

Revolutionary Age

For Communist Unity in the Revolutionary Class Struggle

VOL. 1.
NUMBER 20.

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

OCT. 1, 1930.
10c A COPY

WHO RULES AMERICA?

A Small Group of Millionaires Dominates the Country, Admits James W. Gerard--
Who Are these Rulers of America? -- What the Workers and Farmers Must Do

New Party Forces for Our Group

Passaic Group Issues Declaration—Rotschild Francis Joins
CP-Majority Group—Great Discontent in Party

In a declaration laying bare the ruin wrought in Passaic within the last year by the new course of the Party and proclaiming the necessity for a determined struggle to bring the Party back to its old course, a group of the oldest and best-known comrades in the Passaic Communist movement have announced their adherence to the Communist Party (Majority Group). At the same time, Rotschild Francis, the well-known Negro revolutionist, formerly editor of *The Emancipator* in the Virgin Islands, has issued a statement of affiliation to our group. Within the Party also, among comrades who are not yet ready to join our group, there are manifest signs of a growing feeling of conscious revolt against the Party bureaucrats and growing sympathy for our struggle. A group of Party functionaries in one of the largest sections of New York City have sent in a donation of \$10 to help the *Revolutionary Age* fight the attempts of the U. S. government to suppress it. Another group of Party comrades have signed a declaration to the CC protesting why the appeal for unity of the CP-Majority Group to the Party Convention was disregarded and calling for the unification of the Communist forces in this country. In Detroit there is a rising of opposition to Stachel from sources hitherto absolutely "loyal." These manifestations are spreading rapidly all over the country.

The sources of this new movement in the direction of the course of the CP-Majority Group are to be found primarily in: the growing disillusionment with the results of the recent VII Convention

(June 1930) which many well-meaning comrades really believed would "clear up matters and unite the Party" but which, on the contrary, confused and demoralized the Party even more; the uncasiness arising out of the flat failures (practically admitted even by the bureaucrats) of

From Newport, Rhode Island, summer home of America's most powerful multimillionaires, has come a great truth which every worker in this country must ponder. Former Ambassador James W. Gerard, long a member of one of the wealthiest families in the country, has come forward with the frank statement that the United States is ruled only by millionaires. Coming in the midst of a most serious unemployment crisis, this boast deserves the most careful scrutiny by all workers.

Mr. Gerard has declared that 64 men rule the wealthiest capitalist country in

ed States is ruled by 100 big capitalists. But today, nobody challenges such a statement. On the contrary, Mr. Gerard is hailed as a great truth-teller. This new attitude reflects the decisive power of financial capital, of the biggest bankers, today.

* * *

First and foremost, of course, comes John D. Rockefeller, Jr. He is followed by Andrew W. Mellon and J. P. Morgan, Ford, Schwab, Farrell, of the U. S. Steel Corporation; Atterbury, of the Pennsylvania Railroad; Raskob, of the General Motors; the DuPonts; Young, of the General Electric; Lamont of J. P. Morgan & Co.; Insull, of Public utility fame; Guggenheim, the copper king; Ochs, of New York Times; Hearst, McCormick, of the Chicago Tribune; Wiggin, of the Chase National, the world's biggest bank; and the Fisher brothers are among the outstanding figures of the 64 rulers of the United States.

These individuals have a stranglehold on the credit supply, on the basic raw materials, on the means of communications and transportation, on the biggest industries of the country, on the means of directing and molding the thinking and ideas of the country. These individuals dominate the biggest banks, the telephone, telegraph, and radio industries, the automobile industry, the newspaper and motion-picture industries, and the bulk of the organized trade union movement. In their ranks we have the mightiest collection of kings the world has ever seen. There are coal kings and steel kings, gold monarchs and lumber kings and oil tyrants, and all other kinds of potentates.

An even better insight into the correctness of the statement that these 64 men are the chief rulers of the United States is to be found in the fact that *these individuals control amongst themselves more than 800 directorates in the country's leading banks, mines, manufacturing, universities, oil concerns, libraries, and communication and transportation corporations.* Some of these individuals try to hide the number of directorships they hold. Some of them have their directorships in the name of other members of the family. This is the case with John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who, as can be seen from the record of Percy Rockefeller, controls at least 70 directorships in the most powerful financial, commercial, and industrial institutions of the country. Among the biggest holders of directorships are: Mr. E. W. Hill, who controls 79 such directorships; Mr. Mellon, thru his brother, nearly 50; Chas. S. Hayden, 63; Berwind, 43; D. G. Gossler, 50; Schwab, 21; Wiggin, 42; Insull, 28; etc.

The heavy hand of domination by these 64 reaches out to nearly every country in the world. Thus we find a Rockefeller serving as director of the Chile Copper Co., the Dutch Guiana Gold Co., and the Montreal Industrial Land Co.; George F. Baker, director of the International General Electric; John D. Ryan, of the Chile Copper Co.; Chas. Hayden, of the Cuban Portland Cement; Sosthenes Behn of the Compania Telefonica

Revolutionary Age in Danger!

For the first time since its foundation in November 1929, the REVOLUTIONARY AGE has been forced to miss two issues. At the time when the events on a world scale and in the United States require more than ever the regular and frequent appearance of a paper like the REVOLUTIONARY AGE to give a clear revolutionary answer to the many difficult problems facing the Communist and labor movements of this country, the REVOLUTIONARY AGE was unable to make its regular appearance and over a month had to pass without an issue of our paper. This is a serious blow to our movement and must be recognized as such by all readers of our paper and by all members of and sympathizers with the Communist Party (Majority Group) and by all militant workers. **THIS MUST NOT HAPPEN AGAIN!**

It WILL happen again and worse—unless real help comes from our readers and immediately! In New York a group of active Party functionaries, still in important Party positions, have donated \$10 to save our paper. The Brooklyn Bakers Local No. 3 of the Amalgamated Food Workers of America, in spite of the resistance of some misled Party members and some backward workers, donated \$25 (and also \$10 in subs) while the Manhattan Bakers Local No. 1, under similar circumstances, donated \$25. Other groups of workers and organizations are sending in some money—but far, far from enough!

The REVOLUTIONARY AGE is in danger! What are you going to do about it? Let your answer be **DEEDS NOT WORDS!** If you are a member of the CP-Majority Group, rush in you \$10-tax! Send in donations! Make collections in your organizations! Circulate the REVOLUTIONARY AGE FIGHTING FUND LISTS! Get subscriptions! Rush financial help!

WE DEPEND ON YOU!

the August 1 and September 1 demonstrations; the further collapse of the trade union work of the Party, especially the dissolution of the NMU and the disintegration of the NTWIU; the Gastonia bail-jumping scandal; the continued removal of old and reliable functionaries from the Party and their replacement, very frequently, by irresponsible and unreliable elements and even by stool pigeons (Irving Weiss); and finally the disquieting news of the economic situation in the Soviet Union as a result of the false policies and methods of the Stalin clique. All of these developments have served to expose the real nature of the new course and to convince more and more comrades of the correctness of our struggle.

The situation is favorable for the strengthening of our group. The members and supporters of the CP-Majority Group must take advantage of this opportunity, form close connections with the masses of the Party members, and broaden and deepen the stream in our direction—in the direction of the struggle to reunite our Party and restore it

(Continued on Page 2)

NOTICE! NEW ADDRESS!

By the time this issue reaches its readers, the National Office of the Communist Party (Majority Group), the editorial office of the REVOLUTIONARY AGE, and the headquarters of the New Workers School will have been transferred to

63 MADISON AVENUE
near 27th St., first floor

The new headquarters are considerably larger than the premises we have had hitherto. We have found it necessary to increase the size of our headquarters primarily in order to be able to accommodate the New Workers School, which opens its second term in October of this year.

Nacional de Espana (Spain), Compagnie des Telephones Thompson-Houston (France), Havana Docks Corp.; Owen D. Young of the Societe Financiere pour le Developpement de l'Electricite; Swope of the British Thompson-Houston Limited of London, and the Societe d'Electricite de Mecanique of Brussels; Mitchell of the Banque Nationale de la Republique d'Haiti; Guggenheim, of the Chilean Consolidated Nitrate Co.; E. W. Hill, the Empresa Electrica de Ecuador, etc. etc.

This is only a slight indication of the dominant world position now occupied by the American ruling class. Throughout Europe, Asia, Latin America, and even in Africa these American capitalist titans wield tremendous power.

The 64 rulers named by Mr. Gerard present to us a cross section of the American government, of capitalist democracy in the United States. First of all, finance capital has the upper hand. And it's a heavy hand! The hegemony of finance capital runs thru the list of 64 like a red thread. The tentacles of this financial octopus strangle all resources of the country.

Gerard's kingly list illustrates picturesquely the fusion, the merging, of the apparatus of the government with the machinery of the biggest business interests of the country. It is very significant that the technicians, the professionals, the engineers, the scientists are entirely left out of Mr. Gerard's picture. Some liberals and even some Communists (Foster, Bittelman, Browder, Dunno, in their theory of "Capitalist efficiency Socialism" and the bourgeoisieification of the American working class) have for some time entertained the ridiculous theory that the technicians, the engineers and the efficiency experts constitute a sort of "a new class" in the United States and are more and more becoming real rulers of the country. It is interesting to note that the trade union bureaucracy is adequately represented thru Mr. Green and Mr. Wolf. These are the outstanding lieutenants of Wall Street in the ranks of the American labor movement. The movies, the foundations, the universities, the real forces in the churches, are all well represented here.

In these 64 we have the real government of the country. Ambassador Gerard calls these individuals the actual "power behind the throne." Mr. Gerard frankly stated that the wealth, power and the important industrial and financial positions in the hands of these 64 individuals "give them a permanent influence in American life, whereas statesmen, diplomats, and politicians owe their influence to the offices which they hold and are usually shorn of most of their power when they retire." Mr. Gerard further says: "They themselves are too busy to hold political office but they determine who shall hold such office."

In this respect it is significant that of the 64 only three have participated more or less openly in the affairs of the political parties of the country. These are: Mr. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury and boss of Pittsburgh; Mr. Raskob, as chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and Mr. Insull, active in Middle Western election campaigns. Aneant this phase of American democracy the following remarks of the New York Times of August 24, 1930 are pertinent:

"But America's rulers usually do not 'choose' to run for office. In the first place, the process of appealing for votes is irksome to men who are accustomed to giving orders." Here we have classic proof of the correctness of the theories of Marx. For instance the New York Times thus goes on to comment on this list:

"And in most cases this idea has something to do with so organizing the process of production as to eliminate waste, or the processes of distribution so as to reach the largest possible market. Mr. Ford has conspicuously done both. Industrially speaking, this is the lesson America has to teach England. It is, in short, the American idea."

Correct! In a commodity society, capitalist, society, this is the source of greatness. It is this text which determines the qualifications of the rulers named by Mr. Gerard. Mr. Gerard's conception of the state, of the American government, of American democracy is correct. In his galaxy of rulers we find a complete



SOME OF THE "64"

At the 1930 Annual Commencement of Harvard University: I. P. Morgan in the center; Walter S. Gifford, president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, to the right; President Lowell of the Harvard University to the left.

cross-section of the state, universities, newspapers, banks, the manufacturing, trade union bureaucracy, the special agencies of class collaboration, the means of communication and transportation—in short, the sinews of the capitalist organs of exploitation and oppression.

More than that! The very fact that such a list can be made public so shamelessly, the very fact that it gets such an open, hearty response on the part of the ruling class and its defenders, shows to what extent American capitalist civilization is simply a glorification of the dollar.

In these days of terrific unemployment, in these days of indescribable misery of the masses, in these days of the life-sapping speed-up system when workers are too old to be employed at the age of 40, it is interesting to look into the ages of America's rulers. The oldest ruler is George F. Baker, who is now 90; the youngest is Mr. Walter Gifford, chairman of the American Telephone and Telegraph Co., who is 45. The average age is 56. Here is some food for thought—for every worker. Imagine what happens to the average worker at the age of 58! How many workers, coal miners, oil workers, steel workers, would call themselves and feel themselves young at the age of 45? On the other hand, at the age of 50 or over, the average American big capitalist is still a young man. Young enough to be sent to the Senate! But at the age of 40 the average American worker is so worked to death, his vitality is so sapped, that he is not even considered fit for exploitation and is thrown on the scrap heap of capitalist industry, to be miserable and to starve.

So this is American dollar democracy. Unwillingly, Mr. Gerard, has helped us rip the mask off the fraud and the sham parading as democracy. So this is American dollar democracy! It is only a brutal, a brazen, dollar dictatorship. The United States is "god's own country" for bankers and manufacturers. In its best days, American "prosperity" is prosperity only for the ruling class. The United States government is at all times a strike-breaking government made to order by and for the bosses. Its high tariffs, its huge bonuses and tax funds to the multi-millionaires, its union-smashing practices, its government by injunction, its savage persecution of militant workers, its frame up system, its suppression of the labor press, its lynching of Negroes, its imperialist wars—these are only some of the fruits of American "democracy."

We "thank" Mr. Gerard for bearing out all we have long ago said about Wall Street's democracy. We hope the workers will give the fitting "thanks" in appreciation by so organizing themselves as to destroy the present capitalist ruling class, to uproot capitalism and to establish a genuine Socialist society in the United States. This great goal can be achieved only thru the setting up of working class government, a republic in which those who toil shall rule. This is the only genuine democracy. This is working class democracy. For this democracy we will fight till we win.

Big Wolfe-Mann Debate

An audience of about 500 people heard with enthusiasm to the defence and explanation of Communism by Bertram D. Wolfe in the debate between Comrade Wolfe and Hiram Mann on the subject: "Communism versus Capitalism," held on Friday evening, September 26, 1930 at Park Palace, New York.

The debate was under the auspice of the New Workers School. Comrade Wolfe represented the CP-Majority Group while Mr. Mann spoke for the United Patriotic Society. Roger Baldwin of the Civil Liberties Union, was chairman.

Especially noticeable was the large number of Negro workers and Indians in the audience.

THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE
Is Your Paper?
READ IT!
Subscribe!

New Party Forces for Our Group

(Continued from page 1)
to the road of mass work and revolutionary effectiveness.

DECLARATION of the Passaic Group

The general upheaval that has taken place in the Communist International and in the Communist Parties of the whole world and the USA also, the policy of breaking the Party and all sympathetic organizations, the policy of expulsions and mud-slinging against old, tried and true fighters in the workers cause by the present Party leadership, has hit the city of Passaic, well-known in the class struggle of this country.

Immediately after the Address of the Comintern—which changed the true revolutionary course of our Party into a leftist putschist direction—some comrades in Passaic disagreed and began to fight against this wrong line. Among them were Ellen Dawson, Bessie Bogorad, and others. Many other comrades, while disagreeing with the present Party leadership, remained in the Party in the hope that the CI would soon bring about a change for the better. Still others dropped out in disgust at the tactics employed by the clique at the head of the Party. The net results were that the Party in Passaic was reduced from a strong group of 80 members to about 7 members without any influence whatever among the masses. After having "cleaned out" the Party, the Party wreckers looked into the mass organizations sympathetic to the Party and began their disruptive activity. Comrade Dawson and others were thrown out of the Workers Home, which resulted in the breakup of the Workers Center in Passaic. Many workers who saw or heard of this incident vowed they would never step into such a Workers Home again. Just recently the I.L.D. was reached. The Polish Branch was the strongest and most active. It was a great help in keeping the workers home and was the leader of the Polish workers in Passaic. But the most prominent members and officers of this branch of the I.L.D. happened to disagree with the wrong line of the Party leadership. Thru various manoeuvres, threats and slanders, the Party wreckers succeeded in destroying the I.L.D. Comrades Solar and Keller were expelled, while such comrades as Felton, Kulhary, Kupala, and Wolociewicz were called "fascists", "white guards", etc. in the *Trybuna* (Polish Party paper) because they dared to defend the I.L.D. against disruptive activity.

Under the leadership of Rusko, the Party organizer, the Hungarian Branch of the I.L.D., once the strongest in Passaic with a membership of 500, melted away to zero. Likewise the textile union, which was once a force with considerable membership in Passaic, almost died out completely so that no organization at all exists among the militant textile workers of Passaic. The Young Communist League no longer exists. Lately the manager of the Workers Home made it his business to discourage any young

workers from coming to the Home altogether.

In the face of this situation, a group of comrades came together several times to discuss the situation and decide on the best measures to prevent further destruction and by all means rebuild the movement in Passaic. After several discussions we all agreed that the CP-Majority Group was following the correct Marxist-Leninist line. We therefore decided to join the CP-Majority Group and help to bring back the Communist Party and the Communist International to a correct line. We have already begun our activities and are determined to keep up the fight.

Against sectarianism! For a correct line for the Party! For the winning of the masses to the side of revolution and Communism!

(Signed)

B. Bogorad * — E. Dawson * — S. Felton, S. Gede, Jr. — Kulwahy — Kupala — Keller * — Markovitz — Solar — Wolociewicz — Lamash — Queride.

STATEMENT of Comrade Rotschild Francis

(We publish below the most important sections of the Statement issued by Comrade Rotschild Francis in joining the CP-Majority Group.)

During the month of December last I was sent over to Brooklyn to do organizational work for the American Negro Labor Congress (ANLC) and was introduced to a very energetic Negro comrade. In less than a week the local grew to 28 members. Late last July I returned to Brooklyn to reside permanently sought membership in the Brooklyn section of the Communist Party, in the ANLC and in the I.L.D. On two occasions the city organizer of the ANLC commissioned me to speak at factory gate meetings.

I met the city organizer of the ANLC several times in the home of the comrade referred to above and discussed at length the *Daily Worker*, the ANLC, and the Party. I criticized the reckless policy of the *Daily Worker* wherein facts are distorted and abuse employed against anybody who happens to think contrary to what it advocates. I did not approve of the stereotyped method of approach used by the Party organizers and units towards workers in general and the Negro in particular, and pointed out that the heads of the ANLC were not only impractical when they hoped to wage a successful campaign of organization without a permanent newspaper but that their attempts to dominate the affairs of locals are bureaucratic and also impediments where organizational work is concerned.

(Comrade Francis then goes on to explain how these criticisms of his were immediately brought to the attention of
(Continued on page 6)

*Comrade Bogorad, Dawson and Keller had been members of the CP-Majority Group from almost the beginning of our struggle.

Wage Cut Drive Sweeps Country

So far the Fall seasonal rebound from the low production figures of the Summer are sub-normal. The Stock Market is still moving in a violent, jerky, up and down manner many new lows being reached. Wage cuts are multiplying. No industry is exempt and no section of the country is immune from wage slashes. The textile mills at Spray, N. C. have just cut wages again by 10-11 percent.

In preparation for a national onslaught on the wages of the railroad workers, the biggest railway companies have launched a campaign to plead poverty. Thus, the *Railway Age* recently declared:

"If the passenger business of the railways declines as much in proportion thruout 1930 as it did during the first one-half of the year, the number of passengers carried by them will be the smallest in 25 years, or since 1905; the number of passengers carried one mile will be the smallest since 1907, and their passenger earnings will be the smallest since 1916."

While the capitalist economists are debating when the bottom of the present crisis will be reached, they are already promising that for months after the lowest point has been reached the wage cutting campaign of the bosses will go on. For instance, Goodbody & Co. has just declared:

"In 1921, business reached bottom in April, and yet the average weekly wage of employees in New York State did not hit its low point until the following November."

This corporation goes on to give the "reason" for wage-cutting by emphasizing that: "What seems to happen is that wage reductions remove the psychological factor of fear from the mind of both the enterpriser and the workers."

Among the pace-setters in the wage-slashing drive today are such gigantic corporations as: The General Motors Co., especially thru its subsidiary the Fisher Body Corp., Anaconda Copper Co., Consolidated Coal Co., the biggest in the world, Chrysler Corp., Youngstown Sheet & Tube, Calumet & Hecla Co., and the Union Pacific Railroad.

FINGER PRINTING AND THE FISH COMMITTEE

A little more light as to what the Fish Committee is really after can be had by looking over what's going on in some of the biggest factories in the country. For instance, the *Wright Aeronautical Co.* has already instituted a thoroughgoing finger-printing system. Every workman and workwoman in the Wright plants is being finger-printed in order to insure "competency and loyalty."

