

Revolutionary Age

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For Communist Unity in the Revolutionary Class Struggle

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India in Revolution

On the Significance of the Recent Indian National Congress

THE political situation in India is developing towards a revolutionary crisis; the process, however, is very complicated. This is due to the extremely complicated character of class relations. A process of class differentiation is the characteristic feature of the present situation. The nationalist movement is splitting up into two distinct fractions—one advancing, still rather blindly, toward revolution, while the other is eager to make a united front with British imperialism in face of the danger of maturing revolution. As between native capitalism and the toiling masses there is still another factor in the Indian nationalist movement. Under the given conditions of the country the urban petty bourgeoisie play a very important role. It is a fact that hitherto they have monopolized the leadership of the radical section of the entire movement, including the working class. There are numbers of examples of this.

In the earlier stages of the colonial revolution the petty bourgeois nationalists are bound to move to the left, for the conditions of political oppression and economic bankruptcy, under which they live, cannot be appreciably improved thru any possible compromise with foreign imperialism and native reaction. In the last few years the radicalization of the petty bourgeoisie (particularly intellectuals) has gone on simultaneously with the growing revolutionary activity of the toiling masses. The outcome of the latest annual session of the National Congress, held during the last week of December, shows that the leftward movement of the petty bourgeoisie has gone to the extent of an open revolt against the policy of Indian capitalism seeking a compromise with British imperialism. The inevitable consequence of this fateful step taken by the petty bourgeoisie will be that they will move close to the toiling masses—a *revolutionary democratic alliance*, which under present Indian conditions will embrace well over 80 percent of the population, will be formed. This very clearly is a perspective of a revolutionary crisis pregnant with the possibilities of further development. But the process must proceed in stages.

While the growing activity of the masses is undoubtedly the predominating factor of the situation, the intervention of British imperialism, operating thru the Labor Government, has

been the immediate cause of sharpening the situation. Two years ago the British Parliament set up the so-called Simon Commission to examine and report on what "further measures of self government might be granted to India." The Commission was purely British, without a single Indian on it. On this ground it was boycotted not only by the petty bourgeois National Congress but also by a considerable section of the right wing (big bourgeois) nationalists. To insure the imposition of the Simon Report upon India in the teeth of the opposition of the National Congress it was necessary that the united front, based on the slogan of boycotting the Simon Commission, be broken—that is, that the big bourgeoisie be won over to accept the recommendations of the Simon Commission. This was not difficult. A generous gesture on the part of imperialism was all that was necessary to detach the big bourgeoisie from the half-hearted alliance with forces liable to be inflamed any moment. Acting under the instructions of the Labor Government, the Viceroy

WE call particular attention to the article on the recent Indian Congress that appears on this page. Comrade Manabendra Nath Roy is well competent to discuss the important questions of the Indian Revolution. From his earliest youth he has been associated with the revolutionary movement. After arrest in connection with an attempted insurrection (as a result of which he was condemned to death), Comrade Roy escaped and travelled over the Orient (China, Japan, Philippines, etc). During the war he came to America, then went to Mexico where he organized the C. P. of Mexico, whose first secretary he became. He then proceeded to Moscow, took active part in the II Congress (1920), cooperating with Lenin on the colonial thesis. He soon became the responsible leader in the Ecce for work in the Far East, and in 1927, during the highest point of the Chinese revolution, was Comintern representative there. For a time he was also head of the Anglo-American Secretariat of the Ecce.

Comrade Roy was recently "expelled" from the Communist International by the present leaders because of his uncompromising stand in the struggle against the false line of the Ecce.

two months ago made an official declaration that the policy of the British government was to grant Indian Dominion Status (full "self-government" within the British Empire) and that, on the publication of the report of the Simon Commission, representatives of Indian nationalism would be invited to a Conference with the British government in London for definitely deciding the political future of India. The gesture was even more effective than British imperialism expected. Not only the right wing nationalist leaders, who had boycotted the Simon Commission, but even all the outstanding leaders of petty bourgeois National Congress enthusiastically welcomed the Viceroy's declaration, and expressed their readiness to attend the promised conference. This precipitated a severe crisis inside the National Congress.

In 1927, in resolving to boycott the Simon Commission the National Congress had declared its goal to be the attainment of complete independence. Last year the right wing leaders induced the Congress to shelve the Independence Resolution of the year before, and agree to accept Dominion Status. But Gandhi, who has always acted as the agent of the big bourgeoisie, could retain his hold upon his petty bourgeois following only thru the demagogy of giving an "ultimatum" to the British govern-

ment. The Congress resolved to "accept" Dominion Status, provided it would be granted before the end of the year 1929. The manifesto of the nationalist leaders in response to the Declaration of the Viceroy exposed this sham "ultimatum". The Viceroy did not concede to the demands of the National Congress. The joint conference was fixed for the middle of 1930 and there was no definite promise that even then Dominion Status would be granted. Still the leaders of the National Congress, including Gandhi, who the year before had deceived his naive petty bourgeois following with the sham "ultimatum", capitulated. This act of the leaders created consternation in the ranks of the National Congress, which repudiated the leaders, and threatened to rise in open revolt against them. But the tactical move of imperialism was successful in placing the buffer section of the nationalist movement in a very delicate position. Leaders like Gandhi, and the elder Nehru, who had for years kept the petty bourgeois nationalists away from the revolutionary path, could no longer sit on the fence. They had to fall one way or the other.

After making frantic efforts to secure some definite promise from imperialism at the eleventh hour, which might possibly enable them to keep the National Congress on the futile path of reformism, they decided that surface radicalism was the most convenient way out of the impasse. Reluctantly, they swam the rising tide of revolution hoping that, as long as they retained the leadership of the movement, they could again switch it off in the direction of reformism. And the situation in India provides a basis for their hope, altho just at the moment it appears forlorn. *The development of the revolution will be greatly influenced, one way or the other, by the action of the proletariat—by the tactics of the Communist Party.*

Neither the attitude of the leaders nor the resolution of the Congress, however, is the true standard for judging the potentialities of the situation. Judged simply by the resolution adopted by the Congress, the perspectives would not appear to be very encouraging. The main resolution sponsored by Gandhi contains four points: 1. Complete independence as definitely the goal of the National Congress; 2. refusal to attend the coming conference with the British government in London; 3. boycott of the existing legislative bodies; and 4. organization of a movement for the non-payment of taxes. On the face of it, the resolution is very radical; but as a matter of fact it is entirely different. The first point, which has caused so much commotion thruout the world, is a simple expression of desire, and will remain no more, as long as the nationalist movement is without a program of action for realizing its goal. The second point is a mere negative attitude and even then, it is qualified with the proviso "under present circumstances". The third is the only categorically defined clause of the resolution and it calls for an action which has proved to be such a fiasco in the past. The last point, which has the most formidable appearance, is admittedly not for immediate application. The Executive Committee of the Congress is authorized to take action on this line "whenever and wherever necessary." Consequently, the adoption of this resolution does not, for practical purposes, change the course of the nationalist movement. To compensate for the apparent step forward the door is left wide open for retreat.

There are other signs indicating the revolutionary potentiality of the situation. The deceptive resolution of Gandhi was opposed from both sides—the right as well as the left. A more radical resolution for an immediate start of the no-tax campaign, the declaration of general strike and the establishment of a parallel government was rejected in the Congress Committee by a very small majority! Had it been placed before the plenary session, it would surely have been carried with a huge majority. In contrast to this, Gandhi's resolution was adopted in the Committee by a very small majority and the plenary ses-

sion passed it as a mere formality. But the opposition was so powerful that Gandhi had to stake his political life to carry the Congress. He threatened to resign, should the Congress adopt any resolution which would imply a departure from the principle of non-violence. On this very vital point he was defeated. The huge demonstrations, which accompanied the meetings of the Congress, rang with the cry: "Long Live the Revolution!" This is unprecedented in the entire history of the National Congress, to which the very idea of revolution had always been foreign and taboo. The most active elements in the nationalist movement are beginning to grasp that they are involved in a struggle the object of which is more far-reaching than national independence—a struggle for a radical readjustment of the inner life of the nation, in which the overthrow of the foreign domination is just the beginning.

This deep leftward swing of the petty bourgeoisie has quickened the process of class-differentiation. The Liberal Federation representing the big bourgeoisie, passed a resolution condemning the "revolutionary politics" of the Congress. Its president, a mill owner of Bombay, stated in his speech that it would be the duty of the government to suppress any attempt to put the resolution of the Congress into practice and that all having a "stake in the country" should support the government in maintaining law and order. On the other hand, the right wing of the National Congress, which opposed the resolution of Gandhi, has broken away. So, there has come into existence a solid bourgeois bloc with the declared object of joining hands with British imperialism against the radical nationalism of the Congress under the banner of which stand the big petty bourgeois masses.

Inside the Congress itself there are elements who strive to burst the bonds of the deceptive resolution of Gandhi; they appear to be strong numerically. The measures advocated by them—establishment of a parallel government, General strike, immediate non-payment of taxes—are under given conditions somewhat romantic. To organize political mass strikes is, at the present time, an effective means for developing the struggle, but a real mass political general strike only comes as the prelude to an armed insurrection, for which political, organizational and technical preparations have still to be made. Moreover, it is a petty bourgeois illusion to talk of a parallel government before the armed insurrection. Nevertheless, the masses who support such drastic measures show their readiness for a revolutionary struggle. The necessity of the moment is to provide them with a program of *National Democratic Revolution* and lead them by stages in the struggle for the realization of that program.

M. N. ROY.

REMEMBER!

THE DATE Saturday Night, February 1, 1930.

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GET YOUR TICKET EARLY!

"Prosperity" in Detroit

By William Miller

EVER since Henry Ford came to Detroit, the city has become a sort of show place for capitalism where innovations are the order of the day. Its praises have been sung in every corner of the world. Its technical organization has been held up as a model achievement, its methods copied and introduced into the various industries. Detroit has been boosted "The Wonder City," "city of high wages, short hours of labor, splendid conditions of work, and prosperous workingclass." When the Stock Exchange crash came and Hoover issued his famous call to the "captains of industry," in his attempt to avert an impending industrial depression, was it not Henry Ford, who at this conference took the stage all to himself, by announcing a general wage increase?

But let us see what are actually the conditions in Detroit and in the auto industry of which it is the center.

In the *Michigan Manufacturers and Financial Record* of Dec. 14 we find the following significant quotation:

"Workingmen in all parts of the United States are being advised by the Detroit Board of Commerce that there is no labor shortage in Detroit. It is reported that some unscrupulous employment agencies have been advertising in country papers in remote sections asking workmen to come to Detroit to secure work. Strenuous efforts are being made by the board to counteract such an impression."

Harvey Campbell, vice-president and secretary of the Detroit Board of Commerce, is quoted in the *Detroit News* of Dec. 17 as saying that "there should be no advertising methods of the sort which bring to the city an influx of unemployed."

