provided it is a mass organization. Only by constant and persistent work in the trade unions and in the factories . . . will it be possible to win the leadership in the workers struggles and to win the industrially organized workers over to the side of the Party.”

We Communists must never surrender the millions of workers in the reactionary unions to the labor lieutenants of imperialism. We must build a powerful left wing in the A. F. of L. unions as an auxiliary to the new union movement.

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What Was the TUUL Convention?

(Continued from Page 9)

purposes, for the mobilization of a so-called mass approval of the infamous "enlightenment campaign," and for the organization of a Foster caucus to take over the Party apparatus. History repeats itself. After wrecking the T.U.E.L. by turning it into an unprincipled Party caucus instead of an organization of the Left-wing, Foster again commits the same damnable crime against the working class and organizes the T.U.U.L. as a Party caucus for inner Party purposes. Coupling this up with the trade union methods used one can see how complete was the disaster at Cleveland.

Some startling facts about the delegation. The Ohio delegation consisted of 172 delegates, most of them from the city of Cleveland. There is no T.U.E.L. organization in Ohio and only one local union of National Miners Union! Also a few small shop committees. Why this big delegation representing practically no one? In fact, practically the entire Party membership of the district was included in the delegation. From Detroit came 20 delegates, all Party members, not one non-Party member. Delegates came from Detroit representing basic industries who never saw the inside of a factory. Just one example of the many is Frankfeld who represented the auto workers, never worked in an auto factory or in any other factory, and is district organizer of the Young Communist League. The same was true of the other delegations. There were 151 youth delegates present. Whom did they represent? There were 72 women delegates present—what organizations did they represent? There were 181 delegates of the National Miners Union, when this organization has barely 3,000 members. Whom did they represent? What locals elected them? What was the basis of representation? The answers to these questions are avoided because true answers to them will show *how not* to organize a genuine T.U.U. League.

The best proof that the Cleveland Convention failed to organize a Trade Union Unity Center and did organize a Foster caucus in the selection of its national leadership: Secretary: Wm. Z. Foster; Ass't Sec'y; John Schmies who at the recent Party Plenum declared he was always wrong and that Foster was always right, in other words, that he is a Fosterite; Editor of Labor Unity: Wm. F. Dunne, Fosterite with Trotskyite sympathies; National Organizer: Jack Johnstone, a Fosterite; head of the Negro Department: Wm. Ford, a Fosterite, replacing Otto Hall, not a Fosterite, who organized the Negro Department in the T.U.E.L. over the head of the stubborn resistance and opposition of Wm. Z. Foster.

These facts speak for themselves and prove that the main purpose of the Cleveland Convention was to organize a *Foster caucus*.

The convention was not organized to discuss the serious problems and tasks facing it in the organization of a Trade Union Unity Center. A serious discussion of problems was lacking. In the little time allotted for discussion which took place after nearly all the reports were made, there was no organization of discussion on concrete questions, but general speeches, propagandistic and agitational in character. The convention assumed the character of a mass meeting not of a body called together for the purpose of welding together a Trade Union Unity organization that has for its purpose the organization and winning of the workers organized and unorganized for militant trade union activity against powerful, brutal, American capitalism. At the Party fractions held during the convention, which were attended by over 550 delegates thus clearly showing the composition of the convention delegation, the problems facing the convention, the question of the organization of the T.U.U.L.

were never raised. Only the "enlightenment campaign" was presented to the fraction, that is, the campaign against Lovestone, Gitlow and the hundreds of other comrades who were expelled from the Party because they are Communists, because they opposed the revision of Leninism, the abolition of Party democracy and the suppression of the right to express one's convictions within the Party. Only one side was presented at these meetings and no discussion on the part of the Party members from the floor was permitted, with such a stifling of discussion, with such an avoidance of the problems confronting the convention, it is no wonder that the convention itself was transformed into a speech-fest of oratory, and organized hooliganism, booing, catcalls, etc., of which Wm. Z. Foster is so proud in his article in the September *Communist*. Foster knows very well that those against whom he personally organized this hooliganism were never guilty as he was of licking the boots and singing the praises of Samuel Gompers, and of fighting Bolshevism and the Russian Revolution, and supporting American imperialism, as he did in 1917-1918-1919.

No efforts were made to get the militant and revolutionary minorities in the existing unions represented. The convention was conspicuous by the absence of such delegates. At the convention itself very little was heard about the necessity of fighting within the old unions. Nothing was said about the role of the aristocracy of labor. Little was said about the role of the Muste movement and the Socialist Party. The leaders attempted to bar out of consideration by the convention the question of a Labor Party. Only after I introduced a resolution for the organization of a Labor Party from below by the militant workers was this question injected into the convention at the closing hours. My resolution was not reported. It was not read. But this did not prevent the leaders of the convention from lying about it.

The program adopted by the convention, the reports and many of the resolutions were of such a character that the convention was given the appearance of a Communist Party not a Trade Union Unity Center—not, however of a Communist Party with a correct understanding of the conditions confronting the workers and their needs, but a Communist Party with incorrect policies, living on phrases and not on the realities of the class struggle.

(This article will be followed by another on "*The Program of the T. U. U. L.*" and a final one on the "*The T. U. U. L. Convention and the C.P.-Majority Group.*" These articles will appear in the coming issues of the *Revolutionary Age*).

—Editorial Committee.

OUR NEW NATIONAL COUNCIL

Our recent Enlarged Session of the National Committee elected a new *National Council* to lead our struggle for the return of the Party to the line of Leninism. The National Council is composed of the following comrades:

Bail, A.; Becker, L.; Bentall, J. O.; Benjamin, D.; Bixby, W.; Cohen, S.; Dawson, Ellen; Gallant, I.; Galio, P.; Gitlow, B.; Gitlow, Kate; Grey, D.; Gray, Marion; Gross, A.; Hankin, M.; Herberg, W.; Herman, B.; Intrator, M.; Kalfides, B.; Kobel, A.; Kornutzian, M.; Lamb, Grace; Lovestone, J.; Lurye, Minnie; Marks, L.; Miller, B.; Miller, W.; Nehama, S.; Nemser, M.; Novak, Ch.; Pires, R.; Pultur, Elsie; Reed, J.; Ralph, B.; Rubenstein, P.; Shaffer, J.; Silvis, Miriam; Sorenson, J.; Smith, Mary; Siro, P.; Vrateric, F.; Wagshull, M.; Welsh, E.; White, W. J.; Wolfe, B. D.; Yablon, M.; Yampolsky, Clara; Zam, H.; Zimmerman, Ch. S.

The first meeting of the National Council elected Comrade Lovestone as *Chairman* and Comrade Gitlow as *Secretary*. Comrade Gitlow was also elected as *Editor* of our organ, *Revolutionary Age*.

