

# Revolutionary Age

## For Communist Unity in the Revolutionary Class Struggle

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### In Brief

THERE is a line over the whole capitalist world. It is the *breadline*. Japan in the Far East and Turkey in the Near East, Germany and England under Social-democratic leadership, the United States under "democratic" and Italy under Fascist rule, are all hard hit. And the more efficient the capitalism, the more huge the army of no *occupation*—the jobless workers. Dissatisfaction with capitalism, discontent of the toiling masses, hasn't been as widespread the world-over in more than a decade. What we now need most is the conscious, subjective factor, the Communist Parties, operating on a correct, a Leninist line of tactics. This is the only sure road to immediate unemployment relief.

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WHILE MacDonald and Morrow are feeding the dying doves of capitalist world peace, the oil giants of American and British imperialism are locking horns and preparing for a showdown on a world scale. The Standard Oil of New York and the Royal Dutch Shell are the chief opponents. Wall Street is the aggressor. For the moment, the heaviest guns are being fired in the East Indies and India where heavy price-cutting is the order of the day. The battle front will soon include the entire Far East where kerosene is used in huge quantities. Thus, are the fires of the coming imperialist war being built. All the "peace talk" and "agreements" and prayers at London cannot obscure the sinister significance of this ever-sharpening clash. Here Dollar meets Pound and not merely diplomat, diplomat. The serious business of war grows out of just such clashes for markets and not out of empty abstract, pious, "peace" wishes and conferences. Just now much more important developments in Anglo-American imperialist relations are taking place in India than in the London Conference.

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IN the best of days, life is difficult—for the industrial workers in the United States. A study of the causes of death by occupation, made by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., among 3,250,000 policyholders, during 1922-24 brings into bold relief some of the darkest shadows of American prosperity. The stress and strain of prosperity tell heavily on the industrial workers. The latter are exposed to great hazards. The death rates of the industrial workers are found to be higher for all causes. In the case of tuberculosis the death rates among the industrial workers are from 250 to 400% higher than among the professionals, merchants, etc. Pneumonia, accidents, and organic diseases of the heart take two to three times as high a toll among the industrial workers as among the other sections of the population. This is the much-heralded American "economic democracy"!

### ARE YOU IN IT?

Revolutionary Age is conducting a big subscription drive thruout the month of April. One thousand new subs by May First!

Splendid prizes! Read all about it on the last page!

## Thirty Millions to the Steel Trust Not One Cent for Unemployed!

### CP-MAJORITY GROUP FIGHTS UNEMPLOYMENT

FOLLOWING the March 6 unemployment demonstration, Police Commissioner Whalen declared no more open air meetings would be permitted for the Communists. The official Party leadership did nothing to challenge this threat, altho the Party had held open air meetings without interference for years. The Communist Party (Majority Group)  
(Continued on Page 2)

AT a time when over five million workers and their families are suffering from the dreadful wave of unemployment, at a time when the roads are full of men wandering hopelessly from town to town in a desperate effort to get some work, at a time when starvation and misery have hit the working people worse than ever before in recent years, at a time when the government—federal, state, county or municipal—refuses to spend one cent for the relief of the unemployed, the U. S. Treasury Department has announced a refund of 30,000,000

to the United States Steel Corporation on income and profits taxes collected for 1918-1919-1920! According to Representative Garner, Democratic leader of the

House, the Treasury Department is planning to refund nearly \$30,000,000 more to other great corporations!

The generous soul who is giving these millions away to the trusts while the unemployed starve is none other than Andrew Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Mellon is himself a multi-millionaire and one of the biggest trust magnates in the country, directly interested in those corporations to whom the big refunds are being made. On the floor of the House attention was called to the fact that "Uncle Andy's beneficence" was "extended primarily to Pennsylvania companies, chiefly those around Philadelphia and Pittsburgh."

For the working people of this country, especially for the unemployed workers, Mr. Mellon's "generosity" should carry an important lesson. *The government of this country (and all the government officials) are of, by and for the bosses! Bought and paid for! Everything it does is to enrich and strengthen the big trusts. It will do nothing for the workers except help the bosses exploit them more. Whatever the workers can get out of the government they can only get as a result of their organized might. Only by putting up a strong organized fight can the working people win better conditions for themselves from the bosses and the government. For the unemployed workers we must demand immediate relief—and what is more we must organize to fight for it—all of us, employed and unemployed, organized and unorganized! A united front of labor to fight against unemployment and for the demands of the unemployed!*

### YOUNG COMMUNIST GETS FIVE YEARS PRISON!

The brutal vengeance of the bosses against all militant young workers is shown in the sentencing of Harry Eisman, member of the Young Communist League, to five years in the Hawthorn Reformatory after a sham trial in the Children's Court before Judge Young. The pretext of the reactionaries was Eisman's participation in the March 6 demonstration in New York City.