On Dec. 10, the *Detroit Free Press* stated that: "The city council named from its members . . . a committee to cooperate with Mayor John C. Lodge in municipal efforts to relieve unemployment."

The fact of the matter is that Detroit is today facing the most serious unemployment problem in years. It is far greater than is usual at this time of the year.

The U. S. Employment Service Department of Labor, states in its analysis of November:

"The continued curtailment of automobile employment was felt in the iron and steel industry . . . Many workers usually employed in the automobile factories, and in plants manufacturing automobile accessories, remained idle."

"The automobile industry which in the three preceding years had shown declines of from 8.1 to 9% in employment in November, reported a decrease of 17.3% in number of workers and 22% in payroll totals."

Every day one can read letters like the following in the papers sent in by workers:

"It is about time our honorable (?) mayor got busy and faced the truth about unemployment instead of proclaiming that 'there is a little seasonal unemployment at present in the local auto plants.'"

"Thousands of men are without work, many hungry and cold, and others with nearly empty purses, and more places are cutting help."

Mr. Campbell of the Detroit Board of Commerce reports (*Detroit News*, Dec. 17): "Savings bank deposits are \$5,000,000 lower than in 1928." According to figures of the Board of Commerce, the value of building permits for the last four weeks ending Dec. 14, 1929 declined 36 percent from the previous four weeks. According to the *Michigan Manufacturer* of Dec. 14:

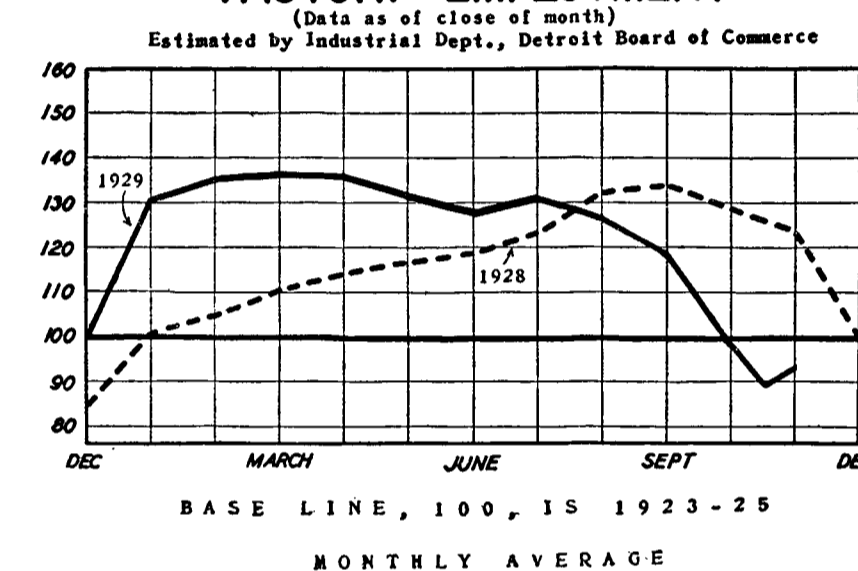
"Permits for new construction in November totalled \$3,613,024 in Detroit as compared with new construction valued at \$6,982,937 for November 1928."

What is wrong with Detroit? What is wrong with the auto industry? The *Iron Trade Review* of Dec. 12 gives us the following clue to the situation:

"The crux of the situation is seen in the drop of November motor car output to an estimated figure of about 214,000 cars and trucks for the United States and Canada. This was a decrease of 67 percent from the years' peak . . . Not since Dec. 1927, has the production of cars and trucks declined to so low a point."

While it is true that millions of dollars have been recently invested in new equipment in Chevrolet, Briggs, Murrays, Fords

FACTORY EMPLOYMENT



and other plants, and while the auto manufacturers claim that the industry is in "wonderful shape," yet "the most optimistic guesses concerning 1930 have not exceeded 4,500,000 cars" (*Iron Trade Review*, Dec. 12) as compared with the output of 5,400,000 for 1929. The underlying fear of the forthcoming developments is well expressed in the *Iron Trade Review* as follows:

"This is not to say that the industry is completely out of the woods. There are no illusions concerning the competitive situation, and unemployment as it affects both labor forces and office staffs, continues widespread."

It is clear from these analyses that the auto industry at present is in a period of more than seasonal depression and cannot recover its stride for 1930.

But what about the Ford wage increase as a sign of prosperity in the auto industry? This is on the contrary but one of the many signs of the sharp competition in the coming year and the growing crisis in the industry. Says the *Iron Trade Review* of Dec. 12th, commenting on Ford's new model:

"Two important blasts already have been fired in the publicity campaign—the reduction in price . . . The promise from the White House of the \$1. per day increase in wages, plus the further announcement of the actual schedules, again captured the headlines."

What is the Party doing about this situation? As usual in the present period and under the present leadership, it can be depended upon to follow a policy of exaggeration and sectarianism, which can only handicap the building up of a real mass

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Revolutionary Age

Organ of the National Council of the
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Editorials

MORE ABOUT "PROSPERITY"

THE great American illusion of prosperity is becoming day by day more and more a great American tragedy for the workers.

This New Year the capitalist economic forecasters and prosperity boosters had their drums somewhat muffled. "Cautious optimism" was their most "heartening note"! And many prosperity prophets of yesterday, like Prof. Fisher of Yale, are today not so boisterous as statistical soothsayers, thanks to the recent stock market collapse.

It is difficult for us to give an accurate estimate of the number of jobless workers today. But judging by the extent of the decline of production and especially the *rapidity* of fall, we can conservatively estimate that there are today four to five million jobless workers—disemployed, tramping the streets in a desperate effort to eke out the barest means of livelihood and existence. And this after a year—1929—which in almost every way exceeded the production and trade levels of 1928 and in many ways even established new records! It is the very height of the pink of capitalist prosperity and speculation which has brought the ever darkening depths of the blues of depression for the working men and women. And the outlook is that the bottom won't be reached for some months yet.

The general level of industrial activity has fallen nearly 20% from the peak last May. Already the level of the 1927 depression has been reached. Before weeks are over the low figures of 1924 will be passed. It is yet too early to say definitely whether the depression of 1921 will be equalled or passed in 1930. An especially aggravating feature of the present American economic crisis is that the leading capitalist countries of Europe, with the exception of France, are themselves in a severe slump—a slump which was in no small measure sharpened by the very economic powers of the Wall Street ruling class. In Germany and England there is increasing unemployment which has reached the highest figures in years. So the export drive of Hoover will have tough sledding.

Every worker must realize that under capitalism the bosses get the swag and the workingmen the sweat. Now the bosses and their agents are yelling for more speed up and less wages, longer hours and shorter pay envelopes. Our answer must be: Now is the time for all workers, Negro and white, foreign born and native, to organize themselves into powerful militant industrial unions and a mass Communist Party in order to beat back the capitalist attacks, improve our working and living conditions and hasten the overthrow of the whole system of capitalist robbery and oppression!

THE THREAT TO THE SOUTHERN WORKERS

MUCH noise is being made by the A. F. of L. reactionary officialdom about what it will do in the South in its "organization" campaign.

Let no worker say that the corrupt labor bureaucrats will "do nothing." That is not true. In so far as hurting the workers goes, the Green-Woll outfit will work very hard—and overtime.

Here we will merely emphasize the steps to far taken by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., in this campaign. Let us cite two typical incidents which prove our indictment.

Birmingham was chosen as the organization centre. On the surface this looks good. Birmingham is the centre of the South's heaviest industry. But the "reason" Green gave for choosing Birmingham was that the Governor of Alabama promised him that "no troops would be used against the workers on strike." Those labor leaders who expect capitalist Governors in the South or anywhere else to support the workers or even be "neutral" in a strike or any other class struggle against the bosses are fools or knaves. And certainly Green is no fool.

No sooner had Green told this yarn to the workers than Bibb Graves, Governor of Alabama, wired the inquiring open shop organ, *The Manufacturers' Record* of Baltimore, a repudiation to the following effect:

"I have never had a thought nor made an expression that would justify the quotation contained in your wire."

But let us call upon Mr. Green himself to show his sell-out plans in this "organization" drive. In the January issue of the *American Federationist* Green tells us in a signed article that:

"The organized labor movements offers the management of the Southern industries channels thru which industrial problems can be worked out in a constructive way . . ."

What more can the open shoppers ask? The principle of the Hoover-Green conferences is that the workers will not ask for wage increases. Now Green and Company offer the bosses co-operation. Which bosses? The Southern bosses, of course! **Against whom?** Of course, against the Southern workers whom these very bosses exploit and crush.

The A. F. of L. is going South not to organize the unorganized. *It is going South to disorganize the workers who have been showing increasing readiness to resist the textile barons and other exploiters.* It is only militant class unions of the type of the *National Textile Workers Union* and the *National Miners Union* that today want to and can organize the Southern workers. Let the class conscious workers close their ranks and tackle this big job!

PROHIBITION AND THE WORKERS

THE smashing defeat of the "wet" forces in Congress recently on practically every point (appropriations, poisoned alcohol, the employment of felons as agents, etc.) again brings to the fore the whole question of prohibition. It would be a sign of sterile dogmatism unworthy of revolutionary politicians such as Communists ought to be to brush aside the whole question as merely "illusory" and "secondary." The issue—which has agitated the "public mind" for nearly a decade—is a real one in spite of the oceans of demagoguery and buncomb in which it has been drowned. The prohibition legislation and especially the long subsequent struggle over it reflect real class relations within contemporary American capitalist society, not only as between the bourgeoisie and the working class but as between the various strata and elements of the bourgeoisie itself. The prohibition question, moreover, has brought out the political role of a number of institutions, such as the churches, that ordinarily remain far in the background. Even more important for the workers is the fact that the "enforcement" of prohibition has created a huge governmental machine of prose-

The "Loyalites" Against the Furniture Strikers

By Max Perlow

ON Wednesday, January 15, 1930, the *Daily Worker* carried an article on the strike of the furniture workers in Brooklyn announcing that the T.U.U.L. had distributed a leaflet calling upon the strikers to "take the strike in their own hands," denouncing the Strike Committee as "reactionary bureaucrats" and charging the chairman of the Strike Committee with "selling out" the furniture workers.

This article is an open provocation to strike-breaking. It is an open attack upon the workers on strike, and upon their organization. This article is an open perversion of the facts with the definite objective of hurting the strike and discrediting its leadership just because the secretary of the Strike Committee is a supporter of the C.P.-Majority Group.

