

Revolutionary Age

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

VOLUME I.
NUMBER 9.

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

MAR. 1, 1930.
10c A COPY

C. E. RUTHENBERG

Founder and Builder of Our Party

THREE years have gone by since the death of C. E. Ruthenberg, the founder and builder of our Party—the Communist Party of the United States of America.

These three years have been full of momentous days in our untiring efforts to develop a mass Communist Party which will win the confidence of the American working class. Communists do not engage in retrospect without prospect. Today it is especially timely to ask ourselves: *How well have we carried forward the work which Comrade Ruthenberg began? How well is the vanguard of the working class, the Communist Party, prepared today to give the necessary leadership to the struggling masses?* It is from this viewpoint that an examination of the tremendous historical role played by Comrade Ruthenberg in the development of the American revolutionary labor movement assumes special significance today.

AN AMERICAN BOLSHEVIK

There are still those who believe that the American Communist movement is not rooted in this country, that it arose only as a mechanical repercussion of the proletarian victory in Russia. The outright falsity of this notion to which some of our official "theoreticians" still cling is self-evident. The formation of the Communist Party in this country represented an advanced stage in the class differentiation process that had been going on for years within the old Socialist Party. But more than anything else this contention receives its death-blow from a consideration of the course of development of Comrade Ruthenberg into a Bolshevik, his effort in building a genuine Marxist, a revolutionary Socialist movement in this country for years before the Russian Revolution, his prompt support of the Russian Bolsheviks at a time when they were not yet victorious! In his revolutionary struggle against the imperialist war, in his uncompromising war on opportunism in the Socialist Party and on ultra-left adventurism in the



early Communist movement, in the very degree to which the Russian revolution inspired him, Comrade Ruthenberg was the most fitting symbol and spokesman of those forces in the American labor movement which constituted the kernel of Communism in the United States.

In the history of the American working class, Ruthenberg—more than any other revolutionary leader—represents the developing stages of working class consciousness. He shows "a constant growth in his clearness and understanding of the revolutionary struggle into the full Leninist Bolshevik viewpoint. Ruthenberg realized the importance of organization. Under his leadership, Local Cleveland of the Socialist Party had a bigger membership than the entire Communist Party has today. And this Local was the banner-bearer of the Left Wing in the Socialist Party! Ruthenberg was the embodiment of what a Communist mass

fighter should be. This is the lesson of his struggle against the imperialist war, of his tireless work in the Labor Party campaign, in the drive to build a strong Party organization, in his fearless challenge to the capitalists on countless occasions. In the past our Party correctly estimated Ruthenberg when it officially said:

"He knew how to link up the smallest, immediate, most elementary everyday needs of the workers with the biggest, most fundamental and revolutionary objectives of the whole proletarian struggle."

And this was and remains the acid test of Leninism!

AGAINST ULTRA-LEFT ADVENTURISM!

In the first days of our Party we were dangerously steeped in an ultra-leftism similar in many respects to the line of the official Party leadership today. Some (Hourwich-Bittleman) saw the revolution just around the corner and sneered at the idea of mobilizing the workers on the basis of their everyday

interests. Comrade Ruthenberg branded this policy as a policy of "talk-conspirators."

While the ultra-left was satisfying its narrow sectarian self-centeredness with the repeated mouthing of "armed insurrection," "force and violence," Ruthenberg put forward the idea that the American Communists were still confronted with the first and most elementary task in the building of their Party: "Contact with the masses!" "Make the Party a Party of Action!" was the platform on which Ruthenberg together with Lovestone and others opened fire on those forces whose ultra-left line was holding back the progress of the Party. In his answer to the ultra-lefts, Ruthenberg declared:

"This is not Communism at all. It is the perversion of the living principles of Communism into an iron dogmatism. If there is one thing that differentiates Communism from other social philosophies it is the appreciation that the facts in every given situation must be considered in applying its principles. The 'majority' viewpoint would make of the Communist Party merely a conspiratorial body advocating the use of force to overthrow the existing government . . . We do not believe that contact with the masses means compromise. That is the viewpoint of those who would make Communism a holy creed. We believe that our Party can follow Lenin's advice, that it is not necessary to sacrifice action in order to maintain purity of principles . . ."

How timely is this lesson today! All we have to do is to substitute the "mass political strikes" of the "leaders" of today for the empty, high sounding talk of "revolutionary mass action" of the leaders of yesterday, "the working class on the offensive" and "the oncoming wave of revolutionary action" of today for the "force and violence" of yesterday.

AGAINST OPPORTUNIST SECTARIANISM!

It was not only against ultra-left sectarianism that Ruthenberg fought. In opportunist sectarianism, often clad in the cheap clothes of ultra-left adventurism and fiery phrases, Ruthenberg saw an equally dangerous enemy of the Party. In fact, opportunist sectarianism and leftist sectarianism were considered by Ruthenberg as two sides of the same counterfeit medal—twin-brothers menacing the Leninist line of a Communist Party. After the Foster group (today the Party leadership) took over the direction of the Party at the end of 1923, Ruthenberg declared:

"The sectarianism of the period of the Party history up to 1922 was a left sectarianism. The new sectarianism which threatened came from the right wing of the Party The Party was in danger of losing all that it had gained in developing itself as a Communist Party . . ."

The central issues in the struggle against sectarianism were the Labor Party and the general tactics of the united front. Under the leadership of Comrade Ruthenberg, the Party had waged the biggest national mass campaign in its history, the Labor Party campaign. Our Party has not had so big a national campaign since. Those comrades now constituting the heart of the Party leadership, already then, demanded the dropping of the Labor Party slogan and campaign. They already then developed the theory of "the united front around the Workers Party" and "a mass grave for the whole working class if it would not join in such a united front" (Browder, Bittleman, Foster). Had the Party not repudiated this dangerous sectarian course, it would already then have been in the plight it is today.

AN IRON MAN OF PRINCIPLES

Once Ruthenberg was convinced that policies proposed were dangerous to the Party, that a line was anti-Leninist, was leftist

or opportunist, he was determined to fight it to a finish. And fight he did! On the question of the Leninist line in mass work, on the question of the united front, he never wavered.

For adhering to these views, Ruthenberg was time and again denounced by those who are leading our Party today, as a "liquidator," "Farmer-Labor Communist," "LaFollette Communist," "bourgeois politician." But this slanderous talk and anti-Communist methods did not make Comrade Ruthenberg weaken in the least his fight for a correct Leninist line.

The more impermissible were the methods used in the handling of the basic Party problems, the more energetically Comrade Ruthenberg fought them. In a letter from Moscow, Feb. 13, 1926, to Comrade Lovestone he said:

"Our opponents (Bittleman, Browder, Foster) have submitted at least 150 pages of documents against us . . . They are shining examples of Foster's methods—continuous, shameless lying. If one needs to be convinced that there can be no peace while Foster's methods continue, one need only read a score of pages of his brazen lies."

Indeed, history does repeat itself—all too often at the expense of our Party!

RUTHENBERG AND THE COMINTERN

To Comrade Ruthenberg, the Communist International was a world Communist Party with every one of its sections and organic part of it. Ruthenberg was a firm believer in the necessity for a broad collective international leadership for the Communist International. He always insisted upon the necessity for the sections of the Comintern to participate organically in the formulation of the Comintern's policies and decisions. He could never see the Ecce as a body set up to replace the Parties themselves in the consideration of their problems or to deal with the smaller inner matters of the various sections. This was the position which Comrade Ruthenberg very vigorously defended to Comrade Stalin in discussing the American situation with him in February 1926. That explains the cablegram of Comrade Ruthenberg to the Comintern on January 18, 1926 expressing sharp opposition to the manoeuvres and manipulations of Comrade Lozovsky which had temporarily threatened to throw our Party into a disastrous factional war: "We are compelled to point out to the Presidium that the effect of this cable will be to encourage Foster caucus to intensify destructive factional fight they have been waging since the convention." It was Ruthenberg who first labelled these non-Leninist methods of "leading" the Parties, as a "cable regime." Herein is also to be found the reason for the strong determination of Comrade Ruthenberg to settle the eternal wavering and vacillation of Weinstone in the U. S. instead of Moscow, as Comrade Lovestone had proposed. History shows how correct Ruthenberg was in this question and in his whole attitude on the Comintern as the representative of the collective international Communist will, basing itself on the experiences, capabilities, and resources of the best forces in the different sections.

RESTORE THE LENINIST LINE!

Our Party, and therefore the entire American working class, has suffered an irreparable loss in the death of Comrade Ruthenberg. This loss can be repaired in part only by the Communist Party going back to the correct path blazed for it by the life of revolutionary service rendered by Comrade Ruthenberg. Today, the Communist Party's official leadership has dropped the Leninist line of Ruthenberg. This is an even more serious loss to the American workers. Back to the Leninist path of Comrade Ruthenberg! Forward to a united mass Communist Party with a Leninist line in the United States!

Defend the Soviet Union!

Smash the Imperialist "Holy War" Against the U.S.S.R.!

By Alex Bail

A NEW offensive against the Soviet Union is in preparation. This is not separate or distinct from the previous efforts of world imperialism to overthrow the Soviet Government. The co-existence of two opposite and hostile systems in society has in itself been the basic cause of all anti-Soviet movements since the establishment of the Soviet Power. In this general and chronic condition of hostility of imperialism there are moments when this hostility assumes an especially acute form and the danger of an armed offensive becomes imminent. Such a condition arose at the time of the Arcos Raid (1926), the near expulsion of the Soviet Ambassador from France and more recently the Manchurian affair.

Those who believe that the anti-Soviet front has been definitely shattered and that therefore "the first victory of proletarian revolution (U.S.S.R.) is permanent" are harboring dangerous illusions. Equally dangerous are the theories that "the 'neighbors' are not likely to unite in a world coalition against Soviet Russia" or that it is possible for any length of time to maintain "an equilibrium between two existing the contradictory economic systems." Such conceptions tend to weaken the watchfulness of the masses against the coming offensive and to slow up the tempo in the mobilization of broad masses to hamper and defeat any anti-Soviet imperialist plot.

The chief imperialist powers may differ as to the methods or plans for this attack, since each desires to carry out such a plan as will best benefit its own imperialist aims; but basically they are as one in their desire to destroy their common enemy—the proletarian state.