The company's officials already say privately—and tomorrow they will say openly—that they "must exercise extreme care to exclude Communists, ex-convicts and undesirable from the plants." Here the cat is let out of the bag. A country-wide blacklist system is being put over. All remnants of unionism are taboo. The open shop is to be the open law and wages are to be slashed to the marrow—if the boss class can have its way. Finger-printing for workers will soon be a written part of the Constitution. That's why the Fish Committee is on the job. That's why Matthew Woll has been whining and barking. And that's precisely why all workers must unite their ranks to beat back the reactionary employing class offensive.

ENGLISH EDITION

International Information of the Communist Opposition

Reliable Information on what is happening in the Communist International and on the development of the International Opposition movement.

Issued monthly—25c
\$2.00 a year \$1 six months
REVOLUTIONARY AGE
37 East 28 Street
New York City

American "Democracy" In the Virgin Isles

by Rotschild Francis

Situated south 20 degrees east and 1,442 miles distant from New York City are the Virgin Islands of the United States (formerly called the Danish West Indies). Of the natives 98% are the descendants of African slaves who in the years of 1733, and 1759 carried on successful uprisings against slaveholders of that period. Slavery was finally abolished on July 4, 1848. For the three main islands St. Croix, St. Thomas and St. John, area about 142 square miles) and several islets the U. S. A. paid to Denmark the sum of \$25,000,000—less than the cost of a modern battleship.

The harbor of St. Thomas, one of the best equipped and most strategic points in the Caribbean Sea, has always been a port of call for ships plying between the West Indies, Europe, North, South and Central America. Sugar, cane-rum, and bay-rum are the staple products of the islands.

Conditions of the Workers

the advent of the steamship and until three years prior to the transfer of the islands to the United States, the Hamburg-American line had its headquarters for the Caribbean Sea at St. Thomas, and with the knowledge and approval of the Danish governors, one of whom was knighted by the Kaiser, it carried on a vicious exploitation of native labor, second only to slavery itself. The conditions in the cane fields of St. Croix or on the plantations of St. John were no better from any standpoint.

Imagine a dock worker receiving only 33c for 10 hours work every day—a cane field laborer, 20c a day—a coal carrier (female) one cent for each basket of coal (112 pounds) carried from dock to ship—and then you'll have an idea as to what the labor situation was in these islands.

The profits extracted from the vicious exploitation of these workers were sent to Europe so that the parasites in Denmark, Germany, England and Ireland might continue to spend their days doing nothing.

Because of the wretched wages of the workers, they were compelled to live in old ram-shackles and to subsist upon a ration of fish and "fungy", the last mentioned stuff being a mixture of cornmeal, salt and water. Pellagra was common. Infantile paralysis increased rapidly and the death rate among adults reached the danger point.

With the advent of American rule there have been no permanent changes for the better along economic lines. Of course, the cane-field laborers now receive 40c a day and the coal carrier 2c a basket, when they get a job, but the cost of food, clothing and shelter has increased in a disproportionate manner. Unemployment is rampant and depopulation is rapid.

On the other hand, infantile mortality and the early death of adults have decreased and reservoirs, modern schools and hospitals have been erected. This is a policy pursued by imperialism the world over. To hide their vicious exploitation of the natives from the masses at home, they assume this hypocritical role of benefactor and in a crocodile manner declare that all they are out for is to inculcate hygiene and teach them how to read and write!

A Harsher Taskmaster

With the hoisting of the American flag there was much rejoicing in the islands which were immediately placed under the control of the Navy Department which sent an admiral there as governor and marines infamous for their wanton massacre of Haitian patriots, as "protectors". The natives dream of economic betterment and political reform did not come true. In their stead marines waged a barbarous campaign of intimidation against the natives, and in this they were ably supported by the Negro-hating judges on the bench. Thru the application of the federal laws to the islands the rum industries were ruined and the principal sugar factories closed, with the result of

unemployment and depopulation.

Against such oppression the native leaders carried on agitation, only to be answered by the navy autocrats with excessive fines and jails, with star-chamber proceedings, long prison terms, dissolution of the colonial councils (legislatures), charges of contempt of court and libel against editors, and so on.

A 1,000-word Organic Act, born during the period of war hysteria, upholding in principle the practices of the former regime, and a code of laws copied verbatim from that of Alaska, with additional provisions to gag the press and protect judges from the slightest criticisms, to limit inhabitants and, with the help of the guns of the U. S. marines, are now employed against any militant who dares to challenge the doings of the powers that be.

The writer of this article, one of the most hated of native militants, was jailed on several occasions because, as an editor, he criticized the brutal manner in which the policemen clubbed a feeble woman, because he opposed the appointment of a judge, because he subsequently denounced his rulings and published a press release of the American Civil Liberties Union in which the judge was charged with malicious persecution.

Today the islands continue to be playgrounds of navy officers, their wives and local supporters while able-bodied men walk the streets unemployed. Life is easy for the agents of imperialism out there. Every morning a band of 16 sailors (Negroes) serenades the governor—officers can afford three servants at \$5 a month each—an ordinary judge of the district court receives \$7,500 a year—policemen or the civilian courts may not arrest or try a marine, no matter what the charge. Natives are now prohibited from bathing in certain places lest, we presume, their black skins spoil the water in which the navy officers and their families choose to bathe in.

The U. S. Congress is not ignorant of these conditions. Several commissions visited the islands. They promised remedial measures and that is as far as they have gone.

Economic conditions have become so acute that Mr. Herbert Brown of the U. S. Bureau of Efficiency, was rushed down there this year to try to get some order out of chaos. For this miracle Congress appropriated the sum of \$144,000! We should remember this when the Hoover apologists start to lie to the Negro voters about their interest in the people of the Virgin Islands.

In the main these islands were purchased for their commercial and strategic value to American imperialism and the imperialists are the last people on earth to worry whether the black people over there eat bread or stones.

For the Liberation of the Virgin Islands

The liberation of the black people of the Virgin Islands from the domination of American imperialism will take place when the workers and farmers of this country overthrow the present capitalist government and establish their own government which will recognize the right of self-determination in all colonies and semi-colonies under American rule. It ought to be plain that the workers of this country should give all possible support to the masses on the islands in their sharp struggle for freedom. It is with this object in view that I wrote this article for publication. I trust the reader will see that here also American imperialism is working true to form—as the oppressor and exploiter of the people.

DON'T MISS IT!

A number of special articles on the problems of the Negro masses in America will appear in the next issue of the *Revolutionary Age*. Be sure you do not miss this issue!

Wall Street 'Revolt' In Argentina

"Washington expresses itself satisfied at the events in Argentina"—"London is anxious over the disturbances in Buenos Aires and thruout the country": these two quotations from the press tell the whole story of the recent Argentinian revolt.

Argentina has hitherto been the strongest base of British capital in South America in its life and death struggle against Yankee imperialism. The former Irigoyen government was extremely friendly to the British and made things very easy for British capital (the D'Avanant treaty) while putting great obstacles in the way of American penetration. British capital dominates the privately owned railway lines and its influence in the state owned lines was also considerable. It also has decisive influence in the wheat and cattle trade of Argentina, which are of tremendous importance. The U. S. A. on the other hand largely dominates the electrical and oil industries. For a long time plotting had been going on on the part of the agencies of American imperialism to get rid of the so-called "Radical party" administration and to replace it by one more favorable to Wall Street. At the same time the unrest and discontent of the masses with the sharpening economic crisis and the growth of unemployment as well as with the administration of Irigoyen dictatorship has been mounting.

Finally the blow fell, the insurrection of the Conservative party (the party favorable to the U. S. A. began and mass discontent was exploited to overthrow Irigoyen. General Uriburu, the leader of the army, set up a "provisional government", that is, a new dictatorship, and set about attaining "law and order" by shooting down the masses. A few days later, both the U. S. A. and Great Britain recognized the new government—curiously enough at exactly the same time.

It is time the Argentinian workers and farmers put an end to these imperialist "revolutions" and throw their forces into a real revolution of the exploited masses against foreign imperialism and the native exploiters and oppressors.

IT NEVER RAINS BUT IT POURS. . .

The old saying runs "It never rains but it pours." That tells sums up the present economic situation. How heavy is the budget of black news of the still deepening economic crisis can be seen from the following items picked at random from the financial columns of the *New York Times* of August 7:

July building awards in 37 states east of the Rockies fell 39% from the previous month and 44% from the total of July 1929; steel ingot production declined half a million tons from June and nearly two million tons for July 1929, the daily pig-iron output for July dropped 15% from the preceding month; the June gross operating income of the Class I railroads dropped 16.9%. It is true 1929 saw extraordinary records. But then the bigger the figures, the bigger the fall—and the bigger the fall, the bigger the blow to American capitalism. All of which reminds us that it is now nearly six months—180 days—since Hoover declared on March 8th that "unemployment would be ended in sixty days." As a false prophet and an empty-promise maker Hoover is unbeatable. It is amazing how much the American working class will stand. Yet there is hope. A year ago millions of workers still dreamed of Hooverian prosperity. Today these dreams have become nightmares. And when the American workers finally have their rude awakening there will be some rude lessons taught the parasitic class whom Hoover now represents in the White House.

THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE

Is In Danger!

Will You Help Save It?

Rush Funds!

Revolutionary Age

Organ of the National Council of the
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A. (Majority Group)
BEN GITLOW, Secretary

JAY LOVESTONE, Editor B. D. WOLFE, Associate Editor
WILL HERBERG, Managing Editor HARRY WINITSKY, Business Mgr.

Published twice monthly by the Revolutionary Age Association, 65 Madison Ave., N. Y. C.
Subscription rates: Foreign: \$3.00 a year—\$1.50 six mos.—Domestic: \$2.00 a year; \$1.00 six mos.
10 cents a copy.
Application for second class entry pending.

VOL. 1, No. 20

OCTOBER 1, 1930

THE WAR CLOUDS GATHER

It wasn't necessary to wait for the returning congressional solons to realize the acuteness of the war danger. The signs of the oncoming imperialist war have for some time been as thick as locusts in a plague.

However, the last month has produced a huge harvest of evidence showing beyond the shadow of any doubt that the danger of another imperialist world conflagration is not only ever-present but is ever-more acute. Painful as it might be to the pacifist indisputable fact remains that capitalist peace treaties are only war masks. Thus above all, the path of the Versailles peace is the shortest road to the impending blowup.

The war mutterings are changing to roars. Never before were the imperialist powers so busy plotting and arming against the Soviet Union, the colonial masses, or against each other. And when Lloyd George, Clemenceau and Wilson looked into the mirrors at Versailles during the last peace conference, they could see not peace heroes but only the caricatures of the demons of the imperialist war of tomorrow. Truly, the terms of the Versailles Treaty were never peace but always war terms. The Versailles Treaty was the first gigantic step toward the coming world war and not the first peace step after the last war.

This explains some of the highly significant war developments of recent weeks. Just this is the real meaning of the speech delivered by Dr. Gottfried Treviranus, Minister for Occupied Areas in the German Cabinet, when he spoke of the Polish Corridor as an "unjust boundary under foreign sovereignty" and that the "German land which today is lost to us will some day be recaptured." The French Minister of War, Maginot, only added fuel to the flames when he simultaneously emphasized that the present French army is too small. The French army maneuvers on the Lorraine borders this year were the biggest the French imperialist clique has engaged in since the last war. Of course, the Balkans are the cockpit of Europe. More than once have the war clouds first gathered darkest here.

Let no one make a mistake about it. German imperialism lost the war—but hasn't lost the peace yet. It is utter folly to consider Germany as a colony. Germany is a first class imperialist power. Only the other day Germany protested against the British imperialist attempts to tighten control on their former African possessions. The German imperialists are today working overtime to overthrow the Versailles Treaty and the Young Plan based on it.

Fascism in Germany is riding in largely on the crest of a wave of opposition to the allied imperialist robber treaty of Versailles. Look at the last German elections. The German answer to the Briand questionnaire for a "United States of Europe" showed the real feeling towards Versailles in the ranks of every section of German imperialism.

But let no one forget that the growing demand for a revision of the Versailles Treaty is not limited to Germany. This demand is only a reflex of the sharpening antagonisms among all the imperialist powers and their puppet "republics". There is no louder advocate of the revision of Versailles than Mussolini, than Italian imperialism, which but yesterday was one of the pillars of the "Paris Peace". Then, how meaningful is the following warning from one of the frankest mouthpieces of Wall Street!

"The one thing that is clear is that the responsibility for maintaining peace in Europe depends now upon the former Allies rather than upon Germany. As long as the injustices of Versailles continue, as long will they keep peace in jeopardy. The Allies can remove the jeopardy whenever they so will." (Commercial and Financial Chronicle, Sept. 13, 1930).

Still, there is an even more powerful factor undermining the whole capitalist Versailles peace edifice with its Young Plan, its International Bank of Settlement, and its sundry debt-payment agreements. This is the economic factor. We have in mind the marked decline in the prices of commodities. This means that all reparations and debts—the final payment of which is always in commodities—are today a far more oppressive and crushing burden on all the vanquished and nearly all the victorious imperialist powers in the last war. This is so because with prices being lower now, the debtors and reparations payers must today turn over to their creditors and reparation receivers much more in commodities than some years ago when the peace or rather last war treaties were first signed.

Before this decisive economic force the imperialist alliances and ententes of yesterday are only a house of cards—blown to all corners by the first strong winds of economic adversity. The very acute world-wide economic crisis is the mightiest force of hastening the next imperialist war. Rolling out of the depths of the present economic crisis, yesterday's war rumblings are today the thunder and lightning of tomorrow's infernal storm and devastation.

Can the impending imperialist war be stopped? Only the international working-class can answer. What will the next imperialist war bring? Will it be the last one? Only the united action of the workers of the world along the path taken by our Russian brothers in abolishing capitalism, in setting up a Soviet Republic, can give a constructive answer to these questions. Otherwise the very technical progress about which capitalism boasts so loudly, the much-vaunted chemical and aeronautical progress, will themselves be the undertakers burying civilization as such.

The Fruits of a False Course

Gastonia Defendants and ILD

The appeal of the Gastonia defendants was rejected by the Supreme Court of the State of North Carolina which sustained the verdict of the lower court according to which the seven workers received sentence totalling to over one hundred years for the "crime" of trying to organize the textile workers of the South.

As soon as it was announced that the North Carolina Supreme Court had sustained the conviction of the militants, the scandalous confusion and irresponsibility with which the ILD and the Party bureaucrats had handled the whole matter became public. It suddenly appeared that the defendants could not be produced, that they had in fact jumped bail. The ILD was in helpless confusion: it promised to "produce the defendants", it "called upon the Communist Party and the National Textile Workers Union to produce the defendants", and so on. Then suddenly the *Daily Worker*, of August 27, 1930 published an editorial endorsing bail jumping in principle and in particular endorsing the bail jumping of the Gastonia defendants. A sensation was produced in labor circles close to the revolutionary movement.

As soon as this became public the Communist Party (Majority Group) issued a declaration denouncing the brutal class verdict of the North Carolina Court and reviewing the mismanagement and false policies of the CP leadership which had wrecked the Gastonia campaign and which had been forced upon the defendants against their will. The statement condemned in the sharpest terms the Party leadership's endorsement of bail jumping in principle and in the Gastonia case, pointing out:

"The new sweeping decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party strikes a heavy blow at the most fundamental interests of the workers.... It affords an excuse to the capitalist government to deny bail or to place prohibitive bail for workers arrested because of their activity in the class struggle...."

The statement explained that for Communists the question of skipping bail cannot be treated by means of a

general rule but must be dealt with in connection with each individual case.

"In this instance we believe that the decision to have the Gastonia defendants skip bail is wrong. It will tend to paralyze all militant strike struggles in the South.... Besides a general policy of jumping bail makes it extremely difficult to raise any funds for bailing out victims of class justice."

At about this time the report appeared, upon the authority of the Civil Liberties Union, that Fred E. Beal and another defendant were returning from Europe to give themselves up to serve their sentences. This brought about a sharp and slanderous attack of the ILD bureaucrats upon the CP-Majority Group and upon Roger Baldwin of the Civil Liberties Union in person as "placing the question of bail money above the lives of the defendants." To this the CP-Majority Group replied:

"We again declare that it is not the desire to avoid losing the bail money but only political considerations that have dictated our policy. It is the ILD which fails to see the basic political issues involved in the latest Gastonia developments. That is why Comrade Engdahl maintains that by 'refunding these contributions'—made for bail—the whole issue would be 'settled!'"

The appeal ends with the words:

"Finally, and above all, we emphasize before the entire working class that it is not yet too late for all working men and working women to rally to the defense of the Gastonia victims in order to save them from hellish dungeons of American 'democracy'.... All workers, all labor organizations, regardless of political or any other differences, should close their ranks to form one powerful united working class front to win the freedom of the brave Gastonia fighters. It is only the united force and might of the workers that can really save the Gastonia defendants.... It is to the workers that we appeal as the real supreme court in this case...."

New Workers School Announces Courses

Applies "Stagger Plan" for Courses—Wednesday & Thursday Reserved for School

The problem of how workers active in the labor movement can find time to take courses to train themselves for more effective activity has at last been solved by the adoption of a "stagger plan" similar to those used to lessen traffic congestion. The New Workers School has requested the Communist Party (Majority Group) to set aside two nights of the week when all of its members will be free from all other activities, in order that they may attend the school. The request was approved and Wednesday and Thursday are now set aside as "school nights". On those nights no other group activities OF ANY DESCRIPTION are to be held. Groups, sections, fractions, committees, etc. are instructed by the National Bureau to meet on other nights of the week so that all of their members, without exception, can take one or more courses. Other labor organizations and workmen's club's sympathetic with the aims of the school and desirous of promoting working-class education among their members, are urged to do the same.

ALL COURSES ON WEDNESDAY AND THURSDAY

In place of scattering its courses over every night of the week and making it impossible for many active workers to take the courses most desirable for their needs, all study courses are scheduled for Wednesday and Thursday nights. The larger headquarters into which the School has moved makes this possible. Only the popular lecture courses are offered on other nights of the week than the two mentioned.

Here is a partial list of the courses offered by the School. They are all scheduled to open in October. Registration is now going on at the new building, 63

Madison Ave., corner 27th Street. Workers should register now for the courses listed below:

1. "The Class War Today"—Jay Lovestone. A series of popular lectures on history in the making. Sunday nights at 8 p. m. Single lectures 35¢ Three months \$2.50.
2. "Fundamentals of Communism"—D. Benjamin. Thursday nights at 7 p. m. Three months \$2.50.
3. "Marxian Economics"—B. Herman. Wednesday night at 7 p. m. Three months \$2.50.
4. "Program of the Communist International"—Herbert Zam. Wednesday nights at 8:15 p. m. Three months \$2.50.
5. "Marxism-Leninism"—Will Herberg. Wednesday nights at 8:15 p. m. Three months \$2.50.
6. "Marxian Philosophy"—Bert Wolfe. Thursday nights at 8:15 p. m. Three months \$2.50.
7. "Social Forces in American History"—Jim Cork. Thursday nights at 7 p. m. Three months \$2.50.
8. "Decisive Battles in American Labor History"—David J. Sapos. Six lectures on Friday nights at 8 p. m. Single lecture 35¢ Fee for the course \$1.50.
9. "English for Foreign Born Workers"—Joe Speare. Wednesday nights at 7 p. m. Three months \$2.50.
10. "Advanced English"—M. Weber. Thursday nights at 8:15 p. m. Three months \$2.50.

The Chinese Revolution and the Peasantry

With the collapse of the Wuhan "left" Kuomintang government as the concentration point of the revolutionary forces in the nationalist movement (1927) and with the crushing of the Soviet insurrection in Canton (November 1927), the Chinese revolution entered a period of deep depression and ruthless persecution. Terror raged thruout the land. The labor unions and peasants organizations were suppressed with incredible cruelty. In the two and a half years that followed over 500,000 men and women were murdered by the militarist tyrants for activity in behalf of the masses. Every form of labor struggle, every attempt to better the conditions of the peasants, every effort on behalf of the city poor (the artisans, the small merchants, the students), every manifestation of militant anti-militarist activity was as brutally suppressed by the Kuomintang government of Chiang Kai-shek as by the semi-feudal despot, Chang Hsueh-liang, of Manchuria.