WHAT'S HAPPENING IN THE MASS ORGANIZATIONS

THE "new course" of the Party, inaugurated on the basis of the Address of the Ecc, has not only wrought untold damage to the Party but it is already beginning to spread chaos and disaster in the mass organizations under Communist influence. An examination of what is happening to our mass organizations is a central question for every Party member and for every revolutionary worker.

The following articles by Ch. Zimmerman, member of the

The Harlem Tenants League

By EDWARD WELSH

(Member of the Executive Committee of the H. T. L.)

THE *Harlem Tenants League* is now in a deplorable condition which threatens its very existence. After many months of hard work this organization was finally built up to a point where it could count several hundred members—mostly Negro working people—where it became an effective factor in the struggle against the landlords and in winning the Negro masses for the class struggle. Now, because of the destructive effects of the "new Party line" and "leadership" in the mass organization, it is in a very serious crisis.

The crisis broke out when Moore, well-known thruout the Party as a notorious opportunist and careerist, with the able assistance of Williams, Briggs and their kind, began to bring the Party situation into the Tenants League. Supporters of the C.P.-Majority Group have quite an influence in the Tenants League and have the confidence of the non-Party workers so that the first task of the disrupters was to "clean out the Lovestoneites." The wildest charges ("agents of the landlords") were hurled at us in an effort to discredit us in the eyes of the Negro workers—but without avail. Then the meetings of the H. T. L. were packed with Party members who had never been and still are not members of the League but who voted the first time they ever came down. The lists of the organization were padded with the names of the Party members without any authorization. These cheap tricks and manouvers were of course obvious to all members of the League with the result that many workers became disgusted, the membership fell off very seriously, the faith of the Negro workers in Communist leadership suffered bad blows, and a deep protest movement against the disruption of Moore developed.

These policies—particularly, the bringing in of the inner Party struggles into the Tenants League to disrupt it and Moore's absolutely unbearable arbitrary bureaucratic conduct—brought about the demoralization and chaos in the League so that out of a membership of 500 about 30 come down to meetings now. Hundreds of tenants who built up the League and were sympathetic to the Party were driven away by Moore and his trickery and terrorism. The struggle against the landlords was forgotten by Moore and the meetings used for the purpose of fighting the "Lovestoneites" (Welsh, Campbell, Cole, Nemser, Anna Thompson, etc.) In fact, recently, the meetings seemed to have only one point on the order of business: attacks and slanders on these comrades, who were rarely granted the floor by Moore to defend themselves. Even non-Party tenants were denied the floor if Moore felt that they were opposed to his "policies"—as indeed they nearly always are.

The lengths to which Moore and his friends went are inconceivable. When Welsh was elected as one of the delegates

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Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A. and leader of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, and Ed. Welsh candidate of the C.C. and member of the Buro of the National Committee of the Young Communist League show what the "new line" has brought to the mass organizations built up thru years of hard work under the former Party leadership.

—Editorial Committee.

The Needle Trades Workers I. U.

By CH. S. ZIMMERMAN

(Vice President N.T.W.I.U.)

THE *Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union* is now undergoing a crisis.

Upon its formation about a year ago the Union immediately undertook an offensive against the employers and their ally, the company union. It called a general strike in the dress trade to fight for better conditions of the workers, thru which we succeeded in considerably improving the conditions of the workers and in establishing a base for our Union gaining thousands of new members. Altho the accomplishments were far from satisfactory, yet it was definitely established that the new Union was a militant organization always ready to fight for the improvement of the conditions of the workers.

This strike was followed by the Fur and Cloak strikes. The employers and the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, realizing that the N.T.W.I.U. was becoming a power among the workers, launched a most vicious attack against the furriers and cloakmakers. A campaign of the most unheard-of terrorism was initiated by the unholy alliance of the Schlesinger-Dubinsky-McGrady clique, the employers, the police, the government and the underworld.

Thru slugging, jailing and starving out the workers the reactionary forces succeeded in putting the Union on the defensive. Openly and brazenly the company union gave up all the conditions for which the workers had fought so hard; openly and brazenly the company union has made itself the agent for the rationalization schemes of the bosses, bringing back the speed-up system, low wages and long hours. And now under the fake slogan of "wiping out the sweat shops" the Dubinsky-Schlesinger clique is attempting to company unionize the dress trade.

Under these circumstances it is clear that the N.T.W.U. must concentrate all its forces, must mobilize all of its active members for a fight against the attempts of the bosses and company unions to enslave the dressmakers. It must then proceed to a struggle for better conditions in the Fur and Cloak trades.

The Communists—who are the recognized leaders of the left wing—must take the initiative to mobilize and solidify the left wing forces for the coming struggle. The Communists must be the ones to give ideological leadership and to guard against sectarianism and isolation. The Communists must see to it that the leadership of the Union is broadened and more rank and file workers drawn into the most leading and active work. The Communists should be the first to set an example of militant struggle to the workers; they must be the first to come out on the picket line and show the workers how to fight terrorism, how to beat the employers and the company union. For the Party leadership the first task is to *supply an effective Bolshevik line of struggle* and to *mobilize all Party members* for active participation in the struggle.

But what is actually happening? The Party "leadership," instead of uniting the Party membership on a basis of a militant line, is bringing the Party-wrecking campaign into the Party fraction and into the Union. Comrades who have hitherto always been in the forefront of the struggle for years are being expelled because they dare to fight against the revision of Leninism and the wrecking of the mass organizations. In the columns of the Party press the Party "leadership" has initiated a campaign of slander against the recognized leaders of the needle workers that is demoralizing not only to the Party fraction but equally to the masses of the left wing and sympathetic workers.

Instead of mobilizing them for a struggle against the employers and the company union the effort is being made to mobilize the Party membership for the spreading of slanderous and demoralizing propaganda among the non-Party workers, designed to discredit the leading comrades. The active workers are bewildered. They cannot understand the reason for all that is happening and they feel discouraged. The results are that the confidence of the workers in the Union and in the leading role of the Party is being destroyed. If this situation continues the results for the Union will be disastrous. *The "new Party leadership" evidently has its factional interests more at heart than the interests of the Party or of the mass organizations.*

We have persistently demanded of the Party "leadership" to work out a policy and to mobilize the Party membership for a struggle against the bureaucracy. But the Address and the revisionist and Party-wrecking course have condemned the Party to paralysis and demoralization. Nothing is done. The Party membership is inactive. They are not on the picket line or in the struggle. The answer of the Party "leadership" to the demand for a policy was to charge us with "defeatism" and "counter-revolutionary activities."

The ridiculous charge of "defeatism" against comrades who have always been in the forefront of the struggle is merely an attempt on the part of the "new leaders" to shield the real defeatists. Those who have always advocated defeatist policies are now being advanced to the highest positions. Bill Dunne, the outstanding defeatist in our Party, has just been added to the Polcom.