What are the facts? In September 1929, the furniture workers struck for a forty hour week, against the instructions of the national officials. The strike was won with a compromise of 40-hour work week and 42 hours pay. After two weeks of striking, however, we found ourselves in the position where two shops had returned to work and demoralization was spreading in the ranks of the strikers, the treasury was empty, the national officials were ready to call off the strike. It was clear that if we remained out another week we might lose the strike altogether, with a very bad effect on the workers. The conclusion of the strike on the basis of the compromise was therefore a necessity and the workers voted unanimously for it. Altho I was already expelled at that time, yet I came around to Comrade Sazer to report. The whole situation was explained to him but all he could say was the following:

"You speak about circumstances, about backward workers, you do not believe in radicalization, you have no faith in the masses—this all is because you are a 'Lovestoneite' . . . You agreed on the compromise with the bosses at a time when you were only two weeks out on strike. A compromise could be considered when the workers are out at least ten weeks . . . Therefore, if you will give in a statement to the 'Daily Worker' admitting your mistakes and condemning Lovestone, you will again become a Party member and everything will be O. K. If you don't do this we will come out with a statement that you sold out the furniture workers."

Of course this non-Communist ultimatum could only be rejected. As far as the "books" are concerned, I never investigated the books of the bosses, nor did I say that they were "broke." The question of helping the bosses by trusting them half of the pay for a certain time did come up in our Union.

cutors, spies, "agents," provocators, and courts. This machine tends to increase the power of the capitalist government and is already a virtual part of its strike breaking apparatus.

Alcoholism is one of the most terrible social diseases of capitalist society. It is the product of capitalism. Insecurity of existence, the monotony of standardized factory work, the low cultural level of the masses and their desperate poverty are the roots of this social disease. Only a free Communist society can cure alcoholism by raising the cultural level of the masses, by diversifying labor, by putting an end to the insecurity of existence, by eradicating poverty!

It is in this light that the Communists favor the repeal of the Volstead Act and the Prohibition Amendment and the dissolution of the entire federal and state "enforcement" apparatus. At the same time we stand for the carrying on of an energetic propaganda against alcoholism as one of the most malignant social diseases under capitalism.

In the discussion I spoke against it, and voted against it. Thanks to the "radicalization" of the workers, a majority of them voted to give the boss a "chance." And thanks to the organization work of the "renegade" Perlow and others (non-Party workers) we worked only four days under these conditions, and now we are already three weeks out on strike against it.

The strike is 100% successful. All the workers are out. The scabs are partly driven away. The strikers are picketing the shop from morning till late at night. A Strike Committee has been elected to conduct the strike. One of this committee is a colored brother. The carvers are out in sympathy with us.

But what is all this to the Party leadership? They have decided to stop working in the A.F. of L. unions and so they have no use for the Furniture Workers Union. The Union must affiliate with the T.U.U.L. whether the workers are ready for that or not!

Let us see: There is a carvers union which already has the 40-hour week. They are about 90% organized. They number about 600 in New York. The upholsterers also have the 40-hour week and with a little energetic work the union could become an organization of class struggle. The furniture workers work 40 hours and with real effort and not splitting policies this union can be made into a strong organization for the interests of the workers.

What is the "new leadership" doing instead? They take together a few Party members and a couple of sympathizers of each union and declare this an "Industrial Union" to fight against the existing unions.

The article in the *Daily Worker* came as a result of this sectarian policy. They thought that the T.U.U.L. would take over the strike very easily. They sent out committees not to help the strike but to demoralize the strikers and tell them stories that their secretary is a "renegade." The workers, of course, chased them away as a demoralizing element. This is how the "leaders" raise the prestige of the Party and of the T.U.U.L.!

The Strike Committee invited Comrade Gitlow to speak to the strikers. His speech inspired the strikers and helped the strike. Then without any permission of the Strike Committee, a "loyalite" brought Nessin to speak as a representative of the I.L.D. In spite of this, Nessin would have been allowed to speak and the I.L.D. would have won some influence upon the workers. But the same day the *Daily Worker* carried that article, calling upon the strikers to drive out the leaders, and telling them that Perlow sold out one strike and is now betraying another. The strikers know the truth!

Therefore the strikers unanimously refused to allow Nessin to address them, holding him responsible for the lies in the *Daily Worker*. They condemned the article as a strike-breaking and provocative article and voted confidence to the rank and file strike committee.

So far has the present Party leadership gone in its wild sectarian course and in its desire to destroy the influence of those who disagree with its non-Leninist policies. The Party leaders are destroying the prestige of the Party and the movement. They are making the workers see in the Party a clique of bureaucrats and not the vanguard of the working class.

The Party members and the militant workers must realize the meaning of such anti-working class actions as the *Daily Worker* article and the policy of the Party in the furniture strike. A change of Party policy and of Party leadership is absolutely necessary if the Party is to go forward in establishing itself as the leader of the American working class.

RESOLUTION

Of the Furniture Frame Workers

THE issues of the *Daily Worker* of January 15 and 18 carried articles which say that the strike of the furniture workers is led by a reactionary leadership and which call upon the strikers to "take control of the strike." They also say that M. Perlow, chairman of Local 1057 Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, and secretary of the Strike Committee, sold out the workers to the bosses in a recent strike. The charge was that he and the business agent persuaded the workers to work for half wages and that he did not permit a representative of the International Labor Defense to speak before the strikers.

The following are the facts: 1) In the strike for the forty hour week, Perlow not only did not betray us but he, together with all the other workers, fought bitterly against the bosses and the strike was won on the basis of a compromise of forty hour a week work and the forty-two hours pay. Under the given circumstances, this was the best anyone could hope for. 2) On the question of working for half wages, Perlow spoke against it at the meetings, voted against it and now we are striking against it for three weeks. 3) The strike is in a very good condition, the strikers picket the shops and do their best to drive the scabs away. 4) The strike is being led by a Strike Committee elected by the strikers, the committee consisting of rank and file workers, one being a Negro worker. 5) The article in the *Daily Worker* was condemned as a strikebreaking article which tries to demoralize the strike. 6) The strikers would probably have negotiated with the I.L.D. but the line followed by the *Daily Worker* caused the rejection of the demands of the I.L.D. representative.

(Signed) . . . HERBERT WEINSTEIN,
Chairman, Strike Committee.

"PROSPERITY" IN DETROIT

(Continued from Page 3)

movement of the unemployed in Detroit. In the *Daily Worker* of Dec. 17, it speaks of "the point where the great majority of the workers in the auto and allied industries are now unemployed." Further bombast and exaggeration appears in *Daily Worker* of Dec. 20: "Detroit Jobless Storm City Hall," where a handful of Party members were out to mobilize for this spectacular drama. "Powers spoke from the steps of city hall to over 2,000 workers." When about 200 Xmas shoppers stop as spectators to see what the excitement is about, since we are living in the third period, it is only natural for 200 to become 2,000 and a handful of Party comrades to become "a committee of 75 representing the provisional committee of the Detroit Unemployed Council." Exaggeration par excellence! After all, this is the new "revolutionary" approach to concrete problems!

There is no question that the time is ripe for the beginning of a broad unemployment movement. The call signed by the T.U.U.L. and the Auto Workers Union, by Goetz, Raymond and Powers, is not sufficiently broad to attract those workers organizations which should be drawn in. None of the many foreign language organizations, including many hundreds of workers in the auto industry participate in this call. The call automatically excludes the progressive unions in the A.F.L. by denouncing the entire A.F.L. as the "agent of the bosses" instead of denouncing the treacherous A.F.L. officials, and by demanding that "all workers unite in the militant trade unions of the T.U.U.L."

The struggle against unemployment must be taken up in earnest. An effective program for this struggle was outlined in a recent issue of *Revolutionary Age*. Upon such a basis we must unite all working class forces for a policy of broad mobilization of the working masses. Not wild exaggeration and empty words—but hard Communist work is what is needed today!

"Stalin Succeeds Where Lenin Failed"

IN the editorial introduction to the series of articles on the Soviet Union by Frazier Hunt now running in the Hearst press, we read:

. . . *Lenin's death probably saved the cause of Communism . . . ; during the last month of Lenin's life and rule in Russia the principles of Communism were being rapidly crowded out of Russia . . . It was Josef Stalin, the present 'iron man' of Russia, who restored Communism . . .*

The whole bourgeois press is full of various articles in a similar strain. The despatches of Walter Duranty in the *New York Times* are notorious in this regard; they are also of the greatest significance. To Duranty Lenin was the "greatest opportunist in history" while Stalin is "the iron man of Communism." The whole spirit of every article on the Soviet Union that has appeared in a bourgeois paper in the last several months can be summed up in the classic declaration: "Stalin Succeeds Where Lenin Failed!"

What is this? Has the bourgeois press suddenly become "enthusiastic" about the Russian Revolution? It is surely unnecessary to point out that the propaganda that has been running in the *New York Journal* and the *New York Times* and the other papers is merely the old counter-revolutionary poison served up in a new form to suit the new conditions. It will now no longer do to rave at the great October revolution, to howl about "terror" and "despotism" and "oppression"; it will now no longer do to picture Lenin as a "grotesque Oriental despot," a "cunning spider drawing a vast land to rack and ruin." The great October revolution must now be attacked by sneers and depreciation, by minimizing its historical importance and its significance to the workers of other countries, by treating it as a far gone "harmless" event. Lenin now becomes an "intellectual dreamer," an "ineffectual theorist" whose "death probably saved the cause of Communism!" This line of attack may be more indirect and devious but for this very reason the capitalists have found it far more effective, in the present period, than mere forthright abuse.

We know, of course, that we can expect nothing but counter-revolutionary propaganda—direct and indirect—from the bourgeois press, but what shall we say when we find that the official Communist Party is singing a tune dangerously similar? The *New York Journal* (January 16, 1930) writes:

"It (the situation in the U.S.S.R. today) is the picture of the REAL Revolution; not the 1917 Lenin revolution but a deeper, stronger vastly more important revolution."

Comrade Earl Browder, the official spokesman for our Party today, declares in the introduction to the Party pamphlet, *Building Socialism in the Soviet Union*:

"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."

Are not the two quotations identical in line—and even in phraseology?

How does it happen that we find anti-Soviet, counter-revolutionary propaganda direct from the bourgeois press spread in the official Party literature and by the official Party apparatus in the name of Communism? How does it happen that we find our official Party theoretician drawing inspiration from Walter Duranty and from Frazier Hunt, from the Hearst press?

The Party membership—the revolutionary workers—must ask themselves these questions and must draw the direct political consequences from them. Our duty to the Russian Revolution and to the proletarian revolution in the U.S.A. demands this!

What Now? After the Convention of the I.W.C.

by Ben Lifshitz

THE special convention of the Independent Workmens Circle that took place in Boston on January 12 put the seal of official approval, the seal of the "justice" of the State of Massachusetts upon the entire program of the right wing which had been issued thru the Committee for "Non-Partisanship." By a small majority, 51 to 45, the Convention adopted the amendment to the constitution to the effect that:

"The I.W.C. shall not adopt any resolution which endorses any sort of political party, any sort of labor union, or any paper. The votes of seven-eighths of the membership shall be necessary in order to amend or repeal this point."