Eisman had recently returned from the state reformatory where he had served six months for taking part in an anti-Boy Scout demonstration.

The Young Communist League (Majority Group) has announced its support of the campaign to mobilize the young workers of this city to fight for the immediate and unconditional release of Harry Eisman.



## Elizabeth Gurley Flynn Greets Revolutionary Age!



I am glad to greet the "Revolutionary Age." I regret that my prolonged ill-health has kept me rather out of touch with recent developments in the movement. But when I read: "The new Revolutionary Age will begin to carry articles that will interest the average worker and in a language that the worker understands," I said to myself: Three cheers for that! I hope you will really keep this good resolution. The growth and sticking powers of the I. W. W. at its best were possible because it sprang from American conditions, dealt with the problems and spoke the language of the American workers.

Write in plain English, American style preferably, and your increased subscription lists will measure your readers' appreciation. It would not be half so hard to interest the workers in the revolutionary movement if we used intelligible language. The fault lies with us.

Let us have the facts and a simple, logical interpretation from the viewpoint of the class struggle. If Prof. Robert Millikan can write about atoms so a layman can read, if two New York doctors can write a "Who's Who Among the Microbes" as absorbing as any novel, surely we can present the needs of solidarity, organization and emancipation from capitalism, that will inspire to action. If we cannot, we are the failures, not the workers.

Eliminate abuse, vituperation and lengthy dissertations on internal disputes and the paper will be read more eagerly thruout the country. Do not  
(Continued on Page 2)







# BUILDING SOCIALISM in the SOVIET UNION

## Defend the Soviet Union!

**B**ETWEEN the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (USSR) and the capitalist world there is a chronic state of hostility. They represent two economic, political and social systems that are directly opposed to each other: one a system of, by and for the *workers and poor farmers* and the other a system of, by and for the *bosses, bankers and landlords*. For the capitalist world the mere existence of the USSR is a great danger because it is a living lesson to the workers of how freedom from capitalism can really be won. The millions of oppressed people in the colonies look to the Soviet Union for inspiration in their struggle for liberation from the yoke of imperialism. Moreover, with its great progress of industrialization and agricultural collectivization, the Soviet Union is rapidly becoming a serious rival of the capitalist powers on the world market. For all of these reasons, and for many others, it is as clear as daylight that the one object upon which all of the imperialist powers are agreed no matter how much they differ on everything else is: *The Soviet Union must be destroyed!*

The chief imperialist powers may differ as to the methods or plans for the attack against the USSR since each desires to carry thru such an attack upon the basis of its own imperialist aims but basically they are as one in their desire to destroy their common enemy—the proletarian state. That is why the danger of an imperialist attack upon the Soviet Union is permanent and chronic. It can only come to an end with the final overthrow of world capitalism itself. The permanent peaceful coexistence of the two antagonistic systems is impossible.

But while the danger of an imperialist offensive against the USSR is permanent and chronic, there are times when the special situation makes this danger immediate and acute. We all remember the time of the Arcos raid in 1926. We remember the Soviet-Chinese crisis in connection with the Manchurian-railway. And now in the last few weeks a new attack upon the Soviet Union has been in preparation. Every agency of capitalism has been put to work to create the "proper basis" for this attack. The London Conference talks about "consultation in the event of any disturbance likely to threaten the peace." Diplomatic relations are being broken and strained (Mexico, France, England). The Pope and bishops and rabbis have suddenly become the champions of "religious liberty" against the "barbarous Soviets!" In truth, a holy alliance!

The danger of an attack upon the USSR still remains acute. What would such an attack mean to the workers of America? It would mean that the workers and farmers of this country will be drafted and sent out to kill their Russian fellow-workers who are defending their revolution and the benefits this revolution has brought to the Soviet masses. An attack upon the USSR is an attack upon the workers of all countries, the strengthening of reaction, a crushing blow to the labor movement. The workers of all countries must remember that the defence of their own interests as a class means the defence of the Soviet Union against world imperialism!