At the same time the collapse of the first great wave of the Chinese revolution marked a profound realignment of social forces. The Chinese big bourgeoisie and the top layers of the middle and petty bourgeoisie, the country gentry and sections of the rich peasants had now definitely deserted the national struggle and passed over into the camp of the counter-revolution, into support of imperialism. Whatever their revolutionary potentialities might have been at one time, they were now completely exhausted. On the side of the national liberation movement were still to be found the workers, the poor and middle peasants, and the masses of the city poor (the artisans, the small merchants, the poor students). But this advanced stage reached in the concentration of class forces did not at all imply that the fundamental character of the revolution had changed. The revolution still remained—and still remains—a bourgeois-democratic revolution. The desertion of the right wing elements from the national revolution not only did not advance the bourgeois revolution but, on the contrary, set it back a good deal. None of the objects of the bourgeois revolution have as yet been accomplished: China is not yet free and united; the land is still in the hands of the exploiting elements; the remains of feudalism still exist; the system of imperialist control is stronger than ever. The tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution are still to be accomplished. But the bourgeois revolution is in an advanced stage, a stage in which the upper strata of the population have exhausted their revolutionary potentialities (in the face of the sharpening class differentiation) and have passed into the camp of reaction.

The Basis of the Peasants Movement

In this situation, the rapid revival of the peasant movement which we are witnessing today, comes as a sign that the period of depression of the Chinese revolution is nearing an end. The basis for the new uprising of the peasant revolution is to be found in the serious aggravation of the agrarian crisis in recent months and in the growing acuteness of the economic depression generally. At the same time the outbreak of the militarist clique struggle between Chiang Kai-shek and the "Northern coalition" (reflecting on the one hand the striving for hegemony on an all-China scale of the Shanghai bourgeoisie and, on the other, the imperialist antagonisms between the U.S.A. and a loose Anglo-Japanese bloc) provided a very good opportunity for the expansion of the peasant movement and for the growth and forward march of the peasant armies. The weakening of the power of Nanking thru the withdrawal of its troops to the North and thru the general chaos introduced by the civil war presented a situation in which the peasant forces could consolidate themselves and make great advances.

The Advance of the Peasant Armies

The present upsurge of the peasant revolutionary movement takes place along the wave of victorious advance of



the revolutionary armies. This is a fundamental characteristic of the Chinese revolution in general. Unlike the "typical" colonial-national revolution, in which the people rise, mostly unarmed or badly armed, and confront the imperialist power, "in China it is not the unarmed people against the troops of their own government but the armed people in the form of its revolutionary army. In China armed revolution is fighting armed counter-revolution" (Stalin).

The Red peasant armies that are playing such an important part in the present stage of the Chinese revolution are composed largely of spontaneous peasant partisan (guerilla) bands and the remnants of the old revolutionary armies with some support of the revolutionary elements in the cities. Approximately the composition of the peasant armies is: poor peasants, 60%; revolutionary soldiers (mostly peasants), 25%; workers, 4%; city poor, 11%. The actual size of the peasant armies is hard to estimate but according to the report of Comrade Siu (at the XVI Congress of the CPSU), "in March of this year the Chinese Red Army had 62,000 men. Now, however, there are about 100,000 men who are in possession of 32,000 rifles." These armies are being constantly augmented thru peasant recruiting and thru new partisan bands. With the support of the peasantry the Red armies have been able to score considerable victories and make great headway. Ten provinces (of the eighteen in Inner China) are involved in the advances of the Red troops and scores of millions of peasants affected (estimated at about 50,000,000). In many provinces, but especially in the two very important peasant provinces, Hunan and Kiangsu, peasant soviets have already been established and about 17,000,000 peasants are embraced within the power of these soviets.

So far the peasant movement has been largely concentrated in the Southern provinces, the movement in the Northern regions being very much weaker and less developed. The peasant movement, of which the Red armies are the spearhead, has assumed a direct revolutionary character. Its aims are the overthrow of the militarists and of the semi-feudal exploiting elements on the land, the emancipation of the peasants from the intolerable load of rents, taxes and usury, and the distribution of the land among the peasants. Where the Red armies penetrate and the peasant revolution triumphs revolutionary peasant councils (peasant soviets) are set up as the organs of power of the revolutionary peasants. Altho the spontaneous elements in the movement are very great, it is in general under the direction of the Communist Party and develops along the Communist program.

It is clear that the degree of success of the Red armies—and therefore, in

general, the rate of progress of the peasants' revolution—is closely connected with the course and development of the militarist civil war. The more acute grows this militarist civil war, the greater the disintegration of the existing reactionary powers in China, the more protracted the political crisis in the country, the more favorable does the situation become for the development of the conditions for a new rise of the Chinese revolution.

The outstanding feature of the situation in China today is the gap between the revolutionary development among the peasants and among the city population, especially the proletariat. Even if the facts and figures given by Comrade Siu in his report are to be taken uncritically, it cannot be denied that the revolutionary upsurge among the peasants has found but a relatively weak echo among the city workers. This is a fact of fundamental importance in estimating the political significance of the peasant revolution in relation to the problem of the Chinese revolution as a whole.

"In the conduct of the spontaneous partisan actions of the peasants in the provinces"—the resolution of the IX Plenum of the Eccl pointed out—"the Party must keep in mind that these actions can only be transformed into the starting point of a victorious uprising of the whole people under the condition that it goes hand in hand with a new upsurge of the revolutionary wave in the proletarian centers."

In a country like China a peasant revolution cannot maintain an independent existence: either it becomes a part of a popular revolution led by the proletariat or else it has no basic revolutionary perspectives. Failure to see this fact constitutes one of the outstanding errors of the present course of the Communist International and of the Communist Party of China.

In a country like China, moreover, a unified national Soviet power (today as the expression of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry) cannot be established simply upon peasant soviets. For a soviet power in China, workers soviets are absolutely essential and indispensable.

"In China and India, where a certain minimum of the industrial proletariat exists, the formation of workers soviets is the prerequisite for the establishment of the Soviet power" (Stalin, at the VII Plenum of the Eccl).

How far the present leadership of the Eccl and the CP of China seem to have forgotten this fundamental principle, is shown by the abortive attempt to call together an All-China Soviet-Congress and organize an All-China Soviet power at

a time when the only basis were a certain number of peasant soviets with very slim contacts with the labor movement in the cities.

It is a fundamental characteristic of the Chinese revolution (as it is in all colonial countries in which there exists some sort of proletariat) that the peasantry as such cannot lead the revolution: the leadership of the revolution belongs irrevocably to the proletariat. Therefore for a definite revival of the Chinese revolution, for a conclusive end to the period of depression, it is necessary that the present rising peasant movement be transformed from an "independent factor" (which it is more or less today) into an ally and support of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in the cities. This is a fundamental idea of Leninism.

The Basic Task of the Revolution

It is very clear that the basic task of the Chinese revolution today in view of the whole situation is the raising of the level of the revolutionary movement in the cities, the stimulation of the radicalization of the proletariat and the city poor, the strengthening of the organization of the workers (which are now very weak and disorganized), and the formation of a firm political and organizational tie between the revolutionary movement in the cities and the revolutionary peasant movement. This tie can be established thru the development of revolutionary organs of struggle in the cities against the militarists, exploiters and imperialists, revolutionary people's committees made up of representatives of the factories, labor organizations, artisans, small merchants and students—these committees to be connected up closely with the peasant soviets where they exist or else with the peasant committees and peasant leagues. This is the road to a workers and peasant Soviet power as the organ of the national revolution in China.

But a prerequisite for the successful development of the revolution in China is the transformation of the Communist Party of China into a real vanguard of the Chinese proletariat and an effective leader of the Chinese revolution. In the depression after 1927, the Chinese Communist Party was practically wiped out. Today officially no more than 5,000 members are claimed in the cities, of whom about 35% are proletarians. (The membership of the CP China was once more than 83,000, overwhelmingly in the cities). The Party is dominated by an ultra-left course with putschist tendencies. The old opportunism that ruled in the Party in 1926-27 has been "corrected", under the influence of the ultra-left regime in the CL, to a sectarianism and adventurism that has crippled the Party. The Party must change its course—it must again become a party of the proletariat: only in this way will it be able to regain its position as leader of the Chinese revolution.

China and World Politics

China is one of the focal points of world politics; whatever happens in China immediately achieves world significance. China is today one of the big foundations of world imperialism and its role in the economy of the various big imperialist countries has been greatly enhanced by the world-wide economic depression and the eager search for markets. For this reason the imperialist powers (Great Britain, Japan, U. S. A., France) are fully conscious of the menace that the revival of the Chinese revolutionary movement holds out to them. It is no longer possible to rely simply on the war lords; the powers are now engaged in direct intervention. They have sent ships of war and troops to Chinese territory and have already engaged in open attacks upon the peasant armies: It is true that because of the immediate configuration of imperialist forces in China (the U.S.A. against a loose bloc of England and Japan), no formal bloc of powers for intervention has as yet been formed but this in no way diminishes the menace of imperialist intervention to the revolution

(Continued on Page 12)

The A. F. of L. Convention and the Left Wing

The Jubilee Convention of the American Federation of Labor will open in Boston on October 6, 1930. It will mark the fiftieth anniversary of the organization. The event is bound to be of great importance, especially from an historical point of view.

In the course of fifty years the organization has gone thru many changes. It has now left behind its early history of struggle and organization. As a logical result of the policies of its reactionary officialdom it has become the seat of reaction within the labor movement.

The development of American imperialism—particularly in the post-war period—has brought about many changes in the organization. Precisely because the A. F. of L. has been an organization largely of skilled workers it so easily fallen under the influence of U. S. imperialism. The fabulous super-profits of American imperialism made it possible for the capitalists to favor some sections of the skilled workers and to widen the chasm between the skilled and the millions of unskilled and semi-skilled who comprise the large army of the unorganized in most of the basic and strategic industries in the United States. In this process the hegemony of American capitalism over the labor bureaucracy became practically complete. The labor officialdom, by and large has come into the fold of American imperialism. The Greens and the Wolls are the direct agents of imperialism in the labor movement, doing the bidding of Wall Street at beck and call.

The A. F. of L. Convention takes place at a time when the country is in the throes of a very severe economic crisis. The economic crisis has blasted the hollow contentions of American capitalism that it has solved the question of economic crisis and, as Hoover so glibly put it, can insure "permanent prosperity." It has blasted the new "wage theories" of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy that mass production plus high wages are the foundation of American prosperity. It has exploded the myth that mass production, the Ford plan, with its speedup and efficiency labor-saving methods guarantee a good living to the American workers for all time to come. The membership of the A. F. of L. has been very badly hit by the crisis. Unemployment has reached unprecedented heights, wages are being cut, unions are being smashed. With about six million unemployed, with a technological unemployment of over one million driven out of industry by rationalization, with part time employment and "vacation without pay" becoming a more and more prominent feature of American industrial life, with wage cutting the order of the day and capitalist reaction growing day by day, the bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. will find it very difficult at the Jubilee Convention to put conviction into their praises of the rule of American capital, of the policies of collaboration and cooperation with the capitalists. In the light of the prevailing conditions as they effect the workers, including the workers in the A. F. of L. the support of the officialdom for rationalization and for the Hoover economic program will lack positiveness and power to deceive that it had in the period of so-called prosperity.

The appearance of Herbert Hoover at the Convention will be of great importance. He came to greet the Convention in the name of American capital and to enlist the support of the A. F. of L. for the foreign and domestic policies of U. S. imperialism. Thru Hoover's appearance the Hoover-Green "no strike" pact will receive the official sanction of the A. F. of L. thru the Convention. Thus the stamp of approval will be given to wage cuts, increased speed-up, union smashing capitalist reaction.

In the face of acute unemployment and with no prospects of immediate relief, the statement of William Green, president of the A. F. of L. against any sort of unemployment insurance is a very fitting prelude to the Jubilee Con-

by Ben Gitlow

vention and to Mr. Hoover's appearance as a spokesman at a labor gathering. More than anything else, this such of Green's exposes the anti-labor character of the reigning bureaucracy of the A. F. of L.

The discontent and unrest among the three million members of the A. F. of L. is growing by leaps and bounds. If it reacted to the prevailing situation and to the conditions of its membership as a labor organization should, the A. F. of L. Convention would present no such picture. The bureaucracy will meet complacently and speak on behalf and in the name of labor without fear of contradiction or opposition. Within the A. F. of L. there is practically no organized left wing or opposition to the reactionary bureaucracy—and this at a time when there exists so much discontent with things as they are and with the course of the bureaucracy. The once powerful left wing has been liquidated by the policies of Trade Union Unity League which, well over a year ago, abandoned left wing activity within the A. F. of L. unions and adopted the DeLeonist policy of building new

unions and deserting the millions of organized workers. The consideration of the A. F. of L. membership as a reactionary mass and of work in the A. F. of L. as useless is based on the premise that American imperialism is in a position to keep satisfied the three million members of the conservative unions. Such a conception is the very reverse of the truth, especially today, and every development in the labor movement shows this.

What the TUUL has destroyed must be built up again. A harp turn must be made in policy if a militant rank and file opposition is to be developed once more at a time when there is more need than ever for such an opposition movement. The best way to greet the A. F. of L. Convention is to raise the cry: "Back into the A. F. of L. and the existing unions!" "Organize a rank and file movement to oust the reactionary officialdom, to fight for a militant program against class collaboration, and to make the existing unions militant organizations on behalf of the workers!"

On what program shall all progressive and militant trade union forces be united?

On the following immediate program:

1. For unemployment insurance!
2. Against wage-cuts!
3. Against the class collaboration policies of the reactionary officialdom!
4. For amalgamation of the craft unions into industrial unions!
5. Against the so-called "non partisan" policy of the A. F. of L. in political action! For a Labor Party!
6. For the organization of the unorganized!
7. Against militarism, imperialism, and the danger of war!
8. For the recognition of the Soviet Union!

The Jubilee Convention of the A. F. of L. will play a truly significant and historical role if the danger of its reactionary, pro-capitalist, pro-imperialist course will serve to arouse and to bring together all those forces of opposition working for rebirth of a powerful left wing opposition movement in the American labor unions!

NEW FORCES FOR OUR GROUP

(Continued from page 2)
the Negro organizer of the Party, Comrade Huiswood, and how a few days later he received an "invitation" from Comrade Briggs to come to "see" him. At the same time rumors began to be spread that Comrade Francis was a "Lovestonite". At this time, as Comrade Francis points out, "I never saw Comrade Lovestone and therefore could not have held any conversation with him. Neither was I acquainted with any of his supporters or with the main issue of the controversy." Comrade Francis then recounts how attempts were made to discredit him with rumors about his I.L.D. tour, a campaign which the National Office of the I.L.D. officially "disavowed". Then came the order from Otto Huiswood, the Negro organizer for the Party, that Comrade Francis "must discontinue work for the ANLC until he had reported to him". This order was issued just before a meeting of the ANLC local to which Comrade Francis had succeeded in getting nine new members. Comrade Francis left the meeting. Thereupon.....)

The ANLC lost nine members. Today it has ten on paper—eight white and two Negroes—and does not function.

(Then followed, as Comrade Francis explains, an interview with Herbert Newton, the national secretary of the ANLC.....)

The interview was fiery to say the least. The comrade promised to write me the next day. I am still waiting for that letter.

A week or two later for special reasons I wrote an article on the Virgin Islands. Certainly, under the circumstances mentioned, I would not send it to the *Daily Worker*. It was sent to the *Revolutionary Age* and accepted. Immediately I received the long delayed reply from the Control Commission to appear at the National Office to discuss my membership in the Brooklyn Party section, in spite of the fact that my membership there had already been rejected!

From the experiences outlined I came to the conclusion that my place is in the CP-Majority Group. There I propose to stay until misleadership and fanaticism be replaced by ability, experience, and common sense in the ranks of the Communist movement in the United States.

ROTSCHILD FRANCIS
September 12, 1930.

A LETTER

Sept. 23, 1930.

Dear Comrade:-
I am sending you 50 cents for the movement. Sorry I cannot send you any more. I am working only 2 to 3 days a week. As soon as the work picks up I will send you more. I will try to collect from friends money for the movement.
L. AARON
Milwaukee, Wis.

WHAT THE A. F. OF L. WAS ORGANIZED FOR...

Whereas a struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grow in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for their mutual protection and benefit;

It, therefore behooves the representatives of the trade and labor unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled;

We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thoroughgoing Federation, embodying every trade and labor organization in America, organized under the trade union system.

(From the resolution on the formation of the American Federation of Labor, 1881).

Is There a Change of Line?

About the Trade Union Policy of the Party

In many sections of the Party membership and sympathizers the impression has arisen that the new trade union course of the Party and of the Comintern (or shall we say anti-trade union course) has been undergoing a change in the right direction of late. This impression is striking testimony to the keen desire for a change felt in the ranks of the Communists in this country; unfortunately, however, it is hardly justified by the facts.

The Party comrades and sympathizers who believe a change of course is taking place point to a so-called "right about face" that was supposed to have taken place in the Party policy on the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (at first the TUUL was "against" participating in the ACW elections—then the TUUL decided "for"). They call attention to the recent articles of Johnstone advocating "working in the unions", to the rumors that the RILU Congress is "in favor of working in the unions", and so on. They note the editorial answer to the *Daily Worker* to a silly article of Sam Darcy on the A.F.L. in which answer the necessity for "working in the A. F. of L." is emphasized. And so on...

But, as we mentioned, the appearances are very superficial; unfortunately the old line remains absolutely unchanged fundamentally. What is the objective of Leninist trade union work? To go into the trade unions, to work in and build and strengthen the unions, to win the confidence of the membership, to capture the unions, to oust the reactionary officials, to revolutionize the unions. What are the objectives that the new

Party course puts before those whom it urges to work in the A. F. of L.? We quote from the *Daily Worker* editorial reply to Darcy (August, 19, 1930):

"Revolutionary workers must carry on their activities within the A. F. of L. for the building of the revolutionary trade unions."

In other words the Party line is to go into the A. F. of L. unions to break them up (they are supposed to be "company unions") and to get the members of the unions to join the imaginary paper "revolutionary unions" of the TUUL.

The Leninist view is: *Go into the unions to win them!* The ultra-left sectarian view is: *Go into the unions to smash them!*

No greater difference could be possible!

JUST OUT...

Indispensable Material on the Indian Revolution

INDIA IN REVOLT

Material and Documents on the Struggle of the Indian Masses for Freedom

15c

REVOLUTIONARY AGE
63 Madison Ave. - New York City.

The A. F. L. and the Army

Green Speaks Before the Army Industrial College

On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the American Federation of Labor which was organized in 1881 to unite workers "in the struggle between the oppressors and the oppressed, the capitalist and the laborers", it is worth while publishing the most important sections of the confidential Address delivered by Mr. William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, before the Army Industrial College, Washington, D. C. Mr. Green's own words convict him of being an agent of Wall Street's imperialist war machine in the organizations of the workers.

General Patrik, Members of the Army Industrial College, Fellow Citizens and Friends:

I cannot begin to tell you how much I appreciate this opportunity of meeting with you, speaking to you and becoming acquainted with you. I esteem it a very great pleasure, a privilege, and a very great honor.

War is so serious that the average person is inclined to shrink from considering it and discussing it. Nevertheless, reasonable minded people realize we are living in a very practical world and the peoples of the world have not yet reached the point where the menace of war has entirely disappeared.

I would not be so presumptuous as to attempt to discuss with you the science of war or the plans of warfare. It is upon this phase of the subject I can presume to speak, because during my life's association with labor, I have endeavored to comprehend and understand the psychological and moral attitude of the workers toward war and preparations for war. The representatives of the A. F. of L. are glad to supply you and those you represent with information regarding its work and its activities. It is in this spirit that I come to meet with you and to speak to you today.

On a number of occasions my illustrious predecessor, the late Mr. Gompers appeared before you and addressed you. I am sure you recall, with very great interest and much satisfaction his patriotic, interesting and instructive addresses. A study of his reported utterances reveals the helpful advice he gave and the valuable information he imparted. His service in this way was a distinct contribution to your fund of information and to the best interests and general welfare of the Government.

I recall very distinctly the meeting of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, which was held about four weeks before the declaration of war on April 6, 1917, by the Congress of the United States, when the statement of the position of the American Federation of Labor, in war and in peace was prepared for submission to a conference of the representatives of all international and national unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The report, prepared and submitted by the Executive Council, was unanimously adopted by the conference. It was a historic meeting and the document, as drafted and published, created a profound impression and resulted in the crystallization of sentiment among the working people of our country in support of America's position and America's entry into the World War. I am sure I can say with all truthfulness that the Executive Council and the representatives of the American Federation of Labor performed a most profound and patriotic service, not only to the Republic of the United States but to the world at large, when, thru the official declaration to which I have referred, it placed organized labor solidly behind the government of the United States, in the prosecution of the War. I was in thoro accord with the action and declaration of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. I took a lively interest in all of the work of the Executive Council, and I was in thoro accord with Mr. Gompers and my associates on the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in the formulation and in the adoption of the program and policy which was outlined and carried out by the American Federation of Labor during the World War.