We are witnessing today the rapid transformation of the chronic condition of hostility between world imperialism and the U.S.S.R. into an *actual acute war danger* against the Soviet Union. We are witnessing today the feverish preparations for this offensive. Every agency of imperialism has been put to work to create the proper basis for this onslaught. The Mexican Government, puppet of Wall Street, has broken relations with the Soviet Government and has subjected the Soviet representative to arrest in the most provocative manner. The New York State Legislature has utilized the religious issue for adopting a resolution against the Soviet Union and Congress has before it a resolution calling for international action against the Soviet Union. "Comrade" Henderson and "Comrade" Lord Passmore (Sidney Webb) assure Parliament that all necessary precautions have been taken against Communist propaganda and that they will insist on the right of the Russian priests to plot against the Soviet Union. Leaders of the Government bloc of Tardieu in the French Chamber of Deputies clamor for a break with the Soviets because of the "disappearance" of the counter revolutionary Russian General Koutieppoff. The Social Democratic Reichstag leaders fully support the "Western orientation" of the German bourgeoisie, which is aimed at a break with the Soviet Union. The Pope, bishops and rabbis have raised the cry of "religious liberty" in Russia and are marshalling their flocks throughout the world for war against the "godless." In truth, a holy alliance!

The cries raised on the various sections of the imperialist front do not reveal the true cause of the present intensified drive against the Russian workers. Cries of "religious liberty" and "war on the godless" are thrown out to confuse and mis-

lead millions of workers in the imperialist countries; just as in the World War the cry of: "Save the World for Democracy!" covered up the true economic causes of the war. The real cause of the present offensive lies in the increasing economic difficulties of world imperialism on the one hand, and in the giant strides forward made by the Soviet Union.

1. The sharpening economic rivalries between the two imperialist giants—the U. S. and Great Britain—are rapidly reaching the point where a resort to arms is necessary to determine world hegemony. With this also grows the conviction, among the imperialists, that unless an attempt is made to destroy the Soviet Union, social revolution is inevitable in one or more of the capitalist countries involved in the world war.

2. The attempt by the leading imperialist powers to increase their competitive power on the world market thru increasing the exploitation of the colonial masses has resulted in a powerful upsurge of the revolutionary movement in the colonies (India, Indo-China, South Africa, Haiti, Philippines, Latin America, etc.), whose guide and inspiration is the Soviet Union.

3. The great successes in industrialization and collectivization of agriculture in the Soviet Union will, if undisturbed, place the Soviet Union in a position of a serious competitor on the already narrowing world market.

4. The successes in Socialist construction will strengthen the conviction of growing sections of the toiling masses everywhere that the solution to their problems of permanent mass unemployment, vicious speed-up and inhuman exploitation, is to follow the road of their Russian brothers.

5. The building of Socialism in the Soviet Union is not only narrowing the prospects for future profitable concessions but is actually causing the liquidation of some and the placing of greater demands upon others of the concessions already granted.

6. The building of Socialism in industry and agriculture and the ensuing sharpened class war in town and village marks the death-knell of the hopes of the counter revolutionary cliques of generals and aristocrats for the "overthrow of the Soviets from within." So rabid a red-baiter and spokesman for Wall Street as Ivy Lee now recognizes this fact.

These are some of the chief causes which are now leading to an offensive such as the Russian workers have not seen since they drove back and destroyed the counter-revolutionary hordes of Kolchak, Denikin and Wrangel.

The duty of all Communists in the face of this situation is to make the defense of the Soviet Union as their central task. It is not sufficient to confine this movement to the narrow limits of the Party and its close sympathisers. *The issue of defense of the Soviet Union and the gains of the Russian Revolution is broad enough in its appeal to arouse large sections of the American working class and even sections of the petty bourgeoisie.* Every avenue and every agency must be utilized—organized and unorganized, militant unions and A.F.L. unions—every organization of working class composition or sympathy must be drawn into this broad united front movement.

Against the united front of the imperialists and their Socialist agents we must present a broad united proletarian front to paralyze the effectiveness of the imperialist blows and render active assistance to the Russian toiling masses—the builders of the Socialist society!

nary Age

onal Council of the
HE U. S. A. (Majority Group)
ONE, Chairman
B. D. WOLFE, Associate Editor
L. BOARD:
Dawson, Ben Gitlow, Will Herberg,
Miller, R. Pires, Jack Rubinstein,
White, B. D. Wolfe, Herbert Zam,
immerman.

Revolutionary Age Association,
York City. Phone: Caledonia 2957
a year—\$1.50 six mos.; Domestic:
mos.; 10 cents a copy.
1 class entry pending.

orials

W AT THE WORKERS

erous blow at the workers. A
ched against the foreign-born
of Ohio has introduced a bill to
-born worker in order to "more
l addresses of illegal aliens and
"

apitalist hypocrisy, the congress-
; proposal under the slogan of
; gall and brass of the American
rable!

his effort to put a brass check,
eport the foreign-born workers,
the first time in its history, the
nly joined the labor-hating pack
f such a law. This shows how
trade union bureaucracy have be-
riarist machinery for crushing

le working class. The capitalists
re working class into Negro and
, etc. This is part of the game
and conquer!

resist this registration bill. Re-
or or nativity, present political
iliation, every workingman and
s and unite to smash this drive
organize. Let every labor organ-
en's benefit society, cooperative
oice in stern protest against this
ass!

AT HARVARD

forgotten how during the last
ver called upon them to eat less
ght all the more effectively live
anders, France, and Murmansk.
f this buncombe.

ho recently called together the
talism to put Wall Street's house
he Stock Exchange. Here, the
Street, Mr. Green, the A.F. of L.
ask for wage increases during
prosperity."

he mightiest and richest seat of
American capitalism. Harvard
terms of cold cash. Rockefeller
products are the Roots and La-
1. The president of this beacon
e is Lowell whom the workers

will remember as one of those learned gentlemen appointed by
Governor Fuller to pull the switch sending the electric current
of death thru Sacco and Vanzetti. What a fitting place in
which to apply Hoover's policies!

The Minimum Wage Board of Massachusetts decided that
the scrubwomen working hard trying to keep Harvard clean
must receive an increase in wages of *two cents* an hour. This
meant the raising of these working women's wages from the
boasted American level of thirty five cents to the magnificent
sum of thirty-seven cents an hour!

President Lowell in true patriotic fashion decided to stand
by Hoover. There would be no wage increases if he could help
it! The scrubwomen were fired. The fabulous sum of \$12 a
week was thus saved! Men—to whom the minimum wage law
doesn't apply—were hired to take the places of these working
women some of whom had as many as five dependents and had
been working at this "citadel of learning" for fifteen years.
In genuine Christian spirit President Lowell fired some of the
working women just before Christmas Day so as to bring more
"good will" and "joy" into their homes. As Pres. Lowell
learnedly remarked: "*The university has felt constrained to re-
place them with men.*"

What a glorious and fitting tribute to American prosperity!
This is the mortar and brick—and the blood—of which Hoover's
"New Day" of "no more poverty" is built!

ON PARTY MORALITY

*From the speech of Comrade Gussiev, representative of the
Ecci to the American Party, at the VI Plenum of the Ecci, 1926*

There prevails in the American Party no real conception of
Party morality. In its place something awful holds sway. With
this I return to the question of loyalty. In what did the insuf-
ficient loyalty of the Foster group consist? In the personal
polemics against Ruthenberg and Lovestone! A member of the
N.E.C. of the Young Workers League, Williamson, told a com-
rade at a meeting, even tho not from the platform, that Love-
stone was a stool-pigeon, i.e., a spy. This case was taken up
in the Parity Commission and it was found that this was not
only an expression by this comrade but a rumor spread thruout
the whole Party. I stated in the Parity Commission that if
such a thing ever happened in our Party (i.e., the Russian
Party) a comrade like Comrade Williamson would be expelled
from the Party in 24 seconds. But it is quite clear that if we
had expelled Williamson, who was very warmly defended by
Cannon, Foster and Bittleman, we should have had to expel
also other leading comrades. Then we should inevitably have
had a split in the Party. So we could do nothing against this
Williamson; he defended himself with a Party split.

A T T E N D the R U T H E N B E R G Memorial Meeting

*HONOR the Memory of the Leader and Founder of the
AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY
BUILD a United Communist Movement
BUILD the Forces of the Left Wing*

*Auspices of the
COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A. (Majority Group)*

Admission 25 Cents
S P E A K E R S :

Benjamin Gitlow—Jay Lovestone—Marion Gray
Edward Welsh—Chas. S. Zimmerman
Chairman: Bertram D. Wolfe

SUNDAY, MARCH 2, 2 P. M.

Tuxedo Hall, 59 Street and Madison Ave.

Ruthenberg Speaks:

CAPITALIST CHAOS & SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION

The most damning charge which can be brought against the
existing system of production and distribution is that, with the
means of supplying the wants of all the people at hand, a large
proportion of the inhabitants of this country receive insufficient
food, are clothed in rags and forced to live in unsanitary hovels.

We have everything necessary for production and distribu-
tion and many consumers ready to use what is produced, and
yet these are not correlated. We do not use the raw material,
labor remains idle, the goods are not produced and many peo-
ple are forced to deny themselves things necessary for them to
live happy, healthy lives.

What society wastes to-day thru lack of a conscious effort to
make the means serve the end in view would raise the millions
who live in the quagmire of want and misery
to a plane where they might enjoy some of
the comforts of life. To eliminate this waste,
to organize society for the purpose of efficient
production and distribution, to make the pur-
pose of work to supply the wants of all, and
to supply these wants with the least possible
expenditure of labor and material, this is the
object and aim of socialism.

It is this end that socialism seeks to ac-
complish thru ownership by the people of land
and raw material and the machinery of pro-
duction and distribution, for until private
ownership gives way to public ownership, and
the motive force behind production is changed
from the desire for profits to a conscious ef-
fort to supply the requirements of society, pro-
duction and distribution will never reach the
highest point of efficient organization.

—From: *Cleveland Citizen*, Feb. 18, 1911.

* * *

FIGHT THE WAR!

This is not a war for freedom. It is not a
war for the liberties of mankind. It is a war
to secure the investments and profits of the
ruling class of this country . . .

The only reason we are in this war now is
because it is to the interests of the ruling
class, the capitalist class of this country, to have us in the war,
and I am going to show it to you . . .

I am speaking to you as Karl Liebknecht spoke to the Ger-
man nation, as he spoke in the Parliament of that country,
when he denounced the war as a war of the ruling class and
stated his unalterable opposition to that war. And I say to
you that if you are inspired by his ideal . . . if you are inspired
with that which will bring about a better world, then you
must stand up and fight for that ideal. You must fight side
by side with those who are fighting this war . . .

We of the Socialist Party are carrying on this fight. We are
here to carry on this fight. We are here to organize the work-
ers of this country for this struggle. We are working towards
this end, that out of the chaos of this war there may come a
new society, a new world, a new organization of the people,
which will end the cause of war by ending the private owner-
ship of the industries which brings war into existence.

From: *Speech delivered at the Public Square,
Cleveland, May, 27, 1917*

* * *

THE TASK OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

What is the aim of a Communist Party? For what purpose
is it organized? When we answer these questions we will lay
down the principles which must guide us in all our work. As
a Communist Party we are fighting to bring about in the United
States the proletarian revolution, establish a Soviet government
and the dictatorship of the proletariat. That aim is the reason
for our existence and all our policies must lead us to the
achievement of that aim. If they lead us in that direction
then they are correct Communist policies.