The workers of America must fight against every attempt to drum up a war sentiment against the USSR. The Soviet workers do not want war. They

want peace in order to be able to carry thru the gigantic plans of Socialist construction. The Russian workers and peasants want peace so that they can throw all their energies into the great task of realizing the Five-Year Plan and laying the basis for a rapid march forward to Socialism. We American workers and the workers of the whole world, must close our ranks and stand by the USSR and defend it against the blows of world imperialism!

The United States of America is the only big capitalist country that has not yet recognized the Soviet Union. The reactionary forces are doing their best to hinder even trade relations between the USSR and this country. The American workers must demand the immediate recognition of the USSR and the granting of long term credits for the building up of Soviet industry. This step will also provide work in those American factories that supply the Soviet Union with machines, tools and materials and will thus open up jobs for thousands of unemployed.

American workers! The Soviet Union is not merely the country of the Russian workers and farmers. It is the country of the workers and farmers, of the toilers of the world over! Stand by the Soviet Union! Defend the Soviet Union!

## On the Situation in the C.P.S.U.

1. The crisis in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has the same objective source as has the general crisis in the Comintern—the gap that has developed between the successful proletarian revolution in the USSR and the retardation of the revolution in the capitalist world. But precisely because of this gap the crisis is not manifested in the same form in the CPSU as in the capitalist countries: neither the political issues nor the fractional groupings are the same. In no sense is the international opposition movement based upon the issues or groupings in the CPSU nor does it find its counterpart in any of these groupings. In fact the attempt at mechanical extension of the factional struggles and groupings in the CPSU on an international scale is one of the manifestations of the crisis in the Comintern.

## New Methods of Collectivization

**I**n accordance with the line recently laid down by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Council of Peoples Commissars (which corresponds to the cabinet in the Soviet government) has issued new regulations in the drive to put peasant agriculture on a collective basis (collectivization). The most important of these regulations follow:

1. The entry of peasants into the collectives should take place thru persuasion and conviction; there should be no enforced entry.
2. The successes already gained should be consolidated thru stressing the value of the *artel* (a loose form of the agricultural collective in which farm implements, etc. remain private property.)
3. Artels must not be transformed into *communes* (a tight form of agricultural collective in which everything is collective property) without official approval; cottages, live stock, etc. must not be pooled by force.
4. The cases of persons deprived of

## The 5-Year Plan and Collectivization

(From *Gegen den Strom*, theoretical organ of the German Communist Opposition).

THE current second year of the Five-Year Plan is decisive for the carrying thru of the tremendous transformation of the economy of the Soviet Union. At the same time, it shows what difficulties the Russian working class has to overcome. The first quarter of the new economic year (October to December 1929) shows a lag in important branches of industry as compared to the plans as foreseen. This condition has lasted into January.

It would be false to draw the conclusion from this lag behind plan that the Five-Year Plan has failed in its execution. The necessity for controlling very carefully the carrying thru of the plan arises largely from the fact that the achievements of industry determine the further progress of collectivization in agriculture. Without iron there can be no tractors or plows, without tractors or plows there can be no further development of collective economy!

The outstanding characteristic of the immediate situation in Russia is the transformation of agriculture, collectivization. The struggle taking place today upon the land is the second act of the Socialist Revolution in the Soviet Union, the penetration of the revolution upon the soil. The Socialist revolution in the

## Barrikaden in Detroit

In Detroit, the Ford metropolis, demonstrators participated in the demonstration. More than 120,000 workers marched in solid ranks. The words of the Communist speakers were lost in the storm of enthusiastic shouting and in the strains of the International from hundreds of thousands of throats. After the meeting the masses, undaunted by the police prohibition, marched in determined demonstration towards City Hall. The first police cordons were broken thru. Irresistibly the mass moved forward.

New York's Zörgiebel Bloody Battle in the vicinity of City Hall the demonstration was met by an army of police, 25,000 strong, equipped for war. The demonstrators refused to

ttempted to force a settlement, because, according to the constitution of the Brotherhood compulsory equal division of work was not provided for. It was Comrade Perlow who led the fight against the officials and defeated their proposals.