The right-wing leaders also took care of themselves organizationally. They elected a National Executive Committee made up entirely of right wingers, without a single left winger or non-partisan. They made sure that the executive would carry thru the full program of the Committee for "Non-Partisanship."

The right wing leaders made sure that they got their pound of flesh in accordance with their agreement signed by the National Committee of the Left Branches and endorsed by Master Toby in the name of the Court.

The right wing had good champions who worked overtime for them. The National Committee of the Left Branches as well as the *Freiheit* created all sorts of illusions among the membership as to the outcome of the injunction struggle, particularly in connection with the signing of the "yellow-dog" agreement. It was the National Committee of the Left Branches that in an organized manner suppressed the protest of the membership at this traitorous agreement. The majority of the branches did not even have meetings to take up the agreement; the secretary went around to the members and told them that they must sign the waivers or else they could not get into the Independent.

In connection with this the *Freiheit* of January 1 published the important news that

"Master Toby decides that Hoffman, the lawyer of the Independent Workmens' Circle, should immediately take over the work of admitting new members and sending out charters in the course of the week."

It is not so important that the *Freiheit* was compelled to publish the official denial of Master Toby. Far more important is the political side of the whole question—the degree of the political bankruptcy of the new leadership which has brought the struggle of the left wing in the fraternal organizations into such a blind alley that only a courageous determined leadership will now be able to find the tactics necessary to avoid defeat at least sufficiently to enable the left wing to organize its forces and to continue the struggle against the enemy.

The left wing is now faced with very important pressing problems demanding immediate solution. The left wing must not have illusions as to the "democracy" of the right wing leadership. The National Executive of the I.W.C. will not wait for the lefts "to become a majority." The right wingers in the I.W.C. do not work alone. It is only a maneuver of the right wing in the W.C. to play the role of a bystander and to leave the impression that it is not involved. The right wing in the I.W.C. is now working in the direction of uniting with the big Workmen's Circle. The National Executive of the I.W.C. will surely utilize its official machinery in "preparing" the coming convention in a "proper manner"; it will certainly use the capitalist court to make sure that the insurance money should not fall into the hands of the left wing. Anybody who

does not see the facts as they are is giving indirect support to the right wing.

The appeal of the National Committee of the Left Branches shows that the present leadership cannot learn from bitter experience. They are spreading new illusions among the membership by declaring that it is still possible for the left wing to win a victory in the organization by "getting a majority."

At a time when the great majority of the split-off members of the W.C. have not yet been admitted into the I.W.C., at a time when a large number of those who are disappointed at the unexpected difficulties are leaving the labor fraternal orders altogether and joining all sorts of societies—at such a time the Left Wing Committee comes out with a call for further splits in the W.C. This is the greatest measure of irresponsibility that any leadership can show in the course of the struggle. Such a policy plays directly into the hands of the right wing.

The task of the left wing at the present moment is not only to defeat the reactionary amendment adopted by the convention but also to make clear to the whole labor movement that the left wing will not give up the struggle for its principles, no matter what the result of the referendum may be.

The most effective manner of fighting the right wing is to mobilize all left wing and progressive forces in the Workmens Circle on a program of class struggle. This demands that the further withdrawal of progressive forces from the Workmens Circle must stop.

The struggle in both organizations is one and the same. We must coordinate the struggle of the left wing in both organizations against the common enemy.

The Wreckers in Baltimore

I wish to give you an idea of the splitting policies of the Party "leadership" in the Baltimore Cooperative, as shown at the last meeting. Leibowitz as chairman opened the meeting, with a report of last year's activities, and proposed an order of business as recommended by the Board of Directors. After some discussion, and the unanimous acceptance of the report, Leibowitz opened the floor for nominations for officers. Then Meyer Freistadt, *Freiheit* agent, requested an opportunity to propose a resolution, which we discovered later was a product of the pen of Olgin, and which the "loyalites" were instructed to introduce. Under the sugar-coating of a demand that the price of shares be reduced to \$5.00 to allow greater numbers of workers to join, to have our doors wide open to Negro workers, to recognize the C.P. as the only Party of the working class, the resolution demanded that all "Lovestoneites" be forbidden to hold office. Thus the basis was laid for the attempt to eliminate Leibowitz and Gallant, two of the most active comrades in the organization, and for the introduction of the expulsion policy and sectarianism in the Cooperatives. However, it was decided, in spite of the "loyal" objections, to proceed with the elections. In spite of the disruptive efforts of the loyalites, they could not defeat those who had gained the confidence of the membership through years of active work.

The Party members then made a declaration that they would withdraw from the Board, that they refused to participate in any work for the cooperative and called upon all workers to leave the cooperative!

On Thursday following the election, in a branch of the Workmens Circle, which was always a Party stronghold and which is a shareholder of the cooperative, a resolution was adopted reprimanding the Party for its action. The non-Party workers openly declared that under no circumstances would they drive out such valuable elements as Leibowitz and Gallant and that the Party by its policy is breaking up everything,

G., Baltimore, Md.

The United Front

By Ben Gitlow

THE official Communist Party has forgotten entirely the tactic of the *united front*.... The united front lies buried in the ridiculous leftist phraseology and Party wreckage of the present Party leadership. It becomes absolutely necessary for the Communists in the U. S. who refuse to live on phrases but who want to base their activities upon the stern reality of the actual American conditions to again raise the question of the united front.

Communists must realize that the mobilization of the masses for revolutionary struggle against capitalism is our main task. The Communists alone without the participation of the masses cannot make the revolution. To expect the present Party membership, which to-day is barely five thousand, alone to struggle against U. S. capitalism and to achieve the revolution is ridiculous. If the Communist Party was one hundred times that size, it could not make the revolution without winning the decisive proletarian masses, sections of the farmers as well as some sections of the petty bourgeoisie. The winning and mobilization of the masses for revolutionary struggle, that is the most important task of the Communists.

How to win the masses, how to mobilize them, should be questions ever foremost in the minds of Communists. The united front tactic is the answer to this question. The most effective way to win the non-Party masses is to unite them on the basis of some of the immediate issues of the class struggle, to fight against capitalism.

Why do we seek to unite the workers for struggle on immediate issues? Because we realize that tho the non-Party workers are not yet ready to accept and follow the full Communist program, large numbers of them are ready to unite with the Communists and even to accept Communist leadership in struggles against capitalism on certain immediate issues. It is necessary for Communists to realize that there are many workers, in fact more workers than Communists, who are ready to fight capitalism on certain issues. They are not ready to engage in an armed revolution to overthrow capitalism. It is the duty of Communists to recognize this fact if we are to win the masses. But the present Party leadership refuses to recognize this fact. For them only the Communists fight against capitalism; all others are enemies, lined up with capitalism. In the Thesis issued by the C.C. on the membership drive, one of the slogans for the masses is the following: "*The Communists alone fight for the working class.*"

This is the very antithesis of the views of Lenin. If the Communists alone fight for the working class, then why trade unions, why united front movements, why the mobilization of the working class? "The Communists alone fight for the working class!" say the present Party leaders. Then all others in the working class fight against the working class, are enemies of the workers! This rubbish which is paraded as "left" "revolutionary" Communism by the present Party leadership is fit for the place where all rubbish belongs, the garbage can.

What about the workers who go out on strike, who are not Communists, are they fighting for their class or against their class? How about the members of the new unions, the majority of whom are not Communists? Are they fighting for their class or against their class? According to the present Party leadership it is impossible for them to fight for their class because "only Communists fight for the working class!"

To-day the present Party leadership is demonstrating how to fight for the working class by dividing and splitting the

Communist Party and by wrecking the mass organizations of the workers. Good Communists who insist upon the abandonment of insanity on the part of the present Party leadership, on a policy of unity, are branded as renegades. To-day the official Party leadership is pursuing a policy of disastrous sectarianism with a vengeance.

Lenin warned the Communists against sectarianism. Lenin insisted that the Communists should guard always against being isolated from the masses. The united front is a tactic of growing Communist contact with masses, and of establishing our influence and leadership among the masses. To-day, however, our official Party leadership starts by completely separating the masses from the Communists by the contemptuous slogan: "Only Communists (The chosen and favored of the working class) fight for the working class!" No such assumption on the part of the Communists is necessary . . . only by fighting with the workers against the bosses, by leading them thru sacrifice in the class struggle will Communists establish their influence, their leadership, their right to be considered the vanguard. Not by holding in contempt the working class and boasting: *Only Communists fight for the workers.*

The workers in the United States are not Communists. They have not yet developed to the most elemental stages of class consciousness. How to win such workers for Communism is a problem. You do not solve this problem by declaring, as did the "great leader" W.Z. Foster, that the millions of workers who voted for Al Smith for president were radicalized workers, or in the simple way in which the present Party leadership does by declaring that all organizations not dominated by the Communists are "social fascist organizations." The vote of millions of workers for Al Smith was an indication of the backwardness and lack of class consciousness among the workers in the United States. To call all organizations not dominated by the Communists "social fascist" organizations does not help to develop a program for unifying the workers and mobilizing them for struggle against capitalism. To brand all organizations not dominated by the Communists "social fascist" organizations does not help to develop a program for unifying the workers and mobilizing them for struggle against capitalism. To brand all organizations the Communists do not control as "social fascist" is as convincing as branding all Communists who disagree with the wrong policies of the present Party leaders as renegades.

In spite of all name calling, in spite of all the leftist phrases, the problem remains. How can we develop these backward workers? How can we instill class consciousness, how can we mobilize them for struggle?

By the united front tactics, by realizing that these backward workers are ready to fight for immediate issues against capitalism! By understanding that the intensification of the class struggle will bring about discontent and a willingness to struggle on the part of even larger numbers of these workers! It becomes therefore the duty for the Communists to raise those issues of immediate struggle that will rally the workers to fight against the capitalists and upon the basis of these issues appeal to the workers and their organizations for united action, for united struggle.

But the Party leadership views the present situation as one in which American capitalism has already collapsed. All we have to do is to wait for the whole edifice to crumble to the ground. The official theory is that the workers are so radical-

ized that they are running at rapid-fire speed to the left, that so fast is the pace of the American workers that the Party cannot keep up the pace and is lagging behind, that every strike is an armed revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalism! But why such day-dreams and hallucinations? To make the wish the fact—that is not Communist wisdom. Such an unrealistic approach to the problem of winning the masses gets the Communists nowhere.

Only on the basis that the Communists are able to issue unifying demands and slogans, to organize united front movements as a bridge between the Party and the non-Party masses will the Communists succeed in the struggles step by step to develop the workers, instill class consciousness and eventually establish Communist leadership.

It is no accident that to-day the entire present Party leadership, from the pious Max Bedacht who crosses himself in formal loyalty and confessions of faith, to the pyramid of Communist wisdom, J. Zack, advocates the abandonment of the Labor Party policy—because it is a united front policy that establishes a bridge between the Party and the masses.