A stop must be put immediately to the destructive activities of the "new Party leadership" in our Union. The rank and file workers of our Party and of the Union can not and will not tolerate a condition of paralysis and demoralization. The wave of protest among the Party membership and among the sympathetic needle trades workers against what is happening in our Union is rising. *The splitting activities of the Party leadership will be stopped and with united forces we will march forward to defeat the bosses and the company union and to re-establish the only Union of the workers in the needle trades—the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union.*

THE HARLEM TENANTS' LEAGUE

(Continued from Page 13, Col. 1.)

of the H.T.L. to a conference to endorse the Communist municipal candidates the hand-picked "credentials committee" (Williams) unseated him. Then, when Moore found that his attempts to discredit Welsh and the other comrades as "agents of the landlords" were unsuccessful and that the sentiment of tenants was bitterly against him, he stooped to the vilest form of anti-Communist trickery by attempting to stir up race hatred between the Negro and white workers, stating that Campbell, Nemser, Welsh, etc. were associates of Lovestone "who hated the sight of the Negroes"! Fortunately this miserable dodge had no effect, reacting instead upon Moore and his friends.

Finally in desperation Moore packed a recent meeting with Party members from all parts of the city, many of them who had never heard of the Tenants League, and put across a "re-

organization" which removed the best workers from the Executive Committee and from the responsible posts and added to the Executive Committee non-members of the League, people who were not even present at the meeting where they were "added" (Moreau, Golden)! The tide of resentment ran high and at the next meeting this led to the tenants walking out in a body as a protest.

Moore has not succeeded in discrediting the "Lovestoneites"; he—and the policy of the present leadership whose spokesman he is—has done great harm to the League, alienating dozens and scores of sympathizers and endangering the life of the whole organization. What is worse, he has fast discredited the Party and has already greatly undermined the prestige and influence of Communism.

Fortunately with our cooperation the resentment of the tenants has been turned into constructive channels and the chances are very good for rescuing the organization from the destructive grasp of Moore and the present "leadership."

The H.T.L. is the only mass organization of any sort we have among Negroes today and it would be a crime against the Party and the working class to smash it by bringing in the inner Party struggle, by injecting into it the Party-wrecking campaign. The tenants are up in arms to save the organization from destruction. The comrades of the C.P.-Majority Group are determined to save the Tenants League, to develop it into a broad fighting organization in which all working class tenants who agree with its aims can find a place no matter what their other opinions may be.

The New York Election Campaign

(Continued from Page 6)

from acting as Communists. The overthrow of this "misleadership" is an absolute prerequisite to setting the Party once **more on the Leninist path.** This is a task not only for the Party members, but also for the revolutionary workers who follow the Party. The Communist Party of the United States is the Party of the workers and the workers must help save it from those who are at present ruining it. Every Communist must work for the Communist Party. Every class conscious worker must support the election campaign of the Communist Party and vote for its candidates. The mass organizations of the workers should rally their membership for the support of the Communist Party and its candidates as the only Party that stands for the interests of the workers.

Vote Communist! Support the Communist Campaign!

At the same time, it is the duty of the revolutionary workers to help correct the very serious mistakes which the Party is making, to help bring the Party out of its deep crisis. The workers will have to tell the Party, while they support it and vote for it, that the strengthening of the Communist movements cannot be achieved by expelling its best revolutionists, and by revising its revolutionary line—its destruction can be the only result. The workers cannot be mobilized by means of a false, non-Leninist line; the interests of the workers are not advanced by an opportunist platform and a passive opportunist election campaign. The election campaign is a warning to the Party membership and to the revolutionary workers of the danger that threatens our movement if the false line and the non-Communist tactics of the new "leadership" of the Party are not immediately eliminated.

The revolutionary workers will support the Communist Party because it is the Party of the working class. They will at the same time support the struggle of the C.P.-Majority Group to bring the Party back to the line of Lenin, to restore the Party as "the stalwart leader of the workers in fierce class battles."

The Tenth Plenum ECCI A Political Analysis

By WILL HERBERG

THE X Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International was essentially a political vacuum; yet it will certainly occupy a significant position in the history of the Comintern. For it put the stamp of official approval upon the revision of the essential principles of Leninism, of the traditional line of the Comintern and of the decisions of the VI Congress. It served as a point of departure for the continuation and development of this revisionist anti-Leninist line for the future. At the same time, however, the Plenum showed in an indirect and distorted form, it is true—the catastrophic results that are already clearly noticeable after only a few months of operation of the new course.

The X Plenum must be studied from the point of view of its revision of the principles of Leninism and the line of the Comintern on the part of the present leadership of the EccI. Here it must be kept in mind that the roots of the revision must be traced to the time of the VI Congress itself—at least. At this Congress (July 1928) there really took place two congresses: the official Congress whose leader was Bukharin, speaking for the old EccI and the delegation of the C.P.S.U., and the unofficial anti-Bukharin caucus, the "corridor congress," whose floor leaders were Thalmann, Neumann, Mingulin, Lominadze, Foster, Cannon, etc., supported in secret by Stalin. Already at the Congress itself—in spite of unanimous votes and "no differences"—a vicious underground agitation went on against the main line of the Congress and against its chief defenders (Bukharin, etc.) Because of the "relation of forces" the revisionists did not dare to come out into the open; they contented themselves with demoralizing propaganda and preparing the revision to come. In this connection the "reservations" of the minority of the American delegation (the so-called "Johnstone's reservations") are of importance. They were made with the advice, consent and assistance of the leaders of the "corridor congress" (see Foster's interview with Stalin); they represented in general the line of the future revision. Immediately after the Congress the revisionists—with Stalin now openly at the head—emerged into the open, organizationally and politically.

The revisionist anti-Leninist line, of the X Plenum is most clearly apparent in the main reports of Comrade Kuusinen and Manuilsky and in the remarks of the best-known official spokesmen of the "new leadership" of the EccI (Molotov, Chitaroff, Bela Kun, Thalmann, Ulbricht, Neumann, etc.). Here the full flower of the revision is exhibited without shame or restraint. The actual political Theses adopted at the X Plenum contain the revision in a more vague, negative and indirect form, except in the section dealing with the inner situation of the Comintern. This resolution is characteristically a colorless document (except, of course, for the sections on the inner situation which are correspondingly bitter and venomous); it consists partly of badly joined paragraphs copied from the VI Congress Theses and partly of inappropriate agitation and propaganda material. *It contains absolutely no economic analysis, no serious political analysis, and no important conclusions except on fighting those whom they chose to label "rights and conciliators."* This is quite in harmony with the nature of the main reports and with the character of the whole Plenum. As Comrade Varga complained:

"The chief shortcoming in the Theses as well as in the report of Comrade Kuusinen, as far as the analysis of the international situation and especially the economic situation

We Have Forced a Discussion

We have forced a discussion. The whole policy of the "new leadership" from the very beginning has been to prevent any form of discussion of the basic problems raised in the Address and arising out of the present crisis in the Comintern. In place of discussion—terror, the "enlightenment campaign." But our political educational work among the Party membership has begun to tell and in panic before the rising tide of resistance in the Party the "new leadership" has been forced into a discussion of some sort—into an attempt to answer the political issues raised by us. The articles of Bedacht ("Lovestone's Labyrinth of Contradictions"), of Browder ("Lovestone and the 'Corridor Congress'") and of Stachel ("Capitalist Stabilization, the Third Period and Lovestone Renegades") are signs of this; there will be more. The Foster-Stachel-Weinstone clique has been forced to attempt, in a partial, distorted, and one-sided way, to defend themselves politically. This is a great achievement for once they do this the bankruptcy is so apparent that it exposes itself.