Now I must confess I had numerous illusions regarding the Party's attitude to the struggles of the workers. The loyalist striker, Comrade Kutcher left the strike because he had been demoralized by the actions of the Party. Nevertheless I felt it necessary to call him and I said to him: "The strike is in a difficult position; the reactionary union officials are ready to come in as the saviors of the strike and capitulate to the bosses. There is a good basis to organize the TUUL group and I am ready to do everything possible to accomplish this." The loyalist accepted the proposal and after approaching the TUUL telephoned me to come to the District Office. I came and repeated the same to Sazer. But he had one reply: "You are a Lovestonite and we will not work with you." Will Comrade Sazer deny it? It was on Saturday February 8. On February 11 the TUUL distributed a leaflet to our strikers calling them to a meeting. Altho I was bitterly attacked in the leaflet, I called on the workers to come with me to the meeting. The policy proposed by Sazer for the TUUL was: 1) Don't go back to the strike hall. 2) Declare yourself as a new "industrial union of furniture workers." 3) The TUUL will take over the leadership of the strike.

At this meeting the strikers maintained that to do so meant that these workers not present at the meeting would go back to work with the sanction of the union. The locals would reject our ac-

- land and civil rights must be reviewed; errors in this respect committed against middle peasants (poor farmer employing no labor but owning some stock) and former fighters for the Red cause, teachers, Red soldiers and sailors and their families must be corrected.
5. While firmly maintaining the rule about the exclusion of kulaks and persons deprived of civil rights from the collectives, exemption must be made in the case of families of teachers and Red fighters on condition that they give a guarantee for their families.
6. Markets must not be closed and local bazaars reopened; there must be no hampering of sales by peasants, including members of collectives, in these markets and bazaars.
7. All peasants, whether members of the collectives or not, are not to be hindered in leaving the villages for "seasonal work" in construction camps, fisheries and the like.
8. The leaders of the collectives are to be selected from the members of the collectives themselves.

## „Noch nie hat Neuyork eine solche Schlacht erlebt“

Gewaltige Massendemonstrationen am 6. März in ganz Amerika — Eine halbe Million in Neuyork — Die Geburt der kommunistischen Massenbewegung

Neuyork, 7. März. Der Verlauf des 6. März in den Vereinigten Staaten hat die höchsten Erwartungen übertraffen. Die Teilnehmerzahl ist zahllos geschätzt: „Noch nie hat man in America so etwas erlebt.“

In Neuyork beteiligten sich etwa eine halbe Million Arbeiter an den Kundgebungen. Mehr als 120 000 Arbeiter beteiligten sich allein im Zentrum. Die Kundgebungen hüllten den ganzen Ort ein. Eine Stunde vor der auf die Mittagszeit angelegten Kundgebung war der Nieuw-York nach bürgerlichen Schätzungen von etwa 140 000 Demonstranten besetzt. Alle Plätze und Passagen der Umgebung waren von diesen Demonstranten überfüllt.

Die Worte der kommunistischen Redner gingen unter dem Sturm begeisteter Sätze und im außerordentlich dröhendem Getöse der „International“.

„Der Bürgermeister tanzt, die Arbeiterjungen frieren“

Nach der Kundgebung gegen die Massenunheimlichkeit am 6. März in den Vereinigten Staaten ist die Politik in allen Ländern der Welt ein Thema zum Gespräch. Die ersten Kundgebungen wurden im Zentrum der Städte in allen Ländern durchgeführt. In den ersten Reihen erschienen die Frauen — farbige, schwarze. Wichtige Transporte zogen hinter sich über den Strand. Die Kundgebungen wurden durch den Sturm von den Demonstranten überfüllt, und die Kundgebungen wurden durch den Sturm von den Demonstranten überfüllt.

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## The Regime of Bluff

The Berlin *Rote Fahne*—central organ of the Communist Party of Germany—describes in its issue of March 8 the events of March 6 in America in the following manner on the basis of a cable dispatch from the U. S. A.:

„NEVER DID NEW YORK SEE SUCH A BATTLE“

Powerful Mass Demonstrations on March 6 all over America—Half a Million in New York—The Birth of the Communist Mass Movement.

New York, March 7.—The events of March 6 in the United States have surpassed the most optimistic expectations...

In New York half a million workers participated in the demonstration. More than 120,000 workers marched in solid ranks...

The words of the Communist speakers were lost in the storm of enthusiastic shouting and in the strains of the International from hundreds of thousands of throats.

After the meeting the masses, undaunted by the police prohibition, marched in determined demonstration towards City Hall. The first police cordons were broken thru. Irresistibly the mass moved forward...