Lenin said, in one of his articles, that the conditions for a
proletarian revolution were: first, that the capitalist class
could no longer rule, and second, that there must be a will
to power on the part of the working class . . .

The inability of the capitalists to rule is not something which
grows out only of the work of our Party, but this condition
comes into existence as a result of the development of inherent
economic forces of the capitalist system.

The task of our Party as a Communist Party is to create
the second condition for the proletarian revolution; that is, the
will to power on the part of the working class. In order that
such a will to power may exist we must win the support of the
majority of the working class for the proletarian revolution.
How can this be done? This is the problem which faces us as
a Communist Party.

—From: *The Liberator*, July, 1923.

* * *

PARTIAL DEMANDS AND PARTIAL STRUGGLES

By what methods can we win leadership
over and the support of a majority of the
working class for our program of the prole-
tarian revolution and the dictatorship of the
proletariat?

As Communists we know that the capitalist
system brings about continual conflicts be-
tween economic groups in the present social
order. The wage workers come in constant
conflict with the capitalists over questions af-
fecting their daily lives. The workers desire
higher wages. They want shorter hours of
labor. They want improvement in their work-
ing conditions. Struggles over these questions
and even broader questions grow out of the
fundamental conflict of the wage workers and
the capitalists. These conflicts are not mat-
ters of theory. They are hard, bitter, every-
day struggles which decide the standard of
living of the workers and their families.

The policy of the Communist Party is to
associate itself with the workers in the every-
day struggle. Communists fight with the
wage workers and farmers in support of the
demands which they make of the capitalists
because it is in these struggles and thru these
struggles that the workers learn the character

of the capitalist system, and there is developed the will to
power of the workers, the determination to triumph over the
enemy who exploits and oppresses them.

The everyday struggles of the workers create the most fa-
vorable condition for establishing the influence and leadership
of the Communist Party. The workers learn by experience in
the struggle that the government under the capitalist system
is merely an agency of the capitalists for maintaining the
system of exploitation. They learn this, not thru theoretical
presentation and proof of the facts, but thru the hard knocks
of their experience with the capitalists and with the govern-
ment which supports the capitalist system.

While fighting with the workers to realize their immediate
demands against the capitalists, it is the part of the Commu-
nists to point out to them at every stage of the development
of the struggle that these immediate demands cannot solve their
problems. Thus in the process of the struggle itself, the
workers become more conscious of their class interests and of
their class enemy. It is in the process of struggle that the
revolutionary will of the workers develops, and thru these
struggles they are led step by step to the final struggle of the
proletarian revolution.

—From: *The Farmer-Labor United Front*, 1923.

* * *

AGAINST OPPORTUNIST SECTARIANISM!

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

—From: *Daily Worker*, December, 1924.



AT THE IV CONVENTION
(1925)

From left to right: Jay Lovestone,
Ben Gitlow, C. E. Ruthenberg.

The Real Meaning of the "New Turn"

By Will Herberg

IN the analysis of the "new turn" in the Comintern contained in the last issue of *Revolutionary Age* (the article; *Again a "New Turn" in the Comintern*, by Herbert Zam) it is declared:

"In reality the Ecce is continuing its ultra-left adventurist line which is at the bottom of the leftist errors committed thruout the Comintern. . . . The Ecce is quite ready to destroy a Reimann or a Shatzkin but the basic policies which are responsible for the errors of the Reimanns and the Shatzkins remain intact and even become worse!"

This point of view is absolutely correct and represents the essential point of departure in the estimation of the coming period in the Comintern. Only by clearly appreciating this fact is it possible to avoid falling into confusion before the unprincipled "new turns" at which the diplomatic strategists in the Ecce are such past masters.

What is the essential political feature of the present crisis in the Communist International? It is: the rapidly developing gap between the successful proletarian revolution in the Soviet Union and the steady building up of Socialism, on the one hand, and the retarded pace of the revolution in West Europe and America on the other—this gap, as long as it is not bridged by the development of a real international collective leadership for the Comintern—necessarily leads the present Ecce to a false estimation of the objective situation and conditions of struggle in the capitalist world and to a radically false tactical line. In essence this false approach of the Ecce is due to the refusal to recognize the "retarded pace" (Lenin) and the special paths of development of the world revolution. This is the essence of ultra-leftism. That is why, no matter how many turns and twists it may undergo, no matter how it may seem to veer one way or the other, the line of the Ecce will remain the same: ultra-left and sectarian, until the crisis is overcome and a real right-about-face instituted in the strategical course of the Comintern!

It is characteristic of the present crisis in the Comintern that the recent "turn against the ultra-left" proceeds quite harmoniously side by side with the most dangerous ultra-left vagaries yet seen in the Comintern. This exposes as clear as daylight the real meaning, the real content of the "new turn." It shows it to be nothing more than an attempt to shunt into "safe" channels (by the method of finding a scapegoat) of the dissatisfaction and resentment that has been steadily growing in the various Parties, in the face of the manifest chaos, demoralization and isolation in the Comintern. It shows itself as a cloak under which the old ultra-left course can be continued and aggravated. Nothing proves this more clearly than the series of articles by Manuilsky, the recognized spokesman of the Ecce that appeared recently in *Pravda* (January 3 and 4, 1930.) From these articles as well as from some of the recent documents and declarations of the Ecce let us see what the "new turn" really amounts to.

1. *On the question of the world economic situation:* Here is what Comrade Manuilsky states as to the present economic situation of world capitalism.

"As we know, the economic crisis was not limited only to the United States; its echo also made itself felt in other countries closely connected with the U.S.A., in the first place Canada and the most important Latin American countries, but also in Europe and especially in those countries where the investments of American capitalism are quite large (Sweden—the match concern of Kruger). All eastern Eu-

rope . . . is in a state of a general economic crisis. These countries show the necessity of raising the question of the consequences of the world crisis which shall not find our Parties unprepared."

The leading editorial article in *Inprecorr* (Vol. 10, No. 4) declares that:

"The present crisis of 1930 differs from the international crisis of 1920 in that it is developing along with a simultaneous rise of the revolutionary tide and powerful advance of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union, that is, it is accompanied by two decisive circumstances which are bound to render the consequences of this crisis more serious for capitalism."

2. *On the question of stabilization and radicalization.* On this Comrade Manuilsky makes himself quite clear:

"What are the direct results of the economic crisis? The shattering of capitalist stabilization, the sharpening of capitalist contradictions, the fast tempo of radicalization of the working class, which is accompanied by the dissatisfaction of the bankrupt petty bourgeoisie. . . ."

No document is ever issued by the Ecce nowadays or by the official Party leaderships that does not pay its respects to the "shattering of capitalist stabilization," to "the oncoming revolutionary wave," etc. But Comrade Manuilsky—the new champion against ultra-leftism—goes further:

"The crisis may become fatal for capitalist society! Its consequences in a condition of strained capitalist contradictions may be as large as those of the world war of 1914-1918. The process of ripening of the revolutionary situation in a number of countries will develop very fast . . . We are moving towards gigantic strikes which will take the form of political strikes. The question of the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat will be put on the order of the day. . . ."

Naturally, the *Rote Fahne* (central organ of the C.P. of Germany) speaks with great assurance of "the rapid advent of the German Red October" while the *Daily Worker* chimes in with:

"Out of the present deepgoing economic disturbances, growing more acute each day and spreading to the farthest ends of the capitalist world—can very likely come again the struggle for class power by the workers in more than one capitalist country."

3. *On the question of the Social-democracy:* Just as the X Plenum declared that "in this period social-reformism dies out!" so does Comrade Manuilsky discover that Social-democracy is rapidly nearing its end—at a time, we should note, when Social-democracy and social-reformism generally has strengthened its positions in practically every capitalist country.

"The crisis may sound like a funeral march for international Social-democracy and the international social-reformists whose influence in the labor movement was closely connected with capitalist stabilization. The crash of stabilization will undermine the roots of international Social-democracy and may finish what was not fully done during the world war and the October revolution in the sense of liquidating the influence of Social-democracy upon the working class."

4. *On the question of tactics.* The Ecce's analysis of the objective situation has its immediate consequences for its tactical line; Comrade Manuilsky hastens to point this out:

"The question of the world economic crisis is the starting

What Is Happening in Mexico?

by Bertram D. Wolfe

IN December the Mexican police arrested thirty-two members of the C.S.U.M. (Red Unions), of the Communist Party, and of the Young Communist League. A dozen of these, Latin-Americans of non-Mexican birth, were summarily deported without trial. Five, Eduardo Callero, Alfonso Cuellar, Santiago Diaz, Antonio Rodriguez and Pablo Santamaria, were condemned to a living death (also without a trial) by imprisonment in the remote penal colony on the tropical islands known as Islas Marias—a hell on earth, if ever there was one.

This was only one of a series of acts of terror which have been perpetrated over a long period of time by the government of Mexico under the guidance and direction of the Mexican Viceroy of King Morgan, Ambassador Morrow, against the Mexican working class and the Mexican anti-imperialist movement. These acts include the assassination of a series of Communist and trade union leaders, the deportation of others, the expulsion of political refugees fleeing from the brutal dictatorship of Uncle Sam's servile tools in Cuba and other Latin American countries, the suppression of the official organ of the Communist Party of Mexico, *El Machete*, the disarming of peasants, the shooting of their leaders, nullification of the land laws, the nullification of the provisions of the Constitution concerning minerals, oil, and sub-soil rights and the general surrender of the country and its toiling masses to the pillage of the financial overlords of 26 Broadway and 23 Wall Street.

It has long been the boast of the cynical agents of Wall Street at present at the helm in Mexico that "on the foreigners we use the 33 (Article 33 is the clause of the Mexican Constitution authorizing the deportation of "pernicious foreigners" and originally aimed against the oil magnates and imperialist agents) and on the natives we use the 30-30 (the small-bore rifle commonly used in the Mexican military campaigns)." One by one many of the best leaders of the Mexican workers and peasants have been assassinated and the 30-30 has not been limited in its application to natives alone as proved by the assassination of the Cuban Communist, Julio Antonio Mella.

On January 23, the Mexican Government broke off relations with the Soviet Union and a few days later, as the Soviet

point of our immediate revolutionary perspectives. On the basis of this we must prepare our trade union tactics, our tactical line in the factories. . . ."

Such is the real aspect of the "new turn!" The right hand knoweth not what the left hand is doing! The Ecce's "struggle against the ultra-left" is a sham battle because the Ecce itself is the original fountain and source of the ultra-left sickness. In one breath Comrade Manuilsky inveighs against "the ultra-left bombast and exaggeration"—on the part of the specially chosen scapegoat; in the other, he officially declares that the struggle for power is coming on the order of business in a number of European countries, that "the funeral march of the Social-democracy" is being sounded, that the sectarian tactics in mass work must be continued and even aggravated . . . !