Of course the "new leadership" will not allow even the slightest semblance of a free discussion on the very basic questions raised. To ask for such a discussion in the Party today is to court expulsion. The Party press is closed to any one who attempts to defend Leninism against revision. A serious discussion of the important questions before the American Party today—even an honest presentation of the facts will be found today *only* in the material issued by the C.P.-Majority Group, especially in its press organ, *Revolutionary Age*.

The C.P.-Majority Group has issued mimeographed material on the important questions under discussion. The following are the main bulletins: "*The Revision of the Line of the VI Congress*," "*A Political Analysis of the Tenth Plenum*," "*The Truth About the 'Corridor Congress'*," "*The American Situation in the Eyes of Comrade Molotov*," "*The Historical Right Wing in the American Party*," as well as the printed "*Appeal of the Convention Delegation to the X Plenum*." Comrades may obtain copies of any of the above for 5c a piece, to cover expenses. Write to: *Revolutionary Age*, 37 East 28 Street, Room 807, New York City.

is concerned, is their generality. Neither in the report of Comrade Kuusinen nor in the Theses are the concrete factors in the present situation sufficiently examined."

The Plenum was "well prepared." In the period following the VI Congress the imposition of the revisionist line upon the Comintern was necessarily accompanied by the distortion of the political line, the overturning of leadership, the demoralization and disorganization of the various Parties and the institution of a regime of terror, removal and wholesale expulsion in nearly all sections of the Comintern. The Plenum was certainly "made safe" for revision and not a voice of protest could be heard.

One of the most depressing features of the X Plenum was the thoroughgoing substitution of superficial and empty revolutionary-sounding phrases for an actual Leninist examination of the situation. Even the consideration of facts and figures was branded as an opportunist deviation. Varga, the only speaker who as much as attempted a concrete economic analysis, was attacked by all of the main speakers as "contaminated by the capitalist facts" (Kuusinen). How far the spirit of the X Plenum departed from the Marxist method of analysis is indicated by the historical remark of Comrade Kolarov:

"In fact bourgeois statistics have now set into a period of fasciation. They have become fascist statistics."

(Continued in the next issue).

In the Communist International

"BOLSHEVIZATION" PROCEEDS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The *Rude Pravo*, central organ of the C.P.Cz. comments on the Party situation in the following terms. It must be remembered that it is now almost a year since the old leadership of the Party was expelled and the new "left" leadership installed. Here are the fruits of the "new course."

"It is clear that many parts of the Party are completely passive and even the leading elements are active only in individual cases . . . The nuclei meetings are attended by about 5 to 20% of the membership; the functionaries meetings by less. The work in the nuclei, sections and districts is carried thru without plan or consciousness of aim. The responsible functionaries of the Party not only do not carry out their tasks but even carry on a sort of quiet sabotage. There is a sharp decline in membership . . . The functionaries cadres and the Party cadres are rotten . . . Part of the Party falls into panic and pessimism . . . another part is terrified thru persecution . . . We have in the Party signs of social-fascist ideology . . . Most outrageous of all is the work in the factory councils and in the mass organizations . . . We are facing a crisis of Communism in Czechoslovakia, we are facing a breakdown of the organizational system . . ."

This is how the "new leadership" estimates its own work! Meanwhile, there was recently (September 15) held at the city of Asch (Western Bohemia) a conference of the C.P.Cz.-Opposition for the German speaking region. Of the 95 delegates present 91 were workers from the shops. The conference dealt in great detail with the questions of the struggle against the Party-wrecking "new course" in Czechoslovakia. It decided to issue the hitherto weekly German organ of the C.P.Cz.-Opposition ("Arbeiterpolitik") twice weekly in an enlarged form.

* * *

FURTHER NARROWING OF THE BASIS OF STALINIST LEADERSHIP IN THE C.P.S.U.

The inevitable disintegration of the Stalin leadership in the C.P.S.U. as the result of the false inner line has reached a new stage of the development. Shatzkin, Sten, and others, who have hitherto formed the famous "young guard" of the Stalinist leadership, have been "cut off." In a recent issue of the *Pravda* Comrade Schatzkin stated: "We have defeated Bukharin not with arguments but with Party cards!" while Comrade Sten went so far as to declare:

"The Party has grown very unevenly. We have had a tremendous development of its grabbing organs but we have also had a shrivelling up of its thinking organs."

For expressing such obvious truths which even they could hide no longer Schatzkin, Sten and the rest were immediately removed from their posts (Shatzkin was a member of the editorial committee of five of the *Pravda*) and made the victims of a campaign against "intellectual Trotskyism." Schatzkin and Sten are both capable comrades; the latter was considered one of the most promising younger Marxian students in the C.P.S.U. Meanwhile the basis of leadership in the C.P.S.U. grows narrower and narrower and the crisis grows ever sharper. At the XIV Congress of the C.P.S.U. (December 1925) Comrade Stalin declared:

"The method of lopping off, the method of blood-letting is dangerous and infectious. Today you lop off one limb; tomorrow, another, the day after tomorrow, a third—and what is left of the Party?"

The catastrophic course followed by the present leadership of the C.P.S.U. (for which Comrade Stalin is directly and personally responsible) is a living proof of the profound truth of the words of the Stalin of 1925!

* * *

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALSACE IS "EXPULLED"

The most startling manifestation of the destructive course instituted by the leadership of the Eccei and of the various Parties since the VI Congress in direct contradiction of the decisions of that body is the expulsion by the C.C. of the Communist Party of France of over 90% of the membership of North Alsace—in other words of the whole Alsatian Party.

The sources of this crisis are the national question and the intolerable Party regime. Thru a Leninist approach to the

national question—which is naturally in the foreground in Alsace—the Alsatian Communists have succeeded in developing as a substantial political force among the workers and peasants as well as a mass organization. This correct line had for years been approved by the Comintern and by the French Party. Suddenly, in line with the world-wide revision of the principles of Leninism and of the traditional policies of the Comintern, a right-about-face was ordered in the national policy—the Leninist policy to be replaced by a sterile sectarian "nihilistic" attitude so often condemned by the Comintern. Resistance on the part of the Alsatian comrades who saw before them the prospect of the complete destruction of the hard-won achievements of many years brought with it a reign of terror, removals, expulsions—finally, the expulsion of the whole Alsatian Party.