Bound up with the question of the united front is the fight against the social reformists, the reactionary labor bureaucrats and other misleaders of labor. How are we to fight them for the leadership of the workers? Name calling alone will not help us. Children at a very young age learn how to call names. Only by uniting the workers to fight the capitalists on concrete issues can we best expose the role of these misleaders of labor. Thru such united front struggles the workers will learn who fights with them and who betrays them.

United fronts with the masses of the rank and file, with their organizations, that is the method of winning the masses. It means fighting to win the workers everywhere, even in the most reactionary organizations.

In the United States with its millions of backward workers, with their illusions and lack of class consciousness, we see many evidences of readiness for struggle. It is precisely here in the United States, in spite of all the phrase mongering of the present Party leadership that the united front tactic remains the most important means for the winning of the masses.



Lenin said:

"In establishing a workers press . . . we should not, cannot and must not rely upon the finances of rich 'friends' but only on the sacrifice of the workers . . ."

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Build the Marx-Lenin School!

THE *Marx-Lenin School*, launched to teach and defend the principles of Leninism within the Communist Party and the working class and to train workers for the class struggle, had a very successful opening last week. With over 400 registrations for the various courses in the school, with classes on such important subjects as *America Today*, *American Thought*, *Problems of the American Communist Movement*, *Fundamentals of Communism*, *Marxism-Leninism*, with classes to begin within the next two weeks on the *Program of the C.I.*, *Problems of the Communist International*, *Imperialism* and other related subjects with plans laid for a series of special lectures on *Trade Union Problems* and the *Negro Question*, the Marx-Lenin school promises to become a real and vital force in the struggle against the revision of Leninism and for giving training to workers for more effective participation in the class struggle.

Just as the Workers School, built up and developed under the former leadership of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. from four classes and a registration of 50 to over 60 classes and a registration of 1700, was the one bright spot in workers education in the United States from 1925 to 1929 and was a real weapon for the left wing and the Communist movement, so the Marx-Lenin School today under the very same leadership and continuing the best traditions of the Workers School, is already a force in the struggle to save the Communist Party and the left wing organizations of the workers.

The enthusiasm of the students who are taking courses in the Marx-Lenin School has been so great that the second session of each class showed a marked increase in the registration for the various courses. In the class, *America Today*, given by Comrade Jay Lovestone on Sundays at 1:00 P. M. the hall was packed with an attendance of 125. The classes in *American Thought* and in *Marxism-Leninism* are also overcrowded.

Coming at a time when the Program of the Comintern is being revised by the present leadership of the C.I., when the false theories of imperialism are being substituted for Lenin's, when the various Communist Parties are facing crises as a result of the revision of the strategical line of Leninism that is now taking place, the classes that are soon to begin in the *Program of the Communist International*, in *Imperialism*, in *Problems of the Communist International* take on special importance. Other classes that have just begun or are scheduled to begin are *English*, *American History*, *Principles of Marxism* as well as two special courses in *Problems of the Revolutionary Youth Movement*.

The building of the Marx-Lenin School becomes all the more important in view of the fact that both the curriculum and staff of instructors of the Workers School today are inspired by the "new line." Scott Nearing was the instructor in the Workers School for the two important courses in *Imperialism* and on *Social and Political Institutions under Capitalism*. V. I. Jerome has become the expert of the present "leadership" in the C.P. and the Workers School on the *History of the American Labor Movement*. The Perrilas, Pasternaks, Clarence Millers and Olga Golds have become the theoretical leaders and expounders of Marxism-Leninism. Play-writing, the Russian language and such courses are beginning to play the important role in the Workers School.

It is obvious that on the field of workers education as on other fields of the class struggle a struggle must be carried on to meet the critical situation arising from the falsification of Leninism and to clarify the principles Marx, Lenin and the revolutionary working class movement. All workers are therefore urged to attend the Marx-Lenin School, to register without delay at the School office, 37 East 28 Street and thus to train themselves for the class struggle.

Have Communists the Right to Think?

By Will Herberg

"HAVE Communists the right to think?" This question has been raised in a very painful form by the present intolerable regime in the Communist International which meets every sign of initiative or ideological self-reliance with immediate threats of suppression and expulsion. The entire bourgeois intellectual world has taken advantage of this unfortunate situation to launch a determined offensive against Communism under the slogan: *The Communist does not think; he accepts and conforms! The Communist is an automaton!* Sympathetic workers and even Party comrades are beginning to ask themselves the same question. The following letter recently received from a sympathizer places the whole problem in a very striking manner:

"No one can become a Communist who has not done some thinking. Why must thinking and the free expression of opinion stop when one has signed the rolls? If I join the Communist Party and refuse to stop thinking, would I be 'kicked out'? What stand does the Communist Party-majority fraction take on this question?"

* * *

In capitalist society there can be no real "freedom of thought." In a class society, thought is "class thought." It is determined by the conditions and the strivings of some class—which it in turn expresses. The whole history of human culture is a continuous proof of this fact. Socially effective thought cannot be "free" from the influence of classes and their struggles; it grows out of them and reacts upon them. Of nothing is the bourgeoisie—is any ruling class—so jealous as of its power to suppress new ideas which its class instinct tells it constitute a menace to its rule. True, once upon a time, when it was fighting feudal reaction, the young bourgeoisie held aloft the inspiring banner of the "freedom of thought." But its own victory and the rise of the proletarian movement soon convinced it of the "danger of thought running wild and undermining the very foundations of society, morality and religion." In fact, it is precisely in capitalist society that the suppression of all significant new thought has been refined to the most deadly point, while at the same time it is hidden under the cloak of a formal and abstract "freedom of thought." The real substance of this "freedom of thought" is only too well known to every radical teacher, to every imprisoned agitator. The rule of the capitalist class is the most deadly enemy of free thought.

On the other hand, it is precisely the proletarian revolutionary movement—the Communist movement—that holds out the promise of the realization of free thought as an actual reality. For the historical aim of the proletariat is not the establishment of a new regime of class exploitation but rather the ultimate elimination of all classes and systems of class rule. The proletariat has no fear of the future and therefore sees no threat in the free and unhampered unfolding of human thought. Since the capitalist system has already outlived its historical role and become obsolete, the progressive development of thought necessarily constitutes a devastating critique of capitalist civilization in all its phases. For this reason—and on the basis of its own class interests—the Communists fight against any attempt to hamper the development of science and thought on the part of the forces of reaction. The historical alliance of the proletariat and science is not accidental and temporary; it

1 These expressions were actually used in an editorial in the New York World. See also the recent remarks of Heywood Brown in the New York Evening Telegram.

is inherent and permanent—it is rooted in the great social role of the proletariat as the emancipator of the whole of society, of all social life, of all social thought!

* * *

The Communist Party is a voluntary political association. Membership in the Communist Party is based upon agreement with its fundamental aims and ideas. What these fundamentals of Communism are is well known: the abolition of capitalist private property and its replacement by social property through a transition period leading to a classless, stateless society—Communism, the role of the bourgeois state as the dictatorship of capital and the necessity for its overthrow and replacement by a proletarian state, the proletarian dictatorship, the Soviet system, the necessity for a political Party of the proletariat as the organization of its vanguard, etc. These fundamentals have arisen not as external revelations or dogmas; they represent the collective concentrated experience of human history, and particularly of the age-old struggle for the emancipation of mankind.

If one disagrees with the fundamental cardinal points in the political program of Communism he has no place in a Communist Party, not because these political doctrines are heaven-sent dogmas which one must not violate but because they represent in concentrated form the interests and historical strivings of the proletariat.

The "limits" of freedom of thought in a Communist Party are therefore clear: they are determined by the fundamentals of Communism. These limits—if indeed they can be called limits at all—are self-imposed and necessary since upon them is based the very possibility of a Communist Party.

But within these very broad general limits determined by the very class nature of capitalist society *there is the fullest freedom of thought in the Communist movement.* Not only have the Communists the right to think—they have the duty to think. Without continuous and systematic study, investigation and theoretical work on the part of the Communist movement collectively as well as on the part of individual comrades, any real progress of the revolutionary movement is impossible.

The theoretical accomplishments of Marx, Engels and Lenin do not represent the "end of all wisdom"; they have not put an end to the necessity for all further thought and investigation. Such an idea is the very contrary of the spirit of Marxism. The scientific achievements of Marx are significant precisely because they provide us with a basis and a method for the pursuance of new and independent investigations in a fruitful manner. Marxism does not fetter the freedom of thought; it frees thought and renders it socially effective.

Moreover, the membership in a Communist Party implies agreement with certain broad fundamentals, it does not follow that a comrade must agree with every implication or proposition of the Marxian world-view—or out he goes! This would convert the Communist Party from a political party into a religious sect. Lenin long ago pointed out that *"a political organization cannot examine its members as to whether their conceptions are in agreement with the program of the Party"* as long as they carry out the program faithfully in practice. Take the case of religion. Atheism is, of course, an essential element of Marxism, dialectical *materialism*; religion, moreover, is one of the most powerful instruments of class domination. The Communist Party therefore carries on a struggle

2 Lenin: *On the Relation of the Party of the Proletariat to Religion, Proletaryi*, May 13, 1909, No. 45..

The Swedish Party Against the "New Course"

On the Expulsion of the CP of Sweden from the Communist International

by E. Karas

IN the Comintern for the last period of time the Communist Party of Sweden has been an outstanding exception. It was one of the few Parties that developed in a normal manner. Since the removal from the Party of the opportunist elements under the leadership of Hoglund in 1924, the Party has continually increased its influence among the workers and has organizationally strengthened its roots among the masses. It experienced a normal inner-Party life; an old cadre of leaders developed in the great struggles of the past against the reformists in the Social-democracy, against the humanitarian and petty bourgeois reformers in the Left-socialist Party and against the centrists in the C. P. of Sweden—a cadre of leaders that had the full confidence of the membership. The successes of the Party in every field became clearer every day.

After the split of 1924 the C. P. S. consisted of 7,011 members (263 local organizations). Since then the increase has been steady so that by the first half of 1927 there were 13,058 members and 312 locals. Towards the end of 1927 the number reached 15,497; by 1929, over 18,000!

The leading cadres of the C. P. S. were trained in an old revolutionary school. Today branded as "renegades", "social-democrats", "social-fascists" and "inciters of war against the Soviet Union" (!) they do not have to defend themselves against such slanders; they have shown thru years of activity that they are devoted revolutionists and know how to win the masses for Communism. Oskar Samuelsson, the secretary of the Party, has been in the revolutionary movement for over 25 years (since he was 17 years old). For a long time he was chairman and secretary of the youth league. Kilboom, Flyg, Nerman, Hinke, and others in the leadership can count decades of devoted revolutionary service to their record.

against religion as an organic part of its general struggle. But does this mean that good militant workers who still believe in God are not to be admitted into the Party—or are to be expelled from the Party? Lenin answers:

"Not only must we not exclude from the Social-democratic (now: Communist) Party workers who still retain the belief in God, but we must even try to get them in with redoubled energy . . . in order to train them in the spirit of our conceptions."