Furthermore, it might not be amiss for me to advise that at this same per-



iod I was serving as the International Financial Officer of the international union of United-Mine Workers of America. As you will recall, the problems of supplying fuel for the nation became

WHAT THE BUROCRATS ARE TRYING TO MAKE THE A. F. OF L. INTO...

A combination of these two ideas, then—a recognition of trade unionism, and cooperation between labor and management in maintaining high productivity and low cost unit—constitutes... the "new unionism." —from the American Federationist, official organ of the A. F. of L.

acute. Associated with this great basic industry of coal mining, I came to understand most clearly that an adequate supply of coal was essential to the winning of the war. It was indeed a pleasure to use my influence in every way possible in stimulating and accelerating the production of coal so that not only the war needs but the domestic needs of the nation might be adequately supplied. The records show that the miners of our country responded to the call for service by mining and supplying coal in such quantities as to tax the transportation system of our country far beyond their capacities.

The government, as well as the people of America, learned many lessons during the World War. Not the least of these was the relation of industry, the productive elements in industry and the agricultural forces of our country to the needs of the Army and the Navy. We learned how necessary it was to mobilize all these forces. In the light of the experience we gained during the World War, and with the knowledge we have acquired regarding the advancement made by science and engineering, in the development of war agencies and war mechanism, we are confident that industry and the elements of production will play an increasing part in the conduct of any future war in which our government may become engaged. Quite another important lesson was the necessity of maintaining the morale of all the people at its highest point. The German war machine collapsed because the morale of the German people broke down at a crucial moment when they became conscious of the fact that their army was confronted by the superior forces of the Allies and the dash and spirit of the American troops. They could not meet this supreme test and Germany was lost.

In connection with this subject, I am wondering whether or not the owners and managers of many large corporations and some employers in America think straight about the value of patriotic devotion and love of country which should be encouraged and inspired among the masses of our land.

All during the World War, organization among the working people of America produced increased productivity, higher skill and a finer morale. These essential qualifications were enhanced thru the influence of the officers and leaders of the organized labor movement

The A.F.L. in Figures

Below we publish the official figures of membership of the American Federation of Labor in its first fifty years of development. The figures are fairly accurate until about 1926 when the catastrophic collapse of the United Mine Workers of America is hidden in the false per capita payments of Lewis.

1897	264,825	1914	2,020,671
1896	278,016	1915	1,946,341
1899	349,422	1916	2,072,702
1900	548,321	1917	2,371,434
1901	789,537	1918	2,728,478
1902	1,024,899	1919	3,260,068
1903	1,465,890	1920	4,078,740
1904	1,676,200	1921	3,906,528
1905	1,494,300	1922	3,195,635
1906	1,454,200	1923	2,925,468
1907	1,538,970	1924	2,865,979
1908	1,586,885	1925	2,878,297
1909	1,482,872	1926	2,803,966
1910	1,562,112	1927	2,812,527
1911	1,761,835	1928	2,896,063
1912	1,770,145	1929	2,933,945
1913	1,996,904		

Anti-Soviet Drive Grows

The world-wide campaign against the Soviet Union has flared up again in every capitalist country. In Paris, London, Warsaw, Bucharest, Washington, Chicago and New York the chorus of hatred against the Socialist Republic is shrieking its hymns of hatred of the Soviets.

Again the Wall Street government is the banner-bearer of the reactionary attack. This time, the Federal Farm Board, seeking to hid its own bankruptcy and failure to help the farmers, has tried to pass the buck and blame it on the Soviet Government. Secretary of Agriculture Hyde has come forward with the ridiculous charge that the Soviet Government has been speculating—selling short—on the Chicago wheat pit and that is why the wheat prices have fallen. It must be said, that this nonsense was not welcomed by any serious analysts even in some of the most reactionary quarters of the American capitalists. Thus, such loyal Wall Street organs as the *New York Times* and *Evening Post* laughed Hyde's declaration out of court.

But due to this pressure, the Chicago Board of Trade has just decided to bar the Soviet Government from engaging in any deals on the wheat pit. How malicious and stupid Hyde's attack on the Soviet Union had been, was easily shown by the fact that immediately after this ruling was made against the workers' and peasants' Soviet Republic, American wheat prices collapsed and September wheat reached 75¢ cents a bushel—the lowest price in nearly 25 years. Immediately thereafter, it was admitted that Soviet operations were a most insignificant factor. Some blamed Canada in despair. But the big grain gamblers and the huge banking interests financing them are reaping a harvest—at the expense of the great mass of farmers.

At the same time the League of Nations also turned its heavy guns on the Soviet Union. Its Economic Division at Geneva blamed the Soviet Union for the present international economic crisis. The myth of "Soviet dumping" was conjured up again. All sorts of schemes are being cooked up against the socialist Republic. Roumania and the Balkans, many of the British and the French capitalists, are demanding louder than ever "protection" against Soviet exports. They hope in this fashion to kill two birds with one stone: first, pass the buck for the guilt—which belongs to the various capitalist classes alone—of the present serious economic crisis and secondly, strike a blow at the Five Year Plan which is being put thru under very great hardships.

Senator Oddie of Nevada has already prepared a resolution for the United States Senate to bar the importation of Soviet lumber, coal, manganese, wheat, and other products. This measure aims to befuddle and mislead the farmers among whom discontent is rapidly rising. The multi-millionaire Senator is trying to turn this growing dissatisfaction of the farmers with the rule of Wall Street into hostility against the Soviet Union.

"THE CRISIS IN THE NEEDLE TRADES"

Under the title "The Crisis in the Needle Trades", the newly organized Needle Trades Workers' Unity League has issued a pamphlet in the Jewish language dealing with the most pressing questions before the needle trades workers today. The pamphlet consists of the declaration made by Chas. S. Zimmerman for the minority of the former GEB of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union at the last convention of this union, an incisive criticism of the new program of the NTWU, and the most important sections of the youth program for the needle trades.

Every worker who wants to understand what are the causes for the collapse of the left wing in the needle trades and who wants to know what is to be done about it should read this pamphlet. Single copies of this pamphlet—which is 48 pages long—are 10c. In bundles of or more, the prices per copy is 7c. Orders are to be sent to: M. Rogers, Sec'y of NTWU, 3451 Giles Place Sec. M. New York City.

A similar pamphlet in English will appear very soon.

Communists and the Trade Unions

1. The question of work in the trade unions has always been one of the most basic questions in the Communist movement. From the very foundation of the Communist International the greatest attention has always been concentrated on this question as the decisive question in winning the masses. But the question has assumed an even greater importance in view of the present crisis in the Communist International since the central problem of this crisis, next to the analysis of the objective situation, is the question of trade union tactics. Sharp disagreement with the tactical line of the Comintern in the trade union movement is in fact one of the decisive factors that have made for the crystallization of the opposition in the Communist International while fundamental agreement on

We publish below the **Resolution of the Situation in the Trade Union Movement and Our Tasks** as adopted by the July National Conference of the CP-Majority Group. This resolution is of prime importance and we urge all readers to study it carefully.

Communist trade union tactics is one of the strongest bonds of unity of the international Opposition movement. In the United States, especially, our sharpest points of difference with the official line of the Party center about the question of trade union policy for it is precisely here that the disastrous results of the new course are most serious and most obvious.

THE SITUATION IN THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT OF THE U. S. A.

2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. (Here follow a number of paragraphs analyzing the situation in the trade union movement of the U. S. A., the regrouping of forces in the labor movement, etc. Since these questions are fully discussed and adequately

formulated in the general theses of the National Conference as published in the June 15 issue of the *Revolutionary Age*, the paragraphs involved are omitted here in order to save space.)

MAIN FEATURES OF LENINIST TRADE UNION POLICY

8. For a correct trade union line in America it is necessary to have a clear idea as to the main features of Leninist trade union policy. The first thing that must be pointed out is the *real character of the trade union as a class organization*. The trade unions, the Program of Communist International says, are "genuine mass working class organizations closely bound up with the everyday struggles of the masses." The trade unions are fundamental class organizations of the proletariat on the basis of economic struggle. "The Party," declared Lenin, "organizes within itself the vanguard of its class—but in the trade unions are to be found the masses of the workers, even the most backward." It is necessary, moreover, to make a sharp distinction between the trade unions themselves as workers organizations and the workers in them, on the one hand, and the anti-labor bourgeois reactionary trade union leaders on the other. The reactionary policies advocated and championed by the latter do not change the working class character of the former. The reactionary unions are workers union, organized by the workers as instruments of their struggle; but they are being misled by reactionaries who have been correctly characterized as agents of the bourgeoisie. It is necessary to remember that:

"It is the duty of the Communists to draw a distinction between the sincere but mistaken reformist workers and the obsequious leaders cringing at the feet of imperialism" (Program of the Comintern).

9. The second basic point in Leninist trade union strategy is the *objectives of the Communists in trade union work*. The Program of the Communist International makes this very clear:

"It is particularly important for the purpose of winning over a majority of the proletariat to capture the trade unions . . . To work in the reactionary trade unions and skilfully to capture them, to win the confidence of the broad masses of the industrially organized workers, to change and remove from their posts the reformist leaders—these represent important tasks in the preparatory period."

It must be the purpose of the Communists in the trade unions to win the support of the workers, to capture the trade unions, to throw out the reactionary bureaucrats. It must be their purpose to transform the trade unions into militant industrial unions, "to convert the trade unions into a real support of the revolutionary proletariat" (III Congress of the Comintern).

10. From this viewpoint Communist strategy is categorically against any form of deserting or of splitting any existing unions. The whole struggle of Lenin and the Comintern against ultra-leftism in the early days of the existence of the CI centered around this point. Lenin held that those who refuse to work in reactionary trade unions and who invent "spick-and-span" revolution-

ary unions" commit an unpardonable blunder and render a great service to the bourgeoisie. A whole section of the pamphlet on "Leftism" is devoted to this question. The II Congress of the Comintern (1920) adopted special theses to guarantee against a desertion and split policy; the III Congress of the Comintern (1921) declared:

"It is the task of the Communists to explain to the workers that they will not find salvation in leaving the old unions and creating new ones as this will only disorganize the proletariat; they must be told that it is necessary to revolutionize the trade unions . . ."

In the same vein the V Congress (1924) declared:

"Leninism on the field of the trade union movement is the struggle against splitting in any form."

The VI Plenum of the Comintern (1926) emphasized this point in a special resolution (on trade union unity) while the definitive attitude of the Program of the Comintern adopted at the VI Congress (1928) has already been given. The duty of remaining in the reactionary unions, of fighting against all tendencies of split and desertion, of fighting to win the unions and revolutionize them is one of the cardinal features of Leninist strategy.

11. The slogan of *trade union unity* has proved itself one of the most powerful and productive slogans of the Communists in trade union work. The Communists have always appeared before the workers as the champions and defenders of trade union movement. The objective of the Communists must be as was defined by the V Congress and the VI Plenum of the Comintern: *One union in every industry, one trade union federation in every country, one world trade union federation*. The struggle for unity at every stage of the trade union movement is one of the most powerful weapons against the reformists whose role as bourgeois agents makes them the natural enemies and saboteurs of trade union unity in any form. The struggle for unity always builds up the strength and extent of Communist influence in the trade union movement. It is above all expressive of the deepest needs and interests of the workers.

12. An important feature of Leninist trade union policy deals with the *mutual relations of Party and trade unions*. The doctrine of "neutrality in principle" of the trade unions, i.e., the doctrine of "no politics in the trade union movement" must be fundamentally rejected by all Communists for it is clear that such a policy means, in fact, support of bourgeois politics. It is impossible for any class organization of the proletariat to remain really "neutral" in politics. Communists must work within the trade unions with the objective of winning the members, on the basis of propaganda and the lessons of their own experience, to the political viewpoint of Communism and to the support of the slogans and campaigns of the Communist Party. But

this is not equivalent to—on the contrary it directly excludes—every attempt to make the trade unions organizationally and formally subordinate to or an auxiliary of the Communist Party. Organizational and administrative autonomy is a condition absolutely necessary for the trade unions as mass organizations. The III Congress of the Comintern (1921) pointed out very clearly that:

"The Party must learn how to influence the unions without attempting to keep them in leading strings. Only the Communist fraction is subject to the Party and not the union as a whole. If the Communist fractions persevere, if their activity is devoted and intelligent, the Party will reach a position where its advice will be accepted gladly and readily by the unions."

"This task (to increase the contact between the Party and the masses) does not at all consist in mechanically and outwardly subjecting the unions to the Party and thereby denying them the autonomy required by the very nature of their work but in the truly revolutionary, Communist elements within the unions the general interests of the proletariat."

13. In the United States, the bulk of the workers are unorganized. The millions of unskilled and semi-skilled workers in the big machine industries and in the basic and strategic industries are practically unorganized. Even if the existing unions do penetrate such industries they generally appear in the form of narrow craft unions inaccessible to the bulk of workers. It is the general policy of the reactionary trade union bureaucracy not only themselves to refuse

The Position of Com. Weisbord

We begin publication of the most important sections of the declaration read by Comrade Weisbord at the July Conference of the CP-Majority Group. It is hardly necessary to point out to anyone acquainted with the viewpoint of the CP-Majority Group that the views in Comrade Weisbord's statement are widely different from our views. In the next issue—along with the conclusion of Comrade Weisbord's declaration—we will publish a brief examination of Comrade Weisbord's opinions from the viewpoint of the international Communist Opposition movement.

4. With the world war and the revolutionary wave that followed in its wake, the epoch of imperialism entered a new stage qualitatively different from the one existing before (from 1900 to 1914). Distinctive of this new stage are the following: (a) the proletarian revolution is victorious in the U.S.S.R.; (b) post-war capitalism, with all its force, can not get back to pre-war stability. The decline of capitalism can not be stopped. All the attempts at "stabilization" become desperate efforts merely to slacken the tempo of the international revolution. This can be seen by the fact that, during this time, while some revolutionary situations are liquidated and new ones constantly and repeatedly arise; concurrently a whole host of other situations begin to take on a revolutionary character. (Germany 1923, Bulgaria 1924, Estonia 1924, China 1925-27, England 1926, Austria 1928, India, China, Indo-China 1930, besides Mexico, Nicaragua, Haiti, Porto Rico, Finland, etc.)

Before the war, neither revolutionary situations nor actual revolutions could have been created by the activity of the socialist, revolutionary parties throughout the world. No matter how well or tirelessly these parties worked the bourgeoisie was too strong, the level of activity of the masses, generally speaking, too low, to cause a given situation to become a revolutionary one. Basically, these revolutionary situations had to develop by themselves from the objective contradictions arising in capitalist society. When, during and after the war, these objective contradictions did cause revolutionary situations to arise, by that time the subjective factor had become so powerful as to be able to ma-

to organize the unorganized but to every conceivable obstacle in the way of organization. Therefore it must be recognized that in the United States the central trade union task of the Communists is the organization of the unorganized. As a matter of fact the very problem of a mass Communist Party in the United States is organically bound up with the general task of organizing the unorganized.

How is the organization of the unorganized to be accomplished in the United States? It is the duty of the Communists to raise the demand for the organization of the unorganized in every existing union (A. F. of L. or independent); a struggle on this slogan will on the one hand bring closer the organized workers to the masses of the unorganized and on the other help to crystallize a fighting opposition (a left wing) to the policies of the trade union officialdom. It must be recognized that the organization of the unorganized in any form can only take place thru the activity and upon the initiative of the left wing forces, while in a number of important industries it will take place primarily thru the formation of new unions, i.e., unions organized outside the A. F. of L. In order to guard against the absolutely disastrous and non-Leninist line of the Communist Party today in forming "new unions" it is necessary to have in mind the fact that these new unions can only be developed thru mass struggles and must only be established on a broad mass basis. Above all, new unions must not be established thru splitting already existing unions; they must be unions really organizing the unorganized. The lessons of the Passaic strike on the question of organizing the unorganized are classical and should be closely studied. With the formation of new unions the slogan of trade union unity—*one union in the industry*—becomes especially important.

(To be concluded)

Trotskyism and the Communist Opposition

(Concluded from last issue)

(b) The method of formation of the international Trotskyist faction reflects its sectarianism. The concentration of Trotskyist forces on a world scale takes place not on the burning question of the international class struggle or the class struggle in the various countries but on the basis of the points of difference (mostly outlived) on which Trotsky differs from the Central Committee of the CPSU, primarily on "Russian questions." These questions form a closed system of dogmas without any regard to their actuality or to their present direct relation to the vital questions of the revolutionary movement. This is the hall-mark of sectarianism.

On international questions generally, Trotskyism has no more than a vague general outlook, a sort of emanation or reflection of its central dogmas. Trotskyism attempts to preserve the appearance of internationalism by the attack on the so-called doctrine of "national socialism" (the pretense that Trotskyism is for "Socialism in all countries" as against "Socialism in one country").

(c) The boasted "internationalism" of Trotskyist faction is exactly the same type of distorted internationalism that characterizes the Stalin system of international leadership. Trotsky like Stalin makes the essence of this faction the mobilization of the Communist International on the basis of the program of one faction of the Russian Party. Not a system of real collective international leadership for the Comintern but the conversion of the Comintern into a tail-end of a Russian faction (in this case, the international Trotskyist opposition)—this is the program of Trotskyism. A system such as this condemns the international Trotskyist movement to inevitable sectarianism.

(d) In its system of work Trotskyism is the very shadow of Stalinism. Between the Stalinist and Trotskyist conceptions of methods of leadership and control there is no difference. The system of "new turns" without explanation, the system of scapegoats (e.g. the scapegoats for "misunderstanding" Trotsky's Thermidor, theo-

ries), the system of expulsions for the least disagreement, the system of Open Letters as the line of demarcation between "loyalists" and "renegades," the system of plenipotentiary and personal representatives, all are common to Trotskyism and Stalinism.

(e) Trotskyism, like the present line of the Eccl, has no use for the principle of adaptation and modification of the general

THE NEW TURN IN TROTSKYISM

15. Within the last year, Trotskyism has undergone a "new turn" ideologically. The objective forces making for this "new turn" arose out of the developments within the international Communist movement and within the Soviet Union. The systematic adoption by the Eccl of the conceptions and even the slogans of Trotskyism exposed the manifest bankruptcy of these conceptions and slogans in actual practice. The notorious "swing to the left" of Stalin on the questions of Socialist construction "under the lash of (Trotskyist) opposition" was followed by even more catastrophic consequences, obvious in every field of Soviet economy. These developments could not be simply disregarded, especially in view of the "new turn" of the Comintern and of the CPSU.

The situation demanded a certain readjustment of Trotskyist ideology in view of the open bankruptcy of the traditional Trotskyist ideas as carried out in practice—by Stalin! An external change began to be made in the point of approach of the Trotskyist critique: instead of attacking the policies of the Comintern and the general line of the CPSU as "opportunism" Trotsky began to criticize them as "ultra-left", as "adventurist," etc. The various national Trotskyist groups began to follow suit and a certain international reorientation became obvious. A process of "borrowing from the right-wingers" (that is, the Communist Opposition) set in, which still continues. Thus, while at the beginning of the "new line" of the Eccl, the Trotskyites hailed it as a "victory for the left opposition," they now characterize the line as ultra-left. In individual countries on the problems confronting the Communist movement in

line to the specific and concrete conditions of the various countries ("exceptionalism"). This view in its general form is branded as "national Socialism" by the Trotskyite "internationalists." The joint rejection of the theory of "exceptionalism" by Trotsky and Stalin constitutes the common point of departure for the false line of both the Trotskyites and of the present Eccl.

these countries, in recent months, the Trotskyites have been abandoning their old ultra-left position and coming closer to the position of the Communist Opposition. This is true particularly on the trade union question (U. S., Germany, France).