The Alsatian opposition, which is really the Communist Party in Alsace, publishes a daily paper in Strassburg, *Die Neue Welt*. It has intensified its activities among the masses and succeeded in arranging some of the most successful August First meetings held in Western Europe.

* * *

"CONCILIATORS" ARE EXPELLED IN GERMANY

Reports in the German press inform us that Comrades Glagau, Hoffman, Blaffert, Behrenrath, and Steinbacher have been expelled from the Communist Party of Germany, while measures of expulsion have been initiated against Comrades Gerhart, Brosch and Werner.

These comrades all belong to the group of the "conciliators" who, in spite of their disagreements, have always "subjected" themselves to the decisions of the Thalman CC and of the Eccei. For themselves the "conciliators" merely begged the right to "believe" in their views, a plea scornfully rejected by the Thalman-Neumann leadership in Germany and by their friends in the Eccei. At the recent XII Congress of the C.P.G. Comrade Ewert, the leader of the "conciliators" had the "audacity" to exercise his rights as a C.C. member and introduce a declaration expressing his views, whereupon he was violently threatened by Thalman. In spite of immediate capitulation and the withdrawal of the declaration, punishment came inexorably. And so we have the first batch of expulsions of the "conciliators" whom no one, by the wildest flight of the imagination, can accuse of "violating discipline." This ought to be a good lesson to American "conciliators."

Comrade Gerhart, whose expulsion is now being prepared, is one of the most capable comrades in the German movement. He went to extremes in attempting to carry out to the letter every instruction from the Eccei and the German C.C. He came to Moscow whenever called, accepted missions in the Far East when it was clear that the only object was to exile him for his views, etc. Yet the only reward he has received is a slight delay in his expulsion. This experience is recommended to those comrades who believed Comrade Lovestone should have gone to Moscow when "called."

These expulsions mark an advanced stage in the disintegration of the group of the "conciliators." Because of their policy of "legalism," hesitation, inaction and capitulation the "conciliationist" leaders have lost the mass of their followers—some to the Party-wrecking Thalman-C.C., some dropping out of the movement altogether, but the great bulk joining the Opposition in the C.P.G. ("Brandler group").

* * *

SERRA IS EXPELLED

The *Impreccorr* officially reports the expulsion of Comrade Serra from the C.P. of Italy. Comrade Serra, whose real name as the *Impreccorr* mentions is Tasca, is one of the members of the Eccei who was removed at the X Plenum. The X Plenum and the C.C. of the C.P. of Italy put before him the ultimatum of renouncing his views or of being expelled. The outcome was clear.

Comrade Serra, along with Terracini and Gramsci was one of the founders of the C.P.I. and one of its outstanding leaders. It was he who almost alone began the struggle against the ultra-left line of Bordiga and who carried this struggle to victory. He was one of the first to raise his voice against the deep-going revision of Leninism carried thru by the new leadership of the Eccei and, altho he has scrupulously limited the de-

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The "Achievements" of the CC Plenum

ON November 6, 7, 8 there took place the first Plenum of the Central Committee since December 1928. In this interval—the longest between Plenums in the history of our Party—there had happened many important events in the life of the entire Comintern and of its American section: for instance, the revisionist anti-Leninist Address of the Eccei, the turning of the Party leadership over to the opportunist Foster group, the systematic revision of the principle of Leninism, of the line of the VI World Congress and of our Party, the regular absorption of Trotskyism, the expulsion of nearly one third of the Central Committee, including the entire historically developed leadership of our Party bearing the repeated endorsement of the Comintern over a period of years and the support of 90% of the membership, the removal, expulsion and driving out of hundreds of the best comrades and the loss of thousands more thru "enlightenment," demoralization and disintegration, the serious crisis in the new unions and the collapse of our mass work, the paralysis of the Party institutions and the decline of the Party into the grossest opportunism covered with empty "left" phrases.

Finally after months of terror and confusion, with almost the entire previous leadership expelled, a Plenum was called. It was prepared in secret. Its sessions were buried in still greater secrecy. Every measure was taken to make impossible the least attempt at free discussion of the issues before the Party; every step was taken to terrorize even the "accepters" and "endorsers" of the Party-wrecking anti-Leninist line of the Address. Comrade B. Lifshitz, who has hitherto voted for every expulsion and revision demanded by the clique now dominating the Eccei, was not permitted even to be present at the Plenum.

The Declaration of the former leadership of the Party now expelled which was addressed to the Plenum and which contained a clear statement of the crisis in our Party and the issues before us was, of course, never permitted to come before the Plenum itself but was suppressed by the factional ring now running and ruining the Party.

A "New Line" Thesis Adopted

The Plenum brought forth a "new line" Thesis, the most shameful document in the history of our Party. The forthcoming issue of the *Revolutionary Age* will contain a detailed analysis of this document. It is thoroly anti-Marxian and anti-Leninist in approach, method and content. A cursory glance shows us that it contains:

1. An altogether false view of the present international situation. An attempt is made to cover up and justify the revision on the part of the Eccei of the principles of Leninism and the main line of the VI Congress. A similar attempt is made to conjure away the deep-going crisis in the Comintern—a fact unfortunately too substantial to be thus treated.

2. A misleading, erroneous and inaccurate "examination" of the present economic situation which bristles with examples of the crassest ignorance of the most basic fundamentals of Marxian economics as well as of the objective conditions in the U. S. A.

3. An acceptance of Green's (the A. F. of L.'s) theory of wages and the "higher strategy of labor."

4. An "analysis" of rationalization which seeks to bridge the gap between the first position of the "new leadership" and the present revisionist line of the X Plenum. Here we find confusion worse confounded.

5. "Proof" that "in the United States class battles are

growing over from the bourgeois offensive to the proletarian counter-offensive and partly to direct offensive struggles." While the recent semi-racketeer truckmen's strike in New York is cited as "evidence" of this "revolutionary offensive" the objective social-economic basis of the real radicalization process is entirely ignored.

6. An "estimation" of the right danger which betrays a total lack of understanding of this question and an absolute ignorance of the social-composition of the American working class, the background of our Party and the prevailing class relations.

7. A brief "attack" upon the Cannon-Trotskyites (that is, those that haven't been readmitted yet) because they have deserted their path of yesterday and "become" opportunists (!)

8. A statement on Party "shortcomings" reading in part:

"A certain degree of slowness in following up political criticism of right errors with organizational measures."

The *Freiheit's* Zionist policy is not cited here of course. Then again the Thesis speaks of

"the still insufficient development of inner Party democracy and the development of Bolshevik self-criticism."

