

Revolutionary Age

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

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Marine Rule in Haiti

THE defense of the Suez Canal and the Panama Canal is an important phase of imperialist policy of the two rivals for world domination, England and America, for the Suez is England's key to the Pacific as the Panama Canal is America's.

To control the approach to Suez, England occupies Gibraltar and Cyprus, Northern Egypt and the Soudan, Somaliland and the Southern tip of the Arab peninsula, and Lord Balfour becomes converted to Zionism as a means of creating a Jewish buffer against the Arabs in Palestine just north of the Suez Canal.

To guard the approaches to the Panama Canal, the United States establishes a protectorate over Cuba, purchases the Virgin Islands from Denmark, "supervises elections" in Nicaragua, Honduras, Costa Rica, Guatemala, San Salvador, Santo Domingo and Haiti, "owns" Porto Rico, separates Panama from Colombia, and has "intervened" with military force more than thirty times in the last generation in the internal affairs of the Republics bordering on the Caribbean sea.

The systematic looting of these unhappy lands, the naked bayonet dictatorships, the oppression, rapine and murder are cynically and indifferently concealed under a thin-blown smoke-cloud of noble phrases about civilizing the natives, preparing them for self-government, establishing law and order, stabilizing financial systems, restoring peace, safeguarding elections, make the lands safe for democracy, preventing foreign conquest and playing the role of big brother.

The real meaning of these fine phrases is once more brought sharply into the consciousness of the masses of America and of the world by the dramatic events of the last few days in Haiti—so sharply that those shoddy heroes of the phrase, the "liberals" and "progressives" in the United States Senate and outside of it suddenly find themselves supported by Hoover in the application of their favorite "remedy," another Congressional investigation. The poor Haitian masses have been investigated to the tor-

ture point but they must be investigated again in order to give every one the comfortable feeling that "something is being done about it" until the excitement dies down.

On December 6, the American High Commissioner, Brigadier General John H. Russell, reported that there was a strike in the "American" Customs House in Haiti, a strike of students in the University, a strike of Haitian workers and an uprising of the Haitian people, that the marines had shot five Haitians and wounded 20, that martial law had been declared (as if there has been any other law on the Island since the American occupation), and that more marines were needed. Hoover promptly sent a special message to Congress and more marines to the Island.

Only the day before (December 5) General Smedley Butler, who pistol in hand dissolved the last Haitian Senate thirteen years ago in his efforts to introduce the blessings of "American democracy" into Haiti, had told an interested audience at a meeting of the labor-hating open-shop Pittsburgh Builders' Exchange a few "funny stories" about American occupation of the

country. He told how American marines supervise elections. "Our candidate always wins," he boasted. "He's never very popular but we only let those vote who'll vote for him. If there is another candidate, he is declared a bandit." Then he told how they had swept out the whole government and couldn't get any one degraded enough to take the office of fig leaf to hide the nakedness of American military dictatorship. They needed a candidate for the pots of "Secretary of Public Instruction and Cults" (Minister of Education). At last they found a Haitian willing to serve. They appointed him. Then they found he could not read or write, could not sign his own name! Very "funny" stories! But they got into the press and so Secretary of the Navy Adams has appointed another investigation commission—not to investigate conditions in Haiti, but to investigate "the loose remarks" of General Butler.

Three days later, on December 8, the National Geographic So-

The Weekly Is Coming!

THE new campaign of expulsions now going on in the Party and the new campaign of lies and slanders begun in the Party Press are only another proof of the need for the speedy conversion of REVOLUTIONARY AGE into a WEEKLY. The black spots on the Communist movement—the barking dogs, the lies and slanders, the anti-Leninist policies and activities, the "50-year birthday celebrations"—can only be wiped out by the broadest and most intense Leninist propaganda among the American workers. This is the task which the Weekly REVOLUTIONARY AGE will face. This is why the establishment of the Weekly REVOLUTIONARY AGE is the foremost task of all revolutionists who want to preserve and build the Communist movement. For the Weekly REVOLUTIONARY AGE—the weapon in the struggle to save the Communist Party from isolation and destruction!

For the Weekly REVOLUTIONARY AGE—the organ which will preserve the ideas of Communism among the masses of American workers!

For the Weekly REVOLUTIONARY AGE—the fighter for Leninism and Leninist policies in the revolutionary movement!



ciety published a long bulletin on Haiti "showing" that is was unfit for self-government (thus can "science" serve the cause of imperialism) and explaining that Haiti is "blessed by nature with unstinted wealth." Yes, that "unstinted wealth" is one of the misfortunes of the ragged starved, bayonet-ruled Haitians, and their misfortunes is to inhabit half of an island near the Panama Canal.

One more official pronouncement to complete the picture. On December 9, the Associated Press carried an announcement from the American High Commissioner, Brigadier General Russell, to the effect that there was "absolute freedom of the press in Haiti, but that some of the Island papers had voluntarily decided not to come out during the period of disturbance." Russell forgot to add that those who didn't voluntarily suspend publication would go to jail as Francis Rothchild did, or have their type "distributed" by machine-gun fire. And he forgot to add that both the Associated Press and the United Press can send any news they want out of the island without military censorship because the American police chief at Port au Prince is the A. P. while Col. Frank E. Evans is the U. P. so far as the Island of Haiti is concerned.

Haiti became a sovereign state with a republican form of government in 1804 when she won her independence from France, under the leadership of the heroic Negro revolutionists Toussaint L'Ouverture, Christophe and Dessaline, by defeating in succession Napoleon's picked troops, a Spanish Army of invasion and a British Army of invasion. This lasted until July 28, 1915 when, under the direction of President Wilson, Secretary Bryan, Admiral Caperton and Roger L. Farnham, Vice-President of the National City Bank (who travelled to and from Haiti on a battleship), marines were landed, martial law declared, the Haitian bank robbed by marines of one-half million dollars which was transported to the National City Bank vaults in New York, the "election" of the American tool, Dartiguenave, as President accomplished by the suffrage of bayonets, and customs houses seized, and Senate dissolved for refusing to ratify a new "constitution" written by the American State Department and the National City Bank representatives, *corvee* or compulsory public slavery for all Haitians in the building of American military roads introduced, and a constabulary under American officers and a "sovereign and democratic" government set up under an American High Commissioner, marines, and "financial experts."

The population of Haiti is almost wholly Negro. The marines sent there have for the most part been Southerners, filled with the bitterest prejudice against Negroes, instilled in them by our Southern ruling class. The report of the Marine Corps in 1920 declared that the army of occupation had already killed up to that date over 300 Haitians. It is now 1929, and the marines are still there. The National City Bank still controls the resources and finances of the island, the marines still control the Government, no parliamentary elections have been permitted since 1917, the Haitians are still receiving the blessings of democracy and civilization forced labor, slavery, systematic pillage, martial law, floggings, jail, slaughter—and the brave Haitian masses are still holding out, still striking, still resisting, still revolting, still struggling for freedom against Wall Street and its imperialist government and military machine.

Hoover proposes to improve the situation by another Congressional investigation: Secretary Adams proposes in investigate the indiscreet General Butler. Borah and Company "view with alarm" the Haitian situation and welcome Hoover's proposal for investigation. The doughty "liberals" and "Socialists" of the *Nation* hope that Hoover's commission will "act energetically to get the marines out of Haiti," while Mr. Hoover energetically rushes more marines there and expresses the same "hope" in his message to Congress.

Enough of investigations! The American workers must de-

Who Is Fighting the Landlords?

Dec. 1, 1929.

Miss Grace Campbell
New York City.

Dear Miss:

On account of your communistic ideas and teachings and because of your disrupting the good relations that existed between the landlord and tenants of this building we have decided to ask you to vacate the apartment . . . which you now occupy by December 31, 1929.

Should you remain in the said apartment this will serve as notice that the rent will be one hundred twenty five dollars (\$125.00) from January 1, 1930 and if you fail to pay said amount summary proceedings will be started against you.

Yours respectfully,
Spectacle Island Realty Company.

Chas. C. Harris, Agent.

Comrade Grace Campbell, to whom this letter is written, is Vice-President of the *Harlem Tenants League*, a militant organization of Negro and white tenants in Harlem.

The landlords are victimizing Comrade Campbell for her energetic activity on behalf of the tenants. At the same time the Moore-Briggs clique are abusing her and other comrades as "agents of the landlords" because we will not tolerate the disruptive activities of this Party-endorsed clique in the tenants' movement.

mand the immediate withdrawal of all American troops from Haiti and from all occupied territories. The American workers must demand the complete and immediate independence of all American colonies and semi-colonies! We must organize to fight for these demands. We must concentrate all militant forces to support the heroic struggle of the Haitian masses and to defeat our common enemy, American imperialism! The Haitians have shown their courage and their determination to fight against their master class and ours. Not only by words of sympathy but by deeds must we show that the American toiling masses, under the revolutionary leadership of the Communist Party, stand in firm solidarity with the struggle of the Haitian masses for emancipation from the yoke of Wall Street!

1. *The Hoover-Borah Investigation Commission does not have to "investigate" these facts. It is all included in the report of the last Senate Investigation Commission for Haiti and Santo Domingo of 1921 (printed 1922) and the Report of the United States Marine Corps on the occupation of Haiti in 1920.*

WHERE TO BUY REVOLUTIONARY AGE

New York City—All News Stands.

Newark, N. J.—All News Stands.

Jersey City, N. J.—All News Stands.

Boston, Mass.—Andelman's Book Store, Tremont St.—Shapiro's Book Store, 7 Beach St.—Goldberg's Warren St., opposite Waumbeck.—News Stand, 38 Causeway St.

Washington, D. C.—Gale Book Shop, 805½ Tenth St., N.W.

Pittsburgh, Pa.—M. Rose, 1332 Fifth Ave.—B. Hirsch, 1623 Center Ave.

Cleveland, Ohio.—Schroeder Drug Store, Public Square.

Chicago, Ill.—Ceshinsky's Book Store, 2720 W. Division St.

St. Louis, Mo.—Foster Book Co., 410 Washington Ave.

Kansas City, Mo.—Buehler's Book Store, 220 W. 12th St.

Omaha, Neb.—Ak Sar Ben News Stand, cor. Haines Drug Co., 16th & Howard.

Butte, Mont.—International News Depot, 121 S. Arizona St.

Tacoma, Wash.—Raymer's Book Store, 1317 Pacific St.

Seattle, Wash.—Raymer's Book Store, 905—3rd Ave.

San Francisco, Cal.—H. Koblick, 1919 Fillmore St.

Los Angeles, Cal.—Western News Stand, 604 Arcade Sta.

For Proletarian Unity in Mass Organizations!

By Ben Lifshitz

(Candidate to Polburo of CC, CP U.S.A.)

THE official Party leadership is now passing thru the second stage of its struggle against the bolshevik elements in our Party, those who refused to be forced into the false revisionist anti-Leninist line of the Party and into its dangerous sectarian course.

The first stage of the Party wrecking campaign was to remove, suspend and expell all comrades who expressed disagreement with the official line of the Party in the post-Address period and even those comrades who, while accepting all decisions, "have shown lack of conviction or enthusiasm in carrying out the line, those whose acceptance has been honestly given but whose habit of thought move along the old line "(Thesis of October Plenum).

Now the Party wrecking campaign has passed to another stage—it has penetrated the mass organizations under the influence of the Party and is threatening their unity and their very existence.

The case of Eli Keller is characteristic.

Eli Keller was a "loyal" comrade. He accepted and endorsed the Address, carried out all decisions of the CC and approved all expulsions. He led the vicious campaign in New Bedford against the comrades who disagreed with the wrong line of the official Party leadership. He engineered the removal of Ellen Dawson and Rafael Pires as organizers of the New Bedford local of the National Textile Workers Union.

The only political "crime" committed by Comrade Keller was that he "refused to take an uncompromising stand against Ellen Dawson." This "serious violation of Party policy" consisted in his hesitation to sharpen the internal struggle in the Union. Upon Comrade Dawson's declaration of agreement with the general policy of the Union, he proposed that she be restored to her former position in the Union as one of its organizers. This was his crime! For this he was removed from leadership in the Union and for this he was suspended from the Party!

To introduce the inner-Party struggle into an organization of the kind of the NTWU—as was done in the cases of Dawson, Pires and Keller and as is being done every day—is to introduce demoralization and chaos which must inevitably lead to the destruction of the organization.

The line carried thru by the official Party leadership in the Textile Workers Union is by no means an isolated incident. The same line is being carried thru in an even much sharper form in all the mass organizations, including the unions, ILD, the Workers Clubs, the fraternal organizations, the cooperatives and the workers cultural organizations.

In the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union the present Party leadership has not yet openly proposed to expel our comrades from the leading committees. It would be "untimely" because these comrades are rooted among the masses and represent the most outstanding militant elements of the leadership of the Union.

But preparations have already been made by the official Party leadership to ram thru this wrecking policy in the Needle Trades Union. Instead of mobilizing the workers in the struggle against the bosses and the company union, proposals are made by the Party leadership of the Union to organize forums in the Union "to discuss" the present inner-Party struggle. An insidious campaign of gossip and rumors is being carried on among the non-Party masses against our best leading comrades, who have stood the test of fierce class battles in the needle trades. While this campaign of slander is carried on against

our comrades "organizational" plans have been worked out for new elections in which the attempt will be made to bring about such constitutional changes as will enable the Party leadership in the Union to prevent the election of our comrades.

In the Suit Case and Bag Makers Union, two of the most outstanding comrades in the left-wing struggles of the Union, Aranoff and Razimovitch, were expelled from the TUUL group. In the last election of the Union the Party leadership "forgot" to print the left-wing slate because these comrades were on it. When our comrades corrected this act of betrayal by printing the full left-wing slate, the Party leaders then issued a slate with only five name on it, leaving out the names of Comrades Aranoff and Razimovitch.

The action of the *Freiheit* in refusing to print the names of Zukowsky and Cibulsky, (who were beaten up on the picket line by the right-wing gangsters) because they are so-called "Lovestonites" and thereby, jeopardizing the strike against the Fairway Hat Co. shows that the line of the official Party leadership is one of political bankruptcy and hysterical irresponsibility, a policy which can only lead to pessimism in the ranks of the workers, to disintegration and destruction of the mass organizations.

The policy of the official Party leadership in removing and expelling the most active and the best tested forces in the class struggle inevitably strengthens all dangerous tendencies and opportunist elements in the Party organizations and fractions; it places in the leadership elements like Miller (in the Suit Case and Bag Makers Union) who collaborated with the right-wing bureaucrat, Laderman, and voted for selling out the strike in the Olympic shop. Such cases can be found everywhere.

We must not permit that the non-Party character of the mass organizations should be violated and destroyed by the introduction of differences of an inner-Party character. We must not tolerate the demoralization of our revolutionary forces to the obvious advantage of the right wing bureaucrats and the social-reformists. We must not tolerate the wrecking campaign of the new Party leadership!

The present period offers a splendid opportunity to organize the workers for struggle. Rationalization, unemployment, the Hoover-Green pact, the war danger, the increased use of injunctions against labor, open betrayal by the social reformists, American imperialism's attack upon the Soviet Union and the war against Haiti, are bringing increasing struggle on the part of the workers.

For proletarian unity in the mass organizations!

Unite in the struggle against American imperialism and its agents, the trade union bureaucrats and the social-reformists!

TWO SPLENDID MEETINGS

On Monday, December 16, Comrade Ben Gitlow spoke before a well attended meeting of the *Harlem Tenants League* on the subject *The Economic Situation in America Today and How It Affects Us*. The more than fifty Negro workers present listened with great care to Comrade Gitlow's remarks which were followed by a number of very interesting questions. The meeting was a great success.

On Saturday, December 14, Comrade Gitlow spoke at a *Revolutionary Age* banquet in Philadelphia. This banquet was attended by nearly seventy workers, half of them not members of the Party. Comrade Gitlow's report was followed by a very fruitful discussion on the situation in the Party and in the mass organizations.

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Editorials

THE MINERS FIGHT!

THE strike of the Illinois coal miners under the leadership of the National Miners Union is one of most hopeful signs of reviving struggle and one of the best answers to the Hoover-Green Pact—to the Green sell-out. Miners in Kentucky are also joining the striking ranks, refusing to brook any longer the treacherous manipulations of the corrupt Lewis regime.

It is no accident that the miners are setting the pace. For many years the miners were the backbone of the organized American trade union movement. It is the miners who have the richest traditions of working class struggle in the United States. Whether the striking Illinois and Kentucky miners win or lose, one thing is certain, that they have dealt a necessary and helpful blow for the whole working class. Of course, a victory here would be of immeasurable help in arousing other miners and other workers to militant action. Only the help and solidarity of the rest of the coal miners and workers can insure a real and complete victory for the strikers.

But there are certain other lessons which must be drawn from this Illinois struggle. First of all, tho we never should ask for and never can have a guarantee of victory in a fight in advance of the struggle itself, yet such strikes, such class battles should be well-prepared in advance. Secondly, strikes are never real strikes, are never waged as effectively as they should and can be merely because the strike leadership is militant, is class conscious, is ready to fight the employers. In order to make any strike effective it is necessary to mobilize on a large scale—on the broadest possible scale—all the workers in the particular industry or region to be struck.

It is precisely here that the Illinois strike is weak. There was not enough preparation despite the fact that for weeks it was clear that the coal diggers were increasingly anxious to hit back at the coal operators and the Lewis-Fishwick bureaucracy. Then, the leadership, in order to insure the biggest possible response, should have developed an organized left wing movement in the United Mine Workers as an auxiliary to the National Miners Union movement. This was not done because of the present wrong policies of the TUUL with which the National Miners Union is affiliated. Let this Illinois strike be a warning and a lesson.

PROSPERITY AS IT IS

IT is an open secret among well-informed political observers that Hoover recently conferred with the most responsible "gentlemen of the press" and laid down the law that from now on during the coming months only "prosperity dope" is to be handed out in the newspapers.

Tho this hoodwinking game has already been started full blast by th bosses, yet now and then, unwillingly it is true

even the capitalist press itself lets the cat out of the bag as to who is "prosperous" and who is not in the United States. A recent issue of *The New York Times* gives, in its front page headlines, a good cross section of "American prosperity." Thus runs the picture of "American prosperity" as it really is: "*Huge Steel Merger In The Middle West Links \$350,000,000*"; "*Oklahoma Blast Entombs 59 Miners—Little Hope For Others*"; "*Pay Rise To Mayor and Aides Is Voted; An 'Emergency' Measure.*" The sums ranged from \$5,000 a year for New York Borough Presidents to \$15,000 for the Mayor Walker!

Truly, American prosperity is "many-sided." For the workers, it means unemployment on an increasing scale. The American "army of no occupation"—the army of permanently jobless—is growing. For the workers, it means rising accident and death rates due to the speed-up in industry. Wage cuts and lay-offs are the holiday bonuses now being given to the great mass of unskilled and semi-skilled workers. But to the big money lords it means more money, more profits, more mergers, more of a stranglehold on the resources and the means of production and exchange. And to the strikebreaking government officials, the present moment of sharpening depression serves only as a signal to boost their salaries by huge sums, many times the amount of wages the average American worker manages to make in a whole year of slaving away for the bosses.

Despite all of Hoover's prosperity propaganda, the shadows of the severe depression are becoming ever-darker for the American working and farming masses. November production has had the sharpest decline of any month in five years. At the time the capitalists are announcing Christmas gifts to their own class amounting to \$240,000 a piece! Only the united, militant class action of the workers can beat back the onrushing waves of misery and suffering.

WHO ARE THE RENEGADES?

ALFRÉD Ziegler, former chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria, has gone over to the Austrian Social-democracy! Karl Krail, another member of the CC, has joined with the Heimwehr-fascist organization!

Both Ziegler and Krail were passionate defenders of the "new course" in Austria and of the expulsion of the Opposition. Both belonged to the new "left" leadership recently installed by the Eccl. Ziegler, who announces his desertion of the movement in a long article in the Social-democratic Vienna *Arbeiterzeitung*, was the leader of the one big shop nucleus the Party had (in the large Warschalowski factory) and also of the factory council of that factory. Now the shop has gone over to the Social-democracy and the CPA has lost its last slim contact with the masses.

Who are the "renegades"? The official Party press never tires of crying that the "right wingers and conciliators" are "a wing of Social-democracy." But who is really going over to the Social-democracy? Who is passing over to reformism?

In Germany hardly a week passes without some very prominent "loyalist" leaving the CP and joining the SDP. One of the latest cases of this kind is that of Paul Bernhard. Paul Bernhard was a delegate to the VI World Congress of the Comintern. For this position he ran against (in Germany some of the Congress delegates are elected by the District Committees) Comrade Heucke, today a leading comrade in the CPG-Opposition. It was only thru the greatest official pressure that Bernhard was elected and went to the Congress. When he returned he became one of the most vicious champions against the "opportunists" and one of the most loyal defenders of the line of the Thalmann-CC. Now this worthy, Bernhard, has announced his resignation from the Party and his support of the Social-democracy. At the same time he made application for



Lenin Said:

ON IMPERIALISM AND "LIBERTY"

KAUTSKY, the "historian," is so shamelessly adulterating history that he forgets the fundamental fact that the capitalism of the pre-monopolistic era, of which the seventies of the last century were just the highest point, was, in virtue of its fundamental economic traits (which were most typical in England and America), distinguished by, comparatively speaking, greatest attachment to peace and freedom. As against this, imperialism, that is, capitalism of the monopolistic era, which has finally matured in the twentieth century, is, in virtue of its fundamental economic traits, distinguished by least attachment to peace and freedom, and by the greatest development of militarism everywhere.

—The Proletarian Revolution.

* * *

ON THE ADULTERATION OF MARXISM.

MARX'S doctrines are new undergoing the same fate, which, more than once in the course of history, has befallen the doctrines of other revolutionary thinkers and leaders of oppressed classes struggling for emancipation. During the lifetime of great revolutionaries, the oppressing class have invariably meted out them relentless persecution, and received their teachings with the most savage hostility, most furious hatred, and a ruthless campaign of lies and slanders. After their death, however, attempts are usually made to turn them into harmless saints, canonizing them, as it were, and investing their name with a certain halo by way of "consolation" to the oppressed classes, and with the object of subduing them: while at the same time emasculating and vulgarising the real essence of their revolutionary theories and blunting their revolutionary edge. At the present time the bourgeoisie and the opportunists within the labor movement are co-operating in this work of 'adulterating' Marxism. They omit, obliterate, and distort the revolutionary side of its teaching, its revolutionary soul, and push to the foreground and extol what is, or seems, acceptable to the bourgeoisie.

—The State and Revolution.

* * *

ON "EXCEPTIONALISM"

YOU cannot do away with the fact that the proletarian revolution develops everywhere in a specific way.

—Report of Program Commission, VIII Congress, CPSU, 1919.

* * *

ON INTERNATIONAL COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP

MANY comrades have talked themselves into the idea . . . of the submission of all national Parties to the International Committee of the Russian Communist Party. Comrade Piatakov almost said it. He makes a remark that it would not be such a bad idea. I must answer that if any one would propose any such thing we would have to condemn him.

—Report of Program Commission, VIII Congress, CPSU, 1919.

entry into the Social-democratic old peoples home!

In America we have the edifying example of Dr. Hendin, Fosterite, champion of the Address, who deserted the Party and joined the SP and is now a vicious enemy of our movement. We have an example in William Streit, the organizer of the Philadelphia Window Cleaners Union, also an old Fosterite, a passionate defender of the Address of the Eccl. This heroic champion against the "opportunists" and "renegades" has recently gone over lock, stock and barrel to the A. F. of L. bureaucrats to whom he sold out the union. He has repudiated and attacked the Party in the columns of the *Jewish Daily Forward*. He is now a bitter enemy of the Communist movement.

Such events are the natural consequence of the political demoralization and chaos spread everywhere by the disastrous anti-Leninist policies forced upon the various parties by the present leadership of the Eccl. They must serve as a lesson to the whole Comintern!

Housing in Harlem

by A. ELIZABETH HENDRICKSON

WITH the decision of the Appellate Court declaring the Rent Laws passed by the Board of Aldermen unconstitutional, the housing and rent situations in Harlem have become more and more acute. With no protection whatever tenants have already received exorbitant rent increases ranging from 20% to 40% which must be paid by January 1, 1930 or premises must be vacated.

The high-handed profiteering by the landlords in Harlem is helped by the condition of segregation under which the Negroes are forced to live. Being hemmed in in one section of the city the Negroes are hardest hit by the Court decision and are now entirely at the mercies of the landlords who are squeezing all they can get from the tenants. In many houses where apartments are rented for as much as \$75 to \$100 a month the most unsanitary conditions exist. The halls are kept dirty, the garbage is never called for, hot water is barely given, and so on. Many of these apartments for which such high rents are charged are never cleaned by the landlords and where they are cleaned at the expense of the tenants these receive a raise in rent as their reward. In the lower rent houses conditions are even worse as the entire house is unsanitary and dangerous. With the present unemployment crisis and the approach of winter the housing situation becomes appalling. Tenants are flocking to the meetings of the *Harlem Tenants League*, with stories of rent raises and dispossession notices, seeking advice. These tenants are being told the Court has "no power" to prevent the landlords from raising rents; they must either pay or move.

It is said that the Legislature did not re-enact the Emergency Rent Laws at the last session because the Fact Finding Commission did not find that there was a "housing shortage." But while there may be many houses vacant in Harlem, still Negroes cannot afford to pay these exorbitant rentals out of the very low wages they receive under conditions of the high cost of living. Such conditions only foster prostitution and vice in Harlem.

The churches in Harlem—which claim to have the interests of the Negro people at heart—are doing practically nothing to assist in alleviating the housing conditions. Neither has the Negro press come out in defense of the tenants. The tenants of Harlem must defend themselves and fight for their own interests.

The government has seen fit to reduce taxes at a time when tenants are left without protection subject to all kinds of exploitation. In view of these oppressions we are left to wonder what is becoming of us in "the land of the free."

The only hope of the tenants is organization to fight for their own interests! As long as they are divided they will be oppressed and exploited. The struggle of the tenants is the struggle of the oppressed against the oppressors. The workers can only improve their conditions thru their organized power. The landlords will not be stopped from raising rents and exploiting us until they are forced to do so!

The *Harlem Tenants League* is organizing the tenants to fight against the rent raises, against bad housing conditions, and against landlord exploitation and oppression all along the line. We call upon all workers—Negro and white—to help in our struggle for lower rents and better housing conditions.

1 The Harlem Tenants League, of which Miss A. Elizabeth Hendrickson is Executive Secretary, meets every Monday evening at 36-38 West 135 Street, one flight up, over Gem Theatre.

The Question of a Labor Party

By D. Benjamin

THE political separation of the American working class from the capitalist class is the basic problem of the American Communist movement. Politically the masses of the American workers still follow the bourgeoisie. The results of the last presidential elections, the absence of a big movement for independent working class political action, the lack of a mass struggle against the infamous Hoover-Green pact and against the brazen imperialist policy of the Wall Street government all point to the fact that the bulk of the American working class has yet to learn the elementary lessons of political class consciousness.

In the present period of approaching war and intensifying attack upon the workers, of the rising leftward movement in the working class, and of the open self-exposure of social-reformism, the possibilities for developing the political differentiation of the proletariat are specially promising.

Because of the substitution of empty "revolutionary" phraseology for Leninist policy the present Party "leadership" is absolutely unable to take advantage of the opportunities for developing the independent political activity of the workers. Under the pressure of rationalization, unemployment and the offensive of the bosses, bureaucrats and government the masses of workers are bound to move in the direction of breaking with the open bourgeois parties and crystalizing some form of independent political action. Recent spontaneous developments in various parts of the country testify to this. It is the manifest task of the Party to stimulate these tendencies and to win leadership in the developing movement. It is manifest duty of the Party to guide these movements in the direction of militant struggle.

The Socialist Party and the Muste group early realized the significance of this movement and entered into it in order to pervert and misdirect it (Elizabethton, New Bedford, Kenosha). Rejecting as it does the tactics of the united front our Party leadership has retreated to ultra-left self-deception, empty phrases about "great offensive struggles" and about "wide-spread and deep-going radicalization," thus surrendering the Labor Party movement to the reformists.

The revival of the movement for a Labor Party and the re-issuance of the slogan is an important task of the day. To the open capitalist "non-partisan" policy of the A. F. of L. as well as to the treacherous policy of reformism the slogan of independent class political action and of a Labor Party is the direct challenge.

The slogan of a Labor Party is a slogan of the *united front*. It is a slogan thru which the Communist Party of America will be able to expose the nature of the capitalist government, the treacherous role of the Socialists, trade union bureaucrats and Musteites; thru this slogan it will be able to attain closer political contact with the workers who are moving away from the capitalist parties and in this way really help realize its vanguard role. The Labor Party slogan would help unite the various united front actions in which the Party should engage and would lend unity and political consciousness to these actions. The Labor Party movement would help develop the masses, thru their own experiences, to Communism.

The present Party leadership has in effect rejected the whole idea of the Labor Party. In contradiction to the decision of the VI Congress to

"lay the basis for the practical realization of the slogan for a broad Labor Party organized from below,"

the present Party leadership under the inspiration of the Ecceci has abandoned the whole struggle. This abandonment is quite in line with the abandonment of the entire tactics of the united front. This "new line" is based upon a totally false estimation of the objective economic and political situation. On the premise that there exists a general wide-spread and deep-going radicalization with the working class even going over to the offensive, the situation is conceived as having developed "too far" to require any united front tactics. In such a situation it is declared the Party can assume immediate and direct leadership of the working masses in all their struggles, provided it "does not lag behind the revolutionary mood of the masses." Upon such a basis there can be no united front tactics. And indeed there have been no united front tactics at all applied in the Gastonia case, in the struggle against injunctions and unemployment, and in every other issue that arose recently. The rejection of the struggle for a Labor Party is only another sign of the menacing sectarian line of the Party which is plunging it into isolation and impotence.

When the CP-Majority Group raised the question of the struggle for a Labor Party in the New York District Committee; at the Cleveland Trade Union Unity League Conference and elsewhere, we were attacked as "opportunists" and "right wingers"—on the pretext that we wanted to organize the Labor Party "from above." Now this camouflage is no longer necessary. Both Max Bedacht and Joseph Zack (in the *Communist* of December 1929) reject the idea of the Labor Party. In fact Comrade Zack, who—as we must recognize—expresses the present line of the Ecceci and of the Party—even insists that the struggle for a Labor Party was always wrong, in spite of repeated decisions and declarations by the Comintern over a period of over six years. The present sectarian line throws its blighting shadow over the whole past of our Party!

Comrade Bedacht approaches the question from a different angle. While he insists that the "separation of the working class politically... is the *indispensable first step* towards the revolutionization of the labor movement," yet he too rejects the Labor Party slogan. And why? Because 1) petty bourgeois liberal elements and the "socialist" Norman Thomas are "raising very persistently the issue of a Labor Party" so that (!) "at this moment the Labor Party slogan becomes a deflecting force in the development of the political consciousness of the American workers" and because 2) on account of the openly pro-capitalist and pro-imperialist political character of the British Labor Party, "propaganda for a Labor Party . . . becomes propaganda for an undercover instrument of imperialism"—for "social-fascism" in fact! But, of course, the first "reason" is only an added argument why our Party should *not* give up the Labor Party campaign and leave the field open and clear to the reformists. The second of Bedacht's arguments merely "forgets" the "slight" difference in the political background and stage of development of the British and American working class. The Labor Party question is absolutely different in America and Great Britain. This should be obvious—even to our new "theoreticians" whose method it is to abstract problems from all conditions of time and space, from their historical setting and pass judgment upon them as abstract questions!

A genuine Labor Party in America must be based on the trade unions and other labor organizations and on factory, mill and mine committees of the unorganized workers, including the

The Chicago Milliners' Lockout

By H. Zukowsky

THE cap and millinery workers have not been exempted from the general course of pogroms and union wrecking that the needle trade workers have been suffering at the hands of the right wing bureaucrats, the Jewish *Forward* and the A. F. of L. machine. For years now Zaritsky and his General Executive Board, claiming to speak in the name of the cap and millinery workers, have been loyally working in the interests of the manufacturers. In the past we have always been able to meet the offensive of the bureaucrats by correct policies in mobilizing the workers but today the Party policy has taken a "new turn" that is certainly not helping the struggle of the left wing.

The present situation in Chicago is an example. The lock-out by the millinery manufacturers is a well-calculated scheme, carried thru with the secret help of Zaritsky, to stop the organization campaign of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union in organizing the Chicago millinery workers.

This is not the first time—nor will it be the last—that Zaritsky comes to the aid of the bosses. We need only recall the open betrayals of Zaritsky in 1919 (the general strike of millinery workers) and in 1926 (the attempt to reestablish piece work in the cap trade in New York). We still remember how in 1928 Zaritsky supported and to a certain extent instigated the Chicago cap manufacturers to lock out the workers in order to force upon them the week work system and the 44-hour week. When the Chicago capmakers under the guidance and leadership of the left wing answered the bosses with a general strike, Zaritsky and his GEB "took over" the strike leadership by force and broke this strike, thus establishing Chicago practically as an open shop center.

After the May 1927 Convention of the Union, in answer of the left wing demand for amalgamation and for unity with the NTWIU, the Zaritsky machine expelled the 3,000 trimmers of Local 43, New York, and the Chicago millinery workers. Thereupon these organizations joined the NTWIU. The Industrial Union began a campaign in Chicago which the Chicago millinery bosses answered with a bitter attack upon the most elementary rights of the workers. They have locked out the workers and are demanding the signature of a yellow-dog contract. In this, they are well assisted by Zaritsky and his agents who have repeated in Chicago what they have done in other centers, organizing associations of millinery manufacturers.

unemployed. It must exclude all politicians of big and small business and must include as a true federated body all sections of the working class, without any discrimination, who recognize the opposition of interests between the exploiters and exploited and are willing to fight for the interests of the workers and exploited farmers.

Within such a party the Communist Party must fight for leadership, must try to develop the activities of the workers to higher levels and win the most advanced workers for the Communist Party. The intensification of the Party's activities in the trade unions and the organization of unorganized will lay the basis for the organization of a Labor Party.

A Labor Party in the United States certainly has its limitations; it cannot lead the workers of this country to their final emancipation, since this is the role and the task of the Communist Party. But the struggle for a Labor Party can lead the working class one step forward—towards a break with the parties of capital, to the crystallization of independent class action. And this is the peculiar historical need of present period.

Zaritsky immediately utilized the Chicago situation to help him in New York. He taxed the New York membership ostensibly to "help" the strike but actually for strike-breaking purposes. He called a mass membership meeting in New York at Cooper Union on November 21. Here the complete moral and organizational bankruptcy of the right wing clique was shown for out of 5,000 members only 800 came. The workers showed by their passivity and by lack of response what they thought of the bureaucrats.

In such a situation the left wing forces should immediately have launched a campaign against Zaritsky's tricks: should have issued leaflets, held open forums, mobilized the workers in their struggle against the bosses and the bureaucrats.

Our whole campaign should have centered around the following slogans: moral and financial support for the Chicago millinery workers in the struggle against the lockout; a two or three percent voluntary tax of the employed workers for the duration of the strike; the funds to be sent to the NTWIU which is conducting the struggle of the Chicago millinery workers; the strike to be extended into a general strike of millinery workers in Chicago to organize the industry: the calling of conferences in all millinery centers of representatives of the organized and unorganized shops for these purposes, as well as to fight for the unity of all cap and millinery workers in the NTWIU and to mobilize for a struggle for the 40-hour week, the week work system, unemployment insurance, and for the organization of the industry, etc. These were *and still are* the elementary tasks of the left wing and of the Party leaders in the left wing.

What did the loyalists in the New York left wing do? Not a single leaflet was issued whereas in the past leaflets were issued even on the occasion of local meetings. No policy of any sort was outlined. The left wing was not mobilized.

Finally, in the *Freiheit* of November 29, there appeared an article by M. Ziebel in which the official line is laid down. It took the form of an "undelivered speech" which Ziebel would have delivered at the Cooper Union meeting had Zaritsky permitted any of the left wingers to speak. The line of this article is a line of objective *liquidation of the NTWIU and of local 43*. In the proposals contained in this "speech" no mention whatever is made of the existence of Local 43; no mention is made of Zaritsky as an agent of the bosses fighting to worsen the conditions of the workers. Ziebel proposes that the money collected from the New York millinery workers for the support of the Chicago strikers should be controlled by a "committee of shop workers" and that the strike should be conducted by the "workers themselves." It is clear that Zaritsky can easily "elect" a so-called "rank and file committee" to handle the funds for him. What has happened to the Industrial Union which is leading the strike? Why should not the funds raised to support the strike be sent to it? What has happened to the slogan of unity with the NTWIU? These are no simple "omissions"! It is a line of liquidation and capitulation, especially dangerous in the present situation. It is fully in line with the whole past policy of the new "leaders" who fought all along against the campaign to unite Local 43 and the expelled left wing organizations in the NTWIU. In the past their line was defeated by the Party leadership; now it has become the official line of the Party. It is now up to the comrades of the CP-Majority Group to fight for the reestablishment of the correct Communist line in the needle trades struggle and against all moves in the direction of the liquidation of the Union.

The Problem of Regime

By M. N. Roy, Berlin

BOURGEOIS writers on the French Revolution set up the theory: "Revolution eats its own children." The substance of this vulgar theory is that the Jacobin dictatorship was easily overthrown because *sansculottism* seriously weakened itself by dissension. Pinning their faith on this theory, the bourgeoisie today gleefully watches the operation of the regime of terror inside the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. They hope that the formidable enemy that could not be destroyed by their efforts will finally fall victim to its own internal dissensions—the revolution may once again eat its own children.

The march of events gives the bourgeoisie apparent ground for this hope. The regime of terror inside the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is becoming alarmingly destructive. It is now almost certain that the so-called "right-wing" opposition headed by Bukharin will soon be expelled from the Party. The crime for which Bukharin and his friends will be sentenced is that they "openly criticised the Party policy and leadership."

The Class Role of Terror

One need not agree with the views ascribed to Bukharin and his associates to protest against their persecution. The protest can be raised on the ground that *the proletarian revolution must not imitate the methods of the bourgeois revolution*. Terrorist measures, applied either externally or internally, do not always indicate revolutionary determination. Sometimes they are taken by panic-stricken people with little faith in the dynamic potentialities of the revolutionary class. The present dissensions inside the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are the reflection of the great difficulties besetting the process of economic reconstruction under the very complicated conditions of post-revolutionary class struggle. They represent divergence of views regarding strategy and tactics in the struggle which the proletariat in power must conduct against forces, old and new, opposed actively or passively, to the process of Socialist construction. To attempt to "liquidate" these dissensions by internal terror is very dangerous. For these disagreements are essentially within the working class and can be settled on the basis of the fundamental principles of the revolution. Terror is a weapon of the revolution for exterminating the class enemy. Its application within the revolutionary class is highly dangerous and the danger becomes almost fatal when the regime of terror reigns within the Party of the revolutionary class.

Whatever they may be, the views represented by Bukharin and his associates are not perverse personal inclinations. They reflect the attitude of a section of the proletariat as to the strategy and tactics of the struggle for the construction of Socialism. The expulsion of Bukharin and a few others, therefore, will not clear up the situation. An entire section of the class cannot be suppressed. This would be carrying the civil war into our own camp—which is a very dangerous pastime. If the views expressed by Bukharin and his associates indeed represent—as is alleged—tiredness, pessimism and deviation from the revolutionary resoluteness of the proletariat, this should be explained to the workers sympathising with those views. Those who today follow Bukharin and his associates may submit themselves passively to the official policy after their leaders are placed *hors de combat*; but they will certainly not have their heart in the work. Thus internal terror will defeat its own end. It will not lead to the inner consolidation of the Party so indispensable in the present situation of enormous difficulty.

Differences Within a Communist Party

The proletariat by its very nature is the most homogeneous of social classes. The differences of views developing inside its Party during the struggle for power and after are, therefore, not irreconcilable as in the case of other classes. Other classes merge and overlap, one into another, thus creating the possibility of the representatives of the interests of one class remaining permanently inside the Party of another. But the proletariat is so definitely separated from all the other classes (the line of demarcation is so much sharper) that there is no room in its Party for the representatives of other classes, except as individual adventurers or agent provocateurs. Therefore the dissensions inside the Communist Party do not represent the direct clash of opposing class interests. In the USSR, for example they *indirectly* reflect the post-revolutionary class-struggle in the conditions of which the dictatorship of the proletariat is maintained. But even in this case the Communist Party itself by no means becomes the ground on which the representatives of conflicting class interests come to a clash. The possible and often inevitable divergences of views concern not the basic aims of the revolution but rather the methods for the realization of these aims. Consequently, terrorist measures are not necessary for dealing with these divergences, they can be settled on the basis of internal democracy.

The application of terror internally was inevitable in the case of the dictatorship set up by the French Revolution. This was not the dictatorship of a homogeneous class. The *Jacobin Club* which wielded the dictatorship, was the meeting ground of conflicting classes. In spite of its overwhelmingly proletarian composition, *sansculottism* was not Bolshevism. Its social composition violently clashed with its historic mission which was to push the timid bourgeoisie in the struggle for the destruction of the old order. Being the scene of a fierce clash between historically antagonistic social forces, the Jacobin Club could not but be itself shaken, decimated and destroyed by the reign of terror introduced for exterminating the enemies of the revolution. It is insane to adopt similar methods of suicidal internal terror in the case of a Party which does not in the least present a scene of similarly fierce class conflict. The Party of the proletarian revolution is distinguished by the homogeneous nature of its class composition. Any doubt or deviation inside its ranks is not the menacing voice of a hostile class. It rather represents a wavering on the part of a certain section of the revolutionary army. The weak and wavering can be shifted to a less difficult point of the battle front, and again infused with revolutionary courage and enthusiasm in course of the triumphant development of the struggle. Why submit them to the sledge-hammer of terror, thus making them irrevocably lost to the revolution?

If internal terror is harmful to the Party in power in a country where dictatorship of the proletariat has to be maintained in a long period of post-revolutionary class-struggle, it is even more so the case of Parties engaged in the task of mobilizing the masses for the coming struggle for power. And yet all sections of the Communist International have been thrown into a veritable reign of terror.

How a Communist Party Develops

A Communist Party does not drop ready-made from heaven. It develops out of the age-long struggle of the working class and incorporates all of the experiences and lessons of this struggle. If one hundred per cent knowledge of the theory of Com-

munist and absolutely correct views as to its realization were the condition for entrance into the Communist Party, then the Party would indeed have few recruits. The most advanced elements of the working class willing to conduct a revolutionary struggle against existing social conditions gather under the banner of the Communist Party, there to be fully trained in the theory and practice of the class-struggle. Consequently within the Communist Parties there will naturally be differences of opinions and views. A free discussion on all questions of principle and strategy and tactics is the only way to evolve unity out of these differences. It is the only way for the Communist Parties to attain maturity—to *bolshevise* themselves as the essential condition for their eventual success in capturing power. Discussion, of course, should take place side by side with action; the experiences of the latter will decisively solve the disputed questions one way or the other. The regime of internal terror introduced into the Comintern has not only prevented the sections of the International from strengthening themselves by drawing new vigor from the contemporary class-struggle. It has even deprived the Parties of their original forces

Instead of completing the consolidation of the two main forces that contributed to the foundation of the Communist International—the revolutionary old guard in the labor movement that had for years fought against opportunism in the Social-democracy and had finally risen in open revolt in 1914 on the one hand, and the new young cadres that arose out of the turmoil of war and the mass upheavals following it—instead of completing the process of consolidation so brilliantly begun under Lenin, the whole process of forging a united revolutionary proletarian vanguard, consolidated ideologically, politically and organizationally was profoundly disturbed by the introduction of violent measures in regulating inner-Party differences. These came with the development of the factional struggle in the Russian Party after the death of Lenin. All along there have been differences inside the Russian Party. Lenin had combated deviations to the right as well as to the left ideologically, on the basis of proletarian democracy, but he never advocated violent suppression of opposing views. With his disappearance from effective leadership terror was gradually introduced in the inner-Party regime. It was not long before the pernicious method spread to the entire International. Leaders and considerable strata of the membership began to be deposed and expelled for this or that "deviation." As a result both forces that had originally contributed to the foundation of the Communist International have not only been eliminated from leadership but have even been expelled from the Party itself. And yet no new forces have arisen to replace the old who have thus been "removed." The people who stand at the head of the Communist Parties today arrived there not by virtue of greater ability but in consequence of the regime of terror which is ruining the Parties. The fear of expulsion restrains the membership from expressing itself freely. Even worse—the regime of terror encourages unscrupulousness and lack of principle. Old proletarian elements passively subscribe to policies with which they do not agree because they do not want to be out of the Communist Party to which they have belonged from the very beginning. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the majority of the leading members of the Parties to day have been—as a rule—only a few years in the Party.

The Party of the proletariat does not need internal terror to maintain the solidity of its ranks. It is bad enough in the case of Parties that have won power; in the case of Parties that have still to capture power it is simply disastrous for it directly helps the enemy by seriously hindering the development of the revolutionary Party of the proletariat.

1. This article was written on November 2, several weeks before the announcement of the capitulation of Comrade Bukharin. The general line of the article and its main contentions are, however, entirely unaffected by this capitulation.

CLIQUE OR CLASS?

What's Happening in the I. L. D.?

THE course that the new leadership has now initiated in the various mass organizations around the Party is full of danger not only to the Party itself but to the entire working class movement. It is a course aimed at the destruction of the character of these organizations as the organs of the whole working class and their perversion into instruments of a clique. It means the smashing of organizations and institutions that have taken years of the hardest work and sacrifice to build.

The mad wrecking course of the Party bureaucrats is best illustrated in the case of the *International Labor Defense*. This organization is supposed to be an organization of the whole working class, without political or other distinctions. As the Communist International at the VI World Congress made clear it is

"an independent organization standing outside of all parties which on the one hand defends all victims of the revolutionary struggle and on the other admits to membership without any distinctions of party."

It was on this basis that the ILD was organized; it was on this basis that it grew and developed; it is on this basis only that it can maintain its existence and function in the future.

The new Party leadership has adopted a course in precisely the opposite direction. It has decided in effect that the ILD is to be narrowed down not merely to the Communists but to that section of the Communists which supports the criminal policies of the present Party leaders. The recent ILD conferences show this. Every means so well known to the Party wreckers, every trick and manipulation with which they are so familiar was utilized in order to exclude the "renegades" from the district and national conferences. Inevitably this meant that not only would the best and most valuable Communists be excluded but that the militant non-Party workers would also be excluded. And this was the fact. The way in which the various committees were selected for the national conference—with not a single non-Party worker—shows how far the narrowing of the ILD has proceeded. In spite of all the "precautions" and repressive measures of the Party bureaucrats many supporters of the CP-Majority Group were elected to the conferences on their record of militant and loyal service. At the conferences the repressions continued. The "loyalist" clique ruled these gatherings with an iron hand, refusing the floor to non-Party workers and to the supporters of the CP-Majority Group. Such shameful behavior had its inevitable effect: the conferences were demoralized and there were actually cases of non-Party delegates leaving the conferences in disgust! Kate Gitlow—with a record of decades of devoted and heroic service to the working class movement—was not permitted to speak!

The rapid narrowing of the class basis of the ILD is manifested also in the criminal refusal to defend victims of class justice just because they are supporters of the CP-Majority Group! The cases of Sam Rubin and Becky Lapeda in Philadelphia have brought this shameful fact out in all clearness.

The conversion of the ILD into a narrow clique has already been "theorized." At the New York conference Nessin and Engdahl announced officially that the national convention would amend the constitution of the ILD by eliminating the declaration that the ILD is a *non-partisan* organization. Thus will the finishing touches be put . . .

The Party membership and all militant workers must not tolerate the political corruption of the ILD! We must unite our forces for a determined struggle to maintain the broad class basis of the ILD which alone can assure the fulfillment of its historical role.

Capitalist Monopoly and Organization

By Herbert Zam

(Continued from the last issue.)
The Question of State Capitalism

IN his introduction to Bukharin's book on *Imperialism*, Lenin declared that:

"Enterprises freely competing among each other within each country, and free competition between each country (emphasis Lenin's) were no longer typical; monopolist combinations of enterprises and trusts became the normal thing."

In the same article he went into detail to refute the Social-democratic talk of ultra-imperialism. He pointed out that such a theory is wrong, not because tendencies to world unification of capitalism do not exist, but because the contradictions engendered by this development preclude the possibility of the goal ever being reached.

Leninist theory leads us to the conclusion that imperialism is the final stage of capitalism—that after imperialism comes Socialism. But, ask the Social-democrats, how can imperialism—which is really concentrated capitalism, more capitalism, monopoly—lead to Socialism? This very same question is asked by Neumann, because he also stands on the general basis of the Social-democratic argument. Precisely because imperialism is monopoly is it the final stage of capitalism. Monopoly means concentration and socialization of production—which is the economic basis for Socialism. This socialization of production makes imperialism "the transition from capitalism to a higher economic order." In summing up the importance of imperialism Lenin declares:

"We have seen that in its essence Imperialism is monopolistic capitalism. This in itself designates the historical role of imperialism, because monopoly . . . is a transition from the capitalist system to a higher social-economic order."

But if imperialism is a transition to socialism because it socializes production, then is it not perfectly clear that the general tendency of capitalism, in the period of monopoly, is toward organization, particularly in the present period of the growth of state capitalism when "the functions of the multi-national imperialist State grow in all directions?" Comrade Bukharin is absolutely correct when he states that the limit to the tendencies toward state capitalism is "state capitalism in its completed form." As early as August, 1917 Lenin pointed to the state-capitalist tendencies which were becoming a general phenomenon of imperialism.

"The imperialist war has greatly accelerated and intensified the transformation of monopolist capitalism into state-monopoly capitalism."

This is the direction in which the general tendencies toward state capitalism are going, just as a "single world trust" is the limit of the general development of imperialism. But neither one nor the other will ever be reached, not because these tendencies do not exist, but because the contradictions which these very tendencies create will destroy capitalism itself.

The Question of Organization

Comrade Bukharin is quite correct when he characterizes the results of the efforts of capitalism at general organization as "organized chaos." Only Socialism will bring about complete organization with the elimination of chaos. When Bukharin

1. "We see before us the giant process of the socialization of production." Lenin: *Imperialism*, Chap. I.
2. Lenin: *Imperialism*, Chap. VII.
3. Lenin: *Imperialism*, Chap. X.
4. Program of the Comintern.
5. Lenin: *State and Revolution*, Preface.

calls attention to the tendencies toward organization, he is only emphasizing what Lenin wrote in 1915 about monopoly:

"This is something entirely different from the former system of free competition among scattered traders, who knew nothing about each other and produced for sale on an unknown market. Concentration has reached a point where it makes possible an almost accurate inventory of all the sources of raw material in a given country and even as we shall see in a group of countries and in the whole world. And not only are such inventories made, but the gigantic monopolistic combinations sweep all these sources of raw materials under their exclusive control . . . Capitalism in its imperialist phase leads to the most extensive socialization of production, it thrusts the capitalists, against their will and consciousness into some kind of a new social order, which constitutes a transition from completely free competition into complete socialization of production."

It is clear that when Neumann argues against the tendencies towards planfulness of modern capitalism he argues not so much against Bukharin as against Lenin, for it was Lenin—not Bukharin—who wrote:

"When a large establishment becomes a gigantic one, and, on the basis of accurately computed data, systematically organizes the supply of basic raw material to the extent of two-thirds to three-quarters of the total amount of this raw material which is indispensable to millions of people, when it systematically organizes the transportation of this raw material to the most convenient points of production . . . when one center directs all the successive processes of manufacture of this raw material up to the point of receiving many manifold finished products, when the distribution of these products is being carried out according to one plan among tens and hundreds of millions of consumers . . . then it is clear that we have to do with the socialization of production and not with simple 'interweaving', that the private-economic and private owning relations form a shell which no longer corresponds to the contents and which must irrevocably decay gradually and which, if its removal be artificially delayed, can (in the worst event if the curing of the opportunist ulcer be protracted), remain in decadent state for a comparatively long time but which shall inevitable be removed" (*Emphasis mine—H.Z.*)

The entire question of state capitalism and organization is approached from the wrong direction by Neumann who still sees it as only a question of government ownership and nationalization. He does not see that in the period of imperialism the tendencies towards state capitalism are expressed particularly in the development of enormous trusts and their fusion with the state apparatus, by the personnel of government leaders and big financiers and by the assumption of directive activities of the government apparatus over industry. These are particularly clear at the present time in the U.S.A. (the Hoover program, the National Business Council, Mellon, Morrow and Grundy as government leaders).

These tendencies—in which Neumann sees the doom of the revolutionary movement—on the contrary hasten its development and the development of the proletarian revolution by aligning the working class not against individual capitalists or combination of capitalists but openly against the entire capitalist class and the capitalist state.

6. Lenin: *Imperialism*, Chap. I.
7. Lenin: *Imperialism*.

The Tenth Plenum of the ECCI

The United Front and Trade Union Questions

By Will Herberg

(Continued from last issue)

The United Front

THE real nature of the fantasies of "social fascism" and the ultra-left phrases of "revolutionary waves," etc. is shown in the complete rejection by the X Plenum of the tactic of the united front. Lenin and the Comintern repeatedly pointed out that the united front tactics must be applied until the barricade struggles—and after.

But if the Social-democratic masses "from top to bottom" are becoming fascists then they must be treated as fascists. What becomes of the distinction between leaders and masses? What becomes of the united front? Here is the answer of X Plenum (concluding remarks of Comrade Manuilsky):

"Let us consider the question of the tactics of the united front. We have never considered it as a formula for everybody, for all times and peoples . . . Today we are stronger and we proceed to more aggressive methods in the struggle for the majority of the working class."

So that the united front was all right for the second period but is too tame for the "third period" a la Heinz Neumann! Could a more disastrous rejection of Leninism be conceived? And yet Comrades Manuilsky speaks of "winning the majority of the working class."

Trade Union Questions

The false revisionist line of the X Plenum in the mobilization of the masses came to the sharpest expression in the new line in trade union work. This new line is in essentials a sectarian anti-trade union course, amounting in effect not only to a rejection of the tasks of the Communists in the mass organizations but even to a repudiation of the essential role of the trade union movement—whether under reactionary or revolutionary leadership—as the elementary form of the class organization of the proletariat.

The false trade union line finds its roots in two sources: in the absolutely false estimation of the present objective situation and in the equally false attitude towards the mass organizations of the workers under reformist control, as expressed in the dangerous theories of "social-fascism." We have already examined these points. The ultra-left impressionistic phrases about the "new revolutionary wave" have given rise to the promulgation of a new edition of the theory of the "offensive all along the line." Every economic movement has become a "counter-defensive or a direct offensive struggle."

On the basis of the undoubted fact that the fusion of the reformist trade union bureaucracy with the state apparatus as well as with the apparatus of trust-capital has been greatly intensified in the last period, the X Plenum drew the absolutely false conclusion that the trade unions as such have ceased to be centers of class organization and have been transformed into "agencies and appendages of the capitalist state." It is clear that such a thoroly anti-Marxist conception is only the "trade-union" phase of the theory of "social-fascism."

The distinction between the bureaucratic leaders, "cringing at the feet of imperialism," on the one hand, and the "sincere but mistaken" masses is the primary distinction underlying Leninist strategy. To deny this distinction in word or deed is to break with Leninism!

The X Plenum did not have the political courage to declare

openly for the immediate inauguration of a split course; it would have been "untactful" and "premature." It satisfied itself with general declarations as to the "permissibility" of splits "under certain conditions" and with the putting forward of certain "organizational" proposals of profound political significance which would in effect mean the setting up of dual organizations immediately: the *vertrauensmaenner* system, the proposal (of Lozovsky) to set up "independent commissions opposed to the reformist unions" to lead strikes, to make terms, to conclude wage and hour agreements, etc. and to "maintain their existence after the struggle in order to see that the agreements are carried out," i.e., to set up new unions in fact, etc.

Already this split course has shown its results in England and in Germany and its continuance will certainly lead to isolation and disaster.

It is well known what Lenin thought of such split tactics. But unfortunately our "leaders" of today have forgotten entirely the lessons contained in Lenin's pamphlet on *Leftism*.

The negative anarcho-syndicalist orientation towards trade union work shows itself not only in the attitude towards the reformist unions but also in the attitude towards the red unions. The official theory of the X Plenum is that industrial struggles must be led not by the unions but by "fighting leaderships" (*Kampfleitungen*) to which the red unions must serve as auxiliaries.

This is equivalent to the liquidation of the red unions for it denies them the role absolutely essential to any trade union organization—the role of leading economic struggles.

The anarcho-syndicalist deviation of the X Plenum shows itself most crassly in the utterly false estimation of the role of the organized workers and the relations between organized and unorganized. The organized workers are looked upon as "more or less reactionary" just because they are organized while the unorganized workers are considered the "most advanced section of the working class." Thus the position is reached that lack of organization is a revolutionary virtue. This is anarcho-syndicalism with a vengeance.

The new trade union line of the EccI as laid down by the X Plenum is not the line of Leninism. But if the "new line" can find no comfort in the teachings of Leninism it can at least fall back upon the threadbare doctrines of the ultra-left sectarians, upon the Trotskyites, and in the long run upon the syndicalists. The trade union line of the EccI today agrees in essentials with the trade union theses put forward by the ultra-left Korschites (the group *Entschiedene Linke*) in 1926. In the organ of the *Leninbund* (German Urbahns-Trotskyist organ, September 20, 1929) Lenorovics writes:

"The trade union resolution of the X Plenum goes far, far indeed, even as far as 'Trotskyism'."

The same author characterizes the trade union resolution as follows:

"A step forward, even tho only on paper."

The German syndicalists also fall in line. The old German syndicalist, *Lintner*, who certainly speaks with authority for the syndicalist viewpoint, recently announced publicly:

"The Communist Party has taken over the best from syndicalism. I have absolutely no objections of any sort against the decisions of the Party which correspond to our conceptions."

(Continued in the next issue)

In the Communist International

The Municipal Elections in Germany

IN spite of the empty phrases of self-deception filling the columns of the official Communist press all over the world, the recent German municipal elections offer very little for the working class to be particularly jubilant about. It is yet too early to make a thoro political analysis of the results of these elections but already certain outstanding factors are clear:

1. *The chief victor of the German municipal elections is the party of the National-Socialists, the storm troops of German fascism.* Further, the "Center" (*Zentrum*, the Catholic clerical party) made great gains. The heavy industrialist Peoples Party (*Volkspartei*) emerged from the elections with greater consolidation and even the Nationalists (*Deutschnationale Volkspartei*) did not lose as much as expected. The bourgeois bloc tendencies—which have been growing rapidly in the bourgeois parties—received considerable stimulus.

2. As compared with the Reichstag elections (May 1928) the Social-democratic Party lost considerably in a number of districts, especially in Berlin and in the Ruhr. In other industrial districts the SDP increased its vote considerably, sometimes at the expense of the Communist Party, as for example, in Chemnitz.

3. *The Communist Party lost everywhere in comparison with the 1928 elections.* The losses of the Social-democrats did not redound to the benefit of the CPG. In precisely those sections where the Social-democrats lost, there were Communist losses as well.

4. *The Communist Party of Germany (Opposition) ran its own ticket in only a very few places.* It entered the election struggle without apparatus and almost without press as compared with the official Party. In spite of almost insurmountable difficulties the CPG-Opposition emerged from the elections with a record of gains everywhere as compared with the Landtag elections of May 1929. In some places these gains were very considerable and they certainly indicate the growing influence of the CPG-Opposition among the militant workers of Germany.

These general considerations can be illustrated by a few figures.

1. The official Party press is full of jubilation over the Berlin results which are designated as "a magnificent victory of the Communist Party." But there is no reason for jubilation! It is true indeed that the CPG gained as compared with the elections in 1925 but the Party press forgets to note that there was a loss of 50,000 votes compared with the 1928 elections! Even in Berlin the drift to the Right was strongly noticeable: the Right parties gained about 300,000 votes within the year, while the Social-democrats and the Communists together lost 200,000. The figures show that at least 100,000 voters left the SDP and partly also the CPG towards the fascists and the semi-fascists. These are the sad facts about the "magnificent victory in Berlin."

2. Elsewhere the losses of the CPG were very serious. Even in comparison with the period of chaotic isolation during the Ruth Fischer regime (1925) the gain of the Party amounted to 5%! In Hannover, in Erfurt, in Kiel, in Cologne, in Leipzig, etc. there was a loss even over 1925. As compared with 1928 there was a loss everywhere. Especially serious was this loss in the highly industrial sections, above all in the Ruhr. In Essen the Party lost about 18,000 votes, in Duisberg 11,000, in Dortmund 7,000, in Gelsenkirchen 8,000, in Bochum 5,000, etc. In these places the Social-democrats lost even more. It was here that the Center and the National-Socialists (Hitler-fascists) gained and gained heavily. The *Rote Fahne* reports the results in the Ruhr under the head *Red Elections in the Ruhr!*

3. In "*Red Saxony*" the Communist losses were very severe. Here the gain went partly to the SDP and partly to the purely bourgeois parties. In Leipzig the SDP gained 6,000, the CPG lost 11,000, the various bourgeois parties gained 16,000, the Hitler-fascists alone over 4,000. In Chemnitz the SDP gained 3,000, the CPG lost 8,000 and the fascists gained 8,000. In

1. *Where the CPG-Opposition did not put out a ticket they came out in support of the official CPG ticket, as for example in Berlin.*

Dresden the Party lost 10,000, the Peoples Party and the National-Socialists gained 16,000. And so on. This the *Rote Fahne* calls *Red Advances in Saxony*.

4. In two places the Party made great advances, *Offenbach* and *Königsberg*. In *Offenbach* the CPG-Opposition received nearly 9,000 votes, the official Party ticket no more than 2,000. The SDP received about 11,000 votes and the purely bourgeois parties all fell below 5,000. Here the fascists were severely defeated. In *Königsberg* where (in spite of all measures of the Party bureaucracy) the ticket was headed by the so-called "conciliationists" the CP ticket gained 3,000 votes!

5. Wherever the CPG-Opposition put out a ticket it registered gains which were some times considerable. In 20 cities of Saxony where the CPG-Opposition ran a ticket the CP gained votes in one town (6 votes) and lost in 19 cities (12,811), making a net loss of 12,805 votes. The CPG-Opposition lost in one city (183) and gained in 19 (4,219), making a total gain of 4,036. The loss of the CPG amounted to nearly 15%; the gain of the CPG-Opposition to over 50%! Including the big cities of Leipzig and Chemnitz were the Party apparatus is concentrated, the CPG-Opposition—which is now just one year old—received nearly 20% of the votes of the official Party ticket! If these two large cities are excluded and the 18 others counted then the Communist Opposition ticket received nearly 60% as much votes as the CPG ticket. In 6 of the 20 localities the CPG-Opposition ticket received more votes than did the ticket of the CP.

The victory of the reactionary forces in the elections shows to what degree the treacherous coalition policy of the Social-democracy has blazed the way for fascism. The false "new course" of the CPG—expressing itself in a rejection of the tactics of the united front and a distinctly sectarian attitude to mass work—has not only made it impossible to win new sections of the proletariat to the banner of the revolutionary class struggle but has even rendered the party incapable of maintaining the support and influence won thru years of struggle.

The advances made by the CPG-Opposition are certainly very significant. The great lesson the German municipal elections is: *the present line leads to ruin—only a return to the line of Leninism, to the fundamentals of Leninist strategy and tactics can save the Party and restore it to the path of healthy development.*

"A DAY OF GREAT ACHIEVEMENT!"

Under this head the *Folkets Dagblatt* reports the VIII Congress of the Communist Party of Sweden held recently (November 16-19, 1929) in Stockholm. It will be recalled that the leadership of the CPS (the CC-Majority, Kilboom, Samuelson, etc.) resisted the attempt of the X Plenum and the Ecce to force the disastrous anti-Leninist "new course" upon the Swedish Party. Thereupon the Ecce expelled the leadership and, since the leadership had the support of the broadest sections of the rank and file, the Ecce set about to split the Party and to organize a new "Communist Party of Sweden." The Ecce operated thru the old CC-minority (Sillen-Linderodt), a group of incompetent and discredited "leaders." The CC decided to call a Congress of the Party to take up the critical situation of the movement. The Ecce delegation and the Ecce refused "permission." But the Congress was called nevertheless and the Ecce issued one "open letter" after another calling upon the membership to boycott the Congress.

On November 16 the Congress opened. There were present over 200 regularly elected delegates and, since now the local organizations had to pay the expenses of their delegates, there were a number of local organizations that could not afford to send delegates but which solidarized themselves with the CC. *This was the largest and most representative Party Congress the CPS ever held.* It became clear at the Congress that the CC-majority has the support of at least 75% of the membership (13,500 out of 18,000 members) and about 50% of the Young Communist League. It has the control of the various Party institutions and of the press. After the Congress a number of Party organizations that had been unable to take a stand before the Congress came out in support of the CC-majority. At about the same time the "loyalist Party" held a Congress. Ac-

ording to *Inprecorr* reports there were represented at this Congress 8,000 Party members and 12,000 members of the Youth League. Allowing for the systematic exaggeration and for the several thousand "loyalist" League members who were sent *en masse* into the Party, we see that the Ecce itself does not claim more than 5-6,000 members for the "loyalist Party" (that is about one third) and about one half of the YCL!

The success of our Swedish comrades in mobilizing the Party membership for resistance to the new revisionist course of the Ecce is bound to have great effect in advancing the international struggle for the restoration of the Leninist line of the Comintern.

THE "NEW LINE LEADS TO DEMORALIZATION"

The unbelievable demoralization that has overtaken the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia as a result of the "new line" as carried thru by the discredited and incompetent "new leadership" is shown in the recent resolution adopted by the Central Committee with the approval of the Ecce representative. The extracts below show the ideological panic that characterizes the present leadership in spite of all its attempts to shift the blame:

"The entire activity of the Party can be characterized as a tremendous gap between word and deed . . . The Party has hitherto expelled from its ranks the leading liquidatory elements . . . but it did not settle with liquidation and sabotage. In the lower Party organizations, especially among the functionaries in the factory committees, among the trade union functionaries, functionaries in the mass organization, and among the shop nuclei functionaries, liquidationism and sabotage flourish . . . Social-fascist, liquidatory and right dangers and conciliationism have shown themselves in the Party recently to a marked extent . . . Not only in the Party but also in the Youth League is there a great right danger . . . We must be clear that we stand before a great crisis in the Party, an even greater crisis than was the last . . ."

The fruits of its own incompetence and the inevitable results of the "new course" the new "leaders" of the CPCz. try to shift to the shoulders of the membership! It is no wonder that the chief German organ of the Party, the *Reichenberger Vorwärts*, has hitherto refused to print this resolution because of the certain effects it will have in destroying the prestige of the Communist Party in the eyes of the masses.

THE CRISIS IN THE OPEN IN ENGLAND

For some months past the *Communist Party of Great Britain* has been experiencing the effects of a developing crisis. The ultra-left line forced upon the Party by the leadership of the Comintern over a year ago had the immediate effect of throwing the Party into a state of growing isolation as the results of the last general elections and the complete collapse of the Minority Movement prove. Then the Party destroying game of "fighting the right danger" was introduced with a result that the sectarian line was intensified and organizational chaos set in. The Party membership rapidly fell to such a point that at the beginning of the "discussion" the Party could count only 2,500 members.

The last few months were devoted to a Party "discussion" of a character that put the finishing touches of demoralization and disintegration. On the one hand, there appears to have taken place a most unprincipled scramble for what is known in America as the "band wagon," accompanied by vigorous attempts to brand everybody else as "opportunists." On the other hand, the "discussion" proved the occasion for the elaboration of the most fantastic and dangerous "theories," such as that "the British Trade Unions are no longer working class organizations," "the Labor Party shows all signs of fascism," etc. Finally, on December 3 came the special Party Congress held at Leeds. We are not yet in a position to report on the details of this Congress, but it is already clear that a "right wing" was found and removed from leadership. The *Inprecorr* report declares:

" . . . a new Central Committee was elected by an overwhelming majority. The former members of the Central Committee, Horner, Inkpin, Rothstein and others were not reelected. The new Central Committee means a guarantee of the carrying out of the new policy of the Communist International which the old Central Committee has failed to do."

It is to be hoped that now the unprincipled race will come to an end and there will crystallize in Great Britain as there has in so many other sections of the Comintern a group of comrades who will take up a principled and conscientious struggle against the "new course" before it is too late!

Smash the Infamous Agreement!

By BEN RUBIN

AFTER permitting the leadership of the split-off left wing from the Workmen's Circle to make a most shameful agreement with the right wing in the Independent Workmen's Circle, under the benevolent supervision of the capitalist court, the present Party "leadership" and its Jewish Buro are trying to deceive the workers and make them believe that the Agreement constitutes a victory for the left wing!

In an article in the *Freiheit* entitled "*Hurrah! We Have Won!*" Comrade Salzman advises the right wing of the Independent that if they look upon the Agreement as a victory, then "one more such victory and you are lost," while another famous "left winger," M. J. Olgin, boasts that the "idiot" right wing has been compelled to "compromise."

This is conscious deception. It is dangerous charlatany!

The Party "leaders" in the *Freiheit* strive to give the impression that the great aim of the split-off left wing was to get into the IWC under any conditions. They conveniently "forget" that the left wing was advised to split from the "reactionary" WC in order to join the "left" IWC. But now when it turns out that the IWC is no less reactionary than the WC and may become more reactionary, they talk as if the left wing in the WC was a homeless waif and the provision of a home for it, bad as that home may be, is a "victory"! We must remember that the right wing of the IWC was anxious to recruit new members into the organization, but under such conditions as to continue its control and to insure right wing policies, even if this was contrary to the expressed views of the majority of the membership. They therefore maneuvered to have the left wing split away from the WC, but afterward to place such conditions as to bind the left wing hand and foot. In this they have succeeded. The Agreement makes the hold of the right wing on the IWC as nearly permanent as possible. It specifically prevents the left wing branches now entering from participating in the coming convention or in the referendum following it. And the Agreement provides that if endorsed by referendum, the decisions of the coming convention on the question of policy for the organization can in the future be changed only by a seven-eighths majority vote of the membership. To secure such a majority, it would be necessary to recruit in the near future, 30,000 new left wing members into the organization having at present 8,000 members altogether. An obvious impossibility!

In addition to electing the administration, the coming convention will act on a proposal of the right wing to prevent the IWC in the future from "endorsing any political party, trade union or any official organ." In view of the fact that the last referendum in the IWC was carried by the right wing by an overwhelming majority, and in view of the disfranchisement of the split-off WC members, the outcome of the voting on this resolution cannot be in doubt. And in order to change it in the future, the left wing will have to secure a 7/8 majority vote! This is the big victory! This is the "revolutionary" reason why the left wing workers were asked to leave the WC, with tens of thousands of workers in it and join the semi-sectarian IWC, leaving the masses of the WC under the complete domination of the *Forward* bureaucracy!

In order to make sure that the Agreement binds every left winger now entering the IWC, every applicant must sign a "waiver" pledging to give up "any and all rights, if any I have" on the basis of the previous arrangements or of the old constitution of the IWC. Thus the right wing yoke is fastened tightly on the neck of every individual left wing worker.

The Agreement transforms the IWC into a so-called "neutral, non-political" organization, into an ideal instrument of the right wing. It leaves the basis for making the IWC more reactionary than the WC, in which the left wing will have far less rights

With the Communist Youth

Gastonia

by E. MARSHALL

THE conviction of the seven workers in Gastonia marked another entry in the book of the capitalist frame-up against the working class. The courts—where capitalist “justice” is handed out to the workers in the form of prison sentences and even legal executions—are being used to an ever greater degree to suppress the workers. Therefore it becomes more necessary than ever before to organize a mass working class movement to smash the capitalist frame-up system. In this movement the young workers should stand in the front ranks.

But the present leadership of the Young Communist League has given up entirely the historic struggle against the frame-up! In this the League leadership is merely following the line laid down by the Party leadership according to which the Gastonia defense struggle must be conducted not on the basis of a fight against the frame-up but as a “struggle for the right of revolutionary self-defense” before the capitalist court!

The League leadership has carried this wrong line to its logical opportunist conclusions. The *Young Worker* states that:

“The (Gastonia) conviction denies the workers the right to self defense when they are attacked by murderous hirelings of the mill bosses.”

But when—under capitalist “democracy”—have the workers ever had the legal right to defend themselves against the capitalists? To base your struggle upon “winning” from the capitalist court the legal right to “revolutionary self-defense” is certainly falling a victim to the illusions of capitalist “democracy”!

The League leadership never gets tired of talking about “radicalization of the youth,” about the “great tasks of the third period,” the “necessity of doing youth work and mobilizing the young workers on youth issues” and so on. But what youth work has actually been done—or even attempted? Nothing! So intent has the League leadership been upon converting the League into a little super-Party continually on the hunt for “right deviations” that it has entirely forgotten that it is faced with the task of winning the youth. Gastonia proves this!

The comrades of the YCL-Majority Group are faced with the task of mobilizing the League membership and young workers to restore a correct Leninist line for the League and above all to make the League a real youth organization, able to mobilize the working youth in defense of their interests.

and their conditions of work far more difficult.

The infamous Agreement and the policy it represents is a shameful capitulation to the right-wing not only in the IWC, but also in the WC and in the whole Jewish labor movement. From sectarianism and splits to sell-out and capitulation is the course of the “new leaders” of our Party.

“Smash the infamous Agreement!”—this is the pressing duty of every honest and militant worker in the IWC and in the split-off branches. “Don’t sign the yellow-dog waiver!” The split-off left-wing branches must disregard the traitorous Agreement; they must elect delegates to the Emergency Convention; they must insist upon the right to vote in the referendum!

A united front of the left-wing in the WC, in the split-off branches, in the IWC, in the whole Jewish labor movement against the right-wing bureaucrats and betrayers and against the false line of the new Party leadership which helps the right-wingers achieve their purposes.

Against Capitalist Militarism!

THE ever increasing extent to which the American bosses at the present time are using the armed forces should make clear to every young worker the purpose and effects of American militarism. The sending of 500 marines to Haiti to crush the revolt of the Haitian Negro masses, the departure of several battleships to China to beat back the rising Chinese workers and peasants and to provide a base of attack against the USSR, the ordering of several companies of the National Guard to the Illinois coal fields to shoot down the striking miners and stifle the growing miners’ strike—all these events emphasize very strongly the necessity for an energetic struggle against American imperialism and militarism.

In face of this situation, the bankruptcy of the present League leadership shows itself in its absolute failure to carry on any sort of anti-militarist activity at all. Under the former League leadership the campaign against capitalist war took first place, and in fact the enthusiastic reports of growing intensive anti work thruout the League constituted one of the brightest features of our National Convention. Now the “fight” against the war danger is carried on by the present leadership not by concrete activity but by meaningless phrases, articles, and resolutions.

Let every young worker understand that only by action (Communist work within the armed forces, National Guard, etc., mass meetings, demonstrations, etc) on the basis of correct Communist policy can an effective struggle be made against American militarism. This essential the present League leadership with its wrong line cannot supply! It is the duty of the League membership to overthrow the incompetent and destructive Harvey-Rijak leadership, so as to enable the League to strike out once more along the path of Leninism and wage more fiercely than ever before our relentless struggle against capitalist war.

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MARX-LENIN SCHOOL CLASSES START!

Because of the Christmas-New Years holidays the opening of the classes of the Marx-Lenin School in New York was postponed. We are informed by the secretary of the School, S. Levich, that all classes will positively begin during the first week in January. Workers wishing to enroll in any of the classes should do so immediately as the classes are well filled already and the space is limited.

PARTY LIFE

THE EXPULSION CAMPAIGN REACHES THE TUUL

The criminal wrecking course of the Party bureaucracy has now reached the Trade Union Unity League and good Communists, well-known and leading militants are being expelled from the TUUL (which is supposed to be a “non-Party” and “broad mass organization”) merely because they disagree with the Party leaders on Party policy. In cases where the expulsion of our comrades proves difficult the Party wreckers do not hesitate to destroy the left wing organizations entirely.

Only a few days ago a very small meeting, mostly loyalist Party members, of the *Suitcase and Bag Workers TUUL* expelled our comrades Razamovich and Arenoff, the leading comrades and best known left wingers in the industry. Moreover, Razamovich and Arenoff were removed (by the District Committee) from the TUUL slate for office in the Union.

In the cap and millinery section of the needle industry our comrades have always been the leading spirits and occupied the most important positions in the left wing. The secretary of the Local 24 TUEL is our comrade J. Rosen, while the secretary of the executive committee (Action Committee) is our comrade V. Cibulsky. H. Zukowsky, the secretary of the Joint Committee of the TUEL of all cap and millinery workers (Local 23, 43, 42, capmakers, etc.), is also a supporter of the CP-Majority Group. Our comrades have great influence among the Party members and left wing workers in the trade and it would have been quite impossible simply to “expell” them. Therefore the Party wreckers “discovered” a new method. Under pretext of converting the old TUEL into the new TUUL they called a narrow meeting from which all our comrades were excluded and only two non-Party workers were admitted. At this meeting they “re-organized” the TUUL group and “reorganized out” our comrades. Of course the new “TUUL group” cannot fulfill its proper functions; the loyalites killed it before it was really born.

The exclusion from the millinery workers TUUL has a further significance; it means *expulsion from the Union itself* since the Union is affiliated to the TUUL. The Party wreckers will stop at nothing in order to cover up their false and dangerous course.

* * *

THE WRECKING CAMPAIGN IN THE SHOPS

The present Party leadership is using American efficiency methods in its wrecking campaign. The wrecking campaign started in the Party, passed into the mass organizations and has now reached the shops. It is brought into the shop by the so-called “100% loyalists” who are insignificant and well-known among the workers for their inactivity. Suddenly they are becoming “active” and trying to tell the workers in the shops that our comrades are “right wingers” and “agents of the bosses.” The answer of the workers is very significant: “We don’t believe any such things! We know them for their activity in the shops and in the Union! Where have YOU been up till now? We never even knew that you are Communists. How is it that such good elements are being expelled from the Party?”

In my shop we have the best example of this. The activity of the loyalites in this shop will fast destroy whatever support and influence our Party has won among the millinery workers thru hard struggle. The wrecking campaign in the shops is a shameful crime against working class unity, against the left-wing and against the real future of the Party. The interests of the working class demand that the wrecking campaign stop; we will never stop fighting until we have achieved this aim.

—Helen Toublib, millinery worker.

* * *

A WORKER ANSWERS!

Comrades:—

Kindly accept the herewith enclosed \$10.00 as an expression of sentiment and conviction about Comrade Lovestone and the other comrades of the Majority Group.

I have followed all the attacks aimed at Comrade Lovestone, in the *Daily Worker*, including the most dirtiest and slanderous by Earl R. Browder and those without a signature, all of which have led me to conclude, that only the lowest of the low and the dirtiest of the dirty—morally, politically and otherwise, will permit themselves anything like it. I feel very sorry and much hurt by the misfortune thrust upon the Communist Party

of America, that such creatures are permitted to speak in the name of the American section of the Comintern.

I have been a member of the Party from its very inception and endeavored to do my share among the workers I come in contact every day. I have been subjected to all kinds of mistreatments, because of my communistic convictions and views, but in spite of all and everything I have been victorious—many of my shopmates have joined the Party, many have accepted our leadership and supported us in every struggle and campaign. But now! The present degenerate leadership of the Party, has not only turned these workers against the Party itself, but they look upon me in the same light. They laugh in my face. Many have spoken to me, with satisfaction on their faces, that they have left the Party—never to return!

Wishing you success in your endeavors,

Fraternally,
N. L. A.

* * *

THE FRAME-UP AS A METHOD OF “PERSUASION”

In the pursuance of their Party wrecking course which has already gone far beyond the limits of the Party and in a frantic effort to cover up the disastrous effects of the new line, the new leadership has taken over another method from the bourgeoisie and the corrupts trade union bureaucrats: the frame-up.

Saby Nehama, well known among the Spanish-American workers of New York, was made the subject of a shameful article in the *Daily Worker* by Albert Moreau. It is charged that Comrade Nehama is a foreman and that therefore his “expulsion” from the Spanish Workers Club (which was quite obviously based on “political” grounds) was quite “justifiable”! This article was no more than a repetition of the “charges” made at the meeting of the Spanish Workers Club. At this meeting Comrade Nehama demanded that a committee be elected to investigate these “charges” but by a vote of the loyalists against the non-Party workers this proposal was defeated! Without investigation the loyalists expelled Comrade Nehama from the Club on a pure frame-up! No one knows better than Comrade Moreau himself that Saby Nehama is no foreman but a real militant worker. No one knows better than Comrade Moreau of Saby Nehama’s activities on the needle trades picket line. No one knows better than Comrade Moreau himself of Nehama’s activities among the Latin American workers or of his anti-imperialist activities. Yet it is this Moreau who first concocted and assiduously spread the shameful frame-up against Comrade Nehama. The resort to frame-up is here as elsewhere a forced confession of bankruptcy.

In the *Metal Workers League* in New York (a small group of left wingers) Comrade M. Hankin was refused admission on the most brazen frame-up charges. A loyalist working in the same shop charged against him that he is a “friend of the boss,” that “he helps the boss exploit the workers,” etc.

The manifest falsity of these “charges” becomes clear when we remember that Comrade Hankin is only working in the shop for two months since his return from the USSR where he worked in the Org. Department of the Comintern. This very same loyalist who brought in the charges has been working in the shop for two years and has never made an attempt to do any work whatever. A motion was made to elect a special committee to investigate the charges but this motion was defeated by the loyalites! The matter was referred to the Executive Committee made up entirely of Party members. Since then the matter has been held up and delayed in one form or another while the frame-up charges are being spread far and wide.

The frame-up is the method of our class enemy. Within the labor movement it is the method of the most corrupted sections of the labor burorrrary. It is not a method that can find any tolerance within the revolutionary movement. All honest Party members and all revolutionary workers must unite to root out the frame-up cancer from our Party and to get rid of the criminal leadership responsible for it.

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Revolutionary Age

The Food Workers Convention

THE biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Food Workers of America, held during the two week-ends, December 7-8 and 14-15, marked a very significant stage in the development of our activities among the food workers. In the December 1 issue of *Revolutionary Age* Comrade B. Kalfides discussed the general situation of the food industry, the question of the organization of the workers in this industry and the line of the Party and TUUL in the AFW. The Convention just held has shown that the main line of this article was absolutely correct.

The Convention was attended by about 35 delegates representing the three big Bakers Locals in New York (1, 3, 164), the Bakers Locals of Astoria and Hoboken, the mixed local of Philadelphia, the Grocery Clerks Local, the Paterson butchers and the Hotel, Restaurant and Cafeteria Workers Local of New York. This in itself shows how very narrow is the present base of the AFW and how necessary it is for the left wing to make all efforts to broaden this base and to build up a real industrial union of the food workers.

The lines of division among the delegates became clear on the resolution to affiliate to the Trade Union Unity League. Prior to the Convention there had been no campaign on the part of the Party fraction or the left wing to popularize the TUUL and its Program among the organized food workers, especially the bakers. Instead the "fight" was conducted by means of empty phrases and abuse. Moreover, the Party wrecking line in the mass organizations (needle trades, textile, etc.) in recent months has greatly discredited Communist leadership and Communist prestige among the sympathetic workers. As a result the resolution on affiliation was *defeated* by a vote of 18 to 14, with a solid line-up against the left wing.

The original Party policy was to split the AFW if the affiliation resolution was defeated—that is, to split off the cafeteria workers and some others from the great mass of the members of the AFW. But under the pressure of our criticism as embodied in Comrade Kalfides' article in *Revolutionary Age*, the Party policy was changed at the last minute and changed for the better. Instead of splitting, the left wing demanded that the affiliation proposal be put up for referendum, which was *carried* by the vote of 16 to 15. This change of Party policy is certainly to be welcomed and we can only hope that it will be followed consistently in the future.

But this last minute change did not in the least mean an abandonment of the sectarian line of the Party. This became clear on the question of affiliation to the Workers International Relief (WIR). The affiliation to the ILD and the anti-imperialist resolution passed without serious opposition but the WIR resolution met with a different fate. This resolution contained a condemnation of Lore, Muste, etc. The objection was immediately raised that the WIR was supposed to be a "non-partisan, non-sectarian" organization. One of the delegates sarcastically asked the "loyalists" why they didn't include Lovestone and Gitlow in the condemnation. The proposal was made to endorse the WIR but to exclude the Lore-Muste section on the ground that there were many delegates who wanted to endorse the WIR without voting on Lore and Muste. But the "loyalists" *refused* and as a result the resolution to affiliate to the WIR was *defeated!* This is sectarian self-destruction with a vengeance!

Another important question that arose at the Convention was the organizational question. For some unknown reason the left-wing strategists expected to have a majority of the Convention (in which illusion they were helped by the clever Burkhardt). They therefore made proposals that would concentrate power and influence in the hands of the General Executive Board. But things turned out otherwise and the left wing found

What They Say and What They Mean

THERE is no more frantic defender of the ruinous "new course", there is no more reckless expeller of the best forces of our Party than Israel Amter; the new District Organizer of the New York District. Let any comrade express a doubt or ask a question and—out he goes!

Yet it was this same Amter who, a few days after the Address of the Ecce arrived in this country and the opposition of Comrades Lovestone, Gitlow, Wolfe etc., to it became known, wrote the following in a letter:

"Lovestone is going to appeal to the X Plenum! But what can we accomplish in this way? Who will be at the X Plenum? The representatives of Parties that have been mangled just as ours is going to be!"

This letter was written to Comrade, Carl Hacker, the District Organizer of the Boston District, who quite approved of this letter and its line.

And now this "leader" who spoke of the "Parties of the Comintern being "mangled" expells comrades who have the courage to express their opinions and has their heads broken by his hooligans! Such is the spread of ideological corruption and rotten political hypocrisy in our Party!

itself in great confusion, compelled to vote against its own proposals. The final result was that Burkhardt's control was slightly strengthened. It was also decided to merge the three Bakers Locals of New York City. Local 3 (Brooklyn) which has relatively better conditions since in Brooklyn the concentration of the baking industry has not gone as far as elsewhere and there are a considerable number of small bakeries controlled by the Local—opposed this move and will probably **fight against it**. The bakers of Local 3 must realize that concentration and trustification will hit them just as it has hit the other food workers and that they must get rid of the craft spirit which can only hinder their struggle. The Convention also decided to issue exempt stamps for the unemployed—a progressive move.

The situation in the AFW now offers great opportunities for the Party forces *if they do not relapse into sectarianism again*. The campaign to carry the referendum must be started and carried thru vigorously. The TUUL and its Program must be popularized, especially among the bakers. The AFW can and must be made the real basis for the building up of a strong industrial union of the food workers. But the condition for this is: *a correct Leninist policy for the mobilization of the masses—the eradication of every sign of ultra-left sectarianism!*

IN THE COMING ISSUES

THE UNITED FRONT AND LENINIST STRATEGY, by *BEN GITLOW*.

THE SITUATION IN THE BRITISH COMMUNIST PARTY, by *M. N. ROY*.

THE FIVE POWER CONFERENCE

THE NEW YORK TRADE UNION UNITY LEAGUE CONFERENCE

THE NATIONAL TEXTILE WORKERS UNION CONVENTION

THE VI CONGRESS AND THE WORLD SITUATION

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE INJUNCTION.