16. In its "new turn" Trotskyism approaches much nearer to a correct viewpoint on many important questions. But this "new turn", for a number of reasons, has only a very limited validity: (a) the "new turn" is only partial. On a number of very important questions, such as the question of the colonial revolution (India), the Trotskyist viewpoint still remains utterly ultra-left. (b)

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND TROTSKYISM

18. The relations between the Comintern and Trotskyism, the place of Trotskyism in the Comintern must be examined in the light of objective facts. Membership in the Communist International is conditioned upon agreement with the Communist fundamentals (armed uprising, proletarian dictatorship, Soviets, road to Socialism, role of the Party, class character of the Soviet Union, etc.). Insofar as Trotskyism, in maintaining the theory of Thermidor in some form or other, deviates from Communist fundamentals, it places itself outside the limits of the Communist International, and provides a thoroughly justifiable basis for the expansion of Trotskyites from the Communist Party. Once Trotskyism, however, gives up the theory of Thermidor, entirely and without reservation, it will have returned to Communist fundamentals and will therefore have a place in the Communist International. Under such circumstances we would be ready to fight for the readmission of the Trotskyist faction into the Comintern in spite of our sharp differences with Trotskyism on a number of very important questions of Leninist strategy and tactics. Differences on questions of strategy and tactics, no matter how serious, are compatible with membership in the Comintern provided these differences do not involve the fundamentals of Communism. We call attention to the case of Comrade Amadeo Bordiga who, from the day of his entry into the Comintern, disagreed with its official line and with the line of Lenin, on practically every single question before the Comintern, on questions at least as serious as any of Trotsky's disagreements with the Comintern with the exception of Thermidor. Not only was Bordiga not expelled but it was even proposed to make him vice-chairman of the Comintern! The system of expelling comrades for disagreements on questions that do not touch Communist fundamentals is a phase of the present abnormal situation and

While modifications and corrections may be made here and there, and even on some important questions, the central dogmas of Trotskyism (permanent revolution, "socialism in one country," Chinese revolution, Anglo-Soviet Unity Committee, etc.) which constitute the basis for the ultra-left system, remain untouched and unchangeable. Of course no real turn can be made upon such a basis. (c) The "new turn" in Trotskyism has been conducted in the approved Stalinist method: there is no frank and open examination of mistakes and clear declaration of a change of policy, on the contrary the change of line is presented as merely a continuation of the old line which was correct all the time on every point. In fact the "new turn" merely confirms the old line. Such methods make impossible a real examination and correction of errors. Therefore even while borrowing the political line of the "right wing" the Trotskyites continue to condemn us as "renegades."

17. The significance of the "new turn" in Trotskyism is the same as that of the "new turn" of the Eccl: the turn is superficial—the false line remains.

non-Leninist organization practices in the Comintern.

19. In examining the relations of the Comintern to Trotskyism, we must recognize the false methods that grew rapidly in the later phases of struggle against Trotskyism. Ideological struggle as a basic form began to be replaced by bureaucratic methods and even by the use of the State power (arrests, expulsion of Trotsky from the Soviet Union, etc.). The struggle against Trotskyism as an anti-Leninist ideological system thereby suffered. As a matter of fact these bureaucratic methods actually covered the systematic adoption of Trotskyist conceptions into the line of the Comintern. We call attention to the fact that the former CC-majority of our Party shared in the responsibility for the application of the bureaucratic methods of struggle against Trotskyism in our own Party, since we were at that time a part of the international Stalin faction. The recognition of this fact is necessary as a basis for real self-criticism.

20. Trotskyism, as an international system, exhibits in a certain exaggerated form within itself both the causes and the effects of the present crisis in the Comintern. In Trotskyism we have the false and distorted "internationalism" that is at the basis of the present crisis; we have in a general form the same ultra-left line; we have the same false methods of international leadership and control. In fact it may be stated precisely: the ultra-left line of the Eccl constitutes a deviation from Leninism in the direction of Trotskyism. The inner relations of the three main tendencies in the world Communist movement may be pictured as follows: the Leninist line on the International Communist Opposition, the ultra-left line of Trotskyism, and the official line of the Eccl which stands between the Leninist line and the line of Trotskyism and which leans heavily towards the latter.

TROTSKYISM AND THE COMMUNIST OPPOSITION

21. Between the Communist Opposition and Trotskyism there are fundamental differences both on the question of Thermidor and on basic questions of strategy and tactics. Therefore, there can be no talk of fusion or organizational unity of the two groups. (Nor could there be talk of unity with the Trotsky groups even if they were to drop the Thermidor theory, while the differences enumerated remain.) The difference between a Party and a group must be clearly understood. Membership in a Communist Party depends upon agreement with the fundamentals of Communism, and is compatible with disagreement on secondary questions of strategy and tactics. A group of a Communist Party requires for membership not only adherence to the general fundamentals of Communism but adherence to those strategic and tactical principles that distinguish this group from the other groups in the Communist movement and for the adoption of which the group is organized.

22. The ideological struggle of the Communist Opposition for the tactical principles of Leninism necessarily involved a simultaneous ideological struggle against the false conceptions of Trotskyism.

23. While fusion or organizational unity is out of the questions, the question of blocs or agreements on specific questions or in specific fields of the class struggle is an

entirely different matter. We are in favor of such blocs and agreements with the Trotskyites as with other working class elements, on the basis of partial programs corresponding to the needs of the class struggle. Characteristically enough, however, the Trotskyites, true to their sectarian prejudices, have quite a different view on this question.

24. It is hard to estimate accurately the immediate perspectives of Trotskyism either internationally or in the USA. On the one hand the rapidly mounting demoralization in the Party may contribute to some slight strengthening of the Trotskyist faction. On the other, the bankruptcy of the Trotskyist program as exhibited where it has been put into practice by Stalin and the Eccl, and the internal crisis through which international Trotskyism is going, tend to weaken it in the U. S. A. One thing is certain, that the international Trotskyist faction can never become a rallying center for reuniting the Comintern not only because of its own methods and inner regime but above all because, as the most stubborn expression of ultra-leftism in the Comintern; it is suffering in an even more acute form from precisely those fundamental defects, in the system of leadership and strategy which have thrown the whole Comintern into crisis!

--- And Its Main Errors

with its tremendous economic and political weight" will be able to throw this weight at times so as to help break the economic and political power of different sections of the international bourgeoisie at critical moments.

Therefore it is clear that very often, the activity of revolutionary organizations, if they estimate the economic and socio-political situation correctly and base their strategy and tactics accordingly if they are rooted among the masses and have their support, can be the very decisive factor (a), in developing ("creating") a revolutionary situation where none existed before and (b) in maturing a revolutionary situation to an actual successful revolution.

5. What must be the cornerstone of Communist international strategy is the recognition of this qualitative change in imperialism. Today it is possible to have "sudden" changes to revolutionary situations, "sudden" revolutions. Today there has been raised to hitherto unheard degree the decisive importance of revolutionary organizations, first as factors maturing ("creating") revolutionary situations and second, as factors changing revolutionary situations to actual revolutions (insurrections).

The fatal error in the Communist "Majority Group" (Lovestone) is that it fails to see this fundamental feature of the present stage, and to make this feature an integral part of any American analysis.

The fatal error of the CI and its U. S. "leadership," is that it caricatures and distorts this basic conception, not understanding it and indeed transforming it into a theory justifying putschism, making of the party a sect more and more isolated from the masses, more and more stifled by an absolutely sterile bureaucratic machine. The official C. P. "leaders" in the United States fail to see that an insurrection can come only after the development of a revolutionary situation and fail to understand that to develop this revolutionary situation one must follow a Leninist line of mass work, united front, work in reactionary unions, pro-

found economic analysis, the understanding of the true relationship of American to international capitalist society, and the peculiarities of capitalist America; and that an end must be put to guesswork, phrase-mongering, to the fakery and lying in the leadership, to the theory of "fascism" and "social-fascism" to the bureaucracy and violence, to the Trotsky deportations and Bloomin murders, an end to the theory of Socialism in one country, to Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee affairs, and Chiang Kai-shek mergers, etc.

7. Secondly, an analysis of the present situation shows, that the contradictions are sharpening and the tempo of international revolution is rising" (that is, the "partial and temporary stabilization" of capitalism is becoming weaker than before). The original position of the Communist "Majority Group" is here too unsound; while on the other hand, the very putschist distortion of this by the official Party leadership tends to hinder the process of the cracking of "stabilization", now taking place and to weaken the revolutionary forces. Far from stimulating the masses, the false policy of the CI actually acts as a brake on the masses.

SECTION B

8. The situation in America exposes in an even clearer light the errors of the different Communist groups. On the other hand, the "Majority" Group merely sees in fact "deep discontent". With the "Majority Group" the present economic crisis is IN ESSENCE a mere cyclical one, and the dogmatic statement is made, with no appreciation of its rashness, that not only will American capitalism weather the present economic storm, but that it will rise to new peaks only to fall to new lows.

The true situation is that with the qualitative changes of post war imperialism, with the weakening of world "stabilization", with the sharpening of the inner and outer contradictions of American capitalism, there can be no "mere cyclical crisis", no "mere discontent"

(Continued on Page 14)

The Elections in Germany

The Results of the German Reichstag Elections

With nearly 90% of the huge German electorate voting and with political issues more sharply in the fore than they had been for many years the elections to the German Reichstag which took place on September 14 provided a remarkably accurate index of the starting changes that have taken place in the alignment of class forces in Germany within the last two years.

"Fascists Make Big Gain in Germany, Communists Also Increase Strength, As Moderates Drop in Reich Elections". This headline of the *New York Times* of September 15 tells the story in a nutshell. The National Socialists (Hitlerites), the extreme Fascist party, the vanguard of reaction, so to speak, increased its vote (since the elections in 1928) from about 800,000 to over 6,300,000 and its members in the Reichstag from 12 to just 107! Such a rapid and sensational advance (a gain of nearly 1,000%, is absolutely unprecedented in recent times. The Communist Party gained over 1,000,000 votes (total 4,599,375) and raised its quota of members from 54 to 76 (about 40% increase). The Social-democrats lost both in votes and in representatives (from 152 to 137). The Centrists (Catholic) made slight gains while most other parties lost.

The elections took place in a situation of extremely accentuated class relations in Germany. The offensive of trust capital to shift the burden of the Young Plan on to the shoulders of the toiling masses, the growing unemployment in Germany and the sharpening of the economic crisis, brought about the greatest unrest and dissatisfaction among the masses of the German workers and farmers and also among large sections of the petty bourgeoisie. The Fascists, the storm troops of big trustified capital, initiated a most intensive campaign to turn the unrest in their channels thru the use of a whole system of social demagoguery, calculated to confuse the masses and to render their dissatisfaction harmless and even useful to big capital. In the face of the political and economic crisis the so-called "moderate" parties (including the Social-democrats) found themselves pretty helpless. The official Communist Party refused to recognize the realities of the situation. Its ultra-left and sectarian policies made it very difficult for it to win the dissatisfied masses to the left. In the mass organi-

The "Programmatic Declaration" of the C.P.G.

In the August 28, 1930 issue of *Improccor* (vol. 10, no. 40) there is published a "Programmatic Declaration of the CP of Germany on the National and Social Emancipation of the German People". Published only a few weeks before the momentous Reichstag elections of September 14, this Declaration was credited by the Central Committee of the German Communist Party with a "programmatic significance going far beyond the limits of everyday policy." And indeed its significance for the whole international labor movement is very great: it shows to what an extent—under the regime of ideological corruption and lack of principle now holding sway in the Comintern—the nationalistic poison of the Fascists has penetrated into the body of the Communist Party itself! It is something that should make every Communist, every militant worker in the whole world, sit up and take notice.

The Programmatic Declaration consists of two parts: an analysis of the situation and a sketch of the policy of the coming German Soviet Republic, especially on questions of foreign policy. Two things are to be noted as preliminary before going to the declaration itself.

1. The Declaration omits every consideration of immediate struggles, of partial and transitional demands. In a period when the German masses face the most serious everyday problems; as the CP can do is to throw bombastic phrases about the "policy of the coming German Soviet Republic!"

zations its influence declined catastrophically (see the results at the last German Metal Workers Union Convention). It paid no attention whatever to the Young Plan and the reparations question, Thaelmann even declaring at one time that the whole matter was "of no importance." It branded the attempts of the Communist Opposition to develop a program of action for the struggle against the offensive of capital as "opportunism" and worse.

The rapid advance of the Fascists became clear to everybody, especially after the Thuringian and Saxon elections. Then the official CPG underwent another "new turn"—a turn in the direction of gross nationalism. It issued a Programmatic Declaration which did violence to every conception of Leninism. (This Programmatic Declaration is discussed elsewhere in this issue). The shameful lengths to which this document went in order to rope in the nationally-inclined German voters is shown by the declaration of the Fascist paper *"Der Nationale Sozialist"* endorsing the Communist manifesto "word for word" and proposing an alliance!

The result of all this was that the tremendous unrest that had been unleashed among the German masses (especially among the "new" voters, i.e., those who just reached 21 years and those who had paid no attention to voting (before) was turned in the direction of the extreme right (towards the Fascists) and only very partially to the left (to the Communists). Such is the lesson of the German elections. That this would happen had been pointed out repeatedly by the German Communist Opposition which called upon the Party to change its sectarian policy so as to be able to draw close to the masses and turn the movement of unrest to the left.

The tremendous victory of Fascism in Germany will serve as a powerful stimulant to the Fascist movement thru-out Europe, in Austria, in France, in Finland, etc., and will make the Fascist danger the outstanding fact for the European labor movement. It will greatly intensify the danger of an attack on the Comintern. Now more than ever it is necessary for the Comintern to make an end to the disastrous course it has been following in the last two years and put itself in the position of organizing an international working class front against Fascism!

2. The Declaration has nothing whatever to say—not even one word—as to how the "coming German Soviet power" was to be achieved. Since, however, the Declaration is above all an election document, the impression is inevitable—and nothing is done to avoid it—that the "coming German Soviet power" will somehow "come" as a result of the elections!

The general analysis contained in the Declaration is absolutely incredible. The untutored reader examining the document, would certainly come to the conclusion that Germany is a colony or semicolon, like India or China, instead of being a leading imperialist power. The whole question is approached as if there was a "national question" in Germany such as there is for the various national minorities in Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, etc.

The Declaration asserts: "The Versailles robber-treaty (is) the point of departure of the achievement of all the workers of Germany" (!) Not the conditions of capitalist production in Germany, nor the rise of the new German imperialism is the point of departure of the enslavement of the German workers but—the Versailles treaty. This is precisely the viewpoint of the German nationalist-Fascists!

The Declaration speaks of "present-day Germany (as) defenceless and isolated". The new imperialist Germany of the armored cruiser, the Germany that pours millions into every conceivable form of armament is "defenceless"!

Poor imperialist Germany is "isolated"! These are precisely the demagogic phrases of the Hitlerites!

The Declaration announces: "The government parties and the Social-democracy have sold the goods and chattels, the life and existence of the working people of Germany to the highest bidder among the foreign imperialists". In other words, the German capitalists are of no consequence; it is a question of the "German people" who have been "betrayed" by the "unpatriotic" bourgeois and Social-democratic parties to the "foreigners". This is precisely the line of appeal of the German fascists!

It would be to no purpose to quote more. Every worker must read the document for himself!

The second part of the Declaration gives a promissory note on the "coming German Soviet Republic". It declares:

"We solemnly declare . . . that in the event of our seizing power we shall declare null and void all obligations arising out of the Versailles Peace . . . We shall tear up the robber Versailles 'peace' treaty and the Young Plan which enslave Germany."

This is nothing but petty-bourgeois nationalist bombast. Lenin once said on this question (*Leftism*, chap. viii):

"Finally, one of the mistakes of the 'Left' in Germany is their unequivocal refusal to recognize the Versailles Treaty. . . One must understand such tactics to be fundamentally wrong as do not admit that it is necessary for a Soviet Germany to recognize the Versailles Peace and to submit to it for a certain time. . . At present, the position is obviously such that the German Communists should not bind themselves hand and foot and take upon themselves the irrevocable obligation of repudiating the Versailles Treaty in case of a victory of Communism. . . The possibility of successfully repudiating the Treaty depends not only upon the German but also upon the international success of the Soviet movement. . . This (the international Soviet movement) is the strongest bulwark—and the only reliable bulwark—against the Versailles Peace. . . To put the overthrow of the Versailles Peace absolutely and irrevocably in the first place, before

The Election Policy of the Communist Opposition

At a special session of its Enlarged National Council, the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition) decided not to put forward any special list in the Reichstag elections but to call upon the workers to vote for the Communist Party list (List 4). This decision was motivated by the inadequacy of the organizational and financial means at the disposal of the Opposition to put up its own lists. But

the question of the liberation of other countries from the yoke of imperialism, is a species of petty-bourgeois nationalism. . . and is not revolutionary internationalism."

No further comment is necessary!

How did it happen that the Communist Party fell into this swamp of petty bourgeois nationalism? It was the result of panic in the face of the tremendous advance of Fascism which the CP leaders could neither understand nor meet. After having neglected the whole question of the Young Plan for nearly a year as "opportunism" the CPG leadership in desperation undertook the desperate adventure of trying to steal the Fascists thunder—to the great confusion of the workers and the unholy joy of the Fascists.

That the German bourgeoisie—above all the fascists—were quick to understand the significance of the Programmatic Declaration is seen from the following quotation from Fascist papers:

"We greet the fact that the CPG has adopted the standpoint that we have defended for years—that Versailles is the point of departure of German misery. We greet the fact that the CPG has departed from the world revolution and is now for a German revolution. . ." (*Sachliche Beobachter*).

"In the *Rote Fahne* the CC of the CPG publishes a 'programmatic Declaration'. . . A very significant document, an historical document, for with it the CPG places itself in the united front of German resistance and freedom policy! We endorse this declaration word for word! And therefore. . . between us and our friends on the one hand and the Communist revolutionaries on the other. . . there must be established connections which should become relations. . ." (*Der nationale Sozialist*).

"The 'new program' of the CPG means the greatest victory for us for, gritting its teeth, the Communist leadership must put forth our slogans and ascribe to them 'programmatic significance'. . . We will declare in all our meetings: The collapse of Communism is admitted by themselves!" (*Voelkische Beobachter*).

also it endorsed the CPG ticket the Opposition conducted its own campaign, under its own slogan, etc., since the false line of the Party campaign was certain to hurt the cause of Communism. It cannot be doubted that the effective campaign conducted by the Opposition helped considerably in winning workers for the CPG ticket.

YOU WILL FIND JUST WHAT YOU ALL ARE LOOKING FOR—

Revolutionary Age

- light on the problems facing the American workers,
- information about the world labor movement,
- a discussion of the great questions in the international Communist movement.

SUBSCRIBE!

REVOLUTIONARY AGE,

63 Madison Avenue,
New York City.

\$2.00 1 year.

I want to subscribe to REVOLUTIONARY AGE. I am enclosing \$1.00 for 6 mos.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

WHAT IS THE CRISIS?

Is It a "Cyclical" Crisis? -- The Outcome of the Crisis -- Vulgar Economics and Putschism

by Jay Lovestone

It was not so long ago that we were denounced by the present leadership of the Party as "enemies of the working class" because we fought against the following analysis as the basis for Communist strategy and tactics:

"The economic and unemployment crisis is mounting to heights which can very well produce results as profound as those of the cataclysm of 1914 and 1918. . . can very likely come again to the question of the struggle for class power by the workers in more than one capitalist country" (Theses on "The Economic Crisis and the Party Tasks" issued by the CC of the CPUSA in December 1929).

This we characterized as ultra-leftism on a rampage. By the VII Convention of our Party (June 1930) the "newest turn" had touched America, the Party bureaucrats made a hasty and panicky retreat from this estimate and swallowed hook, line and sinker the "theory" of the vulgar bourgeois economists, the theory that the present economic crisis is merely a "typical cyclical crisis."

For this too they got the lead "from above". In his report to the XVI Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, held a short time ago, Stalin declared:

"The world economic crisis is merely the last and worst of the periodic crises inevitable under the capitalist system whose production invariably outruns demand every ten years or so. . ."

In the same vein Browder presented our Party Convention with the following "analysis":

LENIN ON THE CYCLICAL CRISIS

Basing himself upon Marx's analysis of the laws of motion of capitalist economy, Lenin examined capitalism in its final stage, imperialism. Lenin therefore had something to say about what happens to the typical industrial cycle under imperialism, especially in the post-war period. The theses of the III Comintern Congress (1921), which were formulated under Lenin's direction, read:

"The normal development of the industrial cycle was checked by the war which itself became the most powerful economic factor."