The Communist Party of the United States has thru these events risen to the position of recognized leader of broad masses of the American proletariat. The 6 of March signifies the birth of the Communist mass Party in the United States...

## A Black Page in the History Of the New Line

By MAX PERLOW

**T**HE workers who have built up the *Freiheit* and the *Daily Worker* as organs of the Communist Party, as organs of uncompromising struggle against the reformist platitudes and misleadership of the Socialist Party and the A. F. of L. reactionary clique, as organs laying the basis for a broad class struggle movement, are now amazed at the new turn of events. They cannot understand what has happened. They fail to see the numerous "victories" nor are they satisfied with the bumper crop of "traitors" and "renegades" which the Party is producing.

Why is this so? Because the "new line" of the Party has nothing to do with the actual realities of American working class life. It is the "renegades" who are drawing the attention of the workers to the actual conditions. That's why the Party resorts to lies and slanders and attempts to discredit and destroy the influence of the "Lovestonites".

The best illustration of the Party course can be found in the attitude to the Furniture strikers and to the secretary of the strike committee. In this strike the new leadership forgot that there is such a thing as a capitalist class, that there are bosses and a right wing, reactionary union officialdom. They remembered only one thing—a "Lovestonite" was the leader of the strike. That's why they disregarded the struggle of the workers against the boss under a rank and file leadership. That is why

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tion and we would remain with a few Communists in the new "union." The strikers proposed that the TUUL should help us in the strike and should simultaneously develop a broad TUUL group in the union.

Thursday, February 13, the business agent reported to the strikers that the firm would not take back more than eighteen workers. The report was such as to indicate that the strike was lost. Other motions were made of which one was to call off the strike. I at that time sharply attacked the Union officials. I insisted that their threats of expulsion would not help them; that since the union officials do nothing we would apply to the TUUL. The workers voted for the motion and a committee including myself was elected.

On Friday, February 14 when the TUUL representatives came to our meeting, the business agent protested and demanded that they leave the hall. Despite threats of expulsion this motion was carried. The chairman resigned and the business agent left the hall. I was elected chairman and the TUUL representative spoke at the meeting. I spoke for the TUUL and against the national and local officials of the union. A strike committee including myself was elected and it looked as tho all would go well, but what happened? Instead of applying themselves to the organization of the strike, the new leadership immediately began to play the cheapest kind of politics. A lying and provocative report of the meeting appeared in the Party press. They made a "Lovestone" issue of it. The strikers were supposed to have become genuine supporters of the Comintern Address and were supposed to have condemned Lovestone.

On Saturday, February 15, the strike Committee came to Sazer and demanded that he deny the report printed in the *Daily Worker*. Sazer flatly refused.

On Monday, February 17, the strikers came to the shop expecting to see the mass picket line promised by the TUUL. But there was no picket line. The union officials, behind our back, had already settled the strike and the return of the workers to the shop followed soon.

At the next shop meeting the situation was thoroughly discussed. The strikers knew where the responsibility for defeat lay. They condemned on the one hand the official agents and the lying articles in the *Freiheit* and *Daily Worker*.

Now I wish to establish a few facts! 1) I am now under charges in the Union for the struggle I led against the A. F. of L. officials. 2) I am one of those who was excluded from the shop. 3) When I criticized the settlement and attacked the A. F. of L. officials, the loyalists united with those officials in the struggle against me. 4) The two loyal Party members deserted the strike.

These are the facts. The *Freiheit* and *Daily Worker* call me provocateur and scab. I want to place the following challenge: Let a committee of workers be set up. This committee should call together the strikers and ascertain the facts. If it is proven that one tenth of one per cent of what the *Freiheit* and *Daily Worker* said about the strike is true, I will accept any penalty that the TUUL will place upon me.

The Party and the Party press showed in this strike their complete political bankruptcy. With such methods as they used, workers are driven away from the Communists and left wing movement. They are undermining and destroying the prestige of the Party and the CL. It is the bounden duty of all Party comrades and revolutionary workers to protest against this political chicanery. Revolutionary workers must not lose courage because of a group of political swindlers. The revolutionary workers must join us in our efforts to correct the harmful policies of the Party, to raise the prestige of the Party and Comintern and for the development of a really Communist and left wing movement in the United States.



# Big Subscription Drive On!

1,000 New Subs by May Day!