But such diplomatic maneuver and hypocritical twists and turns to shift responsibility expose themselves. The growing opposition movement and sentiment in the Comintern cannot be "dealt with" in this manner. This crisis in the Comintern—growing acuter every day—demands a complete change of strategical line and method of leadership on the part of the Ecce. This change can only be brought about by the Party masses themselves and not by the Ecce from above!

minister was preparing to leave the country, ordered a provocative police raid on the embassy and searched the minister's baggage in violation of the elementary courtesies of "diplomatic privilege" with which bourgeois governments are supposed to act even when they are preparing to declare war on each other.

What is the meaning of these acts? The meaning is clear. President Rubio has just visited the United States. He came to receive his orders from the home office of the financial octopus whose Mexican agent he is. He no sooner received his orders than he executed them. The puppet strings are plainly visible.

The policy of the present government of Mexico may be summed up as follows: surrender the resources of the country to American capital; crush the labor and peasant movements to make Mexico "safe" for American exploitation; remove the traces of petty-bourgeois revolutionism as quickly as possible; become a junior partner of American capital in exploiting the native masses; earn your crumbs from Wall Street's rich pickings by hastening to obey the master's commands in matters of foreign policy as soon as they are communicated.

The overlords of Mexico had special reasons for ordering the provocative attack on the Soviet Union at the present moment. The main ones were: 1) vengeance for the Litvinov note exposing America's intervention in the Chinese Far Eastern Railway matter; 2) a public declaration to the "disarmament conference" in London that Mexico belongs to the United States—"America for Wall Street"—more coast-line, more war-power; 3) another step in the systematic steady, patient plotting for war on the Soviet Union—a plot already far advanced which includes such recent steps as Stimson's note on China, the Pope's effort to mobilize Catholics, the efforts of the Rabbis' conferences to mobilize nationalist Jews, the Archbishop of Canterbury's effort to mobilize adherents of the Church of England, France's provocations in the scandalous Koutiehoff hoax, Henderson's declarations in Parliament that he "suspects" that there is Communist propaganda in England and is "investigating" to see if his Majesty's "Labor" government should break off relations with the Soviet Union, the German government's raids on Soviet consulates and exoneration of chervonetz counterfeiters and a host of similar threads in a rapidly "thickening" plot to make an imperialist attack on the Workers' Government.

So far as the Mexican government's "heroic" part in this war conspiracy is concerned, it serves only to make clearer to the Mexican masses what the recent arrests, deportations, assassinations, suppressions, governmental strike breaking, wholesale surrender of the country's resources, violation even of the timid, petty-bourgeois, half-way measures of Articles 27 and 123 of the Mexican Constitution have already made clear—that the Mexican government is an agency of American imperialism collecting commission for delivering the country, hog-tied, to its oppressors. This must dispel the last illusions of any sections of the Mexican masses and raise fresh revolutionary forces in Mexico and throughout Latin-America who shoulder to shoulder with the revolutionary workers of the United States, will go forward against the common enemy American imperialism, and against its agents, the puppet governments of Latin America.

What About the Needle Trades?

by Ben Gitlow

WHAT is today going on in the needle trades—what are the prospects for the workers—what is ahead for the left wing and for the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union are questions of vital importance to every left winger and to every Communist. Why? Because the left wing and the Communists had succeeded in establishing their largest base in the needle trades. Because here the workers by the tens of thousands followed the leadership of the left wing and the Communists.

The needle trades workers under left wing and Communist leadership drove the right wing and the reactionary A.F.L. bureaucracy out of the fur and ladies garment industries in New York. In addition they had considerable if not a majority of the workers in the New York Amalgamated supporting them. In Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia and Cleveland the left wing was very strong.

The ladies' garment workers and the furriers in Chicago, Philadelphia and Boston were decisively in the hands of the left wing. The millinery branch of the Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers Union was under left wing leadership. In the Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers Union as a whole the left wing had considerable strength. It was fighting for the complete control of the union and for the ousting of the right wing reactionary officials.

The rank and file revolt in the needle trades was deeply rooted in the economic conditions prevailing in the industry. It was an expression of the revolt on the one hand against the speed up, wage cutting, disemployment and insecurity prevailing in the industry and on the other hand against the policies, conduct, and methods of the reactionary right wing officials. The workers followed Communist leadership because in the main the Communists not only took up the fight for the workers but worked out a program and policies which were based upon their actual needs.

The Joint Action Committee fight, the victorious furriers' general strike, the winning of the 40-hour, 5-day week thru direct militant struggle against the bosses won for the Communists the support of the majority of the workers in the needle trades and greatly enhanced the prestige of the Communists thruout the entire labor movement.

The success of the left wing and the Communists called forth a bitter opposition headed by the reactionary officialdom of the A. F. of L. A united front was formed of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and G.E.B. of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the *Forward*, the Socialist Party, right wing trade union officialdom, the manufacturers and the capitalist government. The express purpose of this united reactionary front was to smash the left wing and the Communists. The A. F. of L. took direct control over the needle trades unions. It established scab unions in the fur and cloak industry. The right wing Socialist Party leadership acted as a scab agency. Every means at hand was used to crush the needle trades workers who were following the left wing. The left wing stood its ground. When the N.T.W.I.U. was organized it had a large membership. It was a genuine mass organization. It had good organization also outside of New York in such cities as Chicago, Philadelphia and Boston.

These successes in the needle trades were due to the correct policies applied to favorable conditions. These policies were in a large measure responsible for establishing the Party as a factor in the labor movement as a whole. Then the C.P.

was under the leadership of the comrades who are today in the C.P.-Majority Group. Today these comrades are expelled members of the Communist Party. Wrong policies are being applied today which aggravate the unfavorable objective situation. What are the results? Let us examine the situation. Let us face the facts as they are. Exaggerations or blinding oneself to the truth will not help us. The truth will be painful. An examination of the facts will prove this. It is necessary to bare the truth regardless of how much it hurts. The left wing has everything to gain and nothing to lose by knowing and telling the truth.

An examination of the situation in the industry proves that the needle trades offer a fertile field for the N.T.W.I.U. The bulk of the industry is unorganized. The introduction of the speed-up, new machines, standards of production, reorganization, have brought about disemployment of thousands of workers, wage cuts, a break down of all union standards, the sweat shop and sweat shop conditions. Class collaboration on the part of the reactionary right wing officials of the needle trades have brought about the worst and most intolerable conditions in the industry. The right wing officialdom acts directly and brazenly as agents of the bosses, reorganizing shops, throwing out workers, installing standards of production, agreeing to wage cuts, etc. Great dissatisfaction prevails among the workers. The right wing officialdom from Hillman and Schlesinger to Zaritsky cannot satisfy the demands of the workers. These right wing officials are working overtime satisfying the demands of the bosses. It is only the left wing that can organize these workers to fight for better conditions. Regardless of the position of the N.T.W.I.U. today, it can and must become the only and dominant trade union in the industry. The problem for the left wing is to accomplish this in the face of all the difficulties that must be overcome and all the obstacles that are put in its way. The N.T.W.I.U. today is the only genuine union in the industry. It is the only union that can mobilize the workers to fight for themselves. It must be built up.

An examination of the actual conditions prevailing in the trade, the intense suffering of the workers, the large chronic unemployment that exists, the dissatisfaction of the workers, the brazen betrayals of the workers interests by the right wing officialdom, the gangsterism and corruption in the right wing machines, the open shops, the low wages long hours and the defiance of all union standards by the bosses, are a good basis for developing left wing sentiment among the workers. Nevertheless we must record the fact that the left wing is losing ground and not gaining. Even a considerable number of left wing workers, willing or unwilling, are going to the right. The left wing has also suffered a number of defeats, in the last furriers strike, in the cloak makers, and loss of membership and influence generally. In the Amalgamated, the left wing has been reduced from a mass organization to the Party fraction. We are losing ground in the milliners; the right wing is stronger today than the left wing in that union. The left wing is only a fraction of what it used to be.

For the first time in five years the right wing is raising its head. Schlesinger, who recently would have been howled off a platform by the needle trades workers, said at the Cleveland Convention as president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union:

"I make reference to that nightmare only to say that the Communists were reduced to zero and that our organization

For Fighting Proletarian Unity!

Statement of the Millinery Group of the C.P. Majority Group

IN the *Freiheit* of Feb. 10 and the *Daily Worker* of Feb. 11, there appears the following statement of Comrade Schechter for the purpose of freeing herself of all "suspicion" of being opposed to the destructive policies and tactics followed by the present Party "leadership" in the mass organizations:

"In regard to the Lovestoneites, I am doing my utmost, together with other leading comrades, to expose and eliminate them from every leading position of our union . . .

"The unscrupulous and destructive methods employed by the Lovestoneites in the mass organizations must be fought most vigorously—and this I pledge to do."

This declaration represents the first time that the Party—thru the mouth of a Party functionary in a union—officially sponsors the tactics of extermination in trade unions and mass organizations. This declaration is further proof of the unprincipledness forced upon the Party membership and of the attempt of the present leadership to introduce into the left-wing unions the methods used in the old A.F.L. unions. One of the main fights that the left-wing has always carried on and is still carrying on in the old unions and which is the expression of the struggle of the workers against the bureaucracy, is for democracy and against the elimination of the most active, militant forces, without which any union cannot be a fighting force for the interests of the workers.

All policies and tactics championed and followed by Communists must serve to unify and strengthen and build the organizations of the working class. This is the A.B.C. of Communist tactical principles.

The above statement of Comrade Schechter, exacted by the Party leadership, does not propose to strengthen the N.T.W.I.U. and Local No. 43 as part of it; instead it divides the ranks by introducing what actually amounts to a campaign of terror against the most active and militant forces who are building the Industrial Union.

Unemployment, reorganization, wage reductions, the offensive

has resumed its forward march."

They called the Cleveland Convention the "victory convention" and gloated over the victory over the Communists and the left wing.

The whole capitalist press hailed this so-called victory over Communism. Green greeted the convention as follows:

"The Communist menace which for a time held your organization in its grip has been conquered and your unions are free to perform their constructive and protective purposes."

How did the present Party leadership meet the issue of the Cleveland convention, the "victory convention" of the right wing over Communism? By ignoring it completely, by preparing to eliminate the best fighters from the N.T.W.I.U. because they did not agree with the sectarian disruptive policies they advocated! Not one demonstration was staged against the Cleveland convention to show to the whole world that the Communists and the left wing were not dead and far from defeated.

The International Ladies Garment Workers Union has not become suddenly a trade union fighting for the interests of the workers. It remains one of the most reactionary A. F. of L. unions with company union leadership and company union policies. The right wing Socialist Party leadership of this organization works closely in cooperation with Tammany

against week work, the forcing of the collective agreement on the workers, etc. are the means by which the right-wing aims to fasten their class collaboration policy upon the millinery workers. They are thus planning to renew their attack against Local No. 43 and against all left-wing forces in the right-wing locals of the Cap and Millinery International.

