

# Revolutionary Age

An Organ of Marxism-Leninism in the United States  
For Communist Unity in the Revolutionary Class Struggle

VOLUME I.  
NUMBER 2.

Issued by  
Communist Party U. S. A. - Majority Group

NOV. 15, 1929  
10c A COPY

## "Order" in Wall Street

**F**OR the first time in fifteen years the New York Stock Exchange, the mightiest citadel of world capitalism, has been forced to shut its doors. New York, the center of international capitalist finance, has been hit by the worst stock-market crash in history. For days panic reigned supreme in the wake of the most complete disruption of the stock market structure that the United States or any other capitalist country has ever seen.

What are the causes of the panic? What will be its consequences? What are its international implications and significance? These questions cannot be correctly answered unless one understands the structural changes that have taken place in American capitalist economy since the World War.

The crash in Wall Street did not come as a result of a shortage of credit. The very opposite is the case. The collapse came because of the terrific *surplus* of credit. Neither the bourgeois economists nor the new experts of the *Daily Worker*, who base themselves on the crude ideas of vulgar capitalist economics, can understand this crisis; nor can all the phrases about "deflating the speculative market" explain anything.

The background and basis of the crisis on the Stock Exchange are to be found in the following developments:

1. The tremendous development of the forces of production of American capitalism under the impetus of the World War, the reign of mass production, the transference of the center of gravity of capitalist world economy to the United States.

2. The development of American industry to unheard-of heights, the accumulation of capital at a terrific pace and in fabulous quantities, the general overdevelopment of industry in the U. S. A.

3. The development of the U.S.A. into the usurer, the creditor of the world. Within fifteen years (1913-1928) Wall Street's monetary gold has more than doubled, largely as a result of the flow of gold from a debtor world unable to pay for it in any other way.

4. The increasing hegemony of American finance capital in the world capital and commodity markets and the consequent unbounded confidence on the part of the entire American bourgeoisie. This unbounded optimism, carefully nursed along by the Federal government, reflected itself most feverishly and violently on the Stock Exchange.

5. The initiation of stock selling at many times their value—often twenty or thirty times. Industry, already over-developed, could not absorb all the capital produced. Seeking the level of highest profits, capital began to flow to the Stock Exchange. Some of the biggest industrial corporations began to dump their surplus capital and assets on the stock market. This reached the level of an entirely new phenomenon. Speculation became intense and naturally there followed an increased demand for credit with its inevitable increased call money rates.

6. The absorption of so much of the country's capital that there resulted a decline of nearly 50% in the capital exports.

More than that, the high rates of interest even began to draw capital to the New York Stock Exchange from London, Paris, Berlin, Brussels, Amsterdam, from every financial center of the world.

7. The approach of a severe credit shortage thruout the whole European capitalist economy. National banks, like the Bank of England, began to raise their interest rates, but to no avail.

8. The development of a situation—because of Wall Street's monopolist credit position—in which the free and untrammelled movement of gold—the very basis of all capitalist credit—was being steadily undermined on a world scale.

The panic in Wall Street did *not* come as a result of the decline of American capitalist economy. *It came as a result of the very strength of American capitalist economy magnifying and sharpening the contradictions of world capitalism.* True, there was a decline in auto, steel and construction in the third quarter of the year as compared to the high peak level of the summer. But nowadays the Stock Exchange is no longer an accurate or a sensitive barometer of the state of the capitalist productive economy.

The flooding of the market with new securities continued and with it the unbroken flow of domestic and foreign capital into Wall Street. It did not take long before the volume and value of securities being carried on credit exceeded the increase in the volume of credit available from sources outside the Reserve Banks. The collapse was not sudden. For some time already certain stocks began to sag; the weaker ones gave way first. By September the evidence of the impending cataclysm became menacing. There were already thunder and lightning in the air.

The plethora, the superabundance of capital in the country—the basic cause of the panic—brought on a condition of the most serious dislocation between the security (stock) market and the fundamental conditions of the capitalist productive economy. In the gap between the annual gain in production (2%) in trade (4-5%), and in tenfold security trading and stock prices there developed the powder magazine that has exploded, an explosion that was heard thruout the whole capitalist world.

The intensification of the outer contradictions of world capitalism served as a powerful force in aggravating the contradictions sharpened by the credit crisis. The heavy investments of foreign capital on the New York Exchange soon brought about such a dearth of capital in Europe that the investing bourgeoisie were compelled to begin to withdraw their capital from New York, to sell their securities. And this, of course, aggravated the situation. The basic Anglo-American antagonism that serves as the background for the whole development of the world capitalist economics and politics of today showed itself clearly in this situation.

It is still too early to judge the full effects of the world-wide

stock collapse in the very center of international capitalism—Wall Street. The lack of huge inventories in manufactured commodities (except for certain industries like automobile) will unquestionably serve as a cushion absorbing the shock of the severe impact of the stock market collapse. Hoover and the bourgeois experts who refer to this also cite as a guarantee against a general crisis the fact that “the output per worker in many industries again shows an increase.” But it is precisely this “increase,” this high development of the productive forces that is the source of the basic contradiction in the present situation of world capitalism. As a matter of fact, the disparity between production and the market in certain industries (automobiles, luxury industries, etc.) will be enlarged. This, coupled with a reduction of the general purchasing power of those involved in the huge losses, will lead to an intensification of the economic recession which had already set in. Nor can there be any doubt that this will be accompanied by a marked increase in unemployment. Altho temporarily the trend of certain types of mergers will be slowed down yet there will certainly take place a further concentration of finance capital thru the role played by the investment trusts, the bankers’ pool, the wiping out of small and medium sized share-holders, etc. It is also quite clear that there will now be a certain diversion of capital to industries like building construction which suffered from the previous flow of credit to the Stock Exchange. The export of capital will undergo a marked rise—about \$300,000,000 in gold alone will be shipped back to Europe. Finally, a severe blow has been dealt to the “general business sentiment” to the intoxicated optimism of American imperialism. But the conclusions of the *Daily Worker* that “American imperialism is also beginning its process of decline” is just as wrong as the talk of the bourgeoisie that “it can never happen again.” Altho the general international financial position of Wall Street remains the same, yet it can safely be said that the present stock panic marks the ushering in of a period of violent, jagged, sharply irregular, almost convulsive up-and-down movements in the Stock Exchange and the curb market.

The capitalists will make every effort to transfer the losses to the workers, to make the workers pay in the form of wage cuts and intensified exploitations. This will mean a sharpening of the class struggles in the country.

There is no genuine “order” in capitalist economy, even in the most advanced and strongest capitalism. The Federal Reserve Bank, the House of Morgan, and the powerful arm of Rockefeller could not hold back the tidal wave of stock dumping when the deluge came. All the talk by the American bourgeoisie of a “new era in the U. S. A. free from panics and crises” has been proved futile and unfounded. The structural changes in American capitalist economy have only intensified the inherent contradictions of the system. The “order” in Wall Street is chaos. It is the chaos inherent in the capitalist economy based upon the exploitation of the working masses.

## Ben Lifshitz and Tom Myerscough In Support of Our Struggle

IN statements sent to the proper Party committees Comrades Ben Lifshitz and Tom Myerscough have announced their disagreement with the present line of the Ecce and the “leadership” of our Party and their support of the struggle of the CP-Majority Group.

Ben Lifshitz is well-known for his years of revolutionary activity in our movement. He was one of the founders of the Communist movement in this country. He is a leading militant among the machinists and is on the Executive of the Metal Workers League. He is a member of the C. C. and a candidate to the Polburo, and was recently industrial organizer of the New York district. He is one of the best known figures in the Jewish revolutionary movement thruout the country.

Tom Myerscough has been in the front ranks for years in the progressive miners movement. He was one of the leaders in the struggle against Lewis in the U.M.W.A. and was one of the founders of the National Miners Union. He was on the Delegation elected by the VI Party Convention to appeal to the Ecce against the first manifestations of the Party wrecking course.

In the coming issues of *Revolutionary Age* we will print declarations by these comrades.

YOU CAN'T AFFORD TO MISS  
A SINGLE ISSUE  
**SUBSCRIBE!**

ACCURATE INFORMATION

LENINIST VIEWS  
of the

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

EDITORIALS—SPECIAL ARTICLES  
ON EVENTS IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

ECONOMICS—POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

*Revolutionary Age*,  
37 East 28th Street, Room 807,  
New York City.

I am enclosing \$2.00 (\$1.00) for a year's (6-mos.)  
subscription to the *Revolutionary Age*.

Name .....

Address .....

City..... State.....

# Is the VI Congress Being Revised?

By Bertram D. Wolfe

WE make no fetish of the VI Congress. But all who have studied the work of our international congresses must recognize that since the II Congress (1920), there has been none of equal importance in point of tasks undertaken and accomplished.

What were the accomplishments of the VI Congress which give it its importance?

1. Coming as it did at a turning point in post-war history, the Congress defined the characteristics of the *third post-war period* of capitalism and laid down the general line of strategy and tactics for the entire period.

2. Held under the shadow of the approaching world war, the Congress set to work to prepare the Parties, ideologically and organizationally, for the struggle against war.

3. Building upon the experiences of eight years of colonial struggles and above all on the experiences of the Chinese Revolution, the Congress confirmed and further developed the colonial theses of the II Congress (written by Lenin and Roy) by concretizing its general line and applying it to the complex variety of situations and degrees of development and stages of revolution in the various colonial regions of the earth.

4. With unusual thoroughness the Congress analyzed the work of the various sections of the *International* and made a critical estimate of the work of the Comintern as a whole as well as of its international apparatus resident in Moscow. Of especial interest was the Congress estimate of the Russian and American Party situations and its analysis of the right danger and directives for fighting it.

5. Most important of all the Congress succeeded in adopting a *Program* for the Communist International. In this Program the efforts of all our Congresses and Plenums, the experiences of all our Parties and struggles, the lessons of all our victories and defeats, are summed. It is the first world program of the international revolutionary movement since the Communist Manifesto.

The great *shortcoming* of the VI Congress was the fact that its surface unanimity hid profound political dissension. Unanimous votes covered up the “corridor congress.” It was this situation that served as the essential point of departure for the revision to come.

In all respects the Ecce has made tremendous steps backwards from the achievements of the VI Congress. In whatever direction we turn we must recognize the truth of this. The whole activity of the Ecce since the VI Congress has been essentially a revision of the line, decisions and directives of the VI Congress.

The VI Congress of the Communist International occupies a central position in the whole question of the revision of the principles of Leninism that is now taking place under the direction of the Ecce. The attitude of the Trotskyites towards the VI Congress is well known. The VI Congress represented, they maintain, a compromise between the “centrist” (Stalin) and the “right-wing” (Bukharin) position. Consequently, the entire line of the Congress was fundamentally false. The “correct” line, the line of the “Leninist Opposition” is expressed in the Open Letter which Trotsky sent to the Congress. Trotsky is basically against the line of the VI Congress because it is not a Trotskyist line.

Another viewpoint on this central question is represented, for example, by the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition)—

the so-called “Brandler group”. These comrades take a negative attitude towards the VI Congress because they believe that the decisions of the VI Congress thru what they look upon as their “ambiguity” made possible the present dangerous revision of the principles of Leninism in the direction of Trotskyism. While they are quite correct in raising a sharp struggle against the anti-Leninist revisionist course of the present Ecce (and the C.P.G.), they are nevertheless quite mistaken in attributing the source of this revision to the VI Congress. On the contrary, the revision of the principles of Leninism takes place today largely as a revision of the main line of the VI Congress.

The tactic of the present Ecce is to revise fundamentally the line of the VI Congress in the direction of Trotskyism under a cloud of phrases of “loyalty” to the VI Congress. In spite of the phrases this revision has been clearly manifested in all the actions of the Ecce, in the reports and speeches at the X Plenum, in the line forced upon all of the Parties in the Comintern, and most crudely, in the words and actions of the Bedachts, Stachels, Weinstones and Fosters, whose temporary and disastrous leadership of our Party is a product of this very revision itself.

The revision on the part of the Ecce began the very day the delegations of the various Parties left Moscow towards the end of the sessions of the Congress. Leaving Moscow after the VI Congress and returning four months later, I found that there was scarcely a thing that the Congress had done which was not already undone or on the road to being undone.

1. At the Congress Bukharin had been the leading figure, spokesman of the C.P.S.U. delegation, reporter on the Program, on the international situation, author of the Program and of the theses on the international situation, theoretical leader of the debates at the Congress, unanimously elected chairman of the new Executive Committee of the Communist International. When I returned four months later I heard that our World Program was the work of a “right winger” (some of the more inventive said that he had not written the program at all), that the leader of the Congress had not really been the leader of the Congress at all but what he had led was the “international right wing”, that the attacks upon him by Bittleman, Foster and Cannon and their colleagues of the “corridor congress” (so sharply repudiated by Stalin during the Congress as speculation and “political agiotage”) were justified and had in fact been secretly authorized by Stalin.