The Communist Party cannot become a Catholic or Episcopal Church with inquisitions and heresy-hunting. Adherence to the Communist Party depends upon agreement with certain great fundamentals; *"within the Party we allow full freedom of opinion, within of course certain limits"* determined by the character of the Party as the vanguard of its class.

* * *

This is the viewpoint of the CP-Majority Group. But it is not a group viewpoint—it is the viewpoint of Marxism and Leninism, it is the viewpoint corresponding to the best traditions of the proletarian revolutionary movement and, until recently, it was the viewpoint of the Communist International. It is a tragic manifestation of the present crisis that this viewpoint should have been deserted by the official leadership of the Communist International in favor of a semi-theological dogmatism that spells stagnation and ideological impotence.

Already the VI World Congress (July 1928) there were those for whom the success of the Swedish Party was "unwelcome." Issues began to be "found"—first, the character of Swedish capitalism. Hermann Remmele suddenly discovered that Swedish capitalism was already a "distinct" and "leading" imperialist power. To this Comrade Samuelsson answered that certainly Swedish capitalism has strong imperialist tendencies but—as the example of the Kreuger Company in which American capital is represented to the extent of 75% shows—there can be no talk of Sweden being a "leading" imperialism such as is the U. S. A., Great Britain or France. At the Congress the point of view of Samuelsson was apparently accepted. Vassiliev's well-known attack on the Swedish Party was repudiated. Even the Presidium of the Ecce designated Samuelsson's view as correct. But of course this meant nothing at all. A letter was sent to the Swedish Party with just the opposite viewpoint. The representative of the Young Communist International in Sweden began a fight on this question all over again. The "left opposition" (Sillen, Linderot) in Sweden permitted itself the luxury of elaborating five theses on this question. Finally at the X Plenum the representatives of 52 Parties "decided" that Swedish capitalism was an imperialism of the "first rank."

Then it began to be "proved" by everybody from Manuilsky all the way to Reimann and Gottwald that "because of their false estimation of Swedish imperialism" the entire policy of the Party had been wrong for years. On the approved style all sorts of documents, everything that had been written and said, or left unwritten and unsaid in the course of years was scanned for "evidence" that the leadership of the Swedish Party was "opportunist" and "social-democratic" and must be removed.

The estimation of Swedish capitalism was not the only "issue." The splendid work of the Swedish Party in the trade unions based upon a correct utilization of the tactic of the united front which resulted in the establishment of the powerful Soviet-Swedish Trade Union Unity Movement was branded by the Ecce as "treason, capitulation before reformism," etc., etc.

On these and other "issues" there broke out a factional struggle in Sweden such as the Party had never seen before. This factional struggle was stimulated and led by the representative of the Y.C.I. Whereas hitherto all differences had been decided by varying majorities, from now on there were solid iron-bound factions. Everything was decided on a factional basis; everything the C.C.-Majority did was wrong, even tho the "left" minority had agreed with it before. The Ecce provided the "left" minority with a platform thru a series of "proposals" and "criticisms." It was suddenly discovered that "perhaps the great growth of membership was not so healthy" (Vassiliev). The "left minority," under the inspiration of the Ecce, began to maintain that not every worker who wants to join the Party should be accepted. According to their opinion, only those should be taken into the Party who are Bolsheviks—the "lefts" called the Party a "department store in which anybody can buy a membership book" (!) A definite and outspoken ultra-left ideology was created.

(Concluded in the next issue)

Unite the Left Wing in the Needle Trades!

by Charles S. Zimmerman

RECENT events in the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union have proven what disruptive effect the new Party line has had on the mass organizations. The line of crushing and destroying all those comrades who are not in agreement with the Party line and especially the "Lovestoneites," was stressed as the most important problem before the left-wing at a recent meeting of the Needle Trades Section of the T.U.U.L. by Schmies, assistant secretary of the T.U.U.L. and by I. Amter, District Organizer of the New York District of the Party. This line of destruction is now being carried thru in all mass organizations and is resulting in a serious weakening of these organizations.

The "loyalites" in the leadership of our Union are compelled to carry thru this line in spite of the fact that they realize that such a policy is causing a great deal of damage to our Union. They carry thru this dangerous line in spite of their disagreement with it, otherwise they will meet the same fate as Keller, the secretary of the National Textile Workers Union, who was suspended from the Party for hesitating to bring in the crushing policy into the Union. The result is that whatever problem is taken up in the Union is utilized by the "loyalites" for a campaign against the comrades who were expelled from the Party for fighting for a Leninist Line.

A few facts will show what a dangerous road the "loyalites" in our Union leadership are taking. Only the extreme terror campaign prevailing in the Party today could make these "leaders" adopt a line that is opposed to the fundamental principles of our Union. We have always fought against the persecution of members in the Union for their political opinions. Today, Comrade Rose Sacks is removed from the Executive of the Youth Section for writing an article in *Revolutionary Age*. A year ago such an act would have been impossible in our Union—today, Gold and Boruchowitz defend it. Fruit of the new line! This is the first removal for a varying political opinion and it must be resolutely combated by all the members of our Union.

Another fact: In discussing the reorganization of our Union on the basis of the shop delegate system a difference of opinion developed on the question of the election of officers and on the question of recall of officers. When it was first taken up the Joint Board had a unanimous opinion on the question of the election of officers which should be done by a popular vote instead of by the Council, Gold also being in favor of this view.

But it was "reconsidered." We contended that leaving the membership the right to elect the officers would help to activate the membership, would instill more confidence and generally the membership would not feel that they are being deprived of some of their rights. Instead of discussing the question on its merits a vicious campaign of slander was launched against the comrades who were for the minority proposal. Charges of being opposed to the shop delegates system, of being "against the Soviet system" (!), of being in favor of bourgeois democracy, against collectivism and similar ridiculous bunk was hurled against the comrades.

But why such a bitter campaign on this issue? Why such bitter attacks and such ridiculous charges? Clearly for one reason only and that is an attempt on the part of the "loyalites" to start an open slander campaign in order to discredit us in the eyes of the workers. The last Union membership meeting looked more like an "enlightenment campaign" meeting than a Union meeting. The result was that many of the members who were present at the meeting left in disgust before the meeting was over. Instead of arousing enthusiasm for the shop delegates system, the paralyzing effect of the "enlightenment campaign" was brought in. Now at a time when the right wing in conspiracy with the bosses is preparing an offensive against our Union, a stop must be made to this campaign of the "loyalites." Our traditional policy of no persecution for political opinions must be restored. Instead of the lynch spirit which the "loyalites" are attempting to whip up, we must begin an intensive campaign to mobilize all forces for the drive in the dress industry. The season in the dress trade is now on. We must immediately develop and broaden our organization drive and defeat the pernicious conspiracy of the bosses and the Schlesinger company union.

In order to achieve this we must have the unity of all the left wing forces. The narrow sectarian policy of crushing must be abandoned. The leadership of our Union must be broadened instead of narrowed down. Only thru the united efforts can we have an effective mobilization, develop and broaden the dress drive, build our Union and defeat the right wing.

The situation is serious and critical for our Union. We must rally our forces. With a united left wing we must and we will defeat all conspiracies of the company union and build our Union—the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union.

In the Communist International

WHITHER BUKHARIN?

It is becoming increasingly clear that the capitulatory declaration of Bukharin, Rykoff and Tomsy (November 26) did not "settle the whole question." So far from the attacks against Bukharin ceasing they have acutally been greatly intensified. This is reflected in the recent issue of *Communist International* (vol. VI, no. 27) where, in spite of his capitulation, Bukharin is still attacked as a "right winger," "opportunist," and the necessity for a "ruthless struggle" against him is emphasized. Early in December systematic pressure began to be exerted upon Bukharin—thru the well known methods of "spontaneous" resolutions from the Soviet Party organizations and even from foreign Parties—to make him come out in public attack against the opposition movements in the various sections of the Comintern and their leaders. Especial efforts are being made to get Bukharin to attack the American opposition movement and Lovestone in particular. So far no word has been heard from Bukharin on international questions; the extension of his capitulation to these questions will mean the complete repudiation on his part of his whole line and of all he stood for in the Comintern in the last period of years.

THE SITUATION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The destructive "new course" of the Ecce hit the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia with particular force, first because of the special extravagance of the new political line as applied in Czechoslovakia and the absolute incompetence of the new leadership and, secondly, because of the political and organizational weakness of the cadres that has always characterized the Czech Party. As a result a Party of 150,000 declined to a membership of 25,000 in less than two years and absolute havoc was created in the mass organizations and to the prestige of Communism among the masses. Thousands of members and sympathizers have just fallen away into indifference and worse. The official Party has reached a state of actual impotence. On the occasion of the opening of parliament, the Party "mass meeting" called in Prague (the capital city) was attended by 100 workers, that in Kladno by 19, that in Brunn by 41! With the sharpening of the crisis an opposition movement arose, or rather a number of opposition movements. The strongest of these under the leadership of Muna, Jilek, Bolen, Hais, Neurath, etc. united within itself over 6,000 organized Communists and has leadership over the Red trade union federation (I.A.V.) with over 40,000 members, besides cooperatives and other labor organizations. It has two organs in Czechish and one in German, and is in control of many workers' houses and institutions. Lately, it has been making considerable headway in the Party and in the labor movement generally.

The divided state of the opposition movement in Czechoslovakia caused considerable dissatisfaction among the oppositional workers and strivings towards unity grew continually stronger. On November 28 there took place in Brunn a preliminary conference of representatives of the C.P.Cz.-Opposition (including the leading rroup in the I.A.V.), of the "Leninist Oppositional Group" and of the so-called "Brunn Opposition." Arrangements were made for organizational unification; it was decided to conduct a thoro discussion in the lower organizations of the various groups as a preparation for a coming unity Congress. These first steps have been approved by the leading bodies of the three groups—in the Enlarged Council of the C.P.Cz.-Opposition the vote was 18 to 4.

Of course the movement for the consolidation of the opposition forces is to be greeted, particularly in such a situation as exists in Czechoslovakia. *But it is our international duty to point out that such consolidation movement must take place on the basis of substantial agreement in principle and not merely out of desire for a numerical increase of forces.* In this connection we call attention to the decision of the National Conference of the C.P.Cz.-Opposition (June 30, 1929):

"It must be declared that the interests of the revolutionary proletariat exclude an unprincipled bloc of the various Opposition groups. The Conference declares expressly that on the basis of the program of action adopted by it—and only upon that basis—attempts must be made to achieve unification with other oppositional groups. We will gladly cooperate with any one who agrees with this program."