But of course there is not a word said of the "enlightenment campaign" of terror and destruction.

9. A program-of-action that is vague and contradictory, false in line and based upon a false analysis. It neglects the new union movement and evades the problem of working in the old unions.

10. The very important Negro question is dismissed in virtual silence.

11. So is the increasingly important agricultural crisis.

12. An absolute failure to expose in any way the fraudulent claims of Hoover, Mellon, Ford, Catchings, etc. about "bourgeoisification" and the "conquest of poverty."

The Opportunist Foster Group Gains Open Control

The Central Committee added twelve new members to itself to replace those who were elected by our VI Convention. Among the great figures added are: Dunne, Hathaway, Wagenknecht, Harrison George, P. Smith, Johnstone, etc. The Polcom was also completely reorganized and the bankrupt discredited Foster group given a definite majority. After the last Convention the Foster Group had four out of fourteen places on the Polcom. In place of Gitlow, Lovestone, Vratovic, and Wolfe the Plenum installed Dunne, Hathaway, Harrison George and Schmies. The latter was added only after his open capitulation to Foster. Now, with the Y.C.L. representative Foster has 9 out of 15 members who openly proclaim themselves Fosterites. And it was not so long ago that we were condemned for saying that the line of the Address was to give the Party to the Fosterites!

Weinstone is to represent the Party in the Eccei and preparations are being made to replace him with an equally "reliable" comrade.

Thus proceeds the "new course"! Where are those comrades who assured us that Address was "never intended" to "give the Party to the minority"? Where are those comrades who assured us that altho they "accepted" the Address they would "fight Fosterism to the bitter end" ?

The "new course" is increasingly showing its real political complexion and increasingly the resistance of the Party membership grows. The "secret Plenum," its Thesis and its organizational decisions will have the inevitable effect of winning new sections of the Party membership to the struggle waged by the C.P.-Majority Group.

In the Comintern

(Continued from Page 16)

fense of his views within the bounds of formal discipline, his expulsion was inevitable. In a certain sense the expulsion of Comrade Serra is a forerunner of the expulsion of Comrade Bukharin, Humbert Droz, Ewert, etc. which are to be expected very soon.

* * *

SWEDEN IS NEXT ON THE LIST

Already at the X Plenum it was clear that the Swedish Party would be next on the list of Party wrecking—to follow America. At the Plenum the former leadership of the Party (Kilboom, Samuelson, Flyg, etc.) who had really built up a Party since the Hoglund split a few years ago (membership increase from 7,000 to 18,000) was branded as “right wingers” and every imaginable weapon of slander and misrepresentation levelled against it. On the other hand a group of political nobodies, capable only of destroying the Party, was selected as the “new leadership”—again as in America. Since then the Open Letter of the Eccei to the Swedish Party has been made public which, commencing with the highest praise for the work of the Party, ends up with instructions to call an emergency convention and to change the leadership. Reports indicate that the C.C.-majority is resisting the destructive line of the new Eccei leadership and that the prospects for saving the Party from ruin are very good.

It is interesting that at the X Plenum the Swedish C.C.-majority was accused of “Lovestoneism” (!) and of “exceptionalism,” the latter charge being repeated in the Open Letter.

In an early issue of the *Revolutionary Age* we hope to publish material on the situation in Sweden as well as an analysis of the Open Letter.

The information has already reached us that *seventeen* of the leading comrades in the C.P.S. have been expelled by the Eccei and more are to come. The Party-wrecking course has begun!

* * *

THEY VOTE—BY THEIR ABSENCE!

A few days ago a meeting of the *Moscow trade union functionaries* was called to listen to a report on the X Plenum of the Eccei, with special reference to the trade union question. Of the 2500 who were supposed to be present only 400 showed up. This astonishing event shows better than anything else that among the Russian Party comrades also doubts are arising as to the correctness of the present line of the Eccei and that a movement of resistance is crystallizing.

* * *

ROY IS EXPELLED—IN A NEW WAY!

Without any charges being brought against him, without ever having been given the chance to defend himself, without, in fact, any official action ever having been taken, *M. N. Roy* has been expelled from the Comintern by the very simple method of being “dropped.” Now, of course, he is already a “renegade,” an “agent of the British imperialists,” etc.

Comrade Roy has a record of revolutionary service that could well be compared with those who are now “expelling” him. From his earliest youth he was associated with the national-revolutionist movement. After arrest in connection with an attempted insurrection, he escaped and travelled over the Orient (China, Japan, Philippines, etc.) During the war he came to America, then went to Mexico where he organized the C.P. of Mexico, whose first secretary he became. He then proceeded to Moscow, took active part in the II Congress (1920), cooperating with Lenin on the colonial theses. He soon became the responsible leader in the Eccei for work in the Far East, and in 1927, during the highest point of the Chinese revolution, was Comintern representative there. For a time he was also head of the Anglo-American Secretariat of the Eccei.

Now he is a “renegade”!

ATTENTION

In order to start off the *Revolutionary Age* with a bang, we have decided to get out the first issue in a *special enlarged form*, 20 pages instead of the regular 16.

The continuation and success of the *Revolutionary Age* depends upon *you*—upon every Party member and revolutionary worker who has the interests of the Communist movement at heart. Subscribe! Spread the *Revolutionary Age*! Contribute to the *Revolutionary Age Foundation Fund*!

A Great Step Forward

THE tremendous strides forward made in the first three months by the C.P.-Majority Group in its struggle against the anti-Leninist revisionist line and the Party-wrecking course of the “new leadership” of our Party and of the Eccei, was demonstrated in the first *Enlarged Session of the National Committee* held in New York City on October 5 and 6, 1929. This conference constitutes a landmark in the struggle for the restoration of the Leninist line to our Party and to the Comintern.

There were present as full members of the Enlarged Session of the Provisional Committee of 40 comrades, of whom 20 came in from the various districts outside of New York. At least a score more participated in some capacity or other in the conference. These comrades represent the very best forces in the Communist movement of this country, its oldest and best revolutionary cadres. Of the 40, 27 are among the founders of our Party (or of some other section of the Comintern) and many of these can bring forward a revolutionary record of decades of struggle.

The Enlarged Session began work on Saturday afternoon when it listened to a concise but very effective report by Comrade Lovestone on “*The Present Situation and Our Tasks*.” The conference then adjourned to reconvene in the evening as part of a *large meeting of New York functionaries* at which Comrade Lovestone presented a brilliant and extensive report on our “*Statement of Principles*.” This meeting of New York comrades, attended by about 300 in spite of conflicting affairs and other drawbacks, was unquestionably one of the best and most enthusiastic ever held in this city. Especially noteworthy was the high level of discussion, in stark contrast to the shameful spectacle recently enacted at the Party “membership meeting.” This meeting proved more than anything else that our Leninist line and our vigorous activities have broken thru the frantic wall of terror with which the Party bureaucracy has been trying to isolate us—in vain!