2. When I left Moscow Comrade Bukharin had just been unanimously elected chairman of the Ecce. When I returned I found that the chairman unanimously elected by the Congress had not been permitted to attend a *single* meeting of the new Executive, having been given vacation after vacation until the “vacations” could be made permanent by the X Plenum. The VI Congress had unanimously elected as members and candidates of the Ecce: Lovestone, Humbert-Droz, Serra, Jilek, Zetkin, Gitlow, Ewert, etc. When I returned four months later I found that plans were being made to remove them from the posts assigned to them by the Congress and that the leaders of other Parties were shortly to receive the same treatment. Lovestone, Gitlow, Jilek, Serra, and the leaders of the Swedish Party and others have since been expelled and the preliminary steps have been taken for the expulsion of Bukharin, Humbert-Droz, Zetkin, Ewert and the rest. In short the representative spokesmen and leaders of a whole series of delegations to the

### Revolutionary Age

Organ of the National Council of the  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A. (Majority Group)  
JAY LOVESTONE, Chairman

BEN GITLOW, Editor B. D. WOLFE, Associate Editor

#### EDITORIAL BOARD:

J. O. Bentall, C. W. Bixby, Ellen Dawson, Ben Gitlow, Will Herberg  
Jay Lovestone, Bert Miller, Wm. Miller, R. Pires, Jack Rubinstein,  
Frank Vratovic, Ed Welsh, W. J. White, B. D. Wolfe, Herbert Zam,  
Ch. S. Zimmerman.

Published twice monthly by the Revolutionary Age Association,  
37 East 28 St., Room 807, New York City. Phone: Caledonia 2957

Subscription rates: Foreign: \$3.00 a year—\$1.50 six mos.; Domestic:  
\$2.00 a year; \$1.00 six mos.; 10 cents a copy.

Application for second class entry pending.

Congress were not only removed by the Ecci shortly after the Congress but even expelled from their Parties by the action of the new Executive which had so transformed itself that it was no longer representative of the Congress that had elected it. Some of the members of the Ecci retained their places by simply repudiating the views they expressed at the Congress and the line of the Congress. Outstanding examples are Kuusinen and Manuilsky.

3. When I left Moscow in September the "corridor congress" which buzzed around the corridors of the Congress hall, denouncing the work of the Congress and its line, intriguing and speculating and gossiping—this "corridor congress" had been decisively rejected and repudiated by the Congress.

When I returned four months later I found that Petrovsky had again been put back on the Anglo-American Secretariat as its real leader altho at the Congress Kuusinen had publicly stated that "the industrialization of the colonies by imperialism proceeds as slowly as the bolshevization of the British Party under the leadership of Comrade Petrovsky." Heinz Neumann had become editor of *Rote Fahne*. All the prophecies of the "corridor congress" had come to pass, its intrigues had borne fruit, its line was being read into the decisions of the Congress as an "interpretation", and the line of the Congress was being denounced and revised as the line of the "international right wing." This little band of unprincipled adventurers and political speculators had been given first secret authorization, then protection and finally open support, so that the World Congress representing the fifty-two sections of the Comintern had been set aside and the "Corridor Congress" had become the official Congress and its version the official version of the work of the VI Congress of the Communist International.

4. When I left Moscow in September the theory of decolonization had been rejected by the Congress as a social-democratic apology for imperialism and its advocates, Page Arnot and Petrovsky, publicly condemned by the spokesmen and decisions of the Congress. When I got back four months later, these forthies were being selected for the special task of "bolshevizing" the American Party.

5. At the VI Congress the elementary Leninist theory of the primacy of the outer contradictions in the period of imperialism had been taken for granted, and it was emphasized that this was especially true in the present third post-war period. The contrary view was officially denounced by the Congress as a social-democratic view leading to an underestimation of the war danger and the contradictions of the imperialist epoch. On my return I found that the exponents of this social-democratic view as to imperialism had become the chief exponents of the "struggle against the international right wing" and that preparations were being made to revise even this elementary Leninist concept of imperialism.

6. The concept of the third period as elaborated by the Sixth Congress, against the opposition of the "Corridor Congress," had suffered the same treatment. Those who denied there was such a thing as a third period, and who had fought against Bukharin in the Congress and against Bukharin in the Russian delegation, to prevent the whole concept and definition of the third period from getting into the thesis of the Congress, now pretended to accept the third period in order to distort its meaning and pervert the Congress thesis.

7. At the Congress the representatives of the traditional right tendency in the American Party, Foster, Bittelman, Cannon and Company, had made public reservations to the decisions of the VI Congress which decisions had been unanimous except for their reservations. (The rest of the "corridor congress" had no vote for the most part, and where they did, they concealed their opposition to the decisions of the Congress when it came to voting.) Foster, after a private interview with Stalin, wrote to his caucus in America that he was promised

decisive support by Stalin if he kept fighting a few months longer. Later, he and Bittelman openly wrote in the party discussion in the columns of the *Daily Worker*, that their reservations at the VI Congress were "authorized reservations" and freely predicted to their caucus that these reservations would soon become official doctrine. As soon as I arrived in Moscow four months after the Congress I could see that their claims were correct and that preparations were being made to substitute these reservations which had plainly been suggested to them by others for the official line of the Comintern, and to make these traditional right wingers the official leadership of the American Party and the standard bearers of a "struggle against the right."

The Congress had studied closely the American situation because of the importance of America in the world situation, had rejected decisively Bittelman's apex theory, the charge that the then leadership of the American party was a right wing leadership, the charge of "exceptionalism", ridiculed as "exceptional nonsense," and had approved of our general estimate of American imperialism and our Party's work. Few parties received higher praise and less criticism than the thesis gave to our Party.

The story of the reversal of the decisions of the VI World Congress as regards the American party is only too well-known to the membership. The same thing is happening in varying forms in party after party. At this writing, the Swedish is the latest party to suffer. The American Party was one of the first to feel the burden of the revision of the decisions and line of the VI World Congress because of the active role our delegation played in the working out of that line and those decisions, and because of the active role that the Foster-Bittelman-Cannon opposition played in the "corridor congress" as the spearhead of the revisionists.

We must fight this disastrous revision which is wrecking the Parties and destroying the Leninist line of our International. The concealed attacks which have put the adventurist leftist phrase-mongers and incurable right-wingers of the "corridor congress" in control of the international apparatus, which have put the Fosters and Stachels in control of the American Party apparatus, which have split and weakened party after party, which have produced the non-Leninist decisions of the Tenth Plenum on a whole series of questions, and which are unfitting our International and its sections for the period of sharpening struggles and world war which it faces—these are not so simply combated or the damage they do so easily repaired. But the fact that the fight will be long and hard will not deter any genuine Communist from engaging in it. Our Party, which played a leading role in the formulation and adoption of the line of the VI Congress is destined to play a no less historic role in the defense of that line against perversion and revision. In an immediate sense, our fight presents itself as a fight to defend the line of the VI Congress. In a deeper sense and in the long run, it is a fight to defend the principles of Leninism against revision and to defend our International and its American section against disintegration and the development of a non-Leninist line. And because Leninism is the only basis on which a revolutionary movement can be built and the proletarian revolution can be won, therefore our struggle must be successful in the end.

Subscribe to  
**Revolutionary Age**

## The Historical Struggle Against the Gastonia Frame-up

By Herbert Zam

THE frame-up as a weapon against the workers has been developed into a complete system, in constant use by the capitalists. At the same time, the struggle against the frame-up has become one of the best traditions of the American proletariat, expressing the most fundamental class interests and demonstrating the solidarity of the American workers. Today, when the class struggle is sharpening and when the clashes become ever deeper and more intense, the frame-up as a means of suppression comes into more frequent use, and the struggle against it becomes one of the main weapons of the workers, one of the best means of unifying the working class in the struggle against the capitalist system.

Just as the frame-up came into general use as a class measure with the Haymarket affair more than 40 years ago, at a time when the rapid industrialization of the country had thrown masses of the proletariat into the struggle against the capitalist system on the basis of their immediate economic interests, so to-day, when the rapid industrialization of the South has drawn a new proletariat into the class war against capitalism, the frame-up is the first weapon to which the capitalists turn. And it is precisely this that makes Gastonia a historic struggle for the entire American working-class—because Gastonia today, being the struggle of the newest section of the proletariat in a recently industrialized territory, expresses the class interests of the entire proletariat, represents a historic struggle of the American workers, and serves as a means of unifying the entire working class in a struggle against capitalism.

From the first, the workers instinctively recognized the frame-up as one of the most dangerous weapons employed against them. The response of the workers in the cases of such outstanding frame-ups as the Haymarket, Haywood-Pettibone-Moyer, Giovannitti-Ettor, Centralia, Mooney-Billings, Sacco-Vanzetti cases was conclusive proof that the workers recognized the class nature of these cases and were prepared for a fight to the finish against the frame-up system. To mention even one of these cases is to recall fierce struggles, the mobilization of thousands, hundreds of thousands of workers around basic class issues. The class character of the frame-up cases was so powerful that in practically all cases the struggle extended beyond national boundaries and was taken up by thousands of workers all over the world—recall, for example, the Sacco-Vanzetti case.

In the light of historical lessons, every worker could understand that the frame-up system was again in motion from the moment it was reported that a police chief had been killed and that the leaders of the Gastonia strike were in jail charged with the killing. When the incidents connected with the case, both before and after the shooting of the police chief became known, even the worker who was unacquainted with American labor history could have no doubts. The capitalist class had determined to nip in the bud the efforts of its exploited workers to organize into unions, to fight against the speed-up and stretch-out system, to shorten hours and to improve their miserable conditions. The frame-up was the method chosen by them to smash for a long time the rising militancy of the Southern workers. The Southern bosses have scored a victory in the first round of the battle, and whether the next round will end in a victory for the workers or for the bosses depends upon whether the workers have learned the lessons of this first round and how to avoid the mistakes so far committed.

When the Communist Party entered the Gastonia struggle, it did so with an understanding of the situation and of what

that situation required. The first steps—to organize the workers into trade unions, to lead a fight for better conditions, to lead the workers strikes—in short to teach the workers how to fight against the capitalists and capitalism—were absolutely correct, and won immediate support among the most exploited workers, not only in the South but thruout the country. The mistakes later committed, however, have caused a loss of some of this support and have created uncertainty and confusion among the Southern workers. These mistakes were particularly outstanding in connection with the conduct of the trial and with the manner in which the case was handled among the broad masses of the workers. These mistakes have led to the most serious results; in the midst of one of the most important cases in history the Communist Party stood isolated from the Southern workers as well as from the workers of the country generally. The duty of the Communist Party in connection with the Gastonia case was, on the one hand, to mobilize the widest masses of the American and international proletariat against the frame-up system and on the other, to use the trial to push forward the struggle for the improvement of the conditions of the workers, for their organization and for the fight against capitalism. Instead of this, the trial itself was begun and continued as a legal battle of lawyers, in which the class issues were completely lost sight of, in which the conditions and struggles of the workers were not expressed, in which the roles of the National Textile Workers Union and of the Communist Party were suppressed, in which the Negro question and the struggle for equality was pushed into the background. The testimony of Beal, in actual life a devoted revolutionary fighter, was certainly not the testimony of a Communist, not even the testimony of a militant worker, while the testimony of Edith Saunders Miller, the only witness who behaved like a Communist on the witness stand, was strenuously objected to by the defense. Upon the demand of the defense itself, all incidents leading up to the killing, such as the strike, the picketing and attacks on the pickets, the raiding and demolition of the Union hall, the conditions in the mills, etc., in other words, the issue of the class struggle, were ruled out by the court. Thus, instead of being a tribunal for voicing the cause of the workers, the trial became a battle over legal technicalities. The responsibility for this rests not with Beal, not with any of the defendants or witnesses, not with the lawyers (who acted more like enemies than defenders of the strikers) but with the leadership of the Party, whose policy in the trial as expressed by Bill Dunne, its representative, was for a "legal battle involving interpretation of Amendments 6 and 14 of the constitution and dealing specifically with the attempt to deprive the defendants charged with murder of life and liberty without due process to law."

Just as in the trial itself the class struggle was dropped, so was the same thing done in the entire handling of the case thru the dropping of the frame-up issue. By dropping the frame-up issue, the Party gave up the traditional struggle against the frame-up system and narrowed the campaign down at the very beginning. The substitution of the "right of self-defense" as the main issue, and the bombastic statements of the *Daily Worker* and the International Labor Defense that the chief of police "was killed by shots fired from the Union headquarters" and that Aderholt was "killed in self-defense by the strikers" did not make the case more revolutionary, but on the contrary prevented it becoming revolutionary by hindering the mobilization of the workers on a class basis in defense of the

# The Struggle of the Illinois Miners

By Tom Myerscough

THE recent developments in the Southern Illinois coal fields place before the National Miners Union a situation the handling of which will go a long way in affecting the future not only of the N.M.U. but of the whole T.U.U.L. movement and of the Communist Party as well. Therefore one must scan very carefully what has transpired to date, must fearlessly point out and criticize the errors made and get a proper perspective of the coming developments.

Although the open flare has come as a result of the recurrence of the Lewis-Farrington warfare only those with strong backs but weak minds will accept this as all there is to the matter. Nor does it settle the whole question to say, what is unquestionably correct, that the struggles of two rival groups of coal operators is a factor in the situation. The real trouble, here as elsewhere in the coal fields, is *the chronic crisis in the coal mining industry*. The relations between the Illinois fields on the one hand and the Pennsylvania-Ohio fields on the other have always played a big role in the development of the miners struggle. It is now clear that the strategy of the operators was first to defeat the miners in the Pennsylvania-Ohio region and then to launch the offensive in the Southern Illinois fields. The recent movements among the Illinois miners, the sharpening struggles, as well as the Lewis-Fishwick flare-up are all the results of this offensive. They reflect the profound disorganization of the mining industry under present capitalist conditions.