The cap and millinery workers are beginning to realize that the pogrom against Local 43 is a pogrom against all millinery workers. The dissatisfaction of the workers is reflected in the dissensions in the ranks of the right-wing bureaucrats.

Instead of uniting the left wing forces and proposing a program of action to intensify the struggle against the right-wing and the bosses, and to organize the workers in the trade, the Party leaders have "excluded" our comrades in Local 24 from the T.U.U.L. Opportunities to intensify the struggle in Local 24 have been sabotaged, as in the case of the Fairway Shop. The issues of dissension in the right wing and the struggle between the Locals 50 and 42 have been allowed to pass unnoticed. And on top of this, a pledge is made by Comrade Schechter to eliminate the best elements of the left-wing in Local 24, Local 43, and in the whole N.T.W.I.U.

The workers in the shops have shown that they will not heed the advice of Comrade Schechter. The workers have already shown this by electing our comrades as delegates to the Shop Delegates Council.

Every worker can readily see the destructive tactics of the Party leadership—as expressed in the declaration of Comrade Schechter. The facts speak for themselves! Every honest rank and filer should repudiate such statements as Comrade Schechter's and the destructive course which they represent. Every militant worker should rally in support of the C.P.-Majority Group in its struggle against the elimination of the best elements of the union and for fighting proletarian unity in face of the bosses and the right wing bureaucrats, for the building up of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union.

Millinery Group of the C.P.-Majority Group.

Hall politicians and with the decisive capitalist interests in the garment industry in order to further rationalize the industry thru more speed-up, more reorganization, more standards of production, more disemployment, etc. This is the capitalist program for stabilizing production and ending chaos in the trade.

Schlessinger speaks the language of the bosses. The union echoes the phrases of the manufacturers. This is brought out clearly in a letter sent out to "dress factors" by Schlessinger on October 17, 1929 asking for a conference. The central point of this letter is the industry and not the workers says the letter:

"If the industry is to be saved from chronic and destructive chaos, and if the workers are to be assured livable earnings and working conditions approximating even the most modest standards of American life all factors in the industry must join hands in an intelligent effort to reorganize it on the basis of reason and decency."

The leopard has not changed its spots. The question is the saving of the industry and its reorganization on the basis of reason and decency. "Reason" is—due regard for the interests of the bosses and "decency"—no militancy from the workers.

(Concluded in the next issue)

The Question of Technical Progress

by Bert Miller

A CORRECT formulation of the policies of the Communist Parties of the world must find its basis in a correct estimation of capitalism. On the other hand, the incorrect estimation, endorsed by the X Plenum of the Communist International, is the basis for the fundamentally wrong political line and for the resulting crisis throughout the International. The question of technical development under capitalism is a question of the very greatest importance in this connection.

At the X Plenum Comrade Kuusinen launched a great offensive against the "over-estimation of the technical development of production of contemporary capitalism" and the tendency to "ignore the economic limits and impeding factors of the further technical development characteristic of capitalism in general and monopolist capitalism in particular". He pointed out that "in one sphere of production alone, the application of technical inventions makes really brilliant progress; not in the sphere of the production of the means of production or consumption, of raw materials and semi-manufactured articles, but in the sphere of the production of the means of destruction, in the sphere of war technique." "Big technical inventions," said Kuusinen, "are made which do not prove of special economic value at once or even at all. . . . For instance, radio, aircraft and some (not all) chemical discoveries".

Let us examine these conclusions. Comrade Kuusinen advises us "firstly, to make an even more careful study of our Program than before and secondly, to study Marx more than before." We will follow this advice and compare the revisionist line of Kuusinen with the teachings of Marx and Lenin and with the Program of the Communist International.

Let us go first to Marx's Communist Manifesto:

"The bourgeoisie cannot exist without incessantly revolutionizing the instruments of production. . . . That which characterizes the bourgeois epoch in contradistinction to all others is a continuous transformation of production, a perpetual disturbance of social conditions, everlasting insecurity and movement."

In other words, it is this very technical improvement, the "incessant revolutionizing of the instruments of production", which is at the same time the most powerful revolutionizing factor in capitalist society, the basic cause of the "perpetual disturbance of social conditions." To ignore this fact or to deny it is to view the forces of capitalist society as something static, which do not influence or intensify the growing revolutionary movement of the masses. It is to deny the factor which drives capitalism headlong to its inevitable destruction and the proletariat to victorious revolution.

Lenin emphasized the important role of technical development as follows:

" the extremely rapid rate of technical progress gives rise, more and more, to disturbances of equilibrium, to disproportion, crisis and chaos in the various spheres of economic life."

According to Kuusinen, however, technical progress has now reached such a stage that there is no longer any possibility of further development and therefore no possibility of broadening and deepening the existing contradictions of capitalism.

It is significant to compare the trend of Kuusinen's argument with the Program of the Communist International for which Kuusinen voted and which he actively supported. The Program declares:

"In its quest for profits the bourgeoisie was compelled to develop the productive forces on an ever-increasing scale."

Thus the development of capitalism constantly reproduces on a wider scale all the inherent contradictions of the capitalist system. . . ."

"The ever-growing application of machinery, the constant improvement in technique and consequently the uninterrupted rise in the organic composition of capital, are accompanied by still further division, increased productivity and intensity of labor."

Comrade Kuusinen holds that if we believe in the possibility of technical progress at the present moment of capitalist development—we are "stabilization Communists", "ballast to the movement." Like Bittleman who claimed that we were "advertising American imperialism," Kuusinen alludes to those who differ with his analysis as desiring "to praise the alleged role of contemporary capitalism in regard to the enormous development of the social forces of production."

To speak of "praise" or "blame" when one is making an economic analysis is to speak unscientifically and subjectively. It is a fundamental principle of Marxism to view problems in motion, in the process of change, to view them dynamically not statically. The process of capitalist development of technique cannot be labelled with an "either-or". It is twofold in character including aspects of upward development as well as decline, and it is our duty as Marxists not only to point out both phases of the process, but also to point out their relations correctly and with proper emphasis. Kuusinen might just as logically accuse Marx and Lenin of such "praise" when they pointed out the tremendous technical progress of capitalism and its effects on the working class.

In this respect Kuusinen rides roughshod over the well-considered formulations of the Comintern Program which refer to monopoly as

"the highest phase of capitalist development, developing the productive forces of world economy to enormous dimensions. . . . At the same time, however, the monopolist form of capital increasingly develops the elements of parasitical degeneration, decay and decline of capitalism. . . ."

The very technical progress and rationalization of industry (elsewhere referred to by the Program as "bordering on a new technical revolution"), the reverse side of which is the closing down and liquidation of numerous enterprises, the restriction of production, and the ruthless and destructive exploitation of labor power, leads to chronic unemployment on a scale never before experienced.

The following figures show more concretely the direction which this development is taking in the United States. According to *Prosperity, Fact or Myth*, by Stuart Chase, physical production increased 30% between 1922 and 1928 while the number of factories is decidedly on the decrease, as shown by the fact that the number of industrial workers dropped from 11,200,000 in 1920 to 10,600,000 in 1927.

Hoover's Commission reports in *Recent Economic Changes* that "primary production increased 4% while employment decreased 7/10% from 1922 to 1927." According to the *New York Times* of October 9, 1929 the Labor Bureau's latest report, based on returns from nearly 33,000 manufacturing establishments, shows the number of workers to be less by 15% than in 1923. In other words we have here displayed the two sides of the medal: the increase in production and its disastrous effects upon the workers, the rapid growth of chronic unemployment.

Particularly in the United States, the land of relatively high wages, is the incentive to invention and the highest possible

The Crisis in the Ind. Shoe Workers Union

by Edward Wright and Sidney Jonas

FOR over five months, over three thousand shoe workers in New York and Brooklyn have been locked out. The bosses are trying to smash our union as a part of their campaign to crush all organizations fighting for the interests of workers. In this bitter open shop attack against our union, the shoe manufacturers have had the full encouragement and support of the U. S. Department of Labor in the person of Commissioner Woods, of the courts issuing injunctions after injunctions and of police brutality in conjunction with hired gangsters.

These circumstances necessitated the immediate mobilization of all shoe workers and their ideological preparation to fight. Instead of this the union leadership spent meeting after meeting in attacking and condemning and finally removing the vice-president of the union (Jonas) as the presiding officer of the council. This took place as a result of his fighting for precisely what was most essential for the time, namely, the mobilization of all shoe workers actively to participate in this fight, the making up of the executive leadership mainly of strikers and workers in the shop, the organization of shop committees in open shops, and for the calling of a special conference of all labor organizations to give moral and financial support to our struggle.

Because of such proceedings and of numerous mistakes which could have easily been avoided, the strike was unnecessarily prolonged, causing the break down of the morale of thousands of shoe workers. No wonder that Fred Biedenkapp, general manager of the I.S.W.U., can afford himself the luxury of saying: "There is no longer a strike situation. We are now confronted with an unemployment situation."

It is absolutely correct to say that the problem of unemployment is facing us. But the struggle remains the same—the struggle to save the union.

This, however, was not the policy of the union leadership.

technical development exceptionally strong. The stimulus which the existence of a comparatively highly paid proletariat exerts on technical progress remains an undeniable fact today just as it did when Marx made the following interesting comment on the stone industry:

"The Yankees have invented a stone breaking machine. The English do not make use of it because the 'wretch' who breaks stones by hand is paid for so small a proportion of his labor, that machines would increase the cost of production for the capitalist."

Does this mean that within this very process of the development of the technique of production there are not already the growing germs of retardation and decline? Most certainly not! But note the care and exactness with which Lenin points out that "the tendency to stagnation and corruption which is characteristic of monopoly continues to make itself felt, and in certain countries, for certain periods of time, it takes the upper hand" Thus we find this "tendency to stagnation" already showing itself in certain industries in colonial countries due to the pressure of foreign imperialism and in the textile and coal industries and in agriculture, which are in the throes of a world crisis.

Comrade Kuusinen claims that in one sphere of production only does capitalism make brilliant progress, that is, in the war industries. And pray, what industry is not a war industry? When Hoover called together his National Business Council, the

Fred Biedenkapp maintains: "I am not interested in numbers. If I were, I would follow the principles of the A. F. of L. Neither am I interested in signing agreements, I am chiefly concerned in the spirit, militancy and class consciousness of the workers even tho they be small in numbers."

This sectarian, Socialist Labor Party conception was the basis used to put up the latest demands of the union.

We are in favor of carrying on a struggle for the 40-hour 5-day week, the abolition of piece work and unemployment insurance. But the immediate struggle of the shoe workers is the building and the saving of the union and not its narrowing down to a handful.