These words call direct attention to the fundamental structural changes in capitalist world economy produced by the war. In this light Lenin analyzed the nature of the crisis of 1920. . .

"Thus the crisis of 1920 is not a periodic stage of the 'normal industrial cycle', but a profound reaction, consequent upon the artificial stimulation that prevailed during the war and during the two years thereafter and was based upon ruin and exhaustion." (*Lenin's emphasis*).

Lenin showed that the crises of capitalism in the post-war period took root in differing objective conditions in the various capitalist countries:

"While the body of Europe is suffering from anemism"—he explained—"that of America is affected with plethora. . ."

"While the concentration of wealth going on in Europe has its foundation in the ruinous conditions of that continent,

"We see it is a typical cyclical crisis occurring in the period of the general decline of capitalism. It is not true that when capitalism begins to decline the classical cyclical crisis is wiped out and invades into a general decline of capitalism. . . The cycle is a fundamental law of motion of capitalism. As long as capitalism as a system is operating, the capitalist cycle will also operate. . ."

"Will the capitalist class be able to get out of this crisis ('a typical cyclical crisis')? The activities of the working-class and no other answer except that the degree of organization, the degree of militancy and struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party by the working class and its allies." (*Daily Worker*, Aug. 15, 1930).

Here we have it! It is a "typical cyclical crisis"—and yet it isn't! If it is a crisis occurring in the "period of the general decline of capitalism" then what is typical about it? Then again if the crisis today is merely a "typical" cyclical crisis, then how can it depend on the actions of the working class whether capitalism can recover or not—except on the basis of the rankest putschism, the belief that the Communist Party can bring about the collapse of capitalism regardless of objective conditions. For certainly in a "typical cyclical crisis" the objective conditions are not ripe for revolution no matter how militant the Communist Party may be.

In the United States the concentration of property and the extreme intensification of class distinctions are proceeding on the basis of the feverish growth of capitalist accumulation."

Since Lenin wrote the above words there has indeed been something new in the situation of world capitalism: the intense development of rationalization. The theses of the VII Enlarged Executive of the CI (1926) fully considered this new development; it declared:

"In spite of the relative stabilization of capitalism, capitalism is experiencing a peculiar crisis which is not in any way a 'normal' crisis of capitalist over-production."

What is the Leninist conception of the nature of the present crisis in relation to the world situation? Because of the ever-continuing intensification of its inherent contradictions, capitalism—in this period of post-war general decline—proceeds from one crisis to another, each crisis leaving a more profound basis for the approach of the next crisis. This is so because in the period of imperialism, especially the post-war phase, each crisis sharpens and deepens the inherent contradictions of capitalism, already magnified to a world scale, to such a degree that there develops the basis for the final crisis, the crisis of the collapse of capitalism. This is the meaning of Lenin's characterization of imperialism as "the moribund, decadent, final stage of capitalism."

MANUILSKY DISCOVERS A NEW AMERICA

What a revolution the "new turn" has brought about in the point of view of the Comintern leaders on the American situation—a revolution from the immediate—collapse "apex theory" to the theory of "new organic growth"—is best shown in Manuilsky's concluding speech at the last Presidium session of the ECCI:

"It is not absolutely beyond the bounds of possibility that after the present world crisis, which is deepening the general world crisis of capitalism, the capitalist world will live through a new wave of capitalist rationalization, that is to say, a new period of restoration of basic capital which will bring in its train a feverish temporary boom in industry and commerce." (*Improccor*, Vol. 10, No. 23, May 15, 1930, p. 423).

So now this champion against the

"right danger" announces a "new period of restoration of basic capital" in the USA! This is precisely what Lenin and the III Congress warned against in its theses:

"Should, however, the pace of development (proletarian revolution) slacken and the present economic crisis be followed by a period of prosperity in a greater or less number of countries, this would by no means be an indication of the beginning of the 'organic' epoch."

In the *Pravda* of April 22, 1930, Manuilsky draws some further conclusions from the "new turn". Telling what he sees in store for American imperialism after its present economic crisis, he says:

"American capitalism will rapidly cap-

ture the leading positions in the world arena in the most flourishing spheres of industry; the electric, the chemical, the automobile industry, etc. But in addition to the economic forms of pressure, the aggressiveness of the United States will also find expression in military and political forms.

OUR ESTIMATION OF THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

As against all this confusion and unprincipled "turns" we give here the estimation of the present economic crisis as presented in the theses of our July Conference, which the Central Committee refused to place before the Party Convention:

"Many of the principal capitalist countries are grappling with the problems of economic crisis. The very growth of rationalization, the very strengthening of stabilization, the very exceeding of pre-war levels in production and exchange, have magnified the inherent contradictions of capitalism, have developed many of them to a world scale and brought on the present critical economic situation.

"It would be utterly false to conclude, as does the Ecci and the official American Party leadership, that the present economic crisis has already reached or is even entering upon an immediate period of total collapse of production and exchange comparable to 1914-18 and with a resulting immediate open revolutionary situation on a world scale.

"It is true that the present economic crisis is much more serious than a normal pre-war cyclical crisis. This is due to the basic structural changes in capitalist world economy flowing from the war (shifting of economic center of gravity to the United States, freeing of Russia from capitalist clutches, revolutionary developments in colonies and semi-colonies, restricted internal markets as a result of war ruins, etc.) The course of the development of the historically final basic crisis of capitalism is not in a straight downward line in all countries simultaneously but rather in a series of violent up and down movements, each one more violent than the preceding one. During this definitely downward trend in the decay of world capitalism we will find in some countries even temporary upward swings.

(France) in other countries, slowed down rates of decline (England) and in still other countries upward curves for a number of years (United States). . .

"But the general trend of American capitalism, in its world position, is

"A new period of colonization is opening in the history of American imperialism." *Pravda*, April 22, 1930).

This talk sounds quite like the Hoover and Mellon prosperity bulletins of old! Yet we were the ones expelled for "exaggerating the strength of American imperialism"! Yet we were accused by Molotov of the crime of "bowing to American capitalism!"

still upward, recent months have seen a rapid and serious decline in the immediate economic situation—the low point of which will not be reached for months to come. The situation is made more acute by the economic crisis in a number of the most important capitalist countries. The present conditions are not analogous to the period of deep depression in 1924 and serious decline in 1927 when European conditions were going upward and were very favorable for the expansion of American foreign trade and capital export. Likewise, the immediate American economic decline sharpens the situation in other capitalist countries. . . It is absolutely fallacious to conclude that the present economic crisis is already the final, basic crisis of American capitalism, ushering in the period of revolution or even marking the beginning of the immediate downward trend of capitalist development in the United States."

Mr. Duranty may really believe that Stalin was the only one in the whole wide world who foresaw and understood the crisis and the *New York Times* book reviewers may agree with him. But the fact remains that, in its turns and twists in its jumps from one extreme to another, the leadership of the Comintern seems to have engendered some doubts in its infallibility even in the "best circles". This impression filters thru even the dispatches of the *New York Times*:

"It is not beyond the bounds of possibility—theo of course no one here would ever admit it—that some important Moscow Communists have a sneaking idea that Mr. Lovestone, altho duly excommunicated for contumacy, may know a good deal about conditions in the United States, and that altho he had the misfortune to become a casualty in the highly vital struggle between Bukharin and the Krenin in high Communist International circles, it is just possible that he was right in imagining that the economic depression has not yet strewn American streets and countryside with corpses of the starving proletariat."

Forgery As a Method

Forgery, it seems, has become an accredited and accepted method of "ideological" struggle with the present leadership of the Communist International.

For example in his report to the 16 Congress of the CPSU Molotov told a plain fabrication to the delegation when he said that in the *Revolutionary Age* No. 2, November 15, 1929 I was supposed to have written:

"The Wall Street panic is not the result of the weakening of American economics, but an expression of the actual power of American capitalist economics, etc."

Of course, what I did say was something very much different. I never said anything of the kind that Comrade Molotov attributes to me. I did say in *Revolutionary Age* No. 2, November 15, 1929, in an article captioned "Order in Wall Street" the following:

"The panic in Wall Street did not come as a result of the decline of American capitalist economy. It came as a result of the very strength of American capitalist economy magnifying and sharpening the contradictions of world capitalism. Thus, American capitalism sharpens its own inherent contradictions and generates the forces not only of its own destruction but also of the destruction of world capitalism which hitherto it has done so much to save."

tor of the year as compared with the high peak level of the summer. But now-a-days the Stock Exchange is no longer an accurate or a sensitive barometer of the capitalist production economy."

In elaborating this point in the pamphlet entitled "Order in Wall Street" published simultaneously with the *Revolutionary Age* No. 2, we said:

"The panic on the Stock Exchange did not come as a result of the decline of American capitalist economy. It came as a result of the very strength of American capitalist economy magnifying and sharpening the contradictions of world capitalism. Thus, American capitalism sharpens its own inherent contradictions and generates the forces not only of its own destruction but also of the destruction of world capitalism which hitherto it has done so much to save."

Why did Comrade Molotov have to resort to plain forgery and misquotation? Since when is falsification a bolshevik weapon? It never was so in Leninist days. For Leninists it cannot be so today. Certainly Comrade Molotov received and read the *Revolutionary Age*. Why didn't he examine, analyze and criticize (Continued on page 14).

The Election Campaign and the CP

An Analysis of the Election Platform -- Why We Support the CP Ticket

The absolute incapacity of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., under its present line and leadership, to play the leading role it should in rallying and uniting the workers of this country for militant struggle against the attacks of capital is unfortunately only too well shown in the document "Working Class against Capitalist Class: Main Election Issue of the Communist Party" which serves as a sort of general election program for the Communist Party election campaign this fall. The political character of this document of course reflects the character of the entire election campaign of the Party and more generally its whole policy within the last year and more.

The elections this year take place amidst a serious economic crisis and a bitter drive of reaction upon the labor movement and amidst undeniable preparations in the direction of a new world war. Rationalization is forging ahead at a most rapid rate in this country. A gigantic wage-cut campaign has been carefully prepared by trust capital and is now under way. Unemployment already reaches almost 6,000,000 workers and brings misery to the home of many millions more. Every attempt of the workers to improve their condition is met with terror and persecution. The world political relations are sharpening on every front, bringing the danger of war ever nearer. The chronic enmity of the imperialist powers to the Soviet Union is being converted to active measures of offensive and attack. The rising colonial liberation movement in India, in China, in Egypt, is being met with murderous imperialist repression.

In the face of this situation the American labor movement finds itself weak, disorganized, disunited, misled. The reactionary leaders of the trade unions are doing the work of the bosses rather than leading the workers in the fight for better conditions. Under such conditions, every bit of proletarian common sense points to the chief slogan of the Communist campaign: WORKING CLASS UNITY AGAINST THE OFFENSIVE OF CAPITAL! Even the most superficial appreciation of the deepest needs of the workers calls on the Communists to raise the banner of organization, unity and militancy against the disorganization, disunity and betrayal that the reactionary labor officials, at the behest of the bosses, are bringing into the labor movement.

But what is the course of the Communist Party in this situation as manifested in the election program?

1. In the entire election program there is not a word in reference to the main feature of the present objective situation: the offensive of capital. Of course there are some general remarks about the nature of capitalist government, the oppression of the capitalists, etc. but these remarks might just as well have been written ten years ago for all the contact they have with the realities of today. No attempt is made to examine the concrete relations between the workers and the capitalists in this country today, the concrete line of attack of the bosses today, the concrete tasks of

PEASANT MOVEMENT IN CHINA

(Continued from Page 5)

Intervention in China is a menace not only to the Chinese people but also to the American workers and farmers as well. The strengthening of imperialism in the East will mean the strengthening of imperialism at home, the strengthening of the big trust capitalists against the workers and farmers in this country. It is clear that the enemy the Chinese people are fighting is our enemy as well and that their struggle is our struggle. Our slogans must therefore be:

STAND BY THE CHINESE REVOLUTION!
HANDS OFF CHINA!
WITHDRAW ALL AMERICAN SHIPS AND FORCES FROM CHINA!
—Spectator

the workers today.

2. The election program formally and officially turns its back upon the whole labor movement. The organized trade union movement of this country is called a "tool of the bosses." The only "genuine" labor organizations recognized by the program are the tiny groups affiliated to the TUUL or in some other way auxiliary of the Communist Party. It has no message for the millions of organized workers except that they should desert their organizations, break them up and join the "revolutionary unions." Not the unity of the workers—but the further splitting of the labor organizations is the message of the election program.

3. Many pages of the program are devoted to the question of the war danger. Here also the matter is discussed in a very abstract and schematic manner. The message is: capitalism brings war! which was as true thirty years ago as it is today. No attempt is made to analyze concretely the relations of world politics today out of which the danger of a new world war, as a concrete fact, arises. Above all there is no attempt to outline a program of struggle for the workers against war, especially a program of united action against capitalist militarism.

4. In view of the revival of the capitalist propaganda campaign against the Soviet Union in recent months and of the unmistakable preparations of a more material nature for an offensive against the USSR, the question of the recognition and defence of the USSR should play a big role in the platform of our Party in the elections. But how is the matter treated? The whole question of the recognition and defence of the USSR is made a question of the superiority of the Soviet system over the democratic republic, i. e., it is put on a basis that can appeal only to Communists. There is no attempt made to hammer home the lesson of international labor solidarity; there is not a word that the fate of the world labor movement is closely bound up with the fate of the USSR, that the workers of all countries have a direct class interest in defending the Soviet Union. Upon the narrow basis upon which the platform puts it no serious movement for the recognition and defence of USSR can be developed in America.

5. In spite of the fact that the U.S.A. is the leading imperialist power in the world today, the whole question of imperialism receives no more than a sketchy mention in the programmatic declaration of the Party for the election campaign. Nothing is said about the role of the U.S.A. in world politics, about the activities of Yankee imperialism in Latin America, or about any specific phase of American imperialism for that matter. The only argument the platform makes against the system of colonial domination on the part of Wall Street is that a few lives of American marines are lost in the process! Not a word is said to counteract the widespread idea among the workers that the expansion of America's empire brings prosperity to the American people. Yet it is precisely the question of the economic significance of imperialism for the American workers that is fundamental. The slogans in the platform on the question of imperialism and colonial oppression become to the workers mere empty phrases that can have no serious effect upon the masses.

6. The section on the Negroes is a masterpiece of sectarian abstraction. The miserable condition of the Negroes is accurately described but what is proposed? In effect it is declared the Soviet America will solve everything—which is very true, historically but is hardly a slogan calculated to mobilize the Negro masses for immediate struggle! Without a program-of-action for immediate struggle there can be no talk of mass work among the Negro people.

7. Not one word is to be found in the election platform about the young workers. Their conditions are not even analyzed nor is there presented a single slogan or demand for the young workers! Whether this is pure neglect or some-

Inter-racial Club In Philadelphia CP-Majority Group Wins Among Negroes

The Philadelphia organization of the CP-Majority Group has begun to carry on agitation and organization work among the Negro workers in earnest. On Monday, September 15, a meeting was held in the Negro section of Philadelphia with over 200 present. A Guss, Ben Gitlow and Rotschild Francis spoke. A large number of copies of the Revolutionary Age were sold and over sixty names received as sympathizers. A few days later, on September 17, another meeting in another proletarian section took place at which 150 were present. Twenty eight copies of the Revolutionary Age were sold and many names obtained.

On Saturday, September 12, after good preparations, an organization meeting for the establishment of an inter-racial club was held. The meeting was a great success. There were over 100 at the meeting and the Inter-racial Workers Club was immediately organized with a membership of 60, practically all of them being Negroes. Since then the Club has elected its executive committee and its officers—Conway, as president; Murphy, as vice-president; Guss, as secretary; and Newby as treasurer. Arrangements for open air meetings and other activities have been made.

thing else we cannot determine.

These are only the most outstanding shortcomings of the election platform; more in the same direction could easily be enumerated. The document can hardly be considered as a Communist appeal to the working people in the present situation. It is a dry, sectarian, bombastic, dogmatic document without any feeling for the life and struggles of the workers in this country today. And such is the character of the whole Communist Party election campaign today.

Why then do we call for the support of the Communist ticket in the elections? Why do we ask the workers to vote for candidates standing on such a platform, a platform of working class disunity and disorganization, when unity and organization are the demands of the hour? Because we call upon the workers to vote not for the false and harmful tactics of the Communist Party, but for the fundamental principles of the class struggle and Communism which the CP alone represents in the present campaign thru an electoral ticket. Certainly it would be better if we, the CP-Majority Group, were in a position to hold aloft the banner of Communism in the election campaign, so that to the fundamentals of Communism could be added correct Leninist tactics and platform. But our organizational position is manifestly such as to exclude such a possibility. Facing reality therefore, we must declare that of all the parties in the field with tickets the Communist Party alone stands on the basis of proletarian class struggle, however bad and harmful its tactics may be. That is why we call upon the workers to: VOTE COMMUNIST!

But we are not asking the workers to vote their endorsement of the false policies and false platform of the official Party. In calling upon the workers to vote Communist we ask them to vote for the traditional policies and platform of the Communists in America for many years, in those years in which Communism was growing and becoming a force in the labor movement. The official Communist Party has temporarily deviated from this path, much to the detriment of the revolutionary movement. But we hope and are confident that this deviation will be only temporary and short-lived and that with the help of the best sections of the Party membership and militant workers the American Communist Party will again take the road to mass influence and to effective revolutionary action.

REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH
Organ of
YCL-MAJORITY GROUP

50 cents a year 25 cents 6 mos.

Slanders that Grow Out of Desperation The "Empros" Lies About the Food Workers

BY ALEX CONSTAS
Secretary-Treasurer of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Branch of the AFW

In the Empros (Greek organ of the Communist Party) of September 6, 1930, there is an article, supposedly written by Comrade Gelepis and Pappini, but evidently manufactured by the brainy editors of the Empros himself, accusing me of having been instrumental in sending them to jail for 60 days. In what way I was responsible for their sentences the brilliant editor does not say. It is a ridiculous lie from start to finish.

The Empros and every food worker knows that every worker appearing before the capitalist judges in special sessions for violating the injunction is served with the same dish of capitalist justice, namely 60 days in jail, unless the boss fails to press the charge. Every worker who has hitherto appeared in such circumstances received 60 days in jail. Was I instrumental in the sentences of the other workers? It is peculiar that it took Comrades Gelepis 5 months to discover that I was instrumental in sending him to jail. Probably it was the slow functioning "communist mind" of the editor of the Empros that had something to do with this belated discovery.

Further on, the article goes on to ask us what will Stevenson and Cornelius, now serving 18 months each for their activities in last year's cafeteria strike, say when they are released. I ask the editor of the Empros what will they say when they find out the truth as to who kept them in jail. The food workers, and especially Comrade Gelepis knows, how we, the CP-Majority Group comrades, fought when we were in the leading fraction that the union should use all means at its disposal to get these comrades out as soon as possible. This decision is in the minutes of the leading fraction in a session held a year ago with the district secretary but the officialdom of the 21st St. union, apparently more interested in drawing their wages than in doing anything for the release of these two comrades, did nothing.

What is the reason for the sudden outburst of slander and lies against me and the other comrades of the Communist Party (Majority Group)? It is to hide the bankruptcy of the crazy line of the Party among the food workers. After more than a year of application of this false policy, it is beginning to be felt that splits, paper "unions", left phrases and importation of silver-tongued Messiahs will not organize the food workers. In contrast is the correct policies of the CP-Majority Group under which the splendid cafeteria strike of a year and a half ago was conducted and which built up the cafeteria workers union which was later ruined by the new policies of the official Communist Party.

After seeing the ruins that the application of the policies of the present Party policies has brought about in all unions and organizations, the workers must demand from the official Communist Party the unity of the working class and the adoption of the correct policies of the CP-Majority Group.

JAY LOVESTONE

will lecture on

THIRTEEN YEARS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

at

CRYSTAL PALACE
43 Street and 14th Avenue
Brooklyn, N. Y.

FRIDAY NOV. 7, 8 p. m.