The upheaval in Southern Illinois was foreseen for some time and everybody knew that here the N.M.U. and the whole left-wing movement had a chance that could not be missed. Yet there was total neglect on the part of the Party and the T.U.U.L. Since the early part of this year (after the Party Convention) the Communist fraction in the N.M.U. has received absolutely no serious guidance from the Central Com-

Gastonia strikers and against the frame-up system. Instead of drawing in hundreds of thousands of workers into the struggle, it was confined to the Communists and their closest sympathizers. Instead of a broad mass movement, a broad proletarian united front for saving the Gastonia workers, there were only interminable appeals for money, which was sadly lacking precisely because there was no broad mass movement. In contrast with the splendid Sacco-Vanzetti movement, organized under the leadership of the C.P.-Majority Group, the Gastonia case was a sad experience for the Communist Party and for the workers. That the same false line will continue in the future is indicated by the issuance of the opportunist, legalistic slogan "Veto the Verdict" instead of continuing the fight on the revolutionary class slogan "Smash the Frame-up"!

In short the Gastonia case did not serve to further the struggle of the workers or the spread of Communist influence among them—primarily because the Communist Party, as a result of its "new course," could not develop the proper policies for the mobilization of the masses. But the fight has only just begun. The Party membership can still turn to use the lessons learned in the first stage of the struggle; it is still possible to develop a broad mass movement for the defense of the Gastonia frame-up victims and against the frame-up system. But this cannot be done as long as the present leadership and the present opportunist sectarian line rules the Party.

mittee. Apparently the Party leadership was "busy" otherwise. The result was that altho the situation was seen to be coming no steps whatever were taken to meet it. When the situation did break another serious mistake was made in the recommendation that the charters and seals be sent back to Lewis. This was a bad mistake for the possession of the charters and seals gave the Lewis machine the claim to the properties and funds and gave him big advantages in other ways. This mistake was soon corrected but not before it did great damage.

A great factor in hindering the struggle of the N.M.U. in winning to itself the masses of miners in Southern Illinois and in making for itself a firm base in this most important field, is the fact that in addition to having to fight Lewis and Fishwick it has to expose its own President, John J. Watt, who is active precisely in Southern Illinois. The whole Watt situation is a monument to the destructive factional work of the Foster group (now in control of the Party) who have always placed their narrow clique interests above the interests of the whole movement. For months it was known that Watt was developing a John L. Lewis attitude but because Watt leaned to the Foster group while he was still a "member" of the Party and because Toohey and Myerscough were "Lovestoneites" Watt was protected and even encouraged. Now that Watt has become an open enemy of Communism Foster can no longer protect him but already great damage has been done. The matter is complicated by the fact that in the struggle against Watt Toohey has not followed an altogether blameless course. In fact, the determination of Watt to BE THE PRESIDENT was strengthened by the attitude of Toohey to be the whole works: President, Secretary, Steno, Bookkeeper, Office Manager, Coal Digger Editor, and, as he so aptly puts it himself, even the "stamp licker." These are little things to be sure but they are just the little things that become big difficulties in actual work.

The paralysis that has hit the Party and the left-wing movement since the inauguration of the "new line" showed itself in our first activities in Illinois. Take the Special Convention held in Belleville recently which had for its purpose the definite establishment of a N.M.U. district in Illinois and the open break with Lewis and Fishwick. At this gathering there should have been between 60-90% of the miners represented but it turned out to be only 25%. Advertised as a three-day affair the convention lasted only one day which was largely taken up with the struggle within the N.M.U. itself. What the 86 delegates, (16 for Watt) thought of this and what they thought about the neglect of the pressing problems shown at the Convention can well be imagined.

These shortcomings are real but the N.M.U. can yet retrieve itself thru speedy and energetic work. The struggle for the elimination of Lewis and Fishwick may perhaps lead to a strike; perhaps this is the only way their elimination can be effected and a strike at the present time would not be hard to spread to general proportions. But the struggle must be properly explained to the workers; a set of immediate demands must be framed and popularized; the fight in the Illinois fields must be properly linked up with the whole coal mining situation and with the struggles of the workers in other industries. Above all, the Party and the left-wing must shake off the paralysis and passivity that have lately fallen upon it.

# The Program of the T.U.U.L.

By Ben Gitlow

HOW can one best characterize the Program of the Trade Union Unity League adopted at the recent Cleveland Conference? It seems that the best way would be: *a crude muddle resulting from a mixture of anarcho-syndicalism and pseudo-Communism*. After carefully analyzing the TUUL program one wonders what has happened to Leninism in this country. One feels that now as never before it is necessary to bring to every militant worker the great lessons embodied in Lenin's pamphlet *The Infantile Sickness of "Leftism" in Communism*. Now as never before is it necessary to get a firm grip on the essential ideas of Leninism so that the "new leadership's" brazen revision of the role of the trade unions, of the difference between the masses and the officialdom, of the tactic of the united front and the basic principles of our trade union activity will meet with sharp resistance.

The Program of the TUUL is not at all the program of a trade union center which has for its purpose the mobilization and organization of the workers for militant struggle for their immediate interests against the bosses and the bosses' agents in their own ranks (the trade union bureaucracy, reformists, etc.). In its structure the program it practically ignores the basis of the trade union movement, the everyday economic struggles of the workers. In its structure and content it follows almost identically the lines of a Communist Party program.

The Program looks upon the American working class as largely a homogeneous mass already developed to a point where it is so radicalized that it is ready to accept a Communist role and activity for the trade unions. The best proof of this is what the Program itself states:

"They (the new unions) aim to sharpen, deepen and unite the scattered economic struggles of the workers into a general political struggle aiming at the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government."

This sentence sums up the whole basis of the TUUL Program. It proves that the "new leadership" simply does not understand the role of the trade union movement or of a trade union center. It is a resurrection of the old syndicalist outlook of Wm. Z. Foster, brought back to life in a veiled form. In 1924, when the Foster group was in control of the Party, it proclaimed that the aim of the Trade Union Educational League was "the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat". At that time, however, the Communist International quickly corrected this error and put us on the right road, while at the present the false anarcho-syndicalist line emanates directly from the new leadership of the Ecce itself.

Such an outlook and policy leads straight to isolation from precisely those workers who are ready for militant union action in their everyday struggles but who are not yet ready for the full Communist program. Precisely in the United States, where the working class has still to develop class-consciousness, is such an outlook dangerous. Yet this is the position of the TUUL—and of the Party—today. To make the proletarian dictatorship the basis for the organization of the TUUL is to narrow it down to a closed sect of Party members and the very closest sympathizers. Such a position leads not only to the isolation of the left wing from the masses but *makes impossible the organization of the left wing itself*.

Let us examine this question more closely, for it is the key to the whole TUUL program.

Says the Program: the aim of the new unions is to sharpen,

deepen and unite the scattered economic struggles of the workers into a general political struggle aiming at the abolition of capitalism. But this is precisely one of the main tasks of the Communist Party whose role it is to develop the economic trade union struggles into a general political struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. To attribute such a role to a trade union center is nothing short of syndicalism.

To organize a trade union center on the basis of the general political struggle for the overthrow of capitalism is—to put it mildly—to see the American working class not as it really is but as it imagined to be—so rapidly moving to the left that it has already left behind the German, French, and English workers so far that it is ready not only for Communist trade unions but for the proletarian dictatorship as well.

The present position of the Party and of the TUUL is pure and simple left sectarianism against which Lenin fought so energetically.

"Millions of workers in England, France and Germany who were not organized heretofore have, for the first time, entered the simplest, most elementary and most easily accessible form of organization—for those still imbued with bourgeois democratic prejudices—namely, the trade unions. And the Left Communists who stand by, crying 'The masses the masses!' and refuse to work with the trade unions, refuse on the pretext of their 'conservatism', and contrive new, spick-and-span 'Workers Unions, . . . These 'Workers Unions' they claim, will be (will be!) all-embracing and for participation in them the only (only!) requirement is 'the acceptance of the Soviet system and the dictatorship of the proletariat'. A greater lack of sense and more harm to the revolution than this attitude of the 'Left' revolutionists cannot be imagined. Why, if we in Russia, after two and a half years of the incredible victories over the Russian bourgeoisie and the Entente, had demanded that entrance into the trade unions must be conditional upon the acceptance of the dictatorship, we should have committed a stupid act, impaired our influence over the masses, and helped the Mensheviks. For the whole of the Communist problem is to be able to convince the backward workers, to work in their midst, and not to set up a barrier between us and them, a barrier of pendant childish 'Left' slogans."

—Lenin: *Infantile Sickness of 'Leftism'*.

(In his next article Comrade Gitlow will continue his analysis of the TUUL program, taking up the points in detail.)

## SOON OFF THE PRESS

The first pamphlet dealing with the nature and roots of the present crisis in the Communist International

## THE CRISIS IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A.

25c a copy

ORDER FROM

REVOLUTIONARY AGE

37 East 28th St. :: Room 807 :: New York

Special rates on bundle orders

# The Tariff--Against the Workers

HOW far the sharpening of the world situation serves to intensify the contradictions of class relations at home is clearly shown in the proposed Smoot-Hawley Tariff Bill.

Obviously the urge for considerably increasing the American tariff rates does not arise from the fear of a collapsing, a shrinking domestic market, but is primarily an expression of the terrific offensive the Yankee imperialists are now waging for complete world hegemony. The bourgeoisie of every other country have already vigorously protested against and denounced the new tariff bill.

But in this very fight for undisputed world domination the capitalists in the United States are not a solid phalanx. Here old Party lines vanish. The debate over the new tariff bill clearly reveals the sharpening antagonisms within the bourgeoisie. In this debate there are already to be seen the germs of the disruption of the two party system. The present line of cleavage is especially sharp between the agricultural interests of the South and West and the big industrial interests of the East. Furthermore, we find the rising manufacturing interests of the hitherto Democratic Solid South loudly proclaiming: "A protective tariff for agriculture is absolutely essential to the well-rounded prosperity of the entire country." On the other hand, firmly established manufacturers, the automobile overlords like Ford and General Motors, are against the rising rates. In automobile production the American bourgeoisie already have an unchallengeable position and are even buying up foreign factories, as well as establishing their own abroad. Finally, and of ever-increasing importance is the fact that the biggest financial interests, dominantly Republican, having huge investments abroad are tending more and more to favor the "lowest possible" tariff in order to enable their debtors to have the broadest market and thus be able to pay the debts. This is the basis, for instance, of the National City Bank, with its vast investments in Cuban sugar, being so energetic an advocate of no tariff on sugar.

It is the sharpened conflict of interests within the capitalist class itself as a result of the changed position of the United States from a debtor into a creditor—that accounts for the failure, to date, and probably even final failure for the special session of Congress enacting new tariff legislation. The increasing export of capital creates for American imperialism a problem of the final repayment in commodities and therefore will, in time, compel the Yankee imperialists to lower their tariff rates. This will ultimately mean increasing competitive capacities of the debtor imperialist countries against Wall Street in the whole world market—including the United States.

Among the loudest in the demand for the highest tariff conceivable is the labor aristocracy represented by Mathew Woll, Green, etc. This corrupted upper stratum of the working class fears the loss of its privileges and will go to any length to maintain them. The reactionary labor bureaucracy cannot see that the very growing strength of American imperialism—to which the labor aristocracy owes its present privileged position—is itself sharpening the outer and inner contradictions of capitalism and consequently generating the very forces of the destruction of American imperialism.

In this connection Marx has said:

*"The system of protection was an artificial means of manufacturing manufacturers, of expropriating independent laborers, of capitalizing the national means of production and subsistence, and of forcibly abbreviating the transition from the mediaeval to the modern mode of production."*

Today, the proposed tariff bill aims to hasten, to manufacture

*artificially undisputed world hegemony for the American bourgeoisie. But the contradictions of world capitalism are gnawing at the very vitals of imperialism in the United States as well as in every other capitalist country. In the present world situation these contradictions are specially sharp. Thus a French imperialist recently protested:*

*"It would appear that the United States intends to become a closed country, prohibitionist in every respect, surrounded by an almost impossible tariff barrier capable of protecting all industries . . . Thus America could easily vanquish the industries of economically weaker countries and place the world, particularly Europe, in a state of economic and financial subjection."*

But this is not so simple. Briand's proposed United States of Europe is only a vain attempt full of unsolvable contradictions, to answer the growing aggression of American imperialism. And Stéphane Lauzanne, another world-notorious French imperialist, has spoken even more plainly of the war to which all this is leading:

*"The result is that a defensive bloc is forming in Europe against America. And experience tells us that defensive blocs easily become offensive. Are we going to see an economic war between the two continents?"*

Of course we will see a world war as the result. But the new tariff bill will also bring immediate great burdens to the great mass of workers. It will mean an additional sum of over six billion dollars filched from the toiling masses by sections of the exploiting class. It will strengthen the strangle-hold which the strikebreaking government apparatus already has on the toiling masses. It will further the already great fusion between the machinery of the biggest capitalist interests and that of the government.