No wonder that the shop delegates conference rejected the abolition of piece work. No wonder that workers are demanding the calling of shop meetings and of a general membership meeting to discuss the serious problems with which the union is confronted, that is, the winning of the strike, the signing up of shops still working the organization of the unorganized, and the mobilization against the "Boot Shoe Workers Union"!

Since the union now faces the most critical situation since its existence brought about by the wrong policies of the union leadership, the workers at the general membership meeting must demand a complete change of policy, a fight for the above mentioned demands and for the saving of the union.

* * *

A SHAMEFUL DEED

Ten days ago, a shop meeting of 150 shoe workers now on strike unanimously adopted a resolution calling for renewed energy in the strike and for saving and building the Union. At the request of the shop meeting an article including the resolution was sent to the *Daily Worker*. But because our comrades are leading the strike and because one of our comrades brought up the story to the *Daily Worker*, the *Daily Worker* refused to print it!

"Dollar-A-Year Men" of the next imperialist war, what industry of any importance was omitted? By what stretch of Leninism does Kuusinen separate war ("the continuation of politics by other means") from economics, of which politics is its concentrated form? Kuusinen makes these artificial distinctions in the field of capitalist production solely for the purpose of arriving, by hook or crook, at his warped and un-Marxian conclusions. Similarly he underestimates the economic value of "radio, aircraft and some (not all) chemical discoveries." How does he reconcile this with the words of Marx that:

"The revolution in the method of production in industry and agriculture likewise necessitated a revolution in the general conditions of the social process of production, that is to say in the means of communication and transport?"

Is it then possible to separate the growth of American imperialism, its fight for world domination from the necessary instrument of that development, the radio and the airplane? To belittle the development of the chemical industry is to misunderstand entirely one of the most powerful factors of rationalization process in almost every field of production and the most potent agency of destruction in the coming imperialist slaughter.

Self-deception is no basis for Communist strategy. It can only lead to chaos and disaster. And that is just what has happened in the Communist International and in our own Party.

A Shameful Performance *The Recent Conference of the Phila. TUUL*

by Clara Yampolsky

THE Philadelphia District Conference of the T.U.U.L. was held on January 25 and 26 in Philadelphia. According to the reports of the Credentials Committee, there were 102 delegates. An overwhelming majority of these delegates were Party members.

The left wing and the Party have the task of mobilizing and uniting all forces for the struggle to organize the unorganized, against rationalization and against unemployment. At such a time as this, the Party members in the T.U.U.L. are working overtime under the banner of the "new line" to narrow down the T.U.U.L. to an organization of Party members—and 100% loyalites at that. The resolution for the Defense of the Soviet Union introduced at the Conference was in reality a factional attack upon Dawson and Gitlow by name as enemies of the working class, the Soviet Union and the Communist International. With such a slanderous factional policy, the Conference of the T.U.U.L. was turned by the Gardos, Murdock, Mozer leadership into a Lovestone lynching affair. So weak was the vote on a "yes" and "no" proposition for the resolution that the chairman had to call upon the delegates to rise. Comrade Yampolsky, the delegate elected by the N.T.W.I.U. of Philadelphia, explained that the reason that she and Minnie Utin, who was a delegate of the second largest shop in the N.T.W.I.U., did not vote for the resolution was that they stood for the defense of the Soviet Union but were opposed to the section attacking the best revolutionary leaders in this country as enemies of the workers because they stood for a correct line. Thereupon resulted a vicious attack upon the "Lovestoneites" by the Party representatives at the Conference. The terror campaign the Party was taken over into the T.U.U.L. in an intensified form. Every method to arouse a lynch spirit was used at the Con-

ference. Murdock the chairman screamed: "I am sorry that I did not knock Yampolsky over the head with a chair at the Lifshitz meeting!" This appeal to murder the "Lovestoneites" was continued by J. Drill, secretary of the Conference, who shouted: "Kill the Lovestoneites! Shoot them!" He also included in his hysterics a motion that Comrade Yampolsky be expelled from the N.T.W.I.U. This motion was not taken to a vote. Sam Burt, business agent of the Fur Department of the N. T. W.I.U., said that all the "Lovestoneites" in the N.T.W.I.U. are "scabs" and are "against the shop delegate system." Comrade Yampolsky challenged J. Miller, business agent of the Dress Department, a Fosterite, to name one supporter of the C.P.-Majority Group in the N.T.W.I.U. who has scabbed. He could not do this but *we can name loyalites who did scab.*

To bring this lynching bee to a climax, a delegate from Baltimore, in order to show his great Party "loyalty" said: "Since I do not have enough money to go to the 'Red Light District', I played dumb and made believe I did not know anything, and I intend to use the Lovestone counter-revolutionists for this purpose!" Here the Party stole the methods of the filthiest of the capitalist press in their attacks upon Communists. This was greeted with a great applause by the "loyalites" present. All the Party loyalites at this jumped up and wanted to give us a beating, and could hardly be restrained. A motion was made to eliminate us from all leading positions and from the Shop Delegates Council. At the conclusion of the Conference, the Party loyalites marched out singing: "We will hang Jay Lovestone on a sour apple tree." This was the proper conclusion for a Conference which did not accomplish anything, but was given over only to slanders and an attempt to lynch loyal Communists, and to bring the wrecking and splitting policy of the "new leadership" into the mass organizations.

ERNST MEYER

By PAUL FROLICH (Berlin)

ONE of the old guard of the Spartakus League has died in Berlin, Comrade Ernst Meyer. For long years devastating tuberculosis had been eating away his life. On February 2, pneumonia set in and he died, at the age of 43.

Ernst Meyer came to the labor movement as a young student. He possessed a good Marxist education and therefore joined the left-radical wing of the Social-democracy. Because of his position he was made, in 1911, the economic editor of the *Vorwärts*, which at that time was controlled by the Kautskyites and the supporters of the extreme left. After the outbreak of war Ernst Meyer was one of the small group of comrades together with Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, Franz Mehring, Clara Zetkin, etc. who stood at the head of the Spartakus movement. In the revolutionary struggle against the war he rendered tremendous services. He especially participated in the issuance of the Spartakus letters and of the Spartakus leaflets, working very closely with Leo Jogiches. At the Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences, he (along with Bertha Thalheimer) represented the Spartakus League. In the *Vorwärts* he used his influence to get the central organ of the Party to resist the social-imperialist policy of the Party leadership and of the Reichstag fraction; he was not however able to compel a really revolutionary policy on the part of this paper. As the only Spartakan on the editorial board he was made the first target of the Ebert people in their struggle to win the central organ. On April 15, 1915 he was thrown out of the editorial board

against the will of the Berlin Press Committee. The military dictatorship took advantage of this removal. After the Liebknecht trial he went into hiding along with Luxemburg and Mehring. This of course hindered his revolutionary activity but naturally could not stop it.

In the time of revolution he belonged to the editorial board of *Rote Fahne*. At the Congress which founded the Communist Party of Germany (December 31, 1918) he was elected to the Central Committee, a place which he retained with a short interruption until the so-called Wedding Congress (1929). In the January days he, along with George Ledebour, was arrested and for the second time he went to prison, this time for a longer period.

Since 1921 he was the leader of the Communist fraction in the Prussian Landtag. He was a representative of the Party at various Congresses and plenums of the Comintern, in formulating the decisions of which he had great influence.

Ernst Meyer was a very cool, sober and deliberate thinker. This always gave him a special position in the Party leadership, especially in the decisions on tactical questions. In view of his great political experience it was of course natural that he should come out against the adventurist course of Fischer-Maslov. After the Open Letter of 1925, which liquidated the Ruth Fischer-Maslov leadership, he again came into the leadership of the Party, and played a very decisive role as long as the attempt was made to carry out a real Leninist policy. But even during those days he was more or less a foreign body in the "leadership"; he never became a part of the Thalmann clique. When, in 1928, after the VI World Congress, the relapse into ultra-leftism took place, the Party leadership felt it necessary to get rid of his influence first of all. At the same time it is true that the split in the opposition and the crystallization of the group of the conciliators is to be traced primarily to his conduct. For this reason we had many very vehement

The "Non-Party" I. L. D.

THE EXPULSION POLICY IN BOSTON

By ELSIE PULTUR

The present policy of the Party "leadership" in the Boston I.L.D. is leading to the inevitable narrowing down of that organization to an insignificant sect. The unfortunate state of affairs in the I.L.D. is the reason for the fact that only 100 workers attended the Yetta Stromberg meeting on Friday, January 31, which netted only about \$25.00. The English branch which is supposed to have 130 members has an attendance of only 30 at its meetings. The Lettish I.L.D. branch which has a membership of 100, has an attendance of 35, of which 15 are Party members. These are the early fruits of the "new line" in the I.L.D.

A good sample of the tactics being pursued is found in a recent meeting of the Lettish Branch, when the loyalites demanded the reading of the I.L.D. convention resolution against the "Lovestoneites." This aroused a storm of protest from the non-Party elements. One of these comrades said: "Why narrow down the I.L.D.? If you want to make the I.L.D. a Communist Party, you will destroy the I.L.D., as a broad mass organization." The convention report was then accepted with 18 votes for, two against and 15 not voting at all.

Then Sanerib, a loyalite, made charges against Comrade Elsie Pultur, as "an enemy of the working class," which charges the Executive must investigate and if found true, she must be expelled. The loyalites admitted that Pultur was one of the most active workers in the I.L.D., but "the I.L.D. is no longer a non-partisan organization, but works closely with the Party and supports the present Party political line." Thus the I.L.D. will be squeezed down to a sect of nothing but the loyalites, who accept the "new line."

* * *

A SPLITTING ATTEMPT IN NEGRO HARLEM

By ANNA THOMPSON

Nowhere has the neglect of the officials of the I.L.D. and the narrow line forced upon it by the Party been so striking as in Harlem. The *Harlem English Branch* of the I.L.D. was deliberately killed by the I.L.D. officials because its secretary was Comrade Linoff, an adherent of the C.P.-Majority Group, and our comrades were the most active members in it. The *Nat. Turner Branch* (consisting primarily of Negro workers) was also allowed to die as a result of the general situation of chaos, inactivity, and confusion. Our comrades in Harlem took the initiative to try to reestablish the labor defense organization in Harlem. We organized the *John Brown Labor Defense Branch*, consisting of both Negro and white workers, and we immediately applied for a charter from the I.L.D.

On Tuesday evening, February 19, we held our regular meeting. After we had finished our business, Comrade Nessin, the local organizer of the I.L.D., came in response to our invitation. We gave him the floor. He declared that the I.L.D. District Committee had refused to grant a charter to our branch because there was already in existence (!) the *Nat Turner Branch*. He said that we should make out individual applications to join the "Nat Turner Branch" and that those who were "eligible" would be admitted. Questions were immediately put to

discussions with him. We determinedly fought as very dangerous his conception that it was necessary to "retain one's place in the Party" by means of "temporary" concessions and to "await the return of sanity." As he saw whither the cowardly passivity and the spineless retreat of the conciliators was leading, he drew further and further away from the leading circle of this group and finally broke all relations with them. He maintained relations only with those local groups of conciliators which, like the Konigsberg group, rejected the policy of capitulation before the ruling clique and took a stand for saving the Party.