EVERY MEMBER A SUBSCRIBER!

GET A SUB FROM A PARTY MEMBER OR A FELLOW WORKER!

*Revolutionary Age* is a paper worthy of the Communist Party (Majority Group) and of the revolutionary movement in this country. In its new form it will be able to reach all workers and win them over to the revolutionary cause. Every supporter of the CP-Majority Group, every reader of *Revolutionary Age* must immediately begin an intensive campaign among the Party members, among his fellow workers in the shop and organization, among his friends to get new subscriptions and readers for *Revolutionary Age*.

In order to carry out the tasks of this drive you—every reader of *Revolutionary Age*—must do the following immediately:

1. Become a subscriber to *Revolutionary Age* yourself.
2. Get at least one subscription from a Party member, fellow-worker or friend. Canvass all Party members and friends in your neighborhood. Appeal to your fellow-workers in your shop or organization. Distribute sample copies among them.
3. Pay for a subscription for some Party member or for some friend or fellow-worker.

\* \* \*

When you get a subscriber see to it that the sub card is mailed in to the office immediately and that you turn in the money for the sub without delay. Do not carry around the sub card and money in your pocket for weeks before turning it in to the office.

Do not take the road of least resistance by selling the 50c trial subs. Sell these only as a last resort. Try to sell the yearly and half-yearly subs.

\* \* \*

The campaign for 1,000 subs will end on May Day. In order to stimulate the sub drive and to create competition among the comrades, *Revolutionary Age* has decided to offer the following prizes to the five comrades who obtain the largest number of subs for *Revolutionary Age* in the period of the campaign. A 50c sub counts 1; a \$1.00 sub counts 2; a \$2.00 sub counts 4.

FIRST PRIZE:—A beautiful Russian bronze bust of Karl Marx. It is the only one of its kind in this country.

SECOND PRIZE:—A beautiful large framed and autographed photograph of C. E. Ruthenberg, founder of the Communist Party in the U. S. A.

THIRD PRIZE:—Two volumes of the collected works of Lenin—"1917."

FOURTH PRIZE:—*Historical Materialism*, by N. Bukharin. The recognized authoritative work on the theoretical foundations of Communism.

FIFTH PRIZE:—*The Illustrated History of the Russian Revolution*.

In addition to these prizes all comrades who bring in at least \$10.00 worth of subs will each receive

A Bound Volume of the First Ten Issues of *Revolutionary Age*.

These volumes are beautifully bound in blue buckram cloth and sell at \$2.00 each. These bound volumes given as prizes will be autographed by the leading comrades of our movement.

\* \* \*

Get your supplies from the local organizations of the CP-Majority Group or write direct to the office.

## Get into the Drive!

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## Shall We Fight for Legality?

By BERT MILLER

"Inexperienced revolutionaries often think that legal means of struggle are opportunist, for the bourgeoisie often (especially in 'peaceful' non-revolutionary times) use such legal means to deceive and fool the workers. On the other hand they think that illegal means in the struggle are revolutionary. This is not true. What is true is that the opportunists and traitors of the working class are those parties and leaders who are unable, or who do not want . . . to apply illegal means to the struggle . . . But those who cannot coordinate illegal forms of the struggle with legal ones are very poor revolutionaries."

Lenin—*Left Wing Communism*.

Contrary to the established principles of the Communist movement, we find the official leadership of the Party falling down completely in the task of fighting against the forces of reaction, which are seeking to again drive the Party underground. In fact there is every appearance of a tendency in the Party to welcome a state of illegality as vindicating the official theory that we are confronted in the United States today, with an immediate revolutionary situation, that American imperialism tottering in its final basic crisis.

When Mr. Whalen publicly announced that there would be no more open air meetings by the Communists, the Party made no attempt to challenge this threat. Instead of mobilizing the full strength of the Party and the working class to fight for its right to open existence, the Party has already put units on an illegal footing. The slogans issued by the Party bristle with such bombastic and untimely phrases as "Down with the government!" "Fight the police!" "Fight for the streets!", which would be appropriate for a period of immediate mass revolt. They have played into the hands of the reactionaries. How ridiculous and suicidal this policy appears when compared with Lenin's sage counsel:

"Openly to tell the enemy, who is now better armed than we are, whether or not we shall fight him, is stupidity and not revolutionism . . . To accept battle when this is obviously profitable to the enemy, and not to oneself, is a crime."