Of course it is impossible to pass judgment at this distance but we are of the opinion that the above decision was not fol-

lowed in the unity proceedings hitherto. It is our impression that too little care was exercised in the matter of achieving a clear and correct Leninist line as the basis of the unification. Thus, in the draft resolution presented by the Brunner group there is an absolutely impermissible non-Leninist formulation of the united front tactic, which, if followed, is certain to lead to gross opportunism. Such things cannot be permitted, especially in an opposition movement fighting for the restoration of the correct line. Cooperation in certain actions is one thing—but organizational unity of the opposition movements can and must only take place on the basis of substantial agreement in principle and a clear Leninist line.

THE "NEW COURSE" IN ITALY

The critical situation in the *Communist Party of Italy* is sharpening. In the period immediately after the VI Congress (July 1928) the leadership of the C.P.I. (Serra, Ercoli) adopted a more or less "conciliatory" position but put up some of resistance to the new course. It did not take long, however, before the Ecce put on the screws—and the differentiation process in the Italian Party leadership took place. Comrade Serra (Angelo Tasca) refused to surrender his convictions and refused to give up his struggle against a false line that threatened to destroy the Communist Party of Italy and the C.I. He was therefore expelled some time after the X Plenum (July 1929). Ercoli, on the other hand, took the road to capitulation—for very characteristic reasons. As a close friend of Ercoli, a member of the Secretariat of the C.P.I., explained:

"We must give in on Russian and international questions in order to be able to save the Italian policy of our Party. Were we not to do this then Moscow would without scruple put in a 'left' Party leadership made up of some youngsters from the Lenin School."

Inevitably, however, Ercoli's capitulation—at first hesitant and then all along the line—did not "save the Italian policy of the Party." On the contrary, it was precisely the "Italian policy" that was the first to suffer from the new course. We have already noted how the illegal Federation of Labor—which, in spite of the greatest difficulties, was developing very favorably—was thrown into chaos by the insistence of the Ecce that it must affiliate with the R.I.L.U. In the declaration on his expulsion (November 18, 1929) Comrade Serra gives another illustration of the dangerous distortion of the line of the Italian Party in the direction of ultra-left sectarianism.

"The decision of the Political Secretariat of the Ecce in which my expulsion is confirmed informs us that the Italian Party has dropped the slogan of 'A republican constituent assembly on the basis of workers and peasants committees'. This political formula was not of the best, but at least it had the advantage that it assured the Communist Party an ability to manouver in a situation in which—in view of the social composition of our country and even more in view of the general character of the fascist reaction—the democratic demands of the broad masses of people acquire a distinct revolutionary significance. The dropping of this slogan 'from the documents' is not a simple correction of form. This formula always stood in the very center of the policy of our Party."

The old line of the C.P.I.—which won for it the support of large masses of workers and peasants—has now been completely given up. The consequences will not be slow in making themselves felt . . .

WHO HELPS THE REFORMISTS?

In its issue of Sunday, January 5, the Berlin *Vorwärts*, the most authoritative organ of German Social-democracy, took a stand on the recent Plenum of the Red International of Labor Unions. Every Communist and militant worker should examine very carefully what this bitter enemy of the revolutionary struggle has to say:

"We note with satisfaction that the commanders in chief of the Communist trade union troops have completely maintained the orders issued a year ago (the 'new trade union policy')... The 'new line' leads to the cleansing of the trade unions from the Communist slogan-smiths. That is all we could hope for."

"We have only one wish: that Losovsky should continue his line consistently and logically."

JUST OUT!

WHAT IS "EXCEPTIONALISM?"
WHO IS REVISING LENINISM?
WHAT'S HAPPENING TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A.?
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PARTY LIFE

NEW YORK SECTION CONVENTIONS

A number of comrades still within the Party, dissatisfied with what is happening today, are still nourishing illusions that they will be able to "change the situation" at the next convention. The recent section conventions in New York and the methods employed which are typical indicate the futility of this hope.

In Section 1. Wagenknecht was chairman. The district representatives, Amter, for the first time in the history of the district, brought in an official slate from the District Committee—which was largely Fosterite in composition. A Comrade like Weissman, who had given long service to the section was omitted from this slate, because she formerly supported the former leadership. This procedure which negated the rights and the elementary purposes of a section convention, and the number of non-proletarians nominated, aroused such a storm of indignation even among the loyalites that the proposal for a district slate was defeated, and a nominating committee had to be elected. Meanwhile the Brown-Lillienstein Fosterite machine remains in control of the section.

In the Bronx Section Convention under the direction of Mankin, now promoted from Brownsville for his success in disrupting that section, there was also a district slate which aroused a deep protest. Fifteen delegates abstained from voting on this question under protest. Those against this high handed procedure were warned that any opposition meant opposition to the C.I. The Fosterites are firmly established in control in the Bronx, with Willie Johnson shipped out to Baltimore. In Williamsburg, Gordon who rendered such faithful service to the expulsion campaign against Katilus, Shaeffer, Koppel, etc., has himself been ousted from the leadership of the section and that diehard factionalist and disrupter, Abe Harfield, a Fosterite, has been put in his place. Bydarian (loyalite) is still nominally at the head of Section 3, but J. Cohen is quietly bidding his time until Bydarian is shipped out of New York. In Section 2, Litwin is still tolerated temporarily altho Shapiro, Margolis, Vafiades and the rest of the Foster group have strengthened their forces considerably.

The section conventions show how narrow and bureaucratic the Party apparatus has become. In this connection we quote the letter sent out by Amter to the section organizers as a crass example of bureaucracy at its worst.

"TO ALL SECTION ORGANIZERS

Dear Comrades:—

The District Buro has decided to recall all the resolutions that were presented at the Section Conventions in order that they may be thoroly gone over and corrected and then in corrected form be sent to the nuclei as a guidance for their work.

"It is true that the Nuclei discussed the resolutions before the Convention, yet it has been found in several cases that the resolutions were very faulty, were not corrected at the conventions and therefore are not fit guidance for the comrades in the work that they are to do during the coming period.

"Therefore, will you please return or send in a copy of your resolution so that it may be scrutinized by the District Buro, which will then give your resolution in the proper form to be sent in the nuclei. Please do not fail to do this without delay.

Fraternally,

I. AMTER, District Organizer."

Since when has the right of a section convention to present its resolution, "uncorrected," been abolished? How does it happen that resolutions adopted in the presence or doubtless with the approval of the district representative, has to be "scrutinized" and "corrected"? The membership is entitled to know the nature of the "corrections."

The entire Party membership must rise in revolt against the oppressive clique control that has seized hold of the Party. We must fight for the re-establishment of Party democracy, freedom of discussion and healthy Party life.

WHAT IS HAPPENING TO THE I. L. D.?

The narrow line of the Party "leadership" is being concentrated on the I.L.D. to transform that organization from a broad non-partisan body into a narrow sect of loyalites. Already there are instances of efforts to place barriers in the way of the admission of new members. In the Bronx Branch, new members are being asked to secure two members to recommend them. For the first time in the history of the organization, there has been established an investigation into the political opinions of new applicants. In Harlem, in order to disfranchise an entire branch, the members were not called to a meeting for several months. In the Boston Branch a campaign has been begun to oust some of the most active comrades because of their political opinions regarding the Party controversy. In the Sacco Vanzetti Branch in New York City, Comrade Ellen Lee has been suspended for her political opinions by the executive committee without even a hearing, or even an investigation. When Comrade Shanes protested against this procedure, he was also notified that he would be placed on charges. No attempt was made to take up the Accorsi meeting, altho this meeting was but a few days before the trial. The same tactics are being applied in San Antonio. What the "new line" has done to the I.L.D. is shown by the situation in New York. Here where the I.L.D. once had over 5,000 members the city membership called for January 15 could not be held because enough members did not come around. The resolution introduced by Engdahl to strike the word "non-partisan" from the constitution and the removal of Flynn, Weisbord and Gitlow from the National Board, lay the basis for the destruction of the I.L.D. All honest supports of the I.L.D., "the shield of the workingclass," must rally to the fight to save the organization from disintegration and to broaden it to include all workers, who are willing to fight for the defense of class war prisoners.

* * *

A LETTER FROM SAN ANTONIO

Dear Comrades:—

The new District Organizer Gorman (this is the same Gorman, who was driven out of the Anthracite because of his disruptive tactics and incompetence) sent his congratulation to the Party unit on the expulsion of the Lovestoneites. One of the new members became secretary of the unit. Apparently Comrade Sarah Levine, the one who succeeded Comrade Shaffer, after his expulsion, was afraid of the responsibility of holding an office in a Communist unit.

The "loyalists" are boasting that they will organize a branch of the Independent Workmens Circle, for the reason that we remained in the Workmens Circle.

In spite of all our efforts to build up the Icor, our work is suffering here too. Professor Kuntz was scheduled for a lecture here but deceived us failing to appear and it is over three weeks that we did not get any reason for this.

Two members left the "loyalists," one A. Bustos (Mexican), the mainstay in the unit, went over to the anarchist group "Claridad."

Comrade Grant promised the Mexicans to hold a meeting with them, Sunday, Dec. 27 on the Plaza, but he made fools of them and left for Houston. The Mexicans are disgusted with such actions.

We are engaged actively in organizing Mexicans, unorganized and unemployed. We are being received by them with great enthusiasm. We have crowds of over 300 listening to our speakers. At present we hold open air meetings. We are winning considerable influence over the Mexican workers here. We are planning to organize an unemployment council. The few loyalists have locked themselves up into an insignificant sect because of fear of arrest and persecution. They have driven every non-partisan out of the I.L.D. and have sentenced the organization to destruction due to their tactics. The same fate is in store for the Young Communist League and the Pioneers.

Comradely yours,

J. Shaffer,
San Antonio, Texas.

PHILA. REPUDIATES THE PARTY W. C. POLICY

On Wednesday, January 15, Comrade Ben Lifshitz was present as the chief speaker at the meeting of the Downtown Jewish Workers Club, a non-partisan organization of Philadelphia, to speak on the present situation in the Workmens Circle. The meeting was attended by many workers. Just when Comrade Lifshitz was about to begin his speech, Murdoch, and a number of loyalites who had come into the meeting attempted to attack Lifshitz and those on the platform. A struggle ensued in which our comrades were well defended by the non-Party workers who bitterly resented the interruption of the meeting. The hall keeper called the police and the meeting was therefore transferred elsewhere. A large group of 50 attended this meeting and heard Comrade Lifshitz give a detailed exposure of the disastrous Party policy at the Boston convention and in the entire Workmens Circle situation. There was expressed complete disillusionment and disgust with the situation and a general demand for the building up of a genuine left wing in the Workmens Circle and the Independent. A committee was immediately elected for the purpose which will proceed with the arrangement of a broad mass meeting on this vital subject.