The conference reconvened Sunday morning to continue the discussions on Comrade Lovestone's reports. After a thorough discussion lasting several hours the motion to approve the reports was carried by *acclamation*.

The conference then proceeded to the next important point, a report by Comrade Gitlow on “*Organization Principles, Organization Methods, and the 'Revolutionary Age'*.” Comrade Gitlow explained in a very clear and effective manner the nature of our organizational work and the character of our organizational forms and activities. He concluded his remarks with a brief report on our first organ “*The Revolutionary Age*.” The motion to approve his reports, following an interesting discussion, was carried unanimously.

Earlier in the sessions a special committee had been elected to bring in recommendations for a *National Council* of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. (Majority Group). Upon the basis of the recommendations of this committee as amended from the floor a National Council was elected unanimously. The very composition of the National Council shows the strong roots our movement and our struggle has in the Party as well as among the masses of the revolutionary workers.

The conference marked the first stage in the development of our struggle for a Leninist Party: it was held just about *three months* after the initial expulsion of Comrade Lovestone. It laid the basis for the further development of this struggle and for its victorious conclusion: the winning of the Party and the Comintern back to the revolutionary line of Leninism!

PARTY LIFE

The “New Leadership” Splits the Party

ALTHOUGH the expulsion campaign is hardly more than three months old, the “officially recognized” expulsions already amount to 125. Another batch of over a hundred cases are declared to be “pending.” As a matter of fact, these figures are gross underestimations, for one thing, because they do not take into consideration those comrades who have been “dropped,” or “disconnected,” or expelled in some “unofficial” way. The total actually reaches well over 350, and every day brings new additions. Practically all of these comrades are functionaries. Moreover, there are expulsions in every district of the Party. The split in the Party brought in by the “new leadership” is widening rapidly.

Among the C.C. members expelled are: *Bixby, C. W.* (founder of Party, well known leader in shoe industry); *Dawson, Ellen* (leader of textile workers—Passaic, New Bedford, Gastonia); *Gitlow, Ben* (founder of Party, member of National Council of Left Wing of Socialist Party, former secretary of Party, member of the Eccei and of Executive Board of R.I.L.U.); *Kruse, Wm.* (former district organizer of the Chicago District); *Lovestone, Jay* (founder of Party, member of National Council of Left Wing of Socialist Party, secretary of Party from March 1927 to March 1929, member of the Eccei); *Miller, Wm.* (founder of Party, leader in the automobile industry); *Vratarec, F.* (founder of Party, leader among the anthracite miners); *White, Wm. J.* (founder of the Party, identified with the revolutionary movement for decades, leader among the steel workers); *Wolfe, B. D.* (founder of the Party, member of the National Council of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party, former representative of the Party to the Eccei); *Zimmerman, Ch. S.* (founder of the Party, leader of the needle trades workers). In addition *Lifshitz, Ben* (founder of Party, former industrial organizer of the N. Y. dist.) has been suspended from the Party. The expelled C.C. candidates are: *Bail, Alex* (founder of the Party, former district organizer of the Boston district); *Miller, Bert* (founder of the Party, former org. secretary of the New York district); *Novak, Ch.* (founder of the Party, leader among the Yugoslav workers); *Sorenson, J.* (former district organizer of the Washington-Oregon district); *Welsh, Ed.* (former head of the Negro work in the N.E.C. of the Y.C.L.); *Zam, H.* (founder of the Party, secretary of the Y.C.L. from December 1927 to May 1929, member of the E.C.Y.C.I.)

The expelled CCC members are: *Bentall, J. O.* (founder of Party, first revolutionary worker imprisoned for his anti-militarist agitation in the World War), and *Nemser, M.* (founder of Party, for years active in the Bolshevik Party in Russia).

In future issues of the *Revolutionary Age* we will continue to print lists of the expelled. Comrades in the districts are urged to rush in the names of comrades expelled just as soon as the expulsions take place.

* * *

The Anthracite Miners Drive Out the Party-Wreckers!

The former Lenin School student, Gorman, was sent to the Anthracite district to replace Comrade Vrataric as District Organizer, when the latter was “removed” in the most arbitrary manner by the Secretariat. But the hard-coal miners, under the leadership of Comrades Vrataric, Galio, Boric, etc. put up a firm resistance against the “new line” and its champion, Gorman. It did not take long for Gorman to show the real meaning of the “new course” by making one gross opportunist mistake after the other (August 1 leaflet in which the Manchurian crisis is made into a “business proposition,” the proposal to liquidate the National Miners Union in the anthracite, etc.) Finally, the resistance against Gorman rose to such a pitch

that he “decided” to move his headquarters from Wilkes-Barre to Scranton! Meanwhile, the District Committee in the Anthracite continues its work under the leadership of our comrades.

* * *

The “New Course” and the Shop Nuclei

One of the first effects of the “new line” is the rapid disappearance of the shop nuclei and shop papers which it took us dozens to build up. In Section 1, New York, more than half-a-dozen nuclei have already been disbanded. The same is true in other sections. In Detroit practically all of the shop papers have disappeared except the *Ford Worker* which is published in a much diminished quantity! There is not a district in the country in which the “progress” in building shop nuclei and shop papers has not been backwards. This is the natural consequence of handing over the leadership of the Party to an ultra-opportunist sectarian group (the Foster group) which since 1923 has been either directly or indirectly against shop nuclei.

* * *

“Martial Law” and “Dictatorship” in the Party—But in Vain!

In the face of the demoralization and ruin spread thruout the Party which they are unwilling to see as the direct effects of the Address and the “new line,” the “100%-loyalists” are resorting to the most frantic dodges. At the recent Plenum Amter, District Organizer of the Cleveland district, admitted a great loss in membership and active comrades but attempted to console himself that “those who remain are real Bolshevik elements”! In Section 1, New York, disorganization reigns. A number of units, including some shop nuclei, have been disbanded. In one of the units, Comrade Candela reported recently that a “dictatorship” has been established in the section, no more chairmen are to be elected, etc. Comrades who insisted on the election of a chairman were threatened with expulsion. This is the same Comrade Candela who in a recent Party communication declared that “altho the Lovestoneites have been cleaned out, yet there is great passivity and inactivity.” In the Long Island section Harfield, the new section organizer, declared that the Party was now under “martial law” and read a communication from the District Office to that effect. As a result of all of these “cleanings,” “martial law,” and “dictatorships” political life in the units is completely extinct and is replaced by bureaucratic terror. The only political issues that ever arise are those brought in by the supporters of the C.P.-Majority Group. But the frantic efforts of the “new leadership” will avail them nothing. The resistance of the Party membership will break thru the “martial law” and “dictatorship” and will re-establish the Leninist line of the Party and save it from destruction.