The enemies of the Party have been quick to reap full benefit from the Party's ruinous policy. Taking advantage of the Party's unrealistic and empty slogans and its increasing isolation from the mass of the workers a terrific attack has been opened against the Party by the reactionaries. Hall and public squares are being barred to Party meetings. Leaders of the Party are being jailed under serious charges and held incommunicado and the Party finds itself unable to mobilize a broad mass movement in its own defense. A spy system was instituted to infest and disrupt the Party's ranks. Communists are being threatened with discharge from their place of employment and with deportation from the country. In fact an impetus and an

excuse has been given for a wave of reactionary attack upon the foreign born, upon the right of free speech and assembly upon the unions, upon the working class as a whole. Not only the Party, but the working class as a whole has suffered a severe setback, involving the loss of gains established thru years of stubborn struggle since the days of Daugherty and Palmer.

How does it happen that the present leadership appears to welcome illegality so warmly? First, it helps to corroborate their estimate of the "present revolutionary situation." Second, it gives the Party bureaucracy a better whip over the membership, less opportunity for discussion, for troublesome questions as to policy, a better excuse for the complete abrogation of Party democracy—what little there is left. Third, it is but a further step in the Party's path toward economism, the abandonment of any real political struggle covered up with the most empty phrases about "political mass strikes." This is indicated by the Party's refusal to take up the fight against the registration of the foreign born, the dropping of the Labor Party campaign and by the complete lack of activity in the last election campaign. These are not accidental. They are part of a line. They are part and parcel of the wrong estimate of the present condition of American imperialism and the problems of the American working class.

Is it true that the American capitalist class is at present in such a state of collapse that it must cast aside its mask of democracy and show its hideous face more openly? It is not! Mayor Jimmy Walker can still afford to wisecrack delegations of the unemployed on occasions when he finds this more advisable than clubbing. The capitalist class can still afford to prate about free speech and maintain the illusion of democracy before the workers, in other words maintain "a general assertion of liberty, and a proviso whereby the liberty is denied" (Marx). This mask must be stripped from the ugly face of American capitalism. We must learn "to trip the bourgeoisie upon their own words utilizing the apparatus created by them" (Lenin).

It is therefore our job, as Communists, to learn how to expose the myth of capitalist democracy, by utilizing to the utmost such legal possibilities as street corner meetings, public hearings, the press, the right to picket, etc. and where these rights are limited or denied, we must be able to rally the widest possible support in order to maintain our right to legality. The present sectarian, isolationist line of the Party leadership can only hinder this struggle. Once again it becomes necessary to remind the party of the memorable words of Comrade Ruthenberg regarding *The Legalization of the Communist Movement*:

"The Communists have no particular love for the underground life or for working in secret. They have nothing to hide. They desire nothing more than to proclaim their principles openly and publicly."

## Is This in the Spirit of Lenin?

THE readers of *Revolutionary Age* are already acquainted with the disgraceful procedure in connection with the "celebration" of Stalin's 50th birthday which Stalin and the Party apparatus compelled the Party to carry out. We wish to give an additional sample of the shameful excesses to which this has gone.

The State Publishing House has just published a book whose main aim is to replace Lenin by Stalin. It is 270 pages in length and sells for 30 kopecks (15 cents), a ridiculously low price for a book of this size. To make sure that a large number workers will be reached, 300,000 copies have been issued. Here is a partial list of the contents:

"The Bulwark of Bolshevism" by Kalinin; "Stalin and Industrialization" by Kuybishev; "Stalin and the Party" by Kaganovich; "Stalin and the Red Army" by Voroshiloff; "Stalin, the Leader of the Comintern" by Manuilsky; "Stalin and the Bolshevization of the Sections of the Comin-

tern" by Kuusinen; "The Theoretician and Practical Worker" by Krumin; "Stalin, the Theoretician of Leninism" by Adoratzky; "Stalin and the National Minorities Policies of the Leninist Party" by Popov; "The Iron Bolshevik" by Orjonikidze; "The Steel Soldier of the Bolshevik Guard" by Mikoyan; "Leninist, Organizer and Leader" by Bubnov; "Stalin Continues the Work of Lenin" by Saweliev. We leave it to the Party membership and revolutionary workers to judge whether such disgusting idolization is in the spirit of Lenin—and of Communism!

JUST OUT!

### REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH

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