The final form of the tariff bill will also have a clause against the importation of "seditious" literature, prohibiting the importation of books dealing with the theory, with the science of revolution. Books by Marx and Lenin can thus be barred from entry by the customs inspector. The bill thus strikes a dangerous blow against the rising class consciousness of the American proletariat.

Temporarily, the flexible rate-fixing provision, empowering the President to fix and alter the tariff schedules, has been defeated. Hoover's last appeal for action on the bill is really a last-minute plea to insure the enactment of the "flexible" clause. The much-vaunted right of raising revenue, supposed to be solely in the hands of Congress, will very likely be given to the President. His executive power will thus be tremendously strengthened. Some log-rolling and rate trading on the basis of certain sectional interests in the Senate will in the end secure the adoption of the flexible rate clause. It will be buffeted into "suitable" shape because the decisive sections of the American capitalist class are agreed upon at least this phase of the tariff bill.

The new bill is a menace to the American workers. It is a symbol of the Wall Street imperialist aggression abroad and of the brutal capitalist offensive at home.

## ATTENTION!

Beginning with the next issue of *Revolutionary Age* we will publish complete lists of the hundreds of comrades who have been expelled from the Party in the last five months. The number has already passed beyond four hundred and the compilation of a full list is very difficult. The responsible comrades in the districts are urgently requested to send in a full list of the comrades expelled in their districts.

# The Birth of the American Communist Movement

*In the Series: Ten Years of Communism in America and the Future*

*By Jay Lovestone*

OUR Party is now ten years young. Historically, ten years is a very short time, yet at the end of the first decade it is in place to look both backward and forward—to consider both our history and our future.

Revolutionary traditions play a very prominent part in building a Communist Party, in developing a revolutionary proletarian ideology. But we must not engage in reminiscences for the sake of glorifying the past. We must examine the mistakes and achievements of yesterday with the aim of learning how to make less mistakes and how to win more achievements today and tomorrow. Our examination of the Party's experiences and our analysis of its problems must be free from lingering illusions and prejudices and must be entirely objective in the best Leninist sense of the word.

The first serious manifestation of a left wing in the American socialist movement came as a result of two forces. The Russian Revolution of 1905 was a breath of fresh air, a revolutionary breeze thruout the Second International, already becoming degenerate with parliamentary cretinism. Thruout the Socialist world could be felt a surging wave of "direct actionism," of anti-parliamentarism—healthy in its roots tho false in its syndicalist reaction. Secondly, in the United States, this period marked the beginning of an accelerated trustification, of a break-down of small scale production of the growth of large scale corporate manufacturing. This structural change in industry naturally brought vigorous reaction on the part of the masses in the form of violent struggles against the monopolists. It was these conditions that gave birth to the giant trusts, to the I.W.W., and to the Roosevelt trust-busting "progressivism."

In these two significant objective factors is to be found the basis for the rise of the left-wing movement in the Socialist Party. Many will recall the expulsion of Haywood, the mass expulsions of the left-wing workers, the struggle over Article II, Section 6; the fight over legalism, sabotage and crass constitutionalism at the 1912 Convention which ended in a victory for the "yellows."

The Socialist Party now rushed precipitately into opportunism and reformism. Flushed with the municipal election victory in Milwaukee, the Hillquit-Berger statisticians began to figure out when they would "take over" the government on a local, state and national scale. Even the weak and confused fight against the Gompers bureaucracy was at first sabotaged and then gradually dropped.

The outbreak of the World War deepened the already fundamental differentiations within the S.P. On the Right stood the open social-chauvinists (Spargo, Russel, Walling, Stokes, etc.) who were pro-Ally. In the miserable Center stood the somewhat camouflaged tho no less dangerously social-patriotic Berger-Hillquit group who were either open or disguised pro-Germans. The leader of the Left was *Comrade Ruthenberg*.

Soon came Zimmerwald and Kienthal. The signs of a revival of internationalism in the ranks of the proletariat were multiplying. The mainspring of this revolutionary revival was of course international opposition to the imperialist war and keen disappointment as well as growing disillusionment with the traitorous role of the official Social-democratic leaders.

In the American Socialist movement this first revolutionary awakening in years crystallized itself in the organization of the *Socialist Propaganda League*. We soon began the publication of the *New International*. This group really laid the foundation

for the development of the Communist movement. It was the first near-Bolshevik crystallization in the United States. Bukharin, Melnichansky, Rutgers and other comrades participated in this organization. It was the Socialist Propaganda League which introduced the writings of Lenin in the United States.

With the entry of the U. S. A. into the World War the struggle of the Left Wing reached a new stage. The victory of the proletarian revolution in Russia, which followed soon after, the revolutionary sweep in Germany, the Soviets in Bavaria and Hungary, the open betrayal of the Socialist leaders at home, their capitulation to crass social-chauvinism, their cowardly attitude towards the persecuted I.W.W. who were showing their last signs of revolutionary vigor in militant strike activity against the war—all of these factors made for considerable strengthening of the left-wing forces in the Socialist Party.

Local Boston of the S.P. soon began publication of the *Revolutionary Age*. In Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago and especially New York, the Left made great headway. I recall a stormy session in the Socialist Party City Central Committee of New York in November 1918 when the Left Wing forces had already developed so much strength as to paralyze the Right Wing (Hillquit, Gerber, Trachtenberg, etc.) and adopt (without expressed opposition) a flaming resolution greeting the Workers and Soldiers Council in Berlin.

Such was the spirit animating growing sections of the American working class. Events now moved fast. By February 1919, the first Communist Program in the U.S.A. was adopted by the *New York Left Wing Conference*. Among the members of the Executive Committee elected at this Conference were *Ben Gitlow, Bert Wolfe, Jim Larkin, Jack Reed, and Jay Lovestone*. This committee, together with the leading forces of the Boston Left Wing constituted itself as a sort of provisional center of the national Left Wing. In New York the weekly *Communist* began publication. Under the leadership of *Comrade Ruthenberg, Local Cleveland*, then the banner city organization in the S.P., soon went Left Wing. With this as an impetus the New York Left Wing Program was soon endorsed in the biggest city locals of the Socialist Party from coast to coast.

By June 1919, the Left Wing movement—the direct precursor of our Communist Party—took on such country-wide proportions that there was soon held a *National Conference* in New York which adopted a Left Wing Manifesto. This declaration became the program of the entire Left Wing. The National Council elected at this conference became the leading body of the Left Wing, publishing as its organ the *Revolutionary Age* (now merged with the *New York Communist*) in New York City. On the National Council were C. E. Ruthenberg, Ben Gitlow, Bert Wolfe and John Reed.

As in the Russian Bolshevik movement, so in the first stages of our Party, serious dissensions developed over questions of organization. A sharp factional struggle soon divided the Left Wing. The main issues were: the role of the Russian Socialist Federation which then sought to exercise not merely ideological hegemony but also organizational monopoly, and the tempo of the split from the Socialist Party. This division led to the formation of two Communist Parties in Chicago during September 1919. The *Communist Party of America* was led by *Comrade Ruthenberg*. The *Communist Labor Party of America* was under the leadership of *Comrades Gitlow and Reed*.

## “World’s Greatest Democracy”

**E**VENTS move with lightning rapidity in the United States and with terrific weight.

We Communists maintain that capitalist democracy rests on violence against the workers, that the government is the central, unifying strikebreaking agency of the capitalist class. In recent months we have further emphasized the growing tendency towards the merging of the capitalist government apparatus with the machinery of the biggest business interests.

In the 100% American “Solid” South, seven workers have been sentenced to many years of imprisonment because they dared fight for the everyday interests of their class, for such elementary demands as the right to organize and to strike. At the same time, the Loray mill owners, working hand in glove with the court and county prosecution, have seen to it that the murderers of the militant trade unionist, Ella May Wiggins, get full protection, freedom and reward. Even the correspondent of so loyal a capitalist sheet as the *Baltimore Sun* was compelled to size up the situation in this manner:

*“They are striking cotton mill hands . . . If they arm themselves and resist, as they did at Gastonia, they get seventeen years in the penitentiary. If they do not arm and resist, as they did at Marion, they are shot down by the police. If they go unarmed and make no effort to resist, they may still be killed on the public highway. That is how Mrs. Wiggins died.”*

Now let’s go to Washington—the sanctuary of American democracy. The testimony of Shearer revealed the welding of the machinery of the biggest business interests with the apparatus of the state in foreign relations. Then, let’s introduce Mr. Lakin, head of the Cuba Sugar company. Mr. Lakin admitted spending thousands upon thousands to get the “right kind of legislation” and plainly said that “lobbying is a necessity to industry.” Thus are the morals of the liberals and “socialists” shocked! What a mortal blow to those who would have us believe that the state is some heavenly body above and apart from the class relations on earth.

But to Mr. Grundy, king of lobbyists, President of the almighty Pennsylvania Manufacturers’ Association, and maker of United States Presidents, we owe still more for classical illustration of the fraud of American democracy. Speaking on the tariff, Mr. Grundy minced no words. He told the spokesmen for the petty and middle bourgeoisie where to get off at. And in slashing Messrs. Brookhart, Walsh and Co. and advising them to take a back seat, Mr. Grundy rocked the very foundations of the pillar of democracy—the Constitution. It is no accident, that the international banker, Otto H. Kahn, has been proposed as treasurer of the Republican Senatorial Committee. In this sense Senator Bingham of Connecticut received excellent tutoring in tariff preparation when he engaged Mr. Eyan-son of the Manufacturers’ Association of that State as his private secretary. It is instructive to note that prior to his senatorship, Mr. Bingham was a professor of theology at Yale.

In the light of these events it is clear that to maintain that thugs, frame-ups, lobbyists and such extra-legal means must be fascism is to falsify the real nature of bourgeois democracy as democracy for the bosses but as dictatorship and violence for the toiling masses. In America especially capitalist democracy rests upon corruption and violence, upon fusion with big business and terror against the workers.

For the workers the only genuine democracy is working class democracy—such as the workers in Soviet Union have established and are defending side by side with the workers of the whole world.

## Defend the Communist Party!

**I**N a number of districts, particularly in Chicago, the Communist Party is under attack by the government. The old sedition and criminal syndicalist laws are being revived as a means of delivering a smashing blow at the Party and against workers generally. The Department of Justice, utilizing the serious crisis into which the Ecce and the Party leadership have brought the Party, deliberately chose this particular moment for an attack against it. That this attack was coming was foreseen by the CP-Majority group. When we learned of the Department of Justice raid on the Party National Office, we warned the entire Party to expect more raids and attacks; we warned the Party authorities and the membership to take measures to protect the Party against such raids. But all our warnings were disregarded. The Polcom was more interested in utilizing the raid for factional frame-ups against us than in protecting the Party. It denied that the Department of Justice had raided the Office, and thus gave the Party membership a false sense of security. This was criminal neglect which in a Communist Party cannot go unpunished.

The Polcom, in its anxiety to revise the principles of Leninism and to expel the former leadership, has forgot entirely that the Party has real enemies—the capitalist class, the government and its Department of Justice, which are today making a severe attack on the Party.

The Party membership must rally to the defence of the Party, realizing that the Party can be defended only if the broad masses of the workers are mobilized around it. This mobilization can take place only on the basis of correct policies, which the Party lacks today. The defence of the Party against attack demands the reestablishment in our Party of the correct line—the line of Leninism, which the Ecce and the Polcom have abandoned. The defence of the Party demands the overthrow of the present revisionist, criminally negligent and utterly incompetent Foster leadership that has been forced upon the Party. The defence of the Party demands the unification of its ranks and the reinstatement of its most loyal and self-sacrificing fighters who have been expelled by the Party-wreckers.

Party members, workers! Rally to the defence of the Communist Party! Demand unity in the face of the enemy attack! Fight for the mobilization of the workers on the basis of the correct Leninist line and behind a Leninist leadership!

### MIDNIGHT PERFORMANCE

*for the benefit of the*

## REVOLUTIONARY AGE ARSENAL

*greater than*

“Ten Days That Shook the World”

CHARLIE CHAPLIN

Newsreel of  
SOVIET FLYERS

ADMISSION  
ONE DOLLAR

*depicting with awe-inspiring tragic force the struggle for power between the Bolsheviki and the forces of the Bourgeois - Ukrainian independence led by PETLURA.  
—hailed as the equal of “POTEMKIN”*

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 16, Midnight Sharp  
FILM GUILD CINEMA  
52 W. 8th Street, between 5th and 6th Avenues

## The Way of Experience

By ALEX BAIL

(Candidate CC, formerly District Organizer of Boston District)

**O**N September 10, 1929 the Secretariat of the C.C. expelled me from the Party without so much as a hearing. How does it come that I, who was among the first of the district organizers to accept and endorse the Address of the Ecce, now find myself expelled?

In formulating its Address to the Party, the Ecce was very careful to hide the real political and organizational intent of the document and its line. The reiteration of the fairy-tale that it had no intention of handing the Party over to the Foster group, its emphasis on the question of factionalism and its shifting of the responsibility for factionalism on to the Majority leadership, its repeated rejection of the charge of a right-wing line against the former C.C. tended to hide and confuse the issues and give the Address a plausible character. I must confess that I satisfied myself with these superficial phrases and failed completely to search for the underlying political issues involved.