The Communist movement has lost a great figure in Ernst Meyer. Deep disappointment embittered his last days. His services to the revolution will not be forgotten. Even though his last months of illness did not permit him the necessary close contact with the movement which would have facilitated the final step of his reunion with the opposition—Ernst Meyer died dissatisfied with the Party bureaucracy. He died a sincere fighter, firm in his convictions!

He does not belong to the Party bureaucrats. Far more was he a leader of the opposition even though not its most determined leader!

him as to what he meant by "eligible." In spite of all evasions, he made it clear that all "Lovestoneites" would be excluded, were not "eligible." Republicans and Democrats, yes—but not "renegades"!

Upon this C. B. Jenkins took the floor and in a very forceful and clear talk explained the necessity for an I.L.D. Branch in Harlem, showed how the *Nat Turner Branch* had been killed, and exposed the evasions of Nessin. He was followed by a number of other speakers who spoke along the same lines. Finally, Nessin got the floor for summary and he used his time to launch a vicious attack upon the "Lovestoneites." He declared that he would give our Branch a charter on two "conditions": that we repudiate the "Lovestoneite" criticism of the Party slogan of "self-defense" in the Gastonia situation; and that we condemn the Furniture Workers Union which is led by a "Lovestoneite" and which recently defended itself against the attempt of this same Nessin to split its ranks. This shameful ultimatum was unanimously rejected (there were 25 present at the meeting). We also unanimously passed a motion to continue to function as a Labor Defense Branch and to push our application for a charter from the I.L.D. We then took up the question of support of Comrade Pace (a Negro worker, member of the Harlem Tenants League, who is being dispossessed) and the collection for the Illinois strikers, after which we adjourned with the determination to defeat all the splitting attempt of the I.L.D. bureaucrats and to build a strong John Brown Labor Defense Branch in Harlem.

* * *

AND IN GERMANY TOO!

The destruction of the broad non-Party character of the I.L.D. and its liquidation as a real defense organization is not something limited to the U.S.A. for which only our Party bureaucrats are responsible. On the contrary, it is a policy forced thru in all countries by the Ecce and by the Central Bureau of the International Red Aid (Mopr). In Germany, for example, the Red Aid (*Rote Hilfe*) has been split wide open because the Party bureaucrats have brought about the expulsion from the organization of thousands of members and scores of organizations for support or sympathy with the Communist Opposition. The Red Aid in Germany, like the I.L.D. in America, refuses to defend class war prisoners if they stand with the Opposition. Such people, they say, are "worse than fascists"! Werner Jurr, former leader of the youth section of the Red Front Fighters, was recently tried by the Federal Court in Leipzig for "high treason" because of an article he had written in the organ of the R.F.F. and for some of his revolutionary speeches. But because he is a leader of the Y.C.L.-Opposition and expelled from the Party, the German Red Aid refused to defend him. He was convicted and sentenced to one year in prison, 1,000 marks (\$250) fine, and the costs of the trial! And now the Red Aid refuses to carry on a campaign for his release! The District Secretary of the Red Aid in East Prussia declared:

"Jurr is a social-fascist. We have no interest in such people. Let him rot in jail."

FREE--

With

ONE YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTION

to the

REVOLUTIONARY AGE

A copy of

THE CRISIS IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.

(Statement of Principles of the Communist Party Majority Group)

JUST OFF THE PRESS

A LIMITED NUMBER OF COPIES AVAILABLE
SUBSCRIBE! SUBSCRIBE!

One Year—\$2.00. Six Months—\$1.00

Revolutionary Age, 37 E. 28 St., Room 807, N. Y. C.

PARTY LIFE

THE PARTY LINE IN LOS ANGELES

Carpenters Local—Due to the Party policy and largely due to the Palestine mistakes, the right wing has won the Carpenters Local. This local is traditionally a left wing local, has been so for the last five years. Certainly this was sufficient time to work in the union and have a strong left wing in it to keep the local in the left wing. But the manner in which the Party operated in it has not helped to build a strong left bloc in the union, with the result that the left wing has completely lost its influence. The union has moved out of the Cooperative Building for fear of "contamination" by the left wing. Not content with the damage already done, the loyalites have threatened to expel a member of our group from the T.U.U.L. which will arouse a tremendous protest among the non-Party elements, and further weaken the forces of the left wing.

Painters Local—A similar situation is developing in the Painters Local. The right wing is negligible in this union. The Party heretofore had control of this union. At the recent elections the Party put up a full slate of Party members, excluding everyone else. (I suppose they were all "social-fascists"). By this sectarian policy and by the general Party line, these workers lost confidence in the Party and were put in a position where they put up a slate (non-partisan) against the Party slate and against the right wing. The Party slate won. This consolidated the non-Party workers who became incensed by the Party's sectarian policy. The right wing of the Carpenters Union utilized the defeat and crystallized the non-Party workers into a club under right wing leadership.

Cloakmakers—The Union is dead and the only activity they have is arranging affairs to keep up the headquarters. The right wing local, on the other hand has started a campaign and has already taken in 60 members within the past two weeks.

The Strike in the Imperial Valley—This is the biggest scandal ever committed in the name of Communism. Last month, we had the rainy season in California. During this season the fruit and vegetable farms are deserted by the workers, due of course to the fact that no agricultural work of any appreciable character is done during the rains. At this moment there was supposed to be a strike called by the Party "leadership," accounts of which appeared in the *Daily Worker*. During the rainy season, there are never employed in the Imperial Valley more than 1,000 to 2,000 workers. Yet the *Daily Worker* reported 8,000 on strike—5,000 more to join and 4,000 ready to join the T.U.U.L. Even the Russian Agricultural Workers Union sent a cablegram, which was printed in the *Daily Worker* hailing the revolutionary action of the American agricultural workers. Then the *Daily Worker* printed a story that Mother Blue was rushing across the continent to work for the strike.

Then came the biggest tragedy. The strike was called off. The bluff could not go any further. All this took place in ten days. Now the Party "leadership" is claiming that the movement among the Philipinos in Watsonville, was a direct result of the Imperial Valley strike. Anyone who knows California, knows that Watsonville where the Philipino riots took place is more than 500 miles from Imperial Valley.

You can see what the Party is doing to tell the Party members and *Daily Worker* readers that we are ready for the barricades. It may not surprise you to learn that we have Party comrades in Los Angeles who already predict the revolution within three months in all seriousness.

LIFSHITZ AT W. C. NOMINATION CONVENTION

In a ringing speech, Benjamin Lifshitz (a member of the C.P.-Majority Group) challenged the right-wing reactionary clique at the Nominating Convention of the Workmens Circle held at Irving Plaza, New York on Sunday, February 16. Taking for his target, N. Chanin, the Jewish Socialist, Verband's candidate for member of the Executive Committee, Lifshitz held the right wing responsible for the split in the Workmens Circle and the loss of 14,000 members in a period of five years. He attacked the National Executive Committee for making the Workmens Circle a tool of the yellow Socialist Party, brother party of the British "Labor" Party, and member of the treacherous Second International, the most vicious enemy of the

Soviet Union. He pointed out that the ruling right wing clique in the Workmens Circle was an ally of the reactionary bureaucracy in the A.F.L. and the I.L.G.W.U., fighting against the left wing and the new militant unions. Lifshitz then called for a united front of all militant forces against the reactionary forces in the Workmens Circle and the labor movement generally. Other speakers from various parts of the country then attacked the right-wing leadership for their reactionary policies. Chanin brazenly admitted in his reply that he represents the Verband and the *Forward* and boasted of his reactionary record. As a result of the Party's splitting policy the right wing had an overwhelming majority. Yet it is clear that there is a basis for the re-building of a real left wing within the Workmens Circle.

In the next issue of *Revolutionary Age* Comrade Lifshitz will give a detailed analysis of the situation and the tasks of the coming period in the Workmens Circle.

SUICIDAL IDIOCY!

The Self Educational Club of Brooklyn is running a dance for the benefit of the striking shoe workers on Saturday, February 22 at Royal Palace, 16 Manhattan Avenue, Brooklyn. In connection with this dance Comrade Schwartz went to Independent Workmens Circle Branch 134, to sell dance tickets and urge the workers to attend the dance. Upon entering the meeting, two loyalites, who were members of the branch, insisted that Schwartz should not get the floor, because the loyalites claimed he was a renegade and an enemy of the working class. This ridiculous proposal was voted down by the branch by a vote of 49 to 2. The loyalites finding that the workers would not swallow their proposals, which would have meant a blow to the striking shoe workers, then left the meeting in disgust. This is a good example of the present Party line, which can only lead to isolation.

A LETTER FROM NEW MEXICO

Enclosed find the additional ten cents in stamps I owe on the *Crisis in the Communist Party, U.S.A.* and money order in amount \$1.50 for support to *Revolutionary Age*. Had I been well and working the amount would be tenfold.

There is no doubt that any class-conscious worker who happens to come into contact with this paper will full-heartedly support it, not only to make it a weekly but a daily paper in the place of *Daily Worker* which its editors are working out of existence by slandering "renegades" and "splitters" and calling the most fearless, energetic and honest leaders and fighters for working class its enemies!

After reading one copy of your paper I saw what lies the Communist press could give out which I then discovered in the *Daily Worker*, that is supposed to tell the truth to workers!

After that, I no longer can believe anything in the *Daily Worker* even if the truth is written about our true enemies.

But your paper does not return their slander by slander but calmly speaks facts as they are and so plainly that every worker able to read and think can understand and judge who the trouble makers are.

(Signed) J. KOSE.

THE PARTY PRESS IS BEING "BOLSHEVIZED"

Never a day passes without the *Empros* (Greek Party organ) slaughtering the "renegades" and "traitors". Never a day passes without the *Empros* priding itself on having gotten rid of all traces of "opportunism" and on being now really a "bolshevik" paper. Here is a good example of the "bolshevization" of the *Empros*.

The new editorial board of the *Empros* publishes the following letter from Argetina with the following comment: "Here is a letter recently received in our office which shows the role of the *Empros* among the Greek workers of Argentina." The letter follows:

"Honorable Sir:
"Carrying out the decision of the general membership meeting of the Greek Cultural Center of Buenos Aires, we have the honor to express to you our profound gratitude for sending us your journal regularly.

In the Communist International

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN GERMANY

The recent developments in Germany are very serious indeed. The bourgeois-Socialdemocratic government, eager to take advantage of the strengthening of the forces of reaction and the self-inflicted isolation and weakening of the Communist Party, has launched a most vicious offensive against the whole revolutionary movement. The *Red Front Fighters League* has been "outlawed"; dozens and scores of Communists have been arrested; preparations are even being made to "suppress" the Communist Party!