Auspices:

BORO PARK WORKERS YOUTH CLUB

Take B.M.T. West End Train to Fort Hamilton Parkway

Big Meeting in Negro Defence

Nearly two hundred Negro people attended the emergency meeting called on Wednesday, September 24, 1930, under the auspices of the John Brown club, to register an energetic protest against an attempt to bring lynching and mob violence against Negroes into New York City and in order to organize a defence for Samuel Bernard who is now under arrest for having dared to defend himself against a mob of would-be lynchers in the Bronx. Samuel Bernard is a Negro janitor at 1662 Washington Avenue, Bronx. On Wednesday, September 17, he was set upon by a mob of nearly 1,000 white people and severely beaten because he drove away a group of young gamblers from the door steps. All of the leaders and the members of the mob are at liberty but Bernard, his wife and brother are under arrest!

The meeting on September 24 was at St. Lukes Hall, 125 West 130 Street. The meeting was presided by C. B. Jenkins, World War veteran and member of the Harlem Tenants League, and addressed by Rotschild Francis, former editor of The Emancipator, Virgin Island, Mrs. Braithwaith, of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, Grace Campbell, the organizer of John Brown Labor Defence Club, Calvin Fannin, and William J. White. The message of the speakers was enthusiastically welcomed by the audience. A good collection was taken up for defence purposes.

Samuel Bernard, the victim of the outburst of mob violence, appeared before the meeting in person. A committee of Francis, Miss Campbell, and Mrs. Braithwaith was appointed to carry forward the defence work.

In addition to the meeting at St. Luke's Hall there have been held a number of very successful open air meetings in Harlem.

N. Y. WORKERS DEMONSTRATE AGAINST SIMON

Sir John Simon, chairman of the Indian Statutory Commission, responsible for the infamous Simon Report, was greeted by a demonstration of several hundred workers with the slogan "Butcher Simon Go Back!" before the National Broadcasting Co. at 711 Fifth Avenue on Wednesday, September 3. Sir John Simon, who was sent here as part of a delegation of British lawyers to whitewash the brutality and oppressive measures taken by British imperialism in India was broadcasting over W.E.A.F. his slander against the Indian people and his usual apologies for the British government, from 7.00 to 7.30 P. M. Promptly at 7.30 the demonstration, which was under the auspices of the Communist Party (Majority Group) began.

Among the banners carried in the demonstration were the following: "Butcher Simon Go Back!"; "Free Indian Political Prisoners!"; "Down With British Bombing in India and USA Gunboats in China!"; "Free India & Ireland!"; "Down with the MacDonald Imperialist Labor Government!"; "The Indian Masses Will March On If Gandhi Betrays!"; "Imperialism Murders Indian Workers & Starves American Workers!"; "Yellow, Black & White Workers Unite Against Imperialism!"; "Down With The Simon Report!" and soon.

A large crowd gathered on the sidewalk at Fifty-fifth St. and 5th Ave. and listened to various speakers, among them being a Hindu speaker, and the following: M. Lawrence, Bert Miller, H. Zam, I. Zimmerman, D. Benjamin, Victor Cibulsky. Loud cheers echoed for Indian Independence and the struggle of the Indian masses for freedom, while the Simon Report was heartily booed.

Arriving in the lobby with Nicholas Murray Butler, Sir John Simon was informed of the demonstration on the sidewalk. He immediately turned tail and retreated upstairs. Only after the demonstration was over and after he had received an escort of three motor cycle policemen did he venture to leave the building.

A number of Indian workers participated in the demonstration.

National Council Meets November 27

In accordance with the decision of the first session of the National Council held immediately after the National Conference of July, the Bureau of the National Council of the Communist Party (Majority Group) has decided to convene

the Plenum of the National Council for Thanksgiving Day, November 27, 1930, with the following agenda

1. The Situation in the CP-Majority Group and Our Next Tasks.
2. The Condition of Our Organization in the Districts Outside of New York.
3. The Political Character of the Revolutionary Age as a Weekly.
4. The Situation in the International Communist Opposition and the Preparations for the International Opposition Conference.

The Bureau of the National Council
CP-Majority Group.

Capitalist Idiocy and the Fate of the Farmers

These days the abominable idiocy of the capitalist system is being brought home to the workers and farmers with increasingly painful clarity. Take the plight of the farmers: First, they were especially hard hit by a stroke of good luck in having bumper crops. In the midst of the severe economic crisis the bumper crops only aggravated the already acute hardships of the great mass of farmers. So the speculators, grain gamblers and cotton buyers got wheat, corn, cotton, etc. at a song—much below cost—from the farmers. Soon the farmers were hit by a stroke of bad luck. A terrible drought set in and inflicted tremendous damage on the crops. Prices of these staples immediately began to soar. But the average farmer is not the gainer from this price increase by a long shot. Whatever crops were in the field have been and are being still burned up by the drought. It is the bankers and capitalist gamblers who but yesterday bought up much of the surplus agricultural products who are the sole gainers from the drought. For the big distributors and merchants it means higher profits. For the great mass of farmers the drought spells only additional misery and suffering. For the workers it means higher prices. Starvation for the farmers when they produce bumper crops; Starvation for the farmers when a devastating drought sets in! Starvation for the workers when they don't produce enough (disemployment). What a hopelessness! What an endless chain of curses! Capitalism, in true vulture-like fashion, particularly thrives on the disasters-natural and otherwise—befalling the workers and poor farmers. Capitalism, not only produces its own vast crop of misery—unemployment, starvation, scabbery, speed-up, corruption, disease, and war—but its beneficiaries, the owning class, the capitalist birds of prey, ghoulishly grow fat on the victims of natural disasters. This is what Hoover and Coolidge so proudly call "American individual initiative". It is high time our American workers and exploited farmers began to show some real mass initiative and together take effective steps to hasten the rushing of the present damnable system of capitalism to the dung heap of history and in its stead begin to build up a socialist system—free from all exploitation—as our brothers in the factories and on the farms are now doing in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

REVOLUTIONARY AGE

BOUND VOLUMES

Numbers 1 to 10, from November 1, 1929 to March 15, 1930.

These volumes are beautifully bound in blue buckram cloth and stamped in gold.

Order your copy immediately!

Price \$2.00

The Next War

By Bertram D. Wolfe

5. Anglo-American Conflict

(Concluded from last issue)

Financial "Advisers"

In their efforts to get on the inside track on loans, investments, markets and raw materials, American bankers have officially placed financial "advisers" (dictators) in 25 foreign countries. Aggressive American capital penetrates even into the British dominions (in Canada it holds a superior position to England in matter of investments) and what is more, into British industry, as well. America's penetration of the British electrical industry was the cause of the recent international battle between Sir Hugo Hirst and American financial interests, for control of British General Electric, in which battle American shareholders were deprived of all voting rights. On the other hand there is the Shell Oil Company's penetration of American oil fields and its calculated policy of exhausting American oil reserves as rapidly as possible, while it keeps its reserves in other parts of the world largely untapped.

The Uses of Government

Both governments, their state departments, commerce departments, treasuries, armies and navies, "intelligence" and diplomatic services, are completely at the disposal of the gigantic industrial-financial contestants. Government and big business are even identified to the extent of interchangeable personnel. In America, to mention only a few of the outstanding cases, there is Morrow, (Morgan partner), Dawes, Mellon, Young, Hughes (from Secretary of State to Standard Oil corporation lawyers, and thence to the Supreme Court bench), Hoover, Guggenheim, and the multi-millionaire Davis, Hurley, Lamont, Adams, etc. in the cabinet. It's a far cry from the days of government trust-busting, to the present situation of big-business ownership of government!

On the British side there is Lord Birkenhead, Solicitor-General, Attorney-General, Lord Chancellor and Secretary of State for India, on the Board of Directors of the Imperial Chemical Industries; Lord Reading, Solicitor-General, Attorney-General, Lord Chief Justice, Viceroy of India, and director of banks, insurance and utility companies and of Imperial Chemical Industries; Reginald McKenna, First Lord of Admiralty, Chancellor of the Exchequer, now chairman of the great Midland Bank and other important financial corporations, etc. etc.

Fighting For the Sea Lanes

In the battle for supremacy in shipping in which Great Britain continues to have a tremendous lead, both governments subsidize ship-building, specify that merchants ships must be so built that they can mount six-inch guns in war time (Jones-White law in U. S.) use what are technically known as "lighting" ships to capture certain trade routes, and bar each other's vessels out wherever possible. The United States even goes so far as to set aside the 18th amendment on ships under its control to compete successfully for passenger trade.

The Nerves of Empire

In the international battle for the control of what Ludwell Denny has aptly called the "nerves of empire", the United States has tried to overcome Britain's virtual cable monopoly by the huge, government-promoted R.C.A. General Electric - Westinghouse - American Telephone and Telegraph-General Motors-Victor-International Telephone and Telegraph super-merger. Great Britain has countered by its Imperial Wireless and Cable Conference and its Cables and Wireless and Imperial Communications merger. While these two super-mergers, power-trust giants are skirmishing for position, Major General Harbor, president of the Radio Corporation of America, and former Chief of Staff of the American Expeditionary Force in the World War, has delivered himself of the following:

"Sitting between the hind legs of the British lion with the tail of that noble beast wrapped around his neck would be a poor perch for the American eagle from which to recover lost leadership in world communications. . . . This new combined British communications interest will effect American relationships in every part of the world. . . . The national defence of the United States must reckon with the planetary domination of communications by the British." (U. S. DAILY, June 25, 1929.)

And the Journal of the Royal Empire Society, "United Empire", for January 1929,

publishes an analogous article by the British radio official Roland Belfort, which concludes:

"Today the British and the Americans are again standing in battle array."

Closely related to the shipping and communications conflicts is the effort of America to strike a blow at the very heart of the British Empire by seeking strategic concessions near the Suez Canal, while Britain maneuvers for a canal concession in Colombia and oil and gold rights on the Panama border and in Panama (where the United States insists there is neither oil nor gold.) In the tariff war Britain seeks to use the weapon of imperial preference as an offset to the huge tariff wall of the United States which has been raised still higher by the Hawley-Smoot bill.

The Battle for Oil

As in the case of the huge power giants, there are rival chemical combines, feverish activity to secure a dominant position in aviation, a battle for control of nickel, tin, nitrates, potash—in short, a world-wide struggle for control of every industry and raw material of military or economic importance. Probably the biggest of all is the oil war between these two ruthless giants of finance, Standard Oil and Royal Dutch-Shell. It is a war with a far-flung battle front—a tangled network of schemes and plots, lies and intrigues, fomenting of revolutions and counter-revolutions, buying of governments and treaties, faking claims and documents, maneuvers by diplomats and naval men and secret service agents, interventions by State-Departments and Foreign Offices under the most astounding pretexts, ultimatums, open and veiled, temporary truces promptly and trickily violated, guerrilla wars and even wars between puppet governments, brazen and naked greed, fraud and force, and the most revolting and pious hypocrisy.

The oil war is on wherever there is oil, or potential oil, or a market for its products. Now smoldering, now bursting into still localized flames, the accumulated antagonisms of this titanic world rivalry for oil and other raw materials, for markets and investment spheres, for control of the sea and the land and the air, provide materials so inflammable that today, tomorrow, the day after, they will be the source of a conflagration which will sweep all the lands of the earth.

In the next number, Comrade Wolfe will write on the other outstanding source of war-danger today: "The War Plot against the Soviet Union." The final articles in the series on "The Next War" will answer the questions "What It Will Be Like?" and "What Can We Do About It?"

BAKERS LOCALS HELP REVOLUTIONARY AGE

By a vote of 68 to 6 Bakers Local No. 1 of the Amalgamated Food Workers, in a spirited meeting decided to help the Revolutionary Age in its fight against the attempt of the government to suppress it. The local also voted to donate \$25 to help support the Revolutionary Age.

The local union meeting was addressed by Comrade Lovestone. There was much enthusiasm among the workers after Comrade Lovestone made his appeal for a united working class front against capitalist reaction, for a militant struggle against wage cuts, unemployment, and the open shop drive.

The loyalists rallied to their support against the Revolutionary Age the most backward elements. The alliance of loyalists, syndicalists, and pure and simple craft unionists succeeded in mustering only a baker's half dozen in their plea against the Communist Party (Majority Group). The overwhelming, enthusiastic support accorded the Revolutionary Age was in line with the similar action taken two weeks before by Local 3 of the Amalgamated Food Workers, which was addressed by Ben Gitlow. Bakers Local 3 voted a donation of \$25 and subscriptions to the amount of \$10. Local No. 164 has also donated \$25.

Passaic Group At Work Splendid Meetings Held

Two splendid meetings, held on Saturday, September 6, and Saturday, September 13, at 3rd and Houston Streets, were among the first general activities of the newly organized Passaic local of the CP-Majority Group.

Nearly 500 people were present at the first of these meetings. Eli Keller, former secretary of the National Textile Workers Union, was chairman; B. Herman, Herbert Zam and B. Miller spoke. Unemployment is very severe in Passaic. Almost 40% of the Passaic workers are unemployed. Rationalization and speed-up have been intensified. A whole series of indirect wage-cuts—changing the quality of materials so that the workers would find it impossible to make as much as before, changing from department to department, at lower rates, and so on—have been put over. A general wage-cut is being planned. The workers, therefore, responded with great enthusiasm to the call of the CP-Majority Group to organize and fight back against the wage-cut drive of the bosses, for unemployment relief and insurance.

This meeting was at least twice the size of the famous "September 1 demonstration" that was organized by the fragments of the official CP unit in Passaic.

The second successful meeting was held a week later and at this meeting Comrades Lifshitz, Herman, Keller, and Benjamin spoke. The meeting was also very large. Twenty-one copies of the *Revolutionary Age* were sold. The official Party unit planned a meeting for the same night a few blocks away but the meeting never came off.

The CP-Majority Group is becoming a real force among the workers of Passaic. Already the group has twice as many members as the official Party organization in Passaic. The Passaic group is opening big headquarters at 60 Dayton Avenue as a proletarian center for the workers of Passaic. Future meetings are being planned with J. O. Bentall, Bertram D. Wolfe, and other well-known speakers.

A third meeting was held upon the following Saturday. Four hundred workers were present. Three new workers joined the CP-Majority Group, including one Negro worker.

For Saturday night, October 18, the Passaic Group is planning a *Housewarming Party* at its new headquarters. Jay Lovestone will be present at this affair.

WEISBORD STATEMENT

(Continued from page 9)
but what we have to reckon with is a tenseness of relationships, a restiveness of the masses which can enable a Communist Party WITH THE CORRECT POLICY to lead masses into such activity as to radicalize the masses. There is great POTENTIALITY NOT ACTUALITY of masses becoming radicalized generally and relatively quickly. But the foolish policy of the Party only drives the masses further away from radicalization.

9. The dogmatic statements 1. That American capitalism will weather the present economic storm and 2. That it will rise to new peaks, utterly fails to take into account the international situation. It may be, that due, above all to the criminal policies of the CI, this eventuality may OCCUR, but it is impossible to state so now as the sole solution. The "Majority Group" fails in REALITY to see that the economic crisis in the United States means economic crises in many countries (for this group does not make such a view a VITAL part of its living work in America); that in some of these countries such a crisis if prolonged will lead to a real revolutionary situation, that a revolution breaking out in Europe may not only deepen the American crisis but will usher in a new and higher stage of the world revolution. In such an alternative (or a number of similar alternatives which result in the ushering of a world crisis) impossible? Quite the contrary! For communists, the whole perspective for the United States must constantly and intimately be permeated with this view.

(Concluded in the next issue)

Lynching - An American Pastime

To date there have been recorded 26 lynchings in the South—an average of nearly three a month. "Civilized" Georgia and Mississippi have to their credit five of these lynchings in two days.

There seems to be some inaccuracy, therefore, in the statement made early in January of this year by William W. Alexander, director of the Commission



of Inter-racial Cooperation, to wit: "Ten years from now we will be wondering how it ever happened—something for scientific study and the rest of us to

The Facts Speak

Some "Achievements" of the Loyalties in the Anthracite

By N. BORICH, (Luzerne, Pa.)

The official Party bureaucrats charge us that we are bosses agents, renegades, fascist, enemies of the working class, etc. . . . but the facts prove who is really working in the interests of the working class.

On June 8 our lodge of the H. B. Z. (Croatian Fraternal Society) had election for recording secretary because the old secretary had left the place to look for a job. There were three candidates: two conscious reactionaries and priest supporters and Comrade Borich, a Communist and member of the CP-Majority Group. The "loyalites" did not put forward a candidate at all. But what did the "loyalites" do? They formed a united front with the reactionary and Comrade Borich was defeated and a reactionary elected! Who now is fighting for the working class?

Only July 6 S. N. P. J. (another fraternal society) had its regular meeting. This organization is affiliated to the I. L. D. Bill Lawrence (a "loyalite" from Philadelphia) came down to our lodge meeting to ask for some financial support for the I. L. D. in order to defend those recently arrested. Lawrence asked the "loyalite", Loncarevich, to ask the lodge to give Lawrence the floor but Loncarevich was afraid and refused to speak. Comrade Borich, whom Lawrence is so ready to call a "renegade", found out that Lawrence was outside the hall and wanted to speak; so he went out and told Lawrence that if he would speak only on the I. L. D. Comrade Borich would secure the floor for him. As a result was able to get \$10 from the treasury besides a collection for the I. L. D. The "loyalites" were neutral on the whole matter because they thought Lawrence was a "Lovestonite".

The same day the I. L. D. had a meeting and Lawrence was there and spoke. He attacked us and said that "Lovestone and his group are bosses agents." After his speech Comrade Borich got up and answered his slanderous charges and asked him many questions to answer. The result was that Lawrence's mouth was glued for the rest of the meeting because the poor fellow was afraid of being thrown out by the membership.

In spite of what Lawrence did our branch realized that with the arrest of the workers in Scanlon money was necessary for defense and we did not look upon the I. L. D. from any factional approach. As a result Lawrence raised \$32.50 in Luzerne thru us whom he

remember with disbelief. It will be wiped out by radio, good roads, and the newspapers."

Down in a hell-hole known as the village of Darien in the state of Georgia, the stronghold of the "American Fascist Association of Black Shirts", a cousin of the Ku Klux Klan, three Negroes were forcibly removed from prison and lynched, not upon the usual fake charge of "rape" but for an alleged attempt to rob a bank. It has been established beyond a shadow of doubt that at least one of these workers was not at all guilty of the charge.

In the attempt to capture these Negroes one bank guard was killed and three officers wounded. Any determination to defend oneself come what may under such circumstances should be commended.

The officers of the law made no attempt to disperse the mob bent on lynching. On the contrary they left the prisoners unprotected in their cells.

In Seoba, Mississippi, two other Negroes were lynched. This time the "charge" was robbery on the highway. The sheriff and his deputies permitted themselves to be tied to trees while the mob carried on their barbarous game.

The Negro masses must defend themselves against the American "pastime" of lynching. The workers (Negro and white) must unite in a determined campaign to root out the system of lynching which is solely AMERICAN.

R. F.

Gitlow Tour On

The tour of Comrade Gitlow, as announced in the last issue of the *Revolutionary Age*, had a successful beginning in Philadelphia on September 13, 14 and 15. On September 13 Comrade Gitlow had a meeting with a number of left wing needle trades workers and in the evening there took place a membership meeting of the Philadelphia organization of the CP-Majority Group. On the next day, Sunday, September 14, there took place a ratification meeting for the Communist candidates and in the evening a banquet. At noon on September 15 there was held a "Hands Off China" demonstration at City Hall Plaza at which there were over 500 workers present. In the evening an open air meeting was held in the Negro section, at 16th and Kater, at which Comrades Guss, Gitlow and Rotschild Francis spoke, before a very interested crowd of over 200 Negroes. Seventy five copies of *Revolutionary Age* were sold and over 60 names obtained.

Comrade Gitlow then proceeded to the Anthracite, Detroit and Chicago about which there will be a report in the next issue. Then follow:

Boston: October 17, 18, 19.

Hartford: October 20.

Baltimore: October 23, 24.

Philadelphia: October 25.

In each locality he visits Comrade Gitlow will be available for three kinds of meetings:

1. A meeting of the local CP-Majority Group, at which the important group problems will be considered.

2. A public mass meeting to which Party members and all workers should be invited. At this mass meeting Comrade Gitlow will speak on the attack of reaction, the tasks of the working class and the coming elections.

3. Meetings of or arranged by sympathetic organizations, such as Workers Circle branches, fraternal societies, etc. All efforts must be made to make possible such meetings.

Comrades! Get on the job! Make all necessary preparations and arrangements for the Gitlow tour. As soon as definite arrangements are made in each locality they will be announced in the *Revolutionary Age*.