The Appeal of the Convention Delegation to the X Plenum first raised doubts and questions in my mind. A close study of the traditional line of the Comintern and of the reports and theses of the VI Congress convinced me that Comrade Lovestone and those associated with him (then beginning to form the C.P.-Majority Group) were fighting for the line of Leninism while the leadership of the Ecce and the “brand new” leadership here were fundamentally revising the Leninist line and were beginning the expulsion campaign here, as in other parties, in order to safeguard organizationally this revision.

The cable of the Ecce to the Party (at the time of the X Plenum) which called for the mass expulsion of the supporters of the Leninist line of the VI Congress, characterizing them as “renegades” and “agents of American imperialism” definitely determined my position. To remain silent now was a crime against the Comintern and against the Party we had helped to found and build. I definitely determined on a course of resistance and, together with almost the entire leadership of the district, succeeded in checking the Party-wrecking drive in the Boston District Bureau. Removal and expulsion followed immediately by “administrative order.”

An additional factor that helped to clarify the political atmosphere during our days of vacillation was the openly opportunist line of the “new” leadership. On a number of occasions our District Bureau was forced to criticize very sharply the complete paralysis, the criminal passivity of the “new” leadership in strikes involving 20,000 New England shoe workers. On numerous occasions also we defeated the opportunist proposals of the C.C. representative, Biedenkapp. We came out against the dropping of the “frame-up” slogan in the Gastonia situation. We condemned the brazenly opportunist line of the Party in connection with the Soviet Fliers. All this showed us that the so-called “new line” as simply a course of rank opportunism covered with high-sounding “revolutionary” phrases.

The correctness of our struggle has been proven to the hilt by the brazen revision of the principles of Leninism on the part of the X Plenum, by the recent C.C. Plenum which turned the Party over completely to the bankrupt ultra-opportunist Foster group, by the un-Marxian, un-Leninist monstrosity called the Plenum Thesis, and by the results already achieved by the Party wrecking course in the U. S. A. and in other sections of the Comintern.

The Bolshevik unity of our Party on the line of Leninism is the need of the hour. For this we must win the Party membership and the revolutionary workers.

## Dangerous Words!

*“If the November 7 Revolution shook the world, then how much more world-shaking are the events accompanying the 12th Anniversary of the Revolution which witnesses the beginnings of the concrete achievement of those aims for which the proletariat seized power.”*

*—Introduction, Building Socialism in the Soviet Union, by Leon Plott.*

*—“Today a world party of Leninism has been formed!”—Party Declaration for the 12 Anniversary Celebration of the Russian Revolution.*

These statements are excellent examples of the anti-Leninist revisionist ideology that is now being forced upon the Party by the present Ecce. Nothing of any importance, it appears, ever happened in world history up to the “third period”! In fact, the “third period” we are told, marks the opening of a new chapter in world history which has the monopoly on historical events! This is a shameful denial of the revolutionary achievements of the proletariat as well as a vulgar distortion of the idea of the third period. It is anti-Leninism!

Is the Five Year Plan, however important it may be, a more “world shaking” event than the great October Revolution which introduced a new period in human history?

Has *nothing* of “concrete achievement” been accomplished by the Russian Revolution for twelve years? Are the Russian workers now proceeding to the “beginnings of concrete achievements”?

Has the world Party of Leninism just been formed “today”? Has not the world Party of Leninism existed since the foundation and consolidation of the Communist International? Or is it only since the new leadership of the Comintern have begun to desert the principles of Leninism that the “world Party of Leninism” has been established?

It is a shameful tragedy that such dangerous anti-Soviet and anti-Comintern ideas should be spread and propagated by the official Party press and the official Party machinery.

### OPENING OF

## Marx-Lenin School

MONDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1929

### COURSES:

Problems of the American Communist Movement, Problems of the Communist International, Fundamentals of Communism, Program of the Communist International, Marxism-Leninism; Imperialism, Historical Materialism, Work in Trade Unions and Mass Organizations, American History, America Today, History of American Thought, Problems of the Communist Youth Movement, English, Intermediate and Advanced.

### INSTRUCTORS:

Jay Lovestone, Ben Gitlow, Bertram D. Wolfe, D. Benjamin, Will Herberg, Herbert Zam, Bert Miller, Jim Cork, Joe Speer Max Rock and others.

CLASSES EVERY EVENING from 7 to 8:30, 8:30 to 10 p. m.

CURRENT EVENTS EVERY SUNDAY EVENING

Registration every evening—5 to 7:30 P.M.

37 East 28 Street, Room 807.

WRITE FOR ANNOUNCEMENTS AND INFORMATION

# Adventurism in the Workmens Circle

ON October 11-13 the Conference of the Left-Wing in the Workmens Circle decided, upon the initiative of the Party, to split away from the W.C. and to unite with the Independent Workmens Circle. The whole idea of this split, the "strategy" on the basis of which it was carried out and the situation to which it has led show most clearly the true aspect of the ruinous sectarian adventurist line that has been forced upon our Party by the new regime in the Eccei.

The split is a victory and achievement not for the left-wing but for the right-wing bureaucrats who are now at last "getting rid" of their most dangerous enemies, the best left-wingers. This is the inevitable result of a line of policy that defies the first principles of Leninist strategy.

*"In order to help the masses and to win their sympathy, confidence and support, it is necessary to brave all difficulties, attacks, insults, cavils and persecutions at the hands of the leaders (who being opportunists and social chauvinists are in most cases directly and indirectly connected with the bourgeoisie and the police) to work by every possible means wherever the masses are to be found. Great sacrifices must be made, the greatest hindrances must be overcome in order to carry on agitation and propaganda systematically, stubbornly, insistently and patiently in all institutions, societies, and associations however reactionary, where proletarians or semi-proletarians gather together."*

The defiance of these elementary Leninist directives means isolation and sterility.

The Workmens Circle is a Jewish fraternal order with an elaborate system of sick-and-death benefits, insurance benefits, etc. It was built up in the struggle of the Jewish immigrant workers in this country. In its earliest stages it was a thoroly proletarian organization serving as a great support to the militant labor movement. Lately, however, altho the organization grew by leaps and bounds (75,000 members), its composition became mixed, with about an equal proportion of proletarian and petty bourgeois membership, while its official leadership passed more and more to the side of the bourgeoisie, being now an organic part of the Jewish Socialist yellow trade union bureaucracy. In every international question (U.S.S.R., etc.), in every struggle in the Jewish labor movement (needle trades, *Freiheit*, etc.) the W.C. apparatus stood full force on the side of the Socialist reactionaries but at the same time it always proved possible for the Communists to mobilize thousands of Jewish workers for a class position and for a struggle against the bureaucracy.

It is impossible in such a short article to take up the long history of the Party policy in the W.C. It is only necessary to say that in the last period, because of the developments in the needle trades and because of the Palestine events, the tide has been running against the left-wing while the bureaucratic officialdom, on the other hand, has taken advantage of the situation to intensify its drive against the left-wingers and to carry thru the most reactionary proposals. A split at this time—so far from separating the proletarian from the petty bourgeois elements—could only have the inevitable effect of drawing off a small fraction of the Party members and sympathizers and leaving the mass of the workers (right-wingers and left-wingers) at the mercy of the Socialist bureaucracy. This is precisely what has happened.

The "strategical line" of the split was bad enough but even worse was how it was carried out. The Party "leadership" left out of consideration altogether the necessity for leaving some left-wing or Communist forces in the W.C. to remain in con-

tact with the tens of thousands of workers there. The Manifesto of the Left-Wing Conference categorically called upon all left-wingers to leave the W. C. immediately. "To remain in the W.C.," it declared, "is no longer possible for any class conscious worker."

The official "strategy" was that the split-off left-wingers from the W.C. should join the *Independent Workmens Circle*. This latter is a much smaller organization, (about 8,000 members), largely limited to New England. At the last Convention the Party succeeded in "putting over" some "Communist" resolutions and in electing a "left" National Executive. But these "achievements" were merely superficial; indeed, they provoked a sharp reaction. The "Communist" resolutions have since been overwhelmingly repudiated by a referendum vote. Moreover, excited by the possibility of being "swamped" by the split-off groups of the W.C., the National Board of Appeals of the I.W.C. has taken action to suspend the National Executive of the Order and take control of the office and funds and has announced that the split-off groups from the W.C. will not be admitted into the Independent. The result is that the conscious left-wingers who did split from the W.C. with the expectation of joining the I.W.C. are now left with nowhere to go, really isolated, in serious danger of demoralization and disintegration.

All around the situation is a real catastrophe for the left-wing. It shows to what the false revisionist anti-Leninist line of the present Party "leadership" leads in practical mass work.

This ruinous split policy of the "new leadership" met with the sharpest resistance on the part of the C.P.-Majority Group. From the very beginning we told the Party members and left-wing workers of the catastrophic consequences of this dangerous maneuver. It was owing to our pressure and our activities that the absolutely complete desertion of the workers in the W.C. and the utter isolation of the left-wingers was prevented. It was thru our agitation that large numbers of left-wingers have come to understand that it is their revolutionary duty to remain with the workers in the W.C. and not to leave them to the mercies of the yellow bureaucrats. However, by and large, the actual split faced us as an accomplished fact. We decided therefore that where considerable groups of left-wing workers split off in spite of what we could do it was our duty to maintain contact with these groups, to fight against the demoralization that was certain to spread, to rally and consolidate the left-wingers to fight for the correct policies. For these reasons wherever large left-wing groups split off our supporters went with them. In this way we are maintaining contact not only with the split-off groups but also with the masses of the workers in the W.C.

The left-wing is now faced with the great problem of saving what can be saved in the present situation. In this task the C.P.-Majority Group will take up the banner of Leninism which the present Party "leadership" has dropped.

OUT SOON! WATCH FOR IT!

In a very short time will appear the first number of the new

## Jewish Monthly Bulletin

of the

C.P.-Majority Group

5 cents a copy.

50 cents a year

## Lenin Said:

ON "EXCEPTIONALISM"

THE main thing now is that the Communists of each country should in full consciousness study both the fundamental problems in the struggle with opportunism and "left" doctrinairism, as well as the *specific peculiarities* which this struggle assumes and must inevitably assume in each separate country, according to the peculiarities of its politics, economics, culture, national composition (Ireland, etc.), its colonies, religious divisions, etc. . . . One must clearly realize that such a leading center (as the Communist International) can under no circumstances be built after a single model, by a mechanical uniformity and equalization of the tactical rules of struggle. So long as national and state differences exist between peoples and countries (and these differences will continue to exist for a very long time, even after the realization of the proletarian dictatorship on a world scale), the unity of the international tactics of the Communist labor movement everywhere demands *not* the elimination of the varied national differences (this at the present moment is a foolish dream) but such an *application* of the fundamental principles of Communism (Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat) which would permit of the proper modification of these principles in particulars and their correct adaptation and application to national and national-state differences. To investigate, study, ascertain, grasp the nationally peculiar, nationally specific features in the concrete attempts of every country to solve the aspects of a single international problem . . . therein lies the principle problem of the historical moment in which all advanced (and not only advanced countries) now find themselves.

—The Infantile Sickness of "Leftism" in Communism.

ON DISCIPLINE

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

—Infantile Sickness of "Leftism."

ON IMPERIALISM AND INNER AND OUTER CONTRADICTIONS

THE basic historical significance of imperialism is just this: that it transforms the contradictions of the national economy itself into the contradictions of the world economy; it raises them to the new level of *international* contradictions and thus sharpens them infinitely.

—Imperialism.

## Ruthenberg on the Foster Group

NOW that the Foster group has regained control of the Party as the original bearer of the new revisionist line forced upon the Party by the present Eccei it is valuable to recall the many political characterizations of the Foster group given by Comrade C. E. Ruthenberg during the period when this group was first demonstrating to the whole Party that its rule meant ruin for the Communist movement. We call special attention to the striking accuracy of the characterizations of Comrade Ruthenberg. The quotations below are all from the *Daily Worker* during the middle of 1925.

—Editorial Committee.

\*\*\*  
*Epithets Cannot Hurt Us!*

ON the basis of this record we hurl back into the teeth of the Foster-Cannon group the epithet "Farmer-Labor Communist." Let the Foster-Cannon group stand up before the Party and explain its consistent refusal to follow a Bolshevik policy as shown by the record of fact. Epithets directed against the group in the Party which has consistently fought against their vacillations and compromises when faced with a question of following a Bolshevik line, will not cover up these facts from the record.

\*\*\*  
*Right-Wing Sectarianism*

NOW we cite these two facts about Loreism and the Trotsky matter to show what the connection was and I say that it is due to this connection, to this basis of the Foster-Cannon group that during the year that followed it successively moved step by step to a Loreist policy, that it went towards *right-wing sectarianism* in our Party.

1 "Farmer-Labor Communists" was the favorite epithet that the Foster-Cannon group of 1925 used against the old Ruthenberg group, the historical basis of the present C.P.-Majority Group. Nowadays, the same Foster group has developed a new vocabulary; nowadays, in the third period, it is "right-wingers," "renegades," and "agents of American imperialism." But, as Comrade Ruthenberg said, epithets cannot cover up the facts.

2 The group referred to is the Ruthenberg group whose leaders were Ruthenberg, Lovestone and Gitlow. In 1925 it was the minority of the C.C. It is the historical basis for the leadership of our Party, for the C.P.-Majority Group.