* * *

NEGRO WORKERS SEE THE "NEW LINE" IN ACTION

On New Year's Eve the Brownsville Branch of the American Negro Labor Congress held a dance at Dunbar Center, Brooklyn. Three of our comrades, among the most active in work among Negro workers, attended this dance, two of them being members of the A.N.L.C. These comrades were trailed by Party members all evening. Party members who tried to talk to these comrades were called away and warned that talking with an expelled member meant expulsion. The League members, grouped in a corner, kept singing "Down with Lovestone!"—This at a non-Party dance!

Due to bad arrangements the orchestra did not show up. Finally at 12:30 an orchestra was secured. One of the expelled, Comrade Fisher, danced with a newly enrolled Negro Party member. Another Negro comrade interrupted them and finished the dance with Comrade Fisher. Later, the newly enrolled Negro comrade told Comrade Fisher that he was not permitted to talk or dance with her. Another Negro worker danced with Comrade Fisher. While dancing he was approached by Party members and told not to dance with an expelled member. He refused. He and Comrade Fisher were forcibly parted by League and Party members. Many Negro workers rushed to the scene wondering what it was all about. Later a Negro member of the A.N.L.C. apologized for the conduct of the Party members who had prevented a comrade from dancing at a public dance.

The dance was unfortunately a failure. Only 90 were present, 40 being League and Party members. This contrasts with the last A.N.L.C. dance held only a few month ago at which over 300 were present, more than 200 of whom were Negro workers. R., New York.

* * *

AGAINST FAKE COOPERATIVES

In spite of many difficulties and mistakes, the Party under the previous leadership had managed to create a genuine proletarian cooperative spirit and control within the cooperatives founded under its leadership. With the introduction of the "new line," the crisis naturally was transferred into the cooperatives. The forced sale of the Proletcos Cooperative Restaurant to the Union Square Cafeteria, Inc., a business corporation, is the direct result of this crisis. This firm now comes out using the name "Cooperative," which if done with the agreement of the Party leadership in the Proletcos, is a crime against the cooperative movement. We must stand for genuine cooperatives, with all that the name implies, regarding relation to its membership, to its employees and to the labor movement as a whole.

* * *

NOTICE!

The next issue of *Revolutionary Age* will contain a special article by Comrade Harry Winitsky on the actual facts bearing on the relation of Comrade Lovestone to his trial in 1920. Party members and revolutionary workers who have seen the shameful slanders that have filled the Party press in the last few weeks should read this article and learn the true facts.

Youth and Unemployment

By JACK RUBENSTEIN

THE bubble of "prosperity" now seems to be punctured and thousands of workers are being added to the army of the unemployed. But for the young workers the illusion of "prosperity" was even weaker than for the older workers. The young workers who made \$8, \$12 and \$15 a week have always been just about one week away from want and starvation. Today these young workers together with the adult workers are helping to swell the army of the unemployed.

The war and after-war period resulted in tremendous industrialization and in big technical development for U. S. industry which drew into industry tens of thousands of unskilled young workers. These are the young workers who are the first to suffer from unemployment. An examination of the facts will show that it is precisely in those industries where young workers are found that unemployment is greatest. The radio industry—which is made up in the main of young workers—is hardest hit. The same is true for the textile, electrical appliance, auto and needle trades industries in varying degrees.

The misleaders of the A. F. of L., Green and Co., who never lifted a finger in defense of the unskilled young workers, have made an agreement with the representatives of Big Business and "Big Business" Hoover not to demand any wage increases or to carry on any strikes in the coming period. The young workers have nothing to expect from these fakers and must fight the sell-out agreement.

The bosses are using the miserable conditions of the young workers and the increase of unemployment to get the youth more and more in their clutches. They are now trying to drive the young workers into the army, navy and C.M.T.C. under such slogans as: "There is no unemployment in the army!" "Get a vacation with three square meals a day in the C.M.T.C.!" Once these young workers get into the army they will be used to suppress, break strikes and to shoot down their fellow-workers who are fighting for better conditions, just as happened recently in Southern Illinois. The American young workers must unite in the struggle against unemployment and for the demands of the unemployed. The young workers must fight for these demands:

1. The general demands of the workers on unemployment must be vigorously supported: *Unemployment relief from the government amounting to a living wage! Unemployment insurance raised from levies upon the owners of industry but to be controlled by the workers and their organizations! Recognition of the Soviet Union!*
 2. All unemployment demands must be applied to all young workers who have been working for at least one month.
 3. There must be adequate youth representation on all unemployment councils, fund dispensing committees, etc.
 4. There must be absolute equality for all Negro young workers and for all girl workers in all unemployment demands, unemployment representation, and so on.
 5. No young worker shall receive less than \$20 a week in unemployment benefits and insurance.
 6. A six hour day shall be established for all young workers so as to make work for more young workers.
 7. All overtime and all forms of speed-up for young workers shall be abolished.
 8. Child labor shall be completely abolished for all children under 15—the government to maintain the children now employed.
 9. The public schools are to be immediately utilized as free feeding centers for the children of the unemployed workers, whether of school age or below.
- All young workers should support this program of real struggle!

An Answer to a Capitulator

Robert Zelms.

Dear Comrade:—

I have read your statement in the *Daily Worker* of December 25, 1929 and, knowing your position since the arrival of the Comintern Address, it came as a distinct surprise.

So, you too have joined the chorus, you have now added your voice to the shouts of "renegades" and "counter revolutionists" and you threaten us with the judgment of the working class.

If you had consistently followed this position there would be no occasion for my writing this letter; but I know and you know that this is not the case. When you now crow so loudly about your "loyalty" and about your "confidence" in the correctness of the disastrous wrecking campaign in the Party and the Comintern, then I must say that you have had a serious lapse of memory (not uncommon among the present clique of unprincipled "leaders.")

You must remember that when the Comintern Address arrived and before the real situation was known (since the Convention Delegation was still across) I was overwhelmed by the "honeymoon spirit" of the moment and placed myself squarely in favor of the Address. You were hesitant and later admitted that it was under my influence that you finally sent a weak statement to "keep the record straight." At the leading committee meetings it took a lot of prodding from the Fosterites to squeeze out your statement of "acceptance." This is known to many leading comrades.

When the true meaning of the Address became clear to us you were the first to agree with me that there is no other course open for a Communist than that of open resistance. This position you took at the time despite great pressure brought to bear on you by the Moscow Letts.

But you say in your statement that you have always been "loyal." I must therefore remind you of a few facts and ask you a few questions.

Do you remember the Buro Meeting at which Puro and Heikinen were present for the C.E.C.? Why did you vote against the resolution submitted by Puro in which he demanded my removal as District Organizer and my expulsion from the Party? *It was with your vote that we defeated the resolution.*

If you insist that you were so "loyal" why did you wind up affairs in the I.L.D. and inform the attorney that there may be changes in the I.L.D.? Why, if not because you expected to be removed from the I.L.D. and expelled from the Party?

Was it for your "loyalty" to the wrecking campaign that you were removed from the District Executive Committee, District Buro and Secretariat?

But supposing you "became loyal" after you saw the handwriting on the wall, why then did you continue to give me every possible assistance after I was removed from office and expelled from the Party? You provided me with headquarters and even helped me, financially and technically, to mail to the membership copies of the *Appeal to the Comintern*.

You were one of the first to indignantly condemn, in our top group meetings held at your office, the weak-kneed and spineless Hagelias for going over to the party wreckers.

You write now, in your statement, of the necessity to defend the revisionist line of the Comintern. But you seem to have forgotten the letters you received from comrades in Moscow who wrote bitterly of conditions existing in the C.P.S.U. and of the deep dissatisfaction with the regime in the ranks of the Party.

Do you remember how jubilant you were when you received a letter from Moscow informing you that new opposition forces were arising and even naming a certain member of the Polburo, of whom it was said that he was "fixing his political fences and marking time for the present."

You did all these things because you recognized that the Comintern was in the deepest crisis of its history and that only a most determined struggle for the fundamentals of Leninism would save the Comintern.

But now you are a staunch "loyalite." You have not yet beaten your breast and shouted that you have sinned (and have therefore been promptly cracked on the knuckles) but you will do so. It's only the beginning that's hard.

Of what importance are facts, convictions and principles? After all "*honesty is a conception borrowed from the enemy class,*" as Minor declared.

To be in opposition and struggle against the stream is extremely difficult. And you, as a matter of political expediency, have rather chosen the easier path of political trickery and

Show by Your Actions

That You Want a Weekly

THREE months ago *Revolutionary Age* was launched to carry out its historic mission in the struggle "against the revision of Leninism, against the destruction of our Party and of its mass influence." At that time we pointed out that "the anti-Leninist course which the 'new leadership' of the Eccis and of our Party are forcing upon the Communist movement is a serious danger to the whole working class movement, to all mass organizations and to all mass struggles."

Since that time events have proven conclusively the correctness of our analysis. In every important campaign of the Party, in every field of Party activity, in every left wing mass organization, the effects of false line of the Party has been felt. The deep injury already done to these organizations, to the Party and the Communist movement as a whole, has been so great that many comrades who did not at first realize the seriousness of the situation have now been aroused to the great danger facing our movement.

In this situation *Revolutionary Age*, as an organ of Marxism-Leninism, as the staunchest weapon against revision and the policy of opportunist sectarianism, is even more necessary than ever. Not only is it vital and necessary but the seriousness of the situation demands that the effectiveness of *Revolutionary Age* be increased to meet the demands placed upon it. We must have a *Weekly Revolutionary Age*.

On Saturday evening, February 1, at the New Harlem Casino, 100 West 116 St. the friends and supporters of *Revolutionary Age* will hold a banquet to mark the turning of our fighting organ into a weekly. This banquet is not a local affair. It is an historical moment in the development of the Communist movement. The question of whether or not *Revolutionary Age* will become a weekly depends directly upon the degree of sacrifice and the size of the contributions which our comrades give for that purpose.

Revolutionary Age now appeals to every true revolutionist, to every worker interested in saving the Communist movement of this country, to send his contribution to the banquet. *Revolutionary Age* appeals to every mass organization, which is interested in saving that Communist force, which has given it inspiration and leadership in the past to contribute generously on this occasion!

What will be your answer?

Attention!

THE defeat of the left wing at the recent "emergency convention" of the Ind. Workmens Circle is a result of the false policy carried thru by the leadership of the left wing in the Workmens Circle and Independent W. C. under the direction of the present Party leadership.

An open meeting on this issue is being arranged for Friday evening, January 31, at Stuyvesant Casino, 142 Second Avenue, N. Y.

Well known speakers will point out what really happened at the convention of the Ind. W.C. and what are the tasks of the left wing in the fraternal organizations at this moment.

unprincipledness and have, very logically, joined the Stachels, Minors and Bedachts.

So be it. But you owe it to the Party to state clearly when were you diplomatizing, then or now? You need have no fears even if it is now. At present, *unprincipledness is the best qualification for leadership.*

Cleansed of all unprincipled elements we go forward firmly convinced in the correctness of our struggle for winning the Party and the Comintern for Leninism.

Comradely yours,

ALEX BAIL.