FORGERY AS A METHOD

(Continued from page 11)

what we actually said instead of something we never said or something which his factually fertile imagination would have us say.

In this same speech before the 16 Party Congress Comrade Molotov further said that I had developed the theory that: "In the United States a 'second industrial revolution' was proceeding." What did I actually say? The "second industrial revolution" were first used by myself in the February 1928 Theses which the Polburo of the Russian Party and the Comintern Presidium endorsed. Comrade Molotov was then a member of both bodies, as he is now. But what is even more important, in this instance, is to find out what I actually did say about the so-called "second industrial revolution" notion. Let me quote from the February 1928 Theses in order to have the comrades get the fact straight. Dealing with this point, it said in part:

"Contradictions: of rationalization: The very process of rationalization, oftentimes called the second industrial revolution, in the U. S., has different effects in its various stages. The trend towards mass production and efficiency at an early stage may tend to increase the number of workers employed and for some of them, even to raise their standard of living. But after that, in the later stage, the rationalization process, as applied by the capitalists, has the very opposite effect—a most harmful one, on the workers. Now employment is reduced, hours of labor are subsequently lengthened and wages cut."

Incidentally, in speaking of "revolutions" it would be well for Comrade Molotov to refresh his memory by referring to the Program of the Communist International about this point which says in part: "The spasmodic and feverish development of technic bordering in some countries on a new technical revolution," etc., etc.

—Jay Lovestone.

The XVI CPSU Congress and the International Situation

What the recent XVI Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had to say about the problems of the international revolutionary movement is certainly very important. Even under the proper Leninist relations between the CPSU and the Comintern—that is, even were the Comintern under the direction of a real collective international leadership—the viewpoint of a Congress of the CPSU on international questions would be of tremendous significance, for the CPSU very properly occupies the

position of the first among equals in the Communist International and its views and advice bear the greatest weight. But under the abnormal conditions of system of leadership which lie at the root of the crisis in the Comintern today, the views of the Soviet Party Congress on international matters are absolutely decisive for the policy of the Comintern. That is why we must examine with the greatest care what the XVI Congress of the CPSU said about the international situation.

1. THE ESTIMATE OF THE OBJECTIVE SITUATION

The profoundly false ultra-left analysis of the objective situation which has characterized the new course of the Comintern from its beginning was endorsed and even carried further by the XVI Congress. In the resolution of the Congress on the report of the CPSU Delegation in the ECCI (Molotov's report) we read:

"The proletariat answers the offensive of capital thru the development of the strike movement, thru actions of the unemployed, thru political demonstrations, in which are present the elements of transformation of economic struggles and political struggles. The economic crisis, which is taking place in the midst of an already begun revolutionary upsurge of the international labor movement and the toiling masses of the colonies, raises the counter-offensive of the proletariat to a higher level. . . ."

In Stalin's report we find:

"The present crisis is the first world economic crisis since the war."

"It must be admitted that the present economic crisis is the most serious and profound of all the world economic crises hitherto experienced." In the resolution on Stalin's report it is declared:

"What the crisis is developing in the face of the already commencing revolutionary upsurge of the world movement of the workers and toiling masses in the colonies, it raises the counter-offensive of the proletariat to a higher level, in some countries, leads to the conversion of the economic crisis into a political one, and accelerates the outbreak of civil war in the colonies."

2. THE FORMULATION OF TACTICAL LINE

Nor is there the slightest modification in the suicidal tactical line of the Comintern. The sectarian and splitting trade union line is specifically endorsed while the abandonment of the tactics of the united front is raised into a system and theorized. In his summary Molotov made clear:

"In connection with the rising intensification of class antagonisms and the strengthening of the activity of the proletarian masses, the Communist International set up the tactics of 'class against class' and carried these tactics consistently. The essence of these tactics consists in the rejection of all alliances with the Social-democracy. . . . but on the contrary the realization of the proletarian united front from below."

"Only three years ago the Communist Parties still used to make temporary alliances with the Social-democracy. . . . The transition to the tactics of 'class against class' has liquidated all such alliances. . . . On the field of economic struggle the Communist Party of Germany or the Communist Parties of other countries where there were no Red unions would carry on their work within the limits of the reformist trade unions. . . . But now the Communists cannot limit themselves to activity within the old limits. The sharpening of the class struggle and the formation of the triple alliance of the employers, the bourgeois state and the Social-democracy against the workers places new tasks before the Communist Parties."

So! The "alliance of the employers, the bourgeois state and the reformists" is a phenomenon of the "third period"! And that is why we must have "new

To this absolutely fantastic estimation of the situation, an estimation that has already shown its complete falsity in practice, there was only one voice raised at the Congress, strangely enough the voice of Chitaroff, the leader of the Young Communist International, who declared:

"At a time when there is in the Soviet Union a tremendous tempo of development, this is unfortunately not to be noted in the capitalist countries. Whereas in the Soviet Union the proletariat is on the offensive along the whole front, in the capitalist countries the things are so that the bourgeoisie attacks and our Communist Parties have not been able or have been able only to a very insufficient degree to organize the counter-offensive. . . ."

Quite correct! But doesn't this sound very much like what the "opportunists" and the "renegades" have been saying for some time?

That the false estimation of the objective situation extends to (or shall we say: starts out from) the United States is shown in the following gem from the report of Stalin:

"When difficulties are spoken of in the United States, difficulties of decay are referred to, for America is passing thru a crisis of economic decline. When difficulties are spoken of in England, they are difficulties of stagnation, since for several years England's economy has stagnated, that is, its forward movement stagnates. So! The U. S. is already on the "decline" but British economy is merely "stagnating"! Is this not really the discredited Bittelman apex-theory, exaggerated and elevated to the clouds?"

tactics"! Apparently, according to Molotov, the old tactics, the tactics of Lenin, were based upon a situation in which the employers had no connection with the government and in which the reformists were fighting for the interests of the workers. And this is the nominal leader of the Communist International! This is the successor of Zinoviev and Bukharin! In his report Stalin formulates in classical form the attitude of the new course towards the danger of social-reformism:

"Are there still workers to be found who believe the lying sermons of the Social-democrats? The workers' demonstrations of August 1, 1929. . . show that the best elements of the working class are already turning their backs on the Social-democracy."

Apparently this explains the growth of membership of the Social-democratic Party of Germany to a membership of over a million for the first time; to the growth of the French, Czechoslovakian, and other Social-democratic parties beyond their pre-war membership. Apparently the influence of Social-democracy on the working class has already disappeared. "The underestimation or disregard of the enemy is the fatal error for a revolutionist" (Lenin).

And now what happens to these masses of workers who are emerging from the influence of the Social-democrats?

"But when the workers turn their backs on Social-democracy, this means that they turn to Communism." How anyone can say this in the face of the striking drift of disgrusted Social-democratic workers into political indifference and even to Fascism, can only be explained by those who can justify the tactics based upon such phantastic estimations!

A Slanderous Lie WhatAboutCanada?

The *Imprecor* is peddling around the "information" that Oskar Samuelson, the secretary of the Communist Party of Sweden (which was expelled from the Comintern over a year ago and which supports the struggle of the International Communist Opposition) has "resigned", is "out of the movement," etc., etc.

This is nothing but malicious misinformation that arises out of the desperation of the Comintern bureaucrats in the face of the continuous growth of the CP of Sweden while the little loyalite-"Party" is showing collapse more and more every day. It was calculated to hurt the CP of Sweden which was in the midst of a bitter election campaign.

The fact is that Comrade Samuelson has just obtained an important position in the cooperative movement of Sweden, the same position he had five years ago, and is therefore unable any longer to serve as secretary. But, of course, the change is of no political importance since Comrade Samuelson remains a member of the Polburo of the CC of the CP of Sweden and still retains the position of leadership he had for many a year in the Communist movement of Sweden.

Such ridiculous rumors will not help the bankrupt cause of the Comintern bureaucrats. . . .

Read

THE CRISIS IN THE C.P., U.S.A.

35c

Order from: Revolutionary Age,
63 Madison Ave., New York City.

3 THE RESULTS OF THE NEW COURSE

In describing the results of the new line, Stalin does not bind down his imagination by any too close contact with the facts. He pictures the state of the Communist movement internationally as follows:

"The growth of the trade union movement standing under the leadership of the Communists, the election successes of the Communist Parties, the wave of strikes taking place under the leading participation of the Communists. . . all this shows that the working masses see in the Communist Party the only party capable of fighting against capitalism. . . this is the surge of the masses to Communism."

This is not self-deception; this is deliberate deception of the masses. What the real state of the Communist Parties and of the international Communist movement is can be seen not from these Ludendorff-reports but from the gleam of truth in the speeches of Chitaroff and Manuilsky. Here is Chitaroff:

" . . . it is very disturbing that in recent years there has been practically no numerical growth of the Communist Parties (except in the United States) but quite the reverse. In a series of countries there has been a decline in membership of the sections of the CI, e.g., in France, England, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, etc. In the ranks of our Communist Parties there is a tremendous turn-over."

The truth about the world famous "membership drive" of our American Party, on the basis of which Chitaroff makes the exception for the U.S.A., is well known to all of us.

Now, Manuilsky! Manuilsky, who certainly ought to know, has the following to say about the "mass strikes" conducted within the last year under the direct leadership of the Communist Parties (under the so-called "independent leadership"):

"Our experiences in these strikes . . . has shown . . . that they have been a cause of the decrease of our influence among the sections of the proletariat involved."

Of course, Manuilsky traces this to "bad organization" but it certainly does not argue for the "surge of the masses to Communism" of which Stalin speaks.

The false line and petty trickery of the Comintern Executive Committee and its delegation are causing considerable damage to the Canadian C. P.

The Eccl delegation has decided to lift temporarily, the expulsions and suspensions of the Central Committee members Jack Mac Donald, Mike Ruhay, and Margolies. The maneuver is to have a Plenum called after the return of the Profintern delegates and then have the Plenum expel these comrades who have led the Canadian Communist Party when it was a growing organization with roots in the trade union movement. The Eccl delegation has ruled that the Political Committee has no right to expel Central Committee members. This "special work" must be left to the Central Committee itself. It is interesting to note that in the case of the expulsion of 15 Central Committee members from the CPUSA, the Eccl ruled that even the non-descript, makeshift Polburo had a right to expel from the Party not only Central Committee members but also Polburo and even Eccl members.

The underhanded maneuvers of the Eccl delegation are also sharpening the already difficult situation in the ranks of the Finnish comrades. The latter have re-appointed Comrade Vara, recently readmitted to the Party after expulsion, as editor of "Vapaus." The Polcom immediately condemned this "opportunistic" and "renegade" act of the Finnish organization. The Finnish comrades countered by saying that they appointed Comrade Vara on the basis of the agreement they reached with the Eccl delegation, "which is a higher body than the Canadian Polcom." The Polcom then declared that it had not been aware of or informed by the Eccl delegation of its secret decisions and agreements.

In the absence of Comrade Even, Comrade Tim Buck is serving as secretary, but Comrade Buck is suspected of "concealed conciliationism."

Nor do the figures which Manuilsky and Piatnitsky gave at the Congress as to the membership of the various Parties, their composition, the results of the factory council elections in Germany, etc. bear out the claim of "splendid results of our tactics" of which Stalin speaks.

Such is the essence of what the XVI Congress of the CPSU had to say about conditions in the international Communist movement. Such is the real substance of the "new turn" we have been hearing about for several months. It is surely enough to convince all Communists and revolutionary workers that a real change in the line and tactics of the Communist International can only be achieved from below, thru the action of Party members and revolutionary workers themselves for the installation of a new system of leadership in the Comintern, for a return to the line of Leninism.

IN THE COMING ISSUES:

Fifty Years of the American Federation of Labor.

Rationalization in the Textile Industry.

Whither Germany—Fascism or Communism?

THE PROBLEMS OF THE NEGRO MASSES IN AMERICA

An Appeal to the Negro Masses.

The American Negro Enters Industry.

The Negro and Politics.

The Negro in the South.

Some Tactical Questions.

Hoover Speaks! An Analysis of the Six Speeches of Wall Street's President.

Repairing the Ruins: The Work of the Communist Opposition in India.

Revolutions in Latin America.

Revolutionary Age Conference In New York

Labor Committee Calls for Defence of Banned Paper

Signed by Carlo Tresca of the Italian labor paper, *Il Martello*, Ludwig Lore of the *Volkszeitung*, Rotschild Francis, former editor of the Virgin Island *Emancipator*, Louis F. Budenz of *Labor Age*, A. Burkhardt, secretary of the Amalgamated Food Workers of America, Chas. S. Zimmerman, of the Needle Trades Workers Unity League, Jay Lovestone, editor of *Revolutionary Age*, and Ben Gitlow, secretary of the CP-Majority Group, a call has gone out for a conference in defence of the *Revolutionary Age* against the attempts of the U. S. Post Office Department to suppress that paper on the charge of being "seditious" or "treasonable." This conference of delegates of labor organizations will meet on Sunday afternoon, November 16, 3 P. M., at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84 Street, New York City.

In a letter of Harry F. Ward, chairman, the Civil Liberties Union announces that it "will be glad to be represented at your conference on the defense of the labor press..... We have designated Roger N. Baldwin and Forrest Bailey to act as our delegates".

The New York conference follows a very successful Revolutionary Age Conference held in Philadelphia a short time ago in which 24 delegates (the majority not adherents of our group) representing over a dozen organizations of Philadelphia (the Civil Liberties Union, WC Branches No. 118, 35, 305, the City Committee of the Independent Workmen's Circle, a number of workers clubs, women's societies, foreign workers groups, etc.). The Philadelphia conference, after adopting a number of resolu-

The 5-Year Plan In Danger

On the occasion of the beginning of the third year of the 5-year plan, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has published an appeal in which the program of industrialization for the third year is put forward. As to the second year the Appeal charges that, within ten months, heavy industry has increased its gross production by 27% and therewith has achieved a record in the entire reconstruction period but that this accomplishment cannot hide the fact that the execution of the plan for industry has not been achieved. The growth of industrial production by 27% within ten months constitutes a decisive lag (by 32%) behind the growth as foreseen in the plan. Not only has light industry not measured up to plan as a result of a certain lack of raw materials but, what is especially important, the production program for heavy industry is behind schedule. The Appeal called special attention to the problem of excessive turnover in labor which constitutes a serious negative factor.

The Appeal closes with the words:

"The industrial and financial plan is in danger! Therefore the whole program for the third year of the 5-year plan is in danger! The conclusions are plain: Rally all forces of the party, rally all forces of the working class for the fulfilment of the industrial and financial plan, for the ensuring of the third year of the 5-year plan."

DR. H. LINN DENTIST

1235 VYSE AVE.
BRONX, N. Y.

Phone: DAYton 2257

tion in support of the *Revolutionary Age* and on a number of other questions and after outlining a plan of work in this direction, elected an executive committee and made arrangements for a broader conference in the near future.

Help the Lewis Defence!

Thru the efforts of the Communist Party (Majority Group) with the assistance of the Civil Liberties Union, Leon Lewis is at last out on bail! Leon Lewis was one of the comrades arrested at the March 6 unemployment demonstration on the charge of assault. At first he was bailed out by the I. L. D. but when it was discovered that he was a "Lovestoneite" and would not give in to corrupt pressure to change his views, THE I. L. D. AND THE PARTY BURECRATS DELIBERATELY TURNED HIM OVER TO THE POLICE—by failing to notify him when his case came up and by refusing to reinstate his bail even after the district attorney permitted it to be reinstated. Leon Lewis was thereupon sent back to the Tombs prison to await trial where he remained for one month until we succeeded to get him out again and defeat the vicious activities of the I. L. D.

But the fight has only just begun! Lewis is soon coming to trial—the only one of the March 6 victims against whom the charge of assault was not withdrawn. Already we have run up a considerable amount in expenses (lawyers fees, bail premium, etc). Even greater expenses are ahead. We can expect nothing but sabotage and worse from the I. L. D. We must appeal to the workers for help. Send in donations for the Lewis Defence Fund! Your help is urgently needed!

Clash of Interests Over USSR

A sharp clash of interests over the policy towards the Soviet Union is evident in the ranks of the biggest American capitalists. This has great political significance. This clash is particularly acute because of the rapid construction of Socialist enterprises and agriculture under the Five Year Plan and on account of the present severe economic crisis in the United States.

Thus, at the Williamstown Institute of Politics, the well-known corporation lawyer, Paul Drennan Cravath, made a strong plea for Soviet recognition by the American government.

At the same time, the notorious open shop organ of the rising Southern manufacturing interests, *The Manufacturers' Record*, comes out with this sort of a blast:

"Recent official disclosures of Communist activities tend further to confirm our belief that we, as a nation, must uphold our traditions, and that we as individuals must maintain our self-respect by refusing to deal with Russia until its people free themselves from Soviet rule. Every American product sent to Russia; every dollar spent by Americans for Russian-made goods strengthens the hands of the Red oppressors of the mass of patriotic Russians who apparently are forced to remain in virtual slavery. Furthermore, such trade but adds to Soviet power to carry out its plan to subjugate the world."

The confusion and concern in the ranks of the bourgeoisie are clearly revealed by the important *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* which says:

"The entire question of trade relations between the two countries has thus been stirred up and it has been discussed, unfortunately, from almost every point of view save that of sound economic reasoning."

But most significant of all is the leading editorial in the latest issue of the influential *Business Week* which frankly says in part:

"We could not be expected to foresee anything so funny as the vaudeville of the Fish Committee's Red investigation, or so insincere as the bombast of Matthew Wolf's defense of American labor and its bolshevik brother-workers in Russia against the Communist menace. . . .

"American business men—and all citizens—should not be fooled, flustered, or frightened by this uproar and confusion. This is an historic moment. A crucial question upon which may hang the destiny of nations is involved in these picayune political performances and this scramble of special interests. . . .

"Russia is the world's question mark,

* ATTENTION! *
* HOUSE WARMING *
* To Celebrate the Opening of the *
* New Center *
* FRIDAY Evening, OCT. 17, 8 p. m. *
* at *
* 63 MADISON AVENUE *
* corner 27 St., N. Y. C. *

A Tempest In a Teapot Petty Maneuvers of Party Burocrats

For some time the National Bureau of the Communist Party (Majority Group) has known of a number of individuals working within our group under instructions of the unprincipled bureaucracy dominating and wrecking our Party. The number of these individuals is less than half-a-dozen, including some of those who had never been admitted into our group at all. Not one of them has been active in our work for many months. Not one of them holds any office or exercises any influence in our organization.

We take this occasion to disclose these facts in view of the attempts of the Party burocrats to bolster up their drooping morale by spreading rumors about desertions from our ranks. This rumor campaign of the puppet leadership of our party aims to counteract the heavy inroads we have made in winning over some valuable Negro forces in the Communist movement as well as practically the entire Party organization in Passaic.

In a coming issue of the *Revolutionary Age* we will explain some confidential decisions and plans of the Secretariat and Political Bureau for a fraudulent "peace" and "unity" maneuver to defeat our repeated genuine efforts for the unification of the Communist forces in the USA and in the Comintern.

Columbia University recently said:

"Whether we like it or not, the fact is that 140 millions of people are experimenting with an alternative mode of economic, political and social control. The application of this new series of principles is so thorough, so logical, so persistent that it does not hesitate to tear up by the roots those things which the Western world regards as fundamental.

"And what are our institutions doing to meet the challenge?"

READ! SUBSCRIBE!

ARBEITER KAMPF
Jewish Monthly Paper

of the CP-MAJORITY GROUP

5 Cents a Copy 50 Cents a Year

MEET YOUR FRIENDS AT

ARAKEL'S

ARMENIAN RESTAURANT
116 LEXINGTON AVE. — NEW YORK
Phone: BOGardus 8498
Our specialty Shish Kebab and Artichoke

CANal 5781

UNITED BINDERY

161 GRAND STREET
NEW YORK CITY

LIBERAL PRESS, Inc.

410 LAFAYETTE STREET

NEW YORK CITY

NOTICE!

OPEN MEMBERSHIP MEETING

Jay Lovestone

will speak on

THE FIFTIETH CONVENTION OF THE A. F. OF L.
AND THE REBUILDING OF THE LEFT WING

THURSDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 16, 1930

GRAND OPERA HOUSE, 309 West 23 Street

All members of our group and all sympathizers are called upon to be present without fail

District Committee, New York
Communist Party (Majority Group)

NOTICE!