3 The two facts referred to are: the support given by the Foster-Cannon group to Lore, an outspoken opportunist, which took the form of a close alliance with him under his political leadership; and the close sympathy that the Foster-Cannon-Lore leadership manifested for Trotsky who at that time was initiating his struggle against Leninism. When the Foster-Cannon group took over the Party at the December 1923 Convention Lore telegraphed his paper: "The Trotskyites have won the Party!"

## Welcome Home!

We are pleased to announce the return to our shores of Alexander Bittleman, widely known in these parts as "the greatest Marxist in America." Bittleman's departure from our midst, it will be recalled, took place last March as a part of the camouflage to hide from the Party membership the transference of the Party to the Foster group. Now that the need for such camouflage is beginning to disappear the "American Lenin" returns to claim his rightful share in the fruits of victory.

The sharpening of the inner and outer contradictions in the Party flowing out of his return will soon manifest themselves in sharp explosions. And here the inner contradictions really occupy the position of primacy!

## PARTY LIFE

### Boston District No. 1

Carl Hacker is being forced out as D.O. and a Fosterite will probably take his place, giving the Foster machine complete control of the District. Meanwhile resistance to the new regime is sharpening in the units. *Susie Wallace* and *Mary Shaines* were removed as unit functionaries, by a vote of 8 to 7. In unit 1-2-11, with Sam Don reporting, the vote was 8 to 3 against the district resolution. Comrade *Futran* was removed as organizer. October 25, Comrade Gitlow held a splendid meeting with nearly 30 comrades present, in spite of the fact that the District Office called a district membership meeting to prevent comrades from coming.

The election campaign is completely dead; there is no candidate in the election campaign and naturally there is no campaign. The Gastonia meeting at which the "Labor Jury" reported, was attended by only 25 workers. Only 150 attended the Foster T.U.U.L. meeting at Franklin Union Hall which seats 1200.

In *New Bedford* the new "leadership" is trying to force out the leaders of the National Textile Workers Union, *Ellen Dawson* and *Rafael Pires*. The very life of the organization is threatened. At the meeting of the Union only 400 (instead of the usual 2000) turned out to hear Foster report. Foster's proposals were rejected overwhelmingly.

### New York District No. 2

On Sunday, October 19, a District Plenum was held chiefly for the purpose of putting the finishing touches to the job of turning the district over to Fosterites. Since *Weinstone* is leaving, *Amtor* has been temporarily chosen to fill the place until *Krumbein* returns. *Aronberg*, *Williamson*, *Ziebel* and *Powers* have been added to the District Bureau. *Olga Gold* is made a candidate. Comrade *Freeman*, building trades worker, tho not yet expelled officially, was excluded from the District Plenum. Comrade *Jonas*, shoemaker, was expelled, and Comrades *Koppell* (metal worker), and *Pearl Halpern* (needle trades) were referred to the Control Commission. Comrade *Perilla* reported officially for the District Control Commission that 75 have already been expelled and 3 suspended.

The election campaign this year has proved to be the worst in the history of the district. The "new" platform, published a few days before Election Day, attempted to "improve" the original platform under the pressure of the criticism of the C.P.-Majority Group. But the platform still reflects the opportunist sectarian line of the present "leadership." The open air meetings have been almost completely wiped out. Very few leaflets have been printed, nor are there any special issues of the *Daily Worker* for the Election Campaign, in spite of the many favorable opportunities.

The *Gastonia demonstration*, according to official estimates, had 5000 present, an exaggerated figure at that. The meeting thruout was spiritless, a characteristic nowadays of all Party meetings.

At the reception to the fliers, which offered a splendid opportunity for the Party, there was absolutely no leadership shown to utilize and direct the mass enthusiasm shown by the workers. The Party's face was not shown.

In the needle trades leading fraction, the Foster group was given control. The fraction includes *Weich*, *Lupin*, *Goldman*, *Resnick* and *Weiss* plus *Gold*, *Boruchovitz*, *Wortis*, *Schneider* and *Potash*. In the *Shoeworkers Union*, in spite of the strenuous opposition of *Biedenkapp*, Comrade *Jonas* was elected to the Educational Committee by an overwhelming majority.

The New York comrades of the C.P.-Majority Group expect to organize a school after Thanksgiving Day, with *Bert Wolfe* as director and *D. Benjamin* as assistant director. *S. Levich* will be at his usual post handling the office. Watch for announcements of courses, registration, teachers, etc.

### Philadelphia District No. 3

The situation is well brought out in a letter to unit and section organizers signed by *Herbert Benjamin*, who is still D.O., and *E. Bender*, Agitprop Director:

"The present composition of the Party is poor. We have very few members from large factories and basic industries.

We have practically no shop nuclei. NO SHOP PAPERS ARE BEING ISSUED. We propose the following: Each unit hold meetings, affairs, lectures (election rallies in Phila.) etc., in their RESPECTIVE TERRITORIES . . . Each unit to hold at least two such affairs (EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL) IF POSSIBLE MORE."

About 50 Party members and sympathizers, among them leading comrades in the needle trades, building trades, textiles, and fraternal organizations attended an enthusiastic meeting addressed by Comrade *Lovestone* on Sunday, October 27, to discuss the present situation before the Party and the left-wing.

### Anthracite District No. 14

*Phil Frankfeld* has been made "district organizer" of the Anthracite to replace *Gorman*. This factional agent is being sent in to carry thru the disruptive work, which *Gorman* has failed to accomplish. *Bill White* addressed a successful 12 Anniversary celebration on Thursday, October 31 in *Wilkes Barre* attended by over one hundred workers.

### Baltimore

The Gitlow meeting in Baltimore was attended by 60 Party members and sympathizers, in spite of the frantic efforts of *Flaiani* (the organizer) who called a Party membership meeting to keep comrades away from the meeting of the "renegades." The Baltimore comrades have pledged to raise one hundred dollars for the *Revolutionary Age*.

### Detroit District No. 7

*Tallentire* is "leaving" for California. His place will be taken by *Stachel*. According to *Williamson*, the new Organization Secretary of the Party, "Detroit, the largest auto center in the world, which is undergoing deep radicalization, has issued only one shop paper since the month of May, altho here we used to have 6-7 shop papers in auto plants alone" (*Daily Worker*, Oct., 29). *Frankfeld*, the new district organizer of the Anthracite, has completely disrupted the work in the auto field, his bombast and exaggerations have utterly disgusted the auto workers, who will have nothing to do with him. *Schmiess*, the candidate for Mayor, is in *New York*, and the election campaign is a complete fizzle. Our *Gastonia* meeting had about 200 present. The Proletarian Party and the Cannonites are utilizing the chaos in the Party to run large meetings and distribute a large amount of literature, papers, etc. The situation in Detroit is rich in possibilities for Communist activity, but under the present "leadership," very little can be expected. In this situation the message of the *Revolutionary Age* has come like a ray of hope to those who are interested in maintaining a Communist movement in this important district.

### Chicago District No. 8

This district shows the Foster leadership fully in the saddle. All those who are suspected of having a past or present taint of non-Fosterism are kept strictly in the background. The right wing character of this leadership is shown in the handling of the reception of the fliers. The slogan of: "Defend the Soviet Union" was raised only by a non-partyite, a lawyer, in a speech for the *Friends of the Soviet Union*. *Pioneers wearing red kerchiefs were not permitted to enter the armory* in which the meeting was held. *When the crowd rose to sing the International at the opening of the meeting, the ushers ssh-ed them down*. Efforts were made to check the waving of red flags. As far as the Party is concerned, it simply did not appear anywhere, in any form. No Twelfth Anniversary leaflets were distributed. The Proletarian Party however used the opportunity to distribute a large amount of literature.

### General

The new National Secretariat is *Browder*, *Minor* and *Bedacht*. *Browder* is now actually running the apparatus for Foster, with *Minor* as a willing yes-man. *Olgin* is leaving for the U.S.S.R., and *Sultan* will be editor of the *Freiheit*. The leaders of the Foster caucus in the Jewish section, notorious factionalists and opportunists, *Costrell*, *Sultan*, *Weiner* will be in full charge and more disastrous policies can be expected. The "Enlightenment Campaign" is another department now fully taken over by the Fosterites: *Browder*, *Williamson*, etc. In the

# The Wrecking of the U.C.W.W.

By *Kate Gitlow*

(Founder and Secretary of the U.C.W.W.)

THE United Council of Working Class Women was organized in November 1923 but in less than one year it already numbered over 500 members in New York, most of them proletarian housewives. In that short period it had already shown its value to the revolutionary movement. Yet in 1924, just about the time it was ready to begin its real development, it faced its first crisis—the sabotage and destructive work of the Foster faction then just come into power thru an alliance with the social-democrat *Lore*. The U.C.W.W. just barely held out under the attacks, kept together by a group of Party comrades and devoted non-Party proletarian women. Only a skeleton remained.

In 1925 the historical leadership of our Party, under Comrade *Ruthenberg*, regained control of the Party. Under this leadership the U.C.W.W. was not only allowed to start building up but was given every help and encouragement. In three and a half years of uninterrupted work the U. C.W.W. developed in a splendid manner and did wonderful work in the class struggle. The Passaic strike made history for the U.C.W.W., for the most backward section of the proletarian women, the working class housewives. In the needle trades struggles of New York the U.C.W.W. could always be found on the job, fighting the right wing, helping to establish the new Union. In the *Gastonia* struggle—altho the Party did not develop this struggle among the workers as it should have, as the Passaic struggle was developed—yet the working class women under the leadership of the U.C.W.W. have done their share, and more. In the great Communist election campaign of 1928 the U.C.W.W. really made a name for itself among the workers. Everything went along fine until the Address came and the Party found its "new line."

I will confine my article to what the Address and the "new line" has done to the U.C.W.W. The Address gave the Party

near future Foster will make a general clean-up of the districts. Eight district organizers are expected to be "released." According to the figures quoted by Comrade *Williamson*, national organization secretary in the *Daily Worker* of October 29, the Philadelphia district has an average dues payment of 300, Cleveland 400, Minnesota 360. Compare this figure with the figures for August, September, October 1928, the months taken as the basis for the last convention: Philadelphia 700, Cleveland 600, Minnesota 800. We wonder why there is no mention made of the most important districts; New York, Chicago, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Boston, etc. It is evident that an honest estimate would show clearly that the drop in dues payments reflects the general demoralization and organizational chaos in the Party, as the result of the Address, the "Enlightenment Campaign" and the policies of the present "leadership."

### Send Us Information—News!

All comrades are urgently requested to send us every bit of information possible as to the life and activities of the Party in their districts for use in the *Party Life* section. Please send us all circulars, leaflets, bulletins, etc. Please do not delay or else the information will be out of date.

### Slanders Can't Hurt Us!

As we go to press there appears in the *Daily Workers* an unbelievably lying and slanderous article by *Albert Moreau* about our Comrade *Saby Nehama*. Unable to break Comrade *Nehama's* influence among the Latin American workers *Moreau* has resorted to the most deliberate slanders for which he better than anyone else knows that there is no basis in fact. In our next issue we will publish the facts of the case, including some interesting facts about Comrade *Moreau*.

back to the old opportunist group in the Party, the Foster group, which is incapable of leadership and capable only of destroying everything. From the beginning I was against the Address because I saw it was anti-Leninist and destructive. Immediately began the actions to get me out of the U.C.W.W. and to destroy the movement itself. *Olga Gold*, the new secretary for women's work of the district (she replaces *Pearl Halpern!*) was put in to spy upon me and other "unfaithful" comrades. On every side there was sabotage and friction and fighting and suspicions. The work of the U.C.W.W. began to collapse immediately. Along with this came all kinds of opportunist mistakes of the worst kind, such as the terrible August 1 leaflet, which was just full of pacifism and sentimental bosh (it was approved by *Darcy*, the new agitprop director).

The new leading lights in the U.C.W.W. are now two doctors, one a lecturer on Jewish literature and the other a writer. The whole leadership is a purely social-democratic Jewish nationalist element who are not Communists or revolutionists at all. It came to such a situation that it was impossible to work there any longer and take responsibility for the break-down so I decided to resign. At the meeting of Oct. 26 I handed in my resignation, explaining what was happening to the U.C.W.W. At the same time I urged them to intensify their work for the *Gastonia* defense, in support of the Communist Party, and in organizing the women. My resignation was not accepted. The consensus of opinion of everybody was that the matter was so serious that it should go to a membership meeting. But that is not what the petty bourgeois clique did. They went ahead with their work of wrecking the organization. A letter was sent out to the councils that *Kate Gitlow* was no longer secretary. This letter was signed by a "secretariat" of *Gordon*, *Jansen* and *Olga Gold*. So actually *Olga Gold* is the new secretary, altho she never was even a member of the U.C.W.W.

But the criminal activity of the "new leadership" in bringing in the factional Party issues into the U.C.W.W. did not end; it just began. A campaign began to push me out of the whole movement altogether. At the council of which I am a member *Dr. Moshevitz* came to speak. She saw me there and said she would not speak in *Kate Gitlow's* presence. She said that she did not expect to see me at the meeting. The members of the council protested. They passed a motion demanding a membership meeting and to protest against *Dr. Moshevitz's* conduct. And so the splitting activity in the U.C.W.W. has been opened up full speed by the "new leadership" and their petty bourgeois agents in the U.C.W.W. Every day brings out the crisis sharper. The Enlightenment Campaign is being brought into the U.C.W.W. The whole movement of working class housewives in New York to which we devoted long years to build is now in danger. Only the bringing of the Party to the correct line and the removal of the unprincipled clique that is destroying everything will save the Party and the mass organization.

Support "Revolutionary Age"



# Church - Or Fighting Party?

By J. O. Bentall

I have been expelled from the Communist Party of the United States. That is a very significant fact. I, who have been in the revolutionary ranks for thirty years, always with the left, fought side by side with Comrade Ruthenberg against the right wing in the old S.P., went to Leavenworth for fighting against the war, joined the Communist Party at its inception loyally supporting the Party and the C.I., never mixing up with factionalism, working only for the revolution, struggling as a rank and filer for the great aim of the Communist movement, the overthrow of capitalism—am expelled.

And why am I expelled? What have I done—or not done? Have I gone back on the principles of Communism? No.

Have I gone back on Marxism and Leninism? No.

Have I violated Communist discipline? No.

Have I neglected my duty as a Communist? No.

No such charges have even been brought against me.

Then what is it all about? That is very interesting and must be dealt with by every true Communist in our Party and every Party in the Comintern. Because it involves Bentall? Not at all, but because it involves a principle of supreme importance. This principle is applied in expelling hundreds of our best comrades and creating a situation unheard of in the Communist movement.

The Open Letter to the Sixth Convention of our Party came. Do you accept? I did, weak and below par tho it was. The Address. Do you accept? Yes, I did. Cables, expulsions, wild-cat Party decisions. Do you accept? I did. Will you carry out? I will. My position was to accept and carry out all Eccei mandates and all Party decisions.

This position was supposed to be OK for some time. The Central Control Commission (of which I was a member) told me so. But not for long. The Polburo made a new ruling. The comrades must be catechized further. A cable from the Eccei gave the directive. Now it was not enough to accept and carry out, but you must "recognize the correctness" of the Address, "recognizes the correctness" of the expulsions, of the decisions, of the actions of the Eccei and the C.C. You must "believe" in the Address and the expulsions!

To believe is to have faith. The Episcopalian Church has 39 Articles of Faith. "I believe," says the good Episcopalian, the Catholic, the Buddhist, the Mohammedan. The church is the one great institution on earth that is founded on uncritical faith. Faith is its cornerstone. "Believe in the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved."

And now comes the Eccei and the C.C. and calls upon the members to believe in the "correctness" of their actions. "He who does not believe shall be damned," says St. John; "He who does not 'recognize' shall be kicked out," says the Eccei and the C.C.

So when I declared that I did not agree with the C.C. expulsions and the Eccei Address and did not "recognize the cor-

ORDER NOW!

## The 'New Course' - An Old Curse

(An Analysis of the Thesis of the October 1929

Plenum of the C.C.)

FIVE CENTS

rectness" of it, tho accepting it and carrying it out as a disciplined Communist, I was expelled. Hundreds of others have been expelled on the same basis.

This attitude will mean disaster for the Party. You cannot build the Communist Party on the foundation rock of theology.

Let this policy continue and it will be only a short time till the Party membership will be nothing but an aggregation of morons ("obedient fools"—as Lenin said). Only a moron will submit to the demand of blind belief. It is unthinkable that our Communist Party leadership and the Eccei should so have forgotten the very simplest and most elementary principles of Communism.

We want a Party of thinking workers, a Party that encourages grappling with the profoundest problems that confront the working class. A Communist will submit to discipline but he will never submit to credo. The Bolshevik Party of Lenin was well disciplined, but not gagged. A good Bolshevik will fight for the correct line. He will never lie down and go to sleep under the drug of an imposed faith. The minute the Party establishes a creed or a theological dogma it is doomed. No organization except the Church can live on faith. A Communist Party would die from it.

Imagine Lenin expelling a comrade simply because he disagreed with him on policy! Lenin urged relentless fight by all Communists for the correct line and against the wrong line. Only weaklings are afraid of thinking workers and only bureaucrats will gag them.

Let us have a fighting Party that is virile in thought and active in carrying thru the plan most effective for the revolution.

## THE Revolutionary Age

Will Live and Grow Only With Your  
Continued, Financial Support

### Contribute!

To the REVOLUTIONARY AGE Sustaining Fund

REVOLUTIONARY AGE,  
Room 807—37 East 28th St.,  
New York, N. Y.

Inclosed please find.....dollars as my contribution to the Revolutionary Age Sustaining Fund.

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State.....

# The X Plenum of the ECCI

By Will Herberg

(CONTINUED FROM THE LAST ISSUE)

### Stabilization and the Third Period

The chief source of the revisionist line of the X Plenum was its false estimation of the question of stabilization and the third period. The line of the Plenum amounted to giving up completely the whole idea of the third period as developed by the VI Congress. It is significant that neither Comrade Kuusinen nor Manuisky so much as mentioned the "third period" in their reports, altho one of the stock "arguments" of the Eccei against the "rights and conciliators" is failure to "recognize" the third period. The Plenum not only dropped the whole idea of the third period but it adopted a characteristically negative Trotskyist attitude towards stabilization.

The III Congress of the Comintern (1921) recognized in its famous resolution on "The International Situation" that the first post-war period was reaching its end and that a period of "stabilization" was setting in (the second period). It was, however, not until 1925-6 that the idea of stabilization was precisely defined. The VI Plenum (February 1926) in its resolution on "The Current Problems of the International Communist Movement" pointed out that the second period was a period in which capitalism in practically all countries had begun to recover economically from the collapse of the first immediate post-war period altho the level of production had not yet reached pre-war standards. The VI Congress (July 1928) noted the setting in of a third period and characterized both as follows (Report of Comrade Bukharin):

"From an economic point of view, from the point of view of an analysis of the capitalist economy, the second period may be described as the period of the restoration of the productive forces of capitalism . . ."

"The second period passed away to give place to the third period, the period of capitalist reconstruction. This reconstruction was expressed in the pre-war limits being exceeded quantitatively and qualitatively . . ."

The Theses of the VI Congress declare:

"Finally came the third period which in the main is the period in which capitalist economy exceeds its pre-war level and in which also the economy of the U.S.S.R. almost exceeds its pre-war level . . ."

The VI Congress also pointed out that this growth of the productive forces beyond the pre-war level was accompanied by a relative contraction of world markets leading to the development of sharp contradictions and opening up of a period of revolutionary perspectives. The revolutionary perspectives implied in the third period, according to the VI Congress, are to be traced not to the fact that the third period is the period of the liquidation of stabilization but to the fact that in the third period the development of stabilization to a new level, meeting with the contraction of the world markets, sharpens the contradictions within stabilization and leads to the growth of the revolutionary struggle. Such were the views of the VI Congress, visible in every line of the main reports and resolutions. At the VI Congress itself there was already a pronounced tendency on the part of the "corridor congress" to reject these perspectives and in particular the idea of the third period. In fact the majority of the German delegation (controlled by Thalmann, Neumann, etc.) at first openly repudiated the concept of the third period as "opportunist" and only afterwards gave a grudging acquiescence to it. But, altho "accepted" in words, the VI

Congress line was rejected and revised in fact, in the first place by the new Eccei and then by the "new leaderships" of the various Parties. This came out as clear as daylight at the X Plenum.

The X Plenum threw away entirely the yardstick by which the Comintern had always estimated the question of stabilization: the economic situation (especially the level of production) — and replaced it by vague impressionistic phrases. In this way Comrade Kuusinen reached the conclusion that:

"The 'third period' is not a period of stabilization but a period of the liquidation of capitalist stabilization . . ."

which is obviously directly contrary not only to the line of the VI Congress but to all decisions and concepts of the Comintern on the question of stabilization. It should now be clear why the reporters and speakers at the X Plenum avoided referring to the third period or else spoke of it as the "so-called third period" or put the phrase in quotation marks. The very idea of the third period was rejected by the X Plenum.

But the X Plenum went even further in its revision. Not only did it give up the third period as laid down by the VI Congress but it rejected the idea of stabilization altogether! Comrade Kuusinen declared that "stabilization" was a very "confusing" idea and said that "the 'contradictions of stabilization' . . . is a rather vague expression," altho this has been a basic concept of the Comintern for many years and is referred to many times in the VI Congress Theses. Indeed the words "contradictions of capitalist stabilization" form one of the chapter headings of the Program. In this negative attitude towards the question of stabilization the Plenum took a position very close to that taken by the Trotsky-Zinoviev bloc in 1926.

The turn to Trotskyism is found also in another direction. If it is true as Comrade Kuusinen maintains, that the "third period" (which set in about 1927) is the period of the "break-up of stabilization" then Trotsky and Zinoviev were quite correct when thruout 1926 they shouted that the end of stabilization was at hand; consequently also the C.P.S.U. and the C.I. were quite wrong in rejecting their views (see VII Plenum, December, 1926). This must be stated openly by the present leaders of the Eccei who are smuggling in Trotskyist conceptions. What the XV Conference of the C.P.S.U. said of the Trotskyites applies now to the X Plenum itself:

"The Opposition Bloc falls into despair in view of the retarded pace of the world revolution and therefore slips from a basis of a Marxist analysis of the objective economic situation down to 'ultra-left' self-deception and loud-mouthed phrase-mongering."

The general point of view of the X Plenum is essentially the much discredited "apex theory" of Comrade Bittleman and the Foster group. Both have a pessimistic point of departure: they maintain that it is impossible to have any revolutionary perspectives unless you believe that—"American imperialism is about to reach the apex of its development"—that stabilization is being liquidated. The VI Congress rejected such inverted social-democratic conceptions and maintained that it is the very development of stabilization to a new level accompanied by the narrowing of world markets that sharpens the inherent contradictions of stabilization and opens up revolutionary perspectives.

(CONTINUED IN THE NEXT ISSUE)

# The Situation in the Communist Youth

by Jack Rubenstein

**T**HE Fifth National Convention of the Young Communist League marked the healthy Bolshevik strides that our League had taken toward the development of a mass youth League. The decisions of the Convention laid the basis for the further development of the League into a mass organization. But these decisions, with the help of the YCI Executive and the CI Address, have been overthrown. Consequently, we must record a deep political and organizational crisis in the League, a tremendous loss in membership, a breakdown in the apparatus and a complete suspension of all mass work.

The League has ceased to be a youth organization, defending the interests of the toiling youth and seeking to draw them into the struggle against capitalism. The League today is the "guardian" of the Party line, the "best interpreter" of Bolshevism to the Party membership and the revolutionary workers. The main energy of the League is given to the inner-Party situation; it has entirely forgotten its task of working among the American young workers.

Not only in the United States, but on an international scale, is this revision of the role and activities of the Young Communist League being carried out. And consequently, in every League, there is crisis after crisis. At the X Plenum the leaders of the Y.C.I. assigned to Leagues the role of leaders of the Parties in their countries. This is the main basis for the critical situation in all the sections of the YCI. Chitarov, instead of discussing the position and work of the League, declares that: "We look upon political activity—struggle for the general tasks of the Party—as our foremost task" At the same time, Chitarov hails the revision of the Sixth Congress decisions and speaks of the necessity for "resolutely correcting the mistakes which were once permitted in the Comintern" on basic questions. This attitude is a return to the position of the First YCI Congress, which Lenin had to combat—that the Leagues are "young Parties," leaders of the entire proletariat, and that their special task is to keep the Parties and Comintern on the correct line.

Naturally, on the basis of such conceptions, which destroy the very foundations upon which the revolutionary youth movement rests, the Leagues can make no progress. Therefore the most important Leagues in the YCI are losing in membership and influence. Some Leagues have become so small that they can hardly be said to exist (British League). The American League which in the period between its IV and V Conventions had increased in membership from 1800 to 3400, was the first to suffer from the new revisionism of the Y.C.I. We were criticized for not having played a vanguardist role, and on the basis of this criticism, it strove to place the Foster group, an insignificant minority, in power in the League. The success which it has achieved has been accompanied by a rapid decline in membership, the complete wiping out of entire districts, and the rapid deproletarianization of the most important sections (Chicago and New York).

Thus, while the League is rapidly declining, and no real youth work is being done, whatever membership is left is being told that they are bolshevizing the whole Comintern. They rush all over the map demolishing the "right wing" in France, Germany, Sweden, Soviet Union, etc. But the morass of opportunism and sectarianism in which the American Party is wallowing they do not see. Not a thin sound has been heard from them on the opportunist election program and campaign in New York under Weinstone. They have nothing to say about the nationalist-chauvinist policy of the CC and *Freiheit* on the Palestine events. There is no mention of the CC's legalism and sur-

render to bourgeois lawyers on the Gastonia case. The narrowing down of the TUUL to the Party members is hailed as a "big victory" against the "Lovestonites". This is how the League leadership "fight the right danger".

The rapid decline of the League is an expression of its crisis—for the American League a life and death crisis. Expulsion is the answer to anyone endeavoring to point out the situation in the League. The best comrades have already been expelled. More will be expelled unless the League membership corrects the present dangerous line of the League and overthrows the present League-wrecking leadership. The League membership can and must save the League, by reestablishing the basic Leninist line in the League, by adhering to the decisions of the Sixth Congress and fighting against the revisionists, by re-instating in the League and in their positions the comrades who have been expelled for defending the correct line and for fighting for the life of the League. Only if the membership does this will it be possible to reestablish the American League and place it once more on the road to a mass Young Communist League.

## New York on the Job

**I**n the face of the rapid disintegration of the Young Communist League in New York City and the raging terror instituted by the Mates-Yaris-Davis clique our comrades have already succeeded in firmly establishing a base for our struggle and in drawing the best League elements into it. Last Tuesday, November 5, a meeting was held at which there were nearly 40 comrades out of a total League membership in this district of less than 200! Among these comrades are the best functionaries the League has developed and the most active workers in the trade unions.

The League wreckers with Yaris and Davis at their head organized a special strong-arm squad to try to disrupt our meeting and to prevent it from being held. In spite of the fact that they came armed with blackjacks and knives they completely failed for our comrades withdrew in a body to another hall and went on with the meeting.

Comrade Herbert Zam, former secretary of the League, reported for one hour on the "Crisis in the Y.C.I.," discussing the roots of the present crisis in the Communist youth movement, the revision of the fundamental principles of the youth movement (vanguardism, rationalization and the youth, the war danger), and the organizational break-down thruout the Leagues. This was followed by a talk by Comrade M. Yablon on the situation in the district and the tasks before the Y.C.L.-Majority Group. Definite organizational steps were taken for the development of our struggle (formation of groups, etc.). A collection for our forthcoming organ, *Revolutionary Youth*, netted \$20.

OUT IN DECEMBER!

## Revolutionary Youth

Organ of Young Communist League  
(Majority Group)

5cents a copy

50 cents a year

# In the Communist International

## CLARA ZETKIN SPEAKS ON THE PRESENT SITUATION

The glorious veteran of the international revolutionary movement, Clara Zetkin, has issued a brief declaration indicating her position on the recent events in the Comintern and in the C.P.G. Comrade Zetkin's advanced age and very dangerous physical condition have not dimmed her revolutionary clarity nor queched her revolutionary courage.

"I have always had the courage to take a stand even if I had to stand alone. My highest judge has always been—this I declare openly—not formal decisions but a regard for the advancement of the revolution, for the winning of the masses to the revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party. And precisely from the point of view of this highest duty I have not regarded all decisions of the Ecce and of the C.C. of the German Party as the last word in wisdom. On the contrary, I am of the opinion that what has been decided and done (by the Ecce and the C.P.G.) will operate against the achievement of our aim—the mobilization of the masses under the leadership of the C. P. for the struggle against the bourgeoisie and for the development of the world revolution."

## ELECTIONS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA THE FRUITS OF A FALSE LINE

The national elections in Czechoslovakia (October 27, 1929) showed very clearly the advanced stage of political and organizational decline that the new revisionist line of the Ecce has brought to the Communist movement in Czechoslovakia in less than a year of operation.

The official Party leadership, as usual, indulged in rosy predictions, quite "forgetting" the chaotic conditions in the Communist movement of Czechoslovakia. In his article in the *Inprecorr* (No. 58) K. Gottwald declared:

"The objective conditions are very favorable for the Party and if the indispensable inner Party pre-conditions are fulfilled, then the Party will not only be successful in the election campaign but will also be able to undertake a bigger action on November 7 than on August 1."

The elections were preceded by an unprincipled scramble for positions as candidates in all districts of the Party. The National Council of the C.P.Cz.-Opposition issued a public declaration calling upon all workers to vote for the Communist Party.

The election results provide an index to the recent political developments in Czechoslovakia. The parties of the "left" (the Czech and German Social-democrats, the Czech National Socialists) made great gains (17 seats, bringing up the total to 91 seats). The parties of the "right" (clericals, nationalists, agrarians, etc.) either registered losses or else an unchanged situation. The Communist Party, however, suffered a loss of ten deputies (having now only 31 seats) and a loss in popular vote of over 150,000 (33,000 in Prague alone). From the position of the second party the C.P.Cz. has sunk to fifth on the list.

The gain of the "left" parties and the probability of a new social-democratic coalition unquestionably reflects the leftward movement of large sections of the toiling population of Czechoslovakia. The Social-democrats, who in Czechoslovakia as everywhere else have a black record of continuous collaboration with the bourgeoisie and betrayal of the workers, have proved able to cash in on this leftward movement. The C.P.Cz., because of its revisionist sectarian policy and the chaos and confusion its leadership has introduced in the whole labor movement, was not only not in a position to take advantage of the leftward movement but actually suffered severe losses. Like the British elections, the Czech elections provide a great object lesson of what the revision of the elementary principles of Leninism can lead to.

## THE SPLIT IN AUSTRIA

The Polburo of the C.P. of Austria has announced the expulsion of four leading comrades: Willi Schlamm, A. Reisinger, Joseph Klein, and Richard Wovesny... Comrades Riehs and Pragan were presented with an ultimatum which will lead to their immediate expulsion. The C.P.A., one of the weakest

parties in the whole Comintern, stands in imminent danger of complete destruction if the new "enlightenment" course is not effectively resisted.

## THE CRISIS SPREADS IN FRANCE AT AN ALARMING PACE

The crisis in the French Party has broken out in full force. A few months ago the Comintern was startled with the news that the whole Alsatian Party was expelled in a body. We were assured then that this was an "extraordinary" event and that the "Bolshevik unity forged at the X Convention" would be maintained. But the deep crisis in the Comintern cannot be stopped by mere phrases. The latest information presents some startling developments:

Semard, General Secretary of the C.P.F., has been removed from his post at secret sessions of the Central Committee. He has been replaced by a certain Frachon.

Vaillant-Couturier, editor-in-chief of the *Humanité*, has been removed from his post. So have about a dozen other editorial workers.

In Red Clichy—one of the most important working class boroughs of Paris—the Communist mayor, Auffray, and 24 members of the council have been expelled as "right-wingers" and "renegades." The Communist fraction of the council rejected by a vote of 24 to 8 the revisionist directives of the C.C. whereupon the expulsions took place.

In Red Saint-Denis, in Pierrefitte and in Villetaneuse, the mayors and the Communist councillors have been expelled wholesale. In Villejuif, of which Vaillant-Couturier is mayor, a large part of the council has been expelled and the others are facing expulsion.

It should be remembered that these "Red boroughs" represent the main point of strength of the C.P.F. among the industrial workers of Paris and of France.

In addition the three Communist municipal councillors, Duteil, Lauze and Laporte (the founder of the Y.C.L. of France) have been expelled. They were followed by the whole corps of trade union functionaries of the Middle Loire region. And the crisis has only just begun...

Meanwhile the C.P.F.-Opposition is consolidating itself. A National Conference has been called for October 27.

## HOW TO FIGHT THE RIGHT DANGER

At the last congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (March 1929) the political thesis adopted (then with the approval of the Ecce) declared:

"The historical Rights is that group in the Party whose leading representatives (Smeral, Zapotocky, Kreibich) led the Party up to the II Congress. In the leadership they carried on an opportunist policy whose basis was Smeralism... Smeralism is a specific form of left-socialist ideology in the C.P.Cz. and stands in irreconcilable contradiction to Leninism."

The Congress also demanded the withdrawal of Smeral from the Ecce apparatus on the grounds of his "incurable right wing tendencies."

And now, this same Smeral is one of the leaders of the Czech Party and is a member of the Polsecretariat of the Ecce. This same Smeral is the hero of the struggle against the "right wing!" Kreibich is a member of the Polburo of the C.P.Cz. and Zapotocky of its Secretariat.

## BUKHARIN FACES EXPULSION

Reliable reports from the U.S.S.R. indicate that in the C.P.S.U. itself the struggle against the revisionist line and the dangerous inner-Party course of the Stalin leadership is developing on an organized scale. As a result preparations are already under way—"semi-officially"—for the expulsion of Bukharin and his supporters at either the next Plenum or the next Congress of the C.P.S.U., to be held towards the end of the year. (Articles in *Isvestya*, etc.) This offensive against Bukharin is closely connected with the political coalition with the Trotskyites, on whose platform the struggle against the so-called "right wing" is being conducted.

(Continued on Page 20)

## Now It Can Be Told

*"In the present situation, our Party, for the first time in many years, has a correct political policy. The Address of the C.I. was the instrument to win the Party membership away from its past opportunist policies."*

These very significant—if not altogether tactful—words are from an article by the new Org. Secretary of our Party, John Williamson, in the *Daily Worker* of October 28. We would like to ask Comrade Williamson, and the "new leadership" for whom he speaks, a few simple questions:

1. If the policies of the Party have been wrong for "many years" why did the Comintern thru its Congresses and Plenums keep on endorsing these policies all the way from 1925 up until the VI Congress in 1928? Why did the Comintern always reject the continuous and bitter attacks of the Foster group against these policies?

2. If our Party—before the Address—was following "opportunist policies" why did the VI Congress declare that "the charge of a right-wing line against the Central Committee (the former Party leadership) is unfounded"? Was the VI Congress right or wrong in its estimation?

Comrade Williamson will answer these questions by shouting "renegade." We think a more substantial answer is necessary. Can it be that, along with the revision of the main principles of Leninism now going on in the Comintern and our Party, there is also taking place a complete revision of the traditional line of the Comintern towards our Party?

### THE CLIQUE STRUGGLE BREAKS OUT IN THE GERMAN PARTY

The unprincipled conglomeration forming the "united" Central Committee of the C.P. of Germany is now being torn apart by the sharp clique struggle in its midst. The "great leader," Thalmann, is already of the past, the hegemony having been transferred to the *Remmele-Neumann faction*. This clique struggle, carried on for months behind the scenes, at last came out into the open at the recent *XI Congress of the German Young Communist League*. The preliminary district conferences were all marked by the removal of the young Thalmannites. At the National Congress the agenda was wholly limited to the unprincipled inner Party struggles. Thru the utilization of his position of Party representative Remmele forced thru a whole series of organizational measures, which—as a whole—were equivalent to the removal of the entire previous leadership of the League. The former chairman of the C.C. of the Y.C.L., *Leo* (Walter Habich) has been replaced by the famous *Kurt Muller* (Kutsch); the org. secretary Kiefert has also been removed as have also all of the major functionaries. The E.C.Y. C.I. has of course "approved" these changes; the *Komsomolskaya Pravda* indeed declared in its article on the German situation:

*"From the leadership of the League must be rid all of the hesitating, doubtful and vacillating elements!"*

So the Thalmannites are now "hesitating," "doubtful," etc.!

The inner clique struggle is not yet over by any means; its aggravation and the exposure of the absolutely unprincipled character of the present leadership of the German Party will prove to thousands of Party members and revolutionary workers how necessary it is to take up the struggle of the Opposition against the revision of the main principles of Leninism.

\* \* \*

### PETROVSKY EXPELLED?

It is reported from most reliable sources that the notorious *Petrovsky* (Bennet, Dr. Goldfarb) has been expelled from the CPSU because during the civil wars while he was a Menshevik he signed death warrants against Red workers. This Petrovsky is the discoverer of the charge of "exceptionalism" against the former leadership of our Party and was, with Molotov the father of the revisionist and destructive Address of the Eccie to our Party.

## A Great Demonstration

ONE of the most enthusiastic demonstrations in support of the struggle being carried on by the C.P.-Majority Group for the restoration of the Leninist line of the Comintern and our Party took place at the *splendid banquet* arranged in honor of the foundation of *Revolutionary Age* by the New York organization of the C.P.-Majority Group.

Over 400 workers crowded *Stuyvesant Casino* on Saturday evening, November 2. There were whole delegations of needle trades workers, millinery workers, building trades workers, shoe workers, and workers from most of the other important industries and unions. There were delegations from Workmen Circle branches and other non-Party organizations. Especially significant was the delegation from the Executive Committee of the Harlem Tenants League, an organization largely of Negro tenants which our comrades have helped to save from the wrecking activities of the "new leadership" (Moore, Briggs, etc.).

Comrades *Lovestone*, *Gitlow* and *Wolfe* were received with the highest enthusiasm and their remarks listened to with the greatest attention. Among the other speakers were *Chas. S. Zimmerman* (Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union), *F. Vratovic* and *Tom Myerscough* (both from the National Miners Union), *Mr. William Battles* (President, Harlem Tenants League), *J. O. Bentall*, *Ed Welsh*, *Jack Rubenstein* and *Ben Lifshitz*.

*Madam Fairfax*, who has appeared at a number of *Daily Worker* affairs in the past and whose voluntary services were obtained thru the Harlem Tenants League, favored the banquet with a number of songs, concluding with a spirited rendering of the *International*.

The high enthusiasm of the meeting was reflected in the collection which, with pledges for immediate collection, amounted to nearly \$900. Greetings came from Philadelphia (accompanied by a pledge of \$500), Chicago, Connecticut, etc.

This banquet marked an event of great political significance for our struggle. It is a great victory for us that in spite of all terror and misrepresentation, in spite of all slander and lying, carried on continually in nineteen different Party papers, we were able to rally such important sections of the Party membership and the revolutionary workers in New York City to our cause. This banquet must serve as a great spur to our comrades all over the country.

### IN THE COMING ISSUES

The Crisis in the Communist International — The Disintegration of Trotskyism—The Truth About the "Corridor Congress"—The Situation in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—The Results of the New York Elections—What's Happening in our Mass Organizations.