* * *

Our Comrades Hold Aloft the Banner of Communism!

Increasing numbers of Party members are beginning to ask themselves the question: *How is it that the “renegades” and “agents of American imperialism” are always in the forefront defending Communism among the masses while the “loyalists” seem to be doing their best to destroy the influence of Communism among the workers?* . . . M. Obermeier of the Cafeteria Workers Union, a 100%-loyalist, put up a sharp resistance against the proposition that the Union should endorse the Communist municipal campaign and denounce Norman Thomas. Politics should be kept out of the Union, he declared! . . . In the Shoe Workers Union the loyalists (Biedenkaap, etc.) did the same, while it was our comrades who fought hard to get the Union to endorse the Communist campaign . . . In San Antonio, the loyalists absolutely refuse to do any work among the Negroes on the grounds of the crassest white chauvinism. These same “100%-Bolsheviks” refused to organize a meeting on the Palestine events because “it would antagonize the Jews”! It was our comrades, the supporters of the C.P.-Majority Group, who broke thru this resistance, are carrying on good Negro work, and have succeeded in arranging a successful meeting on the Palestine events. In the Harlem Tenants League, the well known “left Bolshevik,” Richard B. Moore, ably supported by the Party authorities, pretty well succeeded in disrupting the organization and creating a profound anti-Communist sentiment. Our comrades helped to save the organization from him and are now busy reestablishing the prestige of Communism among the Negro workers.

The Crisis in the Y. C. L.

The following paragraphs are from a letter of *Phil Frankfeld*, at present district organizer of the Y.C.L. in Detroit. Comrade Frankfeld is well known as an old Fosterite and a passionate supporter of the Address and the revisionist destructive "new line" in the Party and League. However, Comrade Frankfeld—like all of the 100%-loyalists—have their *private* opinions about the present situation which are not exactly in line with their public protestations. Comrade Frankfeld's caustic remarks about "the Harveys, Rijaks and so forth" are a reflection of the sharp clique struggle that has already broken out in the "new leadership" of the League "united on the basis of the line of the Address."

Comrade Frankfeld's remarks on the disintegration of the League are unfortunately too well borne out by the facts. His solution, however—"a real solid foundation created by the Y. C. I. for our central leadership"—simply means a continuation and intensification of the anti-Leninist line accompanied by "a change of leadership"—putting in Frankfeld as leader. But this is not the solution: the League can only be saved and restored to its Leninist line by a persistent struggle against the revisionist line of the Party and League and of the present leadership of the Eccl and E.C.Y.C.I.—*Editorial Committee*.

"I believe it to be a great disgrace for our New York League, the fact that we get only 100 members out for International Youth Day. I do not ever remember in the darkest days of the League in New York (and I know the N. Y. organization for the last seven years) that so few comrades came out for a demonstration of this character. Even if the spirit was good, the organizational shortcomings in so far as numbers is concerned must be viewed from a political angle and some lessons drawn. In my opinion it is a definite sign of disintegration of the League—the League is not growing—it is moving backwards.

What you say about the speeches and speakers is not surprising at all; Harvey—the militant, fearless, courageous leader of the working class youth—Ha! Ha!

Our League needs a resolution like the one received by the Checko-Slovakian League if it is to decisively and correctly change its present trend of "development". The Harveys, Rijaks, etc. cannot lead the league.

The leadership has narrowed down to the skeleton of the League, with no meat, marrow or even bones. The skeleton is falling apart—and it needs to be discarded and a real solid foundation created by the Y.C.I. for our central leadership."

Some Facts and Figures

At the X Plenum of the Eccl, Comrade Piatnitsky presented certain very significant figures on the status of the Young Communist International.

"We have figures," he declared, "to show that the Y.C.I. has not only done nothing towards the carrying out of the decisions of the VI Congress, but that matters are now even in a worse state than they were prior to the VI Congress."

Here are the figures:

At V Cong. Y.C.I.

Y. C. I.	(August 1928)	At X Plenum	Gain	Loss
Czechoslovakia	12,789	5,000	—	7,789
Germany	20,000	22,000*	2,000	—
France	10,000	8,000	—	2,000
Sweden	14,600	14,652	52	—

How Mass Organizations Are Destroyed

1. The Philadelphia Carpenters T.U.U.L. Group

The T.U.U.L. group in the Carpenters Union Local 1073 (Philadelphia) is split wide open and a *reactionary* has been elected secretary of the local as a result of the destructive sectarian line of the leadership of the district.

At the meeting of the T.U.U.L. group of the local there appeared Comrade Ovrutsky who declared that the *Party Trade Union Committee* and the City Executive of the T.U.U.L. had decided that a certain comrade *must* be the candidate for secretary! The T.U.U.L. group, however, on a vote, rejected this proposal and decided upon another candidate.

At the local meeting the Party fraction decided that instead of supporting the candidate of the T.U.U.L. group against the reactionary they would again put forward the Party-picked candidate, a discredited comrade already rejected by the left wingers! *The Party fraction thus deliberately split the left wing forces* so that the reactionary candidate was elected by an overwhelming vote. The Party fraction is now isolated from the left wingers and the T.U.U.L. group is split.

2. The New York Spanish Workers Club

At a recent meeting of the New York Spanish Workers Club, Comrade *Saby Nahama*, well known in New York among the Spanish speaking workers, was "expelled" from the Club *on the grounds that he had been expelled from the Party*. At first, Albert Moreau who was doing the dirty work tried to mask his actions and made all sorts of slanderous charges against Comrade Nahama who is one of the most active Communist functionaries in New York. In the end, however, Moreau was forced to come out into the open and declared that Comrade Nahama had to be expelled because "he was a renegade and had been expelled from the Communist Party." *All of the non-Party workers voted against the expulsion* but the number of "loyal" Party members was enough to overweigh them.

Thus is the Party-splitting campaign brought into the non-Party organizations, a course that can only end in the demoralization and destruction of these organizations and the complete isolation of the Party.

Great Britain	1,400	900	—	500
Norway	3,000	2,800	—	200
United States	2,480	3,479**	999	—
	64,269	56,831	3,051	10,489

This loss in membership (7,438) is a result of the false sectarian line that the leadership of the Y.C.I. has been following for years and that has now been forced upon our own League with such disastrous results.

*The recently held XI Convention of the Y.C.L. of Germany showed that this "increase" was an illusion and that the German League has suffered a pronounced loss of membership in the last six months.

**The increase in membership in the American League took place between the V Congress of the Y.C.I. (August 1928) and the VI National Convention of the American League (May 1929), under the direction of the former leadership now expelled. Since May 1929, particularly since the operation of the "new course" in the League, the membership has dropped by 40%, the big loss being among the proletarian elements.

REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH

Organ of the

Young Communist League of the USA (Majority Group)

WATCH FOR IT!

WATCH FOR IT!