In the face of this grave situation the official Party leadership is doing nothing but mouth the most phantastic and self-deceptive "revolutionary" phrases. Organizationally, the Party is limiting itself to technical preparations for illegality which—the very necessary—cannot be separated from the actual struggle for the right of legal existence. As a matter of fact the Party has given up this struggle for the right to legal existence and gives the impression welcoming illegality in a spirit of pseudo-revolutionary bravado. The isolation of the Party that has been growing ever greater as time goes on, has shown itself in this critical situation. The threat of the suppression of the Communist Party has aroused little response in the factories and unions and the giving up of the united front policy on the part of the Party deepens this isolation. Thus, in Berlin, in the Party's strongest district, with a membership of about 20,000 and with over half a million Communist voters, the demonstrations arranged by the Party attracted an aggregate of 4,000 to 5,000 workers! The isolation of the Party is growing more serious daily.

The more serious the situation grows the more irresponsible become the actions of the Party leadership. Refusing to see things as they are *Rote Fahne* (January 28) flamboyantly declares:

"Because we are strong, because—as a result of the present crisis—we grow from day to day and from hour to hour,

"This precious help from you strengthens the means at our disposal for bringing together under one roof our compatriots in this country, thus bringing them into spiritual contact with our distant fatherland."

Well, now we know why it was Comrade Christie was removed as editor of the *Empros* and then expelled from the Party. The new "leadership" had to find a suitable editor who would be able to convert the revolutionary paper, *Empros*, into a "bond of spiritual contact between the immigrant and the distant fatherland!"

PAT TOOHEY, REMOVED AS HEAD OF N. M. U.

In the face of the big struggles which are looming in coal fields with the expiration of the Anthracite agreement in September, Pat Toohey, secretary of the National Miners Union, has been removed by the present Party "leadership," in spite of his complete capitulation to the "new Party line. Altho officially it is stated that Toohey has been given a leave of absence for six months, it is clear that this leave of absence means nothing more or less than his elimination from the leadership of the Union. The removal of Toohey is part of the chain of mechanical changes made by the present Party "leadership" since the Address of the Comintern, changes which are slowly but surely wrecking the mass organizations built under the previous leadership. (Keller, Dawson, Weisbord, Pires, Rubinstein, I. Zimmerman, S. Jonas, etc., etc.)

WELCOME—"HARLEM TENANT!"

The *Harlem Tenant*, the bulletin just issued by the Harlem Tenants League, is a stirring challenge to the landlords of Harlem, whose oppression and extortion are reaching intolerable heights. The bulletin contains a call to the tenants to "refuse to pay any rent increases!" A whole list of cases is given showing the most brutal disregard of every right of the tenants (crowding, light, heat, sanitary conditions) on the part of the landlords. Among the most vicious landlord-exploiters is the St. Phillips Corporation (the St. Phillips Church in the role of a landlord). The Harlem Tenants League deserves the utmost support of all tenants in Harlem. It meets regularly every Monday night at 165 West 131 Street.

because we have the confidence of millions of workers whose power encircles us in a flaming circle, for these reasons we do not fear . . ."

In every issue of *Rote Fahne* and the provincial papers, in every speech of the C.C. representatives, wild references are made to the "approach of the Red October" to the "new revolutionary phase of development," and the like.

The German Communist Opposition has raised the slogan of "The Party Is In Danger!" It has taken up the struggle for the defense of the Party and the Communist movement by mobilizing the masses of the workers and by attempting to put an end to the suicidal sectarian course of the Party leadership.

The C.P.G.-Opposition has been able to record great progress since its second National Conference (Oct. 1929) and since the recent elections. In the first place New Year's Day saw the first appearance of its new daily, *Arbeiterpolitik*. This marks a very important stage in the development of the Opposition. Secondly, the Opposition has been making steady headway in the factory councils, in trade unions, sport organizations, well as in the municipalities. Thirdly, in the Party there has been developing a new wave of opposition, expulsions, etc. This has taken place primarily on the questions of trade union policy (factory council elections) and in municipal policy (the utilization of the united front in the struggle against Social-democracy). Recently, in Berlin the five biggest factories (Siemens A. G., Ullstein, Ludwig Loewe, Schonberger Gaswerk, Borsig) the Party comrades have come out in open revolt against the isolationist and suicidal policies forced upon them. An equally great revolt has arisen against the municipal policy of the C.C. On this question there have already taken place splits in the newly elected Communist municipal fractions. The Opposition has shown itself capable of leading these constantly recurring revolts of the Party membership in a constructive direction.

On February 1, 1930 the Y.C.L.-Opposition in Germany had its second National Conference. Reports are not yet available but the pre-conference information shows that the Y.C.L.-Opposition already counts over 1,000 members (the official Y.C.L. "claims" a membership of 22,000) and its organ, *Junge Kampfer*, has a circulation well over 3,000.

AN UNFORTUNATE TURN IN FRANCE

We have already reported from time to time in this department of *Revolutionary Age* about the developments in the Communist Party in Paris and surrounding regions. The expulsion of the most outstanding Communist councillors in the Paris districts astonished the whole Communist International and gave a great impetus to the development of a real Communist Opposition movement in France which hitherto had been limited almost exclusively to the Alsace region. However, the promising situation has taken an unfortunate turn. According to accurate information received from the Alsatian Communist Opposition, the "Six" (that is, the movement led by the six expelled municipal councillors) have taken the road of a new Party. On December 28 the conference called by the "Six" decided upon the formation of a "Workers and Farmers Party," in spite of the utmost efforts of the Alsatian Opposition to prevent this step. The apparent purpose of this move was to create an "election Party," a parliamentary apparatus, for the expelled. This step—which is directly contrary to the line and the experiences of the international Opposition movement—has set back the development of the French Opposition a great deal. The general situation in France (outside of Alsace) thus remains as before: disorganization of the Opposition forces, mutual attacks and recriminations, clique struggles without content, ineffective work, blind alleys. It is to be hoped that the experiences of the Paris comrades will convince them of the danger and futility of the "new" Party course and will thus enable them once again to take the road of effective struggle for the restoration of the French Party and of the Comintern to the line of Leninism.

Read **REVOLUTIONARY AGE**

STATEMENT

OF THE STRIKE COMMITTEE OF THE FURNITURE
FRAME FACTORIES, FEB. 17, 1930.

The strike of the furniture workers against the Furniture Frame Factories has now been fought for over seven weeks, in a determined effort to secure better conditions for the workers of this plant. In the course of this struggle, we have been compelled to fight not only the strike breaking tactics of the employer, but also the continued attempts of the General Office of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners to sabotage the strike by refusing aid, and by making attempts to settle the strike at the expense of the workers. In this situation, we turned in good faith to the Trade Union Unity League, as an organization pledged to the support of workers in their struggles against the reactionary officials and against the employers. What was the result of our appeal? Instead of giving us the needed assistance, the representatives of the Trade Union Unity League used methods which could only serve to demoralize the workers and create confusion in their ranks. These representatives, by throwing out the slogan for the mechanical formation of a new union, which would mean a split of our forces, thus gave actual assistance and a legal excuse to the reactionary officials of the General Office of the Brotherhood, who are seeking to expel all militant elements from the International. By their unwarranted and vicious attacks upon our leader, Brother Perlow, who has been continually under the fire of the bosses and the reactionaries, the representatives of the Trade Union Unity League, only served to strengthen the hand of the bosses and the reactionary officials. We must state categorically that these actions have helped to break our strike, whereas the task of the Trade Union Unity League was to give assistance at the time when it was most needed.

We have dealt with the representatives of the Trade Union Unity League with the utmost patience, in spite of these provocative and harmful acts. We have invited their speakers to our meetings and have tried in every possible way to establish a spirit of cooperation with the Trade Union Unity League. We now declare that, in view of the conduct and practices of the Trade Union Unity League, in view of the vicious and un-called-for attack, upon the strike and its leader, Brother Perlow, which attack appeared in the *Daily Worker* on three occasions, under these circumstances and in view of these disruptive tactics, the representatives of the Trade Union Unity League have made further cooperation impossible. We further declare that cooperation with the Trade Union Unity League will remain impossible as long as such policies and such tactics prevail.

We flatly repudiate the attacks upon Brother Perlow, and express our full confidence in his leadership and in his conduct of our strike.

We call the attention of all honest militant workers to the situation in our union, and to the conduct of the Trade Union Unity League representatives, with a view of arousing the widest possible protest against these actions, which are a disgrace to the labor movement, and which must immediately be stopped.

Issued by MICKY DALE,
Secretary of the Strike Committee.
* * *

At the meeting of the Furniture Workers Local, in the course of the discussion regarding the strike, Perlow attacked the Hutcheson business agent for his failure to help the strikers, and held him fully responsible for the fact that the strike was lost. The workers solidly supported Perlow in his criticism. The only disagreement expressed was that of Pepperman, a loyalite, who entered into a shameful united front with the right wing reactionary officials, in trying to place the responsibility for the situation upon Perlow who had done everything possible to win the struggle. The view of the right wing and of Pepperman was emphatically repudiated by the members of the Union.

DEMONSTRATE ON MARCH 6!

The date for the *International Unemployment Demonstration* has been changed to March 6. All workers, organized and unorganized, employed and unemployed, should demonstrate on March 6!

We are not money mad but



Revolutionary Age cannot develop and grow into a weekly organ unless it receives the most systematic and generous support of comrades thruout the country. The example of the **Downtown Workers Club** of Philadelphia, which just sent in \$15.00, should be followed everywhere. The **Philadelphia Downtown Group** has just gone one step further sending in a check for \$43.000. The **Brooklyn Section** of the New York C.P.-Majority Group held a rousing little social on Saturday, February 15, for the benefit of **Revolutionary Age**. **Section 3 (New York)** has arranged a raffle; so has Chicago. Our **Boston Group** has just handed us a check for \$30.00 the proceeds of a joyous party of fighters for Leninism from the Hub City. Are you doing your share? Your contribution should be your answer.

IN COMING ISSUES:

THE YOUNG PLAN, by Jay Lovestone

SOME QUESTIONS OF FASCISM, by August Thalheimer

UNEMPLOYMENT AND COMMUNIST TACTICS,

by Herbert Zam

AGAIN THE QUESTION OF THE VI CONGRESS,

by M. N. Roy

THE CRISIS IN THE NATIONAL TEXTILE WORKERS UNION, by R. Pires

THE SITUATION OF THE MEXICAN WORKERS IN THE UNITED STATES, by D. R. Ortega

JUST OUT!

The Crisis in the Communist Party of U.S.A.

Price 35c — Bundle orders 5 or more 25c per copy

Order from

RE-V-O-L-U-T-I-O-N-A-R-Y A-G-E

37 E. 28 St.

New York